

**United States Department of Interior
National Park Service**

**National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form**



This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900A). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name East Village Historic District
other names/site number N/A

2. Location

street & number Generally bounded by North Humboldt, East Brady, North Warren, N/A not for publication
and Milwaukee River
city or town Milwaukee N/A vicinity
state Wisconsin code WI county Milwaukee code 079 zip code 53202

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Alicia J. Cole December 9, 2003
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.
(See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

East Village Historic District

County Milwaukee

Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

entered in the National Register.

___ See continuation sheet.

___ determined eligible for the National Register.

___ See continuation sheet.

___ determined not eligible for the National Register.

___ See continuation sheet.

___ removed from the National Register.

___ other, (explain):

Edson W. Beall

1/21/04

Edson W. Beall

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(check as many boxes as apply)

private

public-local

public-State

public-Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box)

building(s)

district

structure

site

object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

contributing

noncontributing

278

5

buildings

2

sites

structures

objects

280

5

total

Name of related multiple property listing:

(Enter "N/A" if property not part of a multiple property listing.)

N/A

Number of contributing resources

is previously listed in the National Register

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC/single dwelling

DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling

COMMERCE/TRADE/restaurant

COMMERCE/TRADE/specialty store

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions)

DOMESTIC/single dwelling

DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling

COMMERCE/TRADE/restaurant

COMMERCE/TRADE/professional

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions)

Late Victorian

Late 19th Century & Early 20th Century American Movements

Materials

(Enter categories from instructions)

Foundation Brick

walls Wood

Brick

roof Asphalt

other Concrete

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for the National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions)

ETHNIC HERITAGE/EUROPEAN
 ARCHITECTURE
 SOCIAL HISTORY

Period of Significance

1871-1938

Significant Dates

1871

Significant Person

(Complete if Criterion B is marked)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Kolpacki, Bernard
Dohmen, Anton

(continued pg 7-10)

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

Name of Property

County and State

9. Major Bibliographic References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous Documentation on File (National Park Service):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:

- X State Historic Preservation Office
- Other State Agency
- Federal Agency
- Local government
- University
- Other

Name of repository:

10. Geographical Data

Acreege of Property 45 acres

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1 16 426790 4767280
Zone Easting Northing

3 16 427270 4766920
Zone Easting Northing

2 16 427260 4767418
Zone Easting Northing

4 16 426780 4766920
Zone Easting Northing

See Continuation Sheet

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title	Susan G. Mikoś, consultant for	date	April 1, 2003
organization	East Village Association	telephone	414-332-1728
street & number	2513 East Shorewood Boulevard	zip code	53211
city or town	Shorewood	state	WI

East Village Historic District
Name of Property

County Milwaukee
County and State

Wisconsin

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional Items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name/title	various				date
organization					telephone
street&number					zip code
city or town		state	WI		

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 470 *et seq.*).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18.1 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Projects, (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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East Village Historic District
Milwaukee County, WI

Section 7 Page 1

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The East Village Historic District is a working class residential neighborhood settled by Polish immigrants, beginning in the late 1860s. It is located on Milwaukee's East Side, about one and a half miles north of the central business district. It adjoins the East Brady Street Historic District, a business district that also incorporates St. Hedwig's Church, which served as the spiritual and community center for the original inhabitants of the East Village Historic District. The District's housing styles consist predominantly of modest frame structures, including workers' cottages, "Polish flats," single family houses and duplexes, as well as a handful of brick buildings, interspersed with a scattering of commercial structures, all densely packed into an approximately four-square block area with an irregular street pattern.

Streets and Settlement Pattern

The streets in the East Village Historic District generally conform to the grid pattern established on Milwaukee's East Side, with adjustments for the area's peculiar topography. E. Kane Place and the north extension of N. Warren Ave. accommodate bends in the Milwaukee River, and N. Pulaski Street follows the course of a natural ravine.

At one time, two streets bore names that reflected the influence of the Polish community. From ca. 1874 until 1926, North Arlington Place was named Sobieski Street, after the Polish king, Jan III Sobieski, who turned back the Turkish invasion of Europe at the gates of Vienna in 1683 (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:12). Pulaski Street was given its name, by ordinance, in 1875, in honor of Casimir Pulaski, a Polish nobleman who volunteered his services to the Continental Army during the American Revolution, and died leading the Pulaski Legion in an attack on Savannah in 1779. The street, which cuts a crooked diagonal path across the district, originally ran through a ravine that was filled and leveled. Today, on account of its length and irregular course, its Polish name, and the examples of ethnic architecture along it, Pulaski Street exemplifies the distinctive character of the East Village Historic District better than any other street.

Even more than the irregular street pattern, which is mainly attributable to Pulaski Street's diagonal trajectory, non-standard lot sizes and uneven setbacks contribute to a unique and unorthodox arrangement of buildings. While most of the lots were originally platted in standard 40-foot widths, repeated subdivisions have led to a patchwork pattern of odd shapes and sizes. Since most of the houses were built before setbacks were regulated, distance from the street varies considerably. The addition of rear houses and outbuildings further contributes to an impression of irregularity.

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Resource Types in the East Village Historic District

The East Village Historic District contains a variety of building types, ranging from modest workers' cottages to imposing brick duplexes and commercial structures. There are a few architect-designed and "high style" buildings in the District, but most are unpretentious, functional buildings that evolved over time.

Tracing the history of buildings in the East Village Historic District poses unique challenges. By the time Milwaukee began requiring building permits in 1888, the area was already well developed. As a result, a majority of the buildings lack original building permits. Even after 1888, immigrant property owners were often less than scrupulous about obtaining permits. Building alterations were frequent, and in many cases improvised. After long experience with foreign occupation and oppressive landlords, Polish immigrants maintained a skeptical view of governmental authority, and tended to treat legal regulations as obstacles to be circumvented, wherever possible. As a result, many construction projects went unrecorded. Additionally, permit records for some properties have evidently been lost.

Fire insurance maps show buildings present in the East Village Historic District in 1888, 1894, and 1910. They fail to document the District's earliest development, however, which took place in the two decades prior to the publication of the first fire insurance map (Rascher 1888). Moreover, both the frequency with which houses were moved and the presence of multiple houses on a single lot complicate the problem of connecting extant structures to the buildings indicated in permit records and fire insurance maps.

Although property tax records in Milwaukee can be useful in establishing construction dates, especially since they separate the value of improvements from land values, their utility in the East Village Historic District is vitiated by several factors. Most of the lots were subdivided, sometimes multiple times, so that it is not always easy to tie extant structures to particular parcels. In addition, a variety of sheds, shanties and other temporary structures were built in the early years, making it difficult to establish which improvements represent actual houses. Finally, since many buildings were subsequently moved, or demolished and rebuilt, it is impossible to be certain of when buildings suggested by early tax records are the structures extant today.

The East Village Historic District contains an eclectic mix of building types. The relatively few "high style" buildings represent a variety of architectural styles, including Italianate, Queen Anne, Arts and Crafts, and Craftsman. Most of the buildings in the East Village Historic District, however, are simple vernacular structures, erected to serve the District's predominantly working class population. The majority either did not conform to particular styles when built or, through successive additions and remodeling, have lost the architectural detail, and even massing, associated with distinct architectural styles.

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Because so many of the houses in the East Village Historic District evolved over time, instead of being constructed wholesale, they resist categorization. In a neighborhood where economy was paramount, many of the buildings seem to have arisen from property owners' often-improvised efforts to maximize the use of space. Cottages became Polish flats; two-story front gable houses grew into gabled ells and duplexes; apartment houses sprang from duplexes. In the course of adding on, much was also taken away – especially siding, porches and decorative detail. As a result, it is difficult to assign many of the East Village structures to a particular building form, much less an architectural style. Most of the alterations occurred within the period, giving the district an organic feel seldom seen in late nineteenth and early twentieth century developments.

The buildings in the East Village Historic District defy classification according to any single criterion. Most do not conform to recognized architectural styles, either because they were built as simple vernacular structures, with minimal regard for architectural style, or because successive remodeling episodes have removed stylistic features they may once have possessed. It is almost equally problematic to classify them according to conventional concepts of form, such as front gabled and side gabled. All but a few began as “front gabled” structures, because of the narrow lots, but the term has little meaning when applied to the idiosyncratic accretions many of them have subsequently become. Some cottages, which were probably front-gabled to begin with, have been turned sideways at the rear of lots, to save space. Almost all of the original structures have been augmented, resulting in multiple rooflines. Entrances have been added and moved, as new living spaces have been created. Functional distinctions, such as single family, duplex, and apartment also break down. It is often difficult or impossible to determine, from the exterior, the number of interior living spaces – which, has been a fluid concept, in any case. It is not even simple to distinguish between commercial and residential buildings, because the two functions were usually combined in the East Village Historic District, and usage often changed over the years.

The most satisfactory classification system combines form and function, and reflects the terminology used in building permits. The types most often referred to in early building permits are cottage, dwelling, flat, and store. It may be assumed that “cottage” referred to a small, one or one and a half story structure. A “dwelling” generally meant a single family-style residence (regardless of the number of “families” which actually occupied it). It was usually a two-story front-gabled building, as distinct from a cottage. The term “flat” referred to what later became known as a duplex, or, occasionally, a building with more than two dwelling units. “Store” was a broad term for various types of commercial buildings, most commonly retail food stores and saloons. In the East Village Historic District, it was almost always combined with a dwelling, and the building was sometimes referred to as a “store & flat,” or simply “store-flat.” Another readily identifiable building type in the East Village Historic District is the Craftsman-style “bungalow,” a few examples of which were built as infill on undeveloped lots or to replace demolished buildings.

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The most distinctive building type in the East Village Historic District, while not named in contemporaneous records, is a raised basement structure known today as a "Polish flat." Although not identified with any comparable building style in Poland, this inexpensive, space-saving dwelling was popular among Polish and other immigrants in Milwaukee and elsewhere in the Midwest. In its most common form, the "Polish flat" consisted of a standard workers' cottage set on a high basement, which enclosed a second living space. Separate outside entrances, one above the other, usually led to the upper and lower flats. In addition to these standard "Polish flats," similar to those found in Milwaukee's South Side Polish neighborhoods, the East Village Historic District also features several variations on the theme. These include "Polish flats" with different entry arrangements, as well as other kinds of "raised basement" buildings – two-story front gabled dwellings, commercial buildings, and even duplexes.

The drive to economy that lay behind the "Polish flat" also led to another distinctive feature of the district – the prevalence of rear houses, or second, third, and even fourth dwellings behind the main residence. The additional houses were rented out to provide additional income, leaving little open yard space in the neighborhood. Many of these rear houses have subsequently been razed, and only a handful of lots still contain as many as three buildings. Nevertheless, enough rear houses remain to convey a sense of the housing density they imparted to the neighborhood.

The East Village Historic District is an amalgam of workers' cottages, Polish flats, Milwaukee duplexes, and two-story single-family homes, with a few "high style" residences, as well as a scattering of taverns, stores and other commercial buildings. Following are descriptions of the principal building types found in the East Village Historic District:

Workers' Cottage:

The dominant housing type in the East Village Historic District, as in most of Milwaukee's nineteenth century working class neighborhoods, was a simple one or one and a half story frame structure with a gable roof, commonly referred to as a "workers' cottage." The typical workers' cottage of Midwestern cities has been described as

a one-story (or story and one-half) wood frame structure with its gable and offset front door facing the street... In plan, it usually contained two major rooms along one side: a living room (also called a parlor) and a kitchen. Along the opposite side were two or more smaller rooms, usually used for bedrooms. This standard workers' cottage usually had two entries, one from a front porch opening to a small entry hall into the living room, and the other from the rear or side into the kitchen. In some cases, the cottage had a basement or minimum underground storage area. The upstairs or attic was almost

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always used for sleeping areas (often left unfinished) for children or boarders (Hubka and Kenny 2000:37).

The Victorian workers' cottage was an early form of mass-produced, industrialized housing for working-class Americans. Its machined components included doors, windows, casings, hardware, and decorative detailing, as well as standardized components for the structural and finish systems. Reliance on mass-produced building materials, combined with contractor and speculator initiation of the house building process, meant minimal owner contribution to design or construction. Workers' cottages were sold through modern land development practices such as lot standardization, financing and marketing, further reducing the owner's influence (Hubka and Kenny 2000:37-38).

Variants of the workers' cottage were found in industrial cities across the country. Although they were small and unprepossessing, workers' cottages were neatly trimmed with decorative millwork, often produced in local lumberyards. The earliest examples may have simple Greek Revival or Italianate trim, while later houses often have windows with punched or machine-tooled enframements and porches with turned posts and jigsawed ornaments (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:378).

The workers' cottage – usually constructed on a cedar post foundation – was originally the dominant building type in the East Village Historic District. Because the cottages were small and insubstantial, however, many have been razed, either as a result of deterioration or to make room for larger dwellings. Virtually all of the workers' cottages that do survive have been enlarged and otherwise altered, sometimes beyond recognition.

Because the post foundations inevitably failed, the cottages needed to be “underpinned” with masonry foundations some years later. This often served as an occasion to create additional living space in the basement, resulting in the so-called “Polish flat” (see below). Because they were small and relatively “portable,” cottages were frequently moved, both from one lot to another, and from the front to the back of a given lot, to make room for a larger structure in front. In 1916, for example, the cottage at 1110-1112 E. Hamilton Street was moved to the rear of the lot to make room for a brick veneer duplex. In 1920, the cottage at 1822-1824 N. Warren Ave. was moved to the rear, so that a new duplex could be erected the following year. In 1925, Joseph Skwierawski moved a cottage to the rear of his lot at 1845 N. Warren Ave. and built a Craftsman duplex in front (Building Permits, 1110-1112 E. Hamilton Street, 1822-1824 N. Warren Ave., 1845 N. Warren Ave.).

Most of the surviving cottages in the East Village Historic District have been re-sided and have lost their original decorative trim. Some of the relatively intact cottages have been raised and converted to “Polish flats”, but preserve their trim and exterior cottage form, e.g., 1746 N. Warren Ave., 1842 N. Warren Ave., 1920 N. Warren Ave. and 1860-62 N. Arlington Place. Other fairly well preserved cottages include 1817 N. Warren Ave, 1823 N. Warren Ave., and 1740 N. Warren Ave. The cottage at

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1760 N. Franklin Place, though re-sided and considerably altered, is a good example of the lower pitched roofs of earlier cottages, and also retains a small oval gable window.

Two-story front gable house:

A common house form in the East Village Historic District is a simple, two story, front gabled structure, generally referred to in building permits as a "dwelling." Early examples (*e.g.*, 1821 N. Warren Ave., 1712 N. Franklin Place) resemble a taller version of the workers' cottage. While originally built with a single entrance, many of these dwellings were enlarged and converted to multi-family residences.

"Polish Flat":

The raised basement cottage, referred to in Milwaukee as the "Polish flat" because of its association with Polish immigrant neighborhoods, consisted of a standard workers' cottage atop an above-ground basement or partially above-ground basement which served as additional living space. In its classic form, an existing cottage was raised up on cedar posts and a semi-basement dwelling constructed underneath. Typically, the cedar post foundation was later converted to masonry. In other cases, a cottage from another site was moved onto the basement foundation. Additionally, some houses were originally constructed with high basements (Hubka and Kenny 2000:37, 40-41).

A steep flight of wooden stairs usually led to the upper level entrance, while entry to the basement apartment was either at street level, or down a short flight of steps directly underneath the upper level entrance porch. In terms of general form, floor plan, and decorative detailing, the "Polish flat" remained a workers' cottage. The basement, whether fully above ground or semi-subterranean, had full-sized windows and a standard door. In the East Village Historic District, there were numerous variations on the standard "Polish flat," however. In some cases, the basement entrance is on the side of the building rather than in front, and in other instances, the stairs to the upper flat are located inside the building, as in a standard duplex.

The "Polish flat" enjoyed widespread popularity in Milwaukee's working class Polish neighborhoods. According to a contemporary description of the Polish South Side, "on each side of every street or avenue is an almost continuous line of basements, miles and miles of gloomy, poorly lighted, damp, unventilated, overcrowded rooms" (Wisconsin-Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics 1912:173-74). One study estimates that between 1870 and 1920, roughly 10,000 "Polish flats" were constructed in Milwaukee, representing approximately 5 to 10 percent of the city's total housing units, and more than 50 percent of the housing on the Polish South Side (Hubka and Kenny 2000:40).

A good example of a "Polish flat" with original porch and outside stairs is 1213 E. Kane Place; this house also has original window frames with two over two light sashes, and decorative gable shingles. Another example, with a semi-subterranean basement, is at 1746 N. Warren Ave. This house

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has a basement door under the outside stairs. It also retains its original porch, window frames, brackets, and gable shingling. Another representative Polish flat is at 1768 N. Warren Ave.

In addition, there are several variations on the "classic" Polish flat. In the most common variant, the basement is fully above ground, with a front, ground level entrance opening onto inside stairs to the upper flat and the basement entrance on one side of the building. Examples include 1327 E. Kane Place, 1842 N. Warren Ave., 1864 N. Warren Ave., and 1860 N. Arlington Place.

Although workers' cottages were the most frequent building type to be raised, in the East Village Historic District, two-story front gabled structures (*e.g.*, 1800 N. Warren Ave.), commercial buildings, and even duplexes (*e.g.*, 1729-31 N. Franklin Place, 1838-1840 N. Humboldt Ave., and 1858-1862 N. Warren Ave.) were also set on raised basements.

Bungalow:

Between 1905 and 1925, the Craftsman-inspired, one-story bungalow style enjoyed widespread popularity in Milwaukee. As an affordable housing type, the small bungalow assumed the role of the earlier Victorian workers' cottage in making home ownership possible for the working classes. Although bungalows were built in large speculative tracts in some parts of Milwaukee, in the already developed East Village neighborhood they were built as infill amidst older houses. At the same time, many of the older wooden cottages were brought up to date by the addition of a bungalow style porch and grouped windows (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:375-78). N. Warren Ave., which developed slightly later than other streets in the East Village, has several bungalows, including 1724, 1735, 1851, 1952 and 1960 N. Warren.

Milwaukee Duplex:

The popular housing form known today as the "duplex" was built in large numbers throughout Milwaukee between about 1885 and 1930. Originally known as a "flat" or "two family flat," the house type has been referred to as a "duplex flat" or "duplex" since about 1914 (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:380).

Although building permits were not required until 1888, other evidence suggests that duplex construction began in Milwaukee during the 1880s, became increasingly popular in the 1890s and peaked between 1904 and 1916. Duplexes were constructed in every city ward except downtown and the Menomonee Valley. Some areas of the city, notably on the North Side, were built almost exclusively with duplexes. Relatively few duplexes were constructed on the South Side, where the "Polish Flat" constituted a less expensive substitute (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:380-81).

As a house type, the duplex developed from the gable-roofed rectangular house. Because of Milwaukee's long, narrow lot configuration, most of the city's housing was sited with the gable end

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facing the street. The earliest duplex examples, from the 1880s, were simple gable-roofed blocks with a small porch and balcony at the second story. Between 1890 and 1925, the front gable remained a standard feature, but several new types appeared. One of the most popular duplex types features a gable roof with intersecting gables projecting from the main block of the house. Porches were often used only at the two entries, which were located at opposite corners of the front elevation. Examples of this type range in date from the 1880s and early 1890s up to the early 1900s. In the early twentieth century, this type of duplex, with entrances at either end of the front, was usually unified with a broad porch across the first story and an open deck at the second story level. The other major type of duplex, popular from about 1905 to 1930, featured the entrance doors placed side by side under a broad porch (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:381-82).

The Milwaukee duplex exhibited considerable diversity in its architectural detail, including Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, Arts and Crafts, and Bungalow styles. A prominent feature of Milwaukee duplex design is the attention paid to the gable end, which almost invariably faced the street. Between 1890 and 1910, the gable end was clad with shingles, stucco, paneling or clapboard. A central window, or pair of windows, was centered in the gable and framed by shingled reveals, pilasters or freestanding columns, or simple millwork trim. Often, the gable end window was a three-part window, usually of Palladian form. Broad, paneled vergeboards were nearly always present, and brackets sometimes carried the eaves. Porch treatment varied greatly, from simple full porches with sturdy columns to small entrance porches embellished with delicate spindlework. Towers and turrets were added to early examples. Duplexes built in the 1910s and 1920s were often relatively devoid of ornament, and featured jerkin-head gable or hipped roofs (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:382-83).

The East Village Historic District contains a sizable number of duplexes, including 1803-05, 1822-24 and 1828-30 N. Arlington Place; and 1803-05 N. and 1845-47 N. Warren Ave.

Rear House:

Though not a separate building form, an important characteristic of the East Village Historic District is the prevalence of rear houses on lots of sufficient depth. The majority of these are small cottages, but there are also some two story houses and even substantial duplexes. Some lots contain as many as three dwellings. Companion houses on the same lot are often similar in style, or at least painted in the same color scheme, such as 1723/1725 N. Arlington Place (3 buildings), 1730/ 1730B N. Arlington Place, 1752 N. Arlington Place, 1840 N. Arlington Place, 1320/1320A N. Pulaski Street, 1729-31/1731A N. Warren Ave., and 1856 N. Warren Ave.

Like duplexes and "Polish flats," rear houses provided rental income that made home ownership possible for working class families. Some rear houses were built or moved to the site of an existing front house. Alternatively, a small rear house might be built first, and a larger front house

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constructed later, when the family could afford it. Other times, a cottage was moved to the rear of the lot when a new house was built in the front. In still other cases, two houses were built or moved to the lot at the same time (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:379).

The prevalence of rear houses in the East Village Historic District contributed greatly to the neighborhood's general congestion. In other parts of the city, rear houses are often sited on back alleys, but the East Village contains no alleys, which only exacerbated the crowding. Early twentieth century reformers regarded rear houses as deteriorating, overcrowded, unsanitary firetraps and considered them a great evil. Milwaukee's first zoning ordinance in 1920 restricted the construction of rear houses (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:379).

Although many rear houses have been razed, more than 60 remain in the East Village Historic District. Examples include 1219A E. Kane Place, 1746A N. Warren Ave., 1847A N. Warren Ave, and 1836A & B N. Pulaski Street. In several instances, such as 1740 N. Warren Ave., 1114 E. Kane Place, and 1217 E. Kane Place, only the rear house remains on the property.

Commercial Buildings:

The main concentration of commercial development in the East Village area was along East Brady Street, adjacent to the East Village Historic District. However, a number of commercial establishments – mainly taverns, grocery stores, and meat markets – were also interspersed among the residences in the East Village Historic District. Most of the commercial buildings in the East Village Historic District combined residential and commercial functions under one roof. Usually, the store or tavern was situated on the ground floor, with living quarters above. These buildings – which Craig Reisser (1977) calls “shop houses” -- were also referred to as “store-flats.”

Some of the early commercial buildings in the East Village Historic District housed longstanding businesses – and a few continue to the present day. The building at 1759-61 N. Warren Ave. was a corner grocery store, and is still used for retail purposes. Wolski's Tavern, at 1834-36 Pulaski Street, has been in business since 1908 (Potter 2002). The building at 1100-02 E. Kane Place, now occupied by The Tasting Room tavern, was moved to the site in 1907, but there has been a saloon on the property since at least as early as 1888 (Building Permits; Rascher 1888:163).

Other commercial buildings in the East Village Historic District housed a variety of businesses over the years, or fluctuated between commercial and residential use. Many have now been converted entirely to residential use. Some (*e.g.*, 1756 N. Arlington Place, 1819-21 N. Arlington Place and 1136 N. Kane Place) retain boomtown facades and other features that reveal their commercial origins, but others are scarcely distinguishable from other residential structures. For example, 1741 N. Franklin Place was owned by Pabst Brewing Co. in 1903. In 1915, Valentine Buczek operated a dairy there. Subsequently, the building was a grocery and a tailor shop/dressmaking establishment. It is currently a residence (Building permits, 1741 N. Franklin Place).

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Architects of the East Village Historic District

While most of the buildings in the East Village Historic District are simple contractor-built structures, a few of the more prominent residents commissioned architects to design residential and commercial buildings. The following architect-designed buildings are identified in permit records:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Building Address</u>	<u>Date</u>
Bernard Kolpacki	1734-36 N. Arlington Pl.	1893
	1728-30 N. Franklin Pl.	1891
Anton Dohmen	1828-30 N. Arlington Pl.	1908
A.V. Wiskocil	1816-22 N. Humboldt St.	1894
Thos. V. Schutz	1754 N. Franklin Pl.	1888
Wiskocil & Schutz	1729-31 N. Pulaski St.	1898
Chas. Kirchoff, Jr.	1102 E. Hamilton St.	1891
Sly Voelz	1831-33 N. Pulaski St.	1911
Chas. H. Tharinger	1828 N. Warren Ave.	1910
Leon Gurda	1858-62 N. Warren Ave.	1912
H.J. Esser	1874-76 N. Warren Ave.	1904
Aug. G. Wolf	1742-44 N. Pulaski St.	1913
P.N. Moore	1138-40 E. Hamilton St.	1895

Two of the above architects, Bernard Kolpacki and Leon Gurda, were Polish. Both resided on Milwaukee's South Side and designed buildings for both Polish and non-Polish clients (see Section 8, below).

Builders, Carpenters, Masons and House Movers Active in East Village Historic District:

With few exceptions, the construction tradesmen listed in building permit records for the East Village Historic District were of Polish origin. The following is a list of builders and the buildings they constructed. Many of these builders lived in or near the East Village Historic District. Many of these same tradesmen, as well as a number of others not listed here, were also responsible for building alterations and additions in the District.

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>Date</u>
Bachalski	mason	1822 Pulaski (rear)	1917
August Banasch	mason	1918A Warren	1904
E. Bartel & Gehrke	builder	1808 Pulaski	1891
H. Buczkowski & H. Rutkowski	builder	1932-34 Warren	1891
W. Cywinski	builder	1825 Warren	1890
Frank Dombrowski	builder	1734-36 Arlington	1893
		1748 Arlington	1891
		1752 Arlington	1891
		1736 Humboldt	1890
		1142-44 Hamilton	1894
		1728-30 Franklin	1891
		1832-34 Warren	1902
Theophil Dombrowski	builder	1818-20 Warren	1889
		1818-20 Warren (rear)	1889
C. Duetzkow Bros. Co.	builder	1102 Hamilton	1891
A. Gabrowski	carpenter	1828 Warren	1910
Jacob Gazdecki	carpenter	1818 Pulaski	1905
		1916-18 Warren	1903
Louis Giese	builder	1866 Humboldt	1891
		1130 Hamilton	1891
		1130B Hamilton	1899
		1126 Kane	1892
		1139 Kane	1891
Phil Gurlik	builder/carpenter	1723 Arlington	1897
Emil Koeller	mason	1114B Kane	1897
Chas. Kiedrowski	builder	1834 Arlington	1910
Kochanski & Kempinski	carpenter	1858-62 Warren	1912
Frank Kosecki	carpenter	1114B Kane	1897
Valentine Kōzecki	builder	1149 Kane	1888
		1235 Kane	1888
		1760-62 Pulaski	1888
		1832 Pulaski	1890
Frank Lewandowski	builder/carpenter	1828-30 Arlington	1908
		1726 Pulaski	1915
		1144A Kane	1911

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>Date</u>
Teofil Lukowicz	carpenter	1918A Warren	1904
		1754 Pulaski	1907
David Mueller	builder/carpenter	1726 Arlington	1898
		1760 Warren	1899
John Machalinski	builder	1750-56 Warren (rear)	1892
Machalinski & Mueller	builder	1748-50 Franklin	1892
		1734-36 Pulaski	1891
Aug. Majewski	carpenter	1219 Kane	1900
Frank Malek	mason	1760 Warren	1899
Aug. Mieszewski	builder	1725 Franklin	1892
Frank Niezorawski	mason/contractor	1816-22 Humboldt	1894
		1743-45 N. Franklin	1911
		1754 Pulaski	1907
		1818 Pulaski	1905
		1750-56 Warren	1903
F. Niezorawski & Son.	builder	1858-62 Warren	1912
F. Niezorawski, Jr.	builder	1742-44 Pulaski	1913
Paul Odja	mason	1144A Kane	1911
John Szczepanski	builder	1729-31 Franklin	1894
Edmund Stormowski	mason	1874-76 Warren	1904
		1916-18 Warren	1903
John Tuskiewicz	house mover	1834-36 Pulaski	1903
		1857 Pulaski	1893
		1866 Pulaski	1900
		1121 Hamilton	1898
		1136 Kane	1908
		1100-02 Kane	1907
		1746 Franklin	1897
Wm. Urban	builder	1201 Kane	1893
Meyer Wachowsky	builder	1831-33 Pulaski	1911
B. Wisniewski	builder/carpenter	1822 Pulaski	1904
Witt Bros.	mason	1828 Warren	1910
John Zieman	builder	1138-40 Hamilton	1895
		1910-12 Warren	1893

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Building</u>	<u>Date</u>
Leo Zylski	builder	1856 Warren	1889
Felix Zynda	builder	1758 Humboldt	1889

Selected Buildings:

Edmund Stormowski Duplex, 1874-76 North Warren Ave.:

Located on top of a hill on North Warren Ave., at the head of E. Kane Place, the Edmund Stormowski duplex was one of the finest residences in the East Village neighborhood. The owner, Edmund Stormowski, a professional mason, built the house in 1904 for himself from plans supplied by one of the city's prominent architects, Herman J. Esser. It is likely that Stormowski met Esser through his brother-in-law, Frank Niezorawski, who had served as chief mason contractor on several Esser buildings (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2002:3,8).

The Stormowski house is a 2-1/2 story, front gabled, Arts and Crafts style, red brick and stucco Milwaukee Duplex. The asymmetrical main elevation, facing North Warren Avenue, is dominated by a large one-story, brick porch with a flat roof that serves as a walk-out deck for the upper flat. The porch spans the entire front of the house, and contains two segmental arch openings supported by three brick piers. The larger arch spans nearly two-thirds of the elevation and frames a projecting bay of three double hung windows behind. The smaller arch frames a pair of front entry doors to the upper and lower flats. Both arches are topped with limestone keystones. Above the arches, the porch features a corbelled brick dentil cornice topped with a limestone stringcourse, which in turn is surmounted by a brick balustrade with narrow, round-arched openings. The balustrade is capped with a course of dressed limestone blocks (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2002:3-4).

The second story has a projecting bay of three round-arched windows, each trimmed with a brick lintel and topped by a limestone keystone. Next to the bay window, directly over the first floor entry doors, is a small porch recessed behind a segmental-arched opening topped with a limestone keystone. The attic story is finished with popcorn texture stucco. The gable and deeply overhanging eaves are finished with a large, flat bargeboard. Each of the far corners of the gable is embellished with an oversized Arts and Crafts style wooden bracket (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2002:4).

The interior retains its original fine woodwork and lighting fixtures. An unusual brick smokehouse in the basement reflects the original owners' fondness for the European tradition of homemade smoked meats and sausages (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2002:4).

The duplex shows evidence of Edmund Stormowski's advanced masonry skills, particularly in the narrow mortar joints and the extensive use of arches. It is an early example of a so-called "Luxury

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Duplex” – a type of premium structure that combined the amenities and spaciousness of two fine single family houses under one roof. The Stormowski Duplex is also important because it has remained in the Stormowski family since its construction and it is one of the few buildings in the East Village Historic District whose exterior is virtually unaltered (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2002:5-7).

Frank Ebertowski House, 1866 N. Warren Ave.:

The Frank Ebertowski House, built in 1884, is an example of a raised worker’s cottage, or “Polish Flat.” The frame cottage rests on a tall brick basement that originally served as living quarters. In 1931, a single car garage was built into one side of the basement, leaving an entry door on the other side. Three different kinds of basement construction indicate that there were two additions after the original building. Frank Ebertowski and his wife Susan immigrated to the United States from Poland in 1879. Frank worked as a laborer. According to the 1900 census, sons John and Stanislaus worked for a neighborhood tannery. The house remained in the Ebertowski family for 47 years (Historic Milwaukee 1999:40).

Stanislaus Rewolinski House, 1817 N. Warren Ave.:

The Stanislaus Rewolinski House is a worker’s cottage, built in 1881. The first owners were Polish immigrants John and Katharine Rewolinski. After John died in 1891, his wife continued to live in the house with other family members. By 1910, son Stanley lived in the house with his mother, wife and children. Stanley built a masonry basement, and added rooms to the second story. The house has an addition on the rear. A bungalow-style front porch was added at some point. After being struck by a car in 1993, the front porch was rebuilt to resemble the bow of a boat, with fish-shaped balusters (Historic Milwaukee 1999:41).

Frank Westphal House, 1149 E. Kane Place:

The Frank Westphal House was built in 1888 by Valentine KozECKi, a Polish builder who was active in the East Village neighborhood. It is a two-story version of a worker’s cottage, with two windows and a door across the front on the first floor, and a Victorian style front porch, with gable roof and turned posts. Frank Westphal was a shoe factory worker. According to the 1900 census, Frank Westphal, his wife and eight children, shared the house with two other families, bringing the total number of occupants to 20. Frank Westphal’s son John lived in the house until 1926, when Italian immigrant Santo Vaiana moved in (Historic Milwaukee 1999:42).

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Albert Mueller House, 1860 N. Arlington Place:

The Albert Mueller house, built in 1882, is a raised worker's cottage, or "Polish Flat." A one-story frame cottage was raised onto a high basement, which served as living quarters. Unlike the typical form of "Polish flat" with outside stairs leading to a second floor entrance, the Albert Mueller House has an inside stairway, like a standard duplex. The second floor and attic windows feature Italianate window hoods. Although Albert Mueller's name sounds German, he was very likely a Polish immigrant from the German partition. A laborer, he lived in the house for ten years, and was followed by other Polish owners. The Wisniewski family – first Andrew, then his widow Mary, and later their son Chester – owned the house from 1924 until 1986 (Historic Milwaukee 1999:42).

Michael Jozwiak Building, 1728 N. Franklin Street:

Michael Jozwiak commissioned architect Bernard Kolpacki to design this brick-sheathed two-story frame commercial building in 1891. Like other commercial buildings in the Brady Street area, the Jozwiak Building features transom windows above the center entry and display windows. Michael Jozwiak operated a meat market for one year before moving on to work for the Milwaukee Fire Department. The building remained a meat market under different owners until 1920, when Charles Stone opened a rug cleaning business. Later, the building housed a succession of businesses, including a grocery store. Many of the owners lived in the apartments above. Between 1972 and 1986, the building contained only residential space. Recently, the storefront has been restored, utilizing the original metal columns. Following the removal of boards from the upper windows, two original leaded, stained glass windows were also revealed (Historic Milwaukee 1999:46-47).

John Weiher Livery Stable, 1729 N. Pulaski Street:

In 1898, John Weiher established a livery and undertaking business at 1729 N. Pulaski Street (formerly 331 Pulaski Street). He went out of business in 1907, but the building subsequently became the first undertaking location for Suminski's Funeral Home, which is still in business today on Brady Street. The building is now occupied by the Peters-Weiland & Co. Organ Shop, a leading organ rebuilder (East Village Association 2000).

The plain, rectangular building is of cream brick, now painted, and has a flat roof hidden by a parapet. The original vehicle door, at the west end of the facade, has been replaced by a modern garage door. A large wooden turntable in the floor opposite the doorway was used for turning horse-drawn vehicles. The horses were stabled underneath the main floor of the building (Henry Weiland, personal communication). A pedestrian door opens into the east end of the facade. A pair of small segmental arched doors, with a crane projecting from above, provides access to the loft.

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George F. Austin House, 1750 N. Humboldt Ave.:

Built in 1847, the George F. Austin House originally stood on the southwest corner of Wisconsin Ave. and Jefferson Street. With that neighborhood's evolution from residential to commercial, Austin sold the property in 1886, and the house was moved to its present location. According to a contemporary newspaper account, "The George F. Austin homestead, one of the oldest on the East Side, has been sold and will be removed to a point near the new Polish Church in the First Ward." The new owner was Theofil Czerwinski, a Polish brewery worker. Czerwinski lived in the house with his wife, Constancja, until 1907, when he sold it to his brother, Emil. The house remained in the Czerwinski family until 1956. In 1979, it was sided with aluminum.

In its original location, the Austin house faced Jefferson Street. Its front porch was supported by four fluted columns. The deck above was framed by a balustrade, which also stretched around the entire roofline above the cornice. A balustraded "widow's walk" topped the hipped roof. A second entrance on Wisconsin Street had a different porch with a delicate design consisting of simple scroll-cut ornament. Over the years, the house has been altered. The porch, balustrades and trim have all been removed or hidden beneath aluminum siding. A bay window has been added on the ground floor, and a side entrance has been covered (Zimmermann 1981:1,7).

John Czaja Meat Market, 1843-1845 N. Pulaski Street:

John Czaja and his wife Katarzyna came to Milwaukee in 1891, and settled on Pulaski Street. The 1905 City Directory listed John Czaja as a meat cutter at 1851 N. Pulaski Street. In 1917, he moved his meat market and his family to a new building at 1843-1845 N. Pulaski Street. Three of the thirteen Czaja children -- John, Frank and Viola -- worked in the family business after they were grown. Viola and her husband John Tutkowski ran the business from 1924 until John's death in 1954. Viola and her son John continued to operate Tutkowski's meat market until 1966, when Viola retired and the store closed (Jung n.d.).

The red brick building is polygonal in shape, the front conforming to the oblique angle of Pulaski Street. Built into a hillside behind, the building is three stories tall in front. The ground floor is of brick construction and the upper two stories are brick veneer. Although the brick façade appears uniform, the building form suggests a raised basement structure. A narrow pent-roof separates the ground floor from the upper two stories, on the street façades. The two entrance doors and storefront are at street level, while the ground floor windows on the sides are small, basement-type windows. These and the second story windows above are topped with segmental arches. The open joints formed by diagonally intersecting bricks at the oblique corners on either side of the building are echoed under the storefront windows, in two courses of bricks laid with their corners protruding. A projecting polygonal bay in the third story corner has been covered with artificial brick siding.

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John Jankowski Grocery Store, 1816-1822 N. Humboldt Ave.:

The John Jankowski grocery was built in 1894. Designed by the Czech-born Milwaukee architect, A.V. Wiskocil, the Dutch Colonial Revival style building was constructed by mason Frank Niezorawski and the carpentry firm of Kruzinski & Miller, at a cost of \$4500 (Building Permits, 1816-1822 N. Humboldt Ave.). The two and a half story high cream brick-veneer building consists of a double store with flats above. The roof has two gambrel gables in front, with projecting bays underneath and dormers between. The motif is repeated on the south façade, with a single gambrel gable and multiple attic dormers.

In front of the building, three sets of concrete stairs lead to the three main entrances – one for each store, and another for a staircase to the upper flats. Also in front, at each end of the building, is a bulkhead cellar entrance. On the south wall of the building, a sign reading “Michalak’s Food Mkt/ Since 1844/ fine quality” in black letters has been partially painted over.

The building functioned as a grocery for many years. John Jankowski owned and lived in the building until 1911. He was succeeded by Anton Drewek (probably a son-in-law), who was initially listed in the city directories as a bricklayer, and subsequently operated the grocery until about 1940. V. Michalak took over the store from Drewek.

Michael Plazinsky House, 1735 N. Franklin Place:

This two-story, brick, Italianate-style double house appeared early in the East Village neighborhood. Tax rolls suggest that it may have been built or moved there about 1874, by Michael Plazinsky. It has a hip roof with a gabled pediment over the center entrance. The double door and the symmetrically placed windows are surmounted by segmental arched brick hood moldings. A brick water table sets off the first floor from the basement level. The brick has been painted, but aside from the addition of a below-ground doorway to basement living quarters, the building is in nearly original condition.

Frank Niezorawski House, 1722-1724 N. Franklin Place:

This large red brick duplex was built about 1894 for Frank Niezorawski, a prominent mason contractor in the city of Milwaukee. Although no original building permit exists, it is reasonable to assume, because of Niezorawski’s profession, that he built the house himself. The two and a half story, front gabled structure has a porch across the front of the ground floor, with a door at each end. The porch is supported by brick pillars, surmounted by plain limestone capitals with limestone crosses underneath. Another porch extends across the front of the second story. Where the south corner of the second story is cut back, with a door, the porch roof is supported on wooden columns. The large front gable is clad with patterned shingles and pierced by a tall, Palladian style window. The motif is echoed on the south side of the house, with an identical gable perpendicular to the main roofline. The house

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has two large corbelled brick chimneys, with one surviving clay chimney pot. Except for some 1913 repairs to the front porch, the exterior of the house is in largely original condition.

Stan Toyar House, 1213 E. Kane Place:

This unusually well-preserved late Victorian "Polish flat" was built in 1900. The building permit lists Stan Toyar as both owner and carpenter. Unlike some "Polish flats," which were originally built as cottages and later raised, this example appears to have been built originally on a high brick basement with two over two light windows. The basement is semi-subterranean, and outside stairs lead to the front entry porch, which has turned posts supporting the roof. The upper, cottage portion of the building has clapboard siding. Gable end returns set off the decorative gable shingles, in a variation of a scalloped pattern. The windows have two over two sashes and milled decorative Victorian-style frames. The second entry door is on the west side of the building, rather in the front.

Open Spaces

The East Village Historic District encompasses, within its boundaries, two areas of open space: Pulaski Playground and Caesar's Park.

Pulaski Playground (C)

The Pulaski Playground occupies an irregular area, extending from Pulaski Street east to Arlington Place and bordered on the north by houses which face East Kane Place and on the south by residences. A resolution to create the playground was introduced to the Common Council in 1924 by Alderman John Suminski. The city acquired the playground site through condemnation. Four lots fronting on Pulaski Street were acquired in 1926, and in late in 1927, a \$7000 field house was constructed. Between 1930 and 1938, seven additional parcels, fronting on Arlington Place, were added to the playground. The total cost for all the land acquired was nearly \$80,000. More than 20 dwellings, as well as numerous sheds and garages, were removed for the playground. Some of the buildings were razed, while others were sold and moved to nearby lots (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:355-56). Two of these, now 1836A and 1836B N. Pulaski Street, were moved from the lot just to the north in 1926.

The old Pulaski Playground field house was razed in 1982, and a new \$70,000 comfort station (N/C) was built to replace it. The remainder of the playground has a grassy play area, tennis court and ball field. In 2001, neighborhood initiative spearheaded a renovation project that resulted in new landscaping, benches and playground equipment (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:356; Gould 2001).

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Caesar's Park (C)

Caesar's Park is situated in the far northwest corner of East Village Historic District, along the Milwaukee River. Its creation was a by-product of the construction of the North Avenue Dam and the Milwaukee River Flushing Tunnel, which were located on the Milwaukee River near East Boylston Place. The Rock River Canal Company had constructed a canal and dam at this point in the 1840s, but by the early 1880s the dam was in disrepair and the bed of the canal was dry, since steam-powered equipment had made its function obsolete. The city acquired the canal and dam in the 1880s, repaired the dam, and converted the canal bed into a roadway (Commerce Street). The dam was kept in repair to prevent the lower Milwaukee River from silting up, to provide for water-related recreational activities above the dam, to allow for ice harvesting in winter, and to service the numerous industries that lined the west banks of the Milwaukee River. Just below the dam, the flushing tunnel opening was constructed to pump water from Lake Michigan into the Milwaukee River to create a flow by which sewage and other pollutants would be washed downstream and out into Lake Michigan. At the time the city was negotiating to buy the dam site, the area was being considered for a public bathhouse and park, but by the time the dam was finally rebuilt, the appearance of year-round natatoria in other parts of the city had diminished the importance of this area as a park site, and it remained unimproved for decades (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:347-48).

In 1929, the property was transferred to the Park Commission, which created a small park there and built a retaining wall, wading pool, and comfort station along the river. Stairs led down from the grassy portion of the park on top of the bluff to the 40-foot by 100-foot cement wading pool below. The wading pool was restricted to children under 12 years of age; to the north of the pool, the comfort station included dressing rooms and toilets. Originally referred to as River Dam Park, it was renamed Caesar's Pool around 1938 in honor of area resident Caesar Paikowski. The pool was discontinued in the 1970s and filled in, and the comfort station has been razed. Stairs still lead down to the riverbank, and a section of the pool wall is visible. The 1.7-acre park has been renamed Caesar's Park (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:348; Alioto 2003).

Building Inventory

The following inventory of structures in the East Village Historic District follows the building typology outlined above. The building type indicated is the original building type, as determined from the building permit, where available, and/or the present form. Construction dates are derived from building permits, when available, or, some instances, from property tax rolls or other sources.

Many of the properties in the East Village Historic District lack original building permits. In many cases, this is because the buildings pre-date 1888, when the City began to require building permits. A number of later buildings also lack permits, however, either because they were never obtained or because they have been lost.

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Where the construction date cannot be determined from building permits or other records, an approximate range is given. Where a date is indicated as "pre-1888," it usually means that a building is shown in the 1888 Rascher insurance atlas; a pre-1910 date means that a building first appears in the 1910 Sanborn atlas. Other dates given as pre-xxxx are the dates of alterations recorded in building permits. The abbreviation "mvd" means that the building was moved to the site in the year indicated.

Because of the ephemeral nature of the housing, however, especially in the early years, it is often impossible to be certain that a building indicated on insurance maps or permit records is the same as the existing structure. Where multiple buildings are or were present on the same lot, it is not always possible to distinguish between or among them in the permits. While every effort has been made to match buildings in the records with extant structures, there is considerable uncertainty in some cases, and it must be assumed that the inventory contains a certain amount of built-in error with regard to specific construction dates.

The inventory lists original owners, where they can be established from building permit or other records. Where a name is listed in brackets, with a date, it indicates the first owner of record and the date of the record (usually a permit for building alterations or in some cases, a City Directory listing).

House numbers in the East Village Historic District are also problematic, due to the large number of improvised living units and rear houses. In many cases, different numbers appear in building permits, City of Milwaukee tax records and on the buildings themselves. The addresses used in the inventory are derived from the City property tax rolls and house numbers on the buildings.

Buildings are listed as either contributing (C) to the National Register Historic District or non-contributing (NC), based on original construction date and degree of integrity. Because of the unique nature of the East Village Historic District, the usual standards of architectural integrity do not apply. In fact, the District's significance derives, in part, from the very lack of integrity resulting from additive building practices. Most of the buildings are classified as contributing (C) to the Historic District, even though many of them individually lack architectural distinction and/or integrity. Only a handful of modern, recently moved, or extensively remodeled buildings are sufficiently disruptive to the District's ambience to be considered non-contributing (NC).

Garages and similar outbuildings are not included in the inventory, nor are park benches, playground equipment and other insubstantial objects.

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The building types used in the inventory are as follows:

- APT = apartment
- BU = Bungalow (Craftsman-style 1 or 1.5 story "Milwaukee bungalow")
- CO = cottage (1-story standard workers' cottage)
- CS = comfort station
- DH = double house (side by side)
- DUP = standard "Milwaukee duplex," or double flat
- FG = front gabled dwelling, 1.5 or 2 stories
- GE = gabled ell
- HI = hip roofed
- LS = livery stable
- PF = Polish flat (1-story cottage on raised basement living quarters)
- RB = raised basement (other than Polish flat)
- SF = store-flat (building combining commercial and residential functions)
- SG = side gabled building
- TEN = tenement
- 4-FLAT = a variation of the standard duplex, with 4 living units

The number of stories, where applicable, is indicated with "- #". The number of stories or type of structure following "RB/" is in addition to the raised basement. The number of stories indicated does not include attic space. An * indicates that the building's main entrance is in a side wall, perpendicular to the street.

Architectural styles are indicated only where they constitute a reasonably prominent feature of the building. The following abbreviations are used to designate architectural styles:

- AC = Arts & Crafts
- BT = Boomtown
- CON = Contemporary
- CR = Craftsman
- DU = Dutch Colonial Revival
- HVG = High Victorian Gothic
- HVI = High Victorian Italianate
- IT = Italianate
- MED = Mediterranean Revival
- QU = Queen Anne
- SG = Side Gabled
- RO = Romanesque Revival

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<u>C/NC</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Original Owner</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Style</u>
C	1719-1721	N. Arlington Pl.	Stanley Szczepanski	1927	DUP	CR
C	1719A-1721A (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.	[Stanley Szczepanski-1915]	pre 1888	SF	
C	1723 (rear 1725)	N. Arlington Pl.	John Literski	1897	CO	
C	1725	N. Arlington Pl.	[Frances Kosobucki-1924]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1725 (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1726	N. Arlington Pl.	Frank Urban	1898	DUP	
C	1726A (center)	N. Arlington Pl.		pre 1888	CO*	
C	1726B (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.		pre 1888	CO	SG
C	1727	N. Arlington Pl.	[Frances Kosidowski-1916]	pre 1888	FG-1.5	
C	1727A (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1730-1730A	N. Arlington Pl.	Julius Szymanski	1914	DUP	
C	1730B (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.	[Julius Szymanski-1905]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1731	N. Arlington Pl.		pre 1888	SF	
C	1734-1736	N. Arlington Pl.	Frank Peplinski	1893	DUP	QU
C	1736A (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.	Frank Peplinski	mvd 1924	CO	
C	1740-1740A-B	N. Arlington Pl.	[Anton Lass-1893]	pre 1888	RB/SF	
C	1744	N. Arlington Pl.	[August Zawacki-1912]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1747	N. Arlington Pl.	[Mike Miller-1929]	pre 1888	GE-1.5	
C	1748	N. Arlington Pl.	John Gora	1891	PF	
C	1751-1753	N. Arlington Pl.	[O. Milkowski-1899]	pre 1888	DUP	
C	1752	N. Arlington Pl.	Andreas Gora	1891	PF	
C	1752A (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.			CO	
C	1755 (rear 1759)	N. Arlington Pl.	John Lepak	1904	FG-2	
C	1756	N. Arlington Pl.	[M. Trzecinski-1908]	pre 1888	SF	BT
C	1759	N. Arlington Pl.	[John Lepak-1904]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1760	N. Arlington Pl.	Ignatz Trzecinski	1896	DUP	
NC	1767	N. Arlington Pl.		1928/mvd 1971	APT	MED
C	1800	N. Arlington Pl.		pre 1888	SF	
C	1803-1805	N. Arlington Pl.	Joseph Skwierawski	1927	DUP	CR
C	1806	N. Arlington Pl.	[Casimir Gierzewski-1900]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1807-1809	N. Arlington Pl.	[John Plenski-1891]	pre 1888	DUP	
C	1810 ([rear 1812/14])	N. Arlington Pl.	[C. Brueser-1894]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1812-1814	N. Arlington Pl.	[C. Brueser-1894]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1816-1818	N. Arlington Pl.	[Stanislaus Janiuk-1926]	pre 1888	RB/SF	
C	1819-1821	N. Arlington Pl.	[Anton Rosecki-1901]	pre 1888	SF	BT
C	1819-1821 (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.	[Anton Rosecki-1901]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1822-1824	N. Arlington Pl.	A. Lukowicz	1900	DUP	DU
C	1822A (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.			CO	SG
C	1828-1830	N. Arlington Pl.	Jos. Rosecki	1910	4-FLAT	

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C	1831	N. Arlington Pl.	Pulaski Playground		SITE	
C	1834	N. Arlington Pl.	John Platta	1910	4-FLAT	
C	1840	N. Arlington Pl.	[Theodore Rzepinski-1893]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1840 (rear)	N. Arlington Pl.			FG-2	
C	1842	N. Arlington Pl.	[John Rzepinski-1903]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1850	N. Arlington Pl.	[Michael Gierzewski-1900]	pre 1888	RB/SF	
C	1852	N. Arlington Pl.	[John Canduck-1898]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1856	N. Arlington Pl.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1859-1861	N. Arlington Pl.	[Jos. Skwierawski-1903]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1860-1862	N. Arlington Pl.	Albert Mueller	1882	PF	
C	1870	N. Arlington Pl.	Jacob Killa	1917	SF	AC
C	1712	N. Franklin Pl.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1714	N. Franklin Pl.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1722-1724A	N. Franklin Pl.	Frank Niezorawski	1894	DUP	QU
C	1724B (rear)	N. Franklin Pl.	Stanley Orcholski	1922	FG-2	
C	1725	N. Franklin Pl.	John Lewna	1892	FG-2	
C	1728-1730	N. Franklin Pl.	Michael Jozwiak	1891	SF	QU
C	1729-1731	N. Franklin Pl.	John Szczepanski	1894	RB/DUP	
C	1731A (rear)	N. Franklin Pl.	[1 st St. Hedwig's convent]	1873	GE-1.5	
C	1734	N. Franklin Pl.	[John Weiher 1912]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1735	N. Franklin Pl.	Michael Plazinsky	pre 1888	DH	IT
C	1740	N. Franklin Pl.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1741	N. Franklin Pl.	[Pabst Brewing Co.-1903]	1888 to 1894	SF*	
C	1743-1745	N. Franklin Pl.	S. Kaminski	1911	DUP	
C	1744-1746	N. Franklin Pl.	[Joe Kolinski-1897]	mvd 1897	SF	
C	1748-1750	N. Franklin Pl.	Andrew Kolinski	1892	FG-2	
C	1749	N. Franklin Pl.	[L. Raffaelli-1927]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1751	N. Franklin Pl.	[J. Erdman-1909]	pre 1888	FG-1.5	
C	1754	N. Franklin Pl.	Albert Murkowski	1888	SF	
C	1755-1757	N. Franklin Pl.	[Tomas Klopotek-1889]	pre 1889	RB/FG-2	
C	1759-1761	N. Franklin Pl.	[Joe Worzala-1923]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1760	N. Franklin Pl.	[Lawrence J. Cobus-1922]	1875	CO	
C	1760 (rear)	N. Franklin Pl.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1100-1102	E. Hamilton St.	Jos. Schlitz Brewing Co.	1891	SF	RO
C	1108	E. Hamilton St.		pre 1888	PF	
C	1108A (rear)	E. Hamilton St.		pre 1888	FG-1.5	
C	1110 to 1112	E. Hamilton St.	John Kondrakiewicz	1916	DUP	AC
C	1112B (rear)	E. Hamilton St.		pre 1888	SG-2	
C	1111	E. Hamilton St.			FG-1.5	

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C	1115	E. Hamilton St.	[Chas. Frymark-1909]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1116	E. Hamilton St.	[Frank Kuszewski-1907]	pre 1888	FG-1.5	
C	1117	E. Hamilton St.	[J. Jaster-1902]		CO	
C	1121	E. Hamilton St.	[Mrs. S. Klaes-1898]	mvd 1898	FG-2	
C	1122	E. Hamilton St.	[Mrs. K. Dorsch-1922]		FG-2	
C	1130	E. Hamilton St.	John Lepak	1891	FG-2	QU
C	1130B (rear)	E. Hamilton St.	John Lepak	1899	CO	
C	1134-1136	E. Hamilton St.	[Thos. Domacki-1907]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1138-1140	E. Hamilton St.	Stanislaw Worzala	1895	DUP	AC
C	1140A (rear)	E. Hamilton St.			CO	
C	1142 to 1144	E. Hamilton St.	Michael Peplinski	1894	DUP	QU
C	1144A (rear)	E. Hamilton St.			CO	
C	1148	E. Hamilton St.	[1 st St. Hedwig's rectory]	1871/mvd 1884	PF	
C	1314	E. Hamilton St.	[Anna Pajkowski-1930]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1317	E. Hamilton St.	[John Gerlinski-1944]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1320	E. Hamilton St.	[Mrs. Katie Heine-1907]	pre 1888	FG-2*	
C	1320A (rear)	E. Hamilton St.			CO	
C	1323	E. Hamilton St.	[Simon Kosobucki-1915]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1728	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Jos. Aussen-1921]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1732	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Joe Wisniewski-1923]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1736	N. Humboldt Ave.	John Hoffman	1890	SF	
C	1736A (rear)	N. Humboldt Ave.			CO	
C	1740	N. Humboldt Ave.	[John Biernat-1922]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1740A (rear)	N. Humboldt Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1744	N. Humboldt Ave.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1750	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Teofil Czerwinski-1886]	1847/mvd 1886	HI-2	
C	1754-1756	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Martin Bella-1919]	1910 - 1919	DUP	
C	1758	N. Humboldt Ave.	Charles Finnacke	1889	CO	
C	1816-1822	N. Humboldt Ave.	John Jankowski	1894	SF	DU
C	1824	N. Humboldt Ave.	[T.H. Jankowski-1919]	1894 - 1910	CO	
C	1828-1830	N. Humboldt Ave.	Geo. Meas	1902	DUP	
C	1830A (rear)	N. Humboldt Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1834	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Steve Kunkel-1908]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1834 (rear)	N. Humboldt Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1838-1840	N. Humboldt Ave.	Joe Klamann	mvd 1903	RB/DUP	
C	1846	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Andrew Drewek-1914]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1850	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Joe Brzoska-1895]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1854-1856	N. Humboldt Ave.	[S. Kowalik-1902]	pre 1888	RB/FG-2	
C	1860-1864	N. Humboldt Ave.	[Paul Chojnacki-1902]	pre 1888	FG-2	

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<u>C/NC</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Original Owner</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Style</u>
C	1866	N. Humboldt Ave.	Anton Priebe	1891	FG-2	
C	1100-1102	E. Kane Pl.		Mvd 1907	SF	BT
NC	1104	E. Kane Pl.	Robert Oparka		FG-1.5	
C	1114 (rear)	E. Kane Pl.	Jos. Kolaszek	mvd 1897	FG-2	
C	1118	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1126	E. Kane Pl.	R. Brefke	1892	FG-2	
C	1131-1133	E. Kane Pl.	[Henriette Weber-1910]	pre 1888	SF	
C	1132	E. Kane Pl.	[Joe Mawrot-1915]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1136	E. Kane Pl.	[John Fojut-1908]	mvd 1908	SF	BT
C	1139	E. Kane Pl.	Paul Wojciechowski	1891	SF*	
C	1140-1140B	E. Kane Pl.	[John Zinda-1891]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1143	E. Kane Pl.	[Paul Wojciechowski-1904]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1144	E. Kane Pl.	[Mike Slawny-1895]	pre 1888	RB/FG-2	
C	1144 (rear)	E. Kane Pl.	M. Slawny	1911	FG-2	
C	1147	E. Kane Pl.	[John Nadolski-1923]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1148	E. Kane Pl.	[Victoria Bierzen-1906]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1148 (rear)	E. Kane Pl.			CO	
C	1149	E. Kane Pl.	Frank Westphal	1888	FG-2	
C	1153	E. Kane Pl.	[Stan Hauke-1922]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1157	E. Kane Pl.	[Theo. Czecholinski-1922]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1159	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	CO	
C	1201	E. Kane Pl.	Anton Czarniecki	1893	CO	
C	1202	E. Kane Pl.	[Joe Breske-1912]		BU	
C	1206	E. Kane Pl.	Martin Bella	1892	CO	
C	1207	E. Kane Pl.	[Hattie Czarkowski-1936]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1207A (rear)	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1209	E. Kane Pl.	Michael Fojut	1901	FG-2	
C	1209B (rear)	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	CO	
C	1210	E. Kane Pl.	[Michael Peplinski-1907]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1210 (rear)	E. Kane Pl.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1213	E. Kane Pl.	Stan Toyar	1900	PF	QU
C	1214-1214A	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1214 (rear)	E. Kane Pl.	Jacob Czarnecki	1906	CO	
C	1217 (rear)	E. Kane Pl.	[John Burczak-1907]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1218	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1219	E. Kane Pl.	Joseph Skiba	1900	PF	
C	1219 (rear)	E. Kane Pl.		1894 – 1910	CO	
C	1222-1224	E. Kane Pl.	[Mrs. Anna Kozminski-1909]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1223	E. Kane Pl.	[John Lebowski-1907]	pre 1888	FG-2	

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<u>C/NC</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Original Owner</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Style</u>
C	1227	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	PF	
C	1231	E. Kane Pl.	[Jos. Slominski-1915]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1235	E. Kane Pl.	Charles Szarkowski	1888	FG-1.5	
NC	1300	E. Kane Pl.	[Riverview Sr. Cits' Ctr]	1964	APT	CON
C	1311	E. Kane Pl.	Gust. Kuether	1927	DUP*	CR
C	1315	E. Kane Pl.	[Aug. Rutkowski-1911]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1317	E. Kane Pl.		Pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1321	E. Kane Pl.	[Cath. Zoyska-1926]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1323	E. Kane Pl.	[J. Rutkowski-1904]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1327	E. Kane Pl.	[Kazimir Barczewski-1936]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1702	N. Pulaski St.	[Mike Mueller-1916]	1888 – 1894	SF	
C	1710	N. Pulaski St.	[M. Miller-1896]	pre 1888	SF*	
C	1711	N. Pulaski St.	[J. Platta-1903]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1720	N. Pulaski St.	[M. Pizeworski-1910]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1725	N. Pulaski St.	[Albert Hildebrandt-1897]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1724-1726	N. Pulaski St.	Joseph Trawicki	1915	4-FLAT	
C	1726ADJ	N. Pulaski St.			FG-2	
C	1729-1731	N. Pulaski St.	John Weiher	1898	LS	
C	1734-1736	N. Pulaski St.	Albert Kurszewski	1891	RB/FG-2	
C	1742-1744	N. Pulaski St.	Mrs. Peplinski	1913	DUP	
C	1748	N. Pulaski St.		Pre 1888	CO	
C	1754	N. Pulaski St.	Aug. Kosidowski	1907	SF	
C	1754A (rear)	N. Pulaski St.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1758 (rear 1760)	N. Pulaski St.	[J. Zalewski-1913]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1760-1762	N. Pulaski St.	Anton Machalinski	1888	FG-2	
C	1800-1802	N. Pulaski St.			FG-2	
C	1808	N. Pulaski St.	Jacob Malmarzewski	1891	FG-2	
C	1812	N. Pulaski St.	Martin Rozek	1895	DUP	
C	1818	N. Pulaski St.	Jacob Belling	1905	DUP	
C	1818B (rear)	N. Pulaski St.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1819-1821	N. Pulaski St.	Anton Drewek	1916	DUP	
C	1821A (rear)	N. Pulaski St.	Anton Brozowski	1922	SG-2	
C	1822	N. Pulaski St.	Joseph Goralski	1904	4-FLAT	QU
C	1822B-C (rear)	N. Pulaski St.	Jacob Belling	1917	DUP	
C	1827	N. Pulaski St.	[Aug. J. Jankowski-1915]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1831-1833	N. Pulaski St.	Max Manhoff	1911	SF	
C	1832	N. Pulaski St.	John Burczyk	1890	FG-2	
C	1834-1836	N. Pulaski St.	Bernard Wolski	mvd 1903	SF	
C	1836A	N. Pulaski St.	Barney Wolski	mvd 1926	CO	QU

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C	1836B	N. Pulaski St.	Barney Wolski	1915/mvd 1926	4-FLAT	
NC	1840	N. Pulaski St.	Pulaski Plgnd Comfort Station	1982	CS	
C	1843-1845	N. Pulaski St.	John Czaja	1917	RB/SF	
C	1851	N. Pulaski St.	[John Czaja-1904]	1894 – 1904	RB/SF	
C	1857-1859	N. Pulaski St.	[Joseph Klamann-1893]	mvd 1893	RB/DUP	
C	1857B (rear)	N. Pulaski St.		1888 – 1894	CO	SG
C	1863	N. Pulaski St.	[August Donek-1913]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1864-1866	N. Pulaski St.	Mathias Kosobucki	mvd 1900	FG-2	
C	1869	N. Pulaski St.	[Francis Cwiklinski-1915]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1870	N. Pulaski St.	John Fojut	1927	BU	
C	1874	N. Pulaski St.	[J. Fojut-1925]		FG-2	
C	1723 (1727 rear)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	SG
C	1724	N. Warren Ave.	[A. Fleugel-1921]	pre 1921	BU	
C	1725-1727	N. Warren Ave.	[August Sadowski-1911]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1729-1731	N. Warren Ave.	[Thomas Lepak-1907]	pre 1888	DUP	
C	1731A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	Thomas Lepak	1907	FG-2	
C	1734 to 1736	N. Warren Ave.	[Mrs. Jos. Casda 1897]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1734A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1735	N. Warren Ave.	Felix Grocholski	1923	BU	
NC	1739-1741	N. Warren Ave.		1999	DUP	
C	1740 (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	[John Jaecka-1918]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1742	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1745 (rear 1747)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1747	N. Warren Ave.	[Nicholas Her 1894]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1746	N. Warren Ave.	[Anton Dobrogowski-1900]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1746A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	[Anton Dobrogowski-1900]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1749	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1750-1756	N. Warren Ave.	Chas. Ross	1903	DUP	
C	1750-1756 (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	Chas. Ross	1892	TEN	
C	1753	N. Warren Ave.	[M.Kaczmarek 1906]	pre 1888	FG-1.5	
C	1757	N. Warren Ave.	[Mrs. K. Meszewski 1906]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1759-1761	N. Warren Ave.	[Jos. Weiher-1898]	pre 1888	SF	QU
C	1760	N. Warren Ave.	Anton Dobrogowski	1899	DUP	
C	1766-1768	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	PF	
C	1800	N. Warren Ave.	[Andrew Ostrowski – 1906]	pre 1888	RB/FG-2	
C	1803-1805	N. Warren Ave.	Louis Lepak	1924	DUP	CR
C	1806-1808	N. Warren Ave.	[Joseph Niemczyk-1907]	pre 1888	RB/GE-2	
C	1811	N. Warren Ave.	[Mrs. K. Heine – 1909]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1817	N. Warren Ave.	John Rewolinski	1881	CO	

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C	1818-1820	N. Warren Ave.	Martin Stachlewicz	1889	DUP	QU
C	1820A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	Martin Stachlewicz	1889	CO	
C	1821-1821A	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1822-1824	N. Warren Ave.	Teofil Lukowicz	1921	DUP	
C	1822A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1823	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1825	N. Warren Ave.	August Werra	1890	PF	
C	1827	N. Warren Ave.	[Simon Baczynski-1895]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1827 (rear)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1828	N. Warren Ave.	A. Mamach	1910	4-FLAT	CR
C	1828 (rear)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	SG
C	1831-1831A	N. Warren Ave.	[Michael Tadyszak-1906]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1832-1834	N. Warren Ave.	Mrs. Mary Stachlewicz	1902	DUP	QU
C	1838-1840	N. Warren Ave.		1902	DUP	QU
C	1839-1839A	N. Warren Ave.	[Andrew Mamach-1905]	pre 1888	SF*	
C	1841-1841A	N. Warren Ave.	[John Torzala-1896]	pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1842	N. Warren Ave.	[John Mrozek-1911]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1845-1847	N. Warren Ave.	Joseph Skwierawski	1925	DUP	CR
C	1847A	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	CO	
C	1846	N. Warren Ave.	[M. Hilgendorf-1904]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1850	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	PF	
C	1850A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	[Felix Zbylicki - 1907]	pre 1888	CO	
C	1851	N. Warren Ave.	[John Sawatzki - 1919]		BU	
C	1856	N. Warren Ave.	Andrew Ulik	1889	RB/FG-2	
C	1856C (rear)	N. Warren Ave.			CO	
C	1857-1859	N. Warren Ave.		1908	DUP	AC
C	1858-1862	N. Warren Ave.	Martin Sawicki	1912	RB/DUP	CR
C	1862A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	FG-2	
C	1864	N. Warren Ave.	[Joseph Werra-1905]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1866	N. Warren Ave.	Frank Ebertowski	1884	PF	
C	1870	N. Warren Ave.	[J. Wojciechowski-1927]	pre 1888	PF	
€	1871-1871A	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1888	SF	
C	1872	N. Warren Ave.	[Adam Mesick-1919]	pre 1888	PF	
C	1874-1876	N. Warren Ave.	Edmund Stormowski	1904	DUP	AC
C	1900-1902	N. Warren Ave.	[2 nd . St. Hedwig's rectory]	1884/mvd 1908	DUP	HVI
C	1906-1908	N. Warren Ave.	[Frank Gierzewski-1920]	ca. 1890	DUP	HVG
C	1910-1912	N. Warren Ave.	Paul Mesik	1893	DUP	QU
C	1916-1918	N. Warren Ave.	John Lukowicz	1903	DUP	
C	1918A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	Mrs. Anna Hering	1904	4-FLAT	

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<u>C/NC</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Street</u>	<u>Original Owner</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Style</u>
C	1920	N. Warren Ave.	[Miss Eva Przytarski-1920]		PF	
C	1924-1926	N. Warren Ave.	B. Jazdewski	1904	DUP	
C	1926B (rear)	N. Warren Ave.		pre 1904	FG-2	
C	1928-1930	N. Warren Ave.	[Julian Urmanski-1889]	mvd 1889	RB/SF	
C	1930A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	John Thomsen	1915	FG-2	
C	1932-1934	N. Warren Ave.	August Rzepinski	1891	FG-2	
C	1932A (rear)	N. Warren Ave.	August Rzepinski	1906	DUP	
C	1936 (rear 1942)	N. Warren Ave.			CO	
C	1942	N. Warren Ave.	[Michael Skiba-1910]	pre 1910	CO	
C	1952	N. Warren Ave.	Walter Kramraj	1927	BU	
C	1960	N. Warren Ave.	Walter Kramraj	1924	BU	
C		N. Warren Ave.	[Caesar's Park]		SITE	

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STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The East Village Historic District is a locally significant example of an early European immigrant settlement, which preserves the character of a nineteenth century urban "village." The neighborhood was originally settled by a Polish immigrant population, mainly from the Kaszuby region of Poland, in the north, near the Baltic seacoast. The Poles settled on swampy land near the Milwaukee River because of the area's proximity to industrial jobs located along the river. Community life revolved around Saint Hedwig's parish, which was founded in 1871 and is Milwaukee's second oldest Polish parish. The existing church, built in 1886, is situated in the Brady Street Historic District, a commercial district immediately adjacent to the mainly residential East Village Historic District. As in many other Polish immigrant settlements, the size and grandeur of the church is at odds with the modest character of the homes occupied by parishioners. Most of the buildings that make up the East Village Historic District are reminders of the once-vibrant ethnic community that inhabited them. The neighborhood's story is written in its irregular street pattern and the density of its development – the narrow lots supporting two or even three dwellings, the taverns and small businesses interspersed amongst the modest dwellings, and the unpretentious buildings that expanded with their owners' prosperity.

The period of significance begins in 1871 which coincides with the construction of the first Saint Hedwig's Church in the neighborhood. By this time a large enough concentration of residents lived in the area to establish their own neighborhood parish. The 1871 tax rolls indicate improvements on 25 lots within the district. Also, as the inventory in Section 7 demonstrates, a substantial number of buildings stood within the boundaries of the district by the time of the first fire insurance atlas recording of properties in 1888. The period of significance ends in 1938. The boundaries of Pulaski playground expanded to their current limits in that year. That same year, the Park Commission renamed River Dam Park Caesar's Pool in honor of a local Polish resident. This date marks the completion of the evolution of the historic Polish immigrant neighborhood. The East Village neighborhood retained its Polish character until the early 1940s.

Historic Context

Polish Immigration to the United States

Poles played a part in American history almost from the beginning. Polish glass workers came to Jamestown in 1608 to help build and man a glass works in the fledgling colony. Throughout the Colonial period, small numbers of Poles, mainly skilled workers, came for individual reasons. The

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American Revolution attracted a hundred or so democratic-minded Polish adventurers. General Tadeusz Kosciuszko, a Polish military hero, helped Americans win independence from Britain and then returned to Poland, where he died trying to achieve the same freedom for his homeland. General Kasimierz Pulaski, father of the American cavalry, was killed in the Battle of Savannah. After Poland was partitioned by Prussia, Russia and Austria in 1795, erasing it from the political map of Europe, small numbers of disaffected Poles emigrated to the United States in search of freedom. The greatest wave of Polish immigration to the United States, however, occurred in the period between the 1860s and the outbreak of World War I, and was dominated by peasants seeking a better standard of living (Greene 1980:787-91). Because the motivation behind it was chiefly economic, this emigration movement is commonly referred to in Polish as *za chlebem* ("for bread").

Polish Settlement in Wisconsin

It is impossible to determine the total number of Poles who came to Wisconsin in the period before World War I. Because Poland did not exist as a sovereign nation, U.S. officials often identified Polish immigrants as citizens of Russia, Prussia or Austria. Not until 1910 did the US Census Bureau begin using a person's native language to establish his or her nationality. In 1900, the Census Bureau estimated that about 31,000 Poles lived in Wisconsin; other historians have put the figure as high as 200,000, however, making Poles the second largest ethnic group in the state (Zeitlin 1980:72).

The dream of many Polish immigrants was to earn enough money to return to Poland and buy land. Nearly all settled first in cities where they could find jobs as laborers, and a significant number did return to Poland. Most, however, stayed in the United States. A minority of those who remained, having saved up a sufficient sum of money, moved to rural areas and took up the agricultural existence they had left behind in Poland. Nationwide, the percentage of Polish immigrants engaged in agriculture was about 10 %, but it was higher in the Midwest. In Wisconsin, as many as 30% of Polish immigrants were farmers. The majority of Polish immigrants, however, settled in cities – where they satisfied their land hunger by purchasing their own homes in Polish neighborhoods (Zeitlin 1980:71).

Milwaukee's Polish Immigrants

There are conflicting accounts of the identity of Milwaukee's first Polish settler. Michael Skupniewicz has been credited as being the first Pole to live, albeit temporarily, in Milwaukee (1846), and Antoni Kochanek the first to settle permanently (1848). However, other evidence indicates that Anthony Stupinski and his family settled in Milwaukee in 1842 or 1843, and that by 1847, a handful of Polish families made Milwaukee home. Kochanek does not actually appear in the census or city directories until after 1850, by which time there were at least 16 Polish families in Milwaukee County

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(Caroon 1970). Although Polish immigrants continued to trickle in during the 1850s, their numbers became significant only in the 1860s and 1870s (Still 1965:269; Saint Stanislaus Church 1941:14-15; Borun 1946:1-2). Like other immigrant groups, Poles induced relatives and neighbors from the old country to join them here, setting in motion a process known as "chain migration." Because the new arrivals tended to settle near those who had come earlier, chain migration fostered the establishment of enclaves of settlers who had come from the same region of Poland.

It is not possible to determine the precise number of Polish immigrants who came to Milwaukee before World War I, since many Poles were classified as Germans, Russians, or Austrians in the public records. An 1874 article in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* estimated the city's Polish population at 7,000, up from perhaps 150 in 1866. There was a rush of Polish immigration in the early 1880s (Still 1965:270), and by the late 1880s, Milwaukee's Poles numbered roughly 30,000 – second only to the city's 50,000 Germans (Gurda 1999:136). As immigration increased, Milwaukee's *Polonia* – a term used to refer to Polish communities outside of Poland – swelled to an estimated 40,000 in 1895 and 70,000 by 1910 (Gurda 1999:172). At the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Poles constituted a prominent and influential element of Milwaukee's population. They dominated the southwestern section of the city, and also occupied an East Side district between Brady Street and the Milwaukee River (the East Village Historic District), as well as a fishing community on Jones Island. Seven of the city's twenty-nine Roman Catholic parishes were Polish. In addition, the Polish population boasted three free libraries, a hundred Polish societies and organizations, and five Polish newspapers (Still 1965:268).

The overwhelming majority – as many as 88 percent – of Milwaukee's Polish immigrants came from the German-governed areas of Poland (Gurda 1999:134), especially from East and West Prussia and the Grand Duchy of Posen (Poznań). The Poles who settled on Jones Island, just offshore in Milwaukee's harbor, were from the Kaszuby region, in northern Poland, near the city of Gdańsk. The Kashubes, as they were known here, spoke a distinctive dialect of Polish. Those from the Baltic coast made their living by fishing, while those from inland areas were mainly peasant farmers. Later Polish arrivals came also from the Russian and Austrian partitions of Poland, as well as from the German partition (Watrous 1909:614).

Transplanted Polish peasants struggled to adjust to American urban life. Besides enduring economic hardship in the best of times, without the safety net of familial and neighborly support intrinsic to the Polish village community, they were especially vulnerable to financial setbacks. The disability or death of a breadwinner spelled catastrophe for an immigrant family. Rather than rely on the informal support of such family and acquaintances who might be able to provide some emergency assistance, or, on the other hand, be forced to accept American institutional charity, Polish immigrants formed a variety of mutual benefit societies that provided at least a modest death benefit for their members. Although their ostensible purpose was insurance, these fraternal benefit societies functioned

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as much more than insurance companies. They regularly brought people together for a variety of social events, including meetings, picnics, and dances, and came to serve as a partial substitute for the village community of Poland.

Milwaukee's Polish settlers were devout Catholics. Since many had come from German-ruled lands and spoke German, they at first attended German Roman Catholic churches. Nevertheless, Poles felt most comfortable worshipping with their own countrymen in their native language. A Milwaukee historian noted in 1909:

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Whoever is closely acquainted with the psychology of the Polish nation will readily understand why it always has been, and still continues to be, the ambition of the Poles to organize a parish and to have their own school and church whenever the numbers warrant it. It is admitted by all that at least ninety-five per cent of the Poles are Catholics. There is, probably, no other nation on God's earth that loves so fanatically and clings so tenaciously to its language and national traditions as the Poles do. Woe to those that would ever dare to conspire against this most sacred heritage of theirs!
(Watrous 1909:613)

Accordingly, wherever any significant concentration of Poles settled, they almost invariably established their own parish and as soon as practicable, built a monumental church. Immigrant parishioners living in crowded cottages contributed their labor and meager financial resources towards the construction of grand houses of worship, sometimes mortgaging their own homes to raise the needed funds (Gurda 1999:174).

The first Polish parish in Milwaukee was Saint Stanislaus, established in 1866 and located in a former Lutheran church on the corner of Fifth and Mineral streets. Although thirty families belonged to the parish, it is believed that there were as many as fifty Polish families living in Milwaukee at the time (Watrous 1909:613).

The typical Polish parish in America was more than a religious institution. It became a substitute for the village society of rural Poland, and around it revolved the social life of the community.

Just as the "benefit society" is much more than a mutual insurance company, so the Polish-American parish is much more than a religious association for common worship under the leadership of a priest. The unique power of the parish in Polish-American life, much greater than in even the most conservative peasant communities in Poland, cannot be explained by the predominance of religious interests ... The parish is, indeed, simply the old primary community, reorganized and concentrated. In its concrete totality it is a substitute for both the narrower but more coherent village-group and the wider but more diffuse and vaguely outlined *okolica* [neighborhood]. In its institutional organization it performs the functions, which in Poland are fulfilled by both the parish and the commune (Thomas and Znaniecki 1958: 1523-24).

The Polish parish in America was not only a religious center, but also the center of social and cultural activities. In the sea of American religious and social influences, the parish served as a focal

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point for the organization of Polish community life. Priests enjoyed a special status, serving as confessors, teachers, counselors, social directors, almsgivers and even political leaders. By nurturing the Roman Catholic faith and the use of the Polish language, while opposing mixed marriages and all other deviations from the traditional path, priests were instrumental in maintaining Polish national identity (Wyrwal 1977: 106-115).

Living in the shadow of their churches, Polish immigrants identified themselves as members of a particular parish rather than as residents of a geographical neighborhood. An individual would say he or she was from "Saint Hedwig's" or "Saint Casimir's," for example. Nearly every Polish parish established a school, whose function was to inculcate the Polish language, maintain traditional culture, and instill patriotism in the children. In lieu of the network of extended family and neighbors that comprised the social support system in Poland, Polish American parishes also spawned a number of religious societies that fostered community interaction. These associations helped to sustain the religious and patriotic spirit of the community. In addition, the parish associations comprised a social safety net that aided their members in case of sickness and death. Many of the parishes also sponsored literary societies and clubs, and served as the locus for performances by community theatrical groups and singing societies (Watrous 1909:616, 620-24).

Saint Hedwig Parish and Settlement of the East Village Historic District

The development of the East Village neighborhood is linked with the founding and growth of Saint Hedwig parish. According to local tradition, most of the East Village neighborhood's early settlers – like the residents of Jones Island – came from the Kaszuby region of Poland, near the Baltic seacoast. Their East Side settlement was often referred to as the "Kepa Kaszubów" (Islet of Kaszubes). Not having their own church in the early years, they attended services at Saint Stanislaus Church, on the South Side at Fifth and Mineral streets. In 1870, the parishioners of Saint Stanislaus decided to build a new church on the corner of Fifth and Mitchell streets, and the majority of East Side Polish families, about forty in number, decided at the same time to establish a church in their own territory (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:11).

In the spring of 1871, with the help of August Rudzinski, a South Side community leader who had also helped to fund Saint Stanislaus Church (Saint Stanislaus Church 1941:15; Flower 1881:910), a group of East Side Polish settlers acquired three muddy lots on the banks of a deep ravine at Brady Street between Franklin Place and Humboldt Ave. Work began immediately on the construction of the new church – a sizable brick-faced wooden structure with the entrance on Franklin Place. The building was dedicated on the Feast of Saint Hedwig, October 17, 1871 (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:11-12).

The first rectory was a small wooden structure located just north of the church and facing Franklin Place. It was later moved to the rear of the church, where it faced Brady Street. When the first

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brick rectory was constructed, the old rectory was bought by Albert Landowski and moved to the northeast corner of Hamilton and Pulaski streets, where it still stands, though somewhat altered, at 1148 E. Hamilton Street, in the East Village Historic District (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:12).

Following the building of Saint Hedwig's church, the surrounding area developed rapidly. Deep pits and water-filled holes in the wild, swampy area were leveled, new buildings sprang up, and flower gardens blossomed (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:12).

In 1873, Saint Hedwig's built its first school – a small wooden structure, located on Franklin Place, next to the rectory. Soon afterwards, the School Sisters of the Notre Dame were engaged to run the school. They lived in their own house, a modest frame structure next to the school. The building stands today at 1731A N. Franklin Place, in the East Village Historic District. It is the cottage on the property directly adjacent to the rear of the present sisters' convent (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:13-14).

During the pastorship of Father Jan Rodowicz (1875-1885), a new school and parsonage were built. The old school had begun to deteriorate to the extent that the north wall was propped up with a heavy wooden beam. Nevertheless, rather than demolish the building, raffle tickets were sold for one dollar a ticket. The school was won by Mr. Francis Miszewski, who then sold it to Joseph Polczynski for fifty dollars. Polczynski moved the building to the corner of Brady Street and Arlington Place, where it stands today, enlarged and brick-faced, catering to the tavern patrons of the locality (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:15).

The second school was a two-story brick structure with a basement hall, built on the site of the old. After many years, it was remodeled into a Sisters' home, and later, when the present Sisters' convent was built, it was demolished (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:15-16).

After the completion of the school, parishioners decided to build a new rectory. The old building was moved a block north to where it now stands, at 1148 E. Hamilton Street. Two lots were purchased from the Orczychowski and Witbrod families, and in 1884, a two-story brick structure was built on the site where the present rectory stands (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:16).

In December of 1885, the parish acquired its fourth pastor, Father Clemens Rogozinski, who had been born in Russian-occupied Poland and exiled for his role in the failed uprising of 1863. After coming to America, Father Rogozinski had served German and Bohemian parishes in Texas before moving to Wisconsin, where he was pastor of Polish parishes in Beaver Dam and Princeton, Wisconsin, then assistant pastor at Saint Stanislaus in Milwaukee (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:16-17).

By 1886, Saint Hedwig's 600 families had outgrown the original church, built to accommodate 200 families. In order to keep the old church in service while the new church was being built, a new site was obtained. The corner lots on Brady and Racine streets had been deeded to Bishop Henni in 1871 by Joel and Mary Parker of Cambridge, Massachusetts. On April 29, 1886, Archbishop Heiss

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deeded the property to Saint Hedwig congregation. Since parish funds were not sufficient to finance the construction of a new church, the parish was incorporated and a loan was obtained.

Work began on the foundation in August 1886. The building project was in the hands of contractor Francis Niezorawski, a parishioner and city alderman. On Sept. 5, the cornerstone was blessed, and a year later, Archbishop Heiss dedicated the newly built church (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:17).

Following the completion of the church, Father Rogozinski turned his attention to the construction of a new school. The old church was torn down, and a large, three-story modern school was built on its site. The Sisters' home with its lot, neither of which belonged to the parish, was purchased by the congregation in 1890. The small wooden house was moved to 1731-A N. Franklin Place. The old school building was put in its place and remodeled into a new home for the Sisters (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:20).

Saint Hedwig's parish was divided in 1893, and a new Polish church, Saint Casimir's, was founded about one and a half miles to the north on the northeast corner of North Bremen and East Clarke Streets. All families living west of the Milwaukee River who had been attending Saint Hedwig's were requested to join the new parish. Saint Casimir's grew rapidly, and within two years surpassed Saint Hedwig's in membership (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:176).

In 1908, then-pastor Boleslaus Celichowski began construction of Saint Hedwig's third and present rectory. The old rectory, built in 1884, was sold to Andrew Ulik and moved to 1900 N. Warren Ave., in the East Village Historic District, where it still stands (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:22).

In 1922, the second Sisters' home (the remodeled old school) was replaced with a much larger, three-story brick structure, and in 1929, an addition was built onto the rear of the school (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:30). This marked the end of new construction for Saint Hedwig's, and heralded the gradual disintegration of the parish itself. While many old-timers remained, the younger parishioners already represented the third generation. Young married couples moved to the North Side, and other nationalities, especially Italian, began to filter in. Whereas sermons had heretofore been preached exclusively in Polish, beginning in 1933, English was introduced at two of the Sunday masses (Saint Hedwig Church 1946:31).

The Polish character of the parish, and of the neighborhood, became more attenuated with each succeeding decade after the 1930s (Saint Hedwig Church 1971: 23). The decline accelerated after the Second World War II, when the younger generation began moving to the suburbs. In 1962, the last sermon in Polish was given at Saint Hedwig's (Saint Hedwig Church 1971: 27), symbolizing the end of an era. In 2000, Saint Hedwig's parish merged with Saint Rita's and Mary Queen of the Holy Rosary to form the parish of Three Holy Women.

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Settlement History of the East Village Historic District

Drawn by the availability of undeveloped land and by the presence of industrial jobs along the Milwaukee River, Polish immigrants began to settle in the area between Brady Street and the Milwaukee River after about 1865. At one time, eight leather processors, including A.L. Gallun's Empire Tannery and the Western Leather Company, hired Polish workers. Icehouses along the river constituted another source of employment for Polish immigrants (Reisser 1977:15; Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:21). The most common occupation listed in the City Directories for residents of the East Village Historic District was laborer. Other occupations included tanner, shoe factory worker, trunk maker, box maker, helper, carpenter, mason, contractor, painter, blacksmith, cooper, teamster, hostler, fireman, saloon keeper and grocer.

By the time St. Hedwig's parish was founded in 1871, there were reportedly about 70 Polish families in the neighborhood (Milwaukee Sentinel 1871). Many of these families were living south of Brady Street and west of Humboldt Ave., but by 1871, property tax rolls indicate improvements (7 of them valued at \$100 or more) on some 25 lots in the East Village Historic District. The neighborhood developed rapidly during the next ten years, and by 1882, there were 137 properties with improvements valued between \$50 and \$1200. The earliest development was along Humboldt Ave. and adjacent to St. Hedwig's, radiating out to the northeast in subsequent years (Milwaukee Department of City Development n.d.).

Information on the platting and early settlement of the East Village Historic District is incomplete. Brady Street is one of Milwaukee's oldest streets, and was already in existence by 1847-48, a year after the City was incorporated. Very little building took place on East Brady Street before the Civil War, although most of the land along it had been subdivided by 1854. A tract on the north side of East Brady Street between North Humboldt and North Farwell avenues, which includes the East Village Historic District, was not subdivided until the 1870s (Department of City Development 2001:5). Most of the area that comprises the East Village Historic District was in the Southwest ¼ of the Northeast ¼ of Section 21, Town 7N, Range 22E. An 1858 map of Milwaukee County shows this as an undivided parcel belonging to "Parker, Waldo & others" (Walling 1858). This parcel was platted by the Commissioners in Partition and recorded by the Circuit Court in 1865. The remainder of the East Village Historic District, from 1820-1860 N. Warren Ave., was platted in 1874 as part of the Cambridge Subdivision No. 2 (Dupré 1889:160).

The streets in the East Village Historic District generally extend the city grid pattern, but were adjusted to conform to the natural topography. E. Kane Place (formerly N. Water) and the north extension of N. Warren Ave. both accommodate bends in the east bank of the Milwaukee River. N. Pulaski Street, which cuts through the District on a crooked diagonal path, follows the bed of an old ravine, and to this day, is lower in elevation than the surrounding area. According to a 1931 pamphlet,

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Pulaski Street began as a brick sewer that was subsequently covered with "dumpage." The fill became duntrodden and formed a path or trail, which was eventually recognized as a street (Milwaukee Public Land Commission 1931). In acknowledgment of this depression, N. Franklin Place ends at N. Pulaski Street, and E. Hamilton Ave. is interrupted between N. Pulaski Street and N. Arlington Place

While other streets in the neighborhood bore names that were not distinctively Polish, two – Sobieski and Pulaski Streets – were named after famous Polish heroes. Jan III Sobieski was a Polish king and military leader whose armies drove the Turks back from Vienna in 1683, and Kazimierz Pulaski was a Polish nobleman who died fighting for the American cause during the Revolutionary War and is regarded as the father of the American cavalry. Sobieski Street (now Arlington Place) was named about 1874, and Pulaski Street in 1875. At the same time, in 1875, the city awarded a contract to build brick sewers in Brady, Sobieski and Pulaski Streets (Milwaukee Sentinel 1875).

The East Village area developed rapidly after the establishment of St. Hedwig's parish in 1871. By 1888, it was quite solidly built up, and by 1910, it was almost completely developed (Rascher 1888; Sanborn Map Co. 1910). The inhabitants were virtually all Polish. Some of the early residents had German surnames, but this was not uncommon among Poles who had immigrated from German-controlled regions of Poland.

Comparison of tax rolls and city directories from the 1870s suggests that not all of the earliest Polish residents of the East Village Historic District owned property (C. Hatala, personal communication). Some may have owned houses, but not the land they stood on. A note in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* on November 24, 1880 indicates that inhabitants of the gully near Pulaski Street leased the land on which their houses stood: "House mover Hanley is moving about thirty houses of Polack residents in that gully near Humboldt avenue bridge to Brady street, the ground-leases having expired. It is said that as soon as a house is fairly off another is built in its place" (Milwaukee Sentinel 1880).

The newly arrived Poles lived as in an urban village, with closely spaced houses and an abundance of livestock. Under such conditions, sanitation was rudimentary at best. In 1885, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* observed that the gully off of Pulaski Street was known as the filthiest spot in Milwaukee:

Garbage is thrown into it in utter disregard of law. Refuse of all kinds is deposited there and left to breed disease and become a nuisance to all those living in the vicinity.

Yesterday afternoon this place was visited by a Sentinel reporter. Upon arriving within a block of where the gully turns off from Pulaski street, an aggregation of smells that would have done honor to several glue factories, with half a dozen tanneries thrown in, greeted the nostrils. At the gully, the scene was anything but inviting. Lean and hungry geese, ducks and chickens wallowed in the slimy clay, or picked for a living

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with might and main in the great manure heaps which decorate the landscape. In the depressions between the heaps of garbage pools of slimy water sent forth "five and seventy smells, and each and every separate smell a stink." Some of these pools might properly be called ponds, and as there is no outlet for the water which naturally flows from the surrounding high ground, it settles at the lowest level it can find and remains until evaporated. These pools are the receptacles of all the garbage of the houses which occupy all the available space (Milwaukee Sentinel 1885).

Shortly after the publication of this article, Milwaukee's Health Commissioner, Dr. Martin, ordered the inhabitants of the Pulaski Street gully to clean it up (Milwaukee Sentinel 1885a). A month later, however, the City Council's Committee on Finance declined to fund a proposal to fill in the gully, which comprised six lots. While acknowledging the serious threat to health posed by the refuse-strewn gully, the Committee argued that the speculators who owned the lots would certainly refuse to pay any special tax levied by the city, and the city would have no recourse with which to collect on its expenditures (Milwaukee Sentinel 1885b).

The original lots were mostly of a standard 40-foot width and many were 160 feet long. Most of them were subdivided, however – often multiple times – because the purchasers could not afford a whole lot. As a result, the house lots in the East Village Historic District are irregular and generally small. The absence of alleys in the East Village Historic District further increased congestion.

The street pattern in the East Village Historic District has remained essentially unchanged since the 1880s. Doty Street became Warren Ave. in 1884. The name of Sobieski Street was changed to Arlington Place in 1926. Racine Street became Humboldt Ave., and N. Water Street, east of Humboldt Ave., became E. Kane Place. A one-block long street called Tunnel Place, which ran from N. Warren Ave. west to the Milwaukee River, was eliminated when the Riverview housing project was constructed at 1300 E. Kane Place, about 1964.

The East Village neighborhood retained a strong Polish character until the Second World War. In the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, however, Italian immigrants began moving into the area from the Third Ward. In 1940, about 300 Italian-born residents and an equal number of Poles occupied the area between East Brady Street and the Milwaukee River (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:39). The Italians were concentrated in the area west of Humboldt Ave., which constituted an unofficial dividing line between the Polish and Italian neighborhoods (Alioto 2003). There was considerable intermixing, however, and Italians living on the east side of Humboldt were accepted by the Polish residents (Janowski 2003). The Italian community near Brady Street reached its zenith in the 1950s, and Italians continued to move into the area through the 1960s. At the same time, the Polish population declined, as Poles moved to the suburbs and newer parts of the city.

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By 1970, the neighborhood had lost much of its Polish character, although a few descendants of Polish immigrants still remain (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2001:9-12).

In the 1960s, Brady Street and the East Village neighborhood became a haven for the counterculture youth movement, or "hippies." Many residential and commercial properties were owned by absentee landlords and suffered from neglect. In the last ten years, grassroots neighborhood improvement efforts have been successful in reversing the decline. A number of properties have been restored, and a gentrification process that began with the Brady Street commercial strip has also effected a significant rise in property values in the East Village residential neighborhood.

Characteristics of the East Village Historic District

Ethnicity and Neighborhood

The East Village Historic District is significant for preserving the character of an early Polish immigrant neighborhood. This character is expressed in both the overall pattern of development and its distinctive architectural forms. Hubka and Kenny (2000:12, 49) point out that most urban Polish immigrants did not build their own homes, or even exert significant influence over their design. By and large, when a Polish family was able to afford a house of its own, it either purchased an existing structure or hired a contractor to build one. Even though many of the builders who worked in the East Village Historic District were Polish, their buildings, in outward appearance at least, generally conformed to locally accepted standards. As a result, with the exception of "Polish flats," the District's architectural styles are consistent with what was current in other Milwaukee neighborhoods and in other Midwestern cities.

What is most distinctive in the East Village Historic District is the way Polish immigrants utilized the space they possessed. As Craig Reisser observed in his study of the ethnic characteristics of the Saint Casimir neighborhood,

Insight into the transplantation of true vernacular cultural forms from the Old World is not to be found by looking for obviously European architectural traits, but by observing the manner in which the immigrants arranged their neighborhood space. In examining the neighborhoods themselves, one finds subtle differences between the immigrant-constructed neighborhoods and "Yankee" neighborhoods. In these subtle differences lie the true manifestations of transplanted culture (Reisser 1977:4).

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Street patterns and lot layouts were largely outside the immigrants' control, but homeowners determined the use of space within their lots. Most of the villages from which the immigrants came in Poland consisted of nucleated settlements, in which the houses were clustered tightly together and fields scattered in outlying areas. On the village house lot stood a one-story cottage, a barn and other outbuildings. The yard was a work area and home to the family poultry. In the garden adjacent to the house grew a combination of vegetables, herbs and flowers.

It could be argued that Polish immigrants re-created a similar environment in American cities, as seen in their preference for small, detached houses, their tolerance for closely spaced dwellings, and their intensive development of house lots. Contemporary social reformers reported that the yards of Polish immigrants were generally muddy and filled with refuse – a condition more befitting a farmyard than a city lot. Vegetable gardens were the norm, often squeezed between the front and rear houses (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:379). As in other urban neighborhoods settled by agrarian immigrants, chickens, ducks, and geese were not uncommon (Simon 1996:35,40). Even pigs and cows were kept in the East Village neighborhood. Several cow barns were located in the vicinity of Pulaski Street in the late nineteenth century (Rascher 1888; Sanborn & Perris Map Co. 1894).

Though contemporary urban reformers decried the crowded conditions of Polish immigrant neighborhoods, the residents themselves did not necessarily share this negative perception. In Poland, several generations often lived under one roof, and villagers were accustomed to dwelling in close proximity to their neighbors. As a child, Lorraine Janowski lived on Pulaski Street in a house with one bedroom, a living room, kitchen, and toilet in the closet, but felt that her family was as well off as anyone else. They enjoyed a feeling of closeness to their neighbors, because they knew everyone, and “everybody watched over everybody else” (Janowski 2003). Similarly, a resident of Milwaukee’s South Side Polish neighborhood, who grew up in a single-family “Polish flat” with a two-family rear house on the property, said her family often laughed about knowing everything that went on in the neighbors’ houses, yet never felt crowded. On the contrary, they enjoyed friendly relations with their neighbors, and even “liked being close” (Michalak 2002).

In a neighborhood where backyards were small to nonexistent, the Pulaski Street Playground provided a place for children to gather for both organized and spontaneous activities, after it opened in 1926. Lorraine Janowski, who grew up across the street from the playground, recalls that “everybody was there.” During the summer, public school teachers taught classes and supervised activities at the playground. There was a girls’ side and a boys’ side. The girls learned hemstitching, spool-knitting and other domestic arts. The children also played baseball, dodgeball, basketball, and other games, and swung on the swings. Janowski recalls that during the summer, neighborhood children were at the playground almost from 9 in the morning until 9 at night (Gould 2001; L. Janowski 2003). Carl Ferguson recalls playing basketball, dodgeball, “box hockey,” chess, and checkers, as well as using the playground equipment (Ferguson 2003).

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Craig Reisser (1977:5) has identified several physical features characteristic of Polish immigrant neighborhoods in Milwaukee: 1) "open-ended" architecture, in which residential structures were enlarged or otherwise modified to provide for additional dwelling units; 2) prevalence of rear houses; 3) evidence of the prior existence of small-scale farming, gardening, and animal and poultry husbandry; 4) prevalence of structures combining residential and commercial functions.

The products of what Reisser refers to as an "open-ended" building tradition (as defined by Rapoport 1969:5-6), as well as an abundance of rear houses, are still very much in evidence, and it is these physical characteristics that most clearly distinguish the East Village Historic District from other Milwaukee neighborhoods. Virtually all of the buildings in the District have been added to, usually more than once. Many of the additions were improvised in clever, if less than elegant ways, to meet immediate needs for space. Relatively little heed was paid to architectural aesthetics. The result is a collection of unorthodox, often idiosyncratic solutions to the problem of maximizing living space.

Only a few of the more prominent citizens in the East Village Historic District hired architects to design their homes. Most buildings were simply put up by carpenters, contractors or owners. Function took precedence over form. Even once erected, a building was less a finished product than a work in progress, to be expanded and "improved" as necessity required and expediency permitted.

Ordinarily, significant alterations to a building's historic fabric may disqualify the structure from National Register eligibility. However, in the case of the East Village Historic District, the modifications themselves and the pattern of incremental building they represent, are part of what makes the District historically significant.

Associated with the "open-ended" building tradition identified by Reisser was the prevalence of rear houses in Milwaukee's Polish immigrant neighborhoods. In the East Village Historic District, numerous rear houses provided rental income and/or housing for relatives. In 1910, housing inspectors noted that 59 out of 123 residences in the triangular block bounded by Kane, Arlington and Pulaski streets lacked direct access to the street.

Aside from those preserved in the historical record and personal memory, few easily identifiable relicts of gardening and animal husbandry can be seen in the East Village Historic District today. Insurance maps from 1888 and 1894 show cow barns in the vicinity of Pulaski Street. Building permits were awarded for chicken coops as late as the 1940s (Building Permits, 1153 E. Kane Place). Raising homing pigeons was a popular East Village pastime, brought from Poland. Wolski's Pigeon Coop was a well-known establishment on E. Kane Place, and a dovecote over the garage at 1851 N. Warren Ave. is perhaps the last physical vestige of the practice (Alioto 2003; Ferguson 2003).

The combining of residential and commercial functions under one roof was another distinguishing feature of Polish immigrant neighborhoods. Several taverns and other businesses, with living quarters above, remain in the predominantly residential East Village Historic District. Although most of the former "storefront residences" and ephemeral "shop houses" have since been converted

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entirely to residential use, some retain boomtown facades or other features that testify to their commercial past.

Prior to the imposition of zoning restrictions in the 1920s, residential and commercial buildings were intermixed throughout the East Village Historic District. Similarly, humble and “high style” buildings co-existed. While the majority of early residents of the East Village Historic District were employed in low-paying occupations, several did achieve professional and political prominence, as well as financial success. Their fashionable homes contrast with their neighbors’ more modest dwellings. For example, the imposing Stormowski duplex (1874-76 N. Warren Ave.) abuts a row of Polish flats; and Frank Niezorawski’s substantial brick residence (1722-24 N. Franklin Place) is next door to two decidedly modest wood frame dwellings.

The fact that prosperous community leaders like Frank Niezorawski, Edmund Stormowski, and John Weiher chose to remain in the neighborhood rather than move to more exclusive parts of the city attests to the strength of family, ethnic and parish ties. Family relationships were central to the lives of Polish immigrants. While natural affection and fear of loneliness certainly helped to keep families together, the financial and social affairs of Polish extended families were often intertwined to a degree unusual in American society. Among Polish peasants, the locus of property was in the family. Any given individual was at most the temporary custodian of the family land, and all the family members, even those not living at home, maintained a lifelong interest in and obligation for the maintenance of the farm.

Even in Milwaukee, it was not unusual for related families to share housing, and to pass on the family home to subsequent generations. When Edmund Stormowski married, he moved into a duplex owned by his brother in law. After Edmund died, his widow lived downstairs, while his daughter’s family occupied the upper flat (Ferguson 2003). Many other houses in the East Village Historic District also remained in the same family for two or more generations. City directory listings show that large numbers of related individuals often lived under the same roof, as well as in different houses within a few blocks of each other. For example, in 1893, fifteen members of the Gierzewski family were listed at nine different addresses in a three-block area of Sobieski Street (Arlington Place) and Warren Ave.

To Reisser’s list of characteristics distinguishing Polish immigrant neighborhoods could be added the frequent occurrence of buildings moved from other locations. A “castoff” wood frame or brick veneered structure could be purchased at a bargain and moved to a new site for less than the cost of a new building. John Tuskiewicz & sons, who lived on Humboldt Ave., were the principal house moving contractors in northeast Milwaukee from 1887 to 1936. They moved many buildings from the German North Side to Saint Hedwig, St. Casimir and St. Mary of Czestochowa parishes. The houses were dragged along the streets on rolling logs by a chain attached to a horsedrawn turntable that was

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anchored in one manhole after another as they moved along the street. Sometimes a move took as long as a week to complete (Reisser 1977:43; Tolan 1984:20-21).

A number of houses were moved into the Polish neighborhood from earlier-developed neighborhoods several blocks to the south (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:12). In 1886, for example, the 1847 George F. Austin House was moved from its original site on the southwest corner of Jefferson Street and Wisconsin Ave. to 888 Racine Street (now 1750 N. Humboldt Ave.), where it still stands, though re-sited and deprived of its original detail.

Three buildings from St. Hedwig's took on new lives as residences in the East Village Historic District. The first convent, at 1731A N. Franklin Place, and the first rectory, at 1148 E. Hamilton Street, were modest frame cottages with Italianate details. The first rectory was moved a block north of its original location in 1884, set on a raised basement, and expanded. The second rectory, a substantial cream brick Italianate double flat, was bought by Andrew Ulik and moved to N. Warren Ave. at the head of E. Kane Place in 1908. It stands between the Edmund Stormowski Duplex and a large Neo-Gothic duplex once owned by Frank Niezorawski.

In addition to buildings moved from other locations, many buildings were moved around on the same lot, or -- like 1836A and 1836B N. Pulaski Street -- over a lot line to a neighboring lot. Frequently, when a newer, larger house replaced an earlier structure, the old house was moved to the rear of the lot, as at 1112 E. Hamilton Street (1916), 1818 N. Pulaski Street (1905), 1822 N. Warren Ave. (1921), and 1924-26 N. Warren Ave. (1909).

The recycling of buildings through moving was simply another strategy employed by Polish immigrants to obtain maximum value for minimum investment. While as a rule, the fact of a structure having been moved from its original site diminishes its historic significance, in the case of the East Village Historic District, structures that were moved to their present locations within the period of significance exemplify one of the distinguishing characteristics of the district and thus contribute to its significance.

Still other structures in the East Village Historic District were built from materials taken from other buildings. The permit for a duplex built in 1894 by John Szczepanski, at 1729-31 N. Franklin Place, states "reusing material taken out of 2 story building taken down." Originally constructed with a post and plank foundation, the duplex was raised in 1909, and a large porch, supported by brick piers, was added in 1921 (Building Permits, 1729-31 N. Franklin Place).

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The East Village Historic District and Other Polish Immigrant Neighborhoods

The East Village Historic District resembles other Milwaukee Polish immigrant neighborhoods in many respects, but with some important differences. With the exception of the no-longer extant Jones Island settlement, the East Village was the most compact enclave of Polish settlement in Milwaukee, and the most distinct from the neighborhoods surrounding it. Bounded by the Milwaukee River on one side, and by major thoroughfares (Brady Street and Humboldt Ave.) on two others, the East Village neighborhood lives up to its original nickname, "Kępa Kaszubów" (Islet of the Kashubes).

Common to all of Milwaukee's Polish immigrant neighborhoods are the presence of an imposing church, and the seemingly random intermixing of commercial with residential buildings. However, in comparison with the vast Polish settlements on Milwaukee's South Side, where the streets are lined with uniform rows of workers' cottages and Polish flats, the East Village Historic District displays a much greater variety of architectural styles. Furthermore, while the overall proportion of Polish flats to other buildings is lower in the East Village Historic District than on the South Side, their forms are more varied. Most of the South Side Polish flats consist of one-story cottages on raised basements, with two entrance doors, one above the other. The East Village Historic District contains a significant number of "atypical" Polish flats, such as larger buildings on raised basements, and examples with different door configurations. In general, the East Village Historic District also displays more extensive -- and creative -- use of additive building practices than either the South Side or the other North Side Polish neighborhoods.

Building Types in the East Village Historic District

Residential Buildings:

The overwhelming majority of Polish immigrants were of peasant origin. Owing their livelihoods to the land, Polish peasants valued land ownership above almost everything else, except perhaps their Catholic faith (Greene 1975:14-27). Polish immigrants brought an intense desire to own property with them to Milwaukee, where they achieved an extraordinarily high rate of home ownership, especially considering their modest incomes. They accomplished this by sharing space with relatives, by renting out portions of their cramped living spaces, and by extremely dense development of their narrow lots. Typically, a Polish immigrant family who acquired a house lot began by building a small cottage, and then, as soon as finances permitted, expanded it by the least expensive means. This often consisted of jacking the building up onto a raised basement, which enclosed a second apartment, resulting in a housing type popularly known as the "Polish flat." Extensions were also

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added to the backs of houses, and many lots had one or more separate cottages in the rear, which provided rental income or living quarters for relatives (Anderson 1977:50).

“Polish flats” and other forms of intensive house lot development were typical of Milwaukee’s other Polish neighborhoods, as well, both on the South Side and in the slightly later North Side Polish neighborhood west of the Milwaukee River. Because “Polish flats” were an inexpensive, relatively ephemeral housing type, many of them were “improved” over the years, resulting in substantial losses of integrity. Many Polish neighborhoods also changed character as descendants of the original inhabitants moved to the suburbs and were supplanted by newer immigrant groups. In the East Village district, much of the original building stock has survived, and although individual buildings have been modified, the overall character of the neighborhood remains intact. The irregular street pattern and the survival of many “Polish flats” and rear cottages combine to preserve, in a remarkable degree, the flavor of a crowded nineteenth century urban “village.”

The significance of the East Village Historic District lies in its ability to convey the character of an early immigrant neighborhood. Poles were among the earliest and most numerous residents of the East Village neighborhood, and were mainly responsible for its physical fabric, but other ethnic groups, especially Italians, also lived there and left their mark. In all, the ethnic mix of the East Village inhabitants has imbued the district with a distinctive European flavor that is remarkably well preserved and may be compared with historic immigrant neighborhoods in New York and other major American cities.

Polish immigrants in Milwaukee achieved a surprisingly high rate of home ownership, especially compared with their incomes. Some scholars, such as Conzen (1976) and Simon (1996) have observed that this characteristic was shared by other ethnic groups, notably Germans, and point out that it is difficult to separate ethnic from class factors. Nevertheless, Polish immigrants unquestionably viewed home ownership as essential to their financial security and employed multiple strategies to achieve their aim. They were noted for their extraordinary frugality, sacrificing not only luxuries but also everyday comfort to the goal of purchasing and maintaining a home. Numerous relatives shared cramped living space, in order to reduce costs. Boarders and tenants were taken in to subsidize expenses.

A corollary of the high value Polish immigrants placed on home ownership was their aversion to debt. An immigrant’s initial property purchase was usually financed with a mortgage obtained from a Polish building and loan society, known as a *skarby* (pl., *skarby*). The *skarby* offered short-term loans, generally for six years. This encouraged Polish immigrants to satisfy only their immediate housing needs and make subsequent modifications when needed (Reisser 1977:40), or as money became available. In order to liquidate the debt as quickly as possible, homeowners economized by sharing space with extended family members and/or renting to strangers.

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An 1874 *Milwaukee Sentinel* article about Milwaukee's Polish citizens noted common characteristics of the South Side and East Side Polish neighborhoods:

There is little observable difference, except that of size, between the settlements of the First Ward and South Side. In both the houses are generally small; very frequently one of these little cabins has three or four families crowded into it. Usually the first money they can call their own is put into the purchase of a lot, or part of a lot, on which they mean to erect a house as soon as possible. They have a strong prejudice against paying rent (*Milwaukee Sentinel* 1874).

In all of the Milwaukee neighborhoods occupied primarily by Polish immigrants – the South Side (Wards 11, 12 and 14), the area north of Brady Street around Saint Hedwig's Church, and the area west of the Milwaukee River around Saint Casimir's Church – housing followed a similar pattern. A 1911 description of the typical building sequence in the Polish neighborhoods of Milwaukee's South Side could also have applied to the East Village districts:

In the South Side district, where a large class of the poorer section of the Poles live, the custom is to erect first a four-roomed frame dwelling. When this has been paid for, it is raised on posts to allow a semi-basement dwelling to be constructed underneath, the lower portion being banked round with clay to afford protection against the snow in winter. This basement or the upstairs flat is then let by the owner, who, as soon as his funds permit, substitutes brick walls for the timber of the basement, but the ambition of a Polish house-owner is not crowned until he is able to have cement walks and iron railings in front of his house. In the above district a very large number of these semi-basements of wood can be seen, and although the outer aspect of the dwellings is not unpleasing, they are in general undeniably insanitary, being damp, as the floor of the basement rests on the ground. Such houses, which when completed, contain eight rooms, are frequently occupied by four or five families as well as boarders, and as Polish families are generally large this overcrowding is a serious evil (*Great Britain, Board of Trade* 1911:266).

Because it was most often associated with Polish immigrant neighborhoods, the raised basement cottage came to be known, in Milwaukee, as a "Polish flat." In fact, however, the housing type was not indigenously Polish. Rather, it represents a variant of the standard post-Civil War American workers' cottage that was adopted by Poles and other working class immigrant groups in

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Midwestern cities, including Chicago and Milwaukee, as a kind of "poor man's" duplex (Hubka and Kenny 2000).

Many Polish immigrants also endeavored to increase the residential capacity of their properties by constructing second, and even third, dwellings at the rear of their narrow lots. These "rear cottages" were usually one-story frame structures built on wooden pile foundations (Simon 1996:37). In many cases, an old cottage was moved from the front of the property to the rear when a new house was built. Alternatively, a small cottage might be built at the rear of a lot in the expectation of building a larger house in front later on. Other times, front and rear cottages were built or moved to the lot at the same time (Hubka and Kenny 2000:42; Milwaukee Department of City Development 1988:379).

The basic housing stock of Polish neighborhoods was not unique, but the immigrants' drive to own property, coupled with their meager resources, led them to develop a strategy of incremental homebuilding that took several distinctive forms, including the "Polish flat" or raised basement dwelling, and the rear house. More conventional methods, such as raising the roof (e.g., 1727, 1740 and 1753 N. Warren Ave.) and building additions, were also used to expand living space as means permitted (Hubka and Kenny 2000:43). While most additions were at the rear, additions were also built onto the fronts of houses, such as 1734 N. Warren Ave. Still another method of expanding living space consisted of connecting two or more buildings together. Some obvious examples include 1108 and 1108A E. Hamilton Street, 1121 E. Hamilton Street, 1719A/1721A-C N. Arlington Place, 1854-56 N. Humboldt Ave., and 1754 N. Franklin Place/1755 N. Pulaski Street. Whether attributable to ethnicity or to socio-economic class, there appears to have been a high frequency of all of these additive building practices in heavily Polish neighborhoods, not least in the East Village Historic District.

Commercial Buildings:

One of the characteristics that distinguished Polish from Anglo-American and German neighborhoods in Milwaukee was the juxtaposition of residential and commercial buildings in the same area (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2001:13). Although the entire East Village Historic District lies within a few blocks of Brady Street, a number of small commercial establishments, such as taverns, grocery stores and meat markets, were interspersed among the dwellings.

Saloons and taverns:

The parish constituted the religious and cultural center of the community, and the fraternal benefit societies provided an additional measure of social solidarity, but the informal center of social life in Polish American communities was the neighborhood tavern, or saloon. Harking back to the Polish village inn, where peasants gathered to relax and celebrate social occasions, the American

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saloon was the "poor man's club," where working men could play cards, exchange news, and seek respite from the daily round of hard work.

The owner usually lived on the premises, most commonly in an apartment over the tavern. As entrepreneurs, saloon proprietors enjoyed a special standing in the community. Like others with cash resources, they sometimes functioned as quasi-bankers, by lending money and holding mortgages. For example, in 1928, Edmund Stormowski's widow, Helen, conveyed a \$5,000 mortgage to Valentine Bystry, owner of the neighborhood tavern that stood on Kane Place, where the Riverview Housing Project is now located (Abstract of Title, 1874-76 N. Warren Ave.). Because of their status, saloon proprietors frequently ascended to positions as officers in the mutual aid societies and political clubs, and some became actively engaged in politics (Wytrwal 1977:105-106).

Besides the site of 1100-02 E. Kane Place, which has operated under various names since before 1888, and Wolski's, which has been in business at 1834-36 N. Pulaski Street since about 1908, there were a number of other saloons and taverns in the East Village Historic District. These have included, at various times, 1100-02 E. Hamilton Street (a substantial, brick Romanesque Revival building designed by Charles Kirchoff and originally owned by the Schlitz Brewing Co.), as well as string of more modest establishments on N. Arlington Pl: 1731, 1740, 1800, and 1870.

Retail Stores:

Retail stores were usually small, family-owned establishments. A number of grocery stores and meat markets were scattered throughout the East Village neighborhood. Grocery stores sold canned foods, baked goods and dairy products, while meat markets, or butcher shops, sold meat and cold cuts. Regular customers bought their groceries "on the book," *i.e.*, on account. The stores were called simply by the name of the proprietor, e.g., Listwan's, Janowski's, Tutkowski's, Szopinski's, Lonski's, etc. (Janowski 2003). The store owners usually lived in an apartment over the store (Ferguson 2003).

Grocery stores listed in the 1927 City Directory include 1820-1822 N. Humboldt Ave. (Drewek), 1761 N. Warren Ave. (Berman), 1839 N. Warren Ave. (Janowski), 1871 N. Warren Ave. (Cottonaro Bros.), 1754 N. Pulaski Street (Kosidowski), 1760 N. Arlington Place (Repinski), northwest corner of Pulaski Street and Arlington Place (Miller), 1850 N. Arlington Place (Guzinski; Slominski-1929), 1133 E. Kane Place (Fojut), 1311 E. Kane Place (Szopinski) (East Village Association 1997). Tutkowi's meat market at 1843-45 N. Pulaski Street was known for its Polish sausage (Jung n.d.)

In Poland, the peasants, for the most part, confined their economic activities to farming, while local commerce was primarily the province of Jewish merchants. After coming to the United States, it was not uncommon for Jewish retailers to set up shop in Polish neighborhoods (Greene 1980:802). In 1909, Max Manhoff, formerly a crockery dealer on the South Side., established a dry goods store at 1931-33 N. Pulaski Street. He lived over the store, except for a short time in 1911, when he moved

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around the corner to 1142-44 E. Hamilton Street – perhaps while his new store was being constructed . He continued to live in the store building until 1923. Bernard Manhoff and his wife then took over the store and residence, operating it first as a dry goods/general store, and then as a grocery, until about 1939.

Other Businesses:

John Weiher and Frank Niezorawski ran street grading and mason-contracting businesses, respectively, from their homes on N. Franklin Place. Several small-scale manufacturing concerns also operated in the East Village Historic District for short periods. For several years after 1909, the Lepak Brothers operated a small “factory,” or workshop, for manufacturing trunks and traveling bags at the rear of 1731 N. Warren Ave. (Watrous 1909:I/629), in a building that has since been replaced by a dwelling. The 1894 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map shows a brass foundry on what is now a vacant lot at 1812 N. Warren Ave., as well as a snuff factory in the basement of a building that once stood on N. Arlington Place, where Pulaski Playground is now.

Prominent Residents of the East Village Historic District

Several residents of the East Village Historic District achieved a degree of prominence in Milwaukee’s public life. Three of them – arguably the District’s most eminent citizens -- were related to each other by marriage. Edmund Stormowski and his two brothers in law, Frank Niezorawski and John Weiher, were all engaged in the construction trades and were also active in politics.

Frank Niezorawski

Frank Niezorawski (1854-1912) was born on October 18, 1854 in what was then the town of “Jerski”(probably Czersk, in an inland part of the Kaszuby region) in the German partition of Poland. He came to Milwaukee in 1871. In 1872, he apprenticed himself to learn the bricklaying trade, which took three years. He then worked as a journeyman until 1882, when he received an appointment on the Milwaukee police force, where he served for two years. In 1884, Niezorawski established himself in the contracting business (Conard 1895, Vol. 3:98-99).

In 1876, Niezorawski married Mary Stormowski, also a native of Poland. They had nine children, only five of whom survived. After his marriage, Niezorawski lived at 1224 E. Brady Street, where for several years he operated a tavern, in addition to his contracting business. In 1894, he moved to a large red brick duplex located at 1722-24 North Franklin Place. Niezorawski was also active in politics, serving as alderman of the Eighteenth Ward, and later as head of the Board of Public Works.

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Niezorawski built some of the largest structures in Milwaukee at the time, including the Public Service Building, the Electric Power House, West Allis Machine Shops and Gesu Church (Watrous 1909:629). He also built St. Hedwig's Church, and was active in parish affairs. In 1885, as chairman of the board of trustees, Niezorawski led a movement to oust an allegedly incompetent organist/teacher whom Father Rodowicz had brought from Cleveland. The dispute culminated in a riot at the rectory, which resulted in numerous injuries and arrests. One of the priest's supporters subsequently had Niezorawski arrested on a charge of riot, and Niezorawski sued the parishioner in return. Father Rodowicz resigned, and the church remained closed for several months, until Father Rogozinski was brought in to replace him (Milwaukee Sentinel 1885c, 1885d, 1885e; Borun 1946:8).

Frank Niezorawski was killed in a fall from a smokestack he was inspecting in 1912.

Edmund Stormowski

Edmund Stormowski (1869-1916) was born in Poland and came to Milwaukee in 1874 with his parents, Joseph and Catherine, and his five oldest sisters. They lived in the 1700 block of N. Franklin Place and then at 1327 and 1329 E. Brady Street. They belonged to St. Hedwig's parish, and Edmund finished both grade school and high school at St. Hedwig's. He went on to Marquette University, and subsequently graduated from Spencerian Business College. Stormowski learned the bricklayers' trade while working for his brother-in-law Francis (Frank) Niezorawski, one of Milwaukee's most prominent mason contractors.

In 1898, Edmund Stormowski married Helen Piotrowski, who had come to America from Poland as an adult. The couple first lived at 1906 North Warren Ave. in a large duplex they rented from Frank Niezorawski. In 1904, they moved into a large brick duplex designed for them by architect Herman J. Esser and built on a lot they purchased from Niezorawski, at 1874-76 North Warren Ave.

In 1912, Mayor Emil Seidl appointed Edmund Stormowski Superintendent of Sewers. During Stormowski's tenure, miles of new sewers were built and Milwaukee's first sewerage commission was established, in 1913. Edmund Stormowski died in 1916, and was buried from St. Hedwig's Church and the John I. Suminski Funeral Home, which is still in business at 1218 East Brady Street (Milwaukee Department of City Development 2002:7-8).

John Weiher

John Weiher was a prominent grading contractor in Milwaukee. He was born in 1859 in "Jerski" (probably Czersk, in the Kaszuby region), in the Prussian partition of Poland (Conard 1895:194). He came to America with his parents in 1864, when he was five years old. After landing in New York, the family made its way immediately to Milwaukee. John attended St. Mary's parochial school, and then public elementary schools. After leaving school, he worked at the Schlitz Brewing Co. for five years before obtaining an appointment to the city of Milwaukee fire department, where he

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spent three years. In 1882 or 1883, he established himself in the street grading business, with offices at 1734 N. Franklin Place (Watrous 1909b:231; Conard 1895:194).

In 1885, Weiher married Anastazia Stormowski, daughter of Joseph and Catherine Stormowski, and sister of Edmund Stormowski. One of Anastazia's sisters, Mary, was married to Frank Niezorawski. The Niezorawskis lived two doors south of the Weiher, on N. Franklin Place. From 1906-1924, Weiher and his brother in law Edmund Stormowski jointly owned the former Michael Jozwiak building at 1728-30 N. Franklin Place, between the Weiher and Niezorawski homes (Schnell 1999).

In 1898, John Weiher established a livery and undertaking business at 1729 N. Pulaski Street, directly behind his house on Franklin Place, but closed this business in 1907. He was a member of St. Hedwig's church, and served for 15 years as alderman of the Eighteenth Ward (Watrous 1909b:231-32).

Polish Architects and Builders Active in the East Village Historic District

Most of Milwaukee's Polish immigrants came from agricultural backgrounds. What they lacked in specialized skills they made up for by a capacity for hard work. Many were employed as laborers in the tanneries and other industries, but within a relatively short time, they – or their sons – were entering the professions. A significant number found success in the building trades, as masons, carpenters, contractors and architects.

Although fewer than half of the properties in the East Village Historic District have original building permits, the permit records that do survive suggest that the majority of the carpenters and masons active in the East Village neighborhood were Polish. At least two Polish architects also contributed to the East Village Historic District.

Bernard Kolpacki

One of Milwaukee's leading Polish architects, Bernard Kolpacki designed at least two buildings in the East Village Historic District – the Michael Jozwiak Meat Market and residence at 1728-30 N. Franklin Place (1891), and the Frank Peplinski Duplex at 1734-36 N. Arlington Place (1893). Both structures were built by Frank Dombrowski, a Sobieski Street (now N. Arlington Place) contractor who built a number of houses in the East Village Historic District and may have been a son or other close relative of Kolpacki's next-door neighbor on the South Side, also named Frank Dombrowski (Schnell 1999).

Bernhard (or Bernard) Kolpacki (1854-1900) was born in Grudziadz, Poland (then called Grandenz, under German rule) on October 20, 1854. The eldest son of Albert and Rosalia Kolpacki, he came to the United States with his parents in 1871 or 1872, settling first in Chicago, then moving to

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Milwaukee in 1873. According to a published biography, Bernard studied English in night school, and learned the carpenter's trade, then studied drawing and design with James Tucker, listed in city directories as a carpenter. From 1880 to 1886, the Milwaukee city directories listed Kolpacki alternately as a laborer and a carpenter. He evidently acquired a reputation as a skilled and careful builder, and began practicing architecture in 1887, when he opened offices at the corner of South 7th and Mitchell Streets. He later moved his office to 550 W. Mitchell Street, where he remained until his death.

In 1876, Bernard Kolpacki married Elizabeth Kulas, daughter of Martin and Julia Kulas, who had come to this country in 1860. In 1896, Kolpacki formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Henry Kulas, under the name Bernard Kolpacki & Co. Kulas, as well as Bernard's son Leo, worked as a draftsman for the firm. Bernard Kolpacki was a member of St. Hyacinth's parish and belonged to several Polish organizations. He died in 1900 at his home at 1329 W. Becher Street, of cirrhosis of the liver, and was buried in the Polish Union cemetery.

Most of Kolpacki's known building projects are located on Milwaukee's South Side, with a smaller concentration on the Lower East Side. Probably the South Side's most talented architect during the 1880s and 1890s, Kolpacki designed residences, business blocks and public buildings. Perhaps his most important project was the 1893 appointment to serve as supervising architect for the Federal Building on East Wisconsin Ave. He had a number of commissions from Catholic parishes, including St. Vincent De Paul church, rectory and convent; St. Cyril & Methodius church, St. Hyacinth's school, hall and rectory; and St. Augustine's rectory and school. Most of his known residences were designed in the Queen Anne style and feature distinctive towers and bays, though a few were in the Colonial Revival style. His frame corner storefronts also incorporate turrets. Masonry commercial blocks were perhaps Kolpacki's most distinctive and interesting work. Most feature prominent, corbelled cornices with an arched motif, and many had a projecting bay on the second story (Milwaukee Department of City Development 1994).

Leon Gurda

Leon M. Gurda, born September 21, 1888, was one of eleven children of Polish immigrants Sylvester Gurda and Victoria Orzechowski Gurda. Sylvester Gurda had come to Milwaukee in 1878. He worked from 1880 to 1891 at a variety of occupations, including helper, blacksmith, laborer and tailor. After 1892, he worked as a mail carrier. The family lived at 1833 S. 10th Street

Leon Gurda was listed in the 1907 city directory as a draftsman, and then briefly worked as a laborer (1908) and advertising solicitor (1909). In 1910, he moved away from home, to 2210 S. 7th Street, and resumed work as a draftsman. In 1912, he began working as an architect, out of his home, and in 1915 moved to offices at 732 W. Mitchell Street. He designed, among other buildings, the J. Kwasniewski Building at 1024 W. Lincoln Ave. (1916) and the foundation for Holy Name Polish

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National Catholic Church at 2364 S. 11th Street (1914). In 1922, he formed a partnership with his younger brother, Francis, who had studied architecture at the University of Illinois and worked for the Milwaukee firm of Buemming & Guth. Gurda & Gurda opened offices at 632 W. Mitchell Street, and designed a number of handsome period revival buildings on the South Side.

Leon Gurda left the firm in 1927, when he was appointed the city's Building Inspector. Known for his zealously in trying to rid Milwaukee of blighted buildings during the Depression, Gurda served as Building Inspector until his retirement in 1955. Gurda was a member of numerous Polish organizations and building/architectural societies. He died in 1967.

Although most of his projects were on the South Side, Gurda designed a German Renaissance Revival building at 2376 N. Humboldt Blvd. in 1912. In the East Village Historic District, he designed a duplex for Martin Sawicki at 1860-62 N. Warren Ave. The duplex, built in 1912, rests on a raised basement apartment. The mason on the project was Frank Niezorawski & Son (Building Permits, 1858-1862 A N. Warren Ave.).

Frank Niezorawski

Frank Niezorawski was a prominent mason contractor in Milwaukee (see above). He was the mason for several structures in the East Village neighborhood, including 1816-22 N. Humboldt Ave. (1894), 1743-1745 N. Franklin (1911), 1754 N. Pulaski Street (1907), 1818 N. Pulaski Street (1905), 1754-56 N. Warren Ave. (1903), and 1858-62 N. Warren Ave. (1912). Although no permit exists, it is likely that Niezorawski built his own home, a large brick duplex at 1722-24 N. Franklin Place, ca. 1894. Niezorawski also "underpinned" with masonry basements many homes in the East Village, including 1866 N. Humboldt (1904), 1751-53 N. Arlington (1899), 1806 N. Arlington (1910), 1725 N. Franklin (1907), 1746 N. Warren (1906), 1832-34 N. Warren (1905), 1839 N. Warren (1905), 1928-30 N. Warren (1889), 1932-34 N. Warren (1910), and 1942 N. Warren (1910).

Edmund Stormowski

Frank Niezorawski's brother-in-law, Edmund Stormowski (see above) built his own brick duplex at 1874-76 N. Warren Ave. (1904), and did the masonry work for 1916-18 N. Warren Ave. (1903). Like Niezorawski, Stormowski, also built additions and did considerable business "underpinning" existing houses with masonry foundations, including 1734-36 N. Pulaski (1906), 1757 N. Warren (1906), 1743 N. Arlington (1926) and 1752 N. Arlington (1926).

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Frank Dombrowski

The builder whose name appears most frequently in East Village Historic District building permits is Frank Dombrowski, who was active from about 1884 to 1913. He was listed in the 1880 U.S. census as a 16-year old son of John and Catharina Dombrowski, all born in Prussian Poland and living at 879 N. Sobieski Street (now 1747 N. Arlington Place). John Dombrowski's occupation was listed in the City Directories as a carpenter (1876, 1880-83), laborer (1878), and finally contractor (1884).

Frank Dombrowski was listed, from 1884-1913, as a carpenter-contractor. The business appears on 1888, 1894 and 1910 fire insurance maps (Rascher 1888:193; Sanborn-Perris 1894:42, 1910:60). The north end of the building behind 1747 N. Arlington Place (now 1710 N. Pulaski Street) housed Dombrowski's carpenter shop and planning mill on the first floor, with a stable on the basement level (Sanborn Map Co. 1894). The building was converted to a duplex in 1912 (Building Permits, 1710 N. Pulaski Street). Soon after, Dombrowski apparently retired from the contracting business, but continued to live at 1847 N. Arlington Place until ca. 1925.

Frank Dombrowski built a number of houses in the East Village Historic District, including the Michael Jozwiak Meat Market and residence at 1728-30 N. Franklin Place (1891) and the Frank Peplinski Duplex at 1734-36 N. Arlington Place (1893) – both designed by Bernard Kolpacki. Dombrowski also built residences at 1748 N. Arlington Place (1891), 1752 N. Arlington Place (1891), 1142-1144 E. Hamilton Street (1894), 1832-34 N. Warren Ave. (1902), and 1736 N. Humboldt Ave. (1890).

Summary

The East Village Historic District is significant as a representative example of an early immigrant neighborhood, which preserves the character of a nineteenth century urban "village." The District has undergone continuous change since the 1870s. While many of the individual buildings lack integrity and distinction, the District as a whole serves as a vivid reminder of the once-vibrant ethnic community that inhabited them. Distinctive physical characteristics include proximity to a magnificent church, an irregular street pattern, unusually high housing density, irregular lot sizes and setbacks, evidence of additive building practices, a large number of moved buildings, intermingling of residential and commercial structures, juxtaposition of vernacular and high style buildings, and unique architectural forms like the "Polish flat."

The East Village Historic District grew out of the resourcefulness and determination of its immigrant founders. With limited financial resources, but an abiding mistrust of debt, they followed a "pay as you go" building strategy that enabled them to own their own homes and provided a measure

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of financial security. The historic character of the district is expressed by the compact aggregate of "Polish flats," workers' cottages with multiple additions, rear houses, duplexes, family businesses and moved houses. Together with the irregular streets, uneven setbacks, and general appearance of disorder, they testify to a rugged pragmatism on the part of the early residents, and give voice to the creative spirit that enabled poor immigrants to achieve financial independence in the context of a close-knit ethnic community.

The district is significant under Criterion A as the most compact concentration of Polish settlement in the city of Milwaukee. The district maintained its ethnic identity through the presence of the St. Hedwig's Church complex, through social organizations, such as the benefit societies, and by the settlement pattern that reflected traditional living conditions. This included the clustering of multiple buildings on the lots and the presence of agricultural practices within a compact urban environment. The district is further significant under Criterion C for its distinctive concentration of vernacular building forms. Some, such as the "Polish flat," are associated with Polish immigrant neighborhoods. Architecturally the neighborhood also reflects the practice of evolving house forms; small cottages acquired raised basements and extensions to provide additional dwelling units. It is these alterations which make the district unique and represent the neighborhood's heritage.

Criteria Consideration B

Ordinarily buildings that have been moved are not considered to be eligible for listing. In this neighborhood, the consideration does not apply. The buildings in the district were moved within the period of significance and reflect the history and character of the settlement of the district.

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Preservation Activity

The recent improvements and expansion of businesses along nearby East Brady Street have resulted in growing interest in the East Village neighborhood. Several houses are in the process of renovation. It is anticipated that development pressures will increase in the neighborhood as it gains in popularity.

Archaeological Potential

There are no recorded archaeological sites within the district. The area surrounding the East Village Historic District has seen intense settlement since the 1870s. Because of the number of houses that have been constructed and moved on their lots and within the district there is little probability of prehistoric resources. It is highly probable that historic era foundations and other artifacts may be found throughout the district.

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- 1871 "New Church," November 6, 1871, p. 5.
- 1874 "The Polacks," November 30, 1874, p. 2.
- 1875 "Contracts for Sewers Awarded," June 2, 1875, p. 5.
- 1880 November 24, 1880, p. 8.
- 1885 "Sniff at Many Smells," June 22, 1885, p. 3.
- 1885a "Pulaski Gully Surprised," June 24, 1885, p. 5.
- 1885b "The Pulaski Gully Cholera-Breeder," July 31, 1885, p. 7.
- 1885c "Poles Up In Arms," September 21, 1885, p. 1.
- 1885d "Round About Town," October 8, 1885, p. 3.
- 1885e December 18, 1885, p. 2.

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BOUNDARIES

Boundary Description

Begin at the southwest corner of 1728 N. Humboldt Ave. and proceed north to the northwest corner of 1100-1102 E. Kane Place; proceed northeast, along the rear lot lines of 1100 E. Kane Pl. - 1300 E. Kane Pl. and Caesar's Park, to the northwest corner of Caesar's Park; proceed east along the north boundary of Caesar's Park to the northeast corner; then south along the east boundary of Caesar's Park to the southwest corner of 1354 E. Boylston St.; then east to the southeast corner of 1354 E. Boylston St.; then south along the east property lines to the southeast corner of 1724 N. Warren Ave.; then west to the southwest corner of 1725-27 N. Warren Ave.; then north to the southeast corner of 1726 N. Arlington Pl.; then west to the southwest corner of 1726 N. Arlington Pl.; then south to a point directly east of the south property line of a parking lot at 1715 N. Arlington Pl. (here the boundary runs along the north boundary of the East Brady Street Historic District); then west to the southwest corner of 1715 N. Arlington Pl.; then north to the northwest corner of 1715 N. Arlington Pl.; then west to the southwest corner of 1719-21 N. Arlington Pl.; then north to the northwest corner of 1719-21 N. Arlington Pl.; then west to the northwest corner of 1218-20 E. Brady St.; then south to the southeast corner of 1712 N. Franklin Pl.; then west to the northwest corner of 1214-16 E. Brady St.; then south to the northeast corner of 1208-12 E. Brady St.; then west to the northwest corner of 1200-04 E. Brady St.; (leaving the Brady St., East Village shared boundary); then north to a point directly east of the south property line of 1725 N. Franklin Pl.; then west to the southwest corner of 1725 N. Franklin Pl.; then north to the northwest corner of 1725 N. Franklin Pl.; then west to the southwest corner of 1729-31 N. Franklin Pl.; then north to the southeast corner of 1728 N. Humboldt Ave.; then west to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification

The boundaries of the East Village Historic District contain all the land historically associated with the District's individual resources, and coincide with the boundaries of the locally designated East Village Conservation District. The south boundary is bordered by Brady St., which is already listed as a separate NRHP historic district. The north boundary is the rear lot lines of properties bordering on the Milwaukee River. The west boundary is the east side of Humboldt Avenue, a major thoroughfare. Although Polish settlement and associated building types were continuous across Humboldt Avenue north of Brady St., the density of building types characteristic of the East Village Historic District is somewhat attenuated west of Humboldt Ave. In the twentieth century, this area also became a center of Italian population, to a greater degree than the area east of Humboldt Ave. Beyond the District's east boundary, which runs between N. Warren Ave. and N. Cambridge St., development begins to take on a more affluent character, with larger lots and generally more substantial buildings.

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For all photos:

- 1) East Village Historic District
- 2) Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, WI
- 3) Susan G. Mikoś
- 4) Wisconsin Historical Society

Photo 1

- 5) February 2, 2003
- 6) N. Pulaski St., from E. Kane Pl., View SE
- 7) 1 of 20

Photo 2

- 4) February 2, 2003
- 6) 1834-36, 1836A, 1836B N. Pulaski St., View SE
- 8) 2 of 20

Photo 3

- 4) February 2, 2003
- 6) 1132, 1136, 1140, 1144 E. Kane Pl, View NE
- 7) 3 of 20

Photo 4

- 4) February 2, 2003
- 6) 1327, 1323, 1321, 1317, 1315 E. Kane Pl., View SW
- 7) 4 of 20

Photo 5

- 4) February 2, 2003
- 6) 1756, 1752, 1748, 1744 N. Arlington Pl., View SE
- 8) 5 of 20

Photo 6

- 4) February 2, 2003
- 5) 1874-76, 1872, 1870, 1866, 1864, 1858-62 N. Warren Ave., View SE
- 8) 6 of 20

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Photo 7

- 4) February 2, 2003
- 5) 1906-08, 1900-02, 1874-76 N. Warren Ave., View E
- 6) 7 of 20

Photo 8

- 4) December 17, 2003
- 5) 1858-62, 1862A N. Warren Ave., View NE
- 6) 8 of 20

Photo 9

- 4) December 17, 2003
- 5) 1213 E. Kane Pl., View SW
- 6) 9 of 20

Photo 10

- 4) December 17, 2003
- 5) 1842 N. Warren Ave., View NE
- 6) 10 of 20

Photo 11

- 4) December 17, 2003
- 5) 1832-34, 1838-40 N. Warren Ave., View NE
- 6) 11 of 20

Photo 12

- 4) December 17, 2003
- 5) 1800, 1766-68 N. Warren Ave., View NE
- 6) 12 of 20

Photo 13

- 4) December 17, 2003
- 5) 1821-21A, 1823 N. Warren Ave., View W
- 6) 13 of 20

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Photo 14

- 4) December 17, 2002
- 5) 1729-31 N. Pulaski St., View S
- 6) 14 of 20

Photo 15

- 4) December 17, 2002
- 5) 1824, 1816-22 N. Humboldt Ave., View NE
- 6) 15 of 20

Photo 16

- 4) December 17, 2002
- 5) 1108, 1108A, 1110-12, 1116, 1122, 1130 N. Hamilton St., View NE
- 6) 16 of 20

Photo 17

- 4) December 2, 2002
- 5) 1860-62 N. Arlington Pl., View SE
- 6) 17 of 20

Photo 18

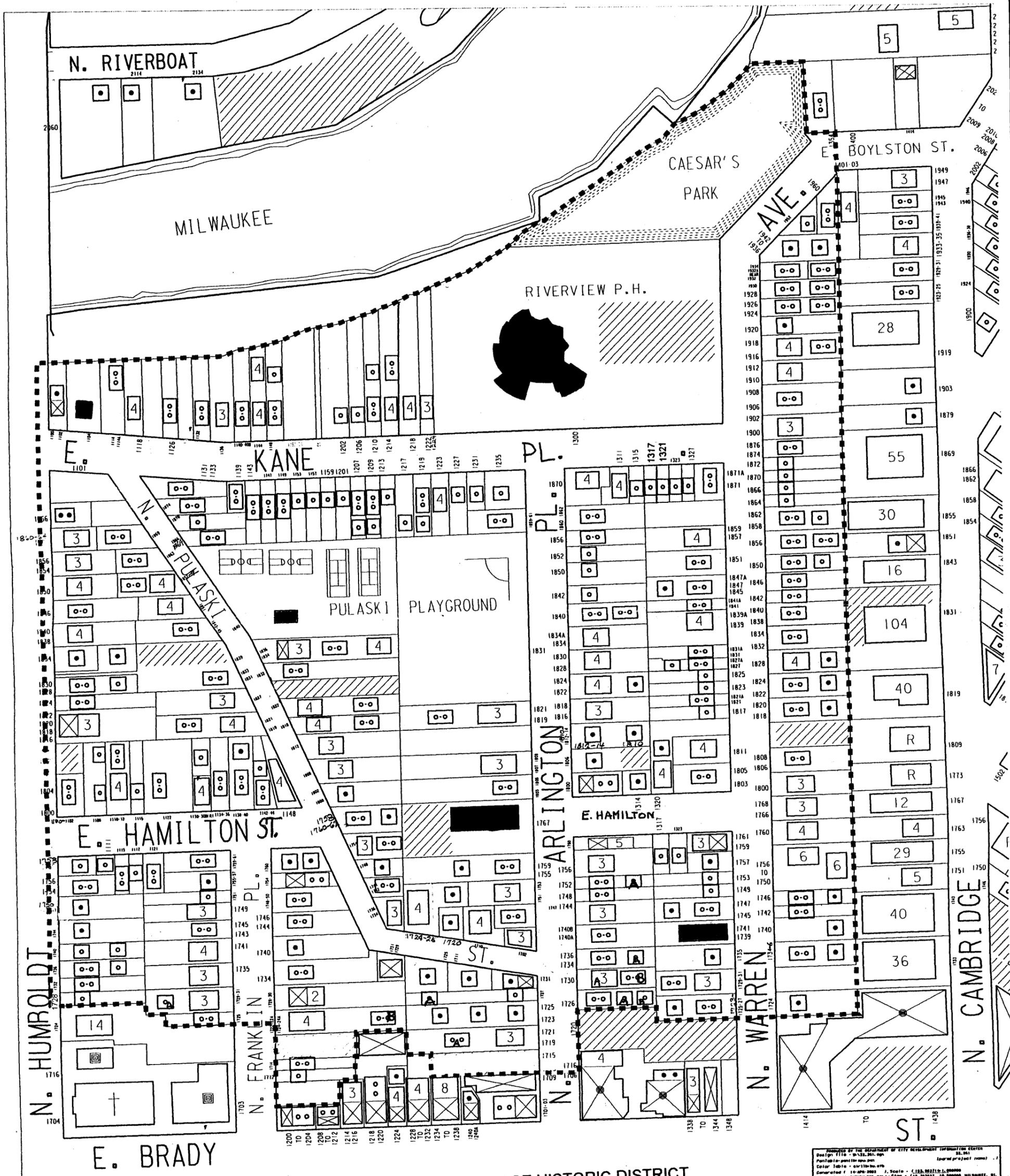
- 4) December 2, 2002
- 5) 1806 N. Arlington Pl., View NE
- 6) 18 of 20

Photo 19

- 4) December 2, 2002
- 5) 1729-31, 1735 N. Franklin Pl., View SW
- 6) 19 of 20

Photo 20

- 4) December 2, 2002
- 5) 1722-24, 1728-30 N. Franklin Pl., View E
- 6) 20 of 20



EAST VILLAGE HISTORIC DISTRICT
MILWAUKEE, MILWAUKEE COUNTY
WISCONSIN

NO SCALE

- Contributing
- Non-Contributing
- Boundaries

Prepared by the Department of City Development (Information Section)
 Design: 1118 - 8/13/81, 8/14/81
 Plotting: 1118 - 8/13/81, 8/14/81
 Color: 1118 - 8/13/81, 8/14/81
 Checked: 1118 - 8/13/81, 8/14/81
 Group: 1118 - 8/13/81, 8/14/81