

VOLUME II

Final Report

**Bay View Neighborhood
Historic Resources Survey**

**City of Milwaukee
Wisconsin**

July, 1990

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SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Bay View has had one of the richest and most diverse social and political histories of any neighborhood thus far surveyed by the City of Milwaukee. In many ways its social structures have mirrored that of a small town rather than an urban neighborhood and reflect the intense local pride in the fact that the area had once been a separate village. Unlike the many other villages annexed by Milwaukee which have lost their identity, Bay View still remembers its village history despite the fact that it was annexed by Milwaukee more than a century ago. Bay View residents have historically kept pretty much to themselves in terms of forming lodges and social clubs, although the community did begin to participate in broader south side planning activities after the turn of the century. The integration of neighborhood residents into city-wide organizations has accelerated since World War II, although its local service groups and veterans' organizations are probably among the most active in Milwaukee.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Women's Organizations

Women's organizations in the survey area historically have consisted primarily of auxiliaries to the numerous fraternal groups, social clubs, and veterans' organizations that were active in the neighborhood. Few independent women's groups seem to have existed in Bay View, but this could be more a reflection of lack of documentation than a lack of such organizations. The paucity of records and printed information about these groups, if they existed at all, hinders any attempt to accurately assess their popularity and scope their activity.

To date, the only known exclusively women's organization was The Worthwhile Club. Several programs from the club in the collection of the Milwaukee County Historical Society indicate that the group was founded in 1916 by Mrs. A. J. Read. She had lived at 2890 South Mabbett. (MI 379-4) Membership lists in the programs include addresses and indicate that the group was comprised of married women who lived exclusively in the Bay View survey area. Programs were most frequently held at members' homes, but there were also luncheons at various restaurants and meetings at such locations as the Art Institute. Each program covered a particular topic from favorite recipes to Boy Scouts, to poetry, to immigration to playgrounds and to vacation notes. Generally one of the members would present the program, but there were also outside speakers such as author Zona Gale. The program season ran from October through May. The group was still active in the 1924-1925 season. It is not known when The Worthwhile Club disbanded as the organization never appeared in the city directories. (The Worthwhile Club, Milwaukee 1923-1924, 1924-1925)

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

Of the various voluntary organizations that were active in Bay View, fraternal organizations were probably the most significant in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The membership numbers were large, and the groups provided a recreational outlet as well as some basic death and sickness benefits. There were fraternal organizations for virtually every level of economic strata and immigrant group. For the latter, the mutual aid society played a significant role in the immigrants' acculturation to American society. It has been suggested that for all social and economic groups,

membership in fraternal organizations imparted some sense of participation and some sense of validation in a society experiencing rapid social change during the rapid urbanization in the later part of the nineteenth century.

(Andreozzi, Chapter III).

Bay View's geographical isolation from the rest of Milwaukee fostered a rather close-knit community whose sense of separateness and self-identify remained strong well into the twentieth century. This helps to explain why such an extensive array of fraternal organizations were concentrated in such a small geographical area.

The earliest fraternal organizations to organize in Bay View were the Masons and the Odd Fellows, both of whom established lodges in 1873, a mere six years after the town had been founded. New groups began to appear in the 1880's, such as the Knights of Honor (1886). This number grew in the 1890's to include the Fraternal Alliance (1891), Knights of Pythias (1895), and Knights of Maccabees (1896). In the years leading up to World War I, additional lodges were established in the community, including the Columbian Knights (1900), the Modern Woodmen of America (1904), the Modern Brotherhood of America (1906), the Royal Neighbors of America (1908), the Yeomen of America (1909), and the Fraternal Brotherhood (1913). A lodge of the Loyal Order of Moose was established around the time of World War II.

Roman Catholic and ethnic associations also were popular in Bay View. The Irish-Americans in Bay View established a division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in 1880. German-Americans joined the Sons of St. George (1884), the Harugari (1891), and the Gegenseitigt Unterstuetzungs Gesellschaft Germania

of Wisconsin (1895). Roman Catholics, who were discouraged from participating in most of the secular fraternal societies, organized their own parish-based groups. The Catholic Order of Foresters was founded at Immaculate Conception Church in 1888 and at St. Augustine's Church in 1889. The Catholic Knights organized at Immaculate Conception in 1889 and at St. Augustine's Church in 1911. St. Augustine Church also had a branch of the Catholic Family Protective Association (1890) and the Catholic Uniformed Knights, Knights of St. George (1906), both organizations targeted at German Catholics. The most recent ethnic group to settle in Bay View, the Italians, established the Societa' di Mutuo Soccorso Guiseppe Garibaldi in 1908.

Many of these lodges had fallen out of favor by World War II although a few like the Masons, Odd Fellows, Pythians and Italian-American Mutual Aid Society Guiseppe Garibaldi continued until well after the war or are still active today.

Lodge Halls

Interestingly, fraternal organization activity in Bay View was conducted in a relatively small number of halls including Puddlers' Hall, Jess' Hall, the Kuehnel Building, the Lake Masonic Hall, Odd Fellows Hall, Hermes/Hoft's Hall, and the Club Garibaldi.

Puddlers' Hall at 2461-2463 S. St. Clair was built in 1872 by the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. The two-story frame building had a large first floor assembly hall that could accommodate 500 persons. It still stands although much of its exterior detail has been covered by cement asbestos shingles (MI 360-4).

Jess' Hall is located at 1753 S. Kinnickinnic Avenue, just north of the Bay View survey area. It was photographed in the Walker's Point Survey (MI 315-37). Jess' Hall appears to have been a popular meeting place during the 1890's. An addition with sleeping rooms was added to the building in 1900, and a Tudor Revival-style facade was applied to the building in 1933.

The Kuehnel Building was constructed in 1887 at today's 2234-2236 S. Kinnickinnic Avenue, and its third floor hall housed the Lake Lodge Masons from 1887 through 1907 (MI 320-14). The Masons subsequently moved to their own two-story building at 2535 S. Kinnickinnic Avenue in 1908 (MI 325-10). A more detailed history of these two building appears in the discussion of the Lake Lodge.

Odd Fellows Hall stood at today's 830 E. Potter Street. In addition to the Odd Fellows, this hall also served as the meeting place for at least eight other organizations. Portions of the hall were rebuilt and remodeled a number of times until the resulting structure was one of the more substantial buildings in Bay View. It was razed in the early 1960's.

Hermes/Hoft's Hall was built in 1890 at 2233 S. Kinnickinnic Avenue. The \$6,000, three-story brick building was erected to house August Hermes' hardware business and a rental hall. It was designed by architect Bernard Kolpacki. Hermes had been one of the founders of St. Augustine Church. Hermes subsequently sold the building to John Hoft. John and later Martin Hoft operated the building as a saloon and rental hall. At least eleven different fraternal and labor groups met at the hall from the 1890's through

World War I. An illustration in Milwaukee of To-Day. The Cream City of the Lakes shows the building to have been a handsome one. It featured a pediment over the south bay, had bracket-finials, an attractive bay window on the second story, ornamental transoms or spandrels over the windows, and a glass store front along with a separate entrance for the rental hall. Unsympathetic remodelings have removed all of these features although the name plaque, "Aug. Hermes 1890," remains. The building now houses a health club and tanning salon (MI 323-10; Building Permits; City Directory).

Club Garibaldi had been built as a Schlitz Brewing Company tavern in 1907 at a cost of about \$5,000. The rather modest building was designed by local architect Charles Lesser. The original frame building on the site was moved to today's 1506-1508 E. Russell Avenue. This earlier building had also been used as a tavern from about 1896 or 1897 and had been operated by James R. Elliott. Elliott retained the proprietorship of the tavern through 1919 and then ran a soft drink parlor on the premises until his death in 1922 or 1923. The premises subsequently passed to Joseph P. and Josephine Paolo. In 1927 they added the one-story hall to the west end of the building. After Joseph's death, the business was closed in 1931, but Josephine Paolo reopened the building in 1932 as Paradise Gardens, a dance hall and tavern. The business closed again in 1934 and subsequently passed on to George W. Mangino, who reopened the premises as Paradise Gardens Tavern. Management of the tavern was taken over by Alex Pagliasotti in 1939 and Harold G. Wesela in 1940. In 1942 the tavern was vacant again. Building permit records show that the Italian American Mutual Aid Society Guiseppe Garibaldi acquired the property in 1943. Since that time, the building has been known as the Club Garibaldi

Tavern. (MI 372-20; Building Permits; City Directory)

Freemasonry

The Freemasons are the oldest fraternal organization in both the United States and Wisconsin. Although the order traces its origins back to the guilds of the medieval era, the modern organization dates from the early eighteenth century. Masonic lodges appeared in America as early as 1730, apparently carried across the Atlantic by Englishmen who had been familiar with the order in Britain. By 1776, the Order was firmly established in the east, and, according to the Masons, several heroes of the Revolution, including Washington, Franklin, Revere, and the Adamses played active membership roles.

As the population grew and expanded beyond the eastern seaboard, the flow of settlers across the Appalachian Mountains carried the order to the west. A secret society with regalia, passwords, mystic rites, seals, ceremonies, degrees, signs, and signals, the Masons had a powerful attraction; select membership in the exclusive organization seemed to confer status, privilege, and a certain degree of prestige to its members. Most importantly, the Masons provided an archetype after which hundreds of other fraternal groups modeled themselves.

Not surprisingly, Masonic activity in Wisconsin began shortly after the establishment of the first permanent white settlements in the territory. The earliest Masonic lodge was formed in Green Bay in 1823 by a group of military officers stationed at Fort Howard. Although this Menomonee Lodge lasted only seven years, the Masonic Order grew steadily over the next two decades, and,

in December of 1843, the Wisconsin Masons held their first statewide convention in Madison. By this time there were sizeable, active lodges in operation at Platteville, Mineral Point and Milwaukee (Fraternal Organizations Study Unit).

Milwaukee's first lodge had been formed in early 1843 when 40 to 50 Masons united to petition for lodge status from the nearest Masonic authority in Springfield, Illinois. Authorization came from the Grand Master in June, but the charter was not officially signed until January of 1844. Originally called Milwaukee Lodge No. 3, the name was subsequently changed to Kilbourn Lodge in honor of early member Byron Kilbourn. Numerous other Freemason lodges followed: Tracy Lodge (later Wisconsin Lodge No. 13) in 1847, Aurora Lodge No. 30 in 1850, Independence Lodge No. 80 in 1856, Excelsior Lodge in 1869, and Harmony Lodge No. 142 in 1863, the latter being the city's first exclusively Jewish lodge. The other branches of Masonry soon appeared including the Royal Arch Masons in 1844, the Commanderies in 1850, and the Scottish Rite, with its Wisconsin Grand Consistory, in 1863. By the late 1860's, the number of Masonic bodies had grown to eleven and, as was typical of most fraternal groups of the day, the various lodges and chapters met in the central business district at one of three locations. The first Masonic body to be formed outside the downtown area was Excelsior Lodge No. 175, which was chartered on June 9, 1869 and met on the city's south side. (Flower, History of Milwaukee 1881, pp. 958-962)

Lake Lodge No. 189 F. and A.M.

The Masons were the first fraternal group to be established in Bay View. Lake Lodge No. 189 received its dispensation on September 27, 1872 and its

charter on June 11, 1873. A Sentinel article on June 24, 1873 indicated that the lodge was in a prosperous state and that its membership was constantly increasing. The Lake Lodge was organized by John A. Flute, D. B. Fowler and Robert M. Berry. Early officers included John A. Flute, Thomas Waddell, Theodore C. Price, John Bishop, Alex Hutchison, John Bissett, Solomon Jones, D. J. Price, William Baillie, William Adlam, Charles H. Lenck and Henry Durand. Many of these individuals were either small businessmen or employees of the Milwaukee Iron Co. Early meetings were held on the second and fourth Saturdays of the month at Puddlers' Hall at 2461-2463 S. St. Clair Street (MI 360-4). This hall had been built by the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers' Association in 1872 and served as the village's only meeting hall during the 1870's. A large room on the first floor served as the meeting room. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1873 June 24 8/5; Korn, p. 97; City Directory; Flower, History of Milwaukee 1881, pp. 1626-1627)

Through the 1870's the Masons shared Puddler's Hall with numerous other labor and fraternal groups and school and church organizations. Since most of Milwaukee's Masonic lodges met in halls devoted to their own use, it was not long before Lake Lodge began taking action toward having their own hall. In an article dated September 27, 1880, the Sentinel indicated that the Masons had purchased Puddlers' Hall for \$2,750 and planned to use the building for their hall and to improve the building with a new stone basement so that it could be rented for village offices. Less than a month later, it was reported that the sellers had changed their minds and that the Masons had decided to build a new structure (City Directory; Milwaukee Sentinel 1880 Sept. 27 8/2 and Oct. 13 8/3).

It took the Lake Lodge seven more years to find a new home, however. In that interval the little village grew rapidly, expanding west of the Rolling Mill to Kinnickinnic Avenue. Kinnickinnic Avenue, in fact, evolved into the community's primary commercial center. The thoroughfare was linked to the rest of the city in 1882 when a streetcar line was installed down the avenue. The Lake Lodge moved to a new hall on Kinnickinnic Avenue, north of Lincoln Avenue.

The new Masonic hall was located in the Gustave Kuehnel Building at today's 2234-2236 S. Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 320-14). Kuehnel, a druggist, built his new, frame, three-story block in 1887 to house his pharmacy and other shops on the first floor, apartments (including his own flat) on the second, and a large public hall on the third floor. Kuehnel was said to have been prominent in the Masonic fraternity, and perhaps he struck a deal with the Lake Lodge to help finance the construction of his building. A brief write-up on the building in the Sentinel on August 18, 1887 indicates that the building was serviced by an elevator. The new Masonic hall was dedicated on November 26, 1887 by a ceremony at which only master masons were allowed to participate. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1887 August 28 3/2, November 27 4/6; Milwaukee of To-Day, p. 208)

The three-story building was of simple Queen Anne design and had two ground floor stores and a dental office on the second story according to an early illustration. The store fronts had projecting display windows which were capped by small hipped roofs. The second and third stories were divided by a prominent cornice, and a band of shingling was located above the third story windows. The chief ornamental feature of the facade was a large

pediment supported by simple brackets. The inscription "Masonic Hall 1887" was placed in the pediment. At some later date, a bay window was added to the north portion of the second story although no permit records exist for this alteration. (Milwaukee of To-Day, p. 208)

The Masons occupied 2234-2236 South Kinnickinnic Avenue for twenty years. During this time, the women's Vega Chapter of the Order of Eastern Star was established on January 18, 1896. In 1908, the Masons moved to an impressive new building farther south at 2535 South Kinnickinnic Avenue, at the northwest corner of Otjen Avenue. This new location had previously been the site of an 18-foot by 51-foot feed store and barn built in 1895 and designed by J. Jones and owned by H. W. Koerner. The two-story, flat-roofed, brick lodge hall was designed by local architect Charles L. Lesser in the Classical Revival style (MI 325-10). The building features quoins, a modillioned cornice, and a main entrance framed by an entablature supported by freestanding columns. The dark sandstone voussoirs over the windows stand out conspicuously against the yellow colored brick. Erdman Schulz was the builder, and the structure cost an estimated \$18,000. The boiler room, kitchen and dining room were located in the basement; the first floor had a hall, miscellaneous rooms and a restroom; the second floor had a meeting hall, offices and restrooms. By the late 1950's, Lake Masonic Hall housed a number of related societies besides Lake Lodge No. 189. These included the Order of DeMolay, International Order of Jobs Daughters Bethel No. 6, Married Ladies of Vela OES, Faith Shrine No. 23 WSJ, Vega Chapter No. 76 OES, Bay View Court No. 8 Order of Amaranth, and Lake Chapter No. 86 Royal Arch Masons. The Masons vacated their Kinnickinnic Avenue hall in 1962-1963 and moved to a new hall farther south at 1235 East Howard Avenue where they remain today. (City Building Permits; City

Directory)

Although both of the previous Masonic halls still stand today, time has not been kind to the structures. The Kuehnel Building housed Kuehnel's Pharmacy and a number of jewelers for some years. Kuehnel died in 1895, and his family continued the business through 1898-1899. The business and building were subsequently acquired by Louis J. G. Mack, who ran a pharmacy here into the 1920's and possibly later. The former lodge hall may have been rented out from time to time, but the only known regular tenant of the hall after the Masons was the Liederfreund Singing Society, which met at the hall on Mondays from around 1912 through 1914. The building remained in the Mack family hands at least into the 1930's by which time the pharmacy was run by other individuals. The former jewelry store was converted to a restaurant. The City survey conducted by the Building Inspection Department in 1932 indicated that the second floor had two apartments and that the third floor former public hall had not been wired for electricity and was vacant. It has remained vacant through the present. The north store front remained in use as a restaurant through about 1951 and was afterward tenanted by a ladies' dress shop, an infants' ready-to-wear store, used for potato sales, and lately for the sale of small plastic signs. The south store front remained a pharmacy for years and then was occupied by a millinery store. In recent years this store front has been boarded up. The facade is now covered by aluminum siding and aluminum shingles. All of the third story windows as well as the ornamental pediment have been covered by the siding. (City Building Permits; City Directory)

Lake Lodge's Classical Revival lodge hall at 2535-2539 South Kinnickinnic almost became the location for the South Side Armory. When the Masons vacated their building, they entertained a proposal to transfer the armory from South Sixth and West Mitchell Streets to this site, but the signatures of over 1,100 Bay View residents opposed to the plan stopped the action. Residents felt it would disturb the tranquility of their neighborhood. The Serbian Orthodox Church subsequently looked into the purchase of the building for use as a social, cultural and possibly worship center, but this proposal was dropped as well. The old lodge building's main tenants have been restaurants, housed in the building's basement. A Serbian restaurant and now a Chinese restaurant called the Ancient Well occupies the basement with access directly from the outside on Otjen Street rather than through the main part of the building. Aside from overgrown foundation plantings, a modern entry door, and an incongruous vent projecting from one of the front windows, the lodge building has suffered no major alterations and could easily be restored. (Zillman, p. 130; City Building Permits; City Directory)

Independent Order of Oddfellows

The Oddfellows originated in England, possibly as early as 1745, although records are unclear as to its specific origins. By the early nineteenth century, the United Order of Oddfellows, also known as the Grand United Order, was well established. Several schisms resulted in the creation of offshoots, the most notable of which was the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity, which had seceded from the United Order in 1813 in protest over the widespread drinking common in the fellowship halls. Unchartered Oddfellow lodges existed in the U.S. as early as 1802, but the first chartered lodge was organized in Baltimore, Maryland on April 26, 1819 by Thomas Wildey, who

received the charter from the Duke of York Lodge, Preston, England, a member of the sober Manchester Unity Coalition. Wildey was a highly effective leader, and by the time of his death in 1861, there were over 200,000 Oddfellows in the U.S. In 1843 the American organization broke with England and renamed itself the Independent Order of Oddfellows (I.O.O.F.). The I.O.O.F. was the first American fraternal order to offer members financial benevolencies in the form of relief for the sick, the financially distressed, and the orphaned. It also assisted with the burial expenses of deceased members. The Oddfellows order, which resembles free masonry with regard to its secret initiations, ritual, passwords and the like was sometimes described as "The poor man's Masonry." Between 1830 and 1895 the group claims to have initiated over two million members, and by 1915 membership numbered about 3,400,000. The I.O.O.F. is headquartered in Baltimore, Maryland and has declined in membership in recent decades, like most such groups, with its membership totaling about 243,000 persons in 1979. (Schmidt, pp. 243-245)

The Oddfellows are the second oldest fraternal society in Wisconsin, having been established in Mineral Point in 1835 as the first Oddfellow lodge in the Northwest. After a number of lodges lapsed, the first successful lodge was established in Milwaukee in 1846, Kneeland Lodge No. 5. The Grand Lodge of Wisconsin was established in June of 1847 and chartered its first lodge, Excelsior No. 20, on July 29, 1847. (Flower, History of Milwaukee, 1881, pp. 965-969)

Iron Links Lodge No. 221 I.O.O.F.

The Odd Fellows were the second fraternal group to organize in Bay View, and they received their charter on July 24, 1873, one month after the Masonic

Lake Lodge. Iron Links Lodge's membership of 13 grew to 59 by 1875 by which time the organization had \$500 in its treasury. Mill official J. B. Price is credited with suggesting the name "Iron Links." The women's branch or Rebekah Degree was established in 1875 as Crystal Lodge No. 45 by Mrs. William Girdwood and had 25 charter members. From their founding through 1882, the Odd Fellows met each Wednesday night, at Puddlers' Hall at today's 2461-2463 South St. Clair Street. (MI 360-4; Korn, p. 97; City Directory)

The move to build a separate Odd Fellows Hall began in April of 1879 when the group determined that their present rental rates would more than cover the expense of a new building. A lot was purchased on Potter Avenue just east of Kinnickinnic Avenue in June of 1882, and by August 2, the Sentinel reported that the Odd Fellows were preparing to take initiatory steps to build a "commodious hall" on their site. On February 18, 1883, it was reported that work on the new hall was going well, that "plastering has been put on." It was anticipated that the building would be finished in a week or two, with the dedication scheduled for March 17, 1883. Korn writes that the Odd Fellows "new" building was actually the old office building of the Milwaukee Iron Company. The fraternal group was able to acquire the old office when it was replaced by a new brick building. The old building was said to have been moved across the ice of Deer Creek to the Odd Fellows' lot on Potter Avenue. Although Korn's date of 1874 is in error, the account of acquiring and moving an existing building seems plausible. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1879 April 25 8/2: 1882 June 29 8/2 and August 2 8/2; 1883 March 4 5/2; Korn, p. 97)

Although the building was to have been dedicated on March 17, 1883, work was still in progress on the structure at that time. A meeting was held on

that date, however, and a parlor organ was donated to the Iron Links by the ladies' auxiliary. The building had yet to be painted, and it had not been determined whether to make the lower floor into a hall, store or residence. By this time, the Iron Links had spent nearly \$1,000 in "remodeling and fitting up" the hall, another indication that the structure was likely an older building being converted into lodge use. Fire insurance maps beginning in 1888 show that the I.O.O.F. hall was comprised of two buildings of nearly equal size. The front portion was slightly narrower than the back portion and was two and one-half stories in height and divided into two store fronts. The rear three and one-half story portion had a hipped or mansard roof, was slightly wider than the front portion, and had halls on the second and third stories. It is not clear which portion was the original rolling mill office or if two existing buildings had been joined together or if a new front or a new rear portion had been added. In August of 1883, the Iron Links were still putting finishing touches on their lodge building. The Sentinel reported that two coats of paint in "light dark" would be applied to the structure and that this would improve upon its dull red color. Grading and filling were also taking place around the building. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1883 March 18 5/2, August 21 5/2; Rascher's 1888 vol. 3, p. 241)

The Iron Links Lodge prospered and, over time, the lodge hall on East Potter Avenue was improved. The 1893 Sanborn Fire Insurance Atlas shows that the rear portion of the building was still a frame structure, but that the roof configuration had changed. Halls remained located on the second and third floors of the structure. A store occupied the front portion of the building where the Iron Links lodge hall was located on the second floor above it. By the 1910 Sanborn Atlas, the front of the building has been replaced by

a two-story solid masonry store front and hall while the rear portion had a brick first story and a veneered second and third. A dance hall occupied the third floor. Both front and rear portions of the building were now of equal size. (Sanborn 1894, vol. 4, p. 365; Sanborn 1910, vol. 5, p. 549)

Reflecting the national trend, Iron Links No. 221 and its companion Crystal Lodge No. 45 experienced a decline in membership and apparently disbanded in 1960 or 1961. The lodge hall, one of the largest structures in Bay View, was razed shortly after the lodge dissolved. A McDonald's restaurant was built on the site in 1976 and is addressed today as 830 East Potter Avenue. (MI 351-20; Building Permits; City Directories)

Kinnickinnic Lodge No. 131

Kinnickinnic Lodge I.O.O.F. No. 131 was organized in 1889. The lodge's early officers included glass blower J. J. Owens, livery stable proprietor F. J. Ziemer, letter carrier J. A. Paulus, and fisherman Conrad Schultheis. The Kinnickinnic Lodge first met at today's 1753 South Kinnickinnic Avenue, once known as Jess' Hall. A companion Rebekah Degree lodge, Almira Lodge No. 84, was established around 1893 and likewise met at Jess' Hall through 1908. Around 1896 Kinnickinnic Lodge moved its meetings to today's 2233 South Kinnickinnic, Hoft's Hall. This hall was across the street from the old Masonic Hall and about four blocks north of the main Odd Fellows Hall at Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues. Kinnickinnic Lodge apparently disbanded or merged with the Iron Links in 1909. Almira Lodge No. 84 moved over to Hoft's Hall in 1909 and eventually the members conducted their meetings out of the main Odd Fellows Hall beginning around 1916. Almira disbanded when the Crystal and Iron Links lodges disbanded. Another Rebekah Degree lodge, Martha

Washington No. 101, also met for a while in Bay View at Hoft's Hall beginning around 1918. (City Directory)

Catholic Family Protective Association/Catholic Family Life Insurance

The Catholic Family Protective Association (C.F.P.A.) was the only known Milwaukee-based fraternal benefit organization to have had a branch in Bay View. The C.F.P.A. was started by a Milwaukee Catholic priest, Rev. Dr. Joseph Salzmann, procurator of St. Francis Seminary, on August 16, 1868 at the bidding of Milwaukee's Bishop Henni. The organization changed its name to Catholic Family Life Insurance (C.F.L.I.) in 1950. This was the first Catholic life insurance society in the United States and the first to insure women and children. C.F.L.I. was said to be the first insurance of its kind to adopt the legal reserve system and the first insurance organization to offer Holy Masses for its living and deceased members. C.F.L.I. was also the first to pay dividends to its members as a fraternal life insurance company. (Schmidt, p. 64)

There were no rituals associated with the organization. Its basic objectives were "to foster friendship and true charity among its members through help and relief to them and their families, and enable them through membership in this fraternal benefit society to assist themselves and others." In its fraternal context, the organization sponsors summer camps, dances, athletic events, family camp-outs, picnics and teen parties. Its philanthropic programs support home and foreign missions, the Respect for Life (anti-abortion) program, and the Catholic Rural Life Movement which supports the welfare of the family farm. The organization also supports such public charities as the Red Cross, Cancer Fund, Heart Fund and other worthwhile

community projects. (Schmidt, pp. 64-65)

As a fraternal society, C.F.L.I. invests its funds in Catholic institutions and loans money to parishes to build churches and schools. Membership is open only to those of the Catholic faith 18 years of age or older, and there are associate memberships for those not wishing to carry insurance. Local units are referred to as branches. Membership in 1979 totaled 47,000 in 54 branches, representing an increase of 10,000 members from 1967. Although Schmidt in his Fraternal Organization (1980) does not indicate that the Catholic Family Protective Association was originally targeted at German Catholics, City Directories from the 1890's through the turn of the century consistently list this organization along with "German Catholic Benevolent Societies of Wisconsin" as a heading above the list of individual branch associations. The branch associations were affiliated with parishes and those listed in the directory such as Holy Trinity, Saints Peter and Paul, St. Mary's, and St. Anthony's were definitely German Catholic congregations. The number of branch associations in Milwaukee remained stable at 10 or 11 from the 1890's through the 1930's.

St. Augustine's Branch, Catholic Family Protective Association

A branch of the C.F.P.A. was established at St. Augustine's Church probably soon after the parish's founding in 1888. The organization first appears in the city directories in 1890. August Hermes was the first president of the C.F.P.A. branch at St. Augustine's. Hermes had been one of the founders of the congregation and had built the structure at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue in 1890, which housed his hardware business and a popular lodge hall, later known as Hoft's Hall. St. Augustine's apparently discontinued its branch of the C.F.P.A. after 1935. (City Directory)

Catholic Knights of St. George

This organization was established as the German Roman Catholic Knights of St. George in 1881 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania by German Catholic immigrants who had left Germany after the Franco-Prussian War in order not to compromise their religious beliefs. The organization had close ties to the church from its beginning, and the organizers had obtained permission from the Bishop of Pittsburgh in 1880 before establishing the order. The group's first ladies' auxiliary was established in 1939.

The C.K.S.G. began as a fraternal benefit society and collected money on an assessment plan for beneficiary payments. In 1915 the group abandoned the assessment plan for a mortuary fund to be more in line with the life insurance companies of the day.

In addition to its benefit program, the C.K.S.G. has been supportive of other activities and programs as well. The C.K.S.G. helped to organize the now-defunct, American Federation of Catholic Societies and gave assistance to the National Catholic Welfare Council in Chicago when the latter was first formed. The C.K.S.G. also helped support the Catholic Central Verein. The C.K.S.G. collects medical supplies from local physicians for various missions throughout the world. In 1923 the organization opened a home for the aged and infirm forty miles outside of Pittsburgh in Wellsburg, West Virginia. Scholarships are awarded to high school seniors who have been beneficial members of the organization for at least two years. Since 1969, the C.K.S.G. has operated Camp Rolling Hills in Wellsburg, West Virginia for poor boys and girls. Recently, the C.K.S.G. has supported the anti-abortion Respect for Life campaign.

In 1979, the C.K.S.G. had 70,000 members in 300 local branches in thirteen states and was one of the few fraternal benefit groups to have rapidly increased in number since the late 1960's. Local units are known as branches and each is affiliated with a Catholic parish. The C.K.S.G. is headquartered in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and publishes the monthly periodical, Knight of St. George. (Schmidt, pp. 68-70)

Catholic Knights of St. George Co. B

In addition to branches of the Catholic Foresters and Catholic Knights, St. Augustine Church also had a branch of the Catholic Knights of St. George. St. Augustine's predominantly German ethnicity explains why the group would have been established at this parish and not at Immaculate Conception church. Although St. Augustine's church history does not list the group as having been associated with this parish, city directories show that the C.K.S.G. Co. B first meeting was held at the South Side Kindergarten Hall in Walker's Point in the early 1890's and then was active at St. Augustine's from around 1906 to 1918. The group met on Thursdays at the parish's school hall at 2507 South Graham Street. The parish history does list the Knights of St. George taking part in the dedication of St. Augustine's first church-school building in 1888, but possibly this early group had come from a neighboring parish to help embellish the festivities. (St. Augustine, A Century of Service. An Eternity of Faith 1888-1988, p. 17; City Directory)

Catholic Knights of Wisconsin

Today known as Catholic Knights Insurance, the Catholic Knights originated as a fraternal benefit group and had two active branches in the Bay View survey area.

The organization had its roots in the Catholic Knights of America, a fraternal order which was established in 1877 and chartered in Kentucky by members of the Nashville Diocese. Branches had been founded in Wisconsin by 1880, but the Wisconsin affiliate quickly outgrew the national organization. Dissatisfaction over the rate of return on benefits led Wisconsin to break with the national organization and form its own order, the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin, in 1885 in Green Bay. By the end of that same year, Wisconsin had 45 branches and 1,450 members, the largest number of which, 97, were concentrated in Milwaukee. For its first two decades, the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin retained its traditional fraternal profile and sponsored social activities as well as paid out death benefits. Activities were broadened in this century with the publication of a magazine, Catholic Knight, beginning in 1909 and contributions made to Catholic educational institutions such as Marquette University and St. Francis Seminary. Women were admitted into the membership starting in 1915. Insurance, however, became the chief focus of the organization. In 1918 the society adopted the legal reserve system and members came to have the rights and privileges of a modern life insurance company. Four new forms of insurance were introduced at that time: Ordinary Life, 20 Payment Life, Endowment at age 65 and 20 year Endowment. At the end of its first 50 years in 1936, despite the hardships of the Depression, the society had managed to build assets of \$2,142,931. By 1940 the Catholic Knights had \$10,000,000 worth of insurance in force. Expansion of its insurance program continued after World War II. In 1952 the society introduced an accident and health plan, and in 1958 the society changed its name to Catholic Knights Insurance Society when plans were formulated to expand outside of Wisconsin. In 1960 the society opened its first out-of-

state office in Detroit, Michigan, and since then the organization has expanded into Iowa, Minnesota, Florida, Indiana, North and South Dakota, and Pennsylvania. Tower Insurance Company, a capital stock company, was created as a subsidiary in 1961, and through it Catholic Knights became the first fraternal organization in North America to create a full cycle insurance organization that offers every type of insurance possible. By 1979 assets had reached \$108 million and continued growth has marked the 1980's under President Daniel Steininger. The society celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1985 with assets of \$163 million and one billion dollars worth of insurance in force. True to its roots, Catholic Knights still hosts picnics and circus outings for its membership. (Catholic Knights. The First 100 Years, pp. 6-36)

Over the years the society has been headquartered at a number of locations. Early offices were in Green Bay but were then moved to Milwaukee where they have remained permanently. Around 1912 the society rented space in the Merchants and Manufacturers Bank building downtown.

In 1923, the Knights constructed their own headquarters at 812 East State Street at a cost of \$107,000 and used the first floor for offices while renting the second and third floors as apartments. When the society outgrew these premises, it moved to the Tower Hotel building at the corner of Eleventh Street and West Wisconsin Avenue, which it purchased in 1952 for \$1,035,000. The old State Street building was later acquired by the American Legion. In 1970 the society moved into its newly built high rise office and apartment tower at Eleventh and Wells Streets which it still occupies today. (Catholic Knights. The First 100 Years, pp. 12-13, 21, 26)

The Catholic Knights of Wisconsin Branch 45, also known as Bay View Branch 45 and Milwaukee No. 45, was organized at Immaculate Conception Church around 1889. Early officers included J. D. Kidney, John E. Donovan and James McIver. Kidney had come to Milwaukee in 1870 and worked as a heater in the twelve-inch mill. He was one of the organizers of the parish. James McIver was Justice of the Peace for the Town of Lake, then the Village of Bay View and was later the village's Police Justice and Trustee. He also ran a saloon and was one of the parish's founders. The Catholic Knights met at the parish school hall on East Russell Avenue through the late 1920's and apparently disbanded as the organization became more of a commercial insurance company. (City Directory; Flower History of Milwaukee 1881, p. 1630; Korn, pp. 122-124, 71-72, 103)

Catholic Knights of Wisconsin St. Augustine No. 219 was established at St. Augustine Church on January 26, 1911 and was still active into the 1920's according to city directories. St. Augustine No. 219 met at the parish school hall at 2507 South Graham Street. (MI 399-15; St. Augustine. A Century of Service. An Eternity of Faith. 1888-1988, p. 61; City Directory)

Catholic Order of Foresters

The Catholic Order of Foresters was organized at Holy Name Parish in Chicago and chartered as the Illinois Catholic Order of Foresters on May 30, 1883. In 1887 the group changed its name to the Catholic Order of Foresters. Like its predecessors, the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Independent Order of Foresters, the Catholic Foresters had a ritual based on the Robin Hood legend and provided death benefits of \$1,000 for widows of deceased members. Unlike other fraternal organizations, the Catholic Foresters were

tied to local parishes, and rituals were devised that were in accord with Roman Catholic teachings. Membership in other fraternal orders, particularly Freemasonry, was forbidden to Catholics because their quasi-religious rituals were disapproved of by the Pope. By 1888 the Catholic Foresters had spread to Canada and by 1897 had 640 courts in North America with a membership totaling between 40,000 and 50,000 men. Women members were not admitted until 1952. The organization continues as a fraternal benefit society and also awards scholarships, contributes to Catholic radio and television programs, supports Catholic charities and assists the handicapped, sick and victims of natural disasters. Headquarters remain in Chicago, Illinois. (Schmidt, pp. 116-117; Catholic Church in Wisconsin, p. 82)

The Catholic Order of Foresters was instituted in Wisconsin with Holy Rosary Court No. 67 on September 11, 1887, and by 1897 there were 81 courts throughout the state with a membership exceeding 6,000 persons. In Bay View, the survey area's two Catholic churches both had active Forester groups. (Catholic Church in Wisconsin, p. 82)

Immaculate Conception Court 85 was instituted at Immaculate Conception Parish in 1888 and met twice a month at the church's school hall. The group was still active into the 1970's. Immaculate Conception Court 213, a women's Forester's organization, was instituted in 1898 and was also active into the 1970's. Their activities included sponsoring an annual Communion Sunday and breakfast, a parish card party, and the giving of an annual gift to the Archbishop. (Congregation of the Immaculate Conception 1870-1970, pp. 60-61; City Directory)

St. Augustine Court No. 115 was established at St. Augustine Church on August 4, 1889, when the parish was just over two years old. It originally met on the first and third Monday of the month at 2123 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (razed), a location known as Binder's Hall and then Plein's Hall. From 1897 to around 1914, St. Augustine Court No. 115 met at Hoft's Hall at 2233-2239 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 323-10) and then conducted meetings at the parish school hall at 2507 South Graham Street (MI 399-15). St. Augustine Court No. 115 was active into the 1930's and possibly later. St. Augustine Congregation, A Century of Service. An Eternity of Faith. 1888-1988, p. 60; City Directory)

Gegenseitigt Unterstuetzungs Gesellschaft Germania of Wisconsin/Germania Insurance Company

The Gegenseitigt Unterstuetzungs Gesellschaft Germania of Wisconsin (G.U.G.G.), which translates into "Germania Mutual Relief Society of Wisconsin," was incorporated in Milwaukee in July of 1888 as a fraternal insurance company. The large number of lodges listed in the city directory attests to its wide popularity. By 1920, the organization had 10,000 members in Wisconsin. Interestingly, the G.U.G.G. retained its original name through World War I and beyond, although it was commonly referred to as the Germania Insurance Company and changed its name to the Germania Insurance Company during World War II. By 1950, the organization had moved its main office from Milwaukee to Neenah, Wisconsin. The number of lodges decreased substantially. In 1955, only two societies were still active, both meeting at 2482 West Center Street. In 1956, one society was meeting at the Pythian Castle Hall at 1925 West National Avenue. This last lodge apparently disbanded in 1957. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1888 July 20 8/2; Bay View Advance 1920 December 13, p. 1;

City Directory)

Garfield Lodge No. 32 G.U.G.

Bay View's Garfield Lodge No. 32 was established in 1895 and originally met twice a month at a small one-story frame building on Kinnickinnic Avenue near Becher Street (razed). In the early part of this century, Garfield Lodge met at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. During the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's, Garfield Lodge made use of the Odd Fellows Hall at East Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenue. In 1920, when Garfield Lodge was celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary, it had 350 active members and was described as being the largest fraternal insurance society in Bay View. Garfield Lodge No. 32 apparently disbanded around 1951. (Bay View Advance 1920 December 13, p. 1; City Directory)

Harugari

The Harugari was another popular organization. It was established by Germans in New York in 1847 in response to the growing nativist sentiment of the times. The organization provided a place for German-Americans to meet socially and converse in their native language. The name was chosen in honor of the old Teutons, who were called Harugaris by virtue of their meeting in forests, Haruc being the Teutonic word for grove or forest. Like the Sons of Hermann, the Harugari lodges provided benefits for their members. Some detractors have commented that the group was antagonistic toward the Roman Catholic Church. Nationally, the group survived until at least 1975 with just under 1,000 members with headquarters at South Ozone Park, New York, but it apparently disappeared after 1979. (Schmidt, p. 153)

In Milwaukee, the organization dates back to February 18, 1855, when the Guttenberg Lodge No. 57 was formed at a hall on today's Plankinton Avenue. By 1881 there were eight lodges and a Wisconsin Grand Lodge in the city. Aurora Lodge No. 230 was organized as the first South Side lodge on March 17, 1871 with twelve charter members, and it originally met at 815 West National Avenue. (Flower, History of Milwaukee, 1881, pp. 973-974; Milwaukee City Directory)

Eintracht Lodge No. 548 Harugari

Eintracht ("Harmony") Lodge No. 548 first appears in the city directories in 1891. Its officers at that time included George Berna, G. Drescher, and Fred Jess. The group met twice a month at Jess' Hall, 1753 South Kinnickinnic Avenue at the corner of Maple Street. Although just north of the Bay View survey area, this hall would have been accessible to the German residents of Bay View. Eintracht Lodge No. 548 apparently disbanded in or around 1895. (City Directory)

Ancient Order of Hibernians in America

The origins of the Ancient Order of Hibernians are not clearly known, but it is thought that the organization dates back to 1565 when groups of Ribbonmen in Ireland sought to protect Roman Catholic priests from the persecution of the time. It is said that the Ribbonmen tried to correct social injustices practiced by English landlords. The Ribbonmen were considered the forerunners of the Hibernians.

In this country, the organization was first introduced in New York City in 1836, and it was said that the group had some of the trappings of the

Masons with secret signs and passwords. A radical, terrorist branch of the A.O.H., known as the Molly Maguires, hurt the reputation of group since they engaged in violence, sabotage, murder, arson and whippings in the coal mine areas of Pennsylvania. The Hibernians condemned their acts at a national convention in 1876 and restructured the organization so that it could not be used for terrorist activities. This resulted in a schism with the secessionist group calling itself The Ancient Order of Hibernians Board of Erin. The two groups were ultimately reunited in 1898.

As a fraternal benefit organization, the Hibernians pay the standard array of insurance benefits to its members. It also supports various charitable programs, provides funds for the teaching of Celtic languages at the Catholic University of America and supports Catholic missions in the Orient.

Membership in the Hibernians is open to those of Irish descent who are Catholic. In 1979, membership totaled over 191,000 individuals, a growth of over 10,000 members from 1967 when the organization had 181,000 members. President John F. Kennedy was probably the most famous Hibernian. Local groups are called Divisions, of which there were 736 in 1979. The group's main office is in Staten Island, New York. They also publish a bimonthly periodical, the National Hibernian Digest. (Schmidt, p. 158)

Ancient Order of Hibernians Division No. 1

The name Hibernian was an old term for Irishman, and there had been a Hibernian Benevolent Society active in Milwaukee as early as April 12, 1866. Although not a direct predecessor to the Ancient Order of Hibernians but

rather affiliated with the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union, the group was established by and for Milwaukee Irish-Americans to provide benefits in the case of sickness and death. The group was headed by Rev. S. P. Lalumiere, the Jesuit priest who established the forerunner of today's Marquette University. The Hibernian Benevolent Society was active through about 1881 at St. Gall's Church, once located at Third and Michigan Streets downtown. (City Directory; Flower History of Milwaukee, p. 984)

The first Division of the A.O.H. in Wisconsin was organized on July 15, 1880 and was known as Division No. 1 of Milwaukee County. By 1883, a second division had been organized. The A.O.H. grew substantially in the following two decades, three divisions are listed in Milwaukee beginning in 1888, four in 1891, and five in 1895. By 1897 statewide membership had grown to 1,704 with national membership in the U.S. totaling 93,898. Divisions were located in 45 states of the U.S. as well as New Brunswick, Ontario, Prince Edward's Island, and Quebec in Canada. (Catholic Church in Wisconsin, pp. 82, 85)

Division No. 1 A.O.H. was active specifically in Bay View from the time of its founding through the turn-of-the-century. The concentration of Irish-Americans there due to the Rolling Mills made the establishment of such a society almost inevitable, since Hibernian organizations were formed throughout the city wherever Irish-Americans were concentrated.

The establishment of the Hibernians in Milwaukee and Bay View coincides with a decade of intense political activity on the part of Irish-Americans locally and nationally who were working to alleviate the dreadful conditions back in their homeland. In 1880, members of the Irish community here

established local branches of the American Land League on the city's west, east and south sides. This Land League was organized to effect changes in the system of rents in Ireland, supply monetary relief to the famine-ridden population of Ireland, and to force landlords to abandon their cruel methods of eviction of tenant farmers. (McDonald, p. 243) The Land League drew support from various Irish organizations including the Hibernians. Special efforts were made by the Milwaukee Land League members to include the Hibernians of Bay View into their programs in 1882, and it appears that the Irish-Americans of Bay View gave their full support to the cause. It also appears that the residents of Bay View established their own "No Rent Land League," also referred to as the Bay View Land League, at least briefly, which met regularly at Puddlers' Hall at 2461-63 South St. Clair Street in 1882. (MI 360-4) Despite the evident political leanings of the A.O.H., it is interesting to note that the Catholic Church in Wisconsin (1897) stressed very emphatically that the "Order is in no sense of the word a political organization." (Catholic Church in Wisconsin, p. 85; Milwaukee Sentinel 1882 January 24 6/3 and March 11 6/1)

A.O.H. Division No. 1 originally met at Puddlers' Hall through 1886. The early officers during this period included James Clancy, Patrick Shannahan, Jeremiah D. Hickey, Thomas Harrington, Daniel Ferry and John D. Kidney. Division No. 1 subsequently met at the village school house and later at Immaculate Conception school hall on East Russell Avenue through the 1890's. (MI 391-23, 425-12) Ladies' auxiliaries were also established and listed in the City Directory beginning in 1895, but they never held meetings in Bay View. In 1900, Division No. 1 began meeting downtown on West Wisconsin Avenue. This move coincided with a reduction in membership. Division No. 1

remained the sole survivor by the 1930's along with Ladies' Auxiliary Division No. 1, and they met at various locations. (City Directory)

Societa de Mutuo Soccorso Guiseppe Garibaldi/Italian Mutual Aid Society

Guiseppe Garibaldi

The Garibaldi Italian Mutual Aid Society was incorporated in 1908 by Italian immigrants in Bay View. This was the eighth Italian Mutual Aid Society, in order of date, founded by Milwaukee's Italian community. By 1955, Milwaukee Italians had established 64 such organizations. The vast majority of these societies were founded among the Sicilians of the Third Ward. Bay View's Italians, in contrast, came from northern Italy, primarily Tuscany. Surveys show that in 1905 there were 43 Italians in Bay View or 3.46% of the city's Italian-American population. This number had grown to 283 by 1910. (Andreozzi, Appendix I and II, Chart II)

Historically, Italians distrusted and ignored government bureaucracy and government-supported Catholicism while familial and regional loyalties took precedence in their daily lives. This carried through into the immigrant communities in the U.S. Bay View's Italians were no exception, and they were indifferent to the establishment of an Italian mission or church in their neighborhood. As a result, no church-related organizations evolved to provide social contact and sickness/death benefits for the neighborhood's Italians. Mutual aid societies, although not common, had existed in northern Italy but almost exclusively among the middle class artisans of urbanized areas. It is a phenomenon of the Italian-Americans, most of which were unskilled laborers, that such societies proliferated here, especially among the Sicilians. It is rather interesting, therefore, that Bay View's Tuscan Italians established the

Garibaldi Society in 1908. (Andreozzi, Chapter III)

The Garibaldi Society was originally open to people of Marchegiani and Piedmontese descent, but eventually Italians of other regional origins were allowed membership. As was typical of Italian organizations at that time, women were not permitted to become members. The Garibaldi Society, like other fraternal societies, offered benefits for sickness and death and also sponsored annual picnics. City directories do not list the organization prior to the late 1940's, so it is not known where the society met in its early years. In 1943, the society acquired the tavern and hall at 2501 South Superior Street. (MI 372-20) This building had been constructed by the Schlitz Brewing Company in 1907 and had been designed by local architect Charles Lesser. This building has remained the organization's clubhouse and has been known as Club Garibaldi since the 1940's. (Gurda, pp. 41-42)

Knights of Honor

The Knights of Honor was organized on June 30, 1873 in Louisville, Kentucky by a group of men who had previously belonged to the Ancient Order of United Workmen and the Independent Order of Foresters. It differed from most benefit associations in that candidates did not take an oath during the initiation rite, but just promised to obey the society's regulations and help a brother in need. As in most associations, membership was limited to white males who were able to earn a livelihood. A ladies auxiliary was formed in 1875, but rescinded in 1877, causing a schism in the organization which led to the establishment of the Knights and Ladies of Honor. The Knights of Honor was one of the more successful groups nationally, and by 1898 had 90,335 members. The group disbanded in 1916 when membership declined due to the

rising cost of their premium payments. (Schmidt, pp. 178-179)

The History of Milwaukee (1881) cites Wisconsin's first Knights of Honor Lodge as having been organized in Milwaukee on September 9, 1870, which precedes the date of founding in Louisville, Kentucky as stated in standard references. Possibly the Milwaukee date is in error or else the Louisville date reflects the order's official incorporation, following several years of activity. By the late 1870's there were seven other lodges in Milwaukee in addition to a Grand Lodge. The South Side's first lodge was Security No. 672, which was organized on June 19, 1877, and which met at the corner of South Second and Oregon Streets in the early 1880's, then on West Washington Street by 1901, and on South Third Street by 1904. (Flower, History of Milwaukee, 1881, pp. 971-972; Milwaukee City Directory)

Cream City Lodge No. 3198 -- Knights of Honor

Cream City Lodge first appears in the city directory in 1886, at which time it is simply listed as meeting on Kinnickinnic Avenue. Its early officers were H. P. Fischer, Edward Weber, and E. Towsley. In 1888, the group met at 1903 South Kinnickinnic (razed), and then met twice a month at Jess' Hall at 1753 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. This hall, located at the northwest corner of South Kinnickinnic Avenue and Maple Street, still stands but has been remodeled. It is just north of the survey area's north boundary. Cream City Lodge met regularly through 1894, after which time it apparently disbanded or merged with Security Lodge No. 672. (City Directory)

The Knights of Maccabees of the World/The Maccabees

The Knights of Maccabees of the World was established in London, Ontario in 1878 and based its ritual around the ancient Maccabeans, who had Judas Maccabeus as their leader in the second century B.C. Members contributed ten cents to the widow of a deceased brother, and any amount collected over her \$1,000 benefit was placed on deposit with the treasurer of the fraternity. By 1880, membership had grown to 10,000, but factional strife and actuarial difficulties led to the group's reorganization under Major N. S. Boynton in 1883 after which time the society was called Supreme Tent, Knights of the Maccabees of the World. The group's new progressiveness attracted many members. Accident and sickness benefits were available in addition to death benefits. In 1914, the organization simplified its name to the Maccabees. By the following year, it had grown to 331,756 members.

In 1886, efforts began to establish a ladies auxiliary and a constitution was formally adopted in 1890. A schism occurred in 1892, which led to the formation of the Ladies of the Modern Maccabees. The original women's auxiliary merged with the men in 1926 and adopted their name.

During its period of growth in this century, the Maccabees absorbed the Slavic Progressive Beneficial Union in 1937 and also the Michigan Union Life Association in 1941. The Maccabees became a mutual life insurance company in 1961, but retained their lodge system for those who were members before the change was made. Membership totaled about 10,000 in 1978. For decades the national headquarters was located in downtown Detroit, Michigan, but since 1965, the Maccabees have been situated in the Detroit suburb of Southfield, Michigan. (Schmidt, pp. 211-213) The Knights of Maccabees was exceptionally

popular on Milwaukee's south side, and there were eight groups meeting outside the Bay View survey area, the earliest starting around 1895.

In Bay View itself, Kinnickinnic Tent No. 81 first appears in the directories in 1896. Officers for that year included John S. Suhm, H. Samuel Lesch, F. J. Franke and M. L. Kern. The group met twice a month at Hoft's Hall at today's 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue from 1896 to around 1918. (MI 323-10)

Several women's auxiliaries were associated with Kinnickinnic Tent No. 81 and included Bay View Hive No. 50, Kinnickinnic Hive No. 80, Anchor Hive No. 106 and Crescent Review No. 51. Kinnickinnic Hive No. 80 was active between 1902 and 1904 and met first in Hoft's Hall and then at the Oddfellows Hall at Kinnickinnic and Potter Avenues. Bay View Hive No. 50 was listed in the directories in 1904 and met at Hoft's Hall. Anchor Hive No. 106 was active between 1906 and the mid to late 1920's. It, too, first met at Hoft's Hall and then conducted its activities at Odd Fellows Hall beginning around 1914. Crescent Review No. 51 was active around 1930 and met on Potter Avenue. By 1933 there no longer appeared to be any active Maccabees branches in Bay View. (City Directory)

Knights of Pythias

The Knights of Pythias was a nationwide fraternal organization founded in Washington, D.C. in 1864 based upon the principles of true friendship, bravery, honor, justice and loyalty as exemplified in the tale of Damon and Pythias. In the story, as dramatized in 1821 by Irish author and dramatist John Banim, Damon was condemned to death and Pythias offered his life as a

hostage so that his friend could see his loved ones for the last time. Damon kept faith with his friend and overcame obstacles to return to his execution only to be fully pardoned because of his fidelity to Pythias. Having read Banin's play, Justus Henry Rathbone was able to realize his long-contemplated dream of founding an organization based on a story of brotherly love. Rathbone and four associates then organized the Knights of Pythias with a charter membership of thirteen men. It was the first American fraternal society to be incorporated by an Act of Congress. By 1922 the organization had grown to 850,000 members in 6,702 lodges and was the third largest fraternal group in the western hemisphere with assets amounting to \$25,000,000. In the 1920's the Pythians averaged about \$2 million a year in charitable contributions, and their activities included homes for the aged and indigent, homes for orphaned children, and the donation of special equipment to orthopedic schools and to the handicapped. The Knights of Pythias had two departments, that of insurance and that of the military or uniformed rank. It also had two auxiliaries, the Pythian Sisters and the Knights of Khorassan, the latter known for its excellent ritualistic work. (Wenzel, Foreword; Milwaukee Sentinel 8/31/1964) The Pythians remained a popular fraternal order through the 1950's, and by 1960 there were 80 lodges in Wisconsin alone with 5,109 members. Changing lifestyles caused a considerable decline in membership thereafter, faster than in many other fraternal orders, and by 1976 the number of statewide lodges had dropped to 35 and membership to 3,000. (Milwaukee Journal, 8/8/1976)

Milwaukee's first branch of the Pythians was established in 1871 and, typical of the growth of all fraternal organizations following the Civil War, the Pythians formed a new lodge or two in the city each year. The first

Pythians lodges originally met in the Central Business District, but, by the late 1890's, there were four South Side lodges: Schiller Lodge No. 3, Taylor Lodge No. 93, Walker Lodge No. 123, and National Lodge No. 141. These four lodges met in the near South Side neighborhood, outside of Bay View. Bay View established its own Pythian lodge in 1895.

Knights of Pythias, Bay View Lodge No. 131

Bay View Lodge No. 131 was instituted on May 9, 1895 as a result of the efforts of two Pythias Knights, Joseph Rafenstein and Conrad Schroeder, who wanted to establish a lodge in the Bay View area. George E. Page, then District Judge of Milwaukee, was the first to apply for membership on May 16, 1895. Initial enrollment in the new lodge soon totaled 11 knights and 26 new candidates. Early officers included Joseph Rafenstein, E. G. Hundt, George Douglas and H. F. Pesta. By 1898, the lodge had grown to 78 members.

(Wenzel, p. 33; City Directory; Pythian Directory of Wisconsin 1898, pp. 133-137)

Bay View Lodge met each Thursday at the Odd Fellows hall at the corner of Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues. By 1921, the Bay View Lodge's membership had grown to 307, and the group began action toward building a clubhouse of their own. A fund drive was begun toward this end in 1921, and in the first eight months, the fund collected \$1,300. On June 16, 1923, Bay View Lodge dedicated a site for its new Castle Hall to be built at the corner of Kinnickinnic and Herman Street. The ceremonies included a parade, band concert, and ice cream social. Evidently these plans fell through, and the Pythians continued to conduct their activities at the Odd Fellows Hall. (Wenzel, p. 33; The Tiger's

Head, June, 1923, p. 14; City Directory)

Two auxiliaries are known to have been connected with Bay View Lodge. These were the Pythian Sisters Purity Temple No. 26, which was active from about 1912 to 1914, and the Pythian Sisters Bay View Temple No. 22. Temple No. 22 was instituted on April 12, 1916, and had 32 charter members. Temple No. 22 initially held its meetings and functions at the Odd Fellows Hall. In 1928, the group moved its meetings to the old Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 323-10) where they remained through 1934, after which time they held meetings at 2740 West Forest Home Avenue (Wenzel, p. 61; City Directory)

Bay View Lodge No. 131 eventually left Odd Fellows Hall also and secured their own quarters outside the survey area at 3474 South Pennsylvania Avenue in 1943. The new hall was dedicated on May 13, 1944. The Pythian sisters eventually relocated to the Pennsylvania Avenue hall as well. Bay View Lodge No. 131 and Purity Temple No. 26 last occupied their hall in 1974 and apparently disbanded around that time as did many Pythian groups statewide. St. Francis P.L.A.V. Post No. 172 subsequently occupied the old Pythian hall. (Zillman, p. 140; City Directory)

Loyal Order of Moose

The Loyal Order of Moose originated in Louisville, Kentucky in 1888 during the golden years of fraternal organizations in the United States. The Moose spread rapidly throughout the Midwest. The order was assisted by the national board of the organization, which systematically sent Moose representatives through the country after 1906. In 1908, the organization

incorporated under the law of Indiana, and a supreme council was organized. The Moose call, "Howd'y Pap" (purity, aid, progress), was heard in 23 states and territories, and membership totaled 13,000. By the following year, membership had mushroomed to 82,000. A women's chapter was formed in 1912. Although primarily social, the Loyal Order of Moose established a home for children in Illinois and a home for senior citizens near Jacksonville, Florida.

The Moose reached Milwaukee around 1910, and in 1914 and 1944 the Milwaukee lodges hosted the national convention. Early meetings took place at Third and Wisconsin and then at Alhambra Hall at Fourth and Wisconsin. In November of 1925, the Moose acquired a permanent clubhouse at 768 North Jefferson Street for \$48,000, a building that had previously been used as the Phoenix Club and the Elks Club. By the 1940's, the Moose had two men's lodges meeting on Jefferson Street and a women's lodge meeting there as well. The only Moose lodge outside the downtown area was the Bay View Lodge No. 797. Lodge No. 797 appears in the city directories from 1944 through 1952 and met at the old Puddlers' Hall at 2461-2463 South St. Clair Street. (MI 360-4) The Bay View lodge apparently disbanded after 1952 although the Moose remained active downtown. In 1969 the Moose sold their Jefferson Street clubhouse for redevelopment, and the lodge built a new facility closer to their blue collar membership at South Thirteenth and West Grange Avenue. (MPL unidentified clippings 7/26/1914, 4/23/1946, 8/23/1944, 8/8/1976; Milwaukee Sentinel 8/16/1969)

Modern Brotherhood of America

The Modern Brotherhood of America was a fraternal benefit society founded in Tipton, Iowa in 1897. Its "Duofold Protection" plan paid life insurance and savings for old age, both for the price of one premium. The society admitted both men and women and had 430 lodges with 9,853 members by 1898. Although Schmidt in his book Fraternal Organizations believes the organization disbanded around 1905, it is in 1905 that the organization is first listed in the Milwaukee City Directory. Milwaukee was the location for the organization's state headquarters, and Frank Lighthouse was the state manager. Two chapters were organized at this time, Milwaukee No. 1374, which met downtown, and Friendship No. 1520, which met on the city's south side. In 1906, the Modern Brotherhood grew to six lodges, one of which, Bay View No. 1684, met at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. In 1907, the organization apparently experienced a decline, and only the original two chapters, Milwaukee No. 1374 and Friendship No. 1520, survived. A third chapter, Success No. 1518, was established around 1909. In 1913, Friendship No. 1520 moved its meetings from Walker's Point to Bay View and held its programs at Hoft's Hall. Bay View remained the home to Friendship No. 1520 through 1921. The group subsequently met at South Eighth and National, and for several years no location is given for its meetings. From 1930 through 1933, the group's address was given as 601 East Linus Street in Bay View (MI 352-7), the residence of its secretary, James Hagerman. The group apparently disbanded in 1934. (Schmidt, p. 217; Milwaukee City Directory).

Modern Woodmen of America

The above organization was established on January 5, 1883 by Joseph Cullen Root, who was inspired by a sermon about pioneer Woodmen to create a

society that would clear away financial problems for members' families much as the pioneers cleared the forests to provide food for their families. Although founded in Lyons, Iowa, the group was incorporated in the State of Illinois. The Woodmen's ritual combined Roman dignity with forest imagery, and their emblem consists of an axe, beetle (mallet), wedge, five stars and palm branches, all displayed on a shield. As a mutual aid society, it targeted low-risk groups for membership. Residents of large urban centers such as Milwaukee and Chicago were originally barred from joining, and workers in certain dangerous occupations connected with railroad work, taverns, gunpowder factories, firefighting and the like were also excluded. Benevolent work consisted of dispensing benefits to orphans, granting scholarships and sponsoring various civic events. The Woodmen, like most societies, began as an all-male group, but helped organize a women's association, the Royal Neighbors of America in 1895. Members must still pass a health requirement to be eligible to hold office and to receive benefits, but individuals can join socially as well. As of 1979, there were still 500,000 members of the Woodmen, and its headquarters remained in Rock Island, Illinois. (Schmidt, pp. 281-220)

Bay View Camp No. 11487

Bay View Camp No. 11487 of the Modern Woodmen was established in the survey area around 1904. Its early officers included Bernhard Bohlman, L. J. Riemer, John Nusbaum and Wilton F. Woodcox. The group originally met twice a month at the Odd Fellows Hall at the corner of Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues. Around 1906, the group changed its meeting place to 2117 South Kinnickinnic Avenue at the corner of East Becher Street (razed). Bay View Camp No. 11487 soon found permanent quarters at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South

Kinnickinnic Avenue and met at that location from around 1908 to the late 1920's when the camp apparently disbanded. (City Directory)

Order of Sons of St. George

The Order of Sons of St. George was a fraternal secret society organized in 1871 in Scranton, Pennsylvania, to resist the activities of the Molly Maguires (see Hibernians). Members were restricted to Englishmen and their descendants and were required to believe in a supreme being, have a high regard for the Bible, and be loyal to America. The history and martyrdom of St. George served as the basis of the society's ritual. The ladies auxiliary was known as the Daughters of St. George. The group was headquartered in Chicago, Illinois. (Schmidt, p. 326)

Sons of St. George Hearts of Oak Lodge No. 106

Bay View's Hearts of Oak Lodge No. 106 first appears in the city directories in 1884. Its early officers included Joseph Redfern, William Brassington, J. Frederick Wilkins and James H. Brown. The group met twice a month at Eul's Hall at the corner of Kinnickinnic Avenue and East Bay Street (razed) from 1884 through 1891. Beginning in 1892, the group relocated to Brownell's Hall (also listed as Brown's Hall) at the intersection of Kinnickinnic and Russell Avenues. The group sponsored annual picnics which featured games and an evening ball. Their picnic in 1889 was held at Union Park (see Recreation and Entertainment). Hearts of Oak Lodge No. 106 was last listed in 1896 after which time the lodge apparently disbanded. (City Directory; MS 1889 August 11 9/4)

Royal Arcanum

The Royal Arcanum (RA) was founded by Darius Wilson in Boston, Massachusetts in June, 1877 because his earlier organization, the Knights of Honor, refused to adopt the graded assessment plan. The Royal Arcanum promoted itself as a family fraternal organization and provided benefits for death, disability, and old age in addition to offering educational loans, retirement income annuities, weekly hospital indemnity, and home protection life plans. The RA also provided scholarships to eligible younger members. New members passed a ritual initiation, as in most such fraternal groups, and the RA stressed the principles of morality, patriotism and brotherhood. At first only males were allowed to join, but women were later admitted. By 1919 the RA had over 135,000 members, but membership had fallen to 28,000 by 1978. The head office remains in Boston. (Schmidt, pp. 292-293)

The RA began in Wisconsin on December 19, 1877 with the institution of Alpha Council and grew rapidly so that within two years there were eight councils in the state. By 1881 there were 15 councils with membership of at least 725 persons. (Flower, History of Milwaukee, pp. 972-973)

Bay View Council No. 200 / Bay View Council No. 849 of the Royal Arcanum

The Royal Arcanum was one of the longer-lived fraternal benefit groups in Bay View. Bay View Council No. 200 was established with 21 members in August of 1884 and was first listed in the city directory in 1885. Officers included Theodore Otjen and John Hickman. Meetings were held twice a month at the Odd Fellows hall on Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues. The following year, Bay View Council No. 200 became Council No. 849, either reflecting a reorganization or an error in the earlier city directory since Otjen and Hickman remained

officers. Through around 1918, Council No. 849 continued to meet at the Odd Fellows Hall. It subsequently met at 2351 East Bennett Street, a private residence. Council No. 849 was last active in 1924 by which time the number of active councils in the Royal Arcanum had dropped to a mere handful. (City Directory; Milwaukee Sentinel 1884 August 20 2/7)

Royal Neighbors of America

The RNA was established in 1888 as the Ladies' Auxiliary of Hazel Camp No. 171 of the Modern Woodmen of America to serve as a social group and unofficial auxiliary of the men's group. By the following year, the group had adopted a secret ritual. The members comprised women who were either wives or sisters of the Woodmen. In 1890 the organization was renamed the Royal Neighbors of America. In 1891 the group began to admit men, and on March 21, 1895 it was chartered as a fraternal benefit society with 4,000 members. Membership was open to those between ages 16 and 70 and remained predominantly female. In addition to providing death benefits, the RNA maintains a home for aged members in Davenport, Iowa. The group has also aided orphans and disaster victims. College scholarships are available, and the group visits the sick and bereaved. The RNA remains a solvent, legal reserve insurance group, and as of 1979 had 289,075 members. Its headquarters is in Rock Island, Illinois. (Schmidt, pp. 295-297)

Welcome Camp No. 4018 of the Royal Neighbors of America

Welcome Camp No. 4018 was Bay View's only active branch of the RNA. It was started around 1908 with Madge Stendel and Mary Paulson as its officers. Through around 1918, the group met twice a month at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. Welcome Camp No. 4018 subsequently conducted their

activities at the Odd Fellows Hall at Potter Street and Kinnickinnic Avenue. They were still active in the 1930's. (City Directory)

Yeomen of America

It is not clear if this group, as listed in the Milwaukee City Directory, was the same as the Brotherhood of American Yeoman (BAY) that was organized in 1897. The BAY was a fraternal benefit society with an assessment plan and a ritual with signs and passwords and oaths that also included hymns and prayers. The initiation rite accented the Magna Carta and the English language as man's two greatest achievements. Women were admitted into the Yeomen as well as men. The organization converted to a mutual life company in 1932, taking the name of Mutual Life Insurance Company. (Schmidt, p. 361)

Yeomen of America first appear in the Milwaukee directories in 1905 at which time there was one council that met on Milwaukee Street. By 1909, the organization had grown to six councils, but the number declined after that year until by 1915, Yeomen were represented only by one council, Milwaukee Council No. 384. The organization apparently disbanded in Milwaukee around 1917. (City Directory)

Bay View Council No. 485 of the Yeomen of America

Bay View Council No. 485 of the Yeomen of America was organized in 1909 and met at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. Early officers included Henry Moeller and Mrs. L. G. Dunn. The group met at Hoft's Hall through 1914 and probably disbanded along with several other councils at that time. (City Directory)

Miscellaneous Fraternal Groups

There are several fraternal organizations about which little is known. They are not discussed in Schmidt's Fraternal Organizations (1980), and, at this time, no information has been found about these groups locally. The organizations are the Columbian Knights/Columbian Circle, the Fraternal Alliance, and the Fraternal Brotherhood.

The Order of Columbian Knights (O.C.K.) first appears in the Milwaukee directories in 1900, at which time there were four active lodges in the city in addition to the state lodge located here as well. Of these four branches, one was located downtown, two were on the near South Side, and one was located in Bay View. By 1904, there were six active lodges and a women's auxiliary called the Daughters of Columbia. The lodges decreased to four by 1906 and to three in 1911. The organizations had apparently changed its name to Order of Columbian Circle by the early 1920's. The organization last appeared in the city directories in 1931.

Bay View's Minerva Lodge No. 114 OCK met at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue, and officers in 1900 included E. L. Cleveland, John Morgan and F. J. Burkhardt. Cleveland was listed in the directory as one of the founders of the organization. He was a painter and lived at 443 East Dover Street. In 1901, officers of Minerva Lodge included John R. Williams, H. C. Karnopp, E. E. Baltés and Fred Zintgraff. They represented various building trades. Minerva Lodge apparently disbanded in 1902. (City Directory)

The Fraternal Alliance first appeared in the Milwaukee city directories in 1891 at which time there were five active lodges, including the supreme lodge which was headquartered here. The number of lodges grew to seven by 1893 but declined to four by 1897. The lodges were active downtown, on the near south side, in Wauwatosa, and in Bay View. The organization apparently disbanded around the turn-of-the-century. (City Directory)

Bay View's Minerva Lodge No. 2 of the Fraternal Alliance was organized in 1891 and met twice a month at Jess' Hall at 1753 South Kinnickinnic Avenue between 1891 and 1893. Early officers included Dan Brittell, R. C. Higgs, F. X. Ulrich and William H. Andrea. In 1894, the lodge moved its meeting place to the Odd Fellows Hall at the corner of Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues. Minerva Lodge No. 2 apparently disbanded after 1896. (City Directory)

The Fraternal Brotherhood first appears in the Milwaukee directories in 1905 at which time it had two active lodges. The state office was also located here. Both met downtown. By 1908, the organization had grown to three lodges. It appears that the Fraternal Brotherhood never had more than three lodges although different lodges came and went every few years. From the listing of officers, it appears that the group accepted men and women equally into its ranks. By 1930, it appears that the organization maintained only one lodge here. Throughout the 1930's, Cream City Lodge No. 1066 met at a variety of locations and disbanded between 1936 and 1940. (City Directory)

Bay View Lodge No. 950 Fraternal Brotherhood was established in 1913 and met twice a month at the Odd Fellows Hall on Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues.

Its officers were Frank Dixon, Miss Bertha Meredith, John W. Adams, Mrs. Ida McGillis, Alma Ladwig, Addison Adams, and Cecil Hake. The short-lived lodge apparently disbanded after 1914. (City Directory)

SERVICE GROUPS

Service groups are primarily a twentieth century phenomenon and have served an important function in urban areas to promote business and industry and to work for such improvements as better sanitation, lighting, paving and good transportation systems. Service groups also lobby for changes in state and local legislation. Generally, such groups meet regularly at luncheons and sponsor some project that will benefit the community. Such clubs are neither purely social nor purely welfare oriented in their purpose, and membership is drawn from a variety of occupations. Unlike fraternal organizations, service groups lack rituals, secrecy, passwords, and clubhouses. Bay View has had a number of such civic and service groups whose primary aim has been to promote the welfare of the Bay View neighborhood. Their longevity has been unequalled in the city.

Bay View Civic Club

The Bay View Civic Club was said to have served as a replacement for the old Village Board of Trustees and grew out of meetings at which concerned citizens discussed important neighborhood issues. The chief purpose of the Bay View Civic Club was to promote local civic improvements, and members of the club lobbied local governmental bodies. City directories show this group to have been active between 1910 and 1916, but it is likely that the group had met earlier. Officers included Theobald Otjen, George C. Nuesse, Frank W. Fellenz, Henry P. Disch, S. G. Hartwell, and J. F. Mueller. The group met at

a variety of locations including a building at the corner of South Fifth Street and West National Avenue and at a building at the corner of East Russell and South Clement Avenues. (Korn, p. 119; City Directory)

Bay View Advancement Association

The Bay View Advancement Association (B.V.A.A.) was the successor to the Bay View Civic Club and was started in 1915. Its early officers included Robert C. Zepnick, F. J. Rucks, and Ernst Sauder. In addition to civic improvements, the Bay View Advancement Association was actively involved in numerous projects during World War I. It set up committees to care for families of servicemen and established programs to instruct draftees in the ways of Army life. It also cooperated with various state and city agencies in war-related activities. The B.V.A.A. helped to set up the Bay View Home Coming and Reconstruction Commission after World War I, which was able to place almost all returning soldiers in jobs, either their old ones or new ones. The B.V.A.A. was responsible for the erection of the war memorial kiosk in Humboldt Park which was dedicated on Sunday, May 22, 1921. (See Landscape and Planning.) The B.V.A.A. is probably most remembered for initiating the George Washington Birthday Banquet Celebration. These annual banquets were held for many years at Odd Fellows Hall at Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues, then were transferred to Sacred Heart Hall on East St. Francis Avenue. Later banquets were held at the American Legion Memorial Building, Bay View Post No. 180 at 2860 S. Kinnickinnic Ave. (MI 322-12). The B.V.A.A. disbanded in 1940, turning over its functions to the Inter-Organizational Council of Bay View. (Korn, pp. 118-119; Zillman, p. 136)

Inter-Organizational Council of Bay View

The Inter-Organizational Council of Bay View (I.O.C.B.V.) was named and organized in 1940 to serve as an umbrella group for the various civic, business, patriotic and fraternal groups of the Bay View community. It is said that the I.O.C.B.V.'s primary purpose originally was to carry on the tradition of the George Washington Banquet Celebration. The I.O.C.B.V. was also responsible for raising a monument to commemorate those who served in World War II. This monument, located at the intersection of Kinnickinnic, Russell and Logan Avenues, was unveiled on October 19, 1947 before a crowd of 10,000 spectators. (See Landscape and Planning.) Also in 1947, the I.O.C.B.V. agreed to re-establish some form of lakefront festival activity since the city lacked any special lakefront festival at that time. An earlier festival known as "Hi-Jinks" had taken place to promote South Shore Park but had long since lapsed. The old Hi-Jinks had been sponsored by more than a dozen Bay View organizations and had focussed on various water events including sail and motorboat races and "Venetian Night," a pageant that featured boats decked out with strings of lights and lanterns hung from their rigging. The city's mid-summer festival, held at the lakefront downtown, had just been terminated due to financial difficulties following Milwaukee's 100th Anniversary Celebration in 1946. Upon the recommendation of South Shore Yacht Club member Fred Truber, the I.O.C.B.V. incorporated the proposed festival under the old name Hi-Jinks and later incorporated the event under the name Milwaukee South Shore Water Frolic. Funding was obtained from the city and the county, and the first Frolic was held in 1948. It has grown from a small affair to a two-day event, and over 250,000 people gather yearly to witness the parades, beauty pageant, music, entertainment and fireworks display. The water events, of the type once associated with Hi-Jinks, have been replaced by

land activities, primarily because the South Shore Yacht Club has expanded its moorings along the lakeshore. The Water Frolic is probably the most popular annual event in Bay View and is said to be the biggest neighborhood celebration in Milwaukee. The I.O.C.B.V. also sponsored, in conjunction with the County Park Commission, a series of talent nights at the Humboldt Park band shell between 1954 and the 1960's. The I.O.C.B.V. remains the strongest association in the Bay View survey area with eleven member organizations. Each member organization is allowed four delegates who are appointed for indefinite terms. Appointment is considered an honor for those who have proven themselves in other organizations. (Zillman, p. 74, 136; Gurda, pp. 62, 65-66)

The Bay View Business Association was established in 1915 to promote Bay View's business activities and stimulate local patronage. Organizers included Jacob Felle, Eugene Habermehl, Arthur Arnstein, Edward Gipp, Ernest Sauder, Herman Blaesing, Abe Goldberg, Tom Platzer, John Schuetz, and Edward Zunk. It was originally incorporated under the name The Bay View Booster Club. The original association succumbed to the Great Depression, but in 1930 the nucleus of the old group renamed themselves the Bay View Business Men's Association. During 1931, the directors met informally in the enclosed porch of Eugene Habermehl. By 1935, more formal monthly meetings were being held in the Grange Building at 2306-2318 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 320-20) and bingo parties were sponsored as fund raisers. Four "Lucky Buck" street auctions also took place to stimulate business. In conjunction with the newly-opened Bay View State Bank, the Business Men's Association worked out a special deal for Bay View residents whereby \$11 worth of coupons could be obtained in exchange for a \$10 Baby Bond issued by the city to city employees.

The coupons had to be spent in Bay View and proved popular. After World War II, the association organized the promotion of the southward extension of Lincoln Memorial Drive, obtaining 60,000 signatures in support and pursuing the project through local political channels for years. The association also promoted the municipal acquisition of the old steel mills site and worked for Howell Avenue and Chase Avenue street openings. After women were admitted to membership, the organization changed its name to Bay View Business Association, the name it retains today. The Association has been a member of the Inter-Organizational Council since the Council's founding. (Zillman, pp. 2, 137)

Humboldt Park 4th of July Association

The Humboldt Park 4th of July Association originated under the name Humboldt Park Sane Fourth Commission with the purpose of promoting and fostering sensible 4th of July celebrations at Humboldt Park. It functioned as part of a larger, city-wide commission. The group's early records were apparently lost, but the association was active by at least 1910. The group's name was changed to the Humboldt Park 4th of July Commission in 1926. The Commission started in response to the many tragic accidents that had occurred with children and adults being maimed or burned due to the unsupervised and careless use of fireworks. It was thought that a busy day of planned and safe activities could be provided for Milwaukee's neighborhoods to be culminated by a gigantic, municipally-sponsored display of fireworks so that everyone could enjoy a safe and sane holiday. Programs over the years included a bicycle parade, doll and coaster parade, a hobby show, and a motorized parade. The day culminated with fireworks at Humboldt Park. The Association is still quite active in Bay View, and meetings are held from March through August each

year to plan events, raise funds, hold elections, and socialize at picnics. Meetings are held at the Humboldt Park pavilion. (Zillman, p. 139; Humboldt Park 4th of July Association 1990 Schedule of Meetings)

Italian-American Civic Association

The Italian-American Civic Association was organized through the efforts of Dominic Pagliosotti, who gathered a few men together on November 6, 1935 at Barbieri's Hall (formerly Puddlers' Hall) to discuss the formation of a community organization. Bay View's Italian Americans enthusiastically supported this undertaking. On December 19, 1935, officers were elected and a charter was subsequently granted on April 19, 1936. The association's goal was to lead Italian-Americans to greater civic, social and economic advancement, to induce greater activity in the community, and to stress the value of citizenship. Dominic Pagliosotti served as the association's first president.

The association's first sponsored project was the erection of a plaque honoring Pietro Giacoma and Eugene Trucano, two Italian-Americans killed in World War I. This plaque is located at the base of a flagpole in the small triangle park located between South St. Clair Street, East Potter Avenue, and South Delaware Avenue. The plaque was dedicated at a ceremony on July 5, 1936. Members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion took part in the ceremony, and two young Bay View girls, Yolanda Lucci and Jeanette Giaudrone, assisted in the unveiling.

The Italian-American Civic Association has been one of the members of the Inter-Organziation Council of Bay View. It was still active in the mid-

1960's. (Zillman, p. 138)

Bay View Kiwanis Club

The Bay View Kiwanis Club was organized in 1937. It held its first noon luncheon on Tuesday, June 8, 1937 at St. Luke's Episcopal Church guild hall on East Russell Avenue (razed). Early officers and directors included A. C. Kuehn, Harold Severance, Stanley Roberts, Rev. Russell E. Harding, Dr. Arthur Hankwitz, Irwin F. Zillman, Paul Papke, Dr. Edgar Habeck, Andrew R. Campbell, Edward F. Zunk, and Carl H. Palicke. Some forty individuals were charter members, and chartering ceremonies at Odd Fellows Hall drew over 250 persons representing sixteen Kiwanis clubs of the Wisconsin-Upper Michigan district as well as international members. The name Kiwanis is derived from the Indian word "Keewanis" which means "to make one's self known." The Kiwanis were founded in Detroit in 1915 with the purpose of fostering Kiwanis ideals and to build, supervise, direct and inspire activities of the community. Membership in the club was designed to provide an avenue through which volunteer efforts could contribute to the development of the community. The Bay View Kiwanis Club was still active into the 1970's. (Zillman, p. 29; Gurda, p. 62)

Bay View Lions Club

The Bay View Lions Club was chartered on September 27, 1950, and like the Kiwanis Club, gets involved in projects designed to benefit the community. Its membership is made up of a cross section of business and professional men. It is a member of the Inter-Organizational Council of Bay View. (Zillman, p. 136)

Bay View Jaycees

The Bay View Chapter of the Jaycees, a group designed for younger men, was active in the 1970's but dissolved late in the decade due to lack of interest. (Gurda, p. 63)

SOCIAL CLUBS

Social clubs were a popular form of activity in the survey area but were somewhat different in nature from the types found in the Central Business District or in the city's more affluent neighborhoods. Rather than the elite clubs formed by the wealthy that were housed in lavish clubhouses where exclusive luncheons, gala balls and social events were held, social activities in Bay View, like those of the blue collar near South Side, seemed to center around special purpose groups such as singing societies and sporting clubs. Most made use of rented halls, taverns or residences as settings for their activities. The South Shore Yacht Club is probably the only social club to have constructed a clubhouse for its members. Listings for Bay View's social clubs appear only infrequently in the city directories and in the Sentinel Index. Those we know about probably represent only a fraction of the rich social life carried on in the neighborhood. Little is known about most groups other than a date when they were active, an officer or two of the club, and the location where they met. A brief summary of some of Bay View's social clubs follows.

Singing Societies

Singing societies were popular in Bay View at least as far back as the 1880's. Listed under slight name changes were the Bay View Chorus, Bay View Choral Society, and the Bay View Choral Union, which might or might not

represent the same group. The Bay View Chorus was listed in the 1884 city directory and met at the old Wentworth Avenue School. The Choral Society met between 1885 and 1887 at the "high school," which was the old Wentworth Avenue School. The Saengergruss was active between 1890 and 1894 and met on Thursday nights at 2123 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (razed). The Orpheus Male Chorus is listed in the 1904 city directory and met at Odd Fellows Hall at Kinnickinnic and Potter Avenues. The Liederfreund Singing Society was active between 1908 and 1914. It met on Monday nights first at 2635 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (1908-1910) (MI 325-22) and then at the old Masonic Hall at 2234-2236 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 320-14) (1912-1914). The Philharmonic Chorus was active in 1933 and met at 2471 South Graham (MI 399-9). The Seth Parker Club was inspired by the Seth Parker broadcasts over the radio. The group gathered to sing old songs. Between 30 and 40 people would attend the bi-weekly meetings which were held at members' homes. Various club members took the parts of radio characters Seth Parker, Ma Parker, Cephus, Lizzie and the Captain. (Zillman, p. 6; City Directory)

SPORTING AND OUTDOOR CLUBS

Sporting, outdoor and athletic clubs have had their adherents in Bay View since the community's earliest days. There are references to the Bay View Gun Club dating to 1879, and the group seems to have been active into the early 1890's. It sponsored shooting matches and held banquets. (Sentinel Index 1879; City Directory) The Kinnickinnic Athletic Club appears in the 1891 and 1892 directories and met at 2123 South Kinnickinnic Avenue at John Gauer's barber shop (razed). The Young Men's Literary and Athletic Club was active from 1896 through at least 1898 and met at the old Wentworth Avenue School. By 1898, the group had changed its name to the Bay View Athletic Club. A South Shore Athletic Club met at the corner of Kinnickinnic and Oklahoma Avenues in 1925.

Other clubs show the diversity of interests among Bay View residents. The Cream City Cycling Club was active in 1895 and met at 2241 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 323-12). The Bay View Homing Pigeon Club met on Sundays on Potter Street near Logan Avenue between 1900 and 1902. The Deer Creek Pleasure Club met on Sundays between 1916 and 1918 at 1100 East Potter (MI 351-7). A Bay View Tennis Club was active in 1920, and a Bay View Golf Club was active in 1925. The Pastime Pleasure Club was a long-lived bowling club that was founded in 1906. It was still active when it celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1956. (Zillman, p. 111; City Directory) The Bay View Kennel Club met in 1879. (Sentinel Index)

MISCELLANEOUS CLUBS

In addition to the singing societies and outdoor or sportsmen's clubs, a number of other organizations were active in Bay View. Among these were the Emerald Marching Club and the Steel Mills Marching Club. The Emerald Marching Club had 400 members and was formed by the Irish-Americans of the community. The group was led by Captain James McIver and was said to have participated in city parades. The Steel Mills Marching Club had a membership of 1,500 with Warren Brinton as president. It also participated in city parades. (Korn, p. 94)

Several other groups appear in the city directories about which we know little. The Monarch Club met from 1891 through 1894 at 2123 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (razed) and in 1895 at 924 East Lincoln Avenue. The group apparently disbanded after that date. The Hawthorne Club appears in the 1902 directory and met in the 2500 block of South Kinnickinnic Avenue. The Nemo Club was organized in the 1890's by the young men of Bay View and had club rooms on Kinnickinnic Avenue upstairs above what was then Furness' bowling alleys and later a Roundy food store. The group met through at least 1906, disappeared from the city directories, and reappeared in 1914, at which time it met at 2227 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 323-8). The Nemo Club apparently disbanded after 1914. (Gauer, p. 23; City Directory)

South Shore Yacht Club

The South Shore Yacht Club is the sole survivor of several boating clubs that were established in and near the Bay View survey area. Boating and canoe clubs were extremely popular from the 1880's through the turn-of-the-century. By 1913, there were still eight such organizations listed in the city directory.

The Badger Yacht Club had its clubhouse on Jones Island, just north of Bay View, and was active from around 1900 to 1914. Its presidents over the years included Jacob Straubinger (1900), F. R. Johnson (1901), John Fogg, Jr. (1902-1903), George Tanger (1904-1905, 1912), Otto Neuens (1906-1907), George Brennan (1908-1909), George Traeumer (1910-1911), and Joseph Hierl (1913-1914). Most officers appear to have been South Side residents, particularly of Walker's Point and the near South Side neighborhoods. The appropriation of Jones Island for the construction of the municipal sewerage treatment facility displaced the organization and probably accounted for its demise. (City Directory)

The Steel Mills Yacht Club was organized in 1915 and first appeared in the city directories in 1916. It met at 2530 South Shore Drive, a clapboard, side-gabled building owned by the Illinois Steel Company. Officers of the Steel Mills Yacht Club included Fred Stuckert, Fred Maegli, Charles Kuehn, Walter Meyers, Earl Butter, Fred Margie, Clarence C. Campbell, Art Engbring, Darwin Broenen, Carl Neuman, John Ockerlander, W. C. Atherton, Gilbert Doepke, James Elsbey, and Charles Harris. In conjunction with the Steel Mills Yacht Club was a women's auxiliary called the Ladies of the Steel Mills Yacht Club. The women's group was active from about 1915 to 1918. Its officers included Bessie Campbell, Mrs. Herman Krause, Marion C. Girdwood, Mathilda Stuckert, and Mrs. E. Duffenhorst. The Steel Mills Yacht Club merged with the South Shore Yacht Club in 1922. (Zillman, p. 137; City Directory)

The South Shore Yacht Club had its origins as a sailing club in 1913 when a small group met at the home of William (Pop) Barr, who lived at 2600 South

Shore Drive. The 17-member group drew up and signed articles of incorporation a week later. Two years later, the club purchased the three-masted schooner "Lily E," which was moored at the foot of East Nock Street and used for a clubhouse. The "Lily E" was destroyed by fire in 1921. The South Shore Yacht Club and Steel Mills Yacht Club subsequently merged in 1922, retaining the name of the former and was headquartered at the old Steel Mills clubhouse at 2530 South Shore Drive. The South Shore Yacht Club was forced to vacate the clubhouse when the Illinois Steel Company wanted to use the building, and it became the office for the company's safety council. This building was later used by the Bay View Post No. 180 of the American Legion and subsequently was razed. (Zillman, pp. 10, 137; City Directory)

The yacht club next set up a clubhouse aboard a welded steel barge. It was destroyed in 1929 when heavy seas and high winds forced the barge ashore. Undaunted, the club embarked on the construction of a new clubhouse in 1935. It was built by members of the club and completed in November of 1936. This simple building was enlarged with additions built in 1951, 1955, and 1962. In its present state, the clubhouse is a simple, two-story, side gabled structure oriented north-south on its site with two, two-story gabled wings extending from its west elevation. Once sheathed in clapboard, the building has been aluminum sided. Now addressed at 2300 East Nock Street, the building is set behind security gates and is bounded by mooring piers on three sides. (MI 424-10) The club is still active today and members call it the "racingest yacht club on Lake Michigan" and the "friendly club" because of its unpretentious character. The club is open to all Milwaukee area residents, and, although Bay View residents are now in the minority, they still have a decisive influence on the club. (Zillman, p. 137; Gurda, p. 62)

MILITARY AND VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS

General Overview

Military and veteran's organizations were among the most popular and prestigious organizations for men to belong to in the nineteenth century and remained so, although to a lesser degree, into the twentieth century. Besides the masculine pomp and bravado associated with military organizations, they also satisfied a recreational function with their drilling for full dress military parades, marching bands and mock battles put on for eager spectators. On the practical side, military organizations provided a pool of trained militiamen who could be called upon to quell rioters or assist in emergency situations when the municipal police force needed assistance. These military organizations also served as a type of national guard that could be called on by state authorities in emergency situations and by national authorities to form core units of trained soldiers for such hostilities as the Civil War, Spanish-American War and World War I. By and large, such groups disappeared after World War I and were replaced by a formal statewide National Guard and Federal Reserve system. Veterans' organizations such as the G.A.R., V.F.W., and American Legion blossomed after the major wars and provided a means by which survivors could maintain wartime friendships, keep alive historical details of the war, promote patriotism, and lobby for veterans' benefits.

Bay View had one known militia group that was active in the late 1880's and two other groups that met in the early years of this century. Veterans groups have been particularly popular in the neighborhood. Since World War I, posts have been established for the V.F.W., the American Legion, and the Amvets. The latter two groups even built their own clubhouses. These

veterans' groups participate in local festivals and community events and reflect the strong patriotic sentiment of this neighborhood.

Company C Bay View Light Artillery

Bay View had one apparently short-lived militia company, Company C of the Bay View Light Artillery. Korn relates that Company C participated in marches and parades and was headed by Col. Theobald Otjen, Captain William Donahoe, First Lieutenant Mike Richlie, and Second Lieutenant Henry Lenck. Brief references are made to the unit in the Sentinel. It was reported that Company C participated in President Harrison's inauguration in March of 1889, and in September of 1889, Corporal Hans Gray was honored by his company in a celebration of his twentieth anniversary as a Bay View resident. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1889, March 10 7/4; September 8 6/2)

Army and Navy Union, Pvt. H. K. Daniels Garrison No. 90

Aside from the Bay View Light Artillery, Bay View hosted no other military group until shortly before World War I. In 1915 and 1916, a branch of the Army and Navy Union, Pvt. H. K. Daniels Garrison No. 90, met at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 323-10). Officers of the unit included John Stanioch, Ed Kynaston, Joseph Suminski, Theodore Loch, C. W. Dencker, F. Cichocki, and H. K. Daniels. Garrison No. 90 subsequently moved its activities to the South Side Armory on South Sixth Street near Mitchell Street. (City Directory)

Company F, Wisconsin National Guard

For a brief time, from 1918 to 1919, Company F of the Wisconsin National Guard met in Bay View at the corner of Kinnickinnic and Potter Avenues,

probably at Odd Fellows Hall. Company F had previously met at North 27th and West Vliet Streets. Officers during this period included Charles E. LeFevre, Seymour Bonnett, Clarence Krusemark, Hubbard C. Atkins, and Henry Werdenbacher. After 1919, it appears that the National Guard underwent a reorganization since various squadrons and troops designations replaced the earlier companies. None of the later units met in Bay View. (City Directory)

American Legion

The American Legion was formed after World War I in order to perpetuate the principles of justice, freedom, and democracy, to preserve the history of the members' participation in the war, to instill in citizens a sense of their duties and obligations to the State, and to cement the ties of friendship formed in the war. The association was open to all officers and enlisted men. President Wilson signed the Legion's national charter on September 16, 1919. (Jones, p. 29)

Between the time of its founding and 1945, Wisconsin membership ranked among the top twelve in the nation in terms of Legion membership and as early as 1920, Milwaukee itself had twelve posts. (Jones, p. 345; Milwaukee City Directory)

In the survey area, Bay View Post No. 180 of the American Legion was started in June of 1927 through the efforts of Fred P. Osterdorf. Meetings were at first held in a number of rental halls, but by February of 1928, the growing membership necessitated permanent quarters. Post No. 180 was able to secure the long-term rental of the old Steel Mills Yacht Club building at 2530 South Shore Drive from the Illinois Steel Company. This building served as

the post clubhouse for twelve years but was acquired by the City of Milwaukee in its purchase of the Illinois Steel Company site and ultimately slated for demolition. Post No. 180 began a drive to build a new clubhouse in 1940 and was able to take out a permit for a new building in 1941. The new clubhouse was built at 2860 South Kinnickinnic Avenue at a cost of around \$22,000. The red brick Georgian Revival building was designed by local architect Nicholas Backes. (Zillman, p. 139; City Building Permits)

(MI 322-12)

A women's auxiliary, known as Bay View Unit No. 180, was formed at the time the original post was chartered and met at the same location. For several years during World War II and through about 1947, a Junior Auxiliary was also active here. The Post still maintains its Kinnickinnic Avenue clubhouse and is now known as St. Francis Bay View Post No. 180. (City Directory)

The Veterans of Foreign Wars (V.F.W.)

The VFW had its beginnings in the veterans' groups that formed in the wake of the American involvement in the Spanish American War, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion. Active military service outside the continental U.S. was the primary membership requirement. By the end of the First World War, the organization was fairly well-defined and attracted many veterans despite the growing popularity of its newly-formed rival, the American Legion. (Jones, p. 348)

Bay View Post No. 2879 of the V.F.W. was formally established on August 25, 1933 through the efforts of E. M. (Dick) Greinke and sixteen other charter

members. Greinke became the Post's first Commander. The Post, as can be ascertained from its date of charter, was originally comprised of veterans from World War I and later took in veteran members from World War II. Post member Emil Dirksmeyer and later Willard Kutz wrote a column for the Bay View Observer under the caption V.F.W. Notes. The Post was active in local civic affairs, and Greinke ultimately became the VFW State Commander in 1947. City directories do not indicate where the Post met in its early years but from 1936 through 1937, members gathered at 2416 South Kinnickinnic Avenue, then known as the Bay View Recreation Center and today known as Bay View Bowl. (MI 321-5) From 1938 to the present, Post No. 2879 has met at 2559 South Howell Avenue. This early tavern and bowling alley was given a brick veneered Tudor Revival facade in 1947. (MI 386-12) (Zillman, p. 138; City Directory; City Building Permits)

Zamlen-Holman Post No. 9378

A second V.F.W. post was active in Bay View for about twenty years. The Zamlen-Holman Post was chartered on May 17, 1947. In choosing a name, it was discovered that only two members had lost brothers in the war, so their names were chosen unanimously by the membership. Staff Sergeant John J. Zamlen had attended Bay View High School and entered the service from Nordberg Manufacturing Company. He was awarded the Bronze Star and Purple Heart at Bouganville in March of 1942 and was later killed in action at Cebu, Philippine Islands on April 18, 1945. Staff Sergeant Jessie B. Holman entered the service from Wisconsin Coal and Ice Company and was killed in action on January 9, 1945 during the Battle of the Bulge. The Zamlen-Holman Post met at the same location as V.F.W. Post 2879 through 1959. In 1960, the Post moved to 2651 South Kinnickinnic Avenue, the former Mirth Theater. (MI 325-27) (See

Recreation and Entertainment) The Zamlen-Holman Post remodeled the theater into a hall for its own use and remained at this location until it apparently disbanded around 1964. (Zillman, p. 140; City Directory; City Building Permit)

Louis Travis Amvets Post No. 14

A third veterans group, the Amvets or American Veterans of World War I and II, has also been active in Bay View. The organization was apparently established after World War II and seems to have had a lesser following than the VFW or American Legion. Milwaukee has had only one active post, the Travis Post in Bay View.

The Louis Travis Amvets Post No. 14 was started through meetings organized by Edward Cialdini. The first meeting was held on March 27, 1946 and was attended by fourteen men. This meeting and later gatherings were held at Club Garibaldi at 2501 South Superior Street. (Mi 372-20) The Post was named after Louis Travis, who died in action at sea on February 17, 1945. His two brothers, Joseph and John, were active members of the Post.

Through the assistance of Alderman Erwin Zillman, the Post was able to lease land at 1211 East Conway Street from the City's Harbor Commission. The property had once been part of the holdings of the Illinois Steel Company, which the City purchased and then turned over to the Harbor Commission. Through the assistance of County Supervisor Robert Blackwood, an old prisoner of war barracks at Mitchell Field (Mitchell International Airport today) was acquired and moved to the Conway Street location. The barracks was remodeled by volunteer labor and converted into a modern and spacious clubhouse. It was

dedicated on October 6, 1953. The building was enlarged in 1955 and aluminum sided in 1960. The simple, one-story, side gabled building features two entrances on its north or main elevation. Most of the window openings have been closed up with glass block. (MI 372-7) The Amvets were ultimately able to purchase their site and are still active at that location. (Zillman, pp. 92, 138; City Directory; Permits)

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

Y.M.C.A.

The Young Men's Christian Association was founded in June of 1844 by a London draper's clerk, George Williams. The nonsectarian organization had as its goal the spiritual and mental welfare of young men employed in the trades who were subject to the many unsavory temptations of urban life in their off work hours. Religious meetings and wholesome recreation were offered to members. Healthy moral character was encouraged through rigorous gymnastic training. The organization fulfilled a real need and within five months the group grew from six to seventy members, and by 1848 the Y.M.C.A. numbered one thousand members. In 1851, the YMCA established branches in Canada and the United States. The Milwaukee YMCA was initiated by a group of young men from Summerfield Methodist Church and, with the cooperation of a number of other local churches, the first meeting took place on September 29, 1859 at Plymouth Congregational Church. Charter membership numbered 116, and by the end of the first year the organization had grown to 358. Such prominent Milwaukeeans as J. H. Van Dyke, John Johnston, and E. P. Bacon were among the organizers. A reading room, weekly prayer meeting, mission meetings and lectures were conducted for the members. The organization became inactive during the Civil War, reorganized in 1870, and then lapsed once again from 1872 to 1876.

Following the second reorganization in 1876, the Milwaukee YMCA soon became the center for all statewide activities and embarked on a number of ambitious programs which drew large numbers into its membership. A boys' department was inaugurated in 1881, as well as a German branch and a Railroad Branch, both in January of that year. The German branch was headquartered initially at the old LaCrosse depot at the southeast corner of Juneau and Third Streets and then transferred to Brewer's Hill, where the old Baasen residence was acquired at Fourth and Walnut Streets in 1887. (Conard, Vol. II, pp. 251-258; City Directories)

Bay View Branch, YMCA

Historian Bernhard Korn reports that the YMCA organized a Bay View branch during the neighborhood's village era. It provided rooms where residents could gather to visit, read or enjoy a program. Since this branch was not listed in the city directories, it is not known how long this branch operated in the area. It seems likely that this branch was suspended for a number of years before resuming operations in Bay View. (Korn, p. 110)

The Bay View branch of the YMCA appears in the city directories beginning in 1920. At that time, R. L. Cushing was the executive director of the branch. He was succeeded by H. B. Frame (1921-1923), C. C. Lane (1924-1925), Gerald H. Young (1926-1928), Bruce Yarbrough (1929-1935), Stanley G. Roberts (1936-1938), Joseph F. Kennedy (1944), D. Klopff (1949), B. J. Parker (1950-1955), and Orman W. Moulton (1956).

The Bay View branch operated out of a number of rented quarters after 1920. Between 1920 and 1924, the YMCA met at 2510 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (today's Stu's Flooring; MI 321-17). Other locations included 2654-56 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (1925 - 1931) (MI 321-30), 2392 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (1932-1934) (MI 320-31), 2560 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (1935-1936) (MI 321-21), and 2687 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (1937-1938) (MI 325-36).

For several years in the late 1930's and early 1940's, the Bay View branch of the Y.M.C.A. did not appear in the city directories, and the organization did not appear as a tenant in any of the buildings along South Kinnickinnic Avenue. Perhaps the branch was inactive during this time. In 1942, the Y.M.C.A. Bay View Branch reappears at 2270 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (razed) where it remained through about 1947. In 1949, the organization rented space in the Grange Building at 2320 South Kinnickinnic Avenue (MI 320-20). It was subsequently housed at 2125 East Rusk Avenue, at the corner of Delaware, in a commercial building that was razed for the construction of the Gallery Cinema. (MI 362-8) (See Recreation and Entertainment) (City Directory)

The Bay View Branch of the YMCA remained on East Rusk Avenue through 1956 after which it moved to its own new building at 1320 East Oklahoma Avenue. The ground breaking for the new structure took place on Sunday, May 6, 1956. This branch was part of the post-war decentralization of "Y" activities in the metro area, and a number of branch buildings were constructed during this era. Ceremonies at the site were presided over by Kenneth A. Kern, the chairman of the Bay View Committee of Management for the YMCA. The invocation was delivered by Hon. Judge Herbert Schultz, and speakers included Erwin Zillman,

E. L. Friend, E. H. Lewnau, Gilbert Holtz, and Mrs. George J. Scott, Jr. Construction and furnishing costs were expected to amount to \$175,000, of which half was to be raised by the Bay View Committee of Management. (Zillman, p. 109)

The modern style structure was designed by the local firm of Grassold-Johnson & Assoc. and features a story-and-a-half wing, fronting on Oklahoma Avenue, connected to a long, one-story rear wing. The interesting roof on the taller portion of the building features unusual upturned corners. (MI 417-26) The City issued an occupancy permit on February 8, 1957. The "Y" occupied this structure through 1974 and apparently disbanded the Bay View Branch at that time. The structure has since been occupied by Faith Baptist Church (1974-1977) and its Christian Day School (1977-1980's), and the Bay View Community Center (1989-present). (Building Permits 1320 East Oklahoma Avenue)

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

TEMPERANCE ORGANIZATIONS

Bay View's association with temperance activities was a long one and extended from the time of the village's founding to just past the turn-of-the-century. The iron works founder Eber Brock Ward was a strong temperance advocate, and he wanted his new village to serve as the embodiment of his temperance beliefs. In order to achieve this end, Ward placed a provision in all his deeds of sale and leases that specified that no malt, vinous, spiritous liquor or intoxicating beverages of any kind be kept, manufactured, vended, or disposed of on the property. Deeds indicate that the company wanted to maintain the security of its machinery and buildings by these restrictions and wanted employees to pay regular attention to their duties.

Failure to comply would result in the property reverting back to the Iron Company. As an aside, the deeds also prohibited the establishment of what it considered noxious industries in the area including chemical works, slaughter or packing houses, soap boilers, glue making, refining of kerosene oil, tanning, brewing, distilling, tallow chandling, and tripe boiling. These restrictions were to be in effect as long as the company continued to operate the iron works.

The prohibition of alcoholic beverages did keep the new village free of saloons for approximately a decade, although it did not prevent saloons from cropping up at the village boundaries, for example along Lincoln Avenue and west of Deer Creek. The restrictions were much debated after the village incorporated in 1879 since saloons already existed in parts of the new village whose boundaries now extended west to the Kinnickinnic River valley. The financially-strapped village also hoped to benefit from the licensing of such establishments. Local proprietors wanted to keep business in their neighborhood. After much debate, the village board permitted liquor licensing in 1880, despite the legal restrictions originally imposed. The rolling mill subsequently filed suit against the village, but the matter dragged on in the courts for years. The village maintained that the restrictions had only applied as long as the Milwaukee Iron Company had existed and that the sale of the property to the North Chicago Rolling Mills had invalidated the provision. The matter had still not been decided when the City of Milwaukee annexed Bay View. The Chicago owners of the mill eventually withdrew their suit. (Korn, pp. 79-80; Deeds for 2550 S. Shore Drive, 129:71, December 6, 1872)

Given this background, it appears that temperance issues were particularly volatile ones in the community. References to a Bay View lodge of the Good Templars date to May of 1873 when it was announced in the Sentinel that the group was to have an entertainment at Puddlers' Hall. This lodge appeared in the city directories beginning in 1874 and met each Saturday evening, at an unspecified location, through the 1870's. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1873 May 20 8/3; City Directory)

Temperance activities seem to have peaked in Bay View in the mid-1880's. In addition to Bay View Lodge No. 217, other organizations appeared including Immaculate Conception Temperance Society, Lake View Temple No. 230 of the Temple of Honor, Haddock Lodge No. 49, and Rescue No. 123. City directories indicate that at least nine Good Templar lodges were active and that C.T.A. societies and the Temple of Honor also had lodges throughout the city at this time. Membership in all of these groups seems to have fallen off in the late 1890's, when they were supplanted in prominence by the Women's Christian Temperance Union just after the turn-of-the-century. No W.C.T.U. branches met in Bay View as far as can be determined, however, and the temperance movement in the survey area can be said to have ended by 1904. (City Directory)

International Order of Good Templars

The International Order of Good Templars was founded in Ithaca, New York in 1850 under the name the Knights of Jericho. Daniel Cady, its principal founder, had been a member of an earlier group called the Sons of Temperance, which sought to reform drunkards and prevent others from becoming drunks. The Knights of Jericho was a secret, total abstinence organization, and in 1851 changed its name to the Good Templars. The society was tremendously popular

in this country and spread to England in 1868. It admitted both men and women as members. By 1900, the Templars had grown to 350,000 members. Worldwide membership exceeded 700,000 in 1979, but U.S. membership had dwindled to only 2,000. In addition to its fight against the use of alcoholic beverages, the Good Templars consider themselves to be a fraternal order that builds good citizenship and democracy. The order publishes the National Good Templar ten months a year, and the publication centers on the theme of not drinking. (Schmidt, pp. 146-148)

Bay View Lodge No. 217 Good Templars

Flower's History of Milwaukee (1881) indicates that Bay View Lodge No. 217 was organized in October of 1879 with twenty-five members. It is not clear if Flower erred on the date or if the earlier (1873) active Good Templar group in Bay View had been an informal association. Lodge No. 217 was also known as "Banner Lodge." Membership included both men and women, and by 1881 had reached 102 members with a capital of \$400. Charter members included John Hickman, Dr. Sanborn, Joseph Blanchard, Henry C. Campbell, William Bishop, Minnie Brinton, Minnie Douglas, Annie and Alice Leigh, Hannah Matin, Sarah Yates, Carrie Starkey, and Mrs. H. D. Leigh.

Flower indicates that the Saturday evening meetings were held at offices of the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company, but city directories indicate that the group met at Puddlers' Hall. Meetings subsequently were held on week nights, but still at Puddlers' Hall, through 1887. Puddlers' Hall still stands at 2461-2463 South St. Clair Street. (MI 360-4) (Flower, History of Milwaukee 1881, pp. 980-981; City Directory)

Beginning in 1888, Bay View Lodge No. 217 held its weekly meetings at Odd Fellows Hall at the corner of Potter and Kinnickinnic Avenues (razed). This remained its meeting hall through 1891 after which time the lodge either reorganized or disbanded.

Haddock Lodge No. 49 Good Templars

Haddock Lodge No. 49 met at Odd Fellows Hall and appears to have been active only in 1891 and 1892. Officers included Robert Loll, George Wolf, and H. J. Hawker. (City Directory)

Juvenile Temple No. 176 Good Templars

Juvenile Temple No. 176 was one of a handful of short-lived juvenile lodges established in the early 1890's. Juvenile Temple No. 176 met at Odd Fellows Hall in 1891, and its officers were Blanche Patterson and Albert Skelding. It apparently disbanded in 1892. (City Directory)

Rescue No. 123 Good Templars

Rescue Lodge was the last Good Templar organization to have been active in Bay View. It appears in the city directory in 1902 at which time the group met at Odd Fellows Hall. Rescue No. 123 may have been a last ditch attempt to resuscitate the temperance movement in Bay View since no lodges are known to have been active between 1893 and 1901. No later Good Templars' lodges were ever established in the survey area. (City Directory)

Immaculate Conception Temperance Society

For a brief period between 1887 and 1888, Immaculate Conception Church had its own temperance organization. This was part of the Catholic Church's

attempt to promote temperance activities in the 1880's. Only a few chapters were organized, however, and these appear to have been short-lived.

Immaculate Conception's organization met in the parish hall and apparently disbanded after 1888. (City Directory)

Lake View Temple No. 230 Temple of Honor

The Temple of Honor was another fraternal temperance group like the Good Templars. From the city directory listings, it appears that the Temple of Honor was popular in the 1870's and 1880's, but had a smaller membership and fewer lodges than the Templars. City directories show that in 1888 the Temple of Honor had an active lodge in Bay View named Lake View Temple No. 230. The organization met on Thursday evenings at the Odd Fellows Hall. Its officers were Charles J. Hickman and William Bedard. (City Directory; Flower History of Milwaukee 1881 p. 980)

INTELLECTUAL SOCIETIES

Like most of the other middle-class and upper middle-class neighborhoods of Milwaukee, intellectual societies flourished in Bay View from the 1870's through the 1890's. The purpose of the intellectual societies was to read and discuss literature, discuss and debate the significant and controversial issues of the day, promote an awareness of subjects outside the everyday realm of the members, provide a stimulating outlet for the better educated, and lend an air of respectability to those who aspired to higher social status. The groups were either independent or church-sponsored and met at the members' homes or in church halls.

A number of intellectual societies were active in Bay View during the final years of the nineteenth century. Listings in the city directories and Sentinel Index display the following names: Bay View Literary Society; Bay View Debating Society; Bay View Lyceum; Bay View Working Men's Social and Political Debating Society; Bay View Chautauqua Literary and Social Circle; Bay View Reading Club; Immaculate Conception Catholic Lyceum; and Elatio Literary Society. Some of these groups may in actuality have been the same organization since it was not unusual for the newspapers to refer to an organization under several names. Little is known about most of these organizations aside from their names and, possibly, their officers.

The Bay View Literary Society dates to at least 1876, under this name. Beulah Brinton was said to have been one of the founders. The women's group met each month to discuss literary topics. The society also put on dime entertainments and published a small paper for these special events called the Literary Bouquet, which contained a program as well as some original contributions. Beulah Brinton was the editor of this publication. The group was still active in 1886. (Sentinel Index; Korn, p. 109)

The Bay View Chautauqua Literary and Social Circle is listed in the city directories in 1884 and 1885. It met on Mondays at the Bay View Methodist Episcopal Church in 1884 and at the public school in 1885. Officers included Rev. B. F. Sanford (president, 1884), M. E. Parks, S. J. Llewellyn, M. Bearman, Rev. H. P. Havlett (president, 1885), William L. Phillips, and Ida V. Parks. A reference in the Sentinel Index to the Bay View Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle sponsoring an entertainment may refer to the same organization. It is not known when the organization disbanded, and the organization is not discussed in Bay View Methodist Episcopal's Centennial

History. (City Directory)

The Elatio Literary Society appeared in the city directory in 1884 and 1885. It met on Friday evenings in 1884, and on Monday evenings in 1885 at Grace Presbyterian Church, which had been located on South Winchester Street between Bay Street and Lincoln Avenue. Reverence Samuel Chidester was president of the organization in 1884 and 1885. Other officers included Bessy Grey, Georgiana Dempsey, Jessie Lindsay, and Addie Morse. It is not known how long the organization was active, but it does not appear in the city directories after 1885. (City Directory)

Like the above two organizations, which were apparently sponsored by their congregations, Bay View Catholics at Immaculate Conception Church also established an intellectual society under the name Immaculate Conception Catholic Lyceum. City directories show the group to have been active between 1887 and 1891. It met at Immaculate Conception Hall, above the school, on East Russell Avenue. Officers included Thomas J. Murray, Miss M. Fallon, Alice C. McGuigan, Matt Nowak, Mary A. McIver, and Mary C. Carroll. It is not known when the group disbanded. (City Directory)

The Bay View Debating Society appears in a brief mention in the Sentinel Index. In May of 1871, the group was scheduled to debate the Kilbourn Society on the issue of capital punishment. The Bay View Lyceum may refer to the above debating society or even be an earlier incarnation of the Bay View Literary Society. The Lyceum sponsored an entertainment in June of 1871, a debate on the use of tobacco in November of 1871, and was reported as meeting in January of 1881. (Sentinel Index 1871, May 11 4/2, June 12 4/2, November 15 4/4; 1881 January 20 3/3)

Not much is known about the Bay View Working Men's Social and Political Debating Society. The Sentinel Index reports that the group organized and elected officers in November of 1877. Again, it is not known how long this group was active. (Sentinel Index 1877 November 29 8/1)

The Bay View Reading Club met to hold a literary discussion in February of 1887. It is possible that this reference in the Sentinel Index refers to the Bay View Literary Society. (Sentinel Index 1887 February 6 12/5)

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

SOCIAL SERVICES

Three social centers have served the Bay View survey area in this century: Dover Street Social Center, Beulah Brinton Community House, and Bay View Community Center. Bay View's strong middle-class background and relatively stable residential population have provided the community with a strong sense of neighborhood cohesiveness. Conspicuously absent are the drug counseling and alcoholism treatment centers, the storefront clinics and neighborhood help centers that assist the jobless, poor and more transient occupants of many other older city neighborhoods. Bay View's three social centers have served different roles over time from helping Italian immigrants to acculturate to American society, to providing activities for youth, and establishing support systems for young families.

Municipal Social Centers

Municipally-sponsored social centers were started by the Milwaukee Public Schools on a trial basis during the 1907-1908 school year. The centers did

not attempt to "tempt children away from well-ordered homes and interfere with the family life, but rather to provide a place for study and congenial occupation during the evening, for those less fortunate in home surroundings." The centers also wanted to promote education and enhance the perceived value of things educational. The school board increased the center program in the 1908-1909 school year with two fully equipped centers, one at today's McKinley School and one at today's Golda Meir School, and also opened a limited facility at today's Maryland Avenue School. Programs ran five nights per week from October through early June. The average nightly attendance of 525 showed how popular these centers were right from the start. Programs include debates, literary productions, dramatics, concerts, lectures, educational games, physical training, basketry, sewing, dressmaking, music classes, and classes for the adult blind. Courses were taught in civics in a number of languages for those unable to speak English. The centers operated from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. and, while targeted to the 14- to 20-year-old age group, adults were attracted to many of the programs as well. The school board also hoped that these social centers would become true community centers in which people of all economic backgrounds could meet to discuss civic issues as well as find personal enrichment and entertainment. (MPS Fiftieth Annual Report, 1908-1909, pp. 21-27, 70-71)

Social centers became a permanent feature of the school board programming in 1911 when the public school system was able to secure the necessary legislation to do so. Won after a bitter fight, the new legislation vested in the school board the right to maintain and equip on its premises all recreational activities and evening and vocational schools. The legislation also allowed the school board to cooperate with the park board and other city

boards. In addition, it provided for a special tax to be levied for social center purposes and gave the school board the authority to appoint a supervisor and any necessary assistants. By the 1912-1913 academic year, social centers were being conducted regularly at the Detroit Street School, the Dover Street School, the Forest Home Avenue School, the Fourteenth Street School, and the Fourth Street School. (MPS Fifty-fourth Annual Report 1912-1913, pp. 55-56, 59)

At present in 1991, the Milwaukee Public Schools still operates fourteen Recreation and Community Centers, some of which are located in school buildings and some of which are located in community center buildings.

Dover Street Social Center

The Dover Street Social Center opened in 1912 and operated out of Dover Street School at 619 East Dover Street. (MI 390-29) (see Education) When first in operation, the Dover Street Center was open four nights per week. It was particularly popular among the children of the newly arrived north Italian immigrants that began to settle in the north end of Bay View between 1905 and 1910. Residents recall athletics classes and courses in naturalization offered there. Like all the city's social centers, Dover Street Center's programs were designed to help curb delinquency by offering alternate activities. They were intended to Americanize children by "indirectly teaching them the values of fair play, sportsmanship, and group cooperation" in an "American" environment where English was spoken, American sports and games were offered, and staff were American. The programs were successful because the workers at the centers did not directly challenge the cultural traits of the immigrants. The Dover Street Center as a result became an

important cultural as well as recreational center of Bay View's second generation Italians as well as some of the older immigrant Italians. The center was still active into the 1930's, but it appears that its popularity was eclipsed by the Beulah Brinton Community House. (Andreozzi, Chapter 4)

Bay View Community House / Beulah Brinton Community House / Beulah Brinton Community Center

The Beulah Brinton Community House had its origins in the programs offered to immigrant_wives by Beulah Brinton (December 12, 1836 - 1928). Brinton was a cousin of Eber Brock Ward, the founder of the Milwaukee Iron Company, and it is likely through this familial connection that her husband, Warren (b. August 12, 1825), secured work at the new mill when it opened. Although written accounts describe Warren as the mill superintendent, the city directories list him as a machinist (1872-73), laborer (1878, 1880), bookkeeper (1879), and weighmaster. Warren is consistently listed as weighmaster after 1881. (City Directory; Kursch, pp. 38-39)

Beulah was an intelligent, well-read, spirited woman with strong religious convictions. When she saw that the mill workers' wives were lonely and homesick and in need of education, medical care and recreation, she opened her home to her neighbors and taught them English, cooking, sewing and child care. She even served as a midwife. Beulah Brinton also set up a tennis court in her yard to teach Bay Viewers the sport which was new to the U.S. in the 1870's. Reading sessions were also an important aspect of her activities. Her own library was made available to mill workers who congregated at the Brinton home to listen to Beulah read to them. Her collection of books was said to have formed the nucleus of Bay View's first public library. Brinton's

activities received no municipal or foundation support, but were conducted informally as part of what she considered "being neighborly." (Kursch, p. 42)

Warren Brinton died on December 31, 1895, and when her bachelor son, Warren D., moved to Chicago, Beulah would close up her home at 2590 South Superior Street for part of the year to live in Chicago. She eventually moved permanently to Chicago, by which time her social programs had been taken over by municipal social centers. After a stroke in 1926, Beulah returned to Milwaukee to live with her granddaughter, Mabel Pickard Estes (Mrs. Ira Ray Estes), and her granddaughter's family at her old house on Superior Street. She died in 1928. (Kursch, pp. 38, 44, 46)

Many of Beulah Brinton's programs were paralleled by Milwaukee's various settlement houses and settlement houses around the country. Similar programs were also developed by the local public schools for their social centers. By the time Beulah Brinton's involvement in Bay View had tapered off, a new influx of immigrants had begun to settle in the area, the Italians. The school board opened Dover Street Social Center in response to the needs of the neighborhood's newest residents. Within a few years, the oldest portion of Bay View, east of the Chicago North Western tracks, was identified as a thickly congested district and in need of a social center. Since no school buildings were located in this area, the school board chose the old Engine House No. 11 at 2455 South St. Clair Street as a candidate for the proposed social center. The building had been vacated by the fire department around 1918 and had been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Board of Public Works (See Government). After some deliberation, the Common Council voted to transfer the building unconditionally to the school board on February 20,

1922. The old apparatus room was subsequently remodeled into a gymnasium, and the horse stalls were rebuilt into showers. The building was formally dedicated on October 19, 1924. Although city directories list the center as the Bay View Community House through 1927, it was actually known as the Beulah Brinton Community House right from the start. School board director Otjen proposed the name to the school board on May 6, 1924 to honor Beulah Brinton, and it was approved by a vote on June 3, 1924. (City Directory; Proceedings School Board 1923-1924, pp. 503, 674, 675; WPA Fire Engine House No. 11)

Members of Bay View's Italian community have fond recollections of the center. Women attended classes in English and homemaking, and both children and adults made use of the showers. It was said to have become a second home to many individuals. In 1929, a young women's club, the Merry Playmakers, was established and met at the Beulah Brinton House for many years. Unlike the Jackson Center in the Third Ward, the other popular community center of the Italian community, the Beulah Brinton House established a close working relationship with Immaculate Conception Church. This tie was further strengthened when an Italian priest, Fr. Tagliavia, was assigned to the church in the 1940's. (Andreozzi, Chapter 4)

The Beulah Brinton Community House continued to operate out of the old fire station into the 1970's and was razed around 1979. To replace this building, a new, larger, updated facility was begun in 1980 at 2555 South Bay Street, on the west side of the Chicago North Western tracks and just about opposite to the site of the earlier center. The new site, at the corner of South Bay and East Potter Streets had been part of Deer Creek Pond. The subsoil is still marshy, despite the creek and pond having been filled in.

The new community center was designed by the City's Department of Bridges and Buildings and cost an estimated \$1,300,000 to construct. (MI 383-9) The concrete block building is of irregular shape and features a gymnasium and rooms for various classes and activities. Now called the Beulah Brinton Community Center, the center offers a whole range of programs from aerobics classes to an elderly meal program and crafts. The center is patronized by all age groups. (City Building Permits)

Private Social Centers

Private social centers, sponsored by various church or religious organizations and financed through foundation grants or the United Way, have played an important role in many neighborhoods. They have provided counseling, crisis intervention, support groups, and recreational and educational activities for children, teens, and adults. They often fill in where municipally sponsored centers fall short. Bay View has had one such center, the Bay View Community Center.

South East Community Center / Bay View Community Center

The most recently established of Bay View's social centers is the Bay View Community Center. This institution opened as the South East Community Center at a storefront in the Avalon Theater building at 2479 South Kinnickinnic Avenue in 1975. (MI 325-5) Start-up funds came from the Youth Service Bureau, a Federally financed project of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. The center opened at a time when teachers were on strike, and there were no programs available and children needed something to do. The center initially lined up activities through the Boys and Girls Clubs and then developed programs of its own. Within a year, the Milwaukee Christian Center

(a South Side institution dating to 1921) had agreed to sponsor the storefront operation as one of its satellite operations, much like the United Community Center in Walker's Point. A grant was also received from the Milwaukee Foundation and local Kiwanis, Lions, and the Bay View Businessmen's Association were also supportive of the new center.

The center offered ballet, drama, and music lessons on the piano and accordion, and it also opened a basketball court. It also offered counseling and referral services as alternatives to vandalism and drug abuse. Program emphasis shifted in the 1980's in response to the growing number of young married couples moving into the area. Classes were offered on child care and topics related to parenting and stress. Child care was provided while parents attended classes. The center expanded into a second and then a third adjoining storefront in 1987. A food bank was also opened. Some programs, such as a preschool, were located at other sites due to the lack of space.

In 1989, the Bay View Community Center purchased the former YMCA Bay View Branch building at 1320 East Oklahoma Avenue for \$135,000. (MI 417-26) The larger facility allows for more classroom space, a day care center, and consolidation of a number of programs under one roof. The center is now supported chiefly by the United Way. (Milwaukee Journal July 31, 1989; South Side Spirit July 23-29, 1989; Community Resources Directory for Milwaukee County 1976, p. 153)

SERVICES FOR THE ELDERLY

Unlike the city's Lower East Side neighborhood which has become a center for numerous nursing homes and senior citizen residences, the Bay View survey

area has had only a few such institutions. Encounters with numerous seniors during the building inventory portion of this survey seem to indicate that the need for such institutions may be less in this neighborhood since many seniors continue to live in their own homes or with family members.

Traditionally, in the early decades of this century, nursing or convalescent homes were frequently located in large, old residences and approximated the surroundings of the residents' former homes. One example of this type of operation was the Pleasant Convalescent Home. It was located in a Queen Anne style house at 2725 South Logan Avenue (MI 357-3) and operated from the mid-1940's to the late 1950's. After the convalescent home moved or closed, the house was converted into a duplex in 1960 and has remained privately owned. (City Building Permits) There were probably more convalescent homes of this type in Bay View. Due to greater government regulation of the industry, this type of convalescent center has been, by and large, replaced by the institutional building constructed specifically for elderly care. An example of a newer facility for the elderly is Bay View Manor at 740 East Linn Street. Bay View Manor was built in 1979 on the former site of a city playground.

Ambulatory seniors (those not requiring medical attention) have, at present, three apartment buildings that were constructed for their use. Michelle Manor was constructed in 1973 by private developers at 2636 South Logan Avenue. (MI 425-9) Located at the intersection of Logan, Russell and Kinnickinnic Avenues, the building is also addressed at 1024-1030 South Russell Avenue. The \$350,000 apartment house has forty-two units and replaced four small dwellings and a small office building on the site. The

contemporary brick structure was designed by engineer J. A. Polzer. (City Building Permits)

Winchester Village Apartments is located at 2147 South Winchester Street (MI 336-17) (See Education.) The three-story brick structure was once the Twelfth District School / Mound Street School. After the school was closed in the spring of 1979, it became surplus city property and was sold to developer Benjamin Lande. He hired the firm of Shepherd Legan Aldrian Ltd. to redesign the school's interior into 48 units of elderly housing. There are also three units of handicapped accessible and three units of wheelchair accessible apartments in the building. Winchester Village is still privately run today. (City Building Permits)

Lincoln Court was constructed by the City of Milwaukee through its Housing Authority. The Housing Authority had been established in 1944 to provide decent, safe and sanitary housing to low income residents and veterans. Beginning in 1961, the Housing Authority built a series of high-rise structures throughout the city designed specifically for the elderly and disabled. Lincoln Court is located at 2325 South Howell Avenue (MI 385-12) on a one-acre site and contains 100 one-bedroom units. It was built at a cost of \$1,909,928 by Towne Realty in 1971. The twelve-story, star-shaped structure is one of seven round or star-shaped, brick-veneered, senior high-rises built by the City through 1971. Apartments feature emergency call lights and grab bars in the bathrooms. The first floors of all the buildings are devoted to community and recreation space and feature kitchen facilities, a television set, a small library, handicraft equipment, and a billiard table. Tenants are free to come and go in the building and leave the premises to shop, cash checks and socialize. (Community Housing 1977, pp. 6, 26, 36)

LABOR MOVEMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Labor unions have been a part of Bay View's history almost since the opening of the Milwaukee Iron Company. It would be impossible to determine the extent of union membership among Bay View workers since locals were organized around particular job classifications and not all jobs at a plant were represented. Given the number of large companies which bordered the survey area, most of which had at least partial representation, it is likely that most workers belonged to a local at one time or another. Labor groups known to have met in Bay View included the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the Knights of Labor, Bench Molders / Iron Molders No. 121, and the Glass Blowers Union / Glass Bottle Blowers No. 15. Although it was common for the membership to meet at a hall close to their place of employment, it is likely that at least some of the unions that were active in the Bay View survey area met outside the survey area boundaries.

Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (A.A. OF I. & S.W.) was perhaps the most significant of Bay View's unions, representing the largest number of the community's residents who were employed at the Rolling Mills.

Iron workers in Milwaukee had unionized around 1868 into an association called the Orders of the Sons of Vulcan. The movement for collective action, which was gaining momentum at that time, urged the organization of cooperative stores for the benefit of the workers and as a means to support strikers during labor disputes. Labor cooperatives were also urged to take over industrial contracts during periods of strike, based on the Rochdale plan in

England. Englishman Joseph Bennett, a member of the Machinists and Blacksmiths Union, was the primary organizer in the Milwaukee area, and his proselytizing was met with a receptive response by the Rolling Mill workers, most of whom had come from England. These workers soon organized a unit of the Sons of Vulcan. (Korn, p. 33; Flowers, History of Milwaukee 1881, p. 1627; Gavett, p. 21)

The National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was established in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on the first Tuesday of August, 1875 as a consolidation of earlier iron and steel unions such as the Sons of Vulcan. The N.A.A. of I. & S.W.'s objectives were to extend mutual protection to members against broken contracts, unfair rules, unlawful discharge, and general injustice or oppression, and to obtain fair pay for their members. By 1880, N.A.A. of I. & S.W. had 214 lodges in seventeen states. Two lodges formed in Milwaukee, both in Bay View. By 1881, the locals were among other trades unions that had joined the Milwaukee Trades Assembly, which had as its goal "to put an end to a condition of affairs that fosters the employment of cheap and incompetent labor for the production of low-priced and illegitimate goods which demoralize the market for good work." The Trades Assembly dissolved around the mid-1880's. (Flower, History of Milwaukee 1881, p. 1627; Korn, p. 83; Gavett, pp. 41, 47)

The Bay View puddlers local Sons of Vulcan became the Wisconsin Lodge No. 1 of the Amalgamated in August of 1875, shortly after the Amalgamated had been organized. Early officers included Jacob C. Bullock, James Lamont, William Girdwood, John Bissett, William Thompson, James Carroll, William Morgan, Stephan Pfeifer, George McMurdo, and James Wallace. City directories

show these men to have been puddlers and helpers. By 1880, membership in No. 1 had grown to 98, and the group met on the first and third Saturdays of each month at Puddlers' Hall. (Korn, p. 83; Flower, History of Milwaukee, 1881, p. 1627)

Other iron and steel workers such as heaters, roll hands, nailers, hammermen, hobblers, roll turners, picklers, annealers, and shearmen formed a second local of the A.A.I. of S.W. in August of 1875 known as Badger State Lodge No. 2. Early officers included James Clancy, Maurice Flynn, Eugene Reed, and Charles Morganroth. City directories, which list these locals beginning in 1884, consistently show this local as A.A. of I. & S.W. No. 3 instead of No. 2, possibly in error or reflecting some reorganization of the group. The group met at Puddlers' Hall on the first and third Saturdays of the month. (Korn, pp. 83-84; City Directory)

City directories show yet another group of organized iron workers, N.W.A.A. of I. & S.W. No. 4, in 1884 which met at Puddlers' Hall on Wednesdays. Officers of No. 4 included Horatio Phillips, Thomas Thomas, F. T. Lyman, Harvey McCoy, Clinton Faulkner, John S. Jones, William Phillips, and Frederick Talbitzer. Virtually all of the directors were nailers, so it is likely that No. 4 was a short-lived group representing this one category of worker at the Rolling Mills. (City Directory)

By the 1880's, the two main locals had grown to 800 members and became active in obtaining better wages and working conditions. In 1880, the locals gained a daily wage ranging from \$2 to \$8 per day, the union having rejected a company counter-offer of a 25% pay increase. In 1881, the 450 puddlers at the

mill became angered by the long hours they had to labor. The first shift, which began at 3:30 a.m., often had to put in 15 or 16 hours to complete their required five heats per shift. They demanded each shift be restricted to 11 to 12 hours. The dispute lasted until June of 1882 when the puddlers finally succeeded in gaining some changes in work hours when the Iron and Steel Workers won another wage increase following a nationwide strike of 35,000 men in six states. The Bay View locals struck again in 1885 as well for an improvement in labor conditions. Some 1,200 employees participated in the strike but after nine months, the workers returned to their jobs without gaining their objectives. (Gavett, p. 36; Korn, p. 84)

Having just returned to work after a lengthy and unsuccessful strike, Rolling Mills' employees were not interested in participating in the citywide labor strike for the eight-hour day in May of 1886. However, after a series of strikes, walkouts and plant closings had shut down all of Milwaukee's largest employers except for the iron company in Bay View, the Rolling Mills became the focus of attention of the protestors. The strikers' attempts to close down the Rolling Mills were at first unsuccessful as were their requests to circulate among mill workers. Reports said members of the A.A. of I. & S.W. were ready to meet the mob with red hot billets and boiling water if the protestors broke into the plant. Bloodshed resulted when the mob prepared to storm the plant, and the militia guarding the plant opened fire upon them, killing seven people and injuring many more. The mob dispersed, and the plant was not damaged. The iron workers' locals later decried the riots as well as the calling of the militia and felt that the situation could have been handled locally. The locals even offered their services to preserve order with the condition that the militia be withdrawn. (Korn, p. 89)

Following the riot, iron company officials initiated a new scale of wages and better working conditions which seemed to please the employees and avoided further labor disputes until 1902. The two locals of the A.A. of I. & S.W. are last listed in the city directories in 1898. It is not clear whether the locals affiliated with other trade unions at that time or disbanded. Gavett in Development of the Labor Movement in Milwaukee (1965) indicates that the national A.A. of I. & S.W. was virtually destroyed as an organization when it lost a clash against the Carnegie Steel Company in Pittsburgh in 1892. Gavett also indicates that the work of organizing steel workers began in earnest again after World War I, implying that steel workers were either non-represented or had weak, ineffectual locals at that time. The story of the steel workers of Bay View ends in 1929 when the Rolling Mills plant was permanently closed by Illinois Steel. (City Directory; Gavett, pp. 85, 133-134)

Puddlers' Hall

Since the Rolling Mills complex has been torn down and the property recontoured for freeway ramps, probably the most significant extant building associated with the iron and steel workers of Bay View is Puddlers' Hall, located at today's 2461-2463 South St. Clair Street. (MI 360-4)

Shortly after their affiliation with the Sons of Vulcan, but prior to their joining the Amalgamated Association of Iron & Steel Workers, the puddlers and boilers of the Milwaukee Iron Company erected a small, temporary hall in which to hold their meetings. It was completed in late November or early December of 1870. The puddlers were already planning ahead for a large

and substantial permanent building that could be used for their labor meetings and leased out for lectures and entertainments. The puddlers were said to have been already negotiating with the Iron Company for the purchase of a lot. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1870 December 5 4/2)

The puddlers and boilers anticipated starting work on their new hall in the spring of 1871 but apparently were financially unable to do so. It was reported on September 27, 1871 that \$5,000 worth of shares had been taken up, plans had been drawn, and that the building committee would start accepting bids in a few days. The stock company that had been formed had its stock divided into 51 shares and would operate the hall for years to come. The new hall was to be 44 feet by 80 feet in dimension with three stores on the ground floor. It was expected to cost around \$7,000. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1871 September 27 4/6)

The building was apparently completed some time in 1872 but its completion was not featured in the Sentinel. Built at the northwest corner of East Potter and South St. Clair Streets, the structure did not have the three ground floor stores with an upstairs hall but rather was built as a simple front gable structure with a ground floor hall with a capacity for 500 persons and union lodge offices on the second floor. It ultimately cost \$4,500 to build. On March 1, 1873, members of the Puddlers' and Boilers' Benevolent Union, as it was termed in the press, gave formal acknowledgment to James J. Hagermann (Rolling Mills' superintendent), Christopher Otjen and William B. Parkes (under superintendents), and John Kenzee of Milwaukee for their valuable aid in the construction of the hall. The public acknowledgment was published in the Sentinel, Daily News and Journal of Commerce. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1873 March 4 4/6; Flower, History of Milwaukee 1881, p. 1627)

Puddlers' Hall, as it was called from the time of its completion, immediately became the center of social activity in the new community. In addition to union meetings, the hall was used as a gathering place for the Masons, Odd Fellows, Hibernians, and Good Templars. The public school rented the hall for special entertainments, for summer school classes, and for overflow classes. The Bay View Methodist Church used the hall for sociables, and the Bay View Land League met there. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1873 March 20 5/1, May 20 8/3, June 24 8/5; 1883 July 14 5/2; 1881 January 15/8/4). This heavy use resulted in a remodeling in 1878 with a new, large stage, new stage curtains, and new scenery being installed in the building. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1878 December 25 8/2)

Despite the building's almost continual use in its first decade, it apparently did not generate the amount of income desired, so the puddlers announced in August of 1880 that the hall was for sale. On September 27, 1880, the Sentinel reported that the hall had been sold to the Masons for \$2,750 and that the Masons would improve the structure by putting in a stone basement which would be "fitted up for village offices." (Milwaukee Sentinel 1880 August 3 8/2, September 27 3/2) A couple of weeks later, however, the Sentinel reported that the hall's shareholders had reconsidered their decision to sell and that the Masons would build a new structure elsewhere. The puddlers once again put their building up for sale in December of 1885 with an asking price of \$2,500, the reason being that most of the shareholders had left the state. The building was eventually sold to Ambrose McGuigan and a syndicate of other investors in 1889 for \$2,100, said to be half the structure's actual value. McGuigan had been a puddler and one of the trustees

of the Puddlers' Hall Association and had recently been postmaster of Bay View. About 25 stockholders held the 51 shares. The stock company had seldom ever paid a dividend; stockholders actually lost about \$10 per share on their original investment. McGuigan and his fellow investors intended to use the hall as an investment. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1889 May 29 7/3, June 2 12/5)

It is likely that in addition to the rental hall, the building was converted into a tavern with living quarters for the proprietors upstairs at about this time. The demands on the hall had been considerably relieved with large fraternal clubhouses, and new halls had been built along Kinnickinnic Avenue by that time. The Falk, Jung & Borchert Brewing Company was listed as the hall's owner in building permits after 1892. This hall, however, retained the name Puddlers' Hall in the city directories through 1917. Among the known saloon proprietors of old Puddlers' Hall were: John Fahey (1893-1895); William R. Williams (1896); Henry L. Krueger (1897-1901); Charles Mahnke (1903-1904); Anna Cline (1905, possibly 1906); and Michael (also Michiele) Zanna (1907-1908). Frank Barbieri and his family were owners of the structure from 1909 through 1979, and family members lived above the tavern throughout their ownership. The Barbieres ran the tavern themselves from 1909 to the mid or late 1930's and again between 1965-1979. In between, the tavern was leased to other proprietors. The building was also used as the meeting place for the Bay View Lodge 797 of the Loyal Order of Moose from around 1944 through about 1952. The building stood vacant in 1980 but since 1981 has been known as Potter's End Tavern with the upstairs flat rented to different individuals. (City Building Permits; City Directory)

No photos apparently exist of Puddlers' Hall when it was first completed. An extant, undated, photograph at the Milwaukee County Historical Society Library shows the structure to have been a clapboard, front gabled building with brackets at the corners and ornamental bargeboard in the gable. This ornament helped to frame a large, round headed window at the attic story. The three tall windows on the second story of the facade each appear to have had a transom and were topped with simple window hoods. The main entrance was located at the southeast corner of the building, and large plate glass windows extended across the facade at the first story. A second entrance at the northeast corner of the building lead to the second story. Permits show that the Falk, Jung & Borchert Brewery remodeled the structure in 1892 and added a brick basement. It is not known just how extensive this \$3,000 project was or how much of the building's facade was changed at this time. In 1921 Frank Barbieri added a 28-foot by 44-foot dance hall wing to the north side of the building. This wing features a simple wainscoted interior with a small stage at its west end. The building still retains its corner brackets at the gable and entrance, but has lost its other ornament. The windows of the facade have been reduced in size, and the entire building has been covered with cement asbestos shingles. (City Building Permits)

Knights of Labor

The Noble Order of the Knights of Labor was one of the city's most powerful labor organizations in the mid-1880s. The Order had existed as a secret society since 1869 but was neither well-known nor overtly active in order to protect its members from harassment. In 1878, the secrecy element was abolished, and a new preamble advocated the union of all workers. The Knights spread rapidly across the country due to vigorous newspaper publicity

and organized recruitment. Both skilled and unskilled workers were enrolled. The Knights were present in Milwaukee in the late 1870's but disbanded in 1883 following unfavorable public reaction to their support of a nationwide strike of the Brotherhood of Telegraphers. A recession in 1884 and a successful strike against railroads controlled by Jay Gould in 1885 reversed this attitude, and thousands of workers flocked to join the organization. Several assemblies were established in Milwaukee in the winter of 1885-1886. District Assembly headquarters were located first on Third Street near Highland and then at the northwest corner of Third and Juneau Avenue. (Gavett, pp. 48-49)

The Knights reached their pinnacle of national and local power in 1886. In Milwaukee alone there were 42 local assemblies with over 12,000 members. Statewide membership totaled 25,000 while national figures reached 700,000. The Knights advocated producers' cooperatives and more leisure and social advantages for the working class. They proposed the establishment of bureaus of labor statistics, equality of pay regardless of sex, the eight-hour day, and the abolition of the contract system on public works, child labor under 14 years of age, and convict labor contracts. Advocacy of the eight-hour day touched off a major conflict the first week of May, 1886, which was ultimately part of a nationwide struggle for workers' rights. Knights' locals participated in strikes and formed mobs which closed numerous businesses such as Falk's Brewery, the St. Paul Railroad Yards, the E. P. Allis Company, and the Chicago Rolling Mills in Bay View. Union officials were anxious to avoid association with the rioters and called on members to assist authorities to aid in the restoration of law and order. When soldiers fired upon demonstrators at the Bay View Mills, killing several people, all rioting ceased, and public agitation for the eight-hour day ended. By the following

year, the Knights had lost their fighting zeal, and problems arose over where their jurisdiction ended in relation to that of the unions. It was suggested by some of the labor press that the Knights should concern themselves with economic and political education and political action while the unions would handle wage issues. Antagonism with the Federated Trades Council over the acquisition of locals also was a factor in the Knights decline. By 1889, local membership had dropped to 2,000, and represented fewer than 16 local assemblies. The few remaining assemblies either dissolved or joined the ranks of the trade unions during the 1890's, and after 1896 the Knights were no longer functioning in Milwaukee. (Still, pp. 288-289; Gavett, pp. 50, 77-79, 82)

There are five known assemblies of the Knights of Labor which met in the Bay View survey area. These assemblies were active between 1886 and 1891, during the Knights' last period of support and power. All of the assemblies met at a frame, two-story building at what was addressed at 869-871 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. The hall in this building was quite popular through the 1880's and early 1890's and was known by the name of its successive proprietors, Eul's Hall, Binder's Hall, and Plein's Hall. It was also known as the Kinnickinnic Avenue Union Hall. The building was located on the west side of the street, the fifth building south of the corner at East Becher and almost directly across from East Bay Street. Street widenings and redevelopment have significantly altered this intersection, and the former union hall was razed long ago. (City Directory; Rascher's, 1876, p. 116)

Lakeside Assembly No. 5039 met at the hall on the first and third Saturdays of the month and was active from 1886-1888. Bay View Assembly No.

7426 met on Thursdays and then the first and third Saturdays at the hall from 1886 to 1888. Eureka Assembly No. 4945 met on the first and third Fridays in 1887. Pioneer No. 879 had their meetings on Saturdays from 1889 to 1891. Franklin Assembly met on Fridays from 1888 through 1891. While it is impossible to determine just how many Bay View workers belonged to these particular assemblies, it is likely that the number was high given all the nearby industrial development north of Bay Street and along the Kinnickinnic River Valley which included tanneries, machine shops and glassmaking companies, in addition to the Rolling Mill itself. Loss of interest in the Knights of Labor became pronounced by the 1890's, and after 1892 no assemblies were meeting in the survey area. (City Directory)

Bench Molders / Iron Molders No. 121

The Bench or Iron Molders Union represented foundry workers who were employed in plants that manufactured such items as stoves and agricultural implements. They had first organized around 1868. Between 1891 and 1895, Iron Molders No. 121 met on the first and third Tuesdays of the month at Jess' Hall at 1753 South Kinnickinnic Avenue, just north of the survey area boundaries. The local later met on South 16th Street and then South 5th Street. Two other iron molders' locals were active around the same time period, No. 125 and No. 166, but these two never met in the Bay View area. (City Directory; Gavett, p. 20)

Glass Blowers Union No. 15 / Glass Bottle Blowers No. 15

The glass industry was once a prominent feature of Bay View's manufacturing history. Enoch Chase had started up a glass factory at South 1st Street and Lincoln Avenue in 1880 which produced bottles, fruit and pickle

jars, and druggists' ware under the name Wisconsin Glass Company. The Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company later established a bottle works off South Bay Street, and a sheet glass factory eventually opened next door. It is likely that workers from these plants, especially the Wisconsin Glass Company, later known as William Franzen & Son Inc., were represented by Glass Blowers No. 15. The local first appears in the city directories in 1902 at which time Fred Jackson served as secretary. The group met on the first and third Sundays of the month on Kinnickinnic Avenue near Lincoln Avenue. Local No. 15 subsequently met at Hoft's Hall at 2233 South Kinnickinnic Avenue between 1906 and 1921 or 1922 (MI 323-10) and then held their meetings at 2505 South Howell Avenue between 1923 and 1926. (MI 385-35) Glass Blowers No. 15 apparently disbanded around 1927 when glass company president Oscar E. Koehler retired and the William Franzen & Son Inc. bottle company closed. (City Directory; advertisement for Wisconsin Glass Company, 1883 City Directory)

Labor Riot May 5, 1886

Between 1879, when the long economic depression caused by the Panic of 1873 ended, and May of 1886, Milwaukee experienced a literal explosion in union membership. This was brought on by appalling working conditions where employees worked from ten to twelve hours per day or longer, six days per week in frequently hazardous surroundings. Labor groups became more militant in their demands, and larger umbrella organizations such as the Milwaukee Trades Assembly and the Central Labor Union worked for better leverage in bargaining with employers and also to achieve political gains for their constituents. A belief in the power of collectivism led to a certain amount of worker solidarity, and boycotts and strikes for better pay and fewer hours grew more frequent. Defunct unions were reestablished, and many new unions were formed,

especially in the iron and steel industry. This was also a period when union battled union for membership and the power to bargain with employers. Those with socialist leanings opposed those with anarchist sentiments. The nationally-based Knights of Labor frequently clashed with local trade unions. A failing legislative organization, the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions (established in 1881) sought to resuscitate itself after 1884 by choosing May 1, 1886 as a symbolic date by which the general adoption of the eight-hour work day was to take place. This date was soon to be taken up by locals across the city as a rallying point in their disputes with their employers. (Ozanne, pp. 7-8, Gavett, pp. 51-57)

The newly organized Central Labor Union and the Eight-Hour League successfully lobbied Milwaukee's Common Council to adopt an ordinance setting the work day at eight hours for municipal employees on March 16, 1886. This success led to even greater union organization, and numbers of union members grew rapidly in the following few weeks. The eight-hour day became the topic of conversation all over the city, from shop to street to tavern to family table and pulpit. During April of 1886, representatives of workers in 200 shops and factories in Milwaukee demanded an eight-hour day. Twenty-one firms granted the demands. Some asked for more time to consider the proposals. Some closed down, and some refused. The reluctance of employers led to a wave of strikes throughout the city, and on May 1, 1886, some 7,000 persons were out of work including tailors, bakers, carpenters, joiners, cabinet makers, planing millhands, brewers, and common laborers. This number soon grew to 16,000. (Ozanne, pp. 8-9; Gavett, pp. 58-59)

Governor Rusk, in town for a Scottish Rite Masonic function, was briefed as to the growing unrest among the striking laborers and subsequently had ammunition delivered to Milwaukee to supply local militia groups should violence erupt. (Gavett, p. 59)

Bay View, with the massive complex of the Rolling Mills and the numerous manufacturers situated along the Kinnickinnic River Valley, was not immune to the labor disputes and the eight-hour day strikes being called throughout Milwaukee. The first instance of this strike effort took place at the Milwaukee Stove Works on Kinnickinnic Avenue when 24 molders demanded an increase in pay and a reduction in work hours. The employees were then earning between \$17 and \$24 per week for six, ten-hour days. When company president Pierpont E. Dutcher refused the demands, a strike was called in late April of 1886. (Korn, p. 84)

The following day about 20 laborers struck the Chicago & North Western Railroad when their demands were refused by roadmaster-in-charge Patrick H. Loftus. These laborers were unloading cinders used for ballasting a new furnace at the Rolling Mills and were being paid common laborer wage, \$1.25 per day, despite the fact that the intense heat of the cinder pit made the job more difficult and dangerous. (Korn, pp. 84-85) This was followed by a strike at Chase's two bottleworks, when blowers walked out demanding an increase in wages. The two plants were forced to close. (Korn, p. 85)

On Sunday, May 2, 1886, a parade was held to demonstrate support for the eight-hour movement. The parade attracted about 2,500 marchers and ended in a picnic at the Milwaukee Gardens without provoking any incident. On Monday,

May 3, 1886, workers who were reluctant to return to their jobs gathered on street corners. An informal consensus was reached whereby striking workers would close down the four largest companies still open, Falk Brewery, E. P. Allis Reliance Works, the West Milwaukee Railroad Car Shops, and Bay View's Rolling Mills. About 1,000 striking brewery workers, members of the Gambrinus Assembly of the Knights of Labor, decided to march to the Falk Brewery to persuade or force Falk employees to quit. Falk employees had accepted a compromise offer by their employer and at first resisted a walk-out, but eventually went out on strike. The railroad shops were also closed after a group of 300 to 400 Polish workers grew to 1,300 and forced shovelers in the coal sheds to quit. Strikers then marched on the Reliance Works of E. P. Allis. Allis employees temporarily turned back the storming strikers at the main gate with fire hoses and had to drive back 300 men who rushed another entrance. The crowd eventually scattered when local police received reinforcements. When the Mayor refused Allis' request for armed guards for the plant, Allis shut down the works. This left the Rolling Mills in Bay View as the only major employer still operating. (Gavett, pp. 59-61; Ozanne, p. 9; Korn, p. 85)

The following morning, May 4th, strikers assembled near St. Stanislaus Church, and, when they heard that the Allis Reliance Works was closed, decided to march through the Kinnickinnic Valley and shut down factories and shops along the way to the Rolling Mills. A crowd numbering between 700 and 2,000 strikers marched toward Bay View and began a fight with William Donahoe, who was directing work on the repair of the Mill docks. The crowd then assembled at the Rolling Mills' office. Although now technically in the Village of Bay View, Milwaukee Police followed the crowd hoping to stave off violence. The

police were reinforced by the county sheriffs. Sheriff George Paschen requested the aid of local militia. While the various militia companies were assembling, a strikers' committee of ten men, including Robert Schilling and Andrew Bonzel, met with Mill Superintendent John C. Parks, Company Secretary Francis Hinton, and Bay View Justice of the Peace James McIver, who functioned in a legal capacity for the Mill. Initial attempts by company officials to address the crowd about wage issues was shouted down, and the committee and company officials went into the Mill office to confer. The strikers proposed an eight-hour day and a daily wage of \$1.50, despite the fact that the Mill workers were not interested in participating in the strike. While the men were conferring, the various militia units began assembling around the plant, touching off outbursts of rock throwing. As the mood of the crowd grew uglier, word came that local officials would not meet the strikers' demand, but had telegraphed Chicago for instructions. When it was learned that the Chicago offices refused any concessions, the crowd threw more rocks and hostilities increased. The demonstrators dispersed when the guardsmen began firing above the heads of the crowds, and the plant was shut down. The guardsmen camped out at the Rolling Mills overnight to prevent further violence. (Gavett, pp. 61-64; Korn, pp. 86-87; Ozanne, p. 10)

On Wednesday morning, May 5th, the strikers assembled once again near St. Stanislaus Church. Many had slept in nearby fields over night. The mob of 7,000 then marched toward the Rolling Mills carrying the eight-hour flags. Since the plant had been closed, the crowd's primary goal was to oust the militia from the Rolling Mills' grounds. The mob marched down South Bay Street and were ordered to stop by Major Traeumer, but they apparently did not hear the order. As the crowd approached the intersection with East Lincoln

Avenue, the guards opened fire on the strikers, authorization having been given by Governor Rusk. The crowd's momentum carried them forward despite the gunfire, but, as the guards marched out to meet them, the crowd retreated, leaving behind seven dead and numerous wounded. One Bay View resident, retired Mill worker Frank Kunkel, was killed as he stepped out of his house on South Bay Street near the bridge. A 12-year-old boy, Frank Nowarczyk, was also killed as he tagged along with the crowd out of curiosity. Other men killed included John Marsh, Robert Erdman, Johann Zazka, Martin Jankowiak, and Michael Ruchalski. Only Kunkel had been a resident of Bay View, and he had not been involved in the strike. (Ozanne, p. 10; Gavett, pp. 64-65; Korn, pp. 87-89)

Unfortunately, these killings put an abrupt end to the eight-hour day movement. The last of the militia was withdrawn by May 13th, and by the middle of the month all factories had returned to work. A few employers attempted to prevent further trouble by adopting the eight-hour day, but then returned to the ten-hour day after a few weeks. The various unions and local assemblies were anxious to disassociate themselves from the riot and ended all strike activities. Labor leader Paul Grottkau and some 36 agitators were arrested, and all were convicted of conspiracy to riot, unlawful assembly, rioting or conspiracy to boycott and were sentenced to jail or else fined. The City rescinded its eight-hour ordinance and municipal employees went back to their 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. work schedule. Most Bay Viewites were critical of the militia's actions and felt that the killings were inexcusable. The members of the Amalgamated came out formally against the riots and criticized the militia's actions. They offered their services to preserve order on the condition that the militia be immediately withdrawn. While the

riots and backlash against labor put an end to the wave of unionization and labor solidarity in the city, it did lead to greater politicization on the part of unions and the formation of labor-oriented political parties that would be able to achieve their goals through legislation rather than strikes. (Gavett, pp. 64-71)

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Italian Anarchist Riot of 1917

Perhaps the most dramatic event of a political nature to occur in Bay View during the early years of this century was the so-called Italian anarchist riot of September 9, 1917. It was described by the Journal as being the worst riot in Milwaukee since the Bay View Eight Hour Day Riot of 1886. The riot and its subsequent coverage in the press drew attention to Milwaukee's growing Italian community and the Italian community of Bay View in particular. It is clear that Milwaukeeans had already formed a prejudicial view of the Sicilians who lived primarily in the city's Third Ward. In addition to differences in customs, language and appearance, incidents of violence and bombings there, the work of the Black Hand, tended to make the general populace look suspiciously upon the new immigrants. Newspaper accounts indicate that prior to the riot, most Milwaukeeans had been unaware that Bay View even had an Italian "colony" as it was termed. Great pains were made to contrast Bay View's northern Italians with the Sicilians of the Third Ward, stressing the former's industrious nature, urban background, Socialist leanings, pure Italian tongue, and lighter skin with the Sicilians' dark skin, anti-Socialist leanings, and unskilled rural background that resulted in their working as laborers or in the fruit commission business. The riot occurred at a time when the government was particularly sensitive to war opposition and

when many leaders with legitimate anti-war sentiments found themselves thrown in jail without the benefit of a trial under the rationale that they were a threat to national security. Perceived threats to security, particularly in the actions of foreigners and immigrants, were seen in every dissenter, even if they were sincere pacifists. The number of true anarchists, organized and ready to strike, was probably very small.

The riot was touched off by the revival meeting held at the corner of Bishop (now Wentworth) and Potter Avenues by Rev. August Giuliani. He was a former Catholic priest, who had established an Italian Evangelical ministry in the Third Ward and had considerable success in preaching to the Sicilian community there. Giuliani decided to expand his preaching to the north Italians living in the northeast portion of Bay View. His revival meetings were a combination of religious preaching and a patriotic program during which he would explain the draft laws and call for his listeners to support America's entry into the war. On the Sundays of August 26, 1917 and September 2, 1917, Giuliani held his revival meetings at the corner of Wentworth and Potter Avenues, but the gatherings were forced to break up when a group of hecklers interrupted the program by shouting derogatory comments about the flag, President Wilson, and the United States. Their overtly threatening posture during the second meeting led the minister to ask for police protection. Four officers were assigned to the September 9th gathering to forestall any violence.

On September 9th, Giuliani proceeded with the patriotic meeting despite having been forewarned by a Bay View resident that trouble was brewing. After singing Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean, the program was to have concluded with

the singing of America, and Giuliani requested that the male bystanders remove their hats. At that moment, a woman down the block from the meeting appeared to have given a signal, and a mob of Italian men rushed out of their clubhouse at 2496 South Wentworth Avenue (a.k.a. 1506-1508 E. Russell Avenue) and approached the minister, shaking their fists and cursing. The police detectives stepped in to quiet the crowd, and after one of the Italians was searched for weapons, shooting broke out. The gun battle was brief, but a number of people were shot. The mob's alleged ringleader, Antonio Formaceo (a.k.a. Formaseu and Fornaquier in the press), was killed outright, and a second man, August Marinelli (a.k.a. Marvila, Marvilla) was fatally wounded and died later. Three other Italians, Michael Magunik, Burt (Bartold) Testolini, and Lille Amedeo (a.k.a. Anelo, Amadeo Lille and Lillinezo Amebo) were also wounded but recovered. Detective Albert Templin had a flesh wound in his right temple, and Detective John Rylcwisz had a wound on the finger of his right hand. Rev. Giuliani and his workers were unharmed. Between 13 and 16 individuals were rounded up by police after the incident. Most appear to have been in their 20's and 30's. Most were employees of Illinois Steel Company. Company Superintendent Charles Seaman said that there had been reports of "improper" talk at the plant, but that the company had taken steps to suppress it. Nothing had been heard, however, that foreshadowed this outbreak of violence.

Because of their derogatory remarks about the government and the President, it was suspected that these Italians were anarchists rather than religious dissenters. A police raid on their club headquarters at 2496 South Wentworth Avenue confirmed their suspicions. Located at the rear, some accounts say upstairs, of a tavern run by Austrian Steve Asvie, the police

found revolutionary literature, records and posters. One book dealt with the Russian revolution, and another was a drama that expressed anti-religious views. Incriminating materials were also found at 2439 South Wentworth Avenue where a number of the rioters had lived. (MI 370-35) The meeting place of the club was called I Delitanti Filodrammatici del Circolo Studi Sociali.

Fearing further outbreaks, the neighborhood was under heavy guard Sunday night and Monday morning. When local residents refused to supply the police with information regarding the rioters and their motives and history, they were merely following the centuries old Italian practice of distrusting local officials although this hampered the investigating of the case. It was learned, however, that a fundraising picnic had been scheduled by the rioters for the following Sunday to raise money for worldwide anarchist activities.

Law enforcement officials were quick to state that the case would be prosecuted to the fullest extent on the grounds of attempted murder. Federal officials also looked into the matter to determine if they should have jurisdiction of the case on the grounds of national security. Investigators sought to find links to other anarchist groups across the country as they nervously wondered if the Bay View riot was part of a larger uprising. Newspaper headlines from this time period were full of stories of anarchist plots, and government raids on alleged anarchist strongholds, so it was to be expected that Milwaukee officials would react strongly to the incident.

Eventually 11 Italians were charged with assault with intent to kill. They included: Vincent Frattesse; Adolph Frattesse; Daniel Bellucci; Pasquale Nardina; his wife, Mary Nardina; Gavino Demmeccurra; Burt Testolini; Lille

Amadeo; Pentasceni Angelo; Louis Serafina; and Peter Bianchi. Following several continuances and a preliminary hearing on October 15th, an incident occurred which practically guaranteed that the defendants would be found guilty when they went to trial. On November 24, another incidence of violence shocked the community. On that Saturday, a bomb was found outside Guiliani's church in the Third Ward by the daughter of Mrs. Spicciatti, who was cleaning the church. Had the child not been playing outside, it is doubtful that the wrapped package would have been discovered in the narrow space between the church and an adjacent fence. When the bomb did not detonate upon being moved, the package was moved inside the church and unwrapped and examined by two church workers. The police were called to come and collect the device, but when they failed to show up after 45 minutes, another church worker, teenager Sam Mazzone, was instructed to take it to the nearby central police station at the northeast corner of North Broadway and East Wells Street. The bomb did not seem to alarm the officers at the station, and it was said that Mazzone's casual handling of the device reassured them the it was harmless. Some time later, as a number of detectives were examining the bomb, it exploded, doing considerable damage to the station and killing nine officers and a woman who had come to the station to make a complaint.

In the aftermath of the bloody incident, around 40 Italians were rounded up as officials scoured the Italian community looking for the person or group responsible. Police were instructed to pick up and bring in for questioning any Italian who failed to give a good account of himself. Twelve were eventually held longer for additional questioning. It was immediately assumed that the bomb was set in revenge for the jailing of the 11 Bay View Italians allegedly involved in the riot of September 9th. Specialists from the Chicago

Police Department were called in to lend their expertise on bomb construction and the Italian language. Rewards were proposed by both the city and the state for information leading to a conviction on this case. Ralph Izard, special agent for the Federal Department of Justice, also monitored the case.

The Third Ward Sicilians were briefly under suspicion, but it was quickly noted that the November 24th bomb was far more sophisticated than the homemade bombs used in the Black Hand revenge bombings. Some speculated that an outsider was involved, possibly from Chicago, since that city had experienced 50 bombings in the previous 11 months. Others believed that the Bay View Italians were responsible since they had Socialist leanings. One Bay View resident disagreed with the popular view, saying that the Italian "boys out here didn't have the nerve" to construct a bomb and that they were a "better class" of Italians with some knowledge of French and German, who spoke a pure Italian and were industrious, not malicious in character. (Milwaukee Journal 1917 November 26, p. 5, November 27, p. 2)

The Rev. Giuliani, however, was convinced that the bomb was an attempt to destroy his congregation, and he was quoted in the press as saying, "The Bay View Italians hate me and my church because in addition to regular services, we often had meetings at which we advocated patriotism and true Americanism. I don't think they liked to even hear my outlines of the work of the selective service which affected so many of the younger element in Bay View." (Milwaukee Journal 1917 November 27, p. 5)

Amid the turmoil of the bomb investigation and the media coverage of the burial of the slain officers, the trial of the Bay View rioters began on

December 5th despite the defense attorney's attempt at a change of venue to a less prejudicial location. The prosecution's strategy was to show that the attack on September 9th had been a premeditated conspiracy to follow up threats made earlier to Rev. Giuliani. The defense attorney's strategy was to portray the Italians as "parlor Socialists" and social reformers rather than ruthless anarchists. The prosecution definitely had the advantage during the trial. Prosecution witnesses clearly identified the defendants as being at the scene of the incident, and their statements were unwavering throughout a vigorous cross examination. Incriminating objects found in the clubhouse and at 2439 South Wentworth Avenue included loaded automatic pistols, boxes of ammunition, shotgun cartridges, anarchist books, and pictures of the "Reds" from the Haymarket riot. Some of the literature seemed particularly damning; texts stated that President Wilson was worse than (Pancho) Villa, the Red Cross was a fraud, and Liberty Bonds were slavery bonds. Other literature urged Italians to resist the Selective Service, called upon soldiers to desert, mocked matrimony in favor of free love, and condemned the church and state. District Attorney W. C. Zabel also had a letter allegedly written by defendant Testolini that stated if the evangelist, presumably Giuliani, was to return a third time to Bay View, they would bring the god of rebellion on their heads. A second letter advocated refusal to take part in the war and indicated that the overthrow of the government was preferable to pitting comrade against comrade. Statements from the defendants, taken at earlier hearings, were also read in translation and indicated that at least several defendants were members of the club at 2496 South Wentworth Avenue and were Socialist anarchists who believed in no government and were willing to fight for revolution. (Milwaukee Journal 1917 December 8, p. 2; December 10, pp. 3, 13; December 12, pp. 3, 15)

Defense Attorney William B. Rubin faced an uphill battle in the case. Defense witnesses eventually recanted their earlier statements and most indicated that they did not see what really happened. Rubin countered Zabel's introduction of anarchist literature by reading from the milder books seized at the Italian clubhouse including books from the public library and Socialist works of a "ballot-non-bullet" type. Rubin also indicated that there had been a report from the Department of Health and a book Civics in America. The defense likewise tried to show that the riot was an outbreak of religious prejudice not political action and that all the defendants were nominally Catholic. Statements from the defendants, however, indicated that they held to no particular religion and undermined Rubin's strategy. Probably the biggest setback of a prejudicial nature was the arrest of four defense witnesses after their testimony at the trial. Local authorities justified their actions on the grounds that the individuals could furnish clues in the November 24th bombing. When Attorney Rubin protested to Judge A. C. Backus, the judge said he had no authority outside of the courtroom. One of those arrested, John La Duca, was the secretary of the Italian Branch of the Socialist party in the U.S. He had come up from Chicago to testify that he had been a guest speaker at the Italian Club on September 9th but had not incited the men to violence. La Duca was subsequently denied a writ of habeas corpus and was transferred to Federal custody pending possible deportation. Another of the witnesses arrested, Angelo Geracci, was the secretary of the Italian Branch of the Socialist party here. I.W.W. (International Workers of the World) literature in his pockets and a letter from I.W.W. leader Bill Heywood were found in his possessions urging Geracci to collect a fund for the defense of I.W.W. members then in jail across the country. The press

indicated that three additional Italians from Bay View, although not witnesses, were arrested when they went to furnish bail to Enrico Penteleone, who had been arrested after the bombing. All three had lived at 2449 South Wentworth Avenue in the heart of the Bay View Italian colony (MI 370-32) and had gotten their money together after an official-looking person had told them that they could get their friend out of jail by posting bond. All three had testified that the police shot first on the day of the riot. (Milwaukee Journal 1917, December 10, p. 13; December 12, p. 15; December 14, p. 2; December 15, p. 1; December 16, p. 1; December 17, p. 2; December 18, p. 2; December 19, p. 2)

Closing arguments were made on Thursday, December 20, 1917. Rubin gave a three-hour summation of the case and concentrated on the acquittal of Daniel Belucci and Louis Serafina. After a mere 17 minutes of deliberation, the jury found all 11 defendants guilty. Happy District Attorney Zabel said that Milwaukee was to be congratulated on the "eradication of this hotbed of anarchy." He also said that had this incident never occurred, the Italians could have joined hands with similar anarchist groups across the country to overthrow the government by force of arms. The exuberant Zabel added that, "We owe this to the Rev. Giuliani, who had the courage to crush the tail of this hydra-headed monster of anarchy until the police came and severed its head." (Milwaukee Journal 1917 December 21, p. 4)

A week later, on January 27, 1917, Judge Backus denied Attorney Rubin's request for a new trial, stating he believed that the trial, jurors and verdict had been fair and that, "No court record has ever been so stained or branded with anything so vile. With your inexcusable and reprehensible

spirit, you have branded our country and not a single one of you is a citizen of the United States." Backus sentenced each of the rioters to 25 years at Waupun. When given a chance to say any last words, all the defendants denied their guilt. They later appealed to the State Supreme Court, which upheld the conviction in seven cases and granted new trials to four men. These four were later deported by the Federal government before a new trial date was set.

(Milwaukee Journal 1917 December 27, pp. 1-2; "Dynamite Death," p. 107)

Just when Milwaukee began to relax its anxiety over anarchists, two bombs were discovered at the home of District Attorney Zabel in January of 1918. One was a fuse bomb, and one resembled the acid type bomb that had killed the police officers the prior November. Neither bomb exploded, and both were taken and dumped in a creek in North Milwaukee and later examined. It was discovered that the fuse bomb had been ignited but that a timely rain shower the previous night had put it out. Police guards were subsequently stationed at the homes of Milwaukee's officials, but no further incidents occurred. It is possible that the war's end in November of 1918 had lessened the anarchist's passion for revenge. The bombing of November 24th and the placement of the bombs in January of 1918 remained a mystery, and the perpetrators were never found. A former writer for the Milwaukee Free Press related the events in "Dynamite Death!" in True Detective Mysteries magazine in 1932 and indicated that the police were still quietly hoping to uncover clues in the matter. ("Dynamite Death!" pp. 106-107)

The Journal reported that the conviction of the 11 rioters practically meant an end to the Italian colony in Bay View. Since the bombing incident, three-quarters of the male residents had become either defendants or were

arrested and held by the government. Only women and children were said to remain, although population records indicate a larger community than the Journal implied. The forecast of the colony's demise proved inaccurate, however, and the Italian community in Bay View actually grew over time and came to be called Bay View's "Little Italy." Interestingly, none of the published Bay View histories such as Gauer's, Zillman's or Gurda's mentions this incident, perhaps in deference to relatives still living in the area or perhaps due to the desire of the community to forget a grisly incident that once drew an unflattering spotlight on the neighborhood. (Milwaukee Journal 1917 December 21, p. 4)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Given the diverse nature of the topics covered in this chapter, no one source can readily summarize all the social and political groups that were active in the survey area. Lack of written accounts and records is particularly evident when examining social clubs, intellectual societies, temperance activities, and women's organizations. Most of the information assembled has come from City Directory listings, brief newspaper references, and the Sentinel Index.

Excellent historic summaries of the major fraternal organizations is provided by Alvin Schmidt's Fraternal Organizations (1980), part of the Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions. Specific information relating to Bay View's groups was gleaned from the City Directory, Flower's History of Milwaukee (1881), and Korn's The Story of Bay View (1980). Erwin Zillman's So You Will Know... (1966) has rather nice historic summaries of Bay View's service groups and veterans' organizations.

Korn's book, Thomas Gavett's Development of the Labor Movement in Milwaukee (1965), and Robert W. Ozanne's The Labor Movement in Wisconsin (1984) were each particularly valuable in chronicling the Bay View Eight-Hour Day Riot of 1886 and placing the incident in the context of Milwaukee's overall labor history.

The Italian Anarchist Riot of 1917 was given a fair amount of press coverage in the Sentinel and Journal, and it would probably be interesting to study the incident in depth by examining what slant was given to the incident by such other newspapers as the Evening Wisconsin, Daily News, Free Press, and Victor Berger's Socialist Leader, although the latter was plagued by a suspension in its mailing privileges at that time. An interesting article, "Dynamite Death! Milwaukee's Appalling Police Massacre," was written about the incident in True Detective Mysteries in September of 1932. While the article's accuracy was originally somewhat suspect, a comparison with press accounts of the time shows that the writer, an unnamed former Free Press reporter, did not overly sensationalize the event although it was written in a dramatic fashion.

12. Recreation and Entertainment

RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

Introduction

Like the larger community around it, Bay View has experienced a rather dramatic evolution in the character of its recreational and entertainment offerings. In its pioneer era, settlers relied chiefly on informal outdoor activities for amusement. From the village period to the end of the century, a few indoor amusements appeared and at least two picnic grounds became popular places for group gatherings and picnics. Team sports were well patronized, especially baseball. In this century, as open space and natural areas disappeared and the automobile made recreational opportunities in the countryside more accessible, local entertainment centered around the movie theaters that were located in the neighborhood.

Pioneer Era Recreation

When first settled, Bay View lacked the social and recreational amenities of the well-established communities from which many of the pioneers had come. Entertainment was of a homegrown variety out of necessity, and group social activities were infrequent. An occasional dance was held at private homes, but by and large, hunting, shooting and racing were the preferred amusements of the day. Hunting was popular in the nearby marshes and streams that bordered Bay View. Turkey shooting was a favorite activity in winter, the poor turkey being placed out on the ice as a target. The "skill" involved in this sport was being able to distinguish the white turkey from its snowy surroundings. Horse racing, using Indian ponies, was said to have been an even more popular sport than hunting. Racing was generally done in the winter on the frozen rivers or on the sand near the Chase warehouse at the old mouth of the Milwaukee River. The Chase Brothers were said to have built a race track on their Chicago Road property. (Korn, p. 31-32)

Village Era Recreation

As the wilderness receded with the clearing and cultivation of the land, hunting and racing diminished in Bay View as game became scarce and the open land formerly used for racing was given over to agriculture. With the establishment of the rolling mills in 1867, the rural community grew into a town that soon had several thousand inhabitants. The population growth and subsequent development forever eradicated Bay View's rural character. Outdoor recreation gradually became confined to the private picnic groves operated for profit and ice skating on frozen ponds in the winter. The large population, however, could now support new group activities including team sports, amateur theatricals, choral concerts and even spelling bees.

Skating

Ice skating was one of Bay View's most popular activities until the turn of the century. Skaters enjoyed the ice on Deer Creek and Deer Creek Pond, Kelly's Pond and Early's Pond, as well as a couple of other spots. Deer Creek Pond, located between the Chicago and North Western Railroad tracks and Logan Street was a favorite spot until it was filled-in around the turn of the century. Kelly's Pond was located at Montana Street and Kinnickinnic Avenue. Said to have been deep and dangerous, Kelly's Pond was a former clay pit for the brickyard formerly located at the site. After a number of tragic drownings, it too, was filled in. Early's Pond was named after the pioneer Early Family. This pond was located near the Chase Glass Factory in the vicinity of East Lincoln Avenue and the Kinnickinnic River. Another, unnamed, pond was located at the corner of Ellen Street and Kinnickinnic Avenue and was popular with local children until it was filled in. Trowbridge School alumni recall skating in winter on a small pond at the rear of the schoolyard near

East Rusk and Delaware Avenues. (Zillman, p. 26; Gauer, p. 10; Gurda, p. 38, Trowbridge History, p. 2)

Indoor roller skating also had a large following. Bay View shared in the roller craze like the rest of Milwaukee where virtually every neighborhood had its own rink. Bay View's roller rink was built on the west bank of Deer Creek Pond at what is today 2553-2565 South Logan Street (MI 349-8). The crude, rambling wooden shanty was open three nights a week. Since it was the largest enclosed public space in Bay View, it was also used for high school reunions and theatrical performances. It was eventually razed and replaced by the Taubenheimer Flats, in 1894. (Korn, p. 110)

Theatricals and Concerts

Korn reports that popular plays were presented by the village's drama organization, The Thespians, members of which included the better known men and women of the community. Puddlers' Hall on St. Clair Street, was the location for many of these amateur theatricals. The Village Board of Trustees exempted the group from the required license and fee for public performances. (Korn, p. 110)

The Bay View Choral Union gave its annual spring concerts at the roller rink, since it was the largest building in the village. The Choral Union was comprised of villagers accompanying guest artists from Milwaukee and Chicago. The group was under the direction of Professor Alden G. Faville of Milwaukee. (Korn, p. 110)

Bay View also had a civic orchestra and band, both under the direction of music teacher John Koehler, which occasionally appeared in parades in Milwaukee. (Korn, p. 111)

Sporting and Athletic Groups

With the increase in Bay View's population, numerous team sports appear to have been organized in the neighborhood by the 1880's and 1890's. Baseball was a popular sport and one article in the Sentinel refers to just a handful of the many teams that played including the Puddle Mill, Clerks, Ninepins, KK's, Clippers and Our Boys teams. (Milwaukee Sentinel 1883 Aug. 29 5/3) As Bay View was settled by many individuals of English and Welsh ethnicity, cricket was also a popular sport. The Cream City Cricket Club, which met at Humboldt Park in the 1890's, was headed up by John and D. M. Sneddon and Robert Cowings in 1892. (CD 1892) The Tian-a-Watha Lawn Tennis Club, listed in the 1896 city directory, played on the tennis grounds at the corner of Kinnickinnic Avenue and Otjen Street. Officers included Warren D. Brinton, L. M. Roberts, William Howard, J. W. Disch, Henry Disch and D. M. Sneddon. A photograph of this group, taken in 1893, is published in Korn's The Story of Bay View. (Korn, opposite p. 98; CD 1896) Another sporting group was the Young Men's Literary and Athletic Club, later called the Bay View Athletic Club. In the mid-1890's, the group rented the former Wentworth Avenue School for their clubhouse. (See Schools) Officers included James A. Kerr, William Barr, Jr., Charles Bird, William Schroeder and William Learman, Adolph Retzlaff, and Edward S. Erickson. Robert Izatt was listed as the instructor. (CD 1896, 1898) There was also the Kinnickinnic Athletic Club which met at John Gauer's barbershop at 2119 South Kinnickinnic Avenue at Becher Street. (Razed) (CD 1892) One vestige of the earlier days of hunting was the Bay View

Gun Club, active through about the mid-1890's. Officers included F. Van Ells, W. Henry, E. Hirschbuehl, Philip Poehlman and W. C. Henry. (CD 1890, 1892)

Other Entertainments

In addition to these activities, Bay Viewites also patronized numerous saloons throughout the neighborhood. Although saloons had originally been prohibited in the village, by the 1880's the village trustees allowed their establishment to operate in town. Gauer's book, The Paul Gauer Story, gives an interesting account of the popularity of the tavern as a social institution among the young factory workers at the turn of the century. Annie Rooney's house of ill repute was located at Kinnickinnic and Oklahoma Avenues just outside the city limits and appears to have been the only documented bordello in Bay View. There was also at least one bowling alley, run by a Mr. Furness, located on Kinnickinnic Avenue. (Gauer, p. 23, 25)

Public Picnic Groves

There were two known public gardens located in Bay View in the Nineteenth Century, Union Park and Schildknecht's Grove.

Union Park was a pie-shaped parcel of land bounded by Kinnickinnic Avenue on the west and the Chicago and North Western Railroad tracks on the east with the point of the parcel reaching East Pryor Avenue. The parcel was owned by the Schlitz Brewing Company and according to Reimahn's 1979 article in the Southeast Post, Union Park opened shortly before the establishment of the rolling mill. City directories first list the park in 1883, however, and indicate that Schlitz was the proprietor while Dennis Kelly was the lessee. Kelly had previously operated a tavern on Ellen Street (today's Delaware).

Kelly would run Union Park and its tavern through 1887. Part of the property was wooded and there was a skating pond on the premises in the winter. There was also a hammer test for strength and a stand where balls could be pitched to knock down dolls for prizes. In the park were located a bandstand, seats, picnic tables, and a hall that could serve one thousand people. The hall was used for dancing in the summer. Kelly was succeeded by William C. Kneisler who had worked at his family's tavern at the corner of Kinnickinnic Avenue and Maple Street. Kneisler managed Union Park through 1892 after which he opened his newly-built tavern at the intersections of East Estes, South Ellen and Kinnickinnic Avenues. (MI 322-17)

Union Park was popular for group picnics and the Sentinel reported such organizations as the Good Templars, Amalgamated Association and the Sons of St. George Hearts of Oak Lodge having picnics there between 1883 and 1889. The park was said to have become less popular by the late 1880's. Kneisler was succeeded as park manager by Cornelius W. Murphy (1893) and Thomas F. Cummings (1894-c. 1898, 1899). City directories stop listing Union Park beginning in 1900 but the tavern remained in operation, run by John Liesenfeld (1900-1908). The address of Liesenfeld's tavern changed slightly in 1909 implying that the original tavern building had been replaced or moved. Gauer in his 1955 autobiography indicated that the saloon from the park still stood, and Zillman wrote that Jerry Beyer's Tap occupied the building, last addressed at 2812 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. The old park building was apparently razed in 1975. A Kohl's supermarket (built originally by National Tea in 1958) now occupies what must have been the major part of the park at 2818-2840 South Kinnickinnic Avenue. (MI 322-11)

(Riemahn "Union Park," June 13, 1979; A Jaunt with Jamie through Bay View's Memory Lane, unnumbered pages, "Memories of Old Bay View; Gauer, p. 10; Milwaukee Sentinel 1883 July 13 4/7, August 29 5/3, 1889 August 11 9/4; Zillman, p. 50)

Schildknecht's Grove was located at the southeast corner of Trowbridge Street and Kinnickinnic Avenue. Details about this park are sketchy, but it appeared to have extended to Delaware Avenue and down to Rusk Avenue. The few references to this park remark on the wildflowers growing there but there does not appear to have been any structures on the grounds comparable to those at Union Park. Schildknecht's residence was built on Kinnickinnic Avenue in the late 1880's (MI 324-5, -6) and Trowbridge School was built there in the early 1890's (see Schools) so the park had apparently been subdivided by the late 1880's. (Gauer, p. 11; Trowbridge History "Beginnings of Trowbridge," p. 1)

Twentieth Century Entertainment

By the turn of the century, Bay View was no longer the self-contained community that it once had been. Fishing was pretty much confined to Lake Michigan, the private outdoor picnic groves had closed the land and subdivided, and many of the popular skating ponds had been filled in. Skating, sledding, picnicking and ballplaying were now confined to the two municipally-run public parks, Humboldt Park and South Shore Park. The roller rink had been razed and replaced with a rowhouse block. With the improvements that had been made to public transportation, travel to Milwaukee's central business district to see plays and concerts became common and local bands and theatrical troupes faded away. Local taverns and bowling alleys remained a recreational mainstay of the working classes, however. A new invention, the