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# Racially Restrictive Covenants: The Making of All-White Suburbs in Milwaukee County

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# metropolitan integration research center

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## RACIALLY RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS: THE MAKING OF ALL-WHITE SUBURBS IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY

"No Persons other than the white race shall own or occupy any building on said tract, but this covenant shall not prevent occupancy of persons of a race other than the white race who are domestic servants of the owner or occupant of said buildings."  
(Crestview Acres #2, Greendale, recorded July 29, 1958)

In the 1900's throughout the United States, real estate operators, local real estate boards, financial institutions and title companies joined to keep black families out of residential areas through use of the race restrictive covenant.<sup>1</sup> This agreement, usually drawn up before residential land was subdivided, required all subsequent owners not to sell, lease or otherwise convey their property to certain groups for a specified time period, often 20-25 years.

Reflecting on the effectiveness of the racially restrictive covenant in keeping black families out of suburbs and newer subdivisions, Robert C. Weaver wrote,

"It seems apparent, in retrospect, that the rise of racial covenants and other instruments of enforced segregation was more the result of manipulation than the reflection of a spontaneous movement. Intense resistance to the concept of Negro neighbors was usually concentrated in given neighborhoods. It became widespread only after the professional advocates of enforced residential segregation had spent much time and money to propagandize its necessity and desirability. The fact that many of those to whom the propaganda was addressed were insecure whites intent on and anxious in effecting social and economic mobility assumed a responsive audience."<sup>2</sup>

By the 1940's at least sixteen of the eighteen Milwaukee County suburbs were using racially restrictive covenants to exclude black families from residential areas. (We have not located racially restrictive covenants on subdivisions in Oak Creek or River Hills.) For example, subdivisions established in 1927 in Cudahy, Shorewood, West Milwaukee, Whitefish Bay, and Wauwatosa excluded all non-Caucasian families. In the 1930's subdivisions created in Bayside, Fox Point,

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Glendale, Greenfield, Hales Corners, St. Francis and South Milwaukee categorically excluded blacks. In the 1940's Brown Deer, Franklin, Greendale, Hales Corners, St. Francis, and West Allis were still using covenants to exclude blacks from newly created subdivisions. As late as 1958, ten years after the United State Supreme Court outlawed judicial enforcement of these covenants, race restrictions were recorded in the courthouse for a new subdivision in Greendale.

Many of the racially restrictive covenants on Milwaukee area subdivisions extended into the late 1960's and mid-1970's. Several are still in effect\* today. For example, the restrictions placed on the George T. Hansen Subdivision in South Milwaukee in 1937 are in effect\* until January 1, 2024. Wellauer's Park Addition Number 5 in Wauwatosa has restrictions with a stated life until January 1, 1980. At least six subdivisions in Wauwatosa contain covenants with automatic extensions renewing them to the present time.

\*i.e., recorded at the county courthouse as still in effect.

#### Wauwatosa: A Case Study of Exclusion

A study of the contracted deeds for all subdivisions in the City of Wauwatosa shows the extent to which racial restrictions effected the racial make-up of the community. Fifty-one of the 100 subdivisions with restrictive covenants include clauses that prohibit ownership or residence by persons not of the white race. These racial restrictions were initiated by 27 realty companies and 24 individual land owners. (Wauwatosa shows a total of 388 subdivisions. 216 had no restrictions whatsoever, 65 were not listed in the Milwaukee County tract records, 5 were listed as vacated, 1 had no tract number, and 1 had a wrong listing of the tract record.)

These racial restrictions become more significant when the racially restricted areas are charted out on a map of the community. Excluding the parkway systems, Milwaukee County institutions grounds, country clubs and industrial districts which dominate a significant amount of land (approximately 1/3 of the city), racial restrictions appear on about half of the remaining land. Two major clusters of restricted areas are apparent in northern and southwestern Wauwatosa.

The first racial restriction in Wauwatosa was placed on the Washington Highlands Subdivision in 1919. This covenant stated:

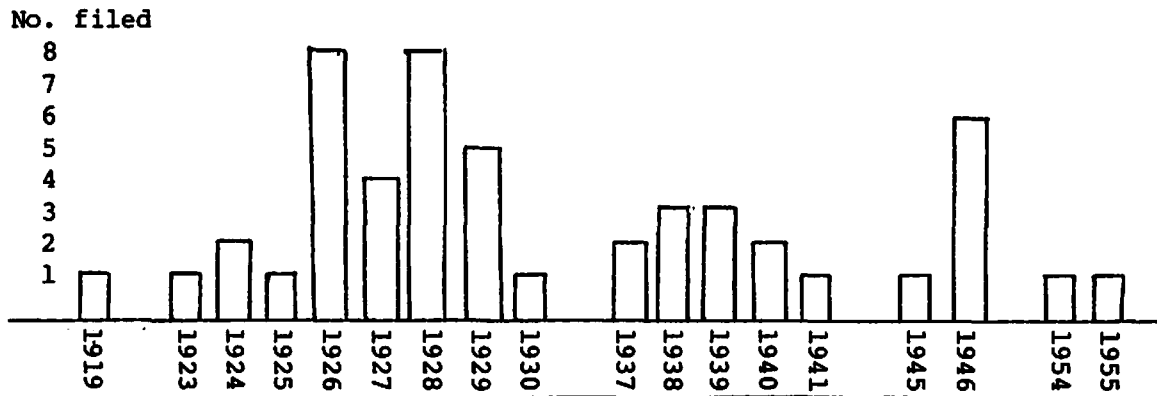
"At no time shall the land included in Washington Highlands or any part thereof, or any building thereon be purchased, owned, leased or occupied by any person other than of white race. This prohibition is not intended to include domestic servants while employed by the owner or occupied by and [sic] land included in the tract." (Vol. 803, Page 205)

The deeds stated that these restrictions would run with the land until January 1, 1950, with automatic renewal for 20 year terms unless five

years prior to a term's expiration the owners of 60% of the acreage executed an agreement releasing the land.

Twenty-nine subdivisions created during Wauwatosa's main growing years of the 1920's had racial restrictions against black families. Nine more subdivisions created in the 1930's excluded blacks, and three new subdivisions filed with the county in the early 1940's contained clauses excluding non-white families. After World War II, black families were excluded from seven subdivisions developed from 1945-1949. Two additions created in the 1950's, six years after the Supreme Court's ruling against government enforcement of racially restrictive covenants, still provided 20-year prohibitions against black ownership or occupancy of homes in their subdivisions.

Racially Restrictive Covenants Filed for Wauwatosa Subdivisions  
1919-1955



### Legality of Racial Restrictive Covenants

Although racially restrictive covenants involved private contracts among landowners, they were recorded with the county register of deeds and enforced by the courts when violated. In 1942, for example, the Wisconsin Supreme Court held that a black man was prohibited from building a cabin of less than \$600 value on a Wisconsin Lake, although whites could do so under the racially restrictive covenants governing this lakefront property. (Doherty v. Rice, 240 Wis. 389) White homeowners who sold homes to blacks in restricted areas could be fined by courts and the sale prohibited for violating their contracts. For over thirty years the full weight of state and federal courts were used to keep minorities out of many suburban areas as well as new subdivisions in central cities.

In 1948 in the Shelley v. Kraemer decision (334 U.S. 24), the U.S. Supreme Court held for the first time that judicial enforcement of racially restrictive covenants on land deeds was unconstitutional. Although this decision established that racially restrictive covenants

could have no effect on title or ownership, developers continued to record such covenants in Milwaukee County and throughout the country.

In 1972 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit held that the mere recording of racially restrictive covenants was a violation of Title VIII of the 1968 Fair Housing Law (Mayers v. Ridley, 465 F. 2d 630, D.C. Cir. 1972). In this case the court cited the Fair Housing Act's provision making it unlawful to print or publish any statement "with respect to the sale or rental of a dwelling that indicates any preference, limitation, or discrimination based on race...." (42 U.S.C.P. 3604[c]) The court ruled that this provision prohibits the recorder of deeds from accepting covenants which contain racially restrictive provisions. The court rejected the recorder of deed's argument that reviewing and marking restrictive covenants as unenforceable would cause administrative inconvenience. "... (S)urely appellees do not mean to contend that they can go on violating the constitutional and statutory rights of black citizens because such violations suit the Recorder's administrative convenience." (465 F. 2d at 641) The court enjoined the recorder of deeds from accepting for filing any instruments containing racially restrictive covenants and required him to mark such instruments in volumes in which they are recorded to indicate that they are void and unenforceable.

Wisconsin has had no cases regarding the Register of Deeds' responsibility in recording illegal racial restrictions. In a Wisconsin Attorney General's Opinion of April 10, 1972, Robert Warren ruled that the Register of Deeds in Dodge County did not have the authority to correct a typist's error in recording a deed made by the register's predecessor. (61 Atty. Gen. 189-191) The Wisconsin statute establishing the duty of the Register of Deeds provides, however, that:

"The Register of deeds shall: (1) Record or cause to be recorded in suitable books to be kept in his office, correctly and legibly all deeds, mortgages, maps, instruments and writings authorized by law to be recorded in his office and left with him for that purpose.... (Wis. Statutes 59.51, underlining added)

As racially restrictive covenants violate the Federal Fair Housing Law of 1968 they are not "authorized by law," according to the Mayers decision.

#### Sources

- 1 Robert C. Weaver, The Negro Ghetto (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948), p. 39.
- 2 Ibid., 39-40.

Properties with Racial Restrictions  
in Wauwatosa

Year Recorded	Name of Subdivision	Name of Owner/Realty Co.	Length of Term of Original Language
May 6, 1919	Washington Highlands	Washington Highlands	Jan. 1, 1950#
May 15, 1923	Elmhurst	Nicholas Ewens	Jan. 1, 1948
Jan 22, 1924	Beverly Hills	Beverly Hills Inc.	Jan. 1, 1970#
Jan 23, 1924	David V. Jennings's Park	Otto Essman	Jan. 1, 1970
Nov 10, 1925	Lewark's Subd.	Chauncey Lewark	Jan. 1, 1948
Feb 17, 1926	Rogers Park	Joseph M. Guentner	Jan. 1, 1976
March 10, 1926	Ridgewood	Essex Realty Co.	50 years (1976)
June 10, 1926	Ritter Jackson Park	Ritter Jackson Park Realty Co.	Jan. 1, 1975
June 14, 1926	Ritter Rue Royale	Stephen P. Croft	Jan. 1, 1975
July 16, 1926	Sheraton Lawns	Chauncey Lewark	Jan. 1, 1970
Oct 15, 1926	Currieton	Bond Inc.	25 years (1951)
Oct 28, 1926	Blue Mound Manor	Blue Mound Land Co.	Jan. 1, 1970
Nov 17, 1926	Westgate	Maude O. Hayes	Jan. 1, 1945
May 5, 1927	Zinger & Braun's Homeland Estates	Enterprise Investment Co.	Jan. 1, 1975
July 21, 1927	Park Ridge	Boulevard-Lane Realty Co.	June 1, 1962
Nov 11, 1927	Washington Gardens	Washington Gardens, Inc.	Jan. 1, 1946
Nov 17, 1927	Zinger & Braun's Grand Rue	Enterprise Investment Co.	Jan. 1, 1975

#These subdivisions contain automatic extensions of the restrictions and are still in effect.

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Properties with Racial Restrictions  
in Wauwatosa

Year Recorded	Name of Subdivision	Name of Owner/Realty Co.	Length of Term of Original Language
Jan 9, 1928	Highland Park No. 5	Commonwealth Realty Co.	Jan. 1, 1955
Jan 9, 1928	Highland Park No. 6	Commonwealth Realty Co.	Jan. 1, 1955
March 29, 1928	North Ave. Gardens	Benjamin Salvin	Jan. 1, 1955
June 18, 1928	Colonial Highlands	Burleigh Realty Co., Inc.	Jan. 1, 1975
Sept 27, 1928	University Lawns	Jos. Ornstine Realty Co., Inc.	none mentioned
Oct 16, 1928	North Ave. Manor	North Ave. Manor Co.	Jan. 1, 1946
Dec 4, 1928	Washington Gardens #2	Realty Syndicate of Amer., Inc.	Jan. 1, 1946
Dec 4, 1928	Blue Mound Vista	Blue Mound Ridge Inc.	25 years (1953)
March 23, 1929	Country Club Subd.	BST Realty Co.	25 years (1954)
June 22, 1929	Highland Park No. 7	Commonwealth Realty, Inc.	Jan. 1, 1955
July 20, 1929	North Ave Gardens No. 2	Alfred Realty Co.	Jan. 1, 1960
July 20, 1929	Ridgedale	Blink-Albert Co.	Jan. 1, 1954
Oct 18, 1929	Wellauer's Park Add. No. 5	Magdalena Wellauer	Jan. 1, 1980
Nov 26, 1930	Beverly Hills Add.	Beverly Hills Inc.	Jan. 1, 1955#
May 26, 1937	Hampton Ave. Heights	Henry J. Wrede	Jan. 1, 1948
July 22, 1937	Pasadena	David M. Swan	50 years (1987)
March 28, 1938	Hannaford's Spring Crest	Frank H. Hannaford	25 years (1962)
May 6, 1938	Fisher's Wood	William E. Fisher	Jan. 2, 1980

#These subdivisions contain automatic extensions of the restrictions and are still in effect.

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Properties with Racial Restrictions  
in Wauwatosa

Year Recorded	Name of Subdivision	Name of Owner/Realty Co.	Length of Term of Original Language
May 26, 1938	Livingston Park	Hugo A. Berndt	July 1, 1968
May 3, 1939	Joseph Smith's Subd.	Arthur Realty Co.	Jan. 1, 1964
May 10, 1939	Arend Place	George Reinders	Jan. 1, 1987
Nov 28, 1939	Lovers Lane Estates	John Drefahl	Jan. 1, 1965
Sept 13, 1940	Flordale	Parkway Development	Jan. 1, 1966#
Sept 13, 1940	Homewood	Wm. C. Sisco	Jan. 1, 1966#
April 14, 1941	Hampton Ave. Heights Add.	Strandberg Realty Inc.	Jan. 1, 1965
May 7, 1945	Brooklyn Terrace	Agnes Reuter	Jan. 1960
June 12, 1946	Westfield	William Prill	20 years (1966)
August 8, 1946	Ridge Blvd. Estates	Geo. Hummert	Jan. 1, 1970
Sept 23, 1946	Lover's Lane Estates Add. #1	John Drefahl	Jan. 1, 1965#
Nov 1, 1946	Zinger & Braun's Ruby Lawn	Zinger & Braun Mortgage Co.	Jan. 1, 1975
Dec 18, 1946	Greenwood Estate	Walnut Hill Co.	Jan. 1, 1977
August 8, 1949	Menomonee Fields	John Braun	Aug. 1, 1999
Feb 16, 1954	Schubert's Woodside Add. No. 1	Raymond W. Schubert	20 years (1974)
May 9, 1955	Schubert's Woodside	Raymond W. Schubert	20 years (1975)

#These subdivisions contain automatic extensions of the restrictions and are still in effect.

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Samples of Racial Restrictions  
Found in the Milwaukee County Suburbs

Bayside

Subdivision: Continuation of Bayside

"4. That all the sections within which the aforementioned lots are located shall be maintained exclusively as a first-class residential section to be owned, used, and occupied only by members of the white race, unless the majority of the owners at any time owning property in said sections otherwise consent in writing. It is not intended hereby, however, to so restrict the occupancy of any part of said premises, or any part thereof, by domestic employees of a different race employed by an owner or occupant of said premises."

Vol. 1578 Page 316

Developer: The Suburban Investment Co.

Date recorded: August 2, 1939

Length of term: Jan. 1, 1965

Brown Deer

Subdivision: Kirkwood

"5. No race other than the Caucasian race shall use or occupy any building or any lot in said subdivision, however, this covenant shall not prevent the occupancy of domestic servants of a different race employed by an owner or tenant."

Vol. 2186 Page 93

Major landowner: Meta S. Krause (signed by all the landowners)

Date recorded: Dec. 17, 1945

Length of term: Jan. 1, 1970

Cudahy

Subdivision: Lincoln Terrace

"None of the buildings erected upon or in this subdivision shall be used to house either for business purposes or residence purpose any colored persons or other outside the Caucasian race, and the conveyance of any lot or lots in violation of the restriction shall ipso facto constitute a forfeiture."

Vol. 1219 Page 476

Developer: Jerome C. Dretzka Co.

Date Recorded: May 16, 1927

Length of Term: 25 years (1952)

Fox Point

Subdivision: Bruss-Fox Point Estates

"6. No part of said premises shall be owned or occupied by any person other than of Caucasian race; provided, however, that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race or nationality employed by an owner or tenant."

Vol. 1595 Page 91  
Owner: Douglas I. Schaus  
Date Recorded: Nov. 15, 1939  
Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1965

Franklin

Subdivision: Whitnall Park Heights

"6. No part of said subdivision shall be conveyed, leased or occupied by other than a person of the Caucasian race, except that servants may be of any nationality while regularly employed by the owner or occupant of the premises."

Vol. 2347 Page 523  
Owner: William Ritzman  
Date Recorded: March 14, 1947  
Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1975

Glendale

Subdivision: Bender's Subdivision

"5. No part of said premises shall be owned or occupied by any person other than of Caucasian race, provided, however, that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race or nationality employed by an owner or tenant."

Vol. 1577 Page 22  
Owner: R. P. Bender  
Date Recorded: August 14, 1939  
Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1965

Greendale

Subdivision: Crestview Acres #2

"5. No Persons other than the white race shall own or occupy any building on said tract, but this covenant shall not prevent occupancy of persons of a race other than the white race who are domestic servants of the owner or occupant of said building."

Vol. 3058 Page 602

Owner: Elroy H. Barbian

Date Recorded: July 29, 1958

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1975

Subdivision: Crestview Heights

"7. No persons other than the white race shall own or occupy any building on said tract, but this covenant shall not prevent occupancy of persons of a race other than the white race who are domestic servants of the owner or occupant of said building."

Vol. 2373 Page 441

Owner: Elroy H. Barbian

Date Recorded: August 8, 1946

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1971 (then terminated)

Subdivision: Crestview Acres #1

"5. No Persons other than the white race shall own or occupy any building on said tract, but this covenant shall not prevent occupancy of persons of a race other than the white race who are domestic servants of the owner or occupant of said building."

Vol. 2761 Page 459

Owner: Elroy H. Barbian

Date Recorded: January 29, 1950

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1975 (automatic renewal 5 years each thereafter)

Subdivision: Crestview Acres #3

"5. No Persons other than the white race shall own or occupy any building on said tract, but this covenant shall not prevent occupancy of persons of a race other than the white race who are domestic servants of the owner or occupant of said building."

Vol. 3239 Page 351  
 Owner: Elroy H. Barbian  
 Date Recorded: November 30, 1953  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1978

### Greenfield

Subdivision: Boulder Lane Park, Crestview Acres #3

"(5) Only members of the Caucasian race shall use or occupy any dwelling in said tract, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race or nationality employed by an owner or tenant."

Vol. 1533 Page 320  
 Developer: Ralph E. Moody  
 Date Recorded: Feb. 16, 1939  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1964

### Hales Corners

Subdivision: Boulder Lane Park

"(5) Only members of the Caucasian race shall use or occupy any dwelling in said tract, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race or nationality employed by an owner or tenant."

Vol. 1533 Page 319  
 Owner: Ralph E. Moody  
 Date Recorded: Feb. 10, 1939  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1964

\*Note: At the time the contract was written, the subdivision was located in the Town of Greenfield. Hales Corners was incorporated in 1952.

**Subdivision: Park View Acres**

"7. At no time shall any such lot or any buildings thereon be purchased, owned, leased, occupied, or used by any person other than of the white race. This provision shall not apply to domestic servants who may be employed by the owner or occupant of any such lot or building thereon."

Vol. 2159 Page 483  
 Owner: Parkway View Inc.  
 Date Recorded: October 4, 1945  
 Length of Term: no terminating date mentioned

**Subdivision: Blossom Heath Subdivision**

"9. At no time shall any such lot or any building thereon, be purchased, owned, leased, occupied, or used by any person other than of the white race. This provision shall not apply to domestic servants who may be employed by the owner or occupant of any such building thereon."

Vol. 1172 Page 34  
 Owner: Albert E. Copeland  
 Date Recorded: January 31, 1927  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1970

**Subdivision: Hawthorne Heights**

"5. At no time shall any such lot or any building thereon be purchased, owned, leased, occupied, or used by any person other than of the white race."

Vol. 1173 Page 579  
 Owner: Rudolph H. Malisch  
 Date Recorded: July 12, 1927  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1950

Subdivision: E-Jays

"6. At no time shall any such property or any building thereon be occupied, or used by any person other than of the white race. This provision shall not apply to domestic servants who may be employed by the owner or occupant of any such tract or building located thereon."

Vol. 2271 Page 97  
 Owner: Carol Archambault  
 Date Recorded: Aug. 6, 1946  
 Length of Term: June 1, 1976 (30 years)

Oak Creek

No racial restrictions were found.

River Hills

No racial restrictions were found.

St. Francis

Subdivision: Assessment Subd. #94

"5. No person of any race other than the white race shall use or occupy any building or any lot except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant."

Vol. 1654 Page 191  
 Developer: Hopeland Land Co.  
 Date Recorded: Nov. 17, 1940  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1966, with automatic 10 year extensions

Subdivision: St. Francis Hill

"(e) No lot or building erected on any lot shall be bought, owned, occupied, rented, or leased by any person other than one of the Caucasian race, but this condition shall not apply to domestic servants, who may be employed by buyer or occupant."

Vol. 2506 Page 367\*

Owner: Theodore Kryzinski (majority landowner)

Date Recorded: March 11, 1938

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1962

\*Vol. 1591, page 231 records a revision of ownership on October 27, 1939, of part of the subdivision to Nettie Schnerbrush.

### Shorewood

Subdivision: Lake Bluff No. 2

"Article II. At no time shall any portion of said Subdivision or any improvements erected thereon, be occupied by, or sold, conveyed, mortgaged, pledged, rented or leased in whole or in part, to any person of Negro or Ethiopian descent, provided, however, this is not intended to include or prevent occupancy by such person as a domestic servant or while actually employed in or about the premises by the owner or occupant thereof."

Vol. 1171 Page 391

Developer: Lieber and Safir Co.

Date Recorded: March 4, 1927

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1946

### South Milwaukee

Subdivision: George T. Hansen

"4. At no time shall Lot of any building thereon be purchased, owned, leased, occupied or used by any person other than citizen of the United States of America, of the White Race. This provision shall not apply to domestic servants which may be employed by the owner or occupant of any such Lot or building thereon."

Vol. 1497 Page 455

Owner: George Hansen

Date Recorded: Dec. 13, 1937

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 2024

Wauwatosa

Subdivision: Beverly Hills

"IV LIMITATION OF OWNERSHIP At no time shall the land included in Beverly Hills or any part thereof or any building thereon, be purchased, owned, leased or occupied by any other person other than of the White Race. This prohibition is not intended to include domestic servants while employed by the owner or occupant of any land included on the tract."

Vol. 1000 Page 488

Developer: Beverly Hills Inc.

Date Recorded: Jan. 22, 1924

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1970 (with automatic renewal for 20 years)

Subdivision: David V. Jennings Park

"At no time shall any such lot, or building thereon, be purchased, owned, leased, occupied, or used by any person other than of the white race. This provision shall not apply to domestic servants, who may be employed by the owner or occupant of such lot or building thereon."

Vol. 1000 Page 512

Owner: Otto Essmann

Date Recorded: Jan. 23, 1924

Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1970

Subdivision: Washington Heights

"Article IV LIMITATION OF OWNERSHIP At no time shall the land included in Washington Highlands or any part thereof, or any buildings thereon be purchased, owned, leased, or occupied by any person other than of white race. This prohibition is not intended to include domestic servants while employed by the owner or occupant of any land included in this tract."

Vol. 803 Page 209

Developer: Washington Highlands Co.

Date Recorded: May 6, 1919

Length of Term: Jan 1, 1950 (with automatic 20 year renewals)



Wauwatosa

Subdivision: Ridgewood

"None of the buildings erected upon or in this subdivision shall be used to house either for business purposes or residence purposes, any colored persons or others outside the Caucasian race, and the conveyance or any lot or lots in violation of this restriction shall ipso facto constitute a forfeiture. All of the remaining lots in said subdivision not hereinbefore specifically expected shall be used for one family residences exclusively."

Vol. 1134 Page 130  
 Developer: Essex Realty Co.  
 Date Recorded: March 10, 1926  
 Length of Term: 50 years (1976)

Subdivision: Rogers Park

"LIMITATION OF OWNERSHIP: The ownership of all lots, blocks or parts of lots in Rogers Park shall be forever restricted to persons of the White or Caucasian Race, and no lot, block or part of lot in said Rogers Park or any building thereon, may ever be purchased, owned, leaded or occupied by any person who is not of the White or Caucasian Race. This restrictions is not intended to include domestic servants employed by the owner or occupant of any lot in said Rogers Park."

Vol. 1134 Page 99  
 Owner: Joseph M. Guentner  
 Date Recorded: Feb. 17, 1926  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1976

Subdivision: Lewark's Subdivision

"This land shall never be occupied by or conveyed to a colored person."

Vol. 1160 Page 613  
 Owner: Chauncey Lewark  
 Date Recorded: Nov. 10, 1925  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1948

Subdivision: Washington Gardens

"ARTICLE 8. At no time shall any portion of said subdivision or any improvements erected therein be occupied by or sold, conveyed, mortgaged, pledged, rented, or leased, in whole or in part, to any persons of Negro or Ethiopian descent, provided however, this is not intended to include or prevent occupancy of such persons as a domestic servant or while actually employed in or about the premises by the owner of occupant thereof."

Vol. 1250 Page 35  
 Developer: Washington Gardens, Inc.  
 Date Recorded: Nov. 11, 1927  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1946

Subdivision: Washington Gardens #2

"Article 7. At no time shall any portion of said subdivision or any part therein be occupied by or sold, conveyed, mortgaged, pledged, rented, or leased, in whole or in part, to any persons of Negro or Ethiopian descent, provided however, this is not intended to include or prevent occupancy of such persons as a domestic servant or while actually employed in or about the premises by the owner of occupant thereof."

Vol. 1279 Page 296  
 Developer: Realty Syndicate of America, Inc.  
 Date Recorded: Dec. 4, 1928  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1946

Subdivision: Westgate

"Provided further, that at no time shall the land included in Westgate, or any part thereof, or any building thereon, be purchased, owned or leased or occupied by any person other than of white race. This prohibition is not intended to include domestic servants while employed by the owner or occupant of any land included in this contract."

Vol. 1167 Page 206  
 Owner: Maude O. Hayes  
 Date Recorded: Nov. 17, 1926  
 Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1945

Subdivision: Elmhurst

"PROVIDED, further that at no time shall the land included in Elmhurst, or any part thereof, or any building thereon, be purchased, owned, leased, or occupied by any person other than of white race. This prohibition is not intended to include domestic servants while employed by the owner or occupant of any land included in this tract."

Vol. 956 Page 435  
Owner: Nicholas Ewens  
Date Recorded: May 15, 1923  
Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1948

West Allis

Subdivision: Greenfield Gardens

"No persons of any race other than the white race shall use or occupy any building or any lot except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race domiciled with an owner or tenant."

Vol. 1711 Page 671  
Owner: Walter Lass  
Date Recorded: Nov. 12, 1940  
Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1966

West Milwaukee

Subdivision: Orchard Hill

"5. These premises shall never be occupied or conveyed to a colored person or persons."

Vol. 1177 Page 41  
Owner: Jerry Docekal  
Date Recorded: April 1, 1927  
Length of Term: 35 years (1962)

Whitefish Bay

Subdivision: Bay Ridge Subdivision

"3. No lot or building thereon, if any, shall be occupied or conveyed to a colored person."

Vol. 1221 Page 215  
Owner: William E. Oberly  
Date Recorded: May 29, 1927  
Length of Term: Jan. 1, 1948