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1. Natives and Traders

Darkness. Sound of breaking surf. In a series of slow dissolves, the horizon east of South Shore Park comes alive with the colors of sunrise. As sun clears the horizon, camera slows to real time and pulls back to show the urban lakefront. Host starts talking and walks into the frame.

It starts here, of course, where the lake meets the land. Our story dawns beside one of the largest bodies of fresh water on earth. Today Lake Michigan is weather and drinking water, a place to fish and a place to sail, but it's much more than that. Lake Michigan is why Milwaukee's here. It was on this shore of an inland sea, where a deep river enters a broad bay, that a city was born.

Pan north across bay to downtown and hold. Wave sounds continue.

It would be a city known for beer and bubblers, for smokestacks and steeples, for Socialist mayors and major industries. But that's not how Milwaukee began.

Wave sounds up. Indian drumbeats begin. As each wave breaks, a layer of urban features is washed away, and the scene morphs to an early-morning view of a broad beach bordered by forest in deep winter. (Grant Park? Point Beach?) Narrator begins.

Dream back, wave by wave, to a time before cities, a time before sidewalks and smokestacks and streetlights. It was in that distant dawn, some 12,000 years ago, that the first Milwaukeeans arrived.

Morph is complete; shot holds.

They found a land just emerging from a million years of ice. Glaciers a mile thick had melted north...

Dissolve to identical shoreline shot in mid-summer.

... leaving behind a sheltering shoreline and a wealth of resources.

early-morning shot of Horicon Marsh in summer, from DNR overlook near city of Horicon

A sprawling marsh covered the Menomonee Valley and much of today's downtown. The wetland provided the natives with fish and waterfowl for their pots ...

Dissolve to close-ups of marsh plants.

... with reeds and rushes for mats and baskets, and with acres of wild rice.

motion shot up into canopy of a dense forest, with sun dappling through

On the high ground above the marsh were dense forests of virgin hardwoods. The canopy was so thick that a traveler could walk for miles in summer without once seeing the sun.

Dissolve to wildlife shots and close-ups of bloodroot and trillium in spring, acorns and wild grapes in late summer.

Here in the woods the natives found bear and deer for meat and hides ... bark and saplings for their dwellings ... plants for medicine and food. The forest was their grocery store, pharmacy, playground, hardware store, and church all rolled into one.

Lapham mound drawings

Some ancient residents left monumental evidence of their ties to the land. Milwaukee County was once dotted with more than 200 earthen mounds built nearly a thousand years ago. Some were simple cones or ovals; others were elaborate effigies of panthers, birds, and lizards.

grave goods
(This is the first artifact shot and should establish a style: the visual equivalent of a caress, with objects spotlighted and rotating in darkness.)

Most contained the graves of honored tribal members, buried with objects they had known in life: a favorite spear, a well-crafted pot, a familiar pipe. Every mound was a sacred point on the native compass, a place of communion with the spirits of ancestors and the spirit of the earth.

Host reappears and narrates from top of remaining mounds.

Southern Wisconsin once had the greatest number of effigy mounds in North America. Most have long since vanished. In Milwaukee, all that remain are this low-rise earthwork in Lake Park ...

State Fair mound

... and this little gumdrop on the State Fair grounds. The rest of these ancient wonders were plowed under or paved over long ago.

Fade to black. Drumbeat comes up and singing begins. Scene opens on a powwow at night, with camera focused on campfire as traditional dancers pass in front of the flames. Historic portraits of representative members appear as insets when the tribal names are read. Narrator returns.

A long procession of tribes followed the Mound-Builders in eastern Wisconsin. The Menominee and the Ho-Chunk, or Winnebago, made their homes in the area for centuries. They were joined in the 1600s by tribes fleeing warfare farther east. The newcomers included the Sauk, Fox, Ojibwe, Odawa, Huron and, most numerous of all, the Potawatomi — Keepers of the Fire. They were the senior partners in a tribal alliance that lasted for generations.

Village sites, represented by campfires, are superimposed on a current aerial photo of central Milwaukee.

The Potawatomi and their neighbors established at least seven villages within two miles of the city's present downtown.

Campfire symbols hold their positions as aerial photo dissolves to Lapham's 1856 map of Milwaukee, which highlights natural features.

All were located at the border of water and woodland, and each had its own chief, its own storytellers, and its own mixture of tribes. The natives called their home something like "Milwaukee," which means something like "good land," and the name was richly deserved.

spearing fish
artifact shot: spear head

Like their predecessors, the villagers gathered the bounty of the earth around them. They speared fish in the Milwaukee River at a time when it was so clean you could see the bottom at a depth of eighteen feet.

gathering wild rice
artifact shot: rice flail

They harvested wild rice in the lush wetlands of the Menomonee Valley. "Menomonee" means "wild rice" in the native tongue.

corn hills
"Indian Fields" site on pioneer map
artifact shot: Indian corn

Milwaukee's natives were also gardeners. They raised beans and squash, pumpkins and melons, but corn was their major crop. The corn hills in one South Side clearing, called "Indian Fields" by early white settlers, covered most of a square mile. The chief of the neighboring village was named, fittingly, Cornstalk.

host inside Forest Home Cemetery

Indian Fields was right about here, on the northern edge of Forest Home Cemetery, and Cornstalk's village was across the street. Life wasn't easy here. Imagine camping out twelve months of the year, through the hottest summers and the hardest

winters. Imagine having to make every tool, every pot, every dwelling by hand. Imagine going to the woodlands and wetlands for everything you ate and everything you wore. Living in native Milwaukee required great skill, resourcefulness, and cooperation.

Change camera angle.

Life may have been hard, but it also had a wholeness we latecomers find easy to romanticize. Milwaukee's natives were not simply *on* the earth; they were *of* the earth. There was a balance here between life and land that endured for thousands of years. But change was in the wind.

Narrator returns. Painting of Nicolet's landing on Green Bay, zooming out from Nicolet's face to the complete scene. Drumbeats give way to a simple French air.
The winds of change blew west from Europe. Even before Columbus, fair-skinned visitors had crossed the ocean to explore and exploit what was, for them, a new world. They eventually made it to Wisconsin. In 1634 Jean Nicolet landed on the shores of Green Bay, astonishing the Ho-Chunk who lived there.

Father Marquette in canoe

Forty years later, two more Frenchmen came west: Father Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, and explorer Louis Joliet. Father Marquette camped in Milwaukee during a 1674 canoe trip that took him from Green Bay to the Mississippi River and back again.

Marquette University sign with campus in background

His name still graces Milwaukee's largest private college.

On early French maps, animate the canoe route from Montreal to Mackinac and Green Bay, intercut with Canadian paintings of the voyageurs.

Frenchmen kept coming, drawn by the region's abundance of beaver and the abundance of natives to

hunt them. Montreal was the fur trade's capital, and its foot soldiers were the hard-living, hard-drinking *voyageurs*. It took a crew of *voyageurs* nearly a month to push their trade canoes from Montreal to the major posts at Mackinac and Green Bay. They paddled from sunrise to sunset, seven days a week, and routinely carried packs that weighed as much as they did on the long and frequent portages.

Continue animation on a French map of Lake Michigan, tracing route from Green Bay to Milwaukee.

Milwaukee was a minor post in the Great Lakes fur country, but it attracted its share of traders, men with musical names like Laurent du Charme, Alexander la Framboise, and Jean Mirandeau.

Vieau post drawing

In 1795, Jacques Vieau became the resident trader in Milwaukee, building his post on a bluff above the Menomonee Valley. Vieau's chosen site lay next to a native village and alongside a well-traveled trail into the interior.

Morph from drawing of post to comparable view in Mitchell Park.

Today ... it's part of Mitchell Park.

host at Vieau marker, with Domes in background

This rather neglected rock marks the site of Jacques Vieau's trading post. There was once a little cabin on this bluff, a little cabin full of kids. Vieau and his wife, Angeline, had about a dozen children. Imagine them, 200 years ago, catching frogs in the marsh below us and maybe even sledding down this hill in winter, just as kids do today.

Change camera angle.

The cabin was also the home of a local legend: Solomon Juneau. Juneau was one of those larger-than-life transitional figures. He came to Milwaukee

when it was a wilderness, and he stayed to become the city's first mayor.

Narrator returns. Juneau portrait.

Born just outside Montreal, Juneau had come west as a teen-aged *voyageur*. He eventually found less exhausting work. In 1818, after serving at posts in Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, Juneau took a job as Jacques Vieau's clerk in Milwaukee.

Josette portrait

He was soon his employer's son-in-law as well. Solomon Juneau fell in love with Vieau's oldest daughter, Josette, whose heritage was both French and Menominee. After what must have been a closely watched courtship, given their cramped quarters, Solomon and Josette were married in 1820.

Juneau cabin drawing

Juneau followed his father-in-law as Milwaukee's leading trader. In 1825 he and Josette built their own cabin and trading post on the first dependably dry spot above the mouth of the Milwaukee River.

Water/Wisconsin today, shot from top of Bank One and widening out
[Use same vantage point for Section 2 shot of angled bridges]

It's now the corner of Water Street and Wisconsin Avenue. Nearly two centuries later, Juneau's corner is still the commercial crossroads of downtown Milwaukee.

artifact shot: furs of several varieties, beads, blankets, axe heads, bells; Juneau's open ledger

In a business known for its rough-and-tumble tactics, Solomon Juneau earned a reputation as a firm but fair trader. He and Josette prospered in Milwaukee, earning enough to support a family of at least thirteen children.

different artifacts: quill pen, inkwell, desk, French books

They also earned enough to send those children to boarding schools in Green Bay and Detroit. Although they lived in the wilderness, education was vitally important to the Juneaus — a point Josette made clear in a letter to her daughters in Detroit.

French-accented voice reads letter:

"I live in hopes that you will be able in a few months to write me a letter in the French language…. Tho I do wish in the same time that your English education should not be neglected and hope to see you both well educated in both languages. This is what I and your father wish to see, all of you dear children well educated, which is the best Fortune we can leave you all after we are dead and gone."

Artifacts disappear, one by one. Fade slowly to black. Drumbeats resume.

The Juneau family's backwoods prosperity lasted barely a decade. The beaver were soon trapped out. Imported diseases ravaged the Indian population. Dramatic change was in the wind again. American newcomers with no interest in furs were coming west, and a colorful chapter in Milwaukee's history was coming to an end.

Reprise powwow scene. Intercut with copy of treaty and candle being extinguished.

The next chapter was exodus. As a prelude to white settlement, federal officials persuaded the natives to sign a pair of one-sided treaties in the early 1830s. Indian title to Milwaukee was, in the apt metaphor of the day, "extinguished."

Continue with "Indian Fields" site on pioneer map, then animate removal route on map of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas. Drum song fades to silence. Historic photo of Potawatomi on barren Kansas reservation.

Those who remained were gathered at Indian Fields, on the south side, to begin the slow, sad march to reservations in Iowa and then Kansas. The trip took weeks, and it was Milwaukee's own Trail of Tears.

fast sequence of Indian place names on city limits signs, street signs, and maps: Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wauwatosa, Mequon, Menomonee Falls, Muskego, Waukesha, Mukwonago, Oconomowoc, Kenosha

It appeared that, after thousands of years, nothing would be left of the natives but the names they had left on the landscape.

historic photo of Potawatomi in northern Wisconsin

But their exile was not permanent. Some of the Potawatomi melted into the forest when they were ordered to leave Wisconsin, and others slipped back from across the Mississippi. They stayed one step ahead of white settlers until 1913 ...

scenic photo of a Forest County lake in autumn

... when they were finally granted a reservation of their own in Forest County.

Dissolve to the identical scenic photo on the Canal St. facade of the Potawatomi Casino. Widen to show casino in context of Valley. Dissolve to overview from 16th St. viaduct.

In 1991, the natives returned. With a change in federal law, the Forest County Potawatomi bought back some of their old land and built a casino in the heart of the Menomonee Valley. It opened to what you might call a land-office business.

host inside the casino, sitting on a stool at a slot machine

Whatever you think of Indian gaming, what's going on here is poetic justice on the grand scale.
Milwaukee's natives once treasured the riches of the Menomonee Valley: fish and waterfowl, reeds and

wild rice. But white settlers first claimed the Valley and then filled it in for industry. Today's Potawatomi have found a new source of riches in their old home, and they are reclaiming their wealth — one gambler at a time.

Host pulls the lever of his slot machine. Camera zooms in on the spinning reels. When they stop, instead of numbers and cherries, we see three scenes from the powwow shown earlier. Casino buzz gives way to Indian drum song. Powwow scene holds and ends on a sharp upbeat.

2. New Frontiers

Close-ups of the Denis Sullivan *under sail: bow breaking the waves, block and tackle swinging through a tack, sail straining in the wind. Ship sounds give way to music: a chantey whose theme is "Away to the west." (David Drake?) Cut to host standing on deck, with city skyline in background.*

It's a great way to spend an afternoon, here on Milwaukee Bay. We're sailing aboard the *Denis Sullivan*, a graceful re-creation of the lake schooners of old. This bay was once bright with schooner sails, and the harbor they filled is why Milwaukee's here. Today the *Sullivan* offers a sweeping view of the urban skyline but, if you look carefully, you might see something more subtle. Here on the *Sullivan*, you catch a glimpse of Milwaukee's beginnings … as a city built on water.

Pan down to waves. Dissolve to a contour map of eastern US and animate movement west. Narrator begins.

Wisconsin was still a wilderness when America won its independence, but newcomers were on the way. Year by year, the tide of settlement surged west, first spreading across the Appalachians, then sweeping down the Ohio River and up the Mississippi.

Zero in on northern New York State and animate Erie Canal from Albany to Buffalo, highlighting both cities.

A gigantic public works project opened a new route west. The Erie Canal, completed across New York State in 1825, made it possible to travel by water all the way from the Atlantic coast to the heart of the continent.

Dissolve to lithos of canal boats carrying passengers and cargo.

The Erie Canal boats soon filled with emigrants from New York and New England, most of them young farmers seeking fresh land on the frontier.

lithos or photos of emigrant vessels on Buffalo waterfront

At Buffalo, they transferred to lake ships for the long voyage west.

On contour map of Midwest, animate water route from Buffalo to Lake Michigan.

The journey took them down Lake Erie, up the Detroit River, across Lake Huron, and finally through the Straits of Mackinac into Lake Michigan. The trip from the East Coast often took an entire month.

schooners

Schooners were the first vessel of choice. These three-masted wonders were pictures of grace under sail, but they were all *working* ships: trucks, cars, trains, and planes rolled into one. If you came to eastern Wisconsin in the early years, you came by schooner.

side-wheel steamships

In the 1830s, side-wheel steamships began to take over the passenger trade. All of them were wood-hulled, wood-burning vessels built specifically for the Great Lakes.

Pan down 1830s map of western shore of Lake Michigan from north to south, highlighting coastal townsites. Zoom in on Milwaukee.

By sail or by steam, everyone and everything traveled by water. Cities, therefore, developed at harbors, and harbors, in those days, meant rivers. It was rivers and bays that provided safe anchorage for the lake ships, and it was rivers and bays that gave rise to cities large and small.

Cut to host on deck of Denis Sullivan.

Milwaukee, it so happened, had the deepest river and the broadest bay on the entire western shore of Lake Michigan. No townsite on the lake held more promise, including Chicago. Speculators poured into Milwaukee, certain that their new home would become the Queen City of the Golden West.

Narrator returns. Portrait of Daniel Wells, dissolving to period artifacts: letter, pocket watch, cane, etc.

Those speculators included Daniel Wells, who traveled from Maine to Milwaukee in 1835. Wells wrote to a friend back East soon after his arrival:

(period voice reads letter)

"I have purchased considerable real estate at Milwaukee, mostly village property. The land about Milwaukee is the best in the territory, and as Milwaukee is the only harbor for some distance either way on the lake it must of necessity become a place of great importance. It is now laid out in lots for two miles north and south ..., which lots will, I think, sell immediately for from $100 to $1,000.... [M]uch money has been made speculating in lots already."

A Green Bay newspaper put it more simply: "Milwauky is all the rage."

Solomon Juneau oil portrait

The newcomers found Solomon Juneau waiting for them. The veteran fur trader had seen the handwriting on the wall. In 1831 he became an American citizen and learned to speak English. When white settlers arrived, Juneau staked his claim to what's now the east side of downtown and began to trade in city lots instead of furs.

Juneau's portrait shrinks to an inset position on the east side of the 1836 map of central Milwaukee; his side is labeled "Juneautown." West and south sides are blank.

The pioneers hailed Juneau as "one of Nature's noblemen," a generous host whose word was his

bond. But they did not let him develop such a choice
spot alone.

Byron Kilbourn oil portrait

Some of Juneau's neighbors were also his
competitors, and Byron Kilbourn led the list.
Kilbourn was a Connecticut-born Yankee who arrived
in 1834 and claimed the west bank of the Milwaukee
River. He was ambitious, ethically flexible, and
aggressive to the point of nastiness.

*Kilbourn's portrait shrinks to an inset position on the
west side of the 1836 map, labeled "Kilbourntown."
South side is still blank.*

Juneau, Kilbourn reasoned, was locked between the
river and the lake, while he could expand to the west
indefinitely. Milwaukee, therefore, would have to
rise on his side of the river.

George Walker oil portrait

Another contestant arrived in 1834: George Walker.
He became the founder of Milwaukee's South Side,
building his cabin on a narrow point of land
downstream from Juneau's claim. Walker was a
genial son of Virginia who liked good company and
good food; he tipped the scales at 350 pounds. He
was also known as a good dancer and the best ice
skater in the territory — when the ice was thick
enough.

*Walker's portrait shrinks to an inset position on the south
side of the 1836 map, labeled "Walker's Point."*

Walker's Point had one great advantage over its
rivals: It lay closest to Milwaukee's front door — the
river mouth.

Finished map of all three sections with their founders.

Juneau, Kilbourn, and Walker all agreed that
Milwaukee had a great future, but each believed, for
different reasons, that the future belonged to his

side of town. Milwaukee therefore had not one founder but three.

agricultural settlers

Other settlers had less grandiose dreams. Most pioneers came to farm the land, and they waited impatiently for the first public land sale in 1835.

handbill advertising public land sale

Business was brisk. The going price was just a dollar and a quarter an acre — less than seven dollars for an entire city block.

Host appears at edge of a mature forest at Old World Wisconsin.

The sale marked a radical shift in attitudes toward the land itself. For Milwaukee's natives, and for the traders who relied on them, the area's woodlands and wetlands had sustained a way of life. Early Milwaukeeans needed the land to stay as it was.

Pan directly across from forest to farmstead at OWW.

For the pioneers, Milwaukee's natural resources were obstacles to overcome. They needed to remake the land in their own image.

Host walks into shot.

The scene at Old World Wisconsin is pretty, even pastoral, today, but farmsteads like this were won only with back-breaking effort.

Narrator returns. OWW re-creations of men felling trees and removing stumps. The shots are close-ups, to avoid showing identifiable faces.

As soon as they landed, settlers tackled the arduous work of clearing the forest, grubbing out stumps, and draining wetlands.

OWW re-creation of fields being plowed by horse or oxen, again in close-up

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Only when the land had been denatured was it ready for the plow. Beginning with wheat, local farmers pulled bumper crops from the virgin soil.

OWW garden plot enclosed by rail fences

Newspapers carried reports of four-pound beets, foot-long cucumbers, and eighteen-pound cabbages. Dreams of prosperity in the golden West seemed to come true with every harvest.

early Milwaukee scenes

Milwaukee was another dream come true. The farmers needed a city for trade, banking, supplies, and all kinds of services. The harbor town soon became the commercial capital of frontier Wisconsin. From a handful of white residents in 1834 — most of them named Juneau — Milwaukee's population swelled to 1,000 in 1836 and 6,000 in 1843, not far behind Chicago.

close-ups of houses in early drawings
(period voice reads newspaper report)

One newspaper reporter expressed amazement: "I never saw so much building going on in my life. They are building houses and stores in all directions. Being here is just like living in a *carpenter's shop* — the sound of the hammers heard continually."

Lumber was in such demand that entire boatloads were sold before crews had time to unload it.

Close-up of a deep puddle on a dirt road (OWW?). Horses' hooves plod through the mud, then the wheels of the wagon they're pulling. When wagon has passed, a small boy in period costume appears, looks at camera impishly, and jumps in the puddle, splashing mud over a glass in front of the lens.

Milwaukee grew, but not everyone was equally taken with the site. In 1836 George Pinckney wrote a plaintive letter to his sister in Detroit:

Period voice reads letter:

"Joe has got me out here, and here I am, and a more miserable, God-forsaken place I never saw. The town — or what there is of it — is right in the middle of a swamp. You can't go half a mile, in any direction, without getting into the water. It's a pretty deep mud-hole all over."

Return to 1836 map, beginning with close-up of "Mud Pt." in center of town and widening out to include all three founders.

The mud-hole on Lake Michigan was determined to become a metropolis. But rapid growth aggravated the three-cornered rivalry between Juneautown, Kilbourntown, and Walker's Point.

Juneau photograph

Solomon Juneau had the early lead. He and his business partner, a Green Bay lawyer named Morgan Martin, did all they could to promote lot sales east of the river: grading streets, filling in swamps, giving land for churches...

courthouse photo

... and putting up a chaste little courthouse in what's now Cathedral Square. Juneau also became Milwaukee's first postmaster.

Kilbourn photograph

Byron Kilbourn promoted his side of the river with even more energy. This was not a man who played well with others. Kilbourn refused Juneau's offer of a partnership and tried to undercut his rivals by any means possible.

George Walker photograph

George Walker proved to be the weakest of those rivals.   Despite his favored position near the river mouth, the South Side's founder was without political influence or financial backing. Worse yet, speculators from Green Bay jumped his claim. It took years for Walker to gain clear title to the point that bore his name.

row of 19th-century houses in Walker's Point today

And so Walker's Point finished a distant third in the race for pioneer supremacy. But there was a silver lining. The lack of development pressure allowed Walker's Point to survive to the present as the best-preserved 19th-century neighborhood in Milwaukee.

Kilbourn and Juneau photos again

George Walker's problems left Kilbourn and Juneau to fight it out for dominance, and so they did. True to form, Byron Kilbourn was the most aggressive competitor.

Kilbourn's map, panning from west side of river to east

In 1836 he published a map of Milwaukee that showed every lot for sale on his side of the river but left the east side a complete blank.

Milwaukee Advertiser masthead

He founded the aptly named *Milwaukee Advertiser* to trumpet the virtues of Milwaukee in general and the west side in particular.

Milwaukee Sentinel masthead

Kilbourn's move forced Solomon Juneau to launch a rival paper, the *Milwaukee Sentinel,* in 1837 to tell his side of the story.

Show offset street grid on early map and animate bridges crossing at an angle.

The most permanent sign of Kilbourn's will to conquer was his street system. The west side's founder saw no reason to line up his street grid with Juneau's. When bridges were finally built, they crossed the river at an angle.

host on Juneau Ave. bridge

It was bridges, ironically, that finally brought the two sides to blows. This is the bridge at Juneau Avenue, known as Chestnut St. in pioneer days. It was in 1840 that Milwaukee County built a drawbridge across the river at Chestnut.

Narrator returns. Chestnut St. drawbridge

Byron Kilbourn was less than amused. He never stopped trying to isolate his east side rivals, a point he made clear in an 1837 letter to a backer in Ohio:

(period voice reads letter)

"As to a bridge over the river, I consider it out of the question; but if they should succeed, contrary to all expectations, in erecting it, I will take good care that they shall have no use of it — for we can construct a couple of small steamboats for harbor use, and pass them through the bridge so frequently that it can never be closed."

Kilbourn suffered the new bridge in silence for a time, but in May, 1845 ...

Animate west end of bridge dropping into water with a splash.

... a gang of West Siders chopped away at their end of the bridge until it dropped into the river.

Bridge War painting; mob sounds

This famous act of vandalism touched off the Bridge War of 1845. East Siders were outraged to find their road to the west cut off. They retaliated by damaging the West Side's other bridges to the east and south.

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Now no one could get anywhere. At the height of the conflict, blows were traded and blood was shed. As the *Sentinel* put it, a few combatants were "considerably injured, though not dangerously."

Repeat Juneautown/Kilbourntown/Walker's Point map, with names and portraits dissolving to one large "Milwaukee."

The comic-opera conflict finally ended when the rivals realized that they were scaring settlers away. Although significant tensions remained, all three sides came together as the City of Milwaukee in 1846 — two years before Wisconsin became a state.

last portrait of Solomon Juneau

The new city's first mayor, by acclimation, was Solomon Juneau. Although the post was largely honorary — a Yankee stand-in did all the work — it was a mark of the community's esteem for its first founder.
But Juneau had soon had enough. Nearly ruined in an 1837 depression and increasingly restless as a city grew up around him, the old fur trader decided to start over in the country.

Juneau home in Theresa

In 1848 — just two years after Milwaukee became a city — Juneau moved out to the Kettle Moraine and founded the crossroads village of Theresa. It was there that he spent the rest of his life.

host on top of Bank One

More than 150 years after Juneau left, remnants of the frontier rivalry are still visible in Milwaukee's landscape. The most obvious are the downtown bridges.

Zoom in on Wisconsin Ave. bridge.

They still cross the river at an angle, providing a permanent reminder of Byron Kilbourn's determination to go it alone.

The names of Milwaukee's founders also live on in any number of streets, schools, parks, and neighborhoods.

Return to host at top of Bank One and pan across downtown skyline.

The most obvious legacy of the ancient rivalry is the city itself. Milwaukee would have happened anyway; its potential as a port was too obvious to ignore. But friction between the founders gave Milwaukee a jump-start; competition pushed all three men to greater heights than any of them would have reached alone.

Narrator returns. Juneau statue in Juneau Park.

Solomon Juneau stands alone as a symbol of Milwaukee's transformation. He came to a deep river on a broad bay when it was still a wilderness. He moved from trading furs to trading real estate for a living, and he stayed to see his old post become the heart of a booming city. In 1852, four years before his death, Juneau looked back with wonder:

Juneau portraits at all ages, intercut with images used earlier in this segment and mentioned in his letter: busy streets, factories, fields of grain.
(French-accented voice reads letter)

"Now all is changed. The old settler is lost in the progress of improvements. Cities, teeming with a busy population, now stand where I have stood in what was then a solitary wilderness. The lake, that now bears so many vessels upon its bosom, was then

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unruffled save by storms — the rivers that were then undisturbed, save by the light canoe, are now beaten into foam by the factory wheels. A younger generation occupy the Indian's hunting grounds and cover them with yellow grain. The old settlers … have passed, most of them long since, to their last homes. They were a brave, industrious and hardy race, and those who now occupy their place should not forget them."

End with Juneau gravesite in Calvary Cemetery.

Solomon Juneau died in 1856, ten years after Milwaukee became a city, but his name lives on.

Return to Juneau statue.

Today, in Juneau Park, on land he once owned, the old trader's statue stands silent sentinel above the bay that gave Milwaukee its start — as a city built on water.

Pan from statue to the open lake. Zoom in on the horizon and hold as the Denis Sullivan *glides into view.*

3. King Wheat

Segment opens with a short visual essay on the Grain Exchange Room: exterior views, architectural details, windows and woodwork, all set to music. Close with host standing near the room's front doors.

Gorgeous space, isn't it? This room is just as grand as some of Milwaukee's finest churches, but it's not a shrine in the religious sense. This is the Grain Exchange, and it was built as a temple to wheat.

Change camera angle.

The Exchange is all that's left of a formative and almost-forgotten chapter in Milwaukee's history. Now a popular spot for weddings and proms, this room was once the city's economic heart.

buyers sampling wheat

It was on this floor that buyers sampled wheat raised in Wisconsin and neighboring states.

grain traders in pit

It was on this floor that massive quantities of farm products were bought and sold. Fortunes were made and lost on the turn of a trade.

Return to host near center of room, framed by farm and harbor murals.

This was not simply a local exchange. Prices set here had a global impact, and Milwaukee became a world center of the grain trade. But that didn't happen overnight. Milwaukee became a wheat capital only after back-breaking labor, enormous risk, and fatal damage to one founding father's reputation.

Narrator returns. Dissolve to a series of early Wisconsin agricultural scenes, and close with a sensuous shot of grain being poured into a sack.

Wisconsin's farmers worked the hardest. Year by year, acre by acre, they cut down the forests and plowed up the prairies. Row by row, seed by seed, they planted crops they had known back East, especially wheat. Wisconsin joined the Union in 1848, Barely a decade later, the state was the second-largest producer of wheat in the country.

early Milwaukee scene

Milwaukee was an obvious market for the farmers' surplus grain, but it was hardly the only one. Lake ports from Algoma to Kenosha coveted the same trade. In order to keep its early lead, Milwaukee had to develop its natural advantages.

map of harbor improvements

That meant, first of all, improving the harbor. Battling constantly with waves and weather, workmen dredged the old river mouth and built two seawalls of stone and timbers.

map of "straight cut"

In 1857, they did it all over again, creating a new harbor entrance a half-mile north — closer to the city's center.

dock scene

The downtown riverbanks were soon lined with docks …

downtown schooner

… and it wasn't uncommon to see a schooner under full sail in the heart of the business district.

harbor mural from Grain Exchange

When the major improvements were done, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* bragged:

(period voice reads article)

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"The Harbor thus constructed by the liberal and enlightened enterprize of our own people, is undoubtedly the best on the Lakes. [It is] the safest, most accessible and roomiest Harbor on all these inland seas."

Widen shot to show host standing next to mural.

But a harbor was only half the battle. In order to realize its destiny, Milwaukee needed some way to bring Wisconsin's wheat to the city's docks.

Narrator returns. Portrait of Byron Kilbourn.

That meant railroads, and here we meet a familiar figure: Byron Kilbourn. The West Side's founder was convinced that Milwaukee's future depended on iron rails.

current footage of rails stretching to horizon

He saw them as arteries of commerce that would pump the wealth of Wisconsin into the state's economic heart: Milwaukee. In 1847 Kilbourn began work on Wisconsin's first rail line.

first locomotive

His progress was steady. In 1850 the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad made its maiden run to Wauwatosa, chugging along at the breakneck speed of thirty miles an hour. "These are things to be wondered at," wrote a visiting reporter.

Animate railroad's route west to the Mississippi

Kilbourn's track-layers kept pushing west, bridging streams and crossing swamps, building up low spots and cutting down high ones. In 1857, eight years after work began, they finally reached the big river at Prairie du Chien.

different Kilbourn portrait

Although his railroad was a success, Byron Kilbourn had an uncanny ability to alienate people. In 1852 he was fired by his board of directors.

Animate L&M's route west on same map as M&M.

Not to worry. Kilbourn promptly founded another railroad — the LaCrosse & Milwaukee — and aimed it toward the Mississippi on a more northerly angle.

Zoom in on Wisconsin River crossing; name morphs from "Kilbourn City" to "Wisconsin Dells."

The railroad crossed the Wisconsin River at a settlement named, with typical flair, Kilbourn City. Today we know the place as Wisconsin Dells.

early railroad scene

Byron Kilbourn did everything possible to bring in money, selling stock to farmers, courting investors back east, and borrowing from towns along the route. In 1856, he went too far. Kilbourn desperately wanted a land grant that was to be awarded through the state legislature.

State capitol or legislature in 1850s. Re-creation of bonds changing hands.

Leaving nothing to chance, he offered $10,000 in railroad bonds for every vote in the state senate and $5,000 for each in the assembly. Only six legislators said "No" — a sure sign of the era's malnourished ethics. Kilbourn spread around another $300,000 in bonds to newspaper editors, business leaders, and the state's governor.

Kilbourn portrait

Even in an age of easy virtue, outright bribery was simply too much. Kilbourn won the land grant, but

he lost his good name. As rumors began to swirl, he claimed that he had simply been doing his civic duty, fending off a Chicago railroad that wanted the same grant:

re-creation of bonds being stacked
(period voice reads statement)

"The emergency was upon us, and required the most prompt and energetic action to meet, and for one I was not disposed to shirk or shrink from any effort or responsibility in my power to secure a favorable result."

Stack keeps growing; Gov. Bashford portrait on right.

Forced to the witness stand, Kilbourn continued to display a cast-iron conscience. When asked why Gov. Coles Bashford had taken the bribe, he replied with disarming candor:

re-creation of briefcase being carried by an actor in period dress
(period voice reads statement)

"I believe he accepted it for the reason that he thought the company could well afford to make such a donation without doing it any material damage, while to him the sum was large enough to confer a real benefit."

The railroad could afford it, in other words, and Bashford could use it. Ethics had no place in the discussion.

Harper's Weekly cartoon

As news of the land-grant scandal spread, Wisconsin's reputation was badly tarnished. Magazines like *Harper's Weekly* depicted the state as an open market for corrupt politicians.

Kilbourn portrait

Although he lost neither his freedom nor his fortune, the land-grant scandal brought Kilbourn's public

career to an inglorious end. He eventually retired to Jacksonville, Florida, where he died in 1870, still affluent, still unrepentant.

footage of 1998 re-interment ceremony

It was there that Kilbourn remained until 1998, when his body was brought north again and re-interred in Forest Home Cemetery.

Kilbourn monument today

The entrepreneur finally came to rest in the city he had helped create, with boundless energy and a stunning lack of scruples.

host on balcony of Grain Exchange Room, with harbor mural in background.

We might argue with Byron Kilbourn's methods, but there's no mistaking his achievements. The two railroads he founded were the only cross-state lines in Wisconsin. They acted like funnels, pouring the agricultural wealth of Wisconsin and its neighbors through Milwaukee's harbor to the markets of the world.

Cut to harbor mural and pan across it.

Milwaukee prospered as a point of exchange, a classic port city; raw materials went out, and finished goods came in. No settlement in Wisconsin could hope to compete.

Chicago scenes from mid-1800s, with music suggesting bustle. Narrator returns.

Chicago was Milwaukee's real rival. The two cities had been neck-and-neck during the schooner era, but railroads changed the balance of power forever. Ideally positioned at the foot of Lake Michigan, the Windy City was a natural hub for transcontinental rail traffic. Chicago soon became "Freight Handler to the Nation" and then America's "Second City."

railroad map of Milwaukee area

Without railroads of its own, Milwaukee might have withered in the deep shade of Chicago, growing no larger than Manitowoc or Sheboygan. But rail networks enabled the city not only to survive but to flourish.

harbor scene

The volume of wheat passing through Milwaukee swelled to a flood.

grain elevators

Grain elevators, not smokestacks, dominated Milwaukee's skyline.

flour mill, shipyard

The grain trade became the city's economic engine, supporting everything from flour mills … to shipyards.

old photo of Grain Exchange

By the early 1860s, Milwaukee was the largest shipper of wheat on the planet.

views of early Milwaukee

And so Milwaukee grew. Between 1846, the year it incorporated, and 1860 — an interval of just fourteen years — the city's population nearly quadrupled. Milwaukee's 45,000 residents made it the twentieth-largest city in America — bigger than Cleveland, just behind Detroit.

photo of muddy streets

Although the streets were still muddy, Milwaukee was definitely putting on urban airs. Before the 1850s were out, the city could boast …

Pan across newspaper front page.

… seven daily newspapers, nearly fifty churches…

Newhall House

… and the elegant Newhall House, one of the finest hotels west of New York City.

horsecar line

Milwaukee's first horsecar line, a George Walker project, was shuttling riders across town.

artifact shot: telegraph key

The first telegraph crackled to life in 1848 …

artifact shot: gaslight

… and the first gaslights flickered on in 1852.

dead fish bobbing in the Milwaukee River

These were wonders of the age, but growth had its less savory side. The 1850s also witnessed a serious pollution problem, a rising crime rate, and spectacular political corruption.

Pan slowly across 1858 bird's-eye view.

But most people focused on the positive. A Boston reporter was impressed:

(period voice reads statement)

"The rapid growth of the towns and cities at the West has always been a matter of wonderment, but the advancement of this city has been almost magical…. The growth of the place has been constant and rapid until now it … presents the appearance of a city of at least half a century's existence."

photo of original Grain Exchange trading pit

Milwaukee's founders had always envisioned their settlement as a marketplace, a center for buying and selling the fruits of the earth.

Morph to host at identical spot today.

That is precisely what happened. Sending trains to the west and ships to the east, Milwaukee traded on the harvest of its hinterland, sowing the seeds of a community that's still going strong 150 years later.

4. Here Come the Germans

Host is seated at a table at Mader's Restaurant, surrounded by German kitsch. He thumbs through a phone book.

Let's see.... Here's Schaab ... Schaefer ... Schatz ... Scharfenberger ... Schaus ... Schlotzhauer ... Schmeckpeper ... Schmidt *(turns page)* ... Schmidt *(turns page)* ... Schmidt *(turns page)* ... Schneckenberg ... Schneider ... Schoenleber ... Schwartzhoff ... and, last of all, Schwulst.

Host looks up.

Those are all German names. There are twenty-two pages of names beginning with "Sch-" in the Milwaukee phone book, and there are nearly as many Schmidts as there are Smiths. But that's not all.

sheepshead group

Where else but Milwaukee do people of all backgrounds gather to play a German card game called *schafskopf*, or sheepshead?

sweet roll and coffee

Where else do they have "schnecks," or sweet rolls, with their morning coffee?

Return to host at table, this time with a stein of beer and a bratwurst in front of him.

And what are Milwaukee's prevailing stereotypes? Beer ... and bratwurst — both German favorites.

Pull back slowly to reveal Mader's interior.

What it all adds up to is that Milwaukee is the most German metropolis in America. In the last census, nearly forty percent of the area's residents claimed at least some German ancestry. The local landscape is still dotted with Germanic landmarks, including this one: Mader's Restaurant.

quick montage: Mader's exterior, Usinger elves, Turner Hall exterior, dancers in lederhosen, beer steins, waitress in dirndl dress, Teutonia Ave. sign, details of City Hall

From sausage to street names, the German presence here is inescapable, and the story of German Milwaukee is as old as the city itself.

Narrator returns. Pace slows with current scenes from Yankee Hill, including churches.

Milwaukee began as a Yankee village, a colony of transplants from New York and New England. The city's leading neighborhood was Yankee Hill, an enclave overlooking downtown that's still a desirable address.

immigrants at dock

But Milwaukee soon became something quite different: a city of immigrants. In 1850, just five years after the Bridge War, an astounding 64 percent of the city's residents were foreign-born. Nearly all were from Europe, and most were Germans.

On a contour map of northern Europe, highlight each country as its condition is described.

The story of immigration can be told in two words: push, and pull. Europe was a continent in turmoil during the mid-1800s. Germany was rocked by political unrest. Ireland suffered terrible potato famines. The Scandinavian countries had too many people and not enough land.

Highlight countries not named in rapid succession. When the last is lit, colors swell in intensity as if building toward crisis.

Trouble touched nearly every western European country, creating enormous pressures to leave.

cartoon of welcoming Uncle Sam

If the push from Europe was strong, the pull of America was almost overpowering. A deluge of immigrants began just as Milwaukee was getting started. Between 1845 and 1855 —the city's first decade — nearly three million Europeans immigrated to the United States.

Dissolve to eastern U.S. on the map and highlight Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia.

Some, especially the Irish, went no farther than the old coastal towns.

Animate routes into the interior, converging on Wisconsin.

Others, especially the Germans, kept going until they reached the frontier. That meant the Midwest in the mid-1800s, particularly Wisconsin. Germans were the largest group arriving at precisely the time Wisconsin was opening to newcomers. For reasons entirely circumstantial, Wisconsin and Milwaukee became the leading centers of German settlement in the country.

cover of German-language guide for emigrants

As the immigrants sent glowing reports back home, even more decided to leave. By 1860, Germans made up the majority of Milwaukee's population.

Pan across page of old German script.

The city's Germans formed one of the most diverse ethnic communities America has ever known. In some respects, the only thing they had in common was language.

Pan across map of pre-1871 Germany.

Germany wasn't even a country until 1871. A Pomeranian from the north and a Bavarian from the south were strangers in Europe, and they had little more in common here.

portrait of Frederick Miller

Some newcomers were rich. Frederick Miller, founder of the brewery that still bears his name, arrived with $10,000 in gold.

Miller brewery workers

Many of his workers, by contrast, landed with little more than the clothes on their backs. But poverty, for most, was a temporary condition.

religious artifacts from Old St. Mary's Church

Religious differences proved much more persistent. The greatest number of German immigrants — perhaps a third — were Roman Catholic.

Historic photo of Old St. Mary's morphs into a contemporary shot from the identical vantage point.

In 1846 — the year Milwaukee became a city — they built St. Mary's Church, now "Old" St. Mary's, in the heart of downtown.

historic photo of Trinity Lutheran, morphing to present view

Other Germans were devoutly, and dividedly, Lutheran. Their strongholds included Trinity Church, a Missouri Synod landmark on Ninth Street …

historic photo of St. John's Lutheran, morphing to present view

… and St. John's Lutheran, a pioneer Wisconsin Synod church just three blocks north. St. John's offered services in German until 1986.

fast-paced sequence of other places of worship

Still other immigrants were Reformed, Methodist, Baptist, and Jewish. By 1856 German Jews had organized at least three synagogues.

1848 revolt scenes

Political differences were even more colorful. In 1848 a failed uprising against royal rule in Germany set loose a group of well-educated revolutionaries. Several of the Forty-Eighters, as they were called, settled in Milwaukee, where they had a profound impact on the city's cultural life.

Peter Engelmann

The group's leaders included Peter Engelmann, an educator who believed that children should learn directly from nature.

early Public Museum display

The scientific specimens he gathered became the nucleus of the Milwaukee Public Museum's collection.

Mathilde Anneke

Mathilde Anneke, another notable Forty-Eighter, was Milwaukee's first feminist. In 1852 she launched a newspaper called *Woman's Times* and hired an all-female crew to set her type. The city's male typesetters were so upset that they formed a union and drove the women out of their trade.

anti-Catholic cartoon

Most Forty-Eighters were freethinkers who wanted nothing to do with the church-going Germans. Some abhorred Roman Catholicism, especially, as much as they did royalty. The radicals longed for the day when, as one picturesquely put it, "the last priest has been hung with the intestines of the last prince."

old photos of Turners working out, accompanied by gym sounds

Another Forty-Eighter institution — the Turnverein, or Turner society — was less controversial and more durable. Devoted to building "a sound mind in a sound body," the Turners combined gymnastics with a socialist political philosophy.

Turner Hall exterior and interior

Their main hall on Fourth Street is still a cherished Milwaukee landmark ...

gymnasts working out today, paired with historic shot

... and still a center for gymnastics.

Narrator returns. Pan down Old World Third St. from roof of Usinger's Sausage.

There were differences, even divisions, within Milwaukee's German community, but there were also unifying influences. Neighborhood was one. The west side of the river, the area around Turner Hall, once housed perhaps the greatest concentration of Germans west of Berlin. North Third Street — now Old World Third — was their downtown.

"English Spoken Here" scrolls across screen in old script.

Some merchants reportedly put signs in their windows reading "English Spoken Here," just to avoid scaring away the occasional non-German who wandered by.

German theater playbill, Turner group, Musical Society program, male singing society, and other cultural images.

Culture was another point of convergence. There was something for every German in Milwaukee, from theatrical troupes and Turner halls to symphonies and singing societies. The city became such a

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stronghold of Teutonic culture that it was dubbed "the German Athens of America."

beer garden patrons toasting

But Milwaukee's Germans also shared a fondness for the smaller pleasures of life: home and hearth, good friends, good food, and a good glass of lager. They sought a domestic tranquility summed up in a single word: *Gemütlichkeit.*

glass of beer being poured

Beer was most definitely part of the equation. By 1856 there were more than two dozen breweries in the city, all turning out German Milwaukee's beverage of choice.

Phillip Best and a young Frederick Pabst. Pabst logo appears in split screen

The leaders included Phillip Best, who had able assistance from his son-in-law, a lake captain named Frederick Pabst.

Joseph Schlitz. Schlitz logo appears in split screen.

Joseph Schlitz was a German-born bookkeeper who married his employer's widow and took over the brewery.

Valentin Blatz. Blatz logo appears in split screen.

Valentin Blatz was a walking contradiction: a successful businessman and a devout socialist.

Frederick Miller. Miller logo appears in split screen.

Frederick Miller multiplied his production from 300 barrels a year to 80,000 during his long career.

all four logos

All of these immigrants started breweries that would become some of the largest in the world.

beer garden ads and scenes

They also sponsored beer gardens that became Milwaukee institutions. In the days before adequate public parks, German families packed these sylvan retreats every Sunday afternoon during the summer months. The gardens offered music, food, and liquid refreshment, but the real attraction was community.

sequence of German group shots, evoking a family album

Milwaukee's German community was admirably complete. Strong in numbers, rich in diversity, and culturally secure, it became a dominant influence on the city as a whole. Even the early Germans knew they had something special. In 1850, immigrant John Kerler described his new hometown:

(German-accented voice reads letter)

"Milwaukee is the only place in which I found that the Americans concern themselves with learning German, and where the German language and German ways are bold enough to take a foothold. You will find inns, beer cellars and billiard and bowling alleys, as well as German beer, something you do not find much of in this country. The Dutchman (the Americans call the Germans this name by way of derision) … has even managed to get laws printed in German…. You will find no other place in which so much has been given the Germans, and if you value *this*, you may safely prefer Wisconsin, and especially Milwaukee, to other places."

5. Neighbors and Strangers

host at German Fest, with something identifiably German in background

Milwaukee gave much to the Germans, but they gave a lot back, and one gift keeps on giving. Consider our ethnic festivals.

Pan away to dancers as start of a fast-paced montage of all the fests, intercut with logos of each and accompanied by samples of ethnic music.

You could spend most of your summer weekends down here on the Summerfest grounds, attending parties that every major group — and some of the minor ones — throw for all the rest of us. These showcases of culture and cuisine together draw more than a half-million people every year. Why such celebration?

Repeat a few strong shots from German segment.

Because the early Germans made Milwaukee safe for ethnicity. The fact that a non-English-speaking group was dominant here set Milwaukee apart. Other groups found it easier, relatively speaking, to resist the melting pot; it was OK to be something different.

Return to host.

The result, generations later, is that no city in America celebrates its diversity with quite as much spirit as Milwaukee

Host raises cup of beer as music comes up. Quick sequence of patrons from other festivals raising cups as if to toast the Germans.

For that, every Milwaukeean can wish the Germans a hearty *Danke schoen.*

Dissolve to host in same location at Irish Fest, with something identifiably Irish in the background.

But Germans were never Milwaukee's only ethnic group. Take, for instance, the Irish.

Irish Fest sampler, ending with family group posing for a photo that sets up the next shot

Their festival draws over 100,000 people a year, making it the largest celebration of Irish dance, music, and culture in the world. *[Insert sampler.]* Irish Fest is a gathering of clans who have made it in Milwaukee … but their beginnings were modest indeed.

Comparable picture of an early Irish family. Narrator returns.

Irish immigrants made up nearly 15 percent of the city's population in 1850 — their historical high point. Most were desperately poor, and they were drawn to Milwaukee by the promise of work.

close-up of Third Ward on 1836 map, dissolving to an 1850s map of the same ground after landfill

Their primary neighborhood was the Third Ward, a former wetland filled in largely with Irish brawn and covered with Irish houses as soon as the muck was dry. That was a sometimes-risky undertaking.

portrait of Erastus Wolcott

In the 1850s, Dr. Erastus Wolcott made an unusual house call in the Third Ward:

(period voice reads statement)

"On entering the house, I found a very sick man. While I was bending over the patient, I chanced to peep out through the window at my horse…."

hooves sucking through mud (OWW, segment 2, page 6)

"… To my dismay and astonishment, he appeared to be legless, and, dropping my instruments instantly, I

hastened out to see what had happened. I found that he had gradually sunk down until his legs had wholly disappeared, and the rest of his anatomy was gradually following. After much difficulty, I extracted him. The ground upon which I had left him standing was a mere crust."

table of Irish arrest statistics

The Third Ward was unstable ground in other ways. Whiskey-fueled fights were so common that the Irish ward was called "the Bloody Third."

St. Peter's Church at Old World Wisconsin

But there were steadying influences as well. Milwaukee's first Catholic church, St. Peter's, was built by Father Patrick O'Kelley in 1839. It still stands in the Crossroads Village at Old World Wisconsin.

early Common Council

The immigrants also took an early and passionate interest in politics. One son of the Auld Sod, Thomas Gilbert, was village president in 1844.

portrait of Hans Crocker

A Dublin-born lawyer with the unlikely name of Hans Crocker became the first of several Irish mayors in 1852. For a group starting at the bottom, politics meant access to power and patronage jobs.

British family group

British immigrants faced fewer struggles. Natives of England, Scotland, and Wales blended easily into the Yankee mainstream, with only their accents setting them apart.

Alexander Mitchell

Most of the British did well in Milwaukee, and some did extraordinarily well. Alexander Mitchell was a Scotsman who became the wealthiest Wisconsinite of his time.

old Marine Bank logo

Mitchell began his career as a banker …

railroad scene

… branched out into railroads, founding the line that would rise to fame as the Milwaukee Road …

Northwestern National logo

… and then entered the insurance field.

old view of Mitchell Building

Alexander Mitchell had so many businesses going that he needed a lavish building to house them all. The headquarters of his empire, completed in 1876, was one of the most beautiful office structures in America.

Morph to present view of Mitchell Building from same perspective, then go to a visual essay highlighting its exterior details.

Nineteenth-century historian James Buck strained for words to describe the Mitchell Building's splendor:

(period voice reads statement)

"This magnificent structure, the pride of Milwaukee, as well as the whole northwest, was erected at a cost of nearly four hundred thousand dollars, and in architectural beauty and grace it stands as a monument of what the genius of man can accomplish, when unlimited means are at his command."

Mitchell's home

Mitchell's residence was just as sumptuous. His family's grand mansion was the pride of Grand Avenue — today's Wisconsin Avenue.

close-up of conservatory

One of its features was a conservatory filled with fig trees, banana plants, 800 rose bushes, and potted carnations that provided the tycoon with a fresh boutonniere every day of the year.

Morph from historic shot to identical view of Wisconsin Club today.

Mitchell's showplace is still a vital part of Milwaukee's landscape … as the Wisconsin Club.

name signs from Mitchell Park, Mitchell St., Mitchell Field

The Mitchell imprint on the landscape seems indelible. Parks, streets, and even the airport are named for the Scottish-born financier and his descendants.

Norwegian family group, Scandinavian Lutheran Church, original Our Savior's Lutheran

Most immigrants had less grandiose expectations of life in America. Scandinavians, particularly Norwegians, showed a definite fondness for the maritime trades. They settled in the Walker's Point neighborhood, where they built a succession of Lutheran churches and walked to work on Milwaukee's waterfront.

Grootemaat windmill

Immigrants from Holland showed their neighbors what a genuine Dutch windmill looked like.

St. John de Nepomuc rectory

Czechs carved out a pocket of their own on the German west side. Its focal point was a Catholic church, St. John de Nepomuc, whose rectory still stands.

Sully Watson

The seeds of today's African-American community were sown even earlier. Permanent settlement began with the arrival of the Watson family. Sully Watson was a former slave who had purchased his own freedom in Virginia. Watson's "man price" was $500 ...

Watson receipt

... and it took him years to raise it, working variously as a stonecutter, whitewasher, and blacksmith.

Susanna Watson

Sully and his wife Susanna came north to Milwaukee in 1850, joining their grown children and helping to plant a community.

Ezekiel Gillespie

By the 1860s there were more than a hundred blacks in Milwaukee, including Ezekiel Gillespie, a railway porter who sued the state for the right to vote, and won.

original St. Mark AME Church

By 1869 the community was large enough to support a church, and St. Mark African Methodist Episcopal opened in the heart of old Kilbourntown.

St. Mark today

St. Mark, in a different location, remains a cornerstone of the city's African-American community.

host outside St. Mark

Milwaukee's German accent was unmistakable in the
1800s, but what was brewing here was ethnic
diversity. The presence of so many groups made
Milwaukee a city of nations like few others in
America. But diversity did not always mean harmony.
Conflict broke out early and often.

Change camera angle.

Pity the Yankees. For years, they had been
comfortably in charge of Milwaukee. Now they were
suddenly strangers in their own town.

Narrator returns. Beer garden scene.

They found the German practice of drinking beer on
Sunday horrifying. The city's beer gardens, they
believed, were playgrounds of the devil.

Rev. John Miter, Nast anti-Catholic cartoon

Some were equally uncomfortable with Catholics. In
1844 John Miter, a Congregational clergyman,
preached a controversial sermon:

 (period voice reads excerpt)

"The Pope through his Bishops, and they through his
ghostly Priesthood, can control every Roman vote and
use them to carry out his despotic purposes…. [W]e
see the great Roman torrent swelling in our own fair
West, and threatening us with a desolating flood….
We must strengthen the levee … against its rising
waters."

original St. John's Cathedral

Milwaukee's Catholics paid the reverend no heed. In
1853, they dedicated St. John's Cathedral on
Courthouse Square. St. John's was one of the city's
most prominent buildings …

Morph to present cathedral from same vantage point.

... and it remains a towering symbol of the Catholic presence today.

German cartoon

Individual ethnic groups came in for their share of abuse. The Germans were caricatured as compulsive beer-drinkers. Even the dog in this cartoon has his own stein.

Irish cartoon

The Irish were dismissed as irresponsible drunkards.

stock drawing of lynching

African Americans were the targets of special violence. In 1861 a Third Ward mob lynched a black man who had killed one of their neighbors in a knife fight. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* described the brief reign of terror that followed:

Scan newspaper article.
(period voice reads story)

"On Saturday evening the colored citizens of the city were threatened with violence as they passed through the streets....

Walker's Point bridge

... White men were chased over the Walker's Point Bridge by ruffians who shouted, 'Kill them,' 'Knock them down, they're niggers,' mistaking them for colored people, and ... others of that unfortunate hue made complaint at the [Police] Station that their lives had been threatened."

Joshua Glover

But Milwaukee was also the scene of some important abolitionist activities. In 1854, an escaped slave named Joshua Glover was arrested in Racine, beaten, and carted off to jail in Milwaukee. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made Glover's capture possible, and abolitionists were outraged.

Sherman Booth

One of their leaders was newspaper editor Sherman Booth. Working his horse to a lather, Booth rallied nearly 5,000 Milwaukeeans to an indignation meeting outside the jail in Courthouse Square.

mural of Glover rescue

Stirred to action by fiery orators, the crowd picked up a timber and reduced the jailhouse door to splinters. Free at last, Joshua Glover was whisked away to Waukesha, an anti-slavery stronghold, and then on to a new life in Canada.

Booth St. and Glover St. street signs

The names of both Sherman Booth and Joshua Glover are immortalized in the local landscape.

"Runaway Slave" handbill

The same tensions that produced a dramatic rescue led to a tragic shipwreck. Wisconsin was at odds with the federal government over the Fugitive Slave Act.

Gov. Alexander Randall

Gov. Alexander Randall, a fire-breathing abolitionist, foresaw a confrontation with federal forces, and he asked the state's militia to stand behind him. Not every company agreed.

Garret Barry

Members of Milwaukee's Union Guard, a heavily Irish company led by Capt. Garret Barry, declared that they were sworn to uphold the laws of the nation. Gov. Randall promptly disbanded the company and disarmed its members.

Lady Elgin

The Union Guard did not retire quietly. In September, 1860, the group boarded the *Lady Elgin*, a celebrated lake steamer, for an excursion to Chicago. Their purpose was to raise funds for new arms.

litho of collision

On its return voyage, in the darkness of early morning, the *Elgin* collided with a lumber schooner off Winnetka, Illinois. The ship went to the bottom in thirty minutes. Nearly 300 passengers died.

newspaper headlines and story

The wreck of the *Lady Elgin* was one of the worst disasters in Great Lakes history. Day after day, the Irish Third Ward was filled with the sounds of mourning.

film of wreckage on lake floor

In 1989 divers located the *Lady Elgin* on the floor of Lake Michigan. The newly purchased rifles of the Union Guard were still intact — a graphic reminder of a time when political tensions led to personal tragedy.

Civil War headline

Seven months after the *Elgin* went down, the tensions tearing at American society finally tore it apart. Milwaukee shared fully in the tragic commotion of the Civil War.

troops on courthouse lawn

As war sentiment reached a fever pitch, blue-coated troops were a common sight in the city's streets and squares.

Gen. Rufus King

Rufus King, editor of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, was the first commander of Wisconsin's famed Iron Brigade.

Turner Rifles

The German Forty-Eighters embraced the Union cause. A troop of Turner riflemen entered the Army as sharpshooters.

host with panoramic view of Soldiers' Home grounds in background

Milwaukee's greatest contribution to the Union cause might have come after the war. That was the establishment, right here, of a home and hospital for disabled veterans, and it was largely the work of local women.

Narrator returns. Great Fair building.

Disturbed by the number of soldiers limping home with no support and few prospects, the women of Milwaukee organized a "Great Fair" in 1865. Their effort netted $100,000 — a small fortune in those days.

old litho of main Soldiers' Home building

In 1866, responding to local generosity, federal authorities awarded Milwaukee one of four "national asylums" for disabled soldiers.

Morph to building today from same vantage point, then go to a visual essay highlighting Ward Theater, chapel, ponds, and National Ave. street sign.

The National Soldiers' Home covered 400 acres just west of the city. The complex soon became a major tourist attraction, with its own theater, chapel, post office, and even swan ponds. The southern border of the grounds was named "National Avenue" in honor of the National Home.

helicopter view of VA grounds, zooming out from main building

Today, as part of the Veterans Administration Center, the old Soldiers' Home still serves our nation's military veterans.

host at same table in Mader's used earlier

The years from cityhood through Civil War were a tumultuous time for Milwaukee.
(Grain Exchange Room)
The city became a world center of the grain trade …
(bird's-eye view)
…and mushroomed from ragtag frontier town to aspiring metropolis.
(German choral group)
Milwaukee earned fame as the "German Athens" of America …
(other ethnic groups)
… but it also saw an early measure of its modern diversity.
(Courthouse Square encampment)
The Civil War tried Milwaukee, as it tried the nation, but the city's star continued to rise.
(host picks up letter from table)
Despite the struggles, despite the tensions, no one wanted to leave. A German immigrant spoke for thousands of newcomers, of every background, in a letter home: "I thank the Lord that I am here, and regret that I did not come sooner."

6.   City of Industries

Host on Bay View hillside across from Three Brothers Restaurant, with Hoan Bridge and Jones Island in background

There's not much on this hillside to suggest heavy industry. All you see is open land and the Dan Hoan Bridge. There's even less here to suggest violence. The Bay View neighborhood is quiet today. The only evidence is underground, but this is where Milwaukee's first major factory stood. It was also right here that the bloodiest labor disturbance in Wisconsin's history took place. The story of that factory, and of that conflict, is a story of industries and immigrants.

Narrator returns. Montage of images used in harbor and grain trade segments.

Milwaukee grew up as a classic port city: Farm products, particularly wheat, were shipped out; finished goods, from plows to pincushions, were shipped in. But some envisioned a larger future for their hometown. An 1871 promoter suggested a dramatic change:

(Screen is split horizontally for a Monty Pythonesque animation. Lumber, ore, rags, a cow, pig iron, and a dollar sign scroll from right to left on top half; furniture, lead type, paper, boots, a stove, and a dollar sign scroll in opposite direction on bottom half. Period voice reads quote.)

"At present, we are sending our hard lumber east to get it back as furniture and agricultural implements; we ship ores to St. Louis and New York to pay the cost of bringing it back in shot, type, pipe, sheet lead, white lead, paint, etc.;... we give rags for paper, and hides for boots and harness, and iron ore for stoves — and our consumers all the while are paying the double costs of this unnecessary transportation."

montage of industrial plants, industrial workers, and industrialists, including some used later in this segment

As Milwaukee matured, it made increasing sense to add the value *here*. The city was still tied to the countryside, but it began to *process* raw materials instead of just shipping them. Crops, livestock, even the earth itself were turned into products that consumers could use. The result was a transformation. The growth of processing industries attracted immigrant workers by the thousands. Industries and immigrants together carried the city to new heights of population and prosperity; They also pushed it to the point of murderous conflict.

present view of Iron Ridge, with sign in foreground

Ore was a beginning. The hamlet of Iron Ridge, fifty miles northwest of Milwaukee, was once the heart of an important iron mining district.

historic mining shots, entrance of closed Neda mine today

All but forgotten today, the mines yielded three million tons of iron-rich rock before they closed during World War I.

several views of Bay View rolling mill

The promise of ore nearby was a major reason for the emergence of Milwaukee's first heavy industry. The Milwaukee Iron Company opened on the lakeshore at Bay View in 1868,   Within five years, it was the second-largest producer of railroad rails in America, and it employed more than a thousand men.

mill workers

Mill work was not for the faint of heart. A reporter visiting during a summer heat wave was amazed:

(period voice reads quote)

"None but the men who have worked in these great hives of human industry, among immense furnaces and molten and seething metal, have any conception of the heat which a mill-hand has to endure while at his hard and tedious labor."

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The reporter expressed surprise that the workers didn't melt.

early bird's-eye view of Bay View, panning from mill to residential area

The iron mill may have been a hell of a place to work, but it literally put Bay View on the map, first as a suburb and then, when local residents wanted city services, as a Milwaukee neighborhood.

Morph to aerial view of Bay View today from same perspective as bird's-eye.

Bay View is still filled with landmarks from the mill era:

puddlers' cottages on Superior St.

… cottages built for workers and their families…

Pryor Avenue iron well with someone filling a jug

… the original village well (still a source of free mineral water) …

Puddler's Hall

… Puddler's Hall, the home of an early trade union …

Three Brothers Restaurant, panning down from Schlitz globe to street level

… and several saloons patronized by thirsty mill hands. This one is now a popular Serbian restaurant.

rolling mill historical marker on Russell Ave.

The iron mill did much more than create a neighborhood. It marked Milwaukee's turn from shipping to processing, from commerce to industry.

wheat being scooped into a barrel, dissolving to flour being scooped out

But farm products were even more important than ore.
Milwaukee had earned its first fame as a shipper of wheat. By the 1870s, it enjoyed new prominence as a miller of flour.

flour mill ad

Local mills ground out more than a million barrels in a good year, making Milwaukee one of the nation's leading producers.

close pan of hogs in a contemporary feedlot or stockyard, dissolving to a locker or butcher's case filled with finished hams

Wisconsin livestock created two even larger industries: meat-packing and tanning. Thousands of hogs and cattle were shipped to Milwaukee and disassembled each year. Meat-packers specialized in the insides of hogs. By 1879, packing was Milwaukee's largest industry.

John Plankinton

The patriarch of the packers was John Plankinton. Born in Delaware, he was a mathematical whiz and a strict Calvinist who believed that his prosperity was preordained.

Plankinton plant and ad

Plankinton bought a cow the day he arrived in 1844 and parlayed that investment into one of America's largest packing houses.

Frederick Layton photo

Plankinton's first partner was Frederick Layton, a proper Englishman with a passion for fine art.

Layton & Co. ad

Layton went into business for himself and prospered ...

Layton Art Gallery

... earning enough money to endow Milwaukee's first public gallery.

gallery interior

His collection of fine paintings stood in vivid contrast to the slaughterhouses that were the source of his wealth.

Layton portrait

But Frederick Layton was an unusually generous man. By the time he died at the age of ninety-two, the packer had nearly exhausted his fortune.

Patrick Cudahy

John Plankinton also served as mentor to a young Irishman named Patrick Cudahy. Beginning in poverty, Cudahy eventually bought out Plankinton and followed him as Milwaukee's leading packer.

close pan of cattle milling around a contemporary feedlot or stockyard, dissolving to close pan of antique leather goods: shoes, bridles, saddles, drive belts, etc.

If meat-packers sold the insides of hogs, leather-tanners specialized in the outsides of cattle. As Wisconsin became America's Dairyland, surplus cows came to Milwaukee in droves, and their hides ended up in everything from shoes to saddles.

P&V plant with piles of tanbark

The tanners were just as dependent on northern Wisconsin's forests. Mountains of tanbark stripped from hemlock trees rose beside every plant.

vats in tannery

The bark was chipped and stewed to produce tannin, the compound that turned hides to leather. The tanning process generated smells that were almost overpowering at close range.

Pfister and Vogel

A pair of German immigrants, Guido Pfister and Frederick Vogel, led the field both locally and nationally.

P&V ad with illustrations of plants

They built a series of plants around the city, with the largest in Walker's Point.

Trostel & Gallun plant

Pfister & Vogel's chief competitors were two more Germans — Albert Trostel and August Gallun.

tannery district photo

Milwaukee tanners together finished more than half a million hides every year in the 1880s, shipping most of them to the great shoe factories of New England. By 1890 Milwaukee was the largest producer of tanned leather on the planet.

triptych of malt, hops, and running water, dissolving to beer being poured from a tap

Wisconsin barley, hops, and clear, cold water were the main ingredients in Milwaukee's most celebrated product: beer. The output of local breweries rose twenty-fold between 1865 and 1885.

Pabst beer wagons in yard

Much of it was consumed in Milwaukee, and fleets of horse-drawn beer wagons kept local saloons supplied with suds.

bottling plant

But some brewers had broader ambitions. Investing in bottling plants and refrigerated rail cars, they began to sell beer from coast to coast.

Frederick Pabst

Frederick Pabst, the former lake captain, led the way.

Pabst brewery, morphing briefly to present complex

By 1874, his nose for quality and flair for promotion had made Pabst's brewery the largest in America.

Schlitz brewery, morphing briefly to present complex

His closest Milwaukee competitor was Schlitz, whose plant sprawled across a hillside just north of downtown.

Blatz brewery, morphing briefly to Blatz Apartments

Valentin Blatz's brewery, on the east side of the river, was Milwaukee's third-largest ...

Falk brewery, morphing briefly to remaining icehouse

... and fourth place in the 1870s went to Franz Falk's Bavaria Brewery. Perched on the south rim of the Menomonee Valley, it served as the foundation for another Falk enterprise we'll visit later.

Plank Road Brewery, morphing briefly to present replica

Frederick Miller was one of the city's smaller producers, but his company would outlast — and outgrow — them all.

brewery workers

Every Milwaukee brewery worker enjoyed a unique fringe benefit: free beer. In 1886, the average Schlitz employee put down more than a gallon of his own product every day. *(Soundtrack: Burrrppp!)*

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close-up of mason's hands building a wall of Cream City brick

One more industry depended on the soil itself. Milwaukee's early settlers found that the calcium-rich local clay produced bricks of a pleasant cream color. By 1880 they were being turned out at the rate of fifteen million a year and shipped across the country.

rapid-fire sequence of CCB buildings today (Turner Hall, Schlitz brewery, Pabst brewery, Soldier's Home, Brewer's Hill mansions, etc.)

The bricks gave Milwaukee an enduring nickname — the Cream City — and a building material that has stood the test of time.

host outside last brick building in sequence

The great industries of the post-Civil War years were all processing industries, They took products of the earth and turned them into something else.

Summary montage: Raw materials and finished goods appear in phased pairs as they're mentioned, taking up one side of screen.

Ore became rails, wheat became flour. Hogs were turned into hams, hides into leather, barley into beer, clay into Cream City bricks. In every case, Milwaukee was still tied to the land.

Montage holds, host continues.

In one respect, and one respect only, Milwaukeeans of the nineteenth century were like the native Americans they displaced: They based their economy on the resources at hand.

Narrator returns. Insurance Building on Broadway and Michigan.

A few industries had nothing to do with natural resources; their products couldn't be eaten or worn

or served in a stein. One of the largest sold nothing but a promise, and this was its home.

Morph to identical view in 1880s. Hold registration precisely through this sequence.

Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance built this landmark on Broadway as its home office. It stood on the site of ...

Newhall House Hotel

... the Newhall House, which had long been one of the finest hotels in the Midwest.

Newhall House fire

The Newhall burned to the ground in a tragic 1883 fire that claimed at least seventy-five lives.

back to 1880s view of Insurance Building

Three years later, Northwestern Mutual put up this grand edifice on the vacant lot. It was a fitting home for the seventh-largest life insurance company in America.

old office scene

Inside the stone fortress, white collars were the rule, the secretaries were all men, and working conditions were light-years away from those found in the tanneries and packing plants. The service industry had begun its rise.

close-up of an industrial machine at work

There were also early signs of a new stage in Milwaukee's development. The local economy moved from shipping to processing after the Civil War. A few individuals took the next large step from processing to manufacturing — from milling flour, for instance, to making the machines that milled flour.

portrait of E.P. Allis

Edward P. Allis led the way to Milwaukee's manufacturing future. Brashly independent and absolutely fearless, Allis was one of the purest entrepreneurs Milwaukee has ever known.

Allis plant on S. 1ˢᵗ St.

In 1867, the pathfinder moved his Reliance Works from its cramped downtown location to a twenty-acre site in Walker's Point. The plant specialized in flour mill machinery and small steam engines, but Allis was willing to tackle anything.

old drawings of North Point pumping station and water tower

Milwaukeeans of his day were sick to death of polluted drinking water — sometimes literally so. In 1871, when the city decided to tap the vast reservoir of Lake Michigan, Allis bid on the entire water system — despite the fact that he had never made a single pump or so much as a foot of pipe. He won the job, and his equipment worked perfectly.

old photo of North Point water tower, morphing to present view

A cast-iron standpipe was installed to relieve pressure on Allis's system. In a rare fit of civic whimsy, the city enclosed the pipe in a fairy-tale spire worthy of the Brothers Grimm. The North Point Water Tower remains a cherished East Side landmark today.

interior photos of Reliance works

E.P. Allis went on to even greater things in his Walker's Point shops. By 1890, he employed nearly 1500 men — as many as the Bay View rolling mill.

Pan across working steam engine (antique thresher?) to its whistle, which erupts in a shrill blast.

Gigantic steam engines were his particular specialty. Powering everything from blast furnaces to diamond

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mines, they whistled in the end of one era … and the beginning of another.

Return to host on Bay View hillside.

Industry of all kinds transformed Milwaukee. A different *kind* of city emerged after the Civil War. As the grain trade slowly faded from view, industry gave the economy a new engine, one that brought in new people, new problems, and new landmarks. The local landscape changed dramatically, in ways that are still very much with us.

Narrator returns.   1858 bird's-eye view.

Milwaukee had been a notably low-rise city before the Civil War.

1879 bird's-eye view

In the later 1800s, its rivers and railroad tracks were lined with industries.

Zoom in on riverbanks.

The banks of the Milwaukee River were especially popular building sites. When the riverfront lots were taken, industrialists looked elsewhere for room to grow.

Pan across 1855 Lapham map of Menomonee Valley.

Where they looked, more often than not, was the Menomonee Valley. The sprawling wetland of the lower Menomonee had long been one of Milwaukee's distinguishing features.

generic period drawing of hunters in wetland

As a city grew up around it, the Valley became a sort of in-town game preserve, a popular retreat for duck-hunters and fishermen. Navigation was often a challenge. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* described the plight of two sportsmen who got lost in 1861:

Montage of marsh scenes, over worried music. Period voice reads quote:

"They were gone all night, and some anxiety was felt for their safety. A deputation of friends found them in the morning wildly shooting about amid the wild rice ... both completely worn out, having rowed some 18 or 20 miles without getting out of the bayou."

old photo of Valley

Industrialists had little interest in sport. To them the Valley was hundreds of acres of land — or almost-land — with superb access to both rail and water transportation — *(read ironically)* after a few improvements were made.

1886 bird's-eye showing "Shallow Water"

The mallards and muskrats were soon evicted, the wild rice and cattails destroyed. Beginning in 1869, developers buried the marsh under tons of garbage and gravel, much of it scraped from the adjoining bluffs and pushed into the valley below.

period map showing canals

The sinuous river was forced to flow in ruler-straight canals, creating six miles of dock frontage.

photos or drawings of the businesses as they're mentioned

In came the great packing plants of Plankinton and Layton, the main tannery of Pfister & Vogel, and the stockyards that supported them both. Up rose dozens of other enterprises: lumberyards, breweries, millwork plants, distilleries, coal yards, and machine shops.

railroad shops, exterior and interior

At the western end of the Valley, near 35th Street, stood the largest of them all: the main shops of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad. The Milwaukee Road shops made and repaired all the

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rolling stock for a company that owned 5,000 miles of track.

host on Valley floor

In its heyday, this Valley supported the greatest concentration of industry in Wisconsin. The railroad shops alone provided nearly 2,000 jobs. Valley workers formed what was dubbed the "bucket brigade," streaming in with their lunch pails every morning and streaming out again at night.

Change camera angle.

Industries remade the Menomonee Valley after the Civil War, just as they remade Milwaukee. But it was workers, especially immigrant workers, who kept those industries running, and immigrants, of course, are the other side of the story.

7. City of Immigrants

Footage of St. Stanislaus Church from a moving vehicle on I-94. Host does voice-over.

Your first view is probably from the freeway. Heading south on I-94, you see a pale brick church whose twin spires are capped with fading gold leaf. The landmark is named for St. Stanislaus, and it's the first Polish church in urban America.

host on S. 4th St., with St. Stan's in background

"St. Stan's" made national history, but it also marks an important shift in Milwaukee's development. Although Germans were still dominant after the Civil War, more and more newcomers were arriving from southern and eastern Europe.

Narrator returns. On a contour map of modern Europe east of France, highlight, in order, the names of Poland, Italy, Greece, Russia, Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, and then add every other country's name.

They came from Poland, in particular, but also from Italy, Greece, Russia, and a host of other nations. Their region was rocked by economic troubles, political unrest, and, for some groups, persecution. Mounting pressures made it prudent to leave …

industrial scene

… and the promise of industrial jobs in Milwaukee and other cities attracted new Americans by the millions.

Polish family group

Polish immigrants were in the vanguard. By 1890, they were second only to Milwaukee's German population in size.

drawing of first St. Stan's

One of their first concerns was to establish a Catholic church. In 1866, thirty Polish families

started St. Stanislaus parish in a tiny South Side chapel they bought from a group of Germans.

historic photo of St. Stan's on Mitchell, morphing briefly to present view

Six years later, with a population explosion under way, the congregation moved to its present home on Mitchell Street. Parish priests were soon baptizing a dozen babies every week.

historic neighborhood view

St. Stan's was the heart and soul of Milwaukee's largest Polish community. The South Side came to life as a densely settled neighborhood of worker's cottages, corner saloons, and family-run bakeries and butcher shops.

historic Mitchell St. photo

Mitchell Street became its downtown, just as Third Street had for the German North Side. Known as "the Polish Grand Avenue," Mitchell resembled the Main Street of a small city.

historic photo of St. Hedwig's Church on Brady

But not all Polish immigrants were South Siders. St. Hedwig's Church on Brady Street was the city's second Polish congregation …

Morph to present view

… and it remains a prominent East Side landmark today.

Jones Island today

A third settlement was unique in America: Jones Island.

Morph to old view from same vantage point.

Beginning in the 1870s, fishing families from the Baltic seacoast of Poland — the Kaszubs — colonized the windswept peninsula at Milwaukee's front door.

fishing scenes

Joined by other Europeans, the Kaszubs made Jones Island a regional center of commercial fishing. Setting their nets for trout, whitefish, perch, and herring, they brought home two million pounds in a good year.

village scenes

While their countrymen across the river took jobs in local industries, the Islanders continued a way of life they had known for centuries in Europe. Jones Island was the closest thing Milwaukee has ever known to an urban village.

neighborhood scenes

Whether on the Island or the mainland, one trait that set the Poles apart was their desire for homes of their own. The *Milwaukee Sentinel* noted the tendency in 1874:

(period voice reads quote)

"Usually the first money they can call their own is put into the purchase of a lot, on which they mean to erect a house as soon as possible. They have a strong prejudice against paying rent."

host in 2100 block of S. 14th St.

The newest groups get the oldest houses. That's been the law in American cities for generations. But the Poles broke that law. Instead of renting homes in hand-me-down neighborhoods closer to downtown, they bought small lots — usually just 25 or 30 feet wide — and then filled them with small cottages. But they didn't stop there. The next step was to convert the cottage to a Polish flat.

Animate conversion of cottage to Polish flat.

When finances permitted, the immigrants jacked up their houses and bricked in half-basement living units beneath them. Single-family homes became duplexes almost overnight. The Polish flat was a clever and certainly a cost-effective way to double a family's living space. The steep stairs and ground-level windows *(highlight both in animation)* are its hallmarks.

Return to host on street, cutting away to a series of representative Polish flats in the immediate area.

The Polish flat was a multi-purpose structure. It was a welcome source of rental income. It often provided room for expanding families. But the flat had a psychological impact as well. Many Poles had not been among the land-owning classes in Europe. By buying the little lot and putting up the little cottage, they became landowners. By converting it to a Polish flat, they became land*lords* as well.

Pan to house next door Host walks into frame. Cut away to one or two family photos.

One result was a dramatic increase in density. My grandmother was raised in this house. Her father died of tuberculosis when she was nine, leaving her mother to raise six children on a washerwoman's wages. What saved the family from ruin was the fact that they had five living units on this lot. One — the smallest, of course — was theirs; the other four were rented out.

Return to host.

When my grandmother lived here, there were, on this single narrow lot, twenty-seven kids —enough to field three baseball teams!

Narrator returns. Pan skyline of South Side steeples from top of St. Francis Hospital, stopping at St. Josaphat's Basilica and zooming in on dome.

Polish flats tell one story about the immigrants. Catholic churches tell another, and the contrast in scale is often startling. St. Stanislaus was the mother parish of more than twenty Polish Catholic congregations, and their steeples stand as benchmarks in the community's outward expansion. The grandest church of them all is the Basilica of St. Josaphat.

St. Josaphat church/school, 1890s

In the late 1800s, St. Josaphat was probably the largest congregation of any faith in Wisconsin. Nearly 12,000 people worshiped in the combination church and school on Lincoln Avenue — enough to fill a small city. In 1896, with the pews filled to overflowing, the parish broke ground for what is still the largest church in Milwaukee.

Chicago post office

Hoping to save money on building materials, the congregation bought the old Chicago post office and had it dismantled stone by stone. Five-hundred flatcars were needed to bring all the salvage up to Milwaukee, and virtually everything was used …

close-up of doorknob

… even the heavy brass doorknobs that still bear the government seal.

sequence of construction photos

Construction crews labored for five years. When the church was finished in 1901, only one dome in the country was higher, and that was on the U.S. Capitol.

photos of parish life, then barren interior

St. Josaphat's debt was just as enormous. The parish flirted with bankruptcy for nearly ten years, and it took another fifteen to pay off the last loan and finish work on the interior.

Dissolve to present interior from same angle, introducing visual essay set to music.

But the results were stunning. In 1929 St. Josaphat was declared a basilica — the equivalent of all-star status for a Catholic church. It remains the closest thing Wisconsin has to a European cathedral.

host inside church

Building St. Josaphat was a labor of love. The men of the parish helped to dig the footings; the women carried dirt away in their aprons. Nearly one-third of the debt was owed to members who had taken out second mortgages on their homes and loaned the proceeds to the building fund. If the other lenders had foreclosed, the immigrants would literally have lost the roofs over their heads.

long view from roof of school on 10th St., pulling back to include Polish flats in foreground

And so the real story of the basilica is its people. Despite endless economic struggles, they created a magnificent monument to faith and a towering statement of community. The majestic church and the modest homes were built by the same people. Decades later, the contrast in scale continues to astound.

Narrator returns. Ethnic street scenes.

Milwaukee was Europe once removed in the late 1800s. The city's German accent was pronounced, and the Irish maintained a strong Celtic presence in the heart of the city.

1886 bird's-eye view of Third Ward

The Third Ward, between the river and the lake, was their first neighborhood. As the Irish moved up, however, they also moved out, generally to the west.

Merrill Park street scenes

Merrill Park, west of 27th Street above the Menomonee Valley, became their new stronghold.

old photo of St. Rose Church, morphing to present view

St. Rose Church was their spiritual home. The list of charter members read like the Dublin phone book.

Milwaukee Road shops

The Milwaukee Road provided them with a living, either in the shops …

engineer

… or on the trains. Merrill Park's heroes were the engineers who piloted locomotives across the plains and over the mountains of the great West.

1892 fire scene

The Irish exodus from the Third Ward was hastened by a disastrous 1892 fire. Fanned by gale-force winds, the blaze took several lives and left 2,000 people homeless.

Third Ward rebuilding

When the smoke cleared, the Third Ward entered a new phase as an Italian neighborhood.

Italian family groups

The Italians were part of the same surge of southern and eastern Europeans that brought the Poles to Milwaukee. They added their own flavor to an ethnic stew that was growing richer every year.

Zoom in on Sicily in a 19th-century map of Italy.

The great wave of Italian immigration began in the 1890s. Most of the newcomers were from Sicily, an island as poor as it was beautiful.

fruit peddler

They worked with their backs and hands, but some Sicilians entered the street trades, particularly the fresh fruit and vegetable business. Beginning with small pushcart operations ...

Commission Row

... several families opened wholesale houses on the Third Ward's Broadway, a street better known as "Commission Row."

Madonna di Pompeii Church

The community's anchor was just three blocks away: Madonna di Pompeii, known to generations of Milwaukeeans as "the little pink church."

historic festa procession

Our Lady of Pompeii was the focal point of elaborate festivals held several times each summer. Food, fireworks, and solemn processions attracted virtually everyone in the community.

Festa Italiana

The tradition continues today as Festa Italiana, the oldest and for many years the largest of Milwaukee's lakefront ethnic festivals.

Italian Community Center

Proceeds from Festa made the Italian Community Center possible. Located in the Third Ward, the Center is literally a homecoming.

Greek men

The first Greek immigrants arrived on the same wave as the Italians. Most were bachelors who took entry-level jobs in local industries.

restaurant or tobacco shop

Others opened tobacco shops, restaurants, and other small businesses.

group shots

Their dream was to make money in America, return in triumph to Greece, and live out their lives in comfort. Most discovered that their exile was permanent. One immigrant told the story of a short-order cook who rented an apartment from his family:

(Greek-accented voice tells story as antique shoes are dropped, pair by pair, into a steamer trunk, perhaps in slow motion against a black backdrop.)

"This man, our tenant, had come over here with the same idea as the others: to make money and go back. He had two daughters who were babies in Greece. When he would get ready to go back, he would buy a couple pair of shoes for a two- and a three-year-old. Well, something would happen and he would stay. The following year, he would buy shoes for a three- and a four-year-old. Something would happen again, and he would stay. This went on for years. The girls were in their twenties when he brought them to this country. When we finally cleaned out his apartment, there was a big trunk full of shoes."

original Annunciation Church

A new church signified the community's permanence. The bachelors organized Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church in 1906 and later built an ornate Byzantine church on Broadway. It became a haven for families, in joy …

funeral scene

… and in sorrow. Funeral photographs were a way to share grief with relatives in the old country.

present Annunciation Church

In 1961, Annunciation moved to a new home on 92nd Street. Its architect: Frank Lloyd Wright.

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Bar mitzvah

Eastern European Jews built a distinctive community of their own. Thousands came from Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and Poland, settling near the heart of old Kilbourntown on the west side of the river.

synagogues

There they organized at least seven synagogues at the turn of the twentieth century, all of them Orthodox.

settlement house

They also took advantage of programs at the Milwaukee Jewish Settlement, which offered English classes, athletics, literary circles, children's clubs, discussion groups, and a Sabbath school.

Lizzie Kander

The Settlement's services included cooking classes taught by the legendary Lizzie Kander.

Settlement Cookbook

In 1901 she published her favorite recipes in a user-friendly guide she called *The Settlement Cookbook.* Two million copies and many revisions later, it's still an American standard.

Golda Meir as a young girl

A young girl named Goldie Mabowehz was typical of the Jewish immigrants. She was eight years old when her family moved into an apartment on Walnut Street. Goldie found Milwaukee spell-binding, especially the Third Street shopping district near her home:

(Period voice reads memoir as scenes from North Side, including Schuster's Department Store, roll past, perhaps in soft focus to suggest a dream state.)

"I was delighted by my pretty new clothes, by the soda pop and ice cream and by the excitement of being in a real skyscraper, the first five-story building I had ever seen. In general, I thought Milwaukee was wonderful. Everything looked so colorful and fresh, as though it had just been created, and I stood for hours staring at the traffic and the people…. I spent the first days in Milwaukee in a kind of trance."

Golda Meir School

Goldie was first in her class at the Fourth Street School …

Mitchell Hall at UWM

… and she continued her education at Milwaukee's state teachers' college, now part of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Golda Meir as prime minister, dissolving to current signs on Golda Meir School and Golda Meir Library.

Years later, as prime minister of Israel, Golda Meir became perhaps the most famous ex-Milwaukeean in the world.

map of eastern Europe highlighting Slavic nations

Other groups made their mark on Milwaukee while Golda was growing up. Many were from the Slavic countries of eastern Europe, a family of nations that stretched from Poland on the north to the former Yugoslavia on the south.

Slovak group

Poles were the largest of the Slavs, but there were several other groups. Slovaks settled in the Kilbourntown area at first …

Pigsville today from I-94 at about 40th St.

... and then planted another community in Pigsville, a unique West Side neighborhood named for an early pig farm.

Croatian group

Croatian immigrants, like the Slovaks, were heavily Catholic.

early Sacred Heart Church

The heart of their community was Sacred Heart Church on the near North Side.

old National Avenue scene

Walker's Point, with its abundance of industrial jobs, had particular attraction for Slavic immigrants.

early view of Holy Trinity Church

Slovenes and a smaller number of Croats worshiped at Holy Trinity Catholic Church on S. Fourth Street, an old German parish.

original St. Sava's

Serbs built a small Orthodox church, St. Sava's, practically across the street.

St. Sava Cathedral today

After World War II, St. Sava's parish erected a striking Byzantine cathedral on the Southwest Side ...

Serb Hall

... right next to a legendary Milwaukee gathering place: Serb Hall.

sequence of Walker's Point church exteriors today

Walker's Point was a neighborhood of nations, and that heritage is preserved in its churches. Greeks,

Bulgarians, and Ukrainians joined the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Walker's Point, and earlier groups — Germans, Norwegians, Czechs, and the Irish — were present as well. There might have been a dozen different languages spoken in a single block.

steeple-rich skyline of near South Side from shoulder of I-94 north of National Avenue

The fruit of all this diversity, many years later, is the greatest concentration of historic churches in Wisconsin, perhaps in the entire Midwest. The Near South Side's skyline is practically a thicket of steeples.

host outside a Walker's Point church

The churches of Walker's Point reflected a fundamental fact about Milwaukee: its overwhelming Europeanness. In 1890, immigrants and their children made up more than 86 percent of the city's population — the highest proportion in America. The national average was only 33 percent at the time. Milwaukee was emphatically a city of immigrants.

Change camera angle.

But there was another side to the coin. Milwaukee remained a city of industries as well; the growth of its ethnic groups reflected the growth of its economy. By the late 1800s, changes in the industrial world had created new prosperity and, with that prosperity, new problems.

8. "Machine Shop of the World"

Segment opens with a sequence of machinery operations, shot close-up and perhaps set to music. A boring bar, for instance, suggests a note, and it's joined by a turret lathe, then a drill press, and then a gear-cutter, with a foundry chipping hammer added for percussion. The sequence is a visual and aural crescendo (30 seconds?) that closes with a flourish.
(Ideally, everything would be shot at the Falk Corp.)
Cut to host standing beside the Falk shop's largest gear-cutter.

Milwaukee began to move to a different music in the late 1800s. The city still tanned hides and butchered hogs, but its new specialty was durable goods, especially machinery. The local economy moved from processing to manufacturing, from products of the earth to products of the imagination. By 1900 Milwaukee was the self-proclaimed "Machine Shop of the World."

Milwaukee moved to a different music in the late 1800s. The city still tanned hides and butchered hogs, but its tune changed from processing to manufacturing. Products of the earth gave way to products of steel, especially machinery. Metal-bending became a way of life, and by 1900 Milwaukee was the self-proclaimed "Machine Shop of the World."

Change camera angle.

The Falk Corporation tells the story in a nutshell — or at least a gearbox. Falk is the largest manufacturer of precision industrial gears in America, but its roots go back to a nineteenth-century brewery.

Narrator returns. Portrait of Franz Falk.

Franz Falk, the German immigrant we met earlier, was one of Milwaukee's pioneer brewers.

Bavaria Brewery

His Menomonee Valley plant was among the city's largest, and it flourished until 1892, when a pair of disastrous fires convinced his family to sell out to the Pabst Company.

Herman Falk

Falk's older sons took jobs with Pabst. Herman, one of the youngest, chose a different direction. He opened a small machine shop in a corner of the old brewery and began to tinker.

cast-welding rig

Herman's first success was a foundry on wheels, a device used to weld streetcar tracks together in place.

gears

From there he got into gears, becoming a major manufacturer of gears used in mines, steel mills, ships, and a host of other applications. It was Falk gears that opened and closed the lock gates on the Panama Canal.

historic view of valley plant

As the business grew, Herman Falk built, on land his father had purchased in the 1850s, one of the largest factories in the Menomonee Valley.

Falk plant from same vantage point today

That plant, much enlarged, is still in business today, and it symbolizes the larger shift in Milwaukee's economy. The Falk family moved from beer to gears, from malt to machinery, in a single generation.

Henry Harnischfeger

Milwaukee attracted a host of other tinkerers who began with small shops and large dreams. Henry Harnischfeger was one of them. Born in Germany, he

was a master mechanic who got tired of working for others.

P&H machine shop

In 1884 Harnischfeger and his partner, Alonzo Pawling, opened a small machine shop in the Walker's Point neighborhood. It was so flimsy that snow blew in through cracks in the siding and tools froze to the partners' hands each winter morning.

Nordberg, joined by Levalley

But Pawling and Harnischfeger did excellent work. They attracted customers like Bruno Nordberg and Christopher Levalley.

Dissolve to photos of their products and shops.

Both men graduated to shops of their own in the Walker's Point neighborhood. Nordberg eventually became a world leader in mine hoists and diesel engines. Levalley made a full line of construction machinery driven by endless chains of metal links; he called his firm the Chain Belt Company.

P&H crane

Pawling and Harnischfeger soon developed product lines of their own. Traveling overhead cranes became their specialty, and no one in the world made more.

1886 bird's-eye view of Walker's Point

Walker's Point prospered as Milwaukee's industrial incubator. Dozens of small shops planted there sprouted into gigantic enterprises, and not all were started by immigrants.

A.O. Smith

Henry Harnischfeger's neighbors included A.O. Smith, whose family ran a bicycle factory.

A.O. Smith's shop

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In 1899 Smith built America's first pressed-steel automobile frame in that shop. He would ultimately become the nation's largest maker of car frames.

Kearney and Trecker outside their shop

A few blocks away, Edward Kearney and Theodore Trecker started a small shop whose specialty was machine tools. Kearney & Trecker would become one of the most trusted names in industry.

Lynde and Harry Bradley

Just down the block from Harnischfeger, brothers Lynde and Harry Bradley experimented with new ways to control electric motors.

Stanton Allen

Dr. Stanton Allen, a family friend, invested $1000 in the Bradleys' dream.

early Allen-Bradley shop

After a long series of technical failures and financial setbacks, the device was perfected, and Allen-Bradley became the last word in industrial motor control.

E.P. Allis, Allis works, Allis products

The largest industry in Walker's Point was also the oldest: Edward P. Allis's Reliance Works. In the late 1800s, his plant made the largest steam engines in the world. When the original Allis complex was filled to capacity, the firm bought land to expand just west of Milwaukee. The site was called, naturally, West Allis.

Allis-Chalmers plant

The company gave birth to a new suburb, and it acquired a new name in a 1901 merger: Allis-

Chalmers. Growing with West Allis, Allis-Chalmers became one of the leading manufacturers of heavy machinery on earth.

early Harley-Davidson motorcycle

On the other side of town, an American legend was born. In about 1901, two benchmates at a Milwaukee bicycle factory began to discuss ideas for a motorized cycle. Their names were William Harley and Arthur Davidson.

original Harley-Davidson shop

Two more Davidsons joined the effort, and in 1903 their father, a cabinetmaker by trade, built them a ten-by-fifteen-foot wooden shed behind the family home on the West Side.

three Davidsons and a Harley on left, present Harley plant on right

The quartet eventually moved downhill to the plant that is still Harley-Davidson's headquarters.

fleet of motorcycles

By 1917 they were turning out 18,000 motorcycles a year.

footage of a current Harley fest

Milwaukee has been a mecca for motorcycle-lovers ever since. Regular reunions draw tens of thousands of fans, all coming to pay homage to the bike that made Milwaukee famous.

quick succession of manufacturing images

Motors, machinery, and metal-bending signified a new economic order for the city. Even as manufacturing took over, however, Milwaukee's best-known industry continued to grow.

saloon patrons raising glasses, Pabst brewery photos

In 1890, in fact, for the first and only time in the city's history, beer was Milwaukee's most important product. Pabst remained the dominant brewer, and a Pabst ad described beer as the ideal tonic for harried moderns:

(Period voice reads ad over footage of a frazzled Charlie Chaplin in Modern Times. *Passage would ideally close with Chaplin drinking something and smiling manically.)*

"The irresistible momentum with which civilization is advancing in this nineteenth century, the rapidity with which we live, … pushing each other in the struggle for supremacy in every field of action, has made the need of some soothing strength-giver imperative. The mild and beneficial effects of malt beverages containing hops are becoming more and more recognized, and … those who have tasted malt beverages recognize their value and use them instinctively."

host outside Pabst brewery

As old companies prospered and new ones multiplied, industry developed an unshakable grip on Milwaukee. By 1910, 57 percent of the city's adult males were industrial workers. That was the second-highest concentration in America. Milwaukee trailed only Detroit, the nation's emerging automotive center. But prosperous industries did not mean prosperous workers.

Narrator returns. Photos of workers on the job if possible, photos of industries named if not.

Tens of thousands endured conditions we'd consider criminal today. Leather-tanners had some of the foulest-smelling jobs in America. Iron-workers had some of the hottest. Bay View's mill hands faced temperatures of 160 degrees or more. Packing-plant workers spent their days up to their elbows in hog entrails. Machine operators worked within inches of open belt drives that were a constant hazard to life and limb. Children often had full-time jobs by the age of twelve.

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That wasn't all. As long as immigrants flooded the labor market, employers held all the cards. Industrial workers of the 1880s put in ten- to twelve-hour days, six days a week, with no thought of vacations and not a dime in fringe benefits. For all the perils, for all the aggravations, workers on the lowest and widest rungs of the ladder could expect to earn no more than a dollar and a quarter a day. That translates to a little over two dollars an hour in modern terms — without benefits.

Workers did not accept their plight without protest. Organized labor established a foothold even before Milwaukee became a city, and a variety of trade unions were formed over the decades. But Milwaukee workers lacked a single organization that was open to everyone, and a single issue that could stir them all to united action.

That organization was the Knights of Labor, and that issue was the eight-hour day. The Knights were organized among Philadelphia garment workers in 1869, but they soon became an inclusive national union. The group's stated goal was "to secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create."

In 1884 the national union issued a call for an eight-hour day without a cut in pay, and Milwaukee, with Chicago, became a national center of the movement.

generic strike shots from national magazines: Harper's, Leslie's, etc.

May 1, 1886, was set as the deadline for adoption of the eight-hour day. Some employers, including the City of Milwaukee, agreed, but most resisted, and the result was a general strike that brought the entire community to a standstill. By the morning of May 3, half of Milwaukee's work force was on strike.

Bay View rolling mill

Soon only one major industry was still running: the Bay View rolling mill.

old photo of St. Stan's

On the morning of May 4, a group of perhaps a thousand workers, most of them Polish, gathered at St. Stanislaus Church to march on the mill and shut it down.

different mill shot

Bay View's laborers, including a large number of Poles, walked out gladly, but skilled workers remained on the job. A delegation went inside to confer with management.

Gov. Jeremiah Rusk

Gov. Jeremiah Rusk, in the meantime, had arrived in Milwaukee, and Gov. Rusk called out the militia.

soldiers outside Reliance Works

One detachment was posted at E.P. Allis's Reliance Works, a center of conflict the previous day.

soldiers outside downtown armory

Another was sent to quell the disturbance in Bay View. They arrived to a shower of sticks, stones, and dead fowl. Tensions eased somewhat when the rolling mill shut down. The marchers headed home, but they made it clear that they intended to return.

calendar with May 5 circled boldly

On the morning of May 5, 1886, the Polish workers, now 1500 strong, regrouped at St. Stanislaus Church to resume their march on the mill.

re-creation with Eight-Hour banner?

Tensions were near the breaking point. Anxious but determined, the strikers marched four abreast behind a banner bearing a clockface set to eight and the legend "Eight Hours."

re-creation of soldiers preparing to fire?

The militia was waiting for them. When Gov. Rusk was informed by phone that a large crowd was approaching Bay View, he replied, "Very well, sir. Fire on them." One militia captain gave his troops a more specific command: "Pick out your man, and kill him."

re-creation of marchers

Onward marched the strikers. At a distance of 200 yards, the militia commander ordered them to halt. They could hardly see the major, much less hear him above their own noise. Then came the order to fire.

Volley of rifle shots. followed by momentary silence before narrator speaks. Photo of melee (if we can find it), or marchers running and falling.

A reporter on the scene described the reaction:

(period voice reads report)

"As if by a common impulse the crowd fell headlong to the ground and for a minute it appeared as though nearly all had been killed or wounded by the first discharge. When the troops ceased firing, all who were uninjured turned and ran pell mell back to the city, leaving six dead or dying in the dusty roadway."

death certificate: "Shot in a mob"

The number of confirmed dead reached at least five, including a twelve-year-old schoolboy who was playing hooky and a retired mill worker who was watching from his backyard. The Bay View incident was the bloodiest labor disturbance in the state's history.

newspaper headlines

Never before had there been such a dramatic uprising against the given economic order. Never before had one group of Milwaukeeans leveled deadly fire at another. The events in Bay View indicated that something was horribly, terribly wrong.

Eight Hour banner?

The last word belonged to the workers. On May 23, less than three weeks after the shootings, nearly 5,000 marched through the streets of Milwaukee, determined to show that they would not be bullied into submission.

Robert Schilling

Robert Schilling, a Knights of Labor leader who spoke after the parade, saw the tragedy as a call to political action:

(German-accented voice reads statement(

"The poor victims are dead and buried. They shall be revenged. Not by making blood flow; not through force. The intelligent citizens have a weapon mightier than the ball or the bayonet — the ballot."

re-creation of ballot box

Schilling quickly formed the People's Party of Wisconsin, and workers flocked to its banner. In the fall elections of 1886, the populists captured most county offices, half of Milwaukee's state assembly seats, and a national office as well.

Henry Smith

A millwright named Henry Smith was the People's Party's candidate for Congress in 1886. Propelled by the votes of his fellow workers, Mr. Smith went to Washington.

campaign materials

Labor's victory was short-lived. In the next elections, Republicans and Democrats joined forces against the populists, turning back the third-party movement. But a warning had been sounded, a precedent had been set. The Bay View incident had stirred Milwaukee's workers to common action that would lead, in time, to a more durable victory.

May 5 commemoration at Bay View historical marker

The events of May 5, 1886, are still remembered. Each year a diverse group of Milwaukeeans gathers in Bay View to recall a time when people marched and people died for a right that we take for granted today: the right to an eight-hour day.

Larry Penn sings "The Ghosts of Bay View" at the commemoration, with cut-away to workers laying a wreath at the marker. At last chord, dissolve to wreath wilting days later.

9. Greater Milwaukee

host at Bay View historical marker

The problems that led to bloodshed in 1886 didn't go away. Hours were still long; wages were still low.... But Milwaukee kept growing anyway, fed by a never-ending flow of new immigrants attracted by new industries. Milwaukee's population doubled between 1890 and 1910. The city surged past Washington, New Orleans, and Cincinnati to become the twelfth-largest in America.

Change camera angle.

Conflict was an unpleasant outcome of growth; big cities have always been arenas of competing interests. But Milwaukee showed its size in more constructive ways. The most obvious was a bigger downtown.

Pan across photo of downtown from about 1900.
Narrator returns.

A building boom transformed the city's center at the turn of the twentieth century. Scores of new landmarks appeared, some raised by industrialists as useful monuments to their success.

In this sequence of downtown landmarks, each building is introduced with a historic view, prominently labeled, and then joined by a current view — or, if the building's gone, by a shot of what stands in its place. The essay's point is to show both continuity and change.
Begin with Cudahy Tower's south wing, shot from west.

Meat-packers built gracious apartments with stunning views of the lake ...

Plankinton Arcade

... and Milwaukee's first shopping center, now an anchor of the Shops of Grand Avenue ...

Layton Art Gallery

… as well as the city's first art gallery.

Pfister Hotel

Leather-tanners erected fine hotels …

Pabst Building

… and brewers were everywhere. The Pabst family built Milwaukee's "first skyscraper," rising all of thirteen stories …

Pabst Theater

… and a theater that offered some of the finest German-language productions outside of Germany.

Schlitz Palm Garden

The Schlitz Palm Garden brought the ambience of a German beer garden indoors.

railroad depots

Other landmarks were symbols of corporate might. Two railroad depots served as the grand entrances to Milwaukee in the Age of Steam.

NML home office

Northwestern Mutual's home office was a monumental expression of financial strength.

Industrial Exposition Building, intact and then in ruins

And there were public buildings of equal stature. The city's first convention center was a Victorian marvel of domes and dormers.

Auditorium

When fire brought it down in 1905, the Auditorium rose on the same site.

Courthouse

Milwaukee County's stately courthouse filled the north half of today's Cathedral Square.

Federal Building

The Federal Building housed the post office as well as courtrooms.

Central Library

A combination library and museum helped to satisfy the public's thirst for knowledge.

City Hall. Mini-essay with its own music.

The crowning glory of all downtown buildings, public or private, was City Hall. It was dedicated in 1895, after endless controversy over site, design, and budget. Milwaukee's first million-dollar building rested on a forest of wooden pilings in a former swamp, but it fast became a civic icon and symbol of pride. City Hall was also an ethnic statement. Its turrets and towers represented a deep bow to Milwaukee's Germanic traditions.

Grand Avenue mansions, dissolving to present scene

New landmarks appeared in the residential districts as well. As industrial fortunes swelled, architects designed castles for a new class of kings. Grand Avenue, now W. Wisconsin Avenue, was lined with mansions from 9th Street all the way to 35th.

Highland Blvd. mansions, dissolving to present scene

Highland Boulevard, just a few blocks north, was loaded with families who were, well, loaded — among them Pabsts, Millers, Gettelmans, Usingers, Kieckhefers, and Vilters. So many wealthy Germans lived on Highland that it was dubbed "Sauerkraut Boulevard."

Prospect Ave. mansions, dissolving to present scene

On the East Side, well-heeled citizens moved up the lake bluff from Yankee Hill and lined Prospect Avenue with some of the finest Victorian mansions in the Midwest.

Terrace Ave. mansions, dissolving to present scene

Their next stop was North Point, where Pabsts, Falks, Smiths, and Cudahys shared a view of the water tower.

working-class neighborhood scenes

The wealthy districts were dwarfed by working-class neighborhoods that sprang up on all sides of the city. Housing for workers, whether Polish flats on the South Side or duplexes on the German North Side *(illustrate both)*, made Milwaukee one of the most densely populated cities in America. In 1902 only Boston and Baltimore had more people per acre.

host outside a Milwaukee duplex

There wasn't much of a middle class in turn-of-the-century Milwaukee. A few neighborhoods were built for the movers and shakers, while the rest belonged to the moved and shaken. That contrast carried far beyond the city limits. Between 1890 and 1910, Milwaukee's outward growth produced no fewer than eight suburbs. They reflected the wealthy and working-class extremes of the city itself, especially along the lakeshore. As always, old neighborhoods set the pattern for new ones.

Narrator returns. Map of southern lakeshore holds on one side of screen for next three paragraphs, with outward movement animated. Photos and bird's-eye views of each community fill rest of frame, in sequence.

Bay View provided the model for the southern lakeshore. The old iron mill town was still an industrial powerhouse.

In the 1890s, Patrick Cudahy moved his packing plant from the Menomonee Valley to a large tract of land south of Bay View. The plant gave rise to a suburb that still bears the founder's name.

Just down the lakeshore from Cudahy, South Milwaukee developed an industrial character of its own. The suburb's largest employer for many years was the Bucyrus Steam Shovel Company, later known as Bucyrus-Erie.

Industry ruled the southern lakeshore, but something quite different was happening on the other side of Milwaukee Bay. In 1894 some of the gold coast's younger set began to play a new game on the edge of town, using tomato cans for cups and bandannas for flags. "Pasture pool," the skeptics called it, but golf took root.

Before long, it was the primary pastime of the Milwaukee Country Club, whose members opened an elegant clubhouse on the lake bluff. In 1900, the land around the club was incorporated as East Milwaukee — a suburb known today as Shorewood.

Just north was Capt. Fred Pabst's Whitefish Bay Resort, a beer garden that drew throngs of Milwaukeeans coming out by carriage on Lake Drive or by steamer from downtown. In 1892 the land around the resort was incorporated as Whitefish Bay, another community destined for affluence.

From sand traps on one side to stockyards on the other, Milwaukee Bay separated two different worlds. There was similar variety in the inland suburbs. Three were industrial: North Milwaukee, West Milwaukee, and West Allis *(highlight each in turn)*, whose largest taxpayer was Allis-Chalmers. The fourth was Wauwatosa *(highlight)*, an old Yankee village that had become a gracious bedroom suburb.

Highlight entire city as well as suburbs.

With a bumper crop of new suburbs and a builder's catalog of new landmarks, Milwaukee was taking on all the earmarks of a thoroughly modern metropolis.

Telephone, electric streetcar, electric lights, and automobile appear in a row, each with appropriate noise.

Brrrinngg! Clang! Bzzzz! Ah-OO-ga! Its residents were also embracing the latest technologies.

early telephone exchange

The first telephones went into service in 1877, serving a total of three subscribers. By 1896 there were 3000.

horsecar

Public transit in Milwaukee had always meant cars drawn by horses or mules.

West Side streetcar

In 1890, the West Side Street Railway won a furious race to electrify. One reporter described the cars whizzing down Wells Street "like streaks of lightning on roller skates."

lights in Industrial Exposition Building

During the same years, gaslight steadily gave way to electric light. The newfangled bulbs turned night to day in the city's breweries, beer gardens, and music halls.

1900 automobile parade

A few Milwaukeeans were exploring an even newer technology. The first automobiles, most of them electrics, were so novel that they were the vehicles of honor in a 1900 civic parade.

host seated in an overstuffed chair in a Victorian parlor (Pabst Mansion?) with a photo album in his lap

Milwaukee was changing, but it still moved to a rhythm all its own, a measured pace that blended large and small, Old World and New. Fortunately, we have a compelling visual record of the period. The city had grown large enough to attract the attention of some accomplished photographers, masters with names like Bennett and Matteson and Taylor. Their images constitute a sort of Milwaukee family album from the turn of the twentieth century.

Host opens album. Camera zooms in to first picture, beginning an extended essay of old images, each vignetted and perhaps labeled in period script, with music playing underneath. When it's over, return to album in host's lap. He closes it and looks up.

Despite its rank as America's twelfth-largest city, Milwaukee did have both the feel and the self-image of a much smaller community. A century later, it's *still* often referred to as "a big small town." An important reason for that character was, and is, the proximity of Chicago.

1890s map of Chicago-Milwaukee corridor, with animation that shows Chicago swelling like a star to outshine its neighbors

Milwaukeeans were fully aware that their old rival had won the population race. The nation's second-largest city lay just ninety miles south, and there was little hope that Milwaukee could ever catch up to Chicago. Some preferred their hometown's more leisurely pace. Others gave in to a sense of civic inferiority. John Johnston, a downtown banker, voiced a familiar complaint way back in 1872:

portrait of John Johnston
(period voice reads statement)

"There is one thing we are deficient in here. We have not the necessary blow and brag. Not only have we not that, but we daily see men standing with their hands in their pockets whining about Milwaukee being a one-horse town. Such men are not worthy to live here...."

paired images of Chicago and Milwaukee in the late 1800s, with Milwaukee gradually taking over the screen

"... Milwaukee is not Chicago, but there are few cities like Chicago. Still, if Milwaukee be not Chicago, Milwaukee has grown at a rate surpassed by but a very limited number of cities in this whole Union. Instead of grumbling and whining, let us have some city pride, and let us not listen to any citizen of Milwaukee ... crying down this the handsomest and healthiest and happiest city in the West. Let us cultivate the talent of brag, and whether at home or abroad, let us boast of Milwaukee...."

Return to host in chair.

Many years later, the city's boosters are *still* trying to cultivate the talent of brag. Municipal modesty, for better or worse, seems to be as much a part of Milwaukee as bubblers and beer. The truth is that the city had plenty to brag about, both then and now. But there were also reasons for concern.

10. Trouble in Town

Calvary Presbyterian Church, exterior and interior, with Clifton's portrait (if one exists)

On a May morning in 1891, the Rev. Theodore Clifton ascended the pulpit of Calvary Presbyterian Church, a prosperous Grand Avenue congregation. Gazing out over his audience, the reverend launched a scathing indictment of life in the city:

(WASPish voice reads sermon)

(downtown scene)
"The cities are the cesspools where every form of wickedness concentrates, festers and propagates itself. Here the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer, and the bitterness between them is intensified a hundred fold....
(brewery and saloon photos)
"We must remember that here are the headquarters of the beer-brewing interests of the West. Bacchus is worshipped at about 1,300 saloons. [Milwaukee has] 100 altars erected to the worship of God and 1,300 of them to the worship of the devil!....
(East Side mansions dissolving to immigrant housing and a Polish Catholic church)
"Every peril is here intensified — the perils of wealth, the perils of poverty, the perils of socialism, the perils of intemperance, the perils growing out of foreign immigration, the perils of ignorance and the perils of Romanism.
"No city in the land furnishes a richer soil for all the evils of our modern civilization ... than Milwaukee.
(Zoom in on image of Christ in a stained-glass window, preferably at Calvary)
Looking upon her temples, her palaces and her hovels, Christ wept over Jerusalem. Were He back in the flesh, and were He to approach our city by lake or land..., He would weep again."

host in front of same window at Calvary

The Rev. Clifton doesn't sound like the kind of guy you'd ask out for a beer. He represented the undying Puritan strain in American religion. But Clifton's

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sermon also shows that the "good old days" exist only in hindsight. At the turn of the twentieth century, Milwaukee faced problems that make some of the modern city's pale by comparison. Clifton mentioned class conflict and social unrest, intemperance and poverty. He was only scratching the surface.

Narrator returns. Pan across a graveyard.

Life itself was brutish and short at the turn of the century. Public health standards were appallingly low, and the average Milwaukeean's life expectancy at birth was a paltry 27.6 years.

young child in coffin

Children under five accounted for the majority of funerals in many neighborhoods.

clouds of coal smoke

Pollution was part of the problem. Smokestacks and locomotives belched out thick clouds of coal smoke, making the air over Milwaukee dangerous to breathe.

Bay View mill smokestacks

But smokestacks were symbols of prosperity. One reporter compared Bay View's iron mill — approvingly — to the volcano Vesuvius spewing smoke over the Bay of Naples.

garbage boats, dissolving to "Old Michigan Gets It" headline

Garbage disposal was just as primitive. There was a time when Milwaukee simply towed its refuse out onto Lake Michigan and pushed it overboard.

close-ups of horse-drawn vehicles, dissolving to open gutters

Problems with water quality were even more difficult to swallow. During the horse-and-buggy era, tons of

manure plopped onto the city's streets every day, and the next rain washed it to the nearest river. The result was water pollution of epic proportions. Here's a visitor's description of the Milwaukee River in 1881:

(period woman's voice reads excerpt (over scenes of contemporary water pollution?))

"It is a narrow, tortuous stream, hemmed in by the unsightly rear ends of street buildings and all sorts of waste places; it is a currentless and yellowish murky stream, with water like oil, and an odor combined of the effluvia of a hundred sewers. Nothing could better illustrate the contaminations of city life than … this vile and noxious compound here among the wharves."

old photos of Flushing Station system

In 1888 Milwaukee came up with a novel solution to "the river nuisance." A tunnel was drilled under the East Side, connecting Lake Michigan with the Milwaukee River just below the North Avenue dam.

drawing of water pump

The city then installed the world's largest water pump, a product of Milwaukee's own E.P. Allis Company.

At site of North Ave. dam today, pan from rapids to Flushing Tunnel outlet.

The pump, which still works, literally flushed the putrid river with clean lake water. The result of the Flushing Tunnel project was a cleaner river but a dirtier lake.

old photos of water works

The problem, of course, was that the lake provided Milwaukee's drinking water. Long before anyone

could spell "cryptosporidium," the city suffered severe epidemics of a malady known politely as "intestinal flu."

host outside Flushing Station

The old Flushing Station, now a popular coffee shop, was built as a monument to desperation. It solved one problem by creating another that was just as bad. But dirty air and dirty water had their parallels in another part of the city's life: dirty politics.

Narrator returns. Old photo of City Hall.

Milwaukee's new City Hall stood like a tower of civic strength in the heart of the downtown. Its lofty heights were deceptive. In an era of fast dealing and easy virtue, Milwaukee was just as crooked as any big city.

David Rose portrait

The representative figure of the age was Mayor David S. Rose. Elected for the first time in 1898, he held the city's top office for ten years.

Rose full-length photo

Rose was both an eyeful and an earful. Regally attired in Prince Albert coat and striped afternoon trousers, he campaigned for "Conventions, Celebrations, and a Live Town."

Rose campaign sign

"I live to see my people at play and happy," the mayor once said.

"on the map" cartoon

One of Rose's fondest desires was to "put Milwaukee on the map," and the result was a thriving convention business.

generic old hooker images

Visitors did not come to see the library and museum. Under "All the Time Rosy," Milwaukee was a wide open town, where gambling dens, all-night saloons, and brothels operated in broad daylight. Prostitution flourished in the very shadow of City Hall.

listings from Sporting House Guide

Mayor Rose justified his tolerance with an outlandish biology lesson:

(stentorian voice reads passage)

"Men are, and always have been, men. They have their natural passions which, in the great majority of cases, must and will be gratified .... If desires can be fed without turning the animal loose to destroy and ruin young girls, ... is it not better than to try to prevent what cannot be, and never has been, prevented?"

upstairs bedroom in Streets of Old Milwaukee, pulling back from mannequin to streetscape

The most famous of Milwaukee's madams, Kitty Williams, is immortalized in the Streets of Old Milwaukee exhibit at the Public Museum.

1898 Common Council

Rose had plenty of company in the moral shallows. The Common Council was every bit as corrupt as the mayor. A Council member once leveled this blast at a colleague: "Alderman Richards is of so little importance that he is not worth a cent to anybody to buy him." In the late 1800s, that may have been the worst thing one politician could say about another.

Turner Hall, headlines of indignation meeting, sounds of crowd murmuring

Enough was eventually enough. In 1903, nearly 3,000 people jammed Turner Hall for a mass indignation meeting. Speaker after speaker blasted the "brigade

of grafters" that ran both city and county, and they resolved to throw the rascals out.

Headlines dissolve to view of Flushing Station.

One speaker drew his inspiration from a well-known public works project: "What we want to do is to connect the flushing tunnel of politics with the lake of clear conscience and let it run through the putrid river of polluted politics, and clean out the stream."

Francis McGovern

The upshot was a round of grand-jury investigations led by District Attorney Francis McGovern. By 1906 his juries had returned a grand total of 276 indictments against 83 public officials.

David Rose

David Rose was not among them. The mayor had skillfully covered his tracks, but McGovern blasted him as "the self-elected, self-appointed attorney general of crime in this community." Even his staunchest allies began to wonder how their mayor could afford to buy an Arizona copper mine on a $4000 salary.

host in Common Council chambers

Here in City Hall, the politicians sensed a rising tide of reform. Even in the "rosiest" days of graft and corruption, there had been an undertow of discontent. In the early 1900s, that undertow became a flood. The old-line parties, weighed down by scandal, could barely keep their heads above water. Milwaukee decided it was time to try something new. It was time for the Socialists.

Narrator returns. Socialist tract. A subtle audio crescendo builds from this point to the end of the segment — music? massed voices? footsteps? — to indicate the Socialists' rise to power.

6

Socialism was considered a radical philosophy in most American cities: something imported from Europe by men with dense beards and thick accents. In Milwaukee, Socialism became a mainstream movement, and that made Milwaukee unique in all the nation.

reprise photos of industrial workers

Few cities offered such fertile soil. Milwaukee had legions of industrial workers who had been seeking a political voice ever since the Eight-Hour uprising of 1886.

reprise photos of Forty-Eighters, Turner halls, and freethinker halls

The city was also a center of German liberal thought. The Turner halls and freethinker societies started by the famed Forty-Eighters were the Socialist movement's intellectual seedbeds.

David Rose

David Rose himself helped the cause. His administration offered a textbook example of how *not* to govern a city.

fine print in Socialist tract

But Socialism wasn't the only alternative. The movement needed a Moses, someone who could translate its philosophical fine print into a program and lead the faithful to the Promised Land.

Victor Berger

Victor Berger was that Moses. Born in Austria, Berger came to Milwaukee in 1881 and worked variously as a tutor, drama critic, and German teacher.

Vorwärts masthead

In 1892 he became a full-time Socialist, launching a newspaper and leading a political movement.

theoretical sidebar: old cartoons? new animation?

Victor Berger believed devoutly in the "cooperative commonwealth" of Socialist theory — that glorious day when workers would own the means of production — but he believed it wouldn't come until the public was educated to desire it.

host in Common Council chambers

How better to educate than by running for office? Berger campaigned for real-world reforms, from slum clearance to better sewage treatment. Those, he believed, would pave the way for true Socialism. Some of his comrades out East began to call the Milwaukee group "sewer Socialists."

The point was to govern. Like David Rose, Berger wanted to win elections. He developed a strategy called "the Milwaukee Idea" — a personal union between the Socialist movement and the labor movement. Before long, the leaders of both groups were the same people.

Early ballot. Narrator returns.

The Socialists began to field candidates in the 1898 elections. The first results were dismal, but Berger and his comrades were in no hurry.

handbills in different languages

One of the party's most effective tools was the legendary Bundle Brigade. Within forty-eight hours, an army of union volunteers could distribute literature to every house in Milwaukee on any issue in any language desired.

campaign literature

Year by year, the Socialist tide rose. In 1904 the party's ticket, headed by Berger himself, captured 25 percent of the mayoral vote and nine seats on the Common Council.

David Rose

David Rose expressed concern:

(stentorian voice reads excerpt)

"While we have slept, an enemy, cunning and insidious, has crept into our midst to poison the vitals of our civic body."

Victor Berger

Rose called Berger himself a "disciple of Satan" whose goal was to "substitute the red flag of anarchy for the glorious old emblem of our country."

Socialist aldermanic caucus

Rose was redbaiting, but the voters didn't bite. The Socialists on the Council were a welcome change from the usual hacks and grafters. Berger often declared that honesty was the highest quality most politicians could hope to attain. "With us," he bragged, "this is the first and smallest requirement."

more campaign materials

Diligent, creative, and incorruptible, the Socialists earned the trust of Milwaukee's voters. In 1908, they came within 2,000 votes of unseating David Rose himself.

Election headlines. Emil Seidel portrait. Crescendo reaches its peak.

In 1910, finally, victory was complete. For the first and only time in American history, voters of a major city turned their entire government over to Socialists.

Emil Seidel, a patternmaker by trade, became Milwaukee's mayor. Victor Berger went to Congress. Socialists won a two-thirds majority on the Common Council and more than half the seats on the County Board.

sunrise cartoon

After years of darkness, the party faithful were certain that a new day had dawned.

host in Common Council chambers

The landslide of 1910 was a triumph for the working men and women of the city. Most of the aldermen who sat in this chamber worked with their hands. Ever since the Bay View shootings of 1886, Milwaukee's workers had been searching for their collective voice. Now they had found it. The ethnic, industrial character of the city — so obvious for so long — had finally found mature political expression, and Milwaukee has never been the same.

11. Socialists at Work

helicopter shot of City Hall, moving 180 degrees
from north face to south face and holding

With the Socialist triumph of 1910, Milwaukee's ship of state made a 180-degree turn. The city moved from municipally sanctioned vice to a new era of honesty, efficiency, and concern for the working person.

Emil Seidel

Emil Seidel was in command. The new mayor was plain-spoken and passionately committed to social change. He was surrounded by figures of comparable energy.

Daniel Hoan

Daniel Webster Hoan, a Waukesha-born labor lawyer, was Milwaukee's city attorney.

Charles Whitnall

Charles Whitnall, a banker with roots in the greenhouse business, served as city treasurer.

Seidel and Sandburg

Seidel's private secretary and left-hand man was a raw-boned Illinois native who had worked as an organizer for Wisconsin's Socialist Party. Carl Sandburg was destined for fame in a different field, wining Pulitzer Prizes in both poetry and history.

Seidel with advisors

Every Saturday afternoon, the mayor convened the entire Socialist caucus — fifty or sixty people — to chart his administration's course. Seidel's goals were clear:

Socialist cartoons; heroic worker murals; or photos of parks, schools, and rec centers, etc. mentioned in passage.

"We wanted our workers to have pure air, we wanted them to have sunshine; we wanted planned homes; we wanted living wages; we wanted recreation for young and old; we wanted vocational education; we wanted a chance for every human being to be strong and live a life of happiness.

"And, we wanted everything that was necessary to give them that: playgrounds, parks, lakes, beaches, clean creeks and rivers, swimming and wading pools, social centers, reading rooms, clean fun, music, dance, song and joy for all. That was our Milwaukee … movement."

Seidel

Emil Seidel was reaching for the sky, but he had no intention of bankrupting the city. Milwaukee's Socialists, in fact, were every bit as frugal as the average Milwaukee householder — and infinitely more honest than David Rose.

Scroll down an old (or re-created) polling list.

Seidel removed so many dead men's names from the polling lists that he claimed to have saved the city $500 in annual printing costs.

1912 campaign headlines

This pragmatic idealist had only two years to carry out his program. The Republicans and Democrats had been deeply embarrassed by the Socialist sweep, and they were determined not to let it happen again.

Gerhard Bading

More concerned about power than principles, they united behind a single candidate in the 1912 mayoral election: Dr. Gerhard Bading.

headline

The combined weight of the old-line parties was too much to overcome. Dr. Bading beat Emil Seidel handily. The Socialists lost their majorities on both

the Common Council and the County Board, and Victor Berger came home from Washington.

Dan Hoan

One high-ranking Socialist kept his job: City Attorney Daniel Hoan. Hoan had built his reputation as "Fighting Dan," a champion of the working people against the city's "entrenched interests."

early Hoan photos

Largely self-made, Hoan had left home at the age of thirteen and worked his way through school as a cook.

1916 campaign materials and headlines

Dynamic and determined, he was an obvious candidate for higher office. In 1916, Dan Hoan took on the lackluster Gerhard Bading and won, becoming Milwaukee's second Socialist mayor. He held the office for the next twenty-four years.

Hoan as mayor

Hoan lost none of his spark as "Fighting Dan," but the mayor developed a vision of what he repeatedly called "a better, bigger and brighter Milwaukee."

City Hall interiors, Socialist literature

What that meant in practice was a devotion to "municipal enterprise." Milwaukee Socialists believed that public funds should be invested in public housing, public health, a public port, public planning, and public parks — all for the greater good of the greatest number.

page of budget figures

And they did it with businesslike efficiency. A true Milwaukeean, Hoan hated debt, and he worked to put every city department on a pay-as-you-go basis.

Common Council

Although they rarely had a majority on the Common Council, Socialists dominated the city's agenda. They were the only group with a program, and their ideas set the tone of public debate.

Garden Homes aerial and ground views

Those ideas included the first city-sponsored housing project in the country. Garden Homes opened on the far North Side in 1923. It was a cooperative designed to ease a dire shortage of working-class housing.

Morph to present view of homes in previous shot.

The cooperative aspect faded years ago, but Garden Homes remains a distinctive Milwaukee neighborhood.

girl getting immunized, other public health activities

Public health was another priority. Milwaukee launched a prevention program that helped double the average citizen's life expectancy between 1900 and 1930.

sewage plant

One of the most serious threats to public health was neutralized during the Hoan years. In 1925 the Jones Island sewage plant went into operation. Wastewater was not simply dumped but treated, and "Sewer Socialism" took on a literal meaning.

Milorganite logo

In an ultimate act of civic recycling, Milwaukee dried its sewage sludge and sold it as Milorganite, a popular fertilizer.

outer harbor work

An ambitious landfill project turned the rest of Jones Island into a genuine outer harbor. The docks provided room for a new generation of ships too large

to dock in the Milwaukee River.

Jones Islanders

Both the sewage plant and the port were necessary, but they spelled doom for a community soaked in tradition: the Jones Island fishing village. One by one, the city bought out the Kaszubs and their neighbors. By 1922 there were only six families left on the Island.

city zoning map

There was less and less room for such improvised settlements in modern Milwaukee. In 1920, the city adopted its first zoning ordinance, ending the days when a tannery could go up next to a townhouse.

host at a county park lagoon

Sewage plants and zoning maps were welcome improvements, but one public enterprise outshone all the others: parks. When Dan Hoan took office, the city had a definite shortage of public green space. By the time he left, Milwaukee had one of the finest park systems in the world. That system's godfather was another Socialist: Charles B. Whitnall. Largely self-taught and generally unpaid, he was the chief architect of Milwaukee's future for an entire generation

2-3 photos of Whitnall. Narrator returns.

Charles Whitnall pursued public green space with the zeal of a missionary. Nature, he believed, was a necessary antidote to urban life; contact with creation was vital to the souls of city-dwellers. Whitnall could conceive of no higher calling. "We are seeking," he once said, "to conserve not only God's country but Humanity."

historic scenes in Lake Park

Whitnall and his co-workers did not have to start from scratch. Beginning in 1890, the city had

developed several major tracts of parkland. Lake Park was the East Side's jewel …

historic scenes in Washington Park

… and Washington Park was the pride of Milwaukee's West Side.

Frederick Law Olmsted

Both were designed by the firm of Frederick Law Olmsted, the most prominent and prolific landscape architect in America.

Washington Park zoo, Mitchell Park conservatory

Milwaukee parks housed two of the city's major tourist attractions: the zoo at Washington and the horticultural conservatory at Mitchell Park.

photo of unrelieved urban development

But open space was scarce and scattered in the early 1900s. What Whitnall hoped to create was a genuine system, one that would bring the influence of nature to bear on every neighborhood.

1923 map

In 1923 he unveiled his master plan. It called for 84 miles of public green space along the county's waterways, with major parks at selected points in the double loop. "Every home," Whitnall wrote, "should feel the environmental influence of natural shores with the essential forest support."

park improvements under way

With surprisingly few changes, Charlie Whitnall's plan became the template for all future park development. Both the city and the county added aggressively to their holdings, filling in, acre by acre, the blank spots on Whitnall's map.

Lincoln Memorial Dr. under construction and finished

Perhaps the system's crowning glory was Lincoln Memorial Drive. Milwaukee's lakefront — its premier natural resource — had long been off limits to ordinary citizens.   In 1929, after years of landfill activity, the lakefront became a park for all the people.

Morph to present view of same scene.

Decades later, Lincoln Memorial is still one of the most spectacular stretches of urban shoreline on the entire Great Lakes.

Host walks into shot.

Lincoln Memorial Drive capped a remarkable period in Milwaukee's political history. Emil Seidel, Dan Hoan, Charlie Whitnall, and their fellow Socialists did much more than restore Milwaukee's good name. They showed that government could be creative, compassionate, and responsive to the needs of the people. As a result, Milwaukee became a national model of sound management and civic virtue. The Socialist legacy is still very much with us today.

Change camera angle.

But Milwaukee was never a world apart. Even as it became a national model of good government, the city was touched by forces that made it more like other places. Some of those forces developed inside America's borders; others rose on the far side of the ocean.

12. The War to End Wars

Footage of World War I action: mammoth cannons firing, doughboys going over the top, battlefield carnage

As the twentieth century wore on, the world became both a smaller and a more violent place. In 1914, tensions that had been simmering in Europe for decades erupted into full-scale war. New weapons, from submarines to mustard gas, made World War I the deadliest conflict in history up to that time.

Milwaukeeans at play: McKinley Beach?

Milwaukeeans felt worlds away from the fighting at first. The United States was officially at peace, and life went on much as it had before.

Woodrow Wilson

President Woodrow Wilson declared his nation "neutral in fact as well as in name," but most Americans favored England, France, and their allies.

Kaiser Wilhelm II

For many Milwaukeeans, Germany and Austria were the home team, and Kaiser Wilhelm, the German emperor, was a hero.

current photo of Auditorium on left, joined by 1916 bazaar program on right

In 1916, the Milwaukee Auditorium was the scene of a week-long bazaar for the relief of German and Austrian war sufferers.

photos of bazaar attractions

The displays, raffles, and free-flowing beer attracted 175,000 people — nearly half the city's population. The *Milwaukee Journal* declared the bazaar "the biggest thing ever attempted in Milwaukee."

preparedness parade

Only a year later, such open sympathy for the Germans would have seemed treasonous. "Preparedness" parades demonstrated the shift in America's mood.

war headlines

On April 6, 1917, the United States finally jumped into the conflict. "The world," proclaimed President Wilson, "must be made safe for democracy."

Army recruits leaving Milwaukee

The declaration of war had an electric impact on Milwaukee. Thousands of young men left home to fight the enemy "over there."

Billy Mitchell

Milwaukee's own Billy Mitchell became one of the heroes. The grandson of pioneer tycoon Alexander Mitchell was placed in charge of the entire Allied Air Service, and he earned a promotion to general.

industrial shots

Workers at home did their part for the war effort. Milwaukee's industrial output more than doubled during the conflict, and local firms turned out everything from ship gears to chipped beef.

factory women

With manpower in short supply, "womanpower" helped to make up the difference.

"Gemütlich" scene in a beer garden or some other German venue. It fades steadily to white.

War was good for business, but the economic boom proved to be an ethnic catastrophe. The most German city in America found itself in an all-out war with the *Vaterland,* and ties to the ancestral culture faded fast.

"bloody Hun" cartoon

As the propaganda machine kicked into high gear, "Kaiser Bill" was demonized as a butcher and all Germans as "bloody Huns."

Zoom in on anti-German newspaper article, then scroll across, in order, a musical score, a German-English Academy photo, a list of Sch-names, and an old German textbook.

As the war dragged on in the trenches of Europe, the anti-German agitation at home degenerated into simple hysteria.
Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms were banned from the concert stage.
The German-English Academy was rechristened Milwaukee University School.
A number of Schneiders and Schmidts became Taylors and Smiths.
Enrollment in the public schools' German classes dropped from 30,000 to a mere 400. Adults who tried to speak German in public were subjected to ridicule.

Morph from historic view of Mitchell mansion to identical view of Wisconsin Club today.

The Deutscher Club, housed in Alexander Mitchell's old mansion, changed its name to the Wisconsin Club.

plate of sauerkraut and hamburger steak

Even the humblest foods were not spared an ethnic cleansing. Sauerkraut was renamed "liberty cabbage," and hamburger became "Salisbury steak."

1917 Socialist convention

World War I was just as hard on Milwaukee's Socialists. In 1917, the national party adopted a strident anti-war platform. Almost instantly, the party faded to obscurity, everywhere but its stronghold on Lake Michigan.

Dan Hoan

Dan Hoan kept getting elected mayor. He faithfully discharged his duties to support the war effort, but he also found a novel application for his Socialist principles.

grocery ads

When Hoan detected wartime profiteering in local grocery stores, he sold carloads of government-surplus food to the public at cost.

Milwaukee Leader

Congressman Victor Berger had a harder time. When his newspaper, the *Milwaukee Leader*, ran a series of anti-war editorials, federal officials banned it from the U.S. mails.

Victor Berger

They next went after Berger himself. In 1918 he was convicted of sedition for his editorial stands. Milwaukee voters were unmoved. They sent Berger back to Congress even *after* his trial. When the House refused to seat him, they elected him again by an even wider margin.

victory headlines

World War I finally ended in November, 1918, with a resounding victory for the Allies and a sigh of relief for the Socialists.

Milwaukee celebration

Milwaukeeans, including German Milwaukeeans, shared in the general jubilation.

Pabst Theater playbill, historic shot of theater

But the city's anti-German fever refused to break. When the Pabst Theater tried to stage a German-

language production — one year *after* the war — super-patriots aimed a cannon at the landmark and threatened to literally bring down the house. The show did not go on.

Dissolve to current shot of Pabst from same perspective, with host in foreground.

The anti-German witch hunt in Milwaukee was almost laughable, but only in hindsight. Its impact on the city was deadly serious. Milwaukee had once been known as "the German Athens," the cultural capital of German America. World War I brought those days to a quick and inglorious end.

Change camera angle.

The entire community felt the loss. German art, German theater, and German music had long defined the city's high culture. Runaway patriotism crippled them all; Milwaukee's cultural progress was set back two generations. And there were still more losses to come.

Narrator returns. Saloon scene: bartender, patrons, bottles on shelf. Computer animation wipes out one bottle and one patron at a time, leaving bartender with empty shelves and no customers. His expression turns to a frown.

Liquid refreshment had always been easy to find in Milwaukee. Before 1920, the city was the home of nine breweries, 2,000 saloons, and a legendary public thirst. Prohibition ended all that. The ban on alcohol went into effect on July 1, 1919, and the spigots were officially closed for fourteen long years.

brewery scenes

Prohibition created special problems for the beer capital of America. Thousands of Milwaukeeans lost their jobs, and local breweries were forced into some rather bizarre lines of business.

Gettelman plows

5

Gettelman made snowplows designed by the founder's son.

Pabst-ett cheese

Pabst turned out processed cheese, using milk supplied by the family's prize-winning dairy herds.

Eline chocolate bar

Schlitz went into the candy business, producing a chocolate bar named for the Uihlein family that owned the brewery.

Eline factory

The company built a state-of-the-art factory on Port Washington Road to house its new business.

current photo of factory from identical vantage point

Today the Schlitz candy factory is an office complex.

"Bring Back Beer" billboard

Public support for Prohibition was practically non-existent in Milwaukee. The "great experiment" was widely considered an economic and social disaster.

Dan Hoan

But Milwaukee never went dry. Dan Hoan was a realist. "If I had the whole United States Army," the mayor declared, "I could not prevent illegal drinking…. Prohibition is a big joke."

Scroll down "soft drink parlor" listings in city directory.

The "soft drink parlors" listed in the city directory sold much more than strawberry phosphates.

homemade still

6

Suppliers of home brew and bathtub gin cropped up everywhere, and authorities couldn't begin to keep up with them.

Gurda Hardware

Hardware stores did a brisk business in build-it-yourself stills.

host at 32nd and Lincoln, holding photo of hardware store

That's my grandfather in front of the store. He and his wife, Mary, ran Gurda Hardware right here on 32nd and Lincoln for fifty years. When the store closed in 1964, there was still an inventory of copper kettles and metal tubing in the basement.

Change camera angle.

Prohibition was in some ways the mildest of the blows that fell on Milwaukee during the World War I era. Before the war, the city had been America's capital of Germanism, Socialism, and beer. Those were its hallmarks, the things that set Milwaukee apart. By 1920, Germans were on the run, Socialists were endangered, and beer was illegal. Those losses made Milwaukee feel and act more like other American cities. Dan Hoan had always promised "a better, bigger, and brighter Milwaukee." In the wake of World War I, it was blander as well.

13. The Roaring Twenties

Footage of stereotypical Twenties scenes: flappers doing the Charleston, bathtub gin being consumed, gangsters with Tommy guns, crowds flocking to ornate movie palaces — all set to upbeat jazz. Dissolve to host inside Oriental Theater.

The Roaring Twenties, we call them. The 1920s are usually painted as a decade of gin-soaked flappers and gun-toting gangsters, a time when Americans flocked to carefree speakeasies and grand movie palaces, including Milwaukee's own Oriental.

Change camera angle.

The reality, as always, is more complex. The Twenties were a decade of roaring prosperity, but they were also a time of unusual stress. There were new pressures to conform, new groups to assimilate, and entirely new forms of popular culture. Milwaukee changed with the nation. By the time the decade ended, the city was emerging in its modern form.

Narrator returns. Reprise WWI artillery footage.

The echoes of World War I were heard well into the 1920s. The conflict had not ushered in a golden age of global democracy.

battlefield carnage

Americans were horrified by the war's brutality …

editorial cartoons

… and repelled by the Communists' rise to power in Russia. The United States soon lost its appetite for foreign entanglements. Congress rejected the League of Nations, and the country as a whole turned decisively inward.

industrial immigrant photos

America's growing isolationism soon reached newcomers on its own shores. There was widespread agreement that the so-called "new immigrants" simply weren't melting fast enough. Poles, Italians, Greeks, Jews, and others seemed intent on preserving their old customs and cultures.

Americanization class and/or text

Some would-be reformers tried to replace the melting pot with a pressure cooker. Americanization programs, many based in the workplace, offered hurry-up lessons in the English language and American civics,

Milwaukee KKK

There were uglier attempts to force conformity. Milwaukee, like most Northern cities, supported an active Ku Klux Klan chapter in the 1920s. Its members had a long list of hates: blacks, Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and anyone else who wasn't "100% American."

Dan Hoan

Dan Hoan issued a clear warning to what he called the "hoods and nighties" set: "Milwaukee will become the hottest place this side of hell … if any of the Klan pounce upon one of our citizens, whether he be black or white, red or yellow, Jew or Gentile, Catholic or Protestant."

anti-immigrant cartoon

The entire nation was suffering an outbreak of nativism — a belief that America belonged only to those who were born here, even if their own ancestors were immigrants.

quota law headline

The epidemic finally infected Congress itself. In the 1920s, the United States adopted quota laws that ended free immigration from southern and eastern Europe.

Statue of Liberty

The Statue of Liberty had long welcomed newcomers to American shores. "Give me your tired, your poor...," read the poem at her base. "Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me. / I lift my lamp beside the golden door!" In the 1920s, the door was slammed shut.

Sound of door slamming. It echoes as screen fades to black. Re-open with industrial scenes and industrial noise.

For Milwaukee's industries, the timing couldn't have been worse. The quota laws created an instant labor shortage just as the economy was roaring into overdrive. Milwaukee's role as "Machine Shop of the World" expanded steadily during the Twenties. A number of manufacturers were becoming the largest in their fields.

photos of each industry named in Teens and Twenties (or logos over generic industrial scenes)

Allis-Chalmers led the nation in heavy machinery,
        from ore crushers to electric turbines.
Harnischfeger was #1 in cranes and hoists, the same spot held by Harley-Davidson in motorcycles and
the Bucyrus Company in steam shovels — including
        some that dug the Panama Canal.
A.O. Smith was the largest in automobile frames ...
Johnson Controls in temperature regulators ...
and Cutler-Hammer in electrical controls, with more
        turned out by Allen-Bradley and Square D.
Evinrude dominated the market for outboard motors,
Falk, large-scale industrial gears ...
Nordberg, mine hoists ...
and Koehring, cement machinery.
The list of America's largest included a few surprises, including enamelware, represented by the National Enameling & Stamping Company, whose initials spelled NESCO. The company's ubiquitous roasters made thousands of church suppers possible.

Milwaukee was also the nation's leading producer of silk hosiery, with Phoenix and Holeproof at the head of the pack.

Pile up industrial images.

Few cities in America were even half as productive. Milwaukee County's industrial output approached a billion dollars a year in the 1920s, and manufacturing provided jobs for well over half the work force.

Pan across a racially mixed group of industrial workers, beginning with whites …

That work force grew despite the artificially imposed labor shortage. When one door closes, another opens. The end of free emigration from Europe cleared the way for workers who were already on American soil …

,,, and holding on black workers.

… especially African Americans and Latinos.

more black workers

Milwaukee's black population swelled from fewer than a thousand in 1910 to more than 7500 in 1930. Many were recruited by labor agents who roamed the South in search of workers.

blacks in transit from South (national shots)

The newest Milwaukeeans were a small part of the "Great Migration" that brought a million African Americans from the rural South to the urban North. They were fleeing the grinding poverty of the sharecropper's life, and they were seeking opportunity.

neighborhood scene

What they found was hard work and housing discrimination. Nearly every African American lived in a section of the North Side known as "Bronzeville." But there they developed all the earmarks of a genuine community.

Walnut St. businesses

Walnut Street became Bronzeville's downtown. During the Jazz Age, some of the best music in Milwaukee was heard in the nightclubs on Walnut.

photos of churches as they're mentioned

Old institutions prospered, especially churches. St. Mark AME and Calvary Baptist, the pioneer congregations, remained cornerstones. They were joined by St. Benedict the Moor, a Catholic mission, and two Baptist churches, Greater Galilee and Mt. Zion. St. Benedict's was best-known for its boarding school, whose alumni included comedian Redd Foxx and Chicago mayor Harold Washington.

photos of institutions as they're mentioned

New institutions sprang up: a local chapter of the NAACP, the *Milwaukee Enterprise* newspaper, and the Milwaukee Urban League. In 1925 Wilbur Halyard opened Columbia Building and Loan, the black community's first financial institution.

neighborhood scenes

Although its growth was dramatic, Milwaukee's African-American community remained relatively small. Chicago, by contrast, was a primary destination for northbound newcomers. In 1930 African Americans made up 7 percent of Chicago's population but only 1.3 percent of Milwaukee's. That late start would affect the community for years to come.

Latino group

Latinos settled in Milwaukee at the same time for the same reasons. Labor agents traveling to the

Southwest or into Mexico itself offered free passage to Milwaukee. Males came first; families followed.

Pfister & Vogel tannery

Los primeros — the pioneers — went to work for the Pfister & Vogel tannery in Walker's Point. Nearly 100 young men came north in 1920, sleeping on cots in a tannery building.

Mexican workers

As nearby industries hired more Latinos, a residential enclave developed on the multi-ethnic near South Side.

Miguel Sevilla photos

Miguel Sevilla was one of the newcomers. In 1926 he arrived from the state of Michoacan in west-central Mexico. Sevilla found a job at the Harnischfeger Company and a home in Walker's Point.

neighborhood scenes

By the late 1920s, there were perhaps 4,000 Mexican residents in the city — enough to form the largest Spanish-speaking community in the entire state.

Miguel and Ana Sevilla

Some found more than a new home. Miguel Sevilla fell in love with a young Polish woman named Ana Wrobel. The Mexican newcomer and the Polish immigrant's daughter were soon married, uniting what are still the two major ethnic backgrounds on Milwaukee's South Side.

dramatic club, Independence Day parade

Other signs of permanence emerged in the Twenties, including a dramatic club, a newspaper, mutual aid societies, and a group that celebrated Mexican Independence Day for the first time in 1930.

storefront mission, morphing briefly to same building today

In 1926 Milwaukee's Mexicans established the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe in a storefront on S. Fifth Street. Like so many other newcomers, they made the place of worship their anchor of community.

telephone exchange

Our Lady of Guadalupe congregation later moved to an old telephone exchange in Walker's Point …

historic view of Holy Trinity Church

… and then merged into Holy Trinity Church, the South Side's original German parish.

Morph to Holy Trinity-Guadalupe today from same vantage point, with host in foreground.

Milwaukee was no longer Europe once removed after World War I. It had always been a city of newcomers, but now the newcomers had roots in the New World. There was nothing glamorous about their lives here. African Americans and Latinos generally took the dirtiest jobs at the lowest wages. But their rise marked a major turn in Milwaukee's history, a turn toward the remarkable diversity of the present city.

Change camera angle.

There were other foreshadowings of modern Milwaukee. New tastes, new trends, and new technologies were changing American society, and Milwaukee changed accordingly. As mass society overran local culture, the city entered the American mainstream.

Narrator returns. Houses under construction.

One sure sign of change was the city's outward expansion. In the runaway prosperity of the Twenties, Milwaukee developed a genuine middle class, and its members built neighborhoods of their own on the city's fringe.

7

Sherman Park real estate ads of 1920s

Sherman Park, on the Northwest Side, was the quintessential Twenties neighborhood. Real estate developers turned scores of farms into subdivisions and promoted them with gusto.

historical and contemporary Sherman Park street scenes

The result was a new kind of urban community. Sherman Park's regular setbacks and orderly streetscapes reflected the influence of zoning — a 1920 innovation.

Sherman Park, with sign in foreground

Neighborhood parks underscored Milwaukee's commitment to public green space.

Washington High School

New schools matched the upwardly mobile aspirations of new residents. Washington High School, which opened in 1915, was among the finest in the city.

bungalows

A new house type appeared: the Milwaukee bungalow. Like the Polish flat and the duplex of earlier decades, the sturdy bungalow was distinctly Milwaukee, and it became the signature house of the 1920s in Sherman Park and elsewhere.

row of Sherman Park garages

Behind each bungalow was another new building type: the garage. Sherman Park was one of the first neighborhoods whose residents commuted to work by automobile.

evolution of automobiles from c. 1900 to c. 1930, shown in local surroundings

Automobiles had been a rich man's toy in the early 1900s, but their numbers soared as prices dropped. In 1910 there was only one car for every eighty-four families in Wisconsin. In 1920 there was one for every two, and in 1930 the ratio was one to one. In less than twenty years, a luxury became a necessity.

neighborhood scene from 1920s

For families in Sherman Park and similar neighborhoods, both the bungalow and the automobile were standard equipment. Inside those homes, a brave new world was waiting.

blizzard of ads from national magazines

America became a full-fledged mass market in the Twenties, flooded with mass-produced goods promoted by mass advertising.

Lakeside power plant interior

It also became an electric society. In 1910 only 10 percent of Milwaukee's households had electric power. The proportion swelled to 35 percent in 1920 and a stunning 97 percent in 1927.

sequence of construction photos of Lakeside power plant

The massive Lakeside power plant was built to keep pace with the region's appetite for energy.

kitchen filled with appliances

It provided the power for a consumer revolution. Kitchens and workshops filled up with labor-saving appliances.

Radio console. Sampler of 1920s music begins and runs to end of segment.

New forms of entertainment appeared. By decade's end, most Milwaukee households owned radios.

Milwaukee radio studio

The city's first radio station was WAAK, a 100-watt wonder that began to broadcast from Gimbel's Department Store in 1922.

family around living room console

National networks soon dominated the airwaves, and countless families huddled around the console to hear the latest installments of the Grand Ole Opry, Amos 'n' Andy, and the A&P Gypsies.

movie theaters

Radio gave families a reason to stay home, but another form of mass entertainment brought them out in droves: the motion picture. By 1929, Milwaukee had a total of ninety-four movie theaters, from the Alhambra to the Zenith. Many were "movie palaces," an outlandishly original form of architecture that transported viewers to another world.

host at Oriental Theater

The 1920s were indeed a different world. They introduced new tensions, new neighbors, and they carried Milwaukee even deeper into the broad, forgetful waters of mass society. The Twenties were a noisy, tumultuous decade, but soon enough things would be quiet — all *too* quiet.

14. Hard Times and Wartime

Using either a split screen or overlapping screens, juxtapose two types of images: the distinct phases of a thunderstorm, and photos from the 1930-45 period. If overlapping screens are used, the photos would occupy the foreground.

(clear skies/photos of families) No one saw it coming. When the stock market crashed in October, 1929, no one in Milwaukee dreamed that the storm would reach their city. Work was plentiful. Wages were good.
(dark clouds approach/industrial scenes) "We haven't noticed any drop in business," said industrialist Herman Falk. Even in 1930, the *Milwaukee Journal* bragged that the local market was "immune from peaks and panics."
(storm breaks/Depression headlines and photos) They were wrong, of course. The storm finally broke over Milwaukee in 1931, and its impact was horrifyingly complete. Jobs vanished overnight. By 1933, unemployment topped 40 percent, and more than half the city's property taxes went unpaid.
(calm returns, clouds stay/more Depression photos) An eerie calm followed the downpour, a period of economic paralysis that no one alive had ever seen before. Workers who had lost their jobs lost their savings and then lost their homes.
(dark clouds approach again/headlines of war in Europe) Just as soon as the economy began to move again, there were more dark clouds on the horizon: the clouds of World War II.
(storm breaks again/Pearl Harbor headlines, WWII industrial scenes) A second downpour started on December 7, 1941. In the months following Pearl Harbor, Milwaukee became a major center of defense production. Some war workers put in ten-hour days, seven days a week, for the next four years.

host in a wet landscape after a storm

That was Milwaukee's weather from 1930 to 1945: a series of storm fronts that kept everyone off balance for fifteen long years. The entire nation was blown from a monetary crisis to a military crisis without a

moment to breathe in between. By the time the clouds finally lifted, life had changed forever.

A pause, then blues music. Narrator returns. Photo of Hooverville.

The human costs of the Depression years were incalculable. Thousands of families who had worked their way up into the middle class sank back into poverty. In Estabrook Park, the newly homeless built a makeshift settlement known as a "Hooverville," after President Herbert Hoover.

outdoor relief station

Hungry and discouraged, thousands more turned to the government for help. Milwaukee County's "outdoor relief" program supplied bulk food, cheap coal, and rent vouchers to the destitute.

family scenes

As the Depression deepened, "one-meatball casseroles" were a staple in many households. Clothes and shoes were worn until they were literally worn out. Furloughed workers often moved in with relatives, and it wasn't unusual for three or four families to share a single flat.

librarians in 1930s

As tax revenue plummeted, local government faced a crisis. Thrifty librarians created "books" by clipping serialized novels from popular magazines.

Washington Park elephant

There was even talk of slaughtering some of the heavy eaters in the Washington Park zoo.

different view of Hoan

Mayor Dan Hoan was not about to see elephant steaks on local soup-kitchen menus. "A business may quit," he said. "Your city can't."

city services

Hoan realigned city government from top to bottom, economizing without eliminating vital services.

list of awards

The results were stellar. Milwaukee won more than a dozen awards in the 1930s as the safest, healthiest city in America. The community was periodically barred from the health contest just to give other cities a chance.

page of budget figures

Milwaukee chipped away at its debt and even began to set aside money for capital improvements.

Hoan on cover of Time

In 1936, Dan Hoan became one of the few American mayors ever to appear on the cover of *Time*. "Daniel Webster Hoan," wrote the magazine, "remains one of the nation's ablest public servants, and under him Milwaukee has become perhaps the best-governed city in the U.S."

familiar Depression photos: Dorothea Lange et al

But magazine covers couldn't end the hard times. The Depression was clearly a national emergency that required national action.

FDR

In walked Franklin D. Roosevelt. Elected in 1932, the new president promptly offered a "New Deal" to get America moving again.

national work relief projects

Work relief was the New Deal's centerpiece. Roosevelt launched a barrage of programs to re-employ the unemployed: the Civilian Conservation

Corps, the Works Progress Administration, and numerous others.

animation: acronyms swimming in bowl of soup

They were known by their initials — the CCC, the WPA, the NYA, FERA ("fera"), and the CWA. Some critics derided the programs as "alphabet soup," but no one could deny they were nourishing.

Milwaukee work relief crews in parks

The New Deal put tens of thousands to work on projects that were large-scale, long-term, and largely unskilled. That meant parks, more often than not, and Milwaukee was ideally positioned. The county had huge tracts of green space and shelves full of plans for its development. When federal funds became available, Milwaukee put 4,000 men to work on two days' notice.

park scenes

The city and county systems were combined, under county auspices, for greater efficiency, and the work force soon doubled.

neighborhood park work

Some relief crews developed neighborhood parks on tax-delinquent land that had reverted to the city.

parkway work

Others laid out parkways along the county's watercourses, following Charles Whitnall's master plan to the letter.

county quarry

Tons of dolomite from the county's own quarry were used for bridges and walls on the parkways.

Whitnall Park work, ending with Botanical Garden

Still other crews built regional parks from the ground up. The county's largest green space was, and is, the aptly named Whitnall Park — a square mile of raw land that became a metropolitan showplace

garden from same vantage point today

Whitnall Park is still the county's garden spot.

historic photo of water purification plant

Although parks received the greatest attention, the New Deal also funded a number of big-ticket projects, from the essential to the experimental. They included a water purification plant on the lakefront ...

Historic photo of Parklawn housing project

... Parklawn, a low-income housing project on the Northwest Side...

Greendale construction photos

... and, boldest of all, the Village of Greendale. The community came to life on five square miles of land southwest of Milwaukee. Relief crews turned it into a planned community for working-class families, with curving streets, a picturesque downtown, and ample green space. Completed in 1938, Greendale was similar to "greenbelt towns" in Ohio and Maryland. The notion behind all three was the same: Surround workers with nature, and they will all become better citizens.

Dissolve to comparable scene in Greendale today.

Generations later, the original village is still a much-admired example of urban planning.

Fast-paced mini-essay showing New Deal legacy in current landscape: Courthouse murals, WPA tablets on dolomite walls, Greendale village hall, walkways and walls in parkways, Milwaukee Sentinel index at Central Library, art in Whitnall and Brown Deer Parks, Parklawn, Hawthorn Glen, WPA history of Wisconsin, Whitnall golf course, water plant, bridges at Grant Park, etc.

Work relief wasn't just for those who wore blue collars. WPA programs put people to work in the arts, crafts, and even local history. Their efforts had enduring value. In ways both large and small, the work of the 1930s is still with us today:

host inside a factory

The New Deal provided work for the unemployed, but it also changed the lives of the modest majority who kept their jobs. Labor won the right to organize and bargain collectively under Franklin Roosevelt, and unions entered their golden age. After years of layoffs and wage cuts, workers felt powerless. They were quick to form labor unions, and employers were just as quick to resist. The result was an epidemic of strikes.

Narrator returns. Strike photos.

Milwaukee experienced 107 industrial disputes in 1934 alone, and they involved 27,000 workers in plants ranging from steel foundries to sausage factories.

streetcar strike

The most serious strike was against the Electric Company. Pro-labor demonstrators filled the streets, and the dispute ended, with a union victory, only after one protester had been fatally electrocuted.

Dover St. School, computer graphic of sign

Other conflicts were more comic than tragic. As strike fever mounted, the students of Dover Street School picketed for shorter days and longer recesses. One sign declared that the school was "Unfare to Children." Teachers urged them to come back to class and learn how to spell.

industrial workers

As management and labor worked out their differences, conditions gradually improved. Workers

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won higher wages, paid vacations and, at long last, the eight-hour day. The result, when good times returned, was that the working class entered the middle class.

return of legal beer: celebrations, tavern scenes, "Happy Days Are Here Again"

There were other bright spots amid the general gloom of the Depression. Prohibition ended in 1933. Local breweries surged back into production, and the spigots ran wide open in Milwaukee's taverns.

sandlot baseball

Baseball entered a golden age. Sandlot games drew as many as 20,000 entertainment-starved fans to the diamond at Mitchell Park.

Borchert Field scenes

Those with a little cash to spare could watch the minor-league Milwaukee Brewers play at Borchert Field, a North Side landmark shoehorned into a single city block. Home-run balls occasionally sailed through the dining-room windows across the street.

Midsummer Festival photos, ending with crowd shot

Perhaps the biggest morale-booster of the Thirties was the Midsummer Festival, a free lakefront celebration that ran from 1933 to 1941. Nearly a million people turned out each year for the pageants, concerts, displays and, of course, beer. Mayor Dan Hoan, the Midsummer Festival's guiding spirit, described the lakefront crowds as "one large, happy family, playing together as we work together for the greater glory of the city we all love."

Dissolve to comparable crowd shot at Summerfest today.

Today, in the same location, Summerfest overflows with the same spirit of celebration.

Dan Hoan

Dan Hoan himself had less to celebrate as the 1930s wore on. An economic relapse in 1938 wiped out any hopes that the Depression was ending ...

Carl Zeidler photos

... and a formidable opponent emerged in the 1940 mayoral race: Carl Zeidler. The challenger was an assistant city attorney with no discernible ideology, but Zeidler was a stirring speaker and a gifted singer with energy to spare. He gave Milwaukee its first modern political campaign.

Hoan after his defeat

Voters picked the challenger in 1940. After twenty-four years, the Hoan era came to an end, and with it passed the high tide of municipal Socialism in America.

Zeidler after his victory

Carl Zeidler acknowledged Hoan's accomplishments, but he was looking ahead. At his inauguration, the new mayor declared, "Hats off to the past, coats off to the future!"

Muted sounds of artillery in background. Zeidler's face dissolves to footage of World War II fighting in Europe.

But Zeidler was soon overwhelmed by events beyond the control of any mayor. Nazi Germany had invaded Poland in 1939, barely six months before his election, and the clouds of World War II were spreading quickly to America.

Pearl Harbor footage

The storm broke in 1941. With the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the United States pitched headlong into the conflict. Milwaukee was once again in crisis mode.

Marine recruits

Thousands of young men — and women — entered the military without waiting for the draft …

Zeidler in uniform

… including Carl Zeidler himself. The mayor went off to sea in 1942, taking charge of the gunnery crew aboard a merchant vessel. "My life is not my own," he explained. "It belongs to my country."

Photo reverses to negative image and fades to black.

Eight months later, Zeidler's ship went down with all hands in the south Atlantic, the victim of a German U-boat attack. A promising career came to an untimely end.

WWII industrial scenes

The losses mounted, but Milwaukeeans had little time to grieve. As a major industrial center, the city played a pivotal role in President Roosevelt's "arsenal of democracy." When America entered the war, the idleness of the Depression years soon became a distant memory.

time-lapse sequence of defense plant being built

Faced with the need to double, triple, and quadruple their outputs, local industries put on additions as fast as they could and filled them with new machinery.

photos of specific companies as they're mentioned

Most Milwaukee industries concentrated on their standard products. Defense plants around the country relied on Harnischfeger cranes, Cutler-Hammer electrical controls, and Kearney & Trecker machine tools.
Harley-Davidson motorcycles provided quick and efficient transport behind the front lines.
Koehring construction machinery made new military bases possible.

Some old products found new uses. Allen-Bradley resistors became prime components in walkie-talkies and radar sets.

Briggs & Stratton ignition systems were standard equipment on Allied warplanes.

Falk made gear systems for warships and landing craft.

Still other companies applied their standard technologies to military products.

Hosiery firms made parachute silk.

Pabst introduced a camouflaged beer can.

A.O. Smith made 80 percent of America's bomb casings.

Allis-Chalmers scenes

The region's biggest defense contractor by far was Allis-Chalmers. Nearly 20,000 people worked for the company at flood tide — enough to fill a small city. They turned out an unmatched variety of products, but the company's most important contribution was its work on the atomic bomb. Allis-Chalmers produced more nuclear equipment than any company in America.

host outside Hawley Road plant

Part of the Hawley Road plant behind me was dedicated to work on the bomb that leveled Hiroshima. It was a place of extraordinary secrecy. Military guards were on duty twenty-four hours a day, and workers were cautioned not to discuss the project with their families, their friends, or even each other.

Narrator returns. War workers.

All of Milwaukee's defense plants faced a chronic shortage of workers. Thousands of rural Wisconsinites poured into the city, and African Americans walked through doors that had been closed for years. In 1943 the Urban League observed, "Today there is hardly a Negro man in Milwaukee who is physically able and willing to work who is not employed."

women workers

Women were equally indispensable. By the end of 1943, they held more than a quarter of Milwaukee County's industrial jobs. Rosie the Riveter had found her niche.

Theresa Langolf

Many women thrived in their new positions. "I can do as much work as any man," said Theresa Langolf, a welder at Chain Belt, "and I can do it just as well or better."

war workers

For all of Milwaukee's war workers, men and women, black and white, the hours were long and vacations non-existent. Most soon found that their time was not their own. Everything moved to the rhythm of the war effort.

St. Stanislaus Church

Catholic churches offered midnight Masses on Saturday for workers who had to be on the job Sunday morning.

Milwaukee Brewers

The Milwaukee Brewers scheduled early-morning games for the convenience of workers coming off the night shift. Borchert Field's ushers dressed in pajamas and passed out cereal and doughnuts.

crowded downtown, crowded streetcars

When Detroit stopped making cars, Americans were forced to either walk or take the trolley. Mass transit ridership in Milwaukee reached an all-time high in 1944 — almost ten times the current level.

rationing line

Gasoline rationing kept drivers close to home, and food rationing limited their diet. Meat was often in especially short supply. Peanut butter and jelly replaced ham and cheese in thousands of lunch pails.

war bonds

No one complained. Patriotism, in fact, remained at a high pitch. Most families invested their newly swollen paychecks in war bonds.

scrap drives

Milwaukee youngsters collected scrap metal and paper for the war effort.

Victory gardens

Victory gardens sprouted on vacant land in every neighborhood, conserving the nation's food supplies for military use.

Gertie the Duck photos

No one complained, but Milwaukeeans were starved for diversions of any kind. One of the most memorable involved a duck. In April, 1945, a mallard laid a clutch of eggs on a piling next to the Wisconsin Avenue bridge. Gertie the Duck, a reporter named her, and she became an overnight celebrity. Newspapers breathlessly reported every twist in her story, down to its happy ending in the peaceful waters of the Juneau Park lagoon.

Gertie the Duck book

Gertie's story inspired a children's book that was widely read in America and translated into Spanish and French.

V-J Day headlines

Gertie was a welcome diversion, but nothing short of victory would bring Milwaukee's worries to an end.

The long-awaited news finally came on August 14, 1945: Japan had surrendered!

time-lapse sequence of downtown V-J Day celebration

Slowly at first, people headed to the heart of Milwaukee. Long before midnight, downtown was packed with jubilant crowds celebrating the end of their long national ordeal.

Hold celebration shot and superimpose paired images of soldiers at the front and workers in local factories.

Milwaukeeans knew what they had done. Roughly 70,000 citizens went off to war. Nearly three times that many stayed home to keep the defense plants humming. Their work was absolutely crucial. Without the guns and gears, the boots and bombs produced on the home front, Allied soldiers would have had to fight with their bare hands. No less than the troops at the front lines, it was workers who won the war.

host on same downtown corner today

The end of the war meant the end of perhaps the most abnormal fifteen-year period in our nation's history. Between 1930 and 1945, Milwaukee, with the rest of America, moved from the worries of the Depression to the worries of war without a moment's pause in between. By 1945 people were tired of the extremes. Years of privation, years of pressure had left them starved for a life they recognized as normal. They were determined to find it, and the result was an explosion that still echoes today.

15. The Exploding Metropolis

Old black-and-white B-movie footage of a dam groaning and starting to crack. Muted sounds of a slow blues lament and then artillery fire.

The pressure had been building for fifteen years. Fifteen years of depression and war had backed up America's aspirations to the breaking point.

Dam breaks open, releasing a flood. Images of post-WWII America pile up like debris until the screen is completely covered with babies, cars, houses, hula hoops, cash registers, Davy Crockett hats, shopping centers, etc, The sounds associated with each image pile up, too, but the roar of the flood remains audible.

With the coming of peacetime, the dam burst wide open, releasing a torrent of dreams deferred and hopes postponed. The old order was washed away, and in its place rose a world of great new things and even greater expectations.

host on S. 34th St., holding photo of father

My father never talked much about the war. Not until he was in his eighties did he tell us many stories about his time on Iwo Jima.

Art Gurda in uniform

He was looking ahead after the horrors of World War II, not to the troubled past.

Return to host.

His entire generation was determined to build a new world, one that would make up for all the years of worry and want, struggle and sacrifice. The result was a series of explosions that rattled the entire nation: a baby boom, a housing boom, a suburban boom, and a record-shattering economic boom. Milwaukee, like America, was transformed. My family, like so many others, entered a new dimension.

Narrator returns. Film of hospital nurseries filled with babies, followed by a fast-paced montage of baby pictures.

Babies came first. Hard times and wartime had been no time to start a family. Milwaukee's birth rate fell to its historic low during the Depression and rebounded only slightly during the war. A baby boom began nine months after the Allied victory and continued for nearly twenty years.

postwar subdivision going up; sound of hammers

The baby boom sparked an intense housing boom. Fifteen years of depression and war had brought all development to a halt. Returning veterans faced the most desperate housing shortage since pioneer days.

veterans' trailers and Wingfoot homes

Hundreds of families were forced to live in temporary homes, some in trailers on the lakefront, others in prefabricated houses on county parkland.

historic aerial view of postwar subdivision

It was not until the mid-1950s that supply finally caught up with demand. There was nothing especially elegant about the houses that appeared.

photos of each housing type, forming a row across screen

The most common were Cape Cods, many with "doghouse dormers"; ranch houses; split-levels; and plain brick apartment buildings.

current aerial view of postwar subdivision

Elegant or not, Milwaukee's postwar homes met an urgent need for shelter, and they met it with amazing speed. By 1960, the county's housing stock had increased by more than a third.

My own family fit the postwar patterns to a T. My mother and father met and married during the war; she was a Red Cross worker on an Army base where he was stationed. When my father came home from the Pacific, he moved into his old room above the family hardware store, while my mother and sister stayed with an aunt. In 1946, my parents bought their first home: this prefab Cape Cod on S. 34th Street. It cost a total of $5600.

family photos

They proceeded to have three more kids in this house, including me.

host at 9830 Brookside Dr. in Hales Corners

In 1955, as the kids got bigger and the house got smaller, my parents headed a few miles southwest to this ranch home in Hales Corners.

photos of progressively larger classes from 1950s and '60s

The local grade school was soon overwhelmed. Classes mushroomed to alarming sizes, and new additions couldn't be built fast enough.

Return to host.

The basic outline of my family's story was repeated literally millions of times — in this block, throughout Milwaukee, and across the nation.

Narrator returns. Ads of 1950s (still or film) for transistor radios, hi-fi systems, air conditioners, refrigerator-freezers, power mowers, and other conveniences

Those millions of families had much in common, including a taste for the latest postwar conveniences. Between 1946 and 1965, Milwaukee's electric power consumption per household more than tripled.

TV scenes of 1950s: tiny sets, early studios, people gathered to watch

The most popular "appliance" was something new: the television. Milwaukee's first station, WTMJ-TV, signed on at the end of 1947. There were only a thousand sets in the area at the time. Ten years later, more than 97 percent of local households owned one.

scene from Leave It to Beaver

Television programs offered a high-gloss reflection of what life was supposed to be like in the Fifties: Father knew best, Mom was in the kitchen, and we left it to Beaver.

Davy Crockett, Mouseketeers, Lone Ranger, American Bandstand, Superman

Real life went on without a laugh track, of course, but television lifted up new cultural icons that had enormous appeal.

cars of late 1940s and 1950s

The most powerful icon in postwar America was the automobile. The number of cars in Milwaukee County nearly doubled in the first postwar decade.

postwar subdivision with car in driveway

It was the automobile, of course, that made Milwaukee's outward expansion possible.

early photo of Southgate shopping center

It also spawned an entirely new form of commerce: the shopping center. Southgate was Milwaukee's first. When it opened in 1951, nearly 60,000 people flocked to S. 27th Street, snarling traffic for hours.

downtown gridlock

The automobile left a more pervasive mark on the landscape. As the number of cars in Milwaukee multiplied, streets built for horses and trolleys were overwhelmed.

1946 freeway map

The solution to gridlock, everyone agreed, was expressways. Milwaukee adopted its first freeway plan in 1946, and construction began six years later.

freeway dedication

The first segment of Interstate 94 opened in Waukesha County in 1958. Gov. Vernon Thomson did the honors, with a little help from Miss Concrete and Miss Black Top.

freeway construction scenes laid out in sequence: clearing, grading, paving

As the postwar boom gathered steam, freeway construction was practically continuous.

industrial scenes

And what fueled Milwaukee's continuing boom? What paid for all the cars and TV sets and freeways? Industrial prosperity. As pent-up consumer demand sought its outlet, local factories roared from defense work to peacetime production without missing a beat.

photos of specific companies as they're named

Millions of automobiles rode on A.O. Smith frames. Millions of consumers used electricity generated by Allis-Chalmers turbines.
Industries everywhere relied on coal and metals mined by Bucyrus-Erie shovels.
Aerospace firms turned to the Ladish Company for high-quality forgings.
And there were still old stand-bys like beer.
Breweries accounted for only 2 percent of the area's employment in 1948, but returning servicemen showed a powerful thirst for Milwaukee-made suds.

other industrial scenes

It took just six years for the county's industrial output to double after the war. Milwaukee, and America, seemed to be soaring ever upward in a spiral of self-generating prosperity.

John Bohn

The new age called for new leaders. Mayor John Bohn, who succeeded the charismatic Carl Zeidler, ended his caretaker administration in 1948, when he was eighty years old.

Frank Zeidler

Bohn's successor was Frank Zeidler, Carl's younger brother. Earnest, intellectual, and idealistic, Zeidler emerged from a crowded field to win the city's top job in 1948, and he stayed in office until 1960.

more Zeidler photos

Frank Zeidler was a Socialist in the tradition of Dan Hoan and Victor Berger. The party itself was no longer a political force; New Deal Democrats had captured its base of support. But Zeidler's Socialist beliefs were his guiding star. "We participate in local government," he once said, "in order that by our participation there may emerge nobler beings with enlarged concepts of liberty, truth, justice, co-operation, peace and righteousness." Those ideals breathed new life into Milwaukee's tradition of municipal enterprise.

Animate city annexations on a Milwaukee County map.

One expression of that tradition was an aggressive annexation campaign. Convinced that Milwaukee had to grow or die in the postwar era, Zeidler's team doubled the city's land area in twelve short years. Annexation was always voluntary, but city water and city services were hard to resist.

helicopter footage of residential Northwest Side

Such growth was practically unheard-of among the nation's older cities. As her sisters stagnated, Milwaukee absorbed scores of subdivisions that were suburban in everything but name …

helicopter footage of industrial Northwest Side

… and made room for new industries to grow and old ones to relocate.

roadside produce stand on Good Hope west of 91st, in July or August

Much of Milwaukee's new territory was farmland. Some visitors are amazed to find that there are still cornfields inside the city limits in the twenty-first century.

Highlight suburbs on Milwaukee County map, starting with pre-war communities as a base and adding, one by one, the post-1950 additions, identified by name and year of incorporation.

Although the city was growing fast, its suburbs were growing even faster. A rash of incorporations accompanied the postwar boom. It had taken a half-century for Milwaukee's first eleven suburbs to form. The next eight appeared in a single burst between 1950 and 1957.

Animate annexations on Greenfield-Milwaukee border.

A war raged for nearly a decade on the urban fringe. As would-be suburbs tried to organize, Milwaukee continued to take in land, often block by block and acre by acre. The battle lines were frozen in 1957, when the City of Greenfield became Milwaukee's last neighbor to incorporate.

host on Greenfield-Milwaukee border

The result was a hopelessly tangled municipal border. There are sidewalks and curbs on the Milwaukee side of the line, but not in Greenfield. Some families actually eat in one community and sleep in the other.

Stay with host. Suburban scenes.

The incorporation of Greenfield had broader significance: It completed what Frank Zeidler called the "iron ring" of suburbs encircling Milwaukee. The *Milwaukee Journal* described the last link in the ring as a "minor tragedy":

(different voice reads quote)

"The whole picture is indeed tragic in the sense that it is frustrating, inefficient, expensive and unintelligent.... Every last acre of Milwaukee County is now incorporated, in a jumble of ten cities and nine villages, all being one community, really."

Narrator returns. Map of Milwaukee County and bordering areas of adjacent counties.   Names of new suburbs and years of incorporation appear in sequence.

With the political fragmentation of Milwaukee County complete, the suburban wave surged outward to neighboring counties.

photo juxtaposing farmstead with subdivision

Waukesha County's growth was especially dramatic. Once a national center of dairy farming, Waukesha became better known for housing developments than Holsteins ...

sunset in Waukesha County

... and the rural way of life faded with the sunset over the western hills.

downtown Milwaukee in 1940s and '50s, stressing incipient decay (Oberwise photos?)

Milwaukee's lifeblood seemed to be draining away to the edges after World War II. The depression and war had stopped downtown development in its tracks, and there were few signs of new activity when peacetime returned. A correspondent for the *New Yorker* took a jaundiced look at the heart of the city:

skyline from lake in 1940s and '50s
(different voice reads quote)

"No new large office building has been put up in downtown Milwaukee in more than twenty years, and the skyline, if approached from Lake Michigan, gives the impression of a city that had its picture taken around 1920 and liked the results so much that it decided to leave matters alone."

Arena

New buildings began, ever so slowly, to erase that impression. The Arena doubled Milwaukee's convention space and provided room for professional indoor sports.

War Memorial Center

In 1957, the War Memorial Center gave Milwaukee its first major piece of modern architecture, a soaring design by Eero Saarinen. The structure's best-known tenant was the Milwaukee Art Center.

Marine Plaza

The Marine Bank, Milwaukee's oldest financial institution, built another modernist icon on the downtown riverfront a few years later ...

Annunciation Church

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... and Milwaukee's Greeks moved into their Frank Lloyd Wright-designed home in Wauwatosa.

UWM

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee rose from the foundation of the old State Teachers College in 1956. Enrollment quickly surged to 25,000.

Reprise new building photos on same screen.

These and other new landmarks were all welcome additions to the Milwaukee scene. They marked a community whose star was on the rise. But one new structure stood alone as a symbol of Milwaukee's big-league aspirations ...

County Stadium photos

... County Stadium. Building it was a staggering leap of faith for a community that no one has ever mistaken for impetuous. Milwaukee put up a major-league ballpark without the slightest assurance that a team was available. "Build it," said civic leaders, "and they will come."

headlines

Those leaders were right. In 1953, the Boston Braves, parent team of the minor-league Brewers, became the Milwaukee Braves.

Braves in action, scenes at Stadium

Fan support verged on the fanatical. Thousands showed up just to watch infield practice. The Braves set a National League attendance record in their first season.

1957 Series

The story just kept getting better. In 1957, the Braves won the pennant and faced the New York

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Yankees in the World Series. When a Yankee offhandedly described local fans as "bush-league," the Series became a contest between big-city vice and small-city virtue, between might and right.

headlines, "Bushville Wins" sign, cheering

It took a full seven games, but right prevailed. The streets of downtown Milwaukee overflowed in a spontaneous outpouring of joy.

host on site of County Stadium

County Stadium is just a memory today. It was torn down to make way for Miller Park. But what happened on this site was the capstone for a remarkable period in Milwaukee's history. In the fifteen years following World War II, Milwaukee entered the big leagues and then conquered them. The city's population reached an all-time high in 1960, rising to eleventh place in urban America. New families were formed, new landmarks emerged, and the economy rose to new heights of prosperity. For a few years on either side of 1960, Milwaukee was at a peak of civic self-confidence. Before long, however, it would be harder and harder to ignore the effects of gravity.

16. Crisis in the Core

host at UWM Library, picking through books on an eye-level shelf

If you look up "urban studies" at the library, these are just a few of the books you'll find: *Cities in Trouble, Metropolis in Crisis, Sick Cities, Trouble Downtown, How to Save Urban America,* and here's a cheerful title: *Up Against the Urban Wall.* All of these bleak chronicles were written in the 1960s and '70s, a rough time for urban-dwellers. If you believed the titles, you'd think that America's cities had entered a new Dark Ages after 1960.

Change camera angle.

Well, not exactly. Urban America did face a crisis, a crisis rooted in issues of poverty and race. Milwaukee, a newcomer to the big leagues, discovered that she had big-league problems as well. But they were by no means the whole story; the years after 1960 were, as usual, a mixture of darkness and light.

Narrator returns. 1960s photos of Henry Maier.

The period began with a changing of the political guard. When Mayor Frank Zeidler stepped down in 1960, Henry Maier won the race to succeed him. Maier was a leader of the state's resurgent Democratic Party, and he became one of the most paradoxical figures in Milwaukee's political history. The new mayor was a flamboyant orator, a skilled administrator, and a tireless advocate for the city he loved, particularly when seeking state and federal funds.
Maier was also a notoriously thin-skinned politician with a penchant for bitter feuds; his bottomless scorn for the *Milwaukee Journal* lasted until his death. But Henry Maier's defining trait was his deep affinity for the status quo. He kept the city on an even keel, and voters rewarded him with twenty-eight consecutive years in office — one of the longest runs

in American history. After a few terms, "Mayor" and "Maier" were practically synonymous.

John Doyne

In 1960, the same year Mayor Maier was elected, John Doyne became Milwaukee's first county executive.

County Hospital, Mitchell Field, county parks in 1950s and '60s

County government had become, over the decades, a sprawling empire of barely related domains: courts and corrections, hospitals and airports, golf courses and expressways, the park system and the welfare system.

County Board, 1950s

It became apparent that this conglomeration of services was simply too complex to be managed by a board of part-time supervisors.

another view of Doyne

As the first executive, John Doyne brought new vigor and visibility to county government during his sixteen years in office …

Bill O'Donnell joins Doyne in frame

… a pattern continued by Bill O'Donnell for the next twelve. Both Doyne and O'Donnell were proud Irishmen with close ties to the Merrill Park neighborhood.

Zoo

The county launched several big-ticket projects in the Sixties that reflected Milwaukee's continuing optimism. The new zoo was among the first in

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America to showcase animals in "habitat" enclosures, without bars or cages.

Domes

The Mitchell Park Domes served as a sort of zoo for plants, with arid, tropical, and temperate displays that took visitors around the botanical globe.

Public Museum

The new Public Museum, which became a county facility in 1976, earned national fame as an interpreter of natural and cultural history.

Marcus Center

The Performing Arts Center provided an elegant new home for Milwaukee's symphony, theater, and ballet companies. It became the focal point of a cultural rebirth.

freeway construction

Freeway construction, another county responsibility, continued at a breakneck pace.

Marquette interchange

In 1968 the linchpin of the entire system was completed: the Marquette interchange, three and a half miles of concrete spaghetti piled in a mound that was visible from outer space.

zoo, Domes, museum, PAC, interchange in same frame

These landmarks of the 1960s were all signs of what most still considered forward progress, but there was a growing awareness that some things had been lost in the brave new world of the postwar years.

last streetcar run

The automobile had pushed older forms of transport to extinction. The last streetcar ran in 1958.

Third St., Mitchell St.

Neighborhood shopping districts had become an endangered species.

mini-essay of Oberwise photos, set to music

Central Milwaukee looked decidedly dingy. Anything old was temporarily out of fashion, and the city's built heritage was in peril. Photographer Lyle Oberwise chronicled this vanishing landscape. His images offer an eerie reflection of a lost Milwaukee.

urban renewal activities and maps

Urban renewal was one response to blight. Milwaukee's redevelopment program was minuscule in comparison with other cities', but it practically erased old neighborhoods like the Third Ward and the Lower East Side.

freeway clearance

The freeway system claimed ten times more land than urban renewal, particularly in the heart of town.

Our Lady of Pompeii coming down

Some cherished landmarks were among the casualties, including Our Lady of Pompeii, the spiritual home of the city's Sicilians.

aerial view of downtown in 1960s

The results were obvious: By the mid-1960s, central Milwaukee had lost much of its mass.

old view of tree-lined streets

Other losses were beyond human control. Majestic elm trees had once turned the city's streets into green cathedrals.

diseased trees being removed

Dutch elm disease brought those cathedrals crashing to the ground. The epidemic reached its peak in 1967, when 19,000 trees were destroyed.

dead alewives

Another uninvited guest fouled the city's beaches. Alewives, an ocean fish that came west through the St. Lawrence Seaway, died off by the thousands in the 1960s.

Milwaukee Braves players, County Stadium, headlines of move to Atlanta

News from the world of sports caused an even greater stink. In 1965, the owners of the Milwaukee Braves moved their team to Atlanta. Local fans were outraged.

host in front of a black history mural

Milwaukee and her sister cities soon faced problems involving much more than blight and baseball. It became obvious that some people had been left behind by the runaway prosperity of the Fifties. More often than not, they were people of color, especially African Americans.

Narrator returns. Quick review of African-American historical images: Sully Watson, St. Mark Church, scenes from 1920s.

Milwaukee was a late-comer in matters of race. Although the African-American community was planted well before the Civil War, blacks were a relatively minor minority — barely two percent of Milwaukee's population as late as 1945.

Chicago in 1920s and '30s

The reason was Chicago. The Windy City had absorbed the major share of Southern blacks seeking work in the urban North. Milwaukee, lying squarely

in Chicago's shadow, generally ranked last among large cities in its percentage of African Americans.

African Americans in 1950s and '60s

That changed forever after World War II. As a booming economy attracted newcomers, the number of African Americans soared from 22,000 in 1950 to 105,000 in 1970, and from 3 percent of the city's population to 15 percent.

Juxtapose, in the same frame, an African-American group from the 1950s or '60s, a Polish group from late 1800s, and a German group from mid-1800s.

Not since the Poles in the late 1800s *(drop in image)* and the Germans even earlier *(drop in image)* had there been such a huge influx of a single ethnic group. Like their predecessors, the African Americans reshaped the face of Milwaukee, and they did so with history-making speed.

North Side blight

Although many found jobs, few escaped poverty. Nearly every new arrival settled in a section of the North Side known as the "inner core." Once German and then Jewish, the neighborhood was old before World War II, and it had not improved with age.

Hillside housing project

Hillside Terrace, the city's first low-income housing project, offered some relief, but progress on the housing front was painfully slow.

white neighborhoods in 1950s

The newcomers also faced a sometimes-hostile reception from older Milwaukeeans. Like the Yankees of the mid-1800s, many European ethnics struggled to accept the changing complexion of their city. As African Americans pushed into old German sections of the North Side, they met both resistance and resentment.

"For Sale" signs on front lawns (or perhaps an animation)

White flight was a common response. In the 1960s and '70s, it was not unusual for a neighborhood to swing from ninety percent white to ninety percent black in a single decade.

host outside a North Side church

Conditions weren't much different in other Northern cities, but three factors magnified Milwaukee's problems: the black community's late start, its rapid growth, and the entrenched attitudes of many whites. Milwaukee changed from a comfortably European city to a multi-colored community in little more than twenty years.

Change camera angle.

Poverty and prejudice were obvious problems, but they didn't stop Milwaukee's African Americans from building a rich communal life. As always, churches were anchors of identity, and their number multiplied.

Business group. Host continues narration.

North Side business leaders joined forces to strengthen the local economy ...

basketball team

... and athletic teams at North Division High School were cheered with wild enthusiasm.

young Vel Phillips

New leaders emerged to express the aspirations of the community. In 1956, Vel Phillips became the first African American — and the first woman — on Milwaukee's Common Council.

Return to host at church.

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If other Milwaukeeans had tried harder "to see the me in thee," they would have noticed that most African Americans wanted just what they did: safe streets, solid homes, and sound futures for their children.

Montage of national civil rights images: MLK, March on Washington, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, Selma, etc.

The civil rights movement brought that message home with unmistakable force. A struggle that came to life in the South created new dreams, new leaders, and new tensions throughout the country, including Milwaukee.

Narrator returns. Black and white MPS classrooms, 1950s.

Education was one of the first flash points. In the early 1960s, an interracial parents' group charged that Milwaukee's public schools were intentionally and illegally segregated.

young Lloyd Barbee

Their leader was Lloyd Barbee, a Memphis-born, Wisconsin-educated lawyer and state legislator. He argued that, by limiting students' contact with other races, the system denied both black *and* white children an equal education.

MUSIC actions

Barbee and his fellow activists formed a group called MUSIC — the Milwaukeeans United for School Integration Committee. MUSIC organized demonstrations, boycotts, and a network of "Freedom Schools" to make public officials change their tune.

Fr. Groppi images

The MUSIC protests marked the debut of one of the most unlikely civil rights leaders in America: Father James Groppi. A product of Bay View's Italian community, Groppi was a young priest serving a

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North Side parish at the time. After a 1965 trip to the front lines in Selma, Alabama, he embraced the African-American quest for freedom as his own, becoming advisor to the NAACP Youth Council.

marches

Groppi and the Council led a series of highly visible demonstrations, first against a "whites only" private club and then against segregated housing.

angry crowds

When the demonstrators targeted a working-class white section of the South Side, the response was particularly hateful. The open-housing marches continued for months, bringing Groppi, and Milwaukee, national prominence.

headlines of riots in Watts, Newark, Detroit, etc.

Throughout the 1960s, the spirit of non-violent protest clashed with a mood of red-hot rage in America's inner cities. Violence had its day in the last half of the decade. In 1967 alone, there were 164 separate disturbances.

night view of King and North today

Milwaukee's turn came on the night of July 30, 1967. The riot began on the corner of North Avenue and King Drive — then N. Third Street. It began like all the others: Someone threw a brick threw a store window, and soon chaos reigned.

Dissolve to comparable view of 3rd and North in 1967, followed by photos of fires, looting, arrests.

Fires, looting, gunshots, and sirens broke the customary Sunday-night silence. As events spun out of control, the National Guard was called out. It was not until 3 A.M. that the streets were quiet again, and tensions remained high for days. The final toll: 3 deaths, nearly 100 injuries, and 1,740 arrests.

Maier, Breier, Guardsmen, curfew

The 1967 riot was a civic tragedy, but other cities experienced far worse violence. What set Milwaukee apart was the speed and scale of the official response. Mayor Henry Maier and Police Chief Harold Breier locked down the entire city, banning traffic, closing bars, and barricading freeways. Their actions certainly checked the spread of violence, but they also magnified the impact of the disturbance. Residents of the entire metropolis felt that they were under siege, and high levels of fear were still evident months later.

host at murals on 4th and Reservoir

Henry Maier's firm response earned him a landslide victory in the next election, but there were no real winners in 1967. The riot was a conflict without resolution. The inner city's problems remained. White flight continued. The gap between the races widened.

Change camera angle. Flash 1886 images.

In a long view of local history, the 1967 riot was a distant echo of the eight-hour protests of 1886. Not since the Bay View tragedy had there been such deadly chaos in the streets. Milwaukeeans cheered the victory of law and order in both cases, but they were also horrified by the violence. The trauma faded, just like these murals from the Sixties, but there remained a deep uneasiness about life in a city divided.

Narrator returns. Latino and Native American demonstrations. Use For What It's Worth*, by Buffalo Springfield, as background music to end of segment.*

The 1967 riot was a dramatic sign of dissatisfaction with the status quo, but it was hardly the only one. Latinos, Native Americans, and other minority groups

rose up to demand their full share of the American dream.

Lake Park love-ins and other counterculture activities

Other people turned their backs on that dream. Young whites rejected their middle-class roots — at least temporarily — and developed a full-fledged counterculture. Its inward-looking dimension was obvious. 1967, the worst summer of urban unrest, was known in other circles as "the summer of love."

anti-war protests, Milwaukee 14

But the young people looked outward as well, usually with rage against the Vietnam War. In 1968 a group of protesters dubbed the Milwaukee 14 earned notoriety — and jail time — for burning draft records in a small downtown park. Five of the fourteen were Catholic priests.

feminist demonstrations

A distinct women's movement emerged from the shadow of the larger crusade. A local chapter of the National Organization for Women formed in 1967, and its members were soon leading protests against beauty contests, bridal fairs, and men-only restaurant facilities.

anti-freeway demonstrations

Some old traditions were obviously under fire, including the very idea of progress. Freeways, for instance, had long been viewed as vital to Milwaukee's future. By the late 1960s, they were increasingly seen as a form of urban suicide.

freeway stub-ends, Hoan Bridge

Protesters succeeded in halting freeway projects that were still under way, including, most famously, the Dan Hoan Bridge. Until the harbor span was connected to surface streets in 1977, it was widely known as "the bridge to nowhere."

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host on ground below Hoan Bridge

There were times, in the 1960s and early '70s, when it seemed the wheels were about to fall off. Protest rallies and racial tensions filled the news night after night. In the process, Milwaukee lost its civic innocence. "For years," said Henry Maier, "Milwaukee regarded herself somewhat complacently as more fortunate than her sister cities." Events of the late Sixties exploded that illusion forever.

17. Almost Yesterday

host in woods at Bay View Park

The recent past is rough terrain for historians. There are no signposts, no landmarks. You find yourself wandering in a dense thicket of facts and events, unable to see the forest for all the trees.

Host walks out of woods. Milwaukee skyline appears in background.

But some things are still clear. Milwaukee has changed enormously in the recent past. Those changes have produced the usual mix of darkness and light, good news and bad. They began with the ferment of the 1960s, and they continue in our lifetimes, in yours and in mine.

Narrator returns. Calliope music. Right-to-left "parade" of 10-12 images from previous segment, framed in circles against a neutral background.

Milwaukee was busier than a three-ring circus in the Sixties. So much was going on that no one could take it all in at once. But the Sixties brought more than struggle and strife. Milwaukee, as always, made time for celebrations as well.

Circles give way to footage of circus wagons in a recent downtown parade, moving at the same pace in the same direction as the Sixties circles.

The Great Circus Parade rolled off to its first start in 1963. It was a summertime staple for decades, in all its colossal, stupendous, magnificent glory.

Wagon images shrink to circles and continue to move across the screen.   Summerfest Smiley Face ends the parade of circles and swells to fill the screen and beyond. Rock music up.

And there were other reasons to smile....

Summerfest scenes

The musical extravaganza called Summerfest made its debut in 1968, only a year after the city was nearly shut down by a riot.

Midsummer Festival

Summerfest's lakefront site had been the home of the Midsummer Festival in the 1930s …

Nike missile site

… and a Nike anti-aircraft missile battery in the 1950s.

montage of Summerfest photos and programs

Growing with its audience, Summerfest became the largest outdoor music festival in America, drawing as many as a million people each year.

Henry Maier at Summerfest

Henry Maier, the father of Summerfest, put the celebration in context. "Truly," he said, "in these days of struggles against blight, prejudice, and poverty, it is a pleasure to have at least one goal which involves joy."

Maier singing "Summerfest Polka," closing with "a happy place to be"

The mayor even wrote a song for the event: *The Summerfest Polka.*

Milwaukee Bucks

Milwaukee was a happy place for professional sports as well. The Milwaukee Bucks came to town in 1968. Three years later, riding the broad shoulders of a young giant named Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, they won the NBA championship.

Milwaukee Brewers

Baseball made a triumphant return in 1970, when the Seattle Pilots became the Milwaukee Brewers. The

team seldom left the cellar in its early years, but stars
like Robin Yount and Paul Molitor carried the Brewers to an American League pennant in 1982.

host in a historic architectural setting

Milwaukee had plenty to cheer about after 1970, but there were broader patterns afoot. The ferment of the Sixties produced a new perspective on urban life, a new way of looking at the city. Some things had been lost in the rush to the urban fringe, including a sense of history. Milwaukee rediscovered its roots after 1970, and its connection with the past was reborn.

Narrator returns. North Western depot being demolished.

The first sign of change was a new interest in old buildings. In 1968 the grand old North Western Railroad depot on the lakefront was demolished. "Never again," vowed a group of fledgling preservationists. From that day forward, any threat to Milwaukee's built heritage has been met with stiff resistance.

sequence of vanished landmarks

Not every battle ended in victory. Many landmarks have been lost over the years …

sequence of existing landmarks (use Historic Preservation Commission list)

… but many have been preserved to delight and inspire future generations.

 scenes in historic neighborhoods

As historic buildings reclaimed their rightful place in the present, there was a renewal of interest in old neighborhoods.

suburban streetscapes contrasted with neighborhood streetscapes in same frame

Suburban subdivisions, it turned out, weren't for everyone. Some people wanted neighborhoods with a stronger sense of place, a sense of the past, and a sense of community.

DCD neighborhood posters paired with views of the neighborhoods they represent: Bay View, Walker's Point, Sherman Park, Brewer's Hill, Harambee, Riverwest, etc.

They found those qualities in venerable neighborhoods like Bay View and Walker's Point, Sherman Park and Brewer's Hill ... Harambee, Riverwest, and the Third Ward.

montage of buttons and bumper stickers

At the same time, Milwaukeeans showed new interest in old ethnic traditions. Links to ancestral cultures were re-established with a will after 1970.

dashikis, Afro hairstyles, murals, Roots *dust jacket*

In the African-American community, clothing and hairstyles, art and literature all expressed a reborn sense of connection with the African motherland.

Festa Italiana photos

In 1978, Milwaukee's Italians held a reunion on the Summerfest grounds, near the heart of their old neighborhood, and invited the general public. The result was Festa Italiana, Milwaukee's first lakefront ethnic festival.

footage of other fests

It was a runaway success, and soon other groups followed suit: Mexican, German, Irish, Polish, African-American, Indian, Asian, and Arabian. Nine festivals emerged in all, and their combined attendance generally topped the half-million mark.

Holiday Folk Fair

The Holiday Folk Fair became the nation's largest *indoor* multi-ethnic festival, highlighting the culture, cuisine, and costumes of dozens of groups. No city in America could match Milwaukee's celebrations.

host on Chavez Dr.

Milwaukee already had one of the richest ethnic stews in the country, and it kept getting richer. This used to be South 16th Street. Now it's Cesar Chavez Drive, named for the famous Mexican-American labor leader.

montage of Latino faces and businesses

The Latino community spread south and west from Walker's Point after 1970, dominating South Side neighborhoods first settled by Polish immigrants, including my grandparents. They might be surprised to find tortillas in stores that once sold kielbasa.

Narrator returns. Montage of African Americans mowing lawns, going to church, etc. on Northwest Side.

The same pattern was apparent on the North Side. Hundreds of African-American families surged north and west after 1970, following paths blazed by German Milwaukeeans. They found new homes on land that became part of the city in the 1950s.

Southeast Asians at farmer's markets, restaurants, embroidering circles

There were new groups as well. Southeast Asians — Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese — were Milwaukee's fastest-growing ethnic group after 1980. Exiled from war-torn homelands, they built new lives in a city whose customs — and climate — could hardly be more different from the worlds they left behind.

Start building matrix of images depicting groups named in typical settings.

There has been no shortage of other newcomers: Jews from Russia, Sikhs from India, and immigrants from the Arabic-speaking world.

Keep building matrix with a wide variety of other faces. Include photo of a gay couple. Matrix builds in intensity, finally giving way to a swirling montage of ethnic dancers in full costume. (Folk Fair would be an ideal location.)

The result was world-class diversity, and Milwaukee celebrated that diversity with unusual spirit. Underlying the celebrations was a core truth: There is only one noun in this country, and that is *American.* But there are dozens of adjectives: African, Belgian, Chinese, Danish, English, French, German, Hispanic, Italian, Jewish, Korean, and on through the alphabet. It is through our diversity that we most fully realize our unity as a people.

Fade to black. Pause. Host on Chavez Dr.

Milwaukee's unity was too often more theoretical than real. As always, most newcomers settled in the city proper. Earlier groups — German, Polish, Irish, Italian — were still here by the thousands, but Milwaukee became a "majority minority" city in the 1990s: Residents of European descent were outnumbered by those with African, Latino, Asian, and native roots,

Narrator returns. Bleak inner-city block: board-ups, garbage, no grass.

The city's human riches did not translate to economic wealth. Milwaukee's minorities, new and old, usually occupied the lower rungs of the economic ladder.

Animate SEWRPC map of urban sprawl in southeastern Wisconsin.

More affluent residents continued to sprawl outward into adjacent counties …

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Split screen: Pseudo-Tudor homes near Hartland and inner-city houses. They pull apart, leaving black in middle.

… and the gap between suburban haves and urban have-nots widened alarmingly.

Images continue to pull apart as a series of headlines emerges from the black: plant closings, job losses, bankruptcies.

The gap was aggravated by an economic crisis. In the early 1980s, a savage recession ripped through America's manufacturing sector. Milwaukee, as a historic stronghold of manufacturing, suffered staggering losses.

Allis-Chalmers shop scenes.

Allis-Chalmers was the greatest casualty. 15,000 workers filled the West Allis complex at its peak — enough to populate a small city. But Allis-Chalmers began to bleed red ink in 1981 and finally went bankrupt six years later.

Host at shopping center on 68th and Greenfield. Zoom in on crane near end of passage.

When the workers left, factory buildings were demolished to make way for this strip mall, and the last erecting shop was converted to retail space. An old overhead crane still lingers like a ghost from a vanished time.

Narrator returns. Schlitz brewery photos

Allis-Chalmers, unfortunately, was not alone. Schlitz, "the beer that made Milwaukee famous," shut down in 1982.

Pabst brewery photos

Pabst followed, though not until 1996.

Miller brewery photos

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Miller and a handful of small brewers were left to keep up Milwaukee's reputation as a beer capital.

industrial scenes, fading to black

The story was the same everywhere. Milwaukee lost more than a quarter of its industrial jobs in just four years, between 1979 and 1983. Most did not return. Milwaukeeans had always grown up believing they could graduate from high school, get an apprenticeship, and stay with one company until retirement. Those days disappeared forever.

black workers on the job

African-American workers were hit especially hard. After years of struggle, they had finally moved into family-supporting factory jobs. When plants closed, they suffered a disproportionate share of the losses. The result was a sharp increase in African-American poverty even as the larger economy recovered.

Show logos or signs of specific firms as their industries are mentioned.

When the economy finally bounced back, it was obvious that manufacturing was no longer the only game in town. New leaders made Milwaukee a national center for commercial printing *(Quad Graphics)*, medical imaging equipment *(GE Marquette Medical)*, temporary help *(Manpower)*, data processing for banks *(Fiserv, Metavante)*, and department stores *(Kohl's)*. Some old giants continued to prosper *(Northwestern Mutual, Miller Brewing)*, and manufacturing remained vitally important. Traditional companies embraced new technologies *(Rockwell Automation, Johnson Controls)*, and some old-line metal-benders roared to new heights in a new century *(Harley-Davidson; close with a motorcycle roaring across the screen)*.

host at Heil headquarters

Perhaps the clearest sign of Milwaukee's shift is here on the South Side. This building was once the home of the Heil Company, a leading manufacturer of

truck bodies. When Heil moved to Tennessee, Aurora Health Care opened its headquarters here. Aurora has since replaced Allis-Chalmers as the region's largest private employer. Milwaukee's economy remains diverse, but the shift from manufacturing to service jobs is unmistakable.

Narrator returns. City Hall on one side of screen, Henry Maier and John Norquist on the other, both named

Change was just as dramatic in the political arena. At City Hall, the Henry Maier era came to an end in 1988, after twenty-eight years. Maier's successor was John Norquist, a Presbyterian minister's son.

Norquist image moves to fill screen, followed by footage of the mayor.

Norquist quickly established himself as a fiscal conservative in the old Milwaukee tradition, but the mayor also showed an intense interest in urban design. He encouraged the development of a pedestrian-friendly, visually interesting city.

Norquist disclosing Figueroa affair with wife at his side

Norquist's influence waned after he admitted an affair with a female staff member. The mayor stepped down in 2004, after nearly sixteen years in office.

Return to City Hall image, with Tom Barrett added to Maier and Norquist.

Voters chose Tom Barrett, a former congressman, to succeed Norquist. The new mayor was an affable, energetic Irishman who helped restore a sense of calm to city politics.

Courthouse on one side of screen, sequence of Bill O'Donnell, Dave Schulz, Tom Ament, and Scott Walker on the other, each identified by name. Intercut with headlines and footage of each man speaking.

Milwaukee County government was considerably more volatile. In 1988, veteran Bill O'Donnell lost the county executive's seat to newcomer Dave

Schulz. Schulz left after a single term, and he was followed by Tom Ament, another Courthouse insider. A flap over unusually generous pension benefits led to Ament's resignation and the recall of several board members. In 2002, voters made Scott Walker the first Republican ever to hold the executive's office.

Host at Shops of Grand Avenue

As the political landscape changed, so did the physical landscape. The heart of the city came alive again, thanks to a renaissance shaped by city, county, and private efforts. That spirit of renewal debuted here at the Grand Avenue Mall, a project of the Maier era.

Narrator returns. Grand Avenue Mall opening.

The mall, known today as the Shops of Grand Avenue, opened with a flourish in 1982, and it became the catalyst for well over a billion dollars in new development.

Water Street near Juneau Ave. at night.

Water Street blossomed as a center of nightlife.

Milwaukee Rep and Pabst Theater

A theater district took shape in the shadow of City Hall.

Broadway or Water St. near Chicago St. or Buffalo St.

The Historic Third Ward sprouted new galleries, restaurants, and condominiums.

Midwest Airlines Center

The Midwest Airlines Center gave both Milwaukeeans and convention-goers a new place to gather.

Riverwalk

The downtown riverfront was reborn.

Park East freeway demolition, dissolving to plans for the corridor

The Park East freeway corridor was cleared for redevelopment and a return to the tax rolls.

6th St. bridge

A striking new bridge opened the Menomonee Valley, a faded industrial stronghold …

MU athletic field, Potawatomi Casino, drawings of Harley-Davidson museum and other development plans

… to a future that included recreation as well as industry.

downtown housing: Library Hill, Commerce Street, new towers near Juneau Park

Downtown became a place to live again, and the city's center began to feel like a neighborhood for the first time in half a century.

Juxtapose Bradley Center and Turner Hall, Reuss Federal Plaza and Wisconsin Hotel, Bradley Tech and Victorian homes on S. 3rd Street.

The past was never forgotten, New buildings rose alongside historic structures …

Compare details of City Hall tower and gables with details on Milwaukee Center, Midwest Express Center, and 100 East.

… and some even paid architectural homage to a beloved civic icon — City Hall.

On either side of screen, run time-lapse sequences of Calatrava sunscreen unfurling and Miller Park roof opening.

Two more landmarks broke new ground: Miller Park and the Art Museum's Calatrava addition. They were built for athletics and for art, but the structures are most satisfying when seen as symbols. The Art

Museum and the ballpark mark a community that, after all these years, is still *open* to the future ... still spreading its wings to each new dawn.

Pause. Theme music up. Host in front of Calatrava.

Our journey ends at almost yesterday. We've been traveling through time in this series, following Milwaukee from its first faint stirrings to the metropolis of today.   There's a vital link between past and present. History tells us how we got here. History, I believe, is nothing less than why things are the way they are.

Narrator returns. Images from early segments — harbor scene, wheatfields, Juneau/Kilbourn/Walker, railroads, steam engines — move from background to foreground in turn.

And so *why* Milwaukee? Begin with a superb harbor ... a rich hinterland ... spirited competition ... and a taste for new technologies.

Continue images: Grain Exchange, brewery, tannery, flour mill, factory

Provide places to buy and sell ... and *build* places to process and manufacture.

Workplace images, immigrant images to WWII era

Offer them jobs, and watch the people flock to your city from all over the world.

Sequence of photos of W. Wisconsin Ave., 1850s to 1930s. Make sure registration is as precise as possible.

See your downtown grow, decade by decade ...

Historic neighborhood images

... and your neighborhoods multiply.

Bridge War, Civil War, 1886 Bay View tragedy, WWI anti-German hysteria, KKK, Depression bread line,

strikes, Groppi open-housing marches, 1967 riot, 1980s unemployment

From the very beginning, Milwaukee developed a story entirely its own, one that captured all the richness of the larger human drama. It has been a story punctuated by turmoil and tension ...

celebrations, including WWI Armistice, V-J Day, 1982 Brewers, Summerfest

... but by triumph as well ...

Byron Kilbourn, David Rose

... a story filled with colorful characters, some who took ethical shortcuts ...

Solomon Juneau, Dan Hoan, Frank Zeidler

... and others who were civic saints.

shipbuilders, grain traders, brewery workers, machinists, office workers, etc., 1850s-present

It has been a story of the constant struggle to make a living ...

family groups, from early Germans to recent Hmong

... and, more important, to make a life.

Music becomes more Coplandesque. Choose the strongest images of people in our entire collection and linger on them in turn and close-up.

Look into the faces of the ones who came before. Gaze deeply into their eyes, eyes that stare back from the far side of forever. What passes between you? What message do they send from their eternal stillness? ...
That we are not so different, after all. We are connected, each to each, across the constantly shifting borders of time.

*The historic images are matched with contemporary
counterparts in the same context, whether work,
play, or home. Include more children. Weight shifts
gradually from past to present.*

What history reveals is our common humanity.
We're all in the same family album. The faces
change as the pages turn, but it's all one story — a
tale of the human condition in its endless depth and
complexity.

*Sun begins to rise through the montage. Individual
images fade steadily in the glare, and the sun fills the
screen. Increase exposure until screen is entirely white.*

And the story continues. We take our places on the
latest pages, linked to all that's gone before and
looking, always, to what lies ahead ... We wake each
day to a world of infinite possibility and write, with
our lives, the next chapter.