

May 2021

Milwaukee's Unequally Gendered Commemorative Street Names (1920-2021)

Ayodeji Oladipo Obayomi
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Geography Commons](#), and the [History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Obayomi, Ayodeji Oladipo, "Milwaukee's Unequally Gendered Commemorative Street Names (1920-2021)" (2021). *Theses and Dissertations*. 2820.
<https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/2820>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by UWM Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UWM Digital Commons. For more information, please contact scholarlycommunicationteam-group@uwm.edu.

MILWAUKEE'S UNEQUALLY GENDERED COMMEMORATIVE
STREET NAMES (1920-2021)

by

Ayodeji Obayomi

A Thesis Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science
in Urban Studies

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2021

ABSTRACT

MILWAUKEE'S UNEQUALLY GENDERED COMMEMORATIVE STREET NAMES (1920-2021)

by

Ayodeji Obayomi

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2021
Under the Supervision of Professor Amanda I. Seligman

Urban commemorative spaces have consistently shown vast gender disparities through the domination of men at the expense of women; this is evident in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. This thesis employed an archival research method to locate useful primary materials from the City of Milwaukee (which included the Common Council Proceedings) and from other sources. In addition, I employed a geographical information system to visualize gender disparity and also express the spatial distribution of the identified commemorative streets. The study argues (among other ideas) that commemorative street naming is problematically gendered.

Of the 233 commemorative street names given between 1920 and 2021 in Milwaukee across three different naming periods, a grand total of 185 streets, constituting a staggering 79.40 percent, memorialized men; while 48 streets, which only made up 20.6 percent of the total streets, commemorated women. From the total 113.55 miles of the total streets' length, 94.33 miles (83.07%) commemorated men, while an almost insignificant 19.22 miles (16.93%) memorialized women. This gender gap was evident across the various hierarchies of streets analyzed. This shows that Milwaukee is a pervasively patriarchal city. An equitable intervention is urgently needed for a just city. Therefore, I employed Fainstein's Just City principles alongside others, to argue for gender fairness in the city.

To my wife

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract	ii
List of Figures	vi
List of Tables	ix
Acknowledgements	x

CHAPTER

I.	Research Background.....	1
	Research Question.....	3
	Research Objectives.....	4
	Research Methods and Data Collection Process.....	4
	Data Analyses.....	6
	Street Names Historiography: A Review of the Literature.....	7
	Street Names: An Aspect of Urban Life.....	8
	Political Connotations of Street Toponyms.....	10
	Commemorative Street Names and the Politics of Identity in Race, Ethnicity, and Gender.....	15
	Race Intersections with Street Memorials.....	15
	Relationship between Ethnicity and Commemorative Street Naming.....	20
	Intersection of the Politics of Gender with Memorial Streets..	22
II.	Milwaukee's Commemorative Street Naming: A Bibliography of the City.....	28
	Establishing a Logical Commemorative Street Naming System for Milwaukee...	30
	Naming Milwaukee's Streets through the Years.....	35
	Institutionalizing Milwaukee's Street Naming Procedure (1920-1990).....	41
	Honoring Famous People.....	42
	Milwaukee's Suburbanization.....	46
	Recognizing the Indigenous Peoples on Milwaukee's Streets.....	49
	Memorializing State Politics on Milwaukee's Street.....	51
	Streets Named for Real Estate Developers, Aldermen, City Engineers and Their Relatives.....	54
	Racial Relations on Milwaukee's Streets.....	58
	Reflection and Obscurement of Gender on Lindsay Street.....	60
	Milwaukee's 3rd Street Leads to King.....	62
	Period of Increasing Democratization of Milwaukee's Street Naming System (1990-2005).....	68
	Smoother Ride for Chavez.....	69
	Preserving Joshua Glover on Reservoir Avenue.....	72
	From the Church to Mothers' Ways.....	76
	Vel Phillips: From being a Woman of Firsts to Marching on Milwaukee, and to the Commemorative Streets.....	79

Honorary Street Naming Period: Less Bottlenecked Democratization (2005-2021)	84
III. Analysis of Gender Inequality in Milwaukee's Commemorative Streets	89
Street Typology and Definition	89
Gender Analysis of Milwaukee's Commemorative Street Names	92
IV. Towards Gender Parity in Milwaukee's Street Names	107
Social Construction of History Making and Preservation in Spaces	110
Towards Just Milwaukee's Commemorative Street Names	122
Diversity in Milwaukee's Street Naming	123
Democracy in Milwaukee's Street Toponyms	128
Equity: An Approach to Spatially Redistribute Milwaukee's Street Names	132
V. Concluding Remarks	137
VI. Bibliography	141
VII. Appendix: Milwaukee's Commemorative Street Names (1920-2021)	153

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Naming process for Renee Street, Milwaukee	37
Figure 2: Portrait of Patrick Cudahy.....	44
Figure 3: Women packing meat at Patrick Cudahy Inc. plant in Cudahy in 1960.....	45
Figure 4: West Langlade Street, Milwaukee, 2020.....	50
Figure 5: Governor John J. Blaine (left) and Mabel Raef Putnam shake hands, after signing the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Act in 1921.....	52
Figure 6: North Blaine Place, Milwaukee, 2020.....	52
Figure 7: City Engineer’s letter to the Milwaukee’s Common Council for Lindsay St.....	61
Figure 8: Bernice Lindsay installing a new plate for North Lindsay Street.....	62
Figure 9: Feminist activist Bernice C. Lindsay.....	63
Figure 10: North Old World Third Street, Milwaukee, 2021.....	68
Figure 11: Cesar Chavez’s statue along Cesar Chavez Drive, Milwaukee, 2021.....	70
Figure 12: Introductory section of Charles Cooney’s (the history teacher) letter to the Common Council in 1994.....	74
Figure 13: Riverside University Highschool students’ petition to change Reservoir Avenue to Glover Avenue.....	75
Figure 14: Milwaukee Marches, 1967.....	81
Figure 15: Vel Phillips (behind) and Fr. Groppi (with the microphone), and the NAACP Youths, leading Milwaukee marches in 1967.....	82
Figure 16: North Vel R. Phillips Avenue, Milwaukee, 2020.....	83
Figure 17: Pastor Joe II and Erma Todd honorary Street (in blue plate), Milwaukee, 2020.....	85
Figure 18: Commemorative street names by gender in Milwaukee, 1920-2021 (green and purple colors represent streets named for women and men respectively).....	104

Figure 19: Spatial distribution of Milwaukee's streets named for women (1920-2021).....	105
Figure 20: Spatial distribution of Milwaukee's streets named for men (1920-2021).....	105

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Distribution of Milwaukee’s Commemorative Streets by Gender (1920-2021).....	101
Table 2: Application of the Just City Principles to Milwaukee’s Street Naming.....	135

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible to acknowledge everybody who has contributed to the success of this research. First off, I would like to show my gratitude to my advisor, Prof. Amanda Seligman for her unwavering support and insightful contributions to this project from the conception of the idea to the finish. The “Street Name” theme in her class – *Seminar on the History of American Urban Problems* – helped me break the inertia of this project. She took her time to read every bit of the thesis multiple times and was consistent in giving constructive feedback. Her patience in helping me transform into historical research method and writing was invaluable. I would also like to thank my other committee members who have been instrumental to this project as well. Prof. Anne Bonds was the first to introduce me to feminist literature, and how gender intersects the physical spaces. The insightful discussions in her class – *Internal Structure of the City* – was personally transformative to me, and an inspiration to this research interest. Also, Prof. Ryan Holifield’s class – *Urban Environmental Change and Social Justice* – gave me great insights into how to go about the normative parts of this research. In addition, the committee members’ feedbacks were imperative to the success of this study.

I would also like to thank archivist Abigail Nye of UWM libraries, for her directives on how and where to search for useful materials. A word of gratitude to Carl Baehr, because he not only wrote a book that formed a foundation of this study, he was also readily available to answer questions of interest. Thanks also to Eileen Lipinski of the Municipal Research Center, City of Milwaukee, the staff at the Office of the City Clerk/City Records Center, staff of Milwaukee County Historical Society and Yance Marti of the City Engineer’s office. They were so helpful in searching for important historical materials for this study. A word of gratitude to my friend and brother (Bernard) for his consistent support both emotionally, socially and to this study,

especially in the technical part of it. My appreciation also goes to Alderperson Milele Coggs. Despite her busy schedule, she created time to participate in this study.

“Thank you,” is all I can say to my parents and siblings back home, who have always been there for me since birth. No amount of appreciation can pay back your sacrifices on me. Thank you for being a family, I miss you all. And, of course, to my partner, wife, and my stand-in mother, no word can express my gratitude to you. Thanks for everything. Lastly, my utmost appreciation goes to my heavenly father, the giver of life, wisdom, knowledge and understanding. Nothing is given unto me except from above. Thank you, Jesus!

Chapter One

Research Background

Gender disparity is the oldest form of inequality in human history, but it has been a much-contested theme in recent decades. Feminists have studied and advocated for experiences of equality in urban spaces. For example, Daphne Spain documented that public spaces such as department stores, club houses, restaurants, and saloons, among others have historically been developed for and by women as spaces of contention and resistance to the pervasive patriarchal systems in cities.¹

Many unequal urban spaces are, however, still understudied, including streets. The “streets,” a generic term used to describe most primary and access lines within the city, are the focus of this research. Joshua Hagen argued that the “streets serve as the equivalent of a skeletal system that structures urban form while simultaneously framing movement and interaction through space.”² The physical layout of the street forms the bedrock of movement within and outside the city, but their nomenclature serves other important aspect of identity and history, which is problematically patriarchal.

Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, for instance, asserted that the system of street naming has been “taken-for-granted” as a means for advocating equality in urban landscapes.³ They opined that commemorative street names are a very important aspect of contentious urban spaces that could be used to resist forms of urban unequal relations. Their use

¹ Daphne Spain, “Women's Rights and Gendered Spaces in 1970s Boston,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 32(1) (2011): 152–178.

² Joshua Hagen, “Book Review: The Political Life of Urban Streetscape,” *Geographical Review* 108 (4) (2018): 634.

³ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, “The Urban Streetscape as Political Cosmos,” in *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place*, ed. Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 2.

in urban spaces for representation could serve as an activism tool to bringing to light the inequality faced in cities. In addition, commemorative street names are a very important network of urban inscriptions that have the potentials to help develop our daily cognitive understanding of the cities. Therefore, they could form active actors of urban dwellers' social and cultural representations, which could be used to discuss their everyday material world (discursive materiality).

This chapter lays out the theoretical background for this thesis, by making an argument that street names are a very important aspect of quotidian urban materiality, that make up an active part of the contentious spaces in cities. Commemorative street names are taken-for-granted socio-cultural-political tools for inscribing hegemonic ideas into the urban landscape, as well as resisting the reproduction of such dominant civic values. In essence, this chapter argues that street names embody a paradoxical attribute, in that, they are socially unequal spaces, but they also have the activism potentials to resist and deconstruct the unequal structures they helped produce.

Numerous tangibles and intangibles such as foods, ideas, buildings, parks, laws, skills, inventions, schools, streets, cities, and countries, among others, are named to preserve the histories of events and for contributors. This importantly contributes to a place's cultural and political components, as well as making spaces an index of events that conserves history. In the United States, for instance, public spaces bear the names of recognized individuals who have contributed to politics, business, science and technological advancement, professionalism, public service, security, arts, and many more areas. Specifically, streets are named after past presidents such as James Madison, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, while some are named after other famous persons and local politicians. This means that the streets can afford

commemorating selected significance and contributions of great Americans in history. Amit Pinchevski and Efraim Torgovnik, however, observed that the selection processes of these significant historical events and names and the label of others as insignificant, are related to space and time,⁴ and are political.⁵

Therefore, the political connotation of commemorative street naming raises questions of who is worthy of commemoration and why. These mundane commemorative questions and the answers that follow, would likely point to the problematic gender construction of commemoration,⁶ which grant men's contributions more citizenship on the street plates at the expense of women's, and immensely contributing to the development of patriarchal city. Mark Bosworth stated that "place your finger on a street map and it's far more likely to land on a road named after a man than one named after a woman."⁷ The pervasive gender inequality in street toponyms is prevalent in most cities of the world; Milwaukee is not an exception.

Research Questions

In the context of the foregoing, this research is intended to examine the socio-political structure of the pervasive gender inequalities inherent in the commemorative streets of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The research asks: how has gender inequality changed historically with increasing democratization of street naming process in Milwaukee? What do Milwaukee's streets tell us about the city? What factors influence history preservation on Milwaukee's streets? And

⁴ Amit Pinchevski and Efraim Torgovnik, "Signifying Passages: The Signs of Change in Israeli Street Names," *Media, Culture & Society* 24(2002): 365.

⁵ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, "The Urban Streetscape," 1.

⁶ Liora Bigon and Dorcas Zuvalinyenga, "Urban Pulse – Gendered Urban Toponyms in the Global South: A Time for De-colonization?" *Urban Geography* (2020): 1-14, accessed January 06, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1825275>.

⁷ Mark Bosworth, "Are Our Street Names Sexist?" *BBC News Magazine*, April 11, 2012, accessed January 11, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-17203823>.

how can Milwaukee modify its process to increase equality and prioritize the representation of women in future street naming?

Research Objectives

To answer these questions, first, the research looks: to explore theoretically how daily urban manifestations or experiences intersect with politics of place (identity of race, ethnicity, and gender); to map out the gender characteristics in street toponyms by analyzing Milwaukee streets based on gender; to explore the area of commemorated persons' contributions adjudged to deserve street commemoration, and to examine how the past and present street naming processes perpetuated the gender inequality in Milwaukee.

Research Methods and Data Collection Process

For every scientific research, there is always a systematic approach to data collection and the processing of such data into information. However, this study employed an archival research process. This method was prioritized over others because of its application to studying and connecting the present to the past, and unlike other methods that analyze the present, historical approaches are significant because they help to unpack the dynamics of systemic inequalities. Christopher Boone and Geoffrey Buckley averred that when studying inequality, "it is important and worthwhile to analyse the fairness of current distributions, but unwise to infer process based on correlations of present day conditions."⁸ This is because cities are a product of past and

⁸ Christopher G. Boone and Geoffrey L. Buckley, "Historical Approaches to Environmental Justice," in *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Justice*, ed. Ryan Holifield, Jayajit Chakraborty and Gordon Walker (New York: Routledge, 2018), 223.

present decisions making process. Therefore, the archival method helped to search historical records on street naming, with a view to understanding the political configuration behind Milwaukee's street toponyms. Also, the approach helped to identify and study the contributions of the persons considered for street memorial, as well as answering other research questions of this study. At one point in the research, another qualitative means of gathering data (interview) was used to obtain information from a city official interested in commemoration.

The first research step was an extensive literature review on themes such as urban inequality, street naming, street toponymy, urban commemoration, gender inequality, women spaces, women cities, urban politics, Milwaukee's streets among others. The review provided the premises and context on which the research was situated. Further, an informant (archivist) gave directions to local archives –the Milwaukee County Historical Society (MCHS) and Municipal Research Center (MRC) at the Milwaukee City Hall.

The major primary source relevant to this research was the Milwaukee Common Council Proceedings. Although the physical copies of the Proceedings were first observed at both Milwaukee County Historical Society (MCHS) and Municipal Research Center (MRC), the files to the Proceedings archived in microfilm rolls of the City Clerk, at the City Record Center were accessed, which gave more information on the political processes of street the commemoration. Another primary source explored was the Collection of Index Cards from the City of Milwaukee Municipal Research Center.⁹ Most cards provided Milwaukee's new and former street names, while some stated the procedures and years of commemoration. Other primary sources included the street name index provided at the Central Drafting & Records at the City of Milwaukee. The

⁹ "Collection of Index Card," Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, accessed October 02, 2020 <https://cdm16698.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC>.

index is an exhaustive list of the Milwaukee street names (honorary, official, private). Even though the index did not provide the first names of the memorialized persons, the years of commemoration, and the approaches to naming the streets, it does make available an alpha-numeric list of all the street names in the city. In addition, secondary materials such as Carl Baehr's book (*Milwaukee Streets: The Stories behind Their Names*)¹⁰ helped develop a timeline on Milwaukee's memorial streets, albeit until 1995, the year of publication. The timeline (see Appendix) provides a story guide to each memorialized individual, their contributions, commemoration year and the tool for naming the streets after them.

Data Analyses

A couple of approaches to data analysis were employed. First, content analysis was carried out on the documents obtained based on gender and contribution elements. This entails developing a tabular database that included the names and gender of persons remembered, year of memorialization, method of commemoration, and areas of contribution of the persons memorialized. The gender of the memorialized person was analyzed based on the male or female categories, which was informed by the pronouns used to describe the persons in Milwaukee's Proceedings and other materials. This was done in order to have specific definition or boundary for gender and to avoid conflation with sexuality. Although this thesis does not intend to be part of the hegemonic bifurcation reproduction of gender, it is to look at the inherent inequality in urban spaces, which has historically been exacerbated by the gendering of urban memorial street names.

¹⁰ Carl Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets: The Stories behind Their Names* (Milwaukee: Cream City Press, 1995).

The contribution theme informs the research on societal significance considered worthy of history preservation, and then, street commemoration. The statistic states the percentage shares of streets named for women or men. The geographical information system helped to demonstrate the disproportionate distribution of the commemorative street names, by creating an interactive map of Milwaukee's street names by gender. Unnamed, private streets, or streets named prior 1920 were omitted from the analysis.

Street Names Historiography: A Review of the Literature

Street name is an embodiment of strong symbolic power, an important aspect of the city that permits social representation and resistance. It is a space of social interaction which reflects the inherent civic social divisions, collective values, resistance, collective memory and action, and an everydayness of urban life.

This historiography section comprises of analyses of the scholarship evolution on commemorative street names over the years. There is now is a burgeoning geographical historical scholarship on the topic. The analysis here draws insights from the literature on urban toponymy, critical toponymy, urban commemorative practice, gender and race relations, and rights to the city, and then interrogates how these themes intersect to form part of our daily living, aspect of civic politics and socio-cultural relations that are inherently unequal. First, I drew from scholarship that explores urban spaces including streets in general, before narrowing the analysis to commemorative street names and how these spaces are important to everyday relational aspects of city life. Secondly, I interrogated how urban memorials like commemorative street names are historically a symbol of ethnic, racial, and gender order in cities. Hence, the identified

literature is thematically analyzed to capture various interfaces of civic subjects on commemorative street naming processes.

Situating this research within this topical theme is very important to the proper understanding and direction of this work, as well as helping to find the missing gaps in the existing scholarship. In addition, this narrative helped to give some insights about the inherent unbalanced relations existing in commemorative urban practices.

Street Name: An Aspect of Urban Life

As we navigate city spaces on a daily basis, we encounter certain names that are designated to places that helps in the recognition and differentiation of places from one another. These named spaces are intrinsic pieces that cement together to give dwellers personal meaning of cities that afford living, working, and playing. However, foundational works on commemorative street names are infused into the general analyses of urban place naming that shapes daily urban experience. This scholarship argues for and against the symbolical meanings of the urban landscape. For example, Kelvin Lynch in his monumental book *The Image of the City* observed that “Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences.”¹¹ In other words, monuments, which embody past events, are integral parts of a city’s configurations that have the capacity and rights to (re)define the residents’ quotidian urban experience.

In a similar vein, Jane Jacobs opined that monuments form the bedrock of a city’s landmarks that daily influence memory in the city.¹² The daily experiential knowledge in urban

¹¹ Kelvin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, US, and London, England: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1960), 1.

¹² Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 384.

spaces defines urbanites' sensorial legibility and image-ability, as well as acknowledges their connections to the city. For example, let us fully borrow the idea of the urban sensorial test of Kevin Lynch on Boston, Jersey City and Los Angeles' residents. Lynch interviewed and asked urban residents to create individual cognitive maps of their cities. The mapping exercise created and expressed personal experiences of the environments, which in turn, collectively developed a myriad "public image" of the city. By extension, the maps expressed some physical and social components that delineated features and boundaries, defined shapes, and orientation, and simultaneously gave meaning to the intangibles and tangibles of the city. Streets that led to participants' workplaces, for instance, formed the major and common landmarks used to delineate individual spatial visualization.¹³

The cognitive relation with these spaces, tends to contribute to the sense of spatial citizenship of the describer or mapper. This sensorial engagement is what Derek Alderman, Jordan Brasher and Owen Dwyer, III, defined as "performance." They stated that "The 'performance' metaphor recognizes the important role that sensory engagements, emotive politics, commemorative rituals, and cultural displays occupy in constituting and bringing meaning to memorials and monuments, suggesting that the body itself constitutes a place of memory."¹⁴ However, David Harvey in "Monument and Myth," while tracing the rationale behind the construction of Basilica of Sacre-Coeur in Paris to its "tortured history," suggested that monuments could express historical reality, but if read inappropriately, they could produce some sort of falsehood that negates the experience of the viewers.¹⁵

¹³ Lynch, *The Image of the City*, 15-16.

¹⁴ Derek H. Alderman, Jordan P. Brasher and Owen J. Dwyer, III, "Memorials and Monuments," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Aubrey Kobayashi (Second Edition) (2020), 39.

¹⁵ David Harvey, "Monument and Myth: The Building of the Basilica of the Sacred Heart." *Annals of the Association of American Geographies* 69(3) (1979): 362.

The foregoing arguments, therefore, support the suggestions that commemorative street names are monumental figures of cities that form important material aspects of cognitive urbanism. Street names are the mental codes used by residents to move around cities.

Political Connotations of Street Toponyms

Another body of scholarship looks into the political construction of street commemoration. These identified studies discussed in the succeeding section relate more to the process (naming) rather than the products (names). All public decisions are political, because the rationality of urban choice making explains relations between leaders (decision makers) and recipients (city dwellers). More often than not, this makes urban commemorative processes a political struggle among different individuals and decision makers. Regardless of whether the choices of names are made objectively or not, their processes are political.

Street toponymy, however, didn't gain traction as an area of scholarly investigation until Moaz Azaryahu deeply exposed the civic political forces surrounding the topic. The author contended that commemorative street names are not merely cultural symbols and a wayfinding structure of a city but are a selective commemorative practice that preserves historical figures and decides whose history is to be immortalized. The memorialization process constitutes the inherent social relations in civic political structure, and the ability to manipulate such interactions forms aspect of civic control.¹⁶ Similarly, Alderman and Inwood implied that commemorative street names are important passive discursive materials embedded in the power structure of the

¹⁶ Moaz Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14(3) (1996): 313.

urban environment, which provide forms of struggles and contentions for people's identity.¹⁷

Name is a very significant materiality of city "that provides normality and legitimacy to those who dominate the politics of (place) representation."¹⁸

Commemorative street naming is a major political approach that affords the possibility of taking the possession of city meanings. Let us consider the mapping exercise explained in the preceding section; such cognitive maps would not only express daily urban cognition and meanings, they would unconsciously evoke the hegemonic political ideas surrounding the considered urban scape via the memorial streets. Probably, this is the reason that Brenda Yeoh starkly stated that "place names are among the first signifiers to commemorate new regimes and reflect the power of elite groups in shaping place-meanings."¹⁹ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu corroborated this by positing that commemorative street naming explicitly defines and helps to determine whose legacy prevails and is preserved.²⁰ This focus inspired Derek Alderman to aver that such politics of prevailing and preservation is a form of "reputational politics" over the contentious city spaces.²¹ Street memorials are an urban political phenomenon that preserves hegemonic political abstraction,²² by weaving the leading ideological structures into the "geographic fabric of everyday life."²³ Duncan Light stated that politics and the urban landscape are interrelated. The commemoration of one political order simply implies

¹⁷ Derek H. Alderman and Joshua Inwood, "Street Naming and the Politics of Belonging: Spatial Injustices in the Toponymic Commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr." *Social & Cultural Geography* 14(2) (2013): 211 – 233.

¹⁸ Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, "Naming as Norming: 'Race', Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Environment and Planning D* 14 (1996): 99.

¹⁹ Brenda Yeoh, "Colonial Urban Order, Cultural Politics, and the Naming of Streets in Nineteenth – and Early Twentieth – Century Singapore," in *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place*, eds. Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 3.

²⁰ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies." *Progress in Human Geography* 34(4) (2010): 459.

²¹ Derek H. Alderman, "Street Names as Memorial Arenas: The Reputational Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. in a Georgia County," *Historical Geography* 30 (2002): 100.

²² Azaryahu, "The Power of Commemorative Street Names," 311.

²³ Alderman, Street Names as Memorial Arenas, 99.

the erasure of another from the landscape.²⁴ In sum, street commemoration proves to be an important aspect of urban politics and a material meaning of cityscapes. It has become a dominant feature of urban experience that expresses not only civic political control, but also our phenomenology of cities.²⁵

Derek Alderman argued further that streets toponyms are best known as “memorial arenas” and should be examined as embodiments of the social construction of contested spaces that are problematically politicized both on local and national levels.²⁶ For example, Maoz Azaryahu and Rebecca Kook studied Arab-Palestinian commemorative streets and concluded that they are heritage lenses through which national politics and history could be studied.²⁷ In another instance in Israel, Saul Cohen and Nurit Kliot examined the roles place names (including street names) played in transforming, establishing and reinforcing Zionist ideologies in selected places of power struggles – Golan Heights, Gaza and the West Bank (Judea and Samaria). The authors found out that within a twenty five years (1967 - 1992), the peripheries of these cities that were resided by the Arabs, were reclaimed via “essentialism” and “epochalism” by instilling Biblical and Talmudic toponyms, so as to “reinforce the bonds between the Jewish community in Israel and the land” and protect, reflect and consolidate the identity of Israel as the holy land’s heir. In addition, the move expressed power that resisted and rejected a 70-year old communist idea that was gaining prominence in the area at the time.²⁸

²⁴ Duncan Light, “Street Names in Bucharest, 1990-1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Post-Socialist Change,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 30(2004): 156.

²⁵ Alderman, Brasher and Dwyer, III, “Memorials and Monuments,” 39–47.

²⁶ Alderman, “Street Names as Memorial Arenas,” 99-120.

²⁷ Maoz H. Azaryahu and Rebecca Kook, “Mapping the Nation: Street Names and Arab-Palestinian Identity: Three Case Studies,” *Nations and Nationalism* 8(2) (2018): 195–213.

²⁸ Saul B. Cohen and Nurit Kliot, “Place-Names in Israel's Ideological Struggle Over the Administered Territories,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(4) (1992): 653.

Insofar as street memorials interlink the politics of a city to its nation, they also relate the politics of a city's mother nation to other countries on a broader scale. This is because prominent examples of the international power interaction on commemorative streets, lies in the essentialism of colonialism. Liora Bigon correlated colonial politics to the Sub-Saharan urban streets, by observing that most physical spaces in Africa were shaped by colonial rulers, and their interests were infused and inscribed into the fabric of each nation, through the taking control of the cities' nomenclature. The author posited that that most systems in Sub-Saharan cities were designed by the Europeans to meet their needs and also segregate cities.²⁹

Kristin Orgeret, however, argued that in post-colonial cities, changing foreign commemorative street names to indigenous ones could help to decolonize the nation at large. The author documented the struggle in Durban to eliminate names of individuals who lacked indigenous contributions to South African political development. A respondent in *The Mercury* newspaper was quoted by Kristin Orgeret as saying, "My question is what Queen Victoria, Queen Elizabeth and King George had to do with this country."³⁰ However, in February 2021, the BBC News covered the story of the manifestation of this resistance from Black South Africans. Port Elizabeth city – which was founded in 1820 by British settlers and named to memorialize the "late wife of the Cape Colony's then governor"– was changed to Gqeberha – a "Xhosa name for the Baakens River, which flows through the city."³¹

Krzysztof Górny and Ada Górna similarly analyzed the decolonization narrative of Senegal through the renaming of the streets in Dakar after the country's independence. The

²⁹ Liora Bigon, "Names, Norms and Forms: French and Indigenous Toponyms in Early Colonial Dakar, Senegal." *Planning Perspectives* 23(4) (2008): 489.

³⁰ Kristin S. Orgeret, "The Road to Renaming - What's in a name? The changing of Durban's Street Names and its Coverage in the Mercury," *Journal of African Media Studies* 2(3) (2010): DOI: 10.1386/jams.2.3.297_1.

³¹ "South African City of Port Elizabeth becomes Gqeberha," *BBC News* February 24, 2021, accessed February 30, 2021 <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-56182349>.

French had constructed and named most of the streets in Senegalese cities, including those in Dakar during the colonial era, but the various tiers of government began to decolonize the country from the micro level of individual city after emancipation in 1960 by renaming the streets.³² Melissa Wanjiru and Kosuke Matsubara also narrated similar moves of decolonization in Nairobi, Kenya, after their independence in 1963.³³

Indeed, names are powerful, and toponyms of any kind, are intrinsic components of vernacular configuration that reflect power struggles of taking control through name-giving-colonialism. They are mechanisms for establishing political order of any scale into the landscapes. Moaz Azaryahu echoed that place names, including streets given commemorative names, are used to “introduce an authorized version of history into ordinary settings of everyday life.”³⁴ Therefore, changing this inscribed histories via place names, is one of the fundamental steps to dissociating a the present story of a place from its past, based on the revolutionary political ideology in place at a particular time. The discussed articles provide theoretical and historical evidence on how street memorials intersect both civic and national politics. And even though the studies on colonialism are constitutive of incarnated racial relations, it is important to note that post-colonial racial interaction with space has taken a different form, especially in colonial settler cities. Hence, some of these articles are light on the contemporary analyses on the subject with race, ethnicity, and gender in places like the United States.

³² Krzysztof Górny and Ada Górna, “Street Names in Dakar-Plateau: A Colonial and Post-Colonial Perspective, Planning Perspectives,” accessed January 8, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2019.1633949>.

³³ Melissa W. Wanjiru and Kosuke Matsubara, “Street Toponymy and the Decolonisation of the Urban Landscape in Post-Colonial Nairobi,” *Journal of Cultural Geography* 34(1) (2016): 1-23.

³⁴ Azaryahu, “The Power of Commemorative Street Names,” 312.

Commemorative Street Names and the Politics of Identity in Race, Ethnicity, and Gender

How can street names reflect the identity of people? Do street names matter to people residing around the street names? How do memorial streets perpetuate identity inequality? These are common questions I look into answering in this section.

One set of scholarship has analyzed the interrelations of commemorative street names and race, ethnicity, and gender identity. Liora Bigon and Dorcas Zuvalinyenga contended that while it is important to consider the issue of gender disparity in commemorative street naming, it is also worth bearing in mind that such discursive engagement “relates to the urban political experience and emotional well-being of women and also to marginalized groups in cities more generally.”³⁵ Reuben Red-Rosewood further argued that, “The attempt to legally rename a street has historically been adopted by myriad groups as an important strategy for acquiring legitimacy, prestige, and cultural recognition in the form of symbolic capital.”³⁶

It is nevertheless prudent to separate such discourses for proper application when race, ethnicity or gender are not considered together as a whole component of commemorative process. It is also important to have these analyses separate for smoother assimilation in places of homogenous racial phenotype or social category, where only gender, ethnicity, and other forms of identity matter.

Race Intersections with Street Memorials

Race is a complex human identifier, a social order that categorizes humans largely through social relations and skin color. However, the social relations embedded in race make it a

³⁵ Bigon and Zuvalinyenga, “Urban Pulse – Gendered Urban Toponyms in the Global South,” 3.

³⁶ Reuben S. Rose-Redwood, “From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City.” *Social & Cultural Geography* 9(4) (2009): 446.

possible contributor to structuring social orders in places, determining who gets what, and who is memorialized in public realms. Therefore, how does race interact with commemorative practices in cities?

James Loewen dedicated most parts of his book *Lies across America: What Our Historical Sites Get Wrong* to illustrating the inherent racial relations in place names in the United States. The author documented and narrated thoroughly how these relations, in particular, could be traced to the constructions of the Confederate monuments and the naming of places for proponents of slavery and exclusionary laws like Jim Crow, segregation, and incarceration.³⁷ In addition to the hegemonic White and Black racial binary discussion, Loewen also stated that the “language at historical sites is also warped,”³⁸ distorting and subsuming the Native American heritages into the White world. However, Eliot Tretter documented that 1963 saw the beginning of the end of racist place naming in America. For instance, places like “Nigger Hill” in New York were renamed “Negro Hill” after the campaign against racism became hegemonic discourse in American politics. This place and other places alike according to Tretter, were initially named because they were homes to fugitive and freed slaves, and generally, Black Americans.³⁹ However, since this change, the racial interface with urban toponym like memorial street names has significantly changed in American cities. Dylan Gottlieb observed that a significant White population in America now supports the idea of racial equality both in the

³⁷ James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York and London: The New Press, 2019).

³⁸ Loewen, “*Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*”, 16.

³⁹ Eliot M. Tretter, “The Power of Naming: The Toponymic Geographies of Commemorated African-Americans,” *The Professional Geographer* 63(1) (2011): 36.

urban landscape and the political engagements.⁴⁰ But American urban toponyms are still prevalently unequal.

Derek Alderman and Joshua Inwood explored Statesboro, Georgia and Greenville, North Carolina in the southeastern US, to examine the racial constitution of street names through the commemoration of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.⁴¹ The memorialization of Martin Luther King, Jr. in these cities are classical examples of the racialization of commemorative street names as means of spatial (in)justice that acknowledge the unequal power distribution among the racial groups in America. On the one hand, Roger Stump opined that the widespread acceptance of John F. Kennedy compared to the struggle of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s commemoration, demonstrates the fact that, unlike King, Kennedy's political office contributed to his memorial acceptance.⁴² While on the other hand, Derek Alderman argued that this has more to do with the "reputational politics" of King's race, rather than his political stance.⁴³

King's commemoration also stresses the sense of belonging for Black Americans and the political recognition for the social movement that stresses racial justice in American urban spaces. The unequal politics behind the naming of streets after King, have been pointed to by many activists in recent times. Derek Alderman and Joshua Inwood echoed that it is not enough to inadequately commemorate the social justice leader, and the location of most streets named after him do not represent what King stood for, as a significant number of the streets

⁴⁰ Dylan S. Gottlieb, "Sixth Avenue Heartache: Race, Commemoration and the Colorblind Consensus in Zephyrhills, Florida, 2003-2004," (MA Thesis, History Department, Temple University, 2013), 34.

⁴¹ Alderman and Inwood, "Street Naming and the Politics of Belonging: Spatial Injustices in the Toponymic Commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr.," 211-233.

⁴² Roger W. Stump, "Toponymic Commemoration of National Figures: The Cases of Kennedy and King," *Names* 36(3/4) (1988): 211.

⁴³ Alderman, "Street Names as Memorial Arenas," 99-120.

commemorating him are “within poor, black areas of cities.”⁴⁴ Derek Alderman, in another piece, posited that the consistent opposition to commemorating King from residents usually contribute to the segregation of memory in cities. According to the author, the opposition often emerges from White business or property owners, who do not want to be forced to change their addresses. Unfortunately, this problem of segregation is part of what King fought against all through his struggles.⁴⁵ Such politics of street memorialization expresses the inscribed idea of power control in racially diverse societies. The struggle to commemorate Black Americans points to the political contention that accompanies the application of racial reparations constructs to spatial social justice issues.

For instance, Dallas activists have been advocating for a change of Lamer Street to Botham Jean Boulevard as a form of reparation that would commemorate the incidence of Botham’s death in 2018. Botham was shot dead by an off-duty Dallas police officer Amber Guyger, who mistook Botham’s apartment for hers, and thought he was a burglar. This incident resulted in days of protests and the recent calls to commemorate Botham Jean.⁴⁶ In the same vein, Muriel E. Browser (mayor of Washington D.C.) changed the frontal street of White House to “Black Lives Matter Plaza” and also conspicuously designated it in color yellow on the asphalt, following the social unrest that ensued after the death of George Floyd, an unarmed black man killed as a result of police brutality in Minneapolis.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Derek H. Alderman and Joshua F. Inwood, “Landscapes of Memory and Socially Just Futures,” *A New Companion to Cultural Geography*, eds., Richard Schein, Jamie Winders, Nuala Johnson, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 189.

⁴⁵ Derek Alderman, “Naming Streets, Doing Justice? Politics of Remembering, Forgetting, and Finding Surrogates for African American Slave Heritage,” in *Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage*, Sungjae Choo (ed.) (Kyung Hee University Press, 2015), 211.

⁴⁶ Jacob Vaughn, “Dallas Activists Wants Lamar Street Changed to Botham Jean Boulevard,” *Dallas Observer* July 07, 2020, accessed January 10, 2021 <https://www.dallasobserver.com/content/printView/11922314>.

⁴⁷ Rebecca Shabad and Dartunorro Clark, “D.C. Mayor Bowser Has 'Black Lives Matter' Painted on Street Leading to White House,” *NBC News* June 05, 2020, accessed October 04, 2020 <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/d-c-mayor-bowser-has-black-lives-matter-painted-street-n1225746>.

The memorial gesture was a means of reparation and contention against the persistent killings of Black people via police brutality and the pervasive systemic racism that people of color face in the United States. Bowser affirmed in a press conference that, "there are people who are craving to be heard and to be seen, and to have their humanity recognized, and we had the opportunity to send that message loud and clear on a very important street in our city.....And it is that message, and that message is to the American people, that Black Lives Matter, black humanity matters, and we as a city raise that up as part of our values as a city."⁴⁸ The Black Lives Matter commemoration in D.C. also demonstrated the power struggle between the city government and President Donald Trump in relation to race identity. John Falcicchio, the mayor's chief of staff, stated that, "there was a dispute this week about whose street it is, and Mayor Bowser wanted to make it abundantly clear whose street it is and honor the peaceful demonstrators who assembled Monday night."⁴⁹

The foregoing arguments illustrate the fact that race, as a human identifier, consists of embedded power structures that pervade and threaten equality in commemorative street naming. Because history has helped create the "minority" and "majority" syndrome among racial groups, it becomes inviting for racial structure to incarnate the socio-political order, so as to influence the naming of the streets. In addition, commemorative street names serve as mechanisms for dominated racial groups to resist the instillation of names and identities that do not conform to their historical significance.

⁴⁸ Shabad and Clark, "D.C. Mayor Bowser Has 'Black Lives Matter.'"

⁴⁹ Fenit Nirappil, Julie Zauzmer and Rachel Chason, "'Black Lives Matter': In Giant Yellow Letters, D.C. Mayor Sends Message to Trump," *Washington Post* June 05, 2020, accessed October 04, 2020 https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/dc-politics/bowser-black-lives-matter-street/2020/06/05/eb44ff4a-a733-11ea-bb20-ebf0921f3bbd_story.html.

Relationship between Ethnicity and Commemorative Streets

Ethnicity is another important urban identifier that relates with street memorialization in a manner similar to race. Although race sometimes could be entangled ethnicity, it is important to note the specific difference. Matthew Desmond and Mustafa Emirbayer defined race as “symbolic category, based on phenotype or ancestry and constructed according to specific social and historical contexts, that is misrecognized as natural category.”⁵⁰ On the other hand, they described ethnicity as “a shared lifestyle informed by cultural, historical religious, and/or national affiliations.”⁵¹ These descriptions affirm that both race and ethnicity are socially constructed, but have differing specifics.

This sub-section analyzes some historical context of the interaction between ethnicity as an element of urban identity, and the struggle for streets memorials for heroes that emblemize such identity. This is important as most recent scholarship on commemorative street names have often focused on the analyses of race, rather than also looking at the different social categories within the studied racial entities.

As street names are pervasively racialized, so are they further sub-divided along ethnic or ethno-racial lines. Each ethnic enclave constitutes a great deal of a collective civic culture, which consistently shapes urban actions, including commemorative decisions. Christopher Thale pointed to the reflexivity of “civic culture” to renaming streets of Milwaukee in 1926,⁵² while Deirdre Mask in *The Address Book*,⁵³ exposed how street toponyms have been consistently

⁵⁰ Matthew Desmond and Mustafa Emirbayer, “What is Racial Domination,” *Du Bois Review* 6(2) (2009): 336.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, 339.

⁵² Christopher Thale, “Changing Addresses: Social Conflict, Civic Culture, and the Politics of House Numbering Reform in Milwaukee, 1913-1931,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007): 142.

⁵³ Deirdre Mask, *The Address Book: What Street Addresses Reveal About Identity, Race, Wealth, and Power* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2020), 315.

employed to put ethnic minorities under control of the majority, such as in ethnic enclaves in Beijing, China. However, the story of renaming Crawford Avenue to Pulaski Street in 1933 in Chicago is an important narrative of the ethnic relations in commemorative street naming in the United States of America.

According to Amanda Seligman,⁵⁴ the Polish community successfully pushed for the renaming of “Crawford Avenue” to “Pulaski Road” with a view to commemorating the American Revolutionary war hero, Casimir Pulaski. The moves were met with significant resistance from local residents and businesses. Local business owners who had their business addresses carrying “Crawford Avenue” objected and protested against such change, stating that it would cost them significant sums to change their addresses to “Pulaski Road.” The residents in the same vein turned to culture as a means of objection, citing that “Pulaski” lacked any form of cultural significance to the Chicagoans, and as such, did not have legitimacy and identity to have a street named after him. In 1944, a streetcar conductor, Carl Cheever was insulted and assaulted by a Polish American printer, Michael Orzsechkwsk –who perceived a mention of “Crawford Avenue” instead of “Pulaski Road” in a stop announcement, as a form of “provocation” to the Polish community. “What difference does it make?” asked Cheever after the confrontation.⁵⁵ This episode demonstrated Cheever’s lack of knowledge about the identity power struggle expressed on the street names. This reflects and reiterates the contention inherent in urban commemorative streets.

⁵⁴ Amanda I. Seligman, “The Street Formerly Known as Crawford,” *Chicago History* (Spring, 2001): 36-51.

⁵⁵ Seligman, “The Street Formerly Known as Crawford,” 36.

Intersection of the Politics of Gender with Memorial Streets

The foregoing analyses of identity and street naming have also shown that discourses in urban toponyms have often turned blind eye on gender as one of the major social identities that intersects urban commemoration. As evident, most previous scholarship has also shied away from the analysis of women's rights to urban memorials both in the global northern and global southern cities. Prior to findings in this study, this lacuna supports our conjecture of women's unequal rights to the city's memorial spaces, considering the inadequate literature that enriches and provokes political engagements for women's spaces and experiences.

In recent times, however, there has been an increasing amount of scholarship that fills this gap of gender inequality analysis, although such studies are still scant. A couple of empirical articles paid attention to the political engagement of gender rights to city's toponyms in different continents, but it is important to bear in mind that this is still a developing area of study. Hence, this section analyzes the identified scholarship on this topic, while integrating it into the case of Milwaukee via the empirical research in this thesis.

Gender inequality is prevalent in global southern countries. For example, Liora Bigon and Dorcas Zuvalinyenga documented that Zimbabwean memorial street names are generally pervasively unequal in other parts of the world, but most pronounced in African cities, due to their common cultural histories, religion, and colonialism.⁵⁶ In terms of culture, African culture is famous for perceiving femininity as the second-tier gender. Pauline Rossi and L'éa Rouanet posited that this is evident in their social hierarchical order and families' preference for sons

⁵⁶ Liora Bigon and Dorcas Zuvalinyenga, "Urban Pulse – Gendered Urban Toponyms in the Global South: A Time for De-colonization?" *Urban Geography* (2020): 1-14, accessed January 06, 2021 <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1825275>.

rather than daughters.⁵⁷ The beliefs that sons are the pillars of family history demonstrates the place of women in the ultra-patriarchal African systems. Seema Jayachandran documented that women are more often than not, merely and literally “propertized” unconsciously (through the marital rituals like dowry payment by prospective husbands), that consequently contributes to women being second-class citizens.⁵⁸ Considering religion, Christianity, Islam and indigenous religion are practiced across Africa, Samuel Akpan Bassey and Ncha Gabriel Bubu asserted that with culture and religion oftentimes colliding, none of the religious (mis)teachings is free of gender connotations that have historically and consistently aggravated gender disparity against women.⁵⁹ Although in recent times, gender relations are beginning to improve with gender based education in countries like Ghana, the wide gender gap is still pervasive and expressed in all African cities’ commemorative practices.

Moreover, as expected and stated earlier, Bigon and Zuvalinyenga explained that most streets in Zimbabwe were named after European colonizers who were men. The patriarchy-based toponymic trend continued to be passed on to generations even after independence in 1980, as most public spaces including streets in the country were named after indigenous men who participated in the independence engagements. Despite the heroic participation of indigenous women in the liberation of Zimbabwe, the various tiers of government have continued to exclude women’s contributions from the urban landscape, consequently developing sexist history and cities. For instance, no street memorialized any woman in Bindura, Zimbabwe, from the 157 street names surveyed in 2018.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Pauline Rossi and L’ea Rouanet, “Son Preference and Gender Inequality,” 1, accessed January 25, 2021 <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01074934v2/document>.

⁵⁸ Seema Jayachandran, “The Roots of Gender Inequality in Developing Countries,” *Annu. Rev. Econ.* 7 (2015):76.

⁵⁹ Samuel Akpan Bassey and Ncha Gabriel Bubu, “Gender Inequality in Africa: A Re-examination of Cultural Values,” *Cogito - Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 11(3) (2019): 21.

⁶⁰ Bigon and Zuvalinyenga, “Urban Pulse – Gendered Urban Toponyms in the Global South,” 5.

In a similar vein in Europe, in Bucharest, Romania, Ana-Maria Niculescu-Mizil found out that only 7 percent of the selected streets studied in the city commemorated women in 2014. And further micro-analyzing and scrutinizing the 7 percent, the memorial of most women accentuates their personal relationships (such as daughters and wives) with the influential men in their life.⁶¹ Diana Neaga concludes that Bucharest is 18 times likely to name streets after men than it could commemorate a woman.⁶² According to Ana-Maria Niculescu-Mizil, the major reason for such gender disparity in Bucharest could be attributable to the development of humanity. The author asserted that in the beginning of civilization, the division of labor between men and women exacerbated the issue of gender disparity. For instance, women were saddled and unfavored with domestic chores, while on the other hand, men were empowered with the mobility of workforce in the military, politics, oration, and traditionally, kingship, which destined men for renowned achievements.⁶³

María Novas Ferradás examined avenues, squares, parks, gardens, streets, roads, crossings and others spaces that commemorated persons in Spanish cities, and found out that only 9.2 percent of the streets in Santiago de Compostela, 21 percent in Madrid, 19 percent in Barcelona, and 10 percent in Valencia remembered women in 2017.⁶⁴ The other significant percentage memorialized men. In Madrid and Santiago de Compostela, religion contributed to the memory of feminine persons, as women are more likely to be saints in the cities. In addition, most of the streets that commemorated men were primary streets that had a central location in the

⁶¹ Ana-Maria Niculescu-Mizil, "(Re)naming Streets in Contemporary Bucharest: From Power Distribution to Subjective Biography," *Analyze: Journal of Gender and Feminist Studies* 3(17) (2014): 83.

⁶² Diana E. Neaga, "Doing and Undoing Gender in Urban Spaces: The University Square Bucharest," *Analyze: Journal of Gender and Feminist Studies* 3(17) (2014): 38.

⁶³ Niculescu-Mizil, "(Re)naming Streets in Contemporary Bucharest," 83.

⁶⁴ Maria Novas-Ferradas, "Commemorative Urban Practices and Gender Equality: The Case of Santiago de Compostela's Urban Anthroponymy," *Hábitat y Sociedad* 11 (2018): 109–129.

city compared to the women's secondary location with poorer locality, visibility, and dimension. This pattern is prevalent in most Spanish cities.

Similarly, Mark Bosworth noted that religion also plays major roles in the gendering of street commemoration in Rome, Italy. Because, men, who have the rights to papacy, dominate Catholicism, they are more likely to be remembered in urban memorials. For instance, only the 3.5 percent of the 16,550 streets examined in Rome memorialized women, while a very significant 45.7 percent commemorated men in 2012. The author also documented that men are five times more likely to be commemorated in Paris, France, and two times more likely than women in London, England. Linda Poon corroborated this, when she documented that a Map box team analyzed the gender disparity in street memorials of seven major metropolitan areas of the world (London, Paris, San Francisco, Mumbai, New Delhi, Chennai, and Bangalore).⁶⁵ The result showed that on average, only 27.5 percent of streets named after persons commemorated females. She also narrated that the striking result contributed to some level of awakening and controversies around the world cities, which led a feminist group in Paris, France, to protest against the only 2.6 percent share of streets named after women in the city. The social movement yielded some level of success; 60 streets were renamed after women.

Indeed, commemorative street names are cultural spaces that incarnates the unequal gender relations in cities. The spaces around the world have been claimed and owned by men at the expense of women, contributing to the pervasive patriarchal society which currently manifests. Also, memorial streets also serve as a mechanism of social activism that could help create just spaces. The burgeoning resistance from feminist groups around the world for

⁶⁵ Linda Poon, "Mapping the Sexism of Street Names in Major Cities," *CityLab* (2015), accessed 12/12/2020 <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-11-04/mapping-the-sexism-of-street-names-in-major-cities>.

reclaiming spaces for women, is indicative of the social activism tool embedded in the commemorative street names.

Contemporary street toponyms have transformed into what Derek Alderman, Jordan Brasher and Owen Dwyer, III, termed an “arena.” They asserted that “The ‘arena’ metaphor focuses on the capacity of memorials and monuments to serve as sites for social groups to debate actively the meaning of history and compete for control over the commemorative process as part of larger struggles over identity.”⁶⁶ One major inference from these analyses is that names reflect identity, and identity could evoke names. The practice of commemorative street naming for instance, has the potential to reflect certain truths about the identity of people living in a city, neighborhood, or block. But because everyone represents different groups simultaneously, commemorative street names become a problematic injunction of place of politics and the politics of place.

In sum, the foregoing analyses of literature illustrate that commemorative street names are integral part of urbanites’ daily lives; they constitute the maps for wayfinding and develop personal understanding of cities. On the one hand, the politics of identity and place naming demonstrates that memorial spaces like street names are conspicuously contentious spaces relative to different contours of race, ethnicity, and gender. On the other hand, it shows evidences that supports the assertion that memorial streets could serve as a resisting tool to spatial inequality. In sum, (re)naming could serve as a spatial citizenship right that draws from the principles of justice, towards developing equal urban spaces.

Hence, with a view to creating equal urban spaces, this study intends to examine Milwaukee’s memorial street names through the gender lens, which also touches base with other

⁶⁶ Alderman, Brasher and Dwyer, III, “Memorials and Monuments,” 39.

elements of city's history. For instance, despite the growing but sparse literature on gender inequality in urban memorials, no study has adequately looked into the gender perspectives of the contributions of the names memorialized, studied the history of the city through the memorialized names, and then discerned the roots of inequality towards proffering workable recommendation for gender justice.

Chapter Two

Milwaukee's Commemorative Street Naming: A Bibliography of the City

Street names are arguably the commonest examples of placenames. They embody myriad of information about a city. Commemorative streets are not merely for wayfinding purposes; rather they are important sources of a city's history of culture, politics, and peoples. In fact, they constitute ubiquitous aspects of urban vernacular landscape, and important urban phenomenon that could be defined as tangible testaments of intangible memories. Take for instance, if Dr. Anthony Fauci, after the Coronavirus pandemic, was to be commemorated on an American city's street in the coming years, future generations of researchers may seek to know the rationale for his memorialization. This could spark a discourse on the local history that we currently materialize by living with and fighting Covid-19. This could also prod other important urban historical questions.

Daniel Oto-Peralius asked, "what do street names tell us?"⁶⁷ John Algeo argued that changes in street names can historically tell us material stories about the changes in the lives of city people.⁶⁸ It is in light of this, that this chapter looks to unravel the historical meaning and importance of street commemoration to an urban center, specifically through the names plated on the streets of Milwaukee. Cecil Elliott explained that this is important because of the rationale for creating monuments in cities and the meaning they often evoke could contradict. Elliot warned that often, it could reflect a wrong image of the memorialized person, if the ideal of the period of commemoration is unknown. In this case, the "interpretation may seem to ignore the *raison d'être* of a monument, the moment or the man....it seems an inevitable conclusion that

⁶⁷ Daniel Oto-Peralias, "What Do Street Names Tell Us? The 'City-text' as Socio-cultural Data," *Journal of Economic Geography* 18(1) (2018): 187.

⁶⁸ John Algeo, "From Classic to Classy: Changing Fashions in Street Names," *Names* 63(4) (2015): 220.

monuments are designed in dedication to the idea of monumentality.”⁶⁹ However, it is important to have prior knowledge of both elements – the human and the moment – for proper connections to the monuments’ meaning and their historical connotations, because the commemorated persons are likely to have contributed to the leading idea of an era or were related to civic power in control of city place names.

This chapter explores the importance of commemorative street names as a narrative medium, which makes up the bibliography of cities. It argues that memorial street names embody more than the wayfinding purposes but are a source of information that could be used to study urban spaces’ interactions with peoples and time. This chapter further relates history to gender marginalization, by unpacking the street naming events through the periodization of naming procedures. On the first hand, it is important to establish the relationship between Milwaukee’s naming systems and the gender inequality inherent in the distribution of the commemorative street names. On the other hand, it is to make an argument that the commemorative street names are rich elements of city’s history which relies on the changes in people’s socio-political relations. The city, especially a multi-cultural one, is a space of constant resistance from both the dominant groups and the marginalized ones. This particularly shape the living conditions of residents and their priorities. These priorities in turn, influence the act of history preservation on the cultural/vernacular spaces that oftentimes have clear orientation purposes of dominance and resistance.

⁶⁹ Cecil D. Elliott, “Monuments and Monumentality,” *Journal of Architectural Education* (1947-1974),” 18(4) (1964): 52.

Establishing a Logical Commemorative Street Naming System for Milwaukee

A robust urban toponymy (study of urban place names) is two-fold. On the one hand, toponymy is a study that content-analyzes the names themselves. On the other hand, it requires the analysis of how the names studied came to be. Daniel Oto-Peralias corroborated this idea that memorials like street names “should be studied from two complementary perspectives: the analysis of *place names* and the analysis of *place naming*.”⁷⁰ Having these binary analysis gives us glimpse into how commemorative street naming procedure perpetuate inequality.

Hence, before looking into the historical connotations of memorials, it is prudent to unravel the events that established the naming systems and political attributes of Milwaukee’s commemorative street names. Narrating these events can explain the roots of the contemporary naming system, as well as illuminate the various contemporary inherent inequalities in the streetscapes on both gender and racial terms. It is important to keep in touch with race, as race and gender have proven to be historically intertwined. In essence, it may be impossible to ameliorate the gender inequality without looking at solving racial inequity.

The moves to establishing a logical process of naming Milwaukee’s streets began with the acknowledgement of incoherency in the cadastral property numbering and street nomenclature of the nineteenth century. It was believed that the city should be in form of a textbook to residents and visitors, as they navigate it. Kevin Lynch’s spatial legibility idea supports this notion,⁷¹ that the city should contain an index that leads persons to specific area of the city, rather than making people blindly search for spaces. Reuben Rose-Redwood developed this idea further when he discussed a similar issue (chronological development of house

⁷⁰ Oto-Peralias, “What Do Street Names Tell Us? The ‘City-text’ as Socio-cultural Data,” 190.

⁷¹ Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, US, and London, England: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1960), 1.

numbering systems in the US) and documented that the contemporary house numbering with street naming began in American cities with the urge to develop the city in relation to a “typographic design of a book.”⁷²

The haphazard street naming system in Milwaukee has its roots in the formation of the city. Milwaukee constituted three separate villages (Juneautown, Kilbourntown and Walker’s Point) when it was incorporated on January 31, 1846. Because of each village’s unique characteristics, they all had differing street layouts and nomenclatures. The streets in Juneautown and Kilbourntown, for example, did not align with each other, and the bridges that crossed Milwaukee were at odd angles with the streets leading to the bridges, and on top of that, they were carrying different names on each side.⁷³ The amalgamation of the three settlements created haphazard street naming systems that caused confusion in the city for close to a century.

For instance, on the west side of Milwaukee, there were two different baselines and base numbers adopted. Wells Street and West Water-First Street with 200 (which gives room for 200 numbers per 1,000-foot block) and 100-base numbers (100 numbers per 1,000-foot block) respectively, constituted the base system on the west side of the city.⁷⁴ Similarly, the West Water-First Street baseline, using the standard base number style (100), was expected to constitute 100 as base numbers for its properties. Further, a similar situation was observed on the other sides of the city. On the East Side, Milwaukee adopted Wisconsin Street with a 400-base number and Broadway with a base number of 100, as the baselines. The South Side would use both the South Pierce Street and Reed Street, each with a 300-base number. This implies that

⁷² Reuben S. Rose-Redwood, “Indexing the Great Ledger of the Community: Urban House Numbering, City Directories, and the Production of Spatial Legibility,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 34 (2) (2008): 291.

⁷³ Carl Baehr, “Street Naming and Numbering,” *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, accessed September 20, 2020 <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/street-naming-and-numbering/>.

⁷⁴ Points on House Numbering and Street Naming, 02/19/1923, City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.

there were different base-numbers of addresses per block and blocks per mile because of the city's different base number multiples. Bay View area employed a separate numbering system that was "inherited" from Bay View village in the 1800s.⁷⁵ Apparently, there were incongruent naming and numbering systems in Milwaukee. One could only imagine how chaotic it was in the city in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century with the problems mentioned earlier, and some urgent actions were needed and demanded.

In the early 1910s, there were complaints and calls again from members of Milwaukee's public and organizations to look into the matter. And in 1913, a commission was set up on the issue. On May 7, the commission adopted the Philadelphia numbering system by choosing First Street, East Water Street, and Clinton Street as baselines for the east and west sides of Milwaukee, while streets, alleys, avenues and highways running north and south would have Grand Avenue and Wisconsin Street as their baselines.⁷⁶ However, there was petty opposition to the project, and it was dead on arrival. In 1917, the postmaster, F.B. Schutz, wrote Mayor Daniel Hoan, citing the difficulties and delay experienced in mail delivery as a result of the duplication and triplication of street names and building numbers, and he called for a political action to ameliorate the problem,⁷⁷ but nothing was done. On October 3, 1922, the South Division Civic Association of Milwaukee met to discuss this issue and made recommendations to the city government;⁷⁸ yet, there was no concrete agreement and response on the issue. However, in 1926, a breakthrough was achieved on the issue, as Mayor Daniel Hoan and the City Engineer's

⁷⁵ Baehr, "Street Naming and Numbering."

⁷⁶ Street Numbering, 05/7/1913, City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, 1909-1975, MSS AS, Box 8, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.

⁷⁷ F.B. Schutz, 07/30/1917, City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, 1909-1975, MSS AS, Box 8, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.

⁷⁸ South Division Civic Association of Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin letter, 10/03/1922, City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, Box 11, Folder 2, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.

Office finally adopted a different recommendation from the previous commissions.⁷⁹ Although the recommendation was officially passed on October 21, 1929,⁸⁰ the Common Council with the City Engineer began changing the street names in 1926.

In the ordinance, “all houses, buildings etc., fronting on the alleys, shall be numbered to correspond with the numbers on parallel streets. In establishing said system, “First Street, the Milwaukee river, Clinton Street and Chase Avenue shall constitute the base line from which all houses and buildings on said street, avenues, alleys and highways, running east and west, shall be numbered each way, upon the basis of one hundred (100) numbers to each block.”⁸¹ The law also stated that all buildings and houses on the north side of these baselines would be designated even numbers and odd on the south side. “Menomonee Street, Canal Street and Stevenson Street” were baselines for streets that ran north and south, with all the houses and buildings aligning with the mentioned streets (baselines) designated “100” base numbers; and even numbers to those on the east side and odd numbers on the west side of the mentioned baselines.⁸²

Hence, Milwaukee adopted the quadrant system approach to numbering properties and naming streets. Reuben Rose-Redwood confirmed that J.P Schwada, the City Engineer was instrumental to this approach. The author documented that Milwaukee adopted the quadrant system to “establishing two perpendicular baselines that would serve as the coordinate axes of a

⁷⁹ Baehr, “Street Naming and Numbering.”

⁸⁰ File Number 34156, “An Ordinance to Create Sections 1169 to 1169.08 of the Milwaukee Code of 1914 Providing a Uniform System for Numbering Houses and Buildings and Fixing the Time When the Same Shall Take Effect,” *Proceedings of the Common Council 1928-29, City of Milwaukee*, Municipal Research Library, City of Milwaukee.

⁸¹ File Number 34156, “An Ordinance to Create Sections 1169 to 1169.08 of the Milwaukee Code of 1914 Providing a Uniform System for Numbering Houses and Buildings and Fixing the Time When the Same Shall Take Effect,” *Proceedings of the Common Council 1928-29, City of Milwaukee*, 1716 Municipal Research Library, City of Milwaukee.

⁸² Ibid.

grid plan. The basic aim was to make ‘a trail that anyone can follow, and find any address without map or street guide, provided he knows his alphabet and can count.’”⁸³

This system was also described by Margaret Corwin, who posited that baselines are often employed to “divide the municipality into different sections, which are identified by the nearest appropriate compass designation.”⁸⁴ Just like the mathematical graph system, each section could easily be identified with the nearest compass designation of north, south, east, and west, and sometimes in terms of northwest, southwest, southeast and northeast depending on the geographic characteristics of the place considered. In other words, the system makes use of the directional suffixes or prefixes (north, south, east, west, northwest, southwest, southeast and northeast) along with the names to indicate the quadrant location of the considered streets. The streets within each quadrant would also carry the suffix of the baselines. This means that the streets were to be numbered or named in two directions. The streets running parallel to and in the quadrant of First Street for instance, would carry a suffix “Street,” while other streets with similar related geographical characteristics to Chase Avenue would carry the suffix “Avenue,” and so on. Furthermore, Corwin also documented that the adopted quadrant method also ensures that the future growth in a city is accommodated in the numbering and naming system.⁸⁵ This is evident in the rate at which Milwaukee has grown yet has coherent nomenclature approach with many streets named afterwards.

⁸³ Rose-Redwood, “Indexing the Great Ledger of the Community,” 304.

⁸⁴ Margaret Corwin, “Street-Naming and Property-Numbering Systems,” (Planning Advisory Service, Report No 3), 8, accessed January 18, 2021, http://www.emerycounty.com/addressing/documents/apa_streetnaming.pdf.

⁸⁵ Corwin, “Street-Naming and Property-Numbering Systems,” 8.

Naming Milwaukee's Streets through the Years

It is crucial to unpack the historical changes in the street naming convention of Milwaukee, with a view to unveiling the impacts of the processes on gender inequality in the city. The changing procedures of the street naming is key to this research because, as stated by James Liu and Denis Hilton, narratives of historical processes and procedures “tell us who we are, where we came from and where we should be going.”⁸⁶ Essentially, this would help us understand how the present gender inequality in Milwaukee's street toponyms came about, and possibly what could be done.

Prior to the adopted naming convention, however, Milwaukee's real estate or land developers had some influence on naming the streets through subdivisions and plat maps. This pattern would further change with the passage of time. There was an overhaul of the city's street nomenclature patterns between 1920 and 1929 after the adoption as explained in the previous section. In 1927, 165 streets were renamed via the City Council Ordinance and coordinated by the City Engineer (Joseph P. Schwada).⁸⁷ This event appears to give the City Engineer Office more power to the naming of Milwaukee's streets moving forward, as the city was more concerned about ensuring conformity of the adopted approach. The 1920s present itself as an important decade on Milwaukee commemorative street naming, and this is the reason the decade was favored as the starting point of this research.

Despite the City Engineer's administrative function to maintain conformity with the Milwaukee's naming system with plans and maps, and keeping naming records, it is worth

⁸⁶ James H. Liu and Denis J. Hilton, “How the Past Weighs on the Present: Social Representations of History and Their Role in Identity Politics,” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44 (2005): 537.

⁸⁷ Christopher Thale, “Changing Addresses: Social Conflict, Civic Culture, and the Politics of House Numbering Reform in Milwaukee, 1913-1931,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007): 132.

emphasizing that the real estate developers still assigned names to some city's streets through plat maps or land subdivision until the mid-1960s.⁸⁸ The mid-1960s saw the Alderpersons take the official responsibility to naming the streets,⁸⁹ although the City Engineer still had/have some significant influence on the naming process, as proposals went/go through their office to ensure conformity with the naming system; if the proposals passed their assessments, then they were referred to the Common Council as ordinances for approval (see Figure 1).

This process would change in 1990, when a more democratic process was adopted through Section 113 of Milwaukee's street naming ordinance.⁹⁰ This ordinance creates a citizen advisory committee (CAC) to be appointed by the mayor and approved by the Common Council. A street naming committee member would serve a three-year term; the committee would consist of seven local Milwaukee residents, "including at least a recognized local historian, a representative of local business association or chamber of commerce, and an employee of a local nonprofit community organization."⁹¹ Further, the committee members shall not hold any political office, and a quorum is formed by only four members of the committee. The CAC offers professional recommendations to the Common Council on proposals to name or rename public buildings, facilities, and streets.

⁸⁸ Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets: The Stories behind Their Names*, xi.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ File Number 900822, "An Ordinance Relating to the Naming of Public Buildings, Facilities and Streets," The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

⁹¹ Ibid, 2.

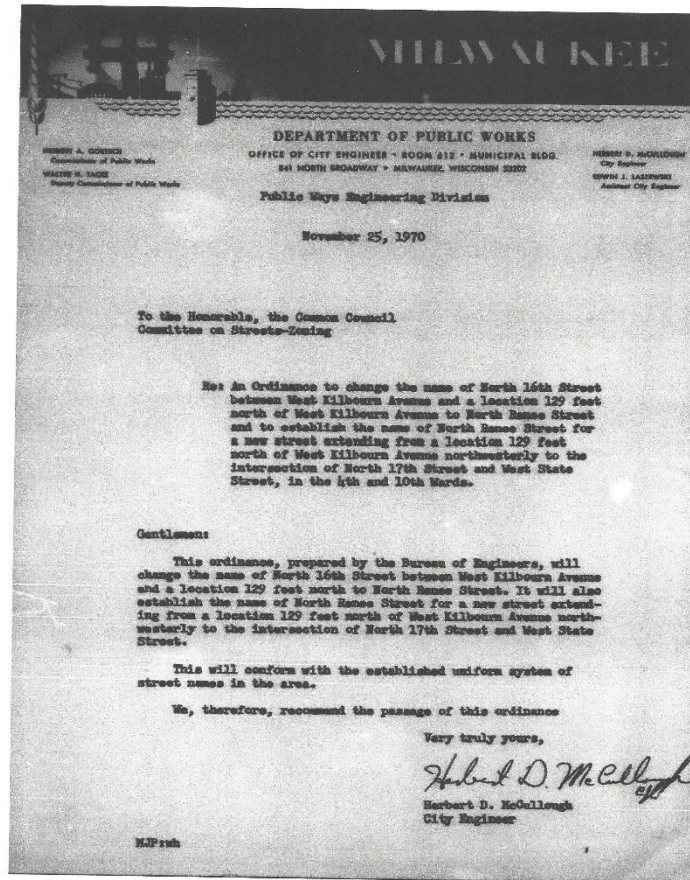


Figure 1: Naming process for Renee Street, Milwaukee.⁹²

The ordinance stipulates that there must first be a written petition to the City Clerk, who is required to refer the petition to the citizen advisory committee, the committee of the Common Council and also to the relevant city department or agency. The proposal should include the specific street, the full name being proposed for commemoration, the origin of the proposed name, and if the proposed name refers to a human, a brief biography of the person considered must be included. On the public side and in case of a renaming, a petition signed by more than 50 percent of the property owners along the street must be obtained and submitted by the

⁹² File Number 70-1920, "An Ordinance to Change the Name of North 16th Street between West Kilbourn Avenue and A Location 129 Feet North of West Kilbourn Avenue to North Renee Street and to Establish the Name of North Renee Street for A New Street Extending from a Location 129 Feet North of West Kilbourn Avenue Northwesterly to the Intersection of North 17th Street and West State Street, in the 4th and 10th Wards," The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee. City Records Center, Milwaukee.

requestor.⁹³ The submission shall be evaluated by the city department or agency in charge and its review be forwarded to the Common Council Committee (CCC). The review must include the geographical and demographic information along the street, the number of signs and name plates required for renaming, the estimated financial requirements, and the number of businesses to be affected along the street. The CCC is then required to conduct a public hearing in which the CAC is to present its comments and recommendations. Hence, the perception of the public, CAC and individuals, and the reports from the city department or agency would be evaluated by the CCC. The CCC would then forward its recommendation to the Common Council for appropriate action. If passed, it takes at least 90 days for the name to be memorialized and installed.⁹⁴

Meanwhile, a petition to rename a commemorative building or facility would not be considered by the Common Council. A proposal would also be rejected if the street or property memorialized a person within the last ten years.⁹⁵ A name would only be considered if it reflects historical significance and positive image, and has contributed to arts, entertainment or business, led an outstanding career, and has significantly served the public. Also, in order to be certain an individual's records remain clean, only a dead person or someone who is 70 years old and above (someone who is likely not to commit crime anymore) would be considered. In sum, names that have contributed to the civic or national development shall be prioritized.⁹⁶

On June 23, 2005, a substitute ordinance for street renaming and honorary naming was approved by Mayor Tom Barrett.⁹⁷ Because of “confidentiality,” the new ordinance replaces “the requirement that a proposal to rename a street be accompanied by a petition signed by more

⁹³ File Number 900822, “An Ordinance Relating to the Naming of Public Buildings, Facilities and Streets,” 4.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 5.

⁹⁷ File Number 050197, “A Substitute Ordinance Relating to the Procedure for the Renaming of Streets,” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

than 50 percent of the owners of property along the street,” with the appropriate city department conducting a “postcard survey of the property owners, residents and businesses along the street to determine the level of support for a street renaming proposal.”⁹⁸ It establishes an alternative means of street naming, and the “public hearing on a proposed street renaming or honorary street naming shall be mailed to each owner of property along street and to each address along the street, including each individual each individual apartment, unit, room or suite number. A proposal shall not receive further consideration unless the postcard survey indicates that more than 50 percent of the property owners, residents and businesses support it.”⁹⁹ In essence, this new ordinance relieves a street renaming petitioner of the requirement of obtaining these signatories and places it on the “city department of agency” in charge. However, on March 18, 2008, an ordinance was passed, it establishes the fees and cost of renaming streets, which is a requirement for the petitioners.¹⁰⁰ Application fees of \$100 and \$50 for installing a proposed honorary street name are expected to be paid by an applicant. In addition, the “fabrication and installation” fee of \$100 in conjunction with an official renaming is required.¹⁰¹

It is important to note that the honorary street names are not the official names, because when an honorary name is designated and installed on a street or parts of it, the official name remains unchanged for official and legal use.¹⁰² Honorary street naming does not require the postcard survey, but official renaming does.¹⁰³ Honorary names are now permanent, unlike in the past when streets were named after groups or individuals for a short period of time, say a day or

⁹⁸ File Number 050197, “A Substitute Ordinance Relating to the Procedure for the Renaming of Streets,”

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ File Number 071361, “An Ordinance Relating to Costs and Fees for Official Street Renamings and Honorary Street Namings,” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 2.

¹⁰² File Number 060402, “An Ordinance Relating to the Procedures for Renaming Streets and Assigning Honorary Street Names,” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee,” 5.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 4.

a week, depending on the occasion of the time. For instance, Lincoln and Marie Gaines were honored (as “Gaines Avenue” on West Garfield Avenue) for a day on May 13, 1977 for their contributions on youth development.¹⁰⁴ Further, they are street names plated in blue, while the official streets are in green. They also only cover one or few block(s) or a segment of the streets, in contrast to the official street names. Official streets are implemented with Common Council Ordinances, while private streets, alleys and honorary streets are named with Common Council Resolutions. In the case of honorary street names, the installation shall be done “within 60 days of the receipt of the signs [plates] from the petitioner.”¹⁰⁵ Other street name proposals and recommendations not passed are “placed on file,” possibly for record-keeping purposes.

Therefore, what are the historical changes in gender inequality with increasing democratization of the street naming process? What are these commemorated names and what could be gleaned from their contributions to Milwaukee from 1920 to 2021? In other words, what Milwaukee’s story could be told from the changing pattern of its street names? What aspect of civic contributions is hegemonic on Milwaukee’s memorial streets? This chapter endeavors to give answers to these posed questions by historicizing the topic and periodizing them around the democratization of the street naming systems.

In order to do this, there are three periods. The first period (1920-1990), the institutionalization period of Milwaukee’s street naming, includes when the city’s commemorative rights were exclusively with the real estate developers, City Engineers, and later the Alderpersons. In this period, Milwaukee had a collective memory of famous people who had

¹⁰⁴ File Number 76-1999, “Resolution Proclaiming West Garfield Avenue from North 10th to North 14th Streets ‘Gaines Avenue’ for a Day Observance,” *Proceedings of the Common Council, 1977-78, City of Milwaukee*, Municipal Research Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁰⁵ File Number 060402 “An Ordinance Relating to the Procedures for Renaming Streets and Assigning Honorary Street Names,” 4.

contributed to the nation's politics, local businesses, agriculture, and city formation. Also, names related to civic power were also commemorated. The second period (1990-2021) entails events of increasing democratization process of street naming, when a more comprehensive procedure was adopted in Milwaukee. The third period (2005-2021), a period overlapping of the second, covers honorary street naming – an alternative to official naming system. As we read through the periods, we need to pay attention to how these processes impacted the gendering of the street names.

Institutionalizing Milwaukee's Street Naming Procedure (1920-1990)

The practice of municipalities institutionalizing procedures of street naming and memorializing people with little or no democratic process, is not a modern phenomenon. For instance, Oto-Peralias believed that urban memorialization began with French municipalities commemorating famous people in the eighteenth century before it spread all across the world in the following years.¹⁰⁶ Also, between 1920s and 1930s in Tel Aviv, “the autonomous Jewish municipality” made exclusive naming decisions on newly constructed streets, before a democratic process was constituted in 1941, after calls from the residents to remember certain persons of interest.”¹⁰⁷ These early periods are often laden with memorials of famous names that have contributed to the development of a place, particularly in socio-political issues. Urban commemoration processes became more democratic around the world as memorials transformed into contentious spaces of identity.

¹⁰⁶ Oto-Peralias, “What Do Street Names Tell us?” 190.

¹⁰⁷ Anat Helman, “Civic Involvement and Street-Naming in Inter-War Tel Aviv,” *Jewish Culture and History* 8(2) (2012): 29.

This section critically examines the periods when street naming in Milwaukee was less democratic and more of top-down approach from decision makers; and how their decisions disproportionately distribute the streets names along gender contours of the city. Further, this section also establishes the fact that history making, and preservation are dependent on social and cultural events. It is to argue that there is a correlation between the larger changes in the lives of the people and the commemorative practices in cities. That is, how does collective memory depends on the larger societal changes?

Although this chapter documents the specific contributions of people (both men and women), so we can begin to establish answers to the questions posed in this thesis, it is dominated by the stories of men. We should be cautious of losing touch with the overarching question of gender in mind, as the whole chapter is to take us through the importance of events in commemorative practices, and how these events are (un)consciously prioritized, and consequently gendered. Understanding these dynamics could enlighten us on how history making is socially constructed before it is unpacked in Chapter Four (after the inequality is fully analyzed).

Honoring Famous People

The use of spaces for memorialization usually begins with the events of formation period, establishment of settlements and freedom for an area to be independent and habitable. These events are typically fundamental to placemaking and are often urban memorial priorities in the early times. This usually sees famous warriors, lords, soldiers, activists, martyrs, city founders and peacemakers as the first citizens of public memory. In fact, the use of commemorative

streets to remember people in Milwaukee followed this trend by memorializing revolutionary military leaders, city founders and political leaders (see Appendix).

Hence, it is important to unveil these earlier contributors to the placemaking of Milwaukee. This section examines the contributions of famous persons who contributed to the foregoing and memorialized between 1920 and 1990. Although most of the people that fall into this category were remembered earlier to this date, it is worth noting that the transformation in the commemorative street naming procedure in the 1920s still featured some of these icons.

Entering into the 1930s, Milwaukee continued to eliminate duplicate street names and commemorate famous people through the land developers, City Engineer, and the Common Council. For instance, Morgan L. Martin, one of the founding fathers of Juneautown (one the villages that formed Milwaukee), was commemorated in 1926 on Martin Drive.¹⁰⁸ In a similar vein, Bryon Kilbourn, a civil engineer who founded Kilbourntown through his search for a port city along Lake Michigan, was memorialized on Kilbourn Avenue in 1929.¹⁰⁹

Cudahy Avenue was named after Patrick Cudahy in 1931. Because of the potato famine in Ireland, Cudahy emigrated as an infant with his family to Milwaukee in 1849. Thereafter, he learned the meat packing business via working as a “carrier, pickler, packer and weigher” for a number of companies. He gradually accrued experience and was employed in 1873 as a superintendent at Lyman & Wooley. At the age of 39 (in collaboration with his brother, John), Cudahy took over Plankinton and Armour and renamed it Cudahy Brothers.¹¹⁰ In 1957, Cudahy renamed the same company Patrick Cudahy, Inc.¹¹¹ The company historically was a job provider

¹⁰⁸ Carl Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets: The Stories behind Their Names* (Milwaukee: Cream City Press, 1995), 169.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 140.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 61.

¹¹¹ “Cudahy Brothers,” *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, accessed November 16, 2020 <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/cudahy-brothers/>.

for Milwaukeeans (see Figure 3). This company still operates and sells meat and byproducts to Milwaukeeans and neighboring residents. In addition, it is important to know that Patrick Cudahy founded the Milwaukee suburban city, Cudahy.



Figure 2: Portrait of Patrick Cudahy.¹¹²

¹¹² Circa: 1990, Patrick Cudahy, Founder of the Meat-Packing Company, Milwaukee Sentinel Files, in “Patrick Cudahy through the Years,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* October 17, 2018, accessed November 16, 2020 <https://www.jsonline.com/picture-gallery/communities/south/news/cudahy/2018/10/17/short-historical-look-patrick-cudahy-meat-processing-plant-cudahy-wis/1669631002/>.



Figure 3: Women packing meat at Patrick Cudahy Inc. plant in Cudahy in 1960.¹¹³

The commemoration of persons like Patrick Cudahy, with his contribution in business and women seen working as meat packers (Figure 3), demonstrates a wide socio-economic gender gap in relations in Milwaukee (this would be expatiated in the succeeding chapters). This is not to say Cudahy was not worthy of his commemoration, it is to let us begin to connect the topical statements of this chapter with the trend of street memorial in the city. It is also prudent we start to establish in mind, how the society was/is largely made by and for men, and how history making is gendered.

¹¹³ Donald Emmerich, 1960. Bacon is Packaged on Assembly Lines in the Patrick Cudahy Plant, in “Patrick Cudahy through the Years,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, October 18, 2018, accessed January 26, 2021
“<https://www.jsonline.com/picture-gallery/communities/south/news/cudahy/2018/10/17/short-historical-look-patrick-cudahy-meat-processing-plant-cudahy-wis/1669631002/>.”

Milwaukee's Suburbanization

Once a city is established physically and socially, what often follows is its expansion and creation of means of movement to the outlying areas. Although the naming of Milwaukee's expanded streets wasn't purposely for movement alone, it embodied the characteristics of suburbanization process and the change in people's social relations.

This sub-section examines the relations of street naming, suburbanization, and gender in Milwaukee between 1920s and 1930s. Naming the city's streets in this period (1920-1990) shows evidence of Milwaukee's expansion. Streets such as Goodrich Avenue (named after William Osbourn Goodrich), Dewey Place (after Nelson Dewey), Emery Road and Emery Circle (Emery Swan), Armitage Avenue (William Armitage) in 1931 in Wauwatosa; Ramsey Avenue (named after Thomas Ramsey) in 1931 and Grange Avenue (named for William Grange) in 1933 in Greenfield among others (see Appendix) point towards an extension of the city beyond its limits.

The "Suburbanization" entry in the *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee* explains that with the invention of electric streetcars in 1890, middle class residents were presented with the opportunity to move outwards of the city. The construction of new roads that extended the city limits, also helped residents with means of transportation to freely move from the city centers to the suburbs. These helped stretched Milwaukee outwards.¹¹⁴ Patrick Jones in *The Selma of the North* also documented that Milwaukee's suburbanization was exacerbated by the Great Migration of the early 1900s. As immigration became pervasive in the city, an iron ring pattern

¹¹⁴ "Suburbanization," *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, accessed November 16, 2020 <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/suburbanization/>.

of eighteen suburban communities developed around the central city.¹¹⁵ Jones documented that most of the Black pioneer immigrants who migrated in the late nineteenth were literates, considerably rich former slaves who purchased their freedom, or were fugitive slaves. As a result, they could purchase homes alongside White neighbors and engage in artisan works for livelihood.¹¹⁶ This could have created spaces for the inflow of more African Americans into Milwaukee in the twentieth century. Further, between 1892 and 1906, the first set of suburban communities were incorporated in Milwaukee County. –West Allis, Whitefish Bay, Shorewood, and Cudahy. “Suburbia” became a popular and well promoted idea among influential Milwaukeeans as a means of circumventing the hustle and bustle of urban life.¹¹⁷

Charles Goff posited that the desire of suburban residents to gain access to Milwaukee’s facilities led to consistent support for annexation between 1893 and 1923. Annexation would then become a prioritized policy in 1923.¹¹⁸ Joel Rast further reiterated that in 1923, the city government, through the annexation policy, built public housing outside the city boundaries for working class residents. Home developers focused their attention on the incorporated vacant lands that needed paved streets to connect the outlying residents to the central city.¹¹⁹ Gregory Dickenson corroborated this by stating that, as a result of the persistent traffic congestion in the central areas of Milwaukee, there were demands for provision of new roads. Mayors John Bohn

¹¹⁵ Patrick D. Jones, “The Selma of the North”: Race Relations and Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee, 1958-1970 (Ph.D. dissertation, History Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002), 31.

¹¹⁶ Patrick D. Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee* (Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press, 2009), 12.

¹¹⁷ “Suburbanization,” *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*.

¹¹⁸ Charles D. Goff, “The Politics of Governmental Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1952), 87.

¹¹⁹ Joel Rast, “Annexation Policy in Milwaukee: An Historical Institutionalist Approach,” *Northeastern Political Science Association* 39(1) (2007): 60.

and Frank Zeidler, and Land Commissioner Elmer Krieger adopted a city-wide transportation facilities development that connected the central city to the outlying spaces.¹²⁰

Therefore, it seems plausible to connect the new set of named streets beyond Milwaukee's limits to the suburbanization and annexation processes of this period. It is very possible that the naming of the streets in suburbs at this time was a result of attempts to incorporate the naming pattern to the outlying regions into the unified nomenclature system adopted by Milwaukee in the 1920s, so as to avoid the same problem inherited from the original incorporation of the city in 1846.

In this period the idea of city expansion was a priority, and it had some great influences on gender relations in cities. Daphne Spain argued that because of the idea of promoted suburbanization in American cities in the earlier twentieth century, scholars like Earnest Burgess, Robert Park and others developed city planning ideas for functionality. The author contended that ideas like Burgess' created gendered "separate spheres" syndrome in the capitalist American cities, where his diagram that places the business district in the central area shows and normalizes the distances between men and women's roles in the city. In her words "men produced goods in the public sphere downtown, and middle-class women reproduced labor in the private sphere of the home in the outer zones."¹²¹ The suburbanization process in this period was gendered, therefore we could suggest that it was easier to perceive or rate men's activities as worthy of commemorative recognition.

¹²⁰ Gregory Dickenson, "Through Highways: Construction of the Expressway System in Milwaukee County, 1946-1977," (Master's thesis, History Department, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2015), accessed December 13, 2020 <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/802>.

¹²¹ Daphne Spain, "Gender and Urban Space," *Annu. Rev. Sociol* 40 (2014): 583.

Recognizing the Indigenous Peoples on Milwaukee's Streets

Taking attention away from the narrative of suburbanization, there was another important event that incorporated the Indigenous peoples into the street commemoration in Milwaukee. However, the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee acknowledges the Indigenous history with the land acknowledgement: “we acknowledge in Milwaukee that we are on traditional Potawatomi, Ho-Chunk and Menominee homeland along the southwest shores of Michigami, North America’s largest system of freshwater lakes, where the Milwaukee, Menominee and Kinnickinnic rivers meet and the people of Wisconsin’s sovereign Anishinaabe, Ho-Chunk, Menominee, Oneida and Mohican nations remain present.”¹²² This section draws attention to some of the histories of the First peoples of America – a history that supports the importance of events of freedom obtained from wars, as well as diversifying the rights of different identities on street plates. Although this would not be fully analyzed until Chapter Four, we should also keep in mind how these contributions are gendered.

Charles Michel de Langlade was an indigenous man that was memorialized on Langlade Street (see Figure 4), by the City Engineer in 1957.¹²³ Langdale was a Metis and a soldier who had a great relationship with the Ottawa community. In 1760, he led and fought alongside the Indigenous soldiers in the French war. Langdale was also a leader of the western tribal soldiers to Fort Duquesne, where they defeated General Edward Braddock.¹²⁴ After the victory, Langdale successfully persuaded the Indigenous peoples to spare many of the war survivors. He moved

¹²² “Land Acknowledgement,” Electa Quinney Institute, accessed May 02, 2021 <https://uwm.edu/eqi/about/land-acknowledgement/>.

¹²³ Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets*, 149.

¹²⁴ Paul M. Trap, "Charles Langlade in the French and Indian War," (Master's thesis, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 1980), 1-106, accessed November 12, 2020 https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2939&context=masters_theses.

permanently to Green Bay around 1764, where he gained his popular identity as the “Father of Wisconsin” before his death in 1801.¹²⁵



Figure 4: West Langlade Street, Milwaukee, 2020.

One observation in this sub-section that is unsurprising and which supports the overarching theme of this thesis, is the fact that, Langlade, the only indigenous person memorialized on Milwaukee’s street between 1920 and 2021, was a man. In addition, Langlade’s memorial may not have happened without the colonization process (a men dominated event), although there are other streets like Kinnikinnic Avenue and Potawatomi Circle that reflect indigenous names. Also, “Milwaukee” as a name, symbolizes the Anishinaabemowin language. Emily Files stated that Anishinaabemowin language is a term used to describe a couple of closely related languages including Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Odawa languages. She further listed some other cities and towns in Wisconsin with indigenous place names, which include but

¹²⁵ “Langlade, Charles Michel 1729 – 1801,” Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed December 13, 2020, <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS9683>.

not limited to Wauwatosa, Waukesha, Kinnickinnic, Oconomowoc, and Menominee. Other natural features like lakes and rivers still bear native languages.¹²⁶

Memorializing State Politics on Milwaukee's Street

Street memorials are also often occupied by famous politicians who changed the policies or laws that positively affected peoples' lives. The narrative in this sub-section helps to glean how the contributions of the memorized person became socio-political priorities to residents in this period. It also helps to point to the changing roles of women in politics – Woman Suffrage.

John James Blaine had a street (Blaine Place) memorializing him in 1953.¹²⁷ Blaine used his gubernatorial office to promote progressive pro-labor legislation in Wisconsin, he created the state market departments, developed schemes to defeat bovine tuberculosis, and signed the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Act in 1921 (one of the leading states to ratify the Nineteenth amendment in the US), and also reviewed the Wisconsin inheritance and income taxes.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Emily Files, "Oconomowoc, Nagawicka, Okauchee: Unpacking Wisconsin's Native Place Names," *WUWM* January 3, 2020, accessed March 30, 2021 <https://www.wuwm.com/regional/2020-01-03/onomowoc-nagawicka-okauchee-unpacking-wisconsins-native-place-names>.

¹²⁷ Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets*, 25.

¹²⁸ "Blaine, John James 1873 – 1934," Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed November 17, 2020 <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS5521>.



Figure 5: Governor John J. Blaine (left) and Mabel Raef Putnam shake hands, after signing the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Act in 1921.¹²⁹



Figure 6: North Blaine Place, Milwaukee, 2020.

Other famous names memorialized during and after this period on Milwaukee streets and not discussed in detail, include but are not limited to, William McKinley, the 25th US President (1843-1901), memorialized in 1926; Nelson Dewey, the first governor of Wisconsin, in 1929;

¹²⁹ “Women Congratulate Governor Blaine for Signing the Women's Rights Bill,” Wisconsin Historical Society, Image ID 118142, accessed November 17, 2020, <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM118142>.

Abraham Lincoln, the 16th US President, had another Milwaukee street memorializing him in 1929 and 1995, after his previous commemoration in 1871; John Plankinton, a meatpacking businessman was remembered in 1929; John Purdue, a major benefactor of Purdue University, was commemorated in 1929; Marquis de Lafayette, a French soldier in the US Revolutionary War was memorialized on LaFayette Hill Road in 1989.

The narratives of the contributions of famous persons commemorated between 1920 and 1990 in this section, support the argument that street names embody both the physical and social developments of a city. It supports the idea that street names were employed as a means of preserving what Saul Cohen and Nurit Kliot described as “local and national sentiments and goals.”¹³⁰ The street commemorative practices of early twentieth century Milwaukee saw the idea of prioritizing national heroes that had contributed to the development of the country’s politics, either through the revolutionary events or wars. At the local and state levels, individuals who developed the progressiveness of the state and the city, and business owners who created jobs, were prioritized for street memorials.

Additionally, the commemorations of national heroes and local figures, in what Christopher Thale believed was influenced by civic culture,¹³¹ suggests that Milwaukee attempted to reframe its unique identity in post-colonialism and socialism yet inscribed its idea into the American ethos. Chris Post and Derek Alderman documented that one of the central goals of street memory of local and national figures is the inscription of cultural geographies, values, and identity of a city into a larger national landscape. They termed this construct the

¹³⁰ Saul B. Cohen and Nurit Kliot, “Place-Names in Israel’s Ideological Struggle over the Administered Territories,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(4) (1992): 653.

¹³¹ Thale, “Changing Addresses,” 142.

“toponymic rescaling,”¹³² because it rescales the local level (urban) toponym into the larger (national) narratives. This in turn describes Milwaukee’s commemorative practices at this time.

Streets Named for Real Estate Developers, Aldermen, City Engineers and Their Relatives (1920-1990)

Decisions on street commemoration are mostly ingrained with politics. The power relation is often shared among certain groups of people in place and time, making decisions to be political. This section analyzes how the events of the politics of commemorative street naming in Milwaukee unfolded, and how the politics influenced the distribution of the memorials. It is important to have this documented, as it helps us to understand the social-political relations among the people in this period. For instance, a number of women were memorialized between 1920 and 1990, and their commemorations accentuate men’s dominance.

Between 1920 and 1990, the politics of commemorative street naming existed among the land developers, City Engineer, and the Alderpersons in Milwaukee. As stated earlier in this chapter, Milwaukee saw many streets memorializing land developers, aldermen, city engineers, and their children, grandchildren, and wives until 1990, when the process became more democratic. For example, with the building numbering and street commemorative power at the City Engineer’s Office, coupled with their physical development contributions, a number of workers at the department were memorialized. For instance, Joyce T. Schmidt, the city engineer’s secretary, had Joyce Avenue in 1956, and Harold Denmark –an employee of the City Engineer – despite the misspelling, had Denmark Street named after him in 1958. Edward Petersik (an employee of the City Engineer from 1910), who had contributed to the 1926 uniform

¹³² Chris W. Post and Derek H. Alderman, “‘Wiping New Berlin off the Map’: Political Economy and the de-Germanisation of the Toponymic Landscape in First World War USA,” *Area* 46(1) (2014): 89.

street naming and property numbering systems, was remembered on Petersik Street in 1957. And another City Engineer's employee, Margaret Ann Wendler, was on Ann Street in 1963 (see Appendix).

Other persons memorialized were further related to the hegemonic power structure that involved both the private and political relations of the time. For example, Arthur Wenz, who was a land developer in the Bay View subdivision, named Carol Street after his daughter Carol Wenz in 1926. Sidney Gettelman, a developer in the Grantosa Heights Subdivision named Carmen Avenue for his wife (Carmen Gettelman) in 1927. Paul Gauer, who was an alderman from Milwaukee's South Side between 1920 and 1936, was memorialized on Gauer Circle in 1939. Debbie Schroedel, who was the granddaughter of the developer Francis Schroedel, had Debbie Lane (1962); Sylvia Meyers, the wife of Ludwig Adolf Haas was designated to Sylvia Street in 1967, while Anita Celina, the wife of the city's draftsman (Harold Denemark), got Celina Street platted in her name in 1963. Further, Michele Miller and Beatrice J. Prause were the granddaughter and wife of Alderman Clarence Miller respectively, and were remembered on Michele Street and Beatrice Street in 1969. Alderman Robert Ertl memorialized his daughter Renee Ertl, on Renee Street in 1971, while Steven Nardelli, a son of alderman Thomas Nardelli, was platted on Steven Road in 1974 (see Appendix).

The recognition of women on Milwaukee's street memorial is one striking trend that is notable here. At least ten women married to rich men or related to civic authorities were memorialized between 1920 and mid-1970s, but this type of memorial became prevalent between 1962 to 1971. For instance, Sarah Ann Swain, the first wife of John T. Meredith, were memorialized on Swain Court. Meredith was an immigrant from England in 1868 and resided in Village of Bay View, where he was the president. He established a steel plant in South Chicago—

a plant now known as the United Steel Company – “and has the unique distinction of being the first builder of malleable iron furnaces in Milwaukee and the Northwest.”¹³³ In 1923, George S. Meredith and Harato Samuel Meredith named the street for their mother.¹³⁴ Similarly, Alvina Pfeiffer was commemorated in 1941 on Alvina Avenue and Alvina Court by her husband, Charles H. Pfeiffer. During the WWII in Milwaukee, Charles “worked as an assembler at Galland-Henning Manufacturing Company.”¹³⁵

The memorial of women in Milwaukee in this period stressed their relationship with men in power or rich men; a finding similar to Bigon and Zuvalinyenga for Zimbabwe,¹³⁶ Diana Neaga¹³⁷ and Ana-Maria Niculescu-Mizil¹³⁸ for Bucharest, Romania. One other important observation to pay attention to in the commemoration trend of this period, is the interest of Clarence Miller (alderman of Milwaukee Northeast Side from 1964 to 1978).¹³⁹ Miller named at least four streets after his relatives between 1960 and 1979, including Beatrice and Michele Streets in the 1960s. In 1974, his son, Allyn Miller had Allyn Street and Allyn Court to his name, and his granddaughter, Angela Ava Miller, had Angela Avenue and Angela Drive in 1978 (Appendix).

One plausible explanation for Miller’s interest and other related memorials, center on what Derek Alderman described as a form of social power that preserves and “marinates certain

¹³³ “Notable People” 466, accessed May 04, 2021

<https://city.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/Groups/ccClerk/HPC/DOCs/BayviewVol2Pt3.pdf>

¹³⁴ Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets*, 249.

¹³⁵ Ibid, 8.

¹³⁶ Bigon and Zuvalinyenga, “Urban Pulse – Gendered Urban Toponyms in the Global South: A Time for Decolonization?” 5.

¹³⁷ Diana E. Neaga, “Doing and Undoing Gender in Urban Spaces: The University Square Bucharest,” *Analyze: Journal of Gender and Feminist Studies* 3(17) (2014): 38.

¹³⁸ Ana-Maria Niculescu-Mizil, “(Re)naming Streets in Contemporary Bucharest: From Power Distribution to Subjective Biography,” *Analyze: Journal of Gender and Feminist Studies* 3(17) (2014): 83.

¹³⁹ Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets*, 7.

power relationships.”¹⁴⁰ This is because controlling the language-materiality of a city through acknowledging both former and informal partnerships and relationships, helps to preserve civic authority, and indirectly inscribe personal interests into the city lexical structure. Also, it is possible that others in authority to name these streets in Milwaukee just didn’t care for the memorials, and those who cared like Miller, had no political intention behind their actions. But regardless of the consciousness of the intentions, familiarizing urban place names like street names helps preserves one’s civic contributions and achievements, for as long as the memorials exist. It is also not mere curiosity to make enquiries about the ownership of the streets named by Miller. It is possible he purchased the vast tracts of lands that housed the streets named.

Essentially, streets named after relatives especially when the name giver was in authority, could mirror the name giver’s identity, and, in that case, such names could be described as “mirrored street toponyms.” The streets used to memorialize oneself through political authority, could be regarded as “identificatory street toponyms.” In particular, both “mirrored street toponyms” and “identificatory street toponyms” could be grouped as “subjective toponyms,” because they unconsciously perpetuate oneself. Lewis Mumford corroborated this when he wrote that “The human impulse to create everlasting monuments springs perhaps out of the desire of the living to perpetuate themselves: to overcome the flux and evanescence of all living forms.”¹⁴¹ Therefore, street memorials are ensembles of urban features that help to protect personal relationships and document personal authority into the civic networks.

¹⁴⁰ Derek H. Alderman, “Commemorative Place Naming; to Name Place, to Claim the Past, to Repair Futures,” in *Naming Places*, eds, Frédéric Giraut and Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch, (in press: ISTE-Wiley), 6, accessed December 13, 2020

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341412389_Commemorative_Place_Naming_To_Name_Place_To_Claim_the_Past_To_Repair_Futures.

¹⁴¹ Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938), 433.

Although the memorialization of most women in the earlier nineteenth century were influenced by their relationship with influential men, there were a couple of them who made indelible contributions to civic culture and were recognized. For instance, Lydia Ely Hewitt was an artist who organized the Soldiers Home Fair in 1865.¹⁴² It was an exhibition of American art (paintings and sculpture), and the revenue raised from the exhibition was used to memorialized the Wisconsin Soldiers (in Wisconsin Soldiers Home) in the same year.¹⁴³ In addition, the School Sisters of Notre Dame were commemorated on Notre Dame Court in 1927.¹⁴⁴ They established an organization, schools, and mission in Milwaukee and other parts of the US and Canada.¹⁴⁵

Racial Relations on Milwaukee's Streets

It is worthy of note that when dealing with spatial inequality in multicultural environments like the US, it is unwise to exclude race narratives. This is because Lawrence Berg and Robin Kearns argued that “‘race’ and ‘nation’ gain their power because they are often taken for granted as ‘natural’ categories that describe discernible material entities having immutable characteristics.”¹⁴⁶ We cannot separate race from spatial analysis.

The mid twentieth century saw another dimension of racial activism that led to certain political decisions both at the national and local levels in the country. Some of these events culminated into police arrests, charges, police brutality, residents’ resistance, and assassination.

¹⁴² Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets*, 80; “John S. Conway Papers, 1855-1978,” Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed May 5, 2021 <https://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?c=wiarchives;cc=wiarchives;view=text;rgn=main;didno=uw-whs-mil00110>.

¹⁴³ “John S. Conway Papers, 1855-1978.”

¹⁴⁴ Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets*, 194.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 194.

¹⁴⁶ Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, “Naming as Norming: ‘Race’, Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Environment and Planning D* 14 (1996): 102.

The leaders of these events who sacrificed and helped shape to certain extent, the racial relations in the US began to be memorialized, mainly by the communities of color they fought for.

This section stresses that Milwaukee's memorial street names saw more racial diversity moving forward into 1960, and the memorialized names were linked to social activism. However, activism could be traced to the struggle of slavery emancipation, Woman Suffrage Movements, mass incarceration, Jim Crow, segregation, Civil Rights Movements, and in recent times, Black Lives Matter. We could also connect it to the American Revolution. Basically, activism is organized local and collective resistance to power from a marginalized group of people. Entering into 1900s through 1960s however, activism gained more momentum through the Woman Suffrage and Civil Rights Movements against gender inequality and systemic racism respectively. Thereafter, many American cities began to recognize the contributions of activists (who were people of color) through place memorials,¹⁴⁷ but at the expense of women. This section captures Milwaukee's new relations to race, culture, and gender.

These dynamics are important to understanding the politics of identity in street memorials, as they take different shapes with the changes in the socio-political ideological make-up of American cities. In essence, the narratives here should enlighten us about how the changes in social relations on identity shape the geographical meaning of street memorials. It is prudent to keep in mind before reading the narratives here, that commemorative street names were inferred in Chapter One to embody a paradoxical characteristic. That is, they essentially could perpetuate inequality of identity through exclusion from the urban landscape, and at the same time, they could also be

¹⁴⁷ Richard Schein, "Race and Landscape in the United States," in *Landscape and Race in the United States*, (ed) Richard Schein, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 18.

employed to instill some equality policies towards developing just places. This section provides some evidence on this fact.

Reflection and Obscurement of Gender on Lindsay Street

Lindsay Street memorialized a Black American woman named Bernice Copeland Lindsay in 1967.¹⁴⁸ She was born in Winchester, Indiana on March 10, 1899, and attended Ohio State University, where she became the first Black woman to obtain a bachelor's degree in journalism from the school. She further had graduate degrees from the University of Chicago, Columbia University and Marquette University.¹⁴⁹ Bernice Lindsay moved to Milwaukee in 1928, where she directed the activities of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) for 22 years. She further worked as a case worker at the Milwaukee County Department of Public Welfare. Lindsay was an activist who helped integrate the first black teachers into Milwaukee's school system, and also founded a local learning center, where locals, mainly people of color, learned new skills.¹⁵⁰ Her human rights activism helped develop the northern side of the city, and her feminist activism (Figure 9) was also notable.

Aside the racial connotation Lindsay Street evokes, it also reflects a key turning point in gender relations in Milwaukee's commemorative street names. Although Bernice was married to Ulysses G. Lindsay,¹⁵¹ her contributions stood out for her street commemorative recognition in the city. Also, unlike other streets named for women, using the last name of Bernice Lindsay to

¹⁴⁸ "Lindsay Street, North," City of Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, accessed November 20, 2020 <https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1239>.

¹⁴⁹ File Number 66-3726, "Resolution Establishing the Name of N. Lindsay Street in Honor of Bernice Lindsay," *Proceedings of the Common Council 1967-68, City of Milwaukee*, Municipal Research Library, Milwaukee.

¹⁵⁰ Baehr, *Milwaukee Streets*, 155.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

commemorate her shows some level of obscurement of her gender in this street, even though the records show she accepted the honor. Since women culturally take the last name of men, using her last name shows how societal gender relations could shape this type of memorial.

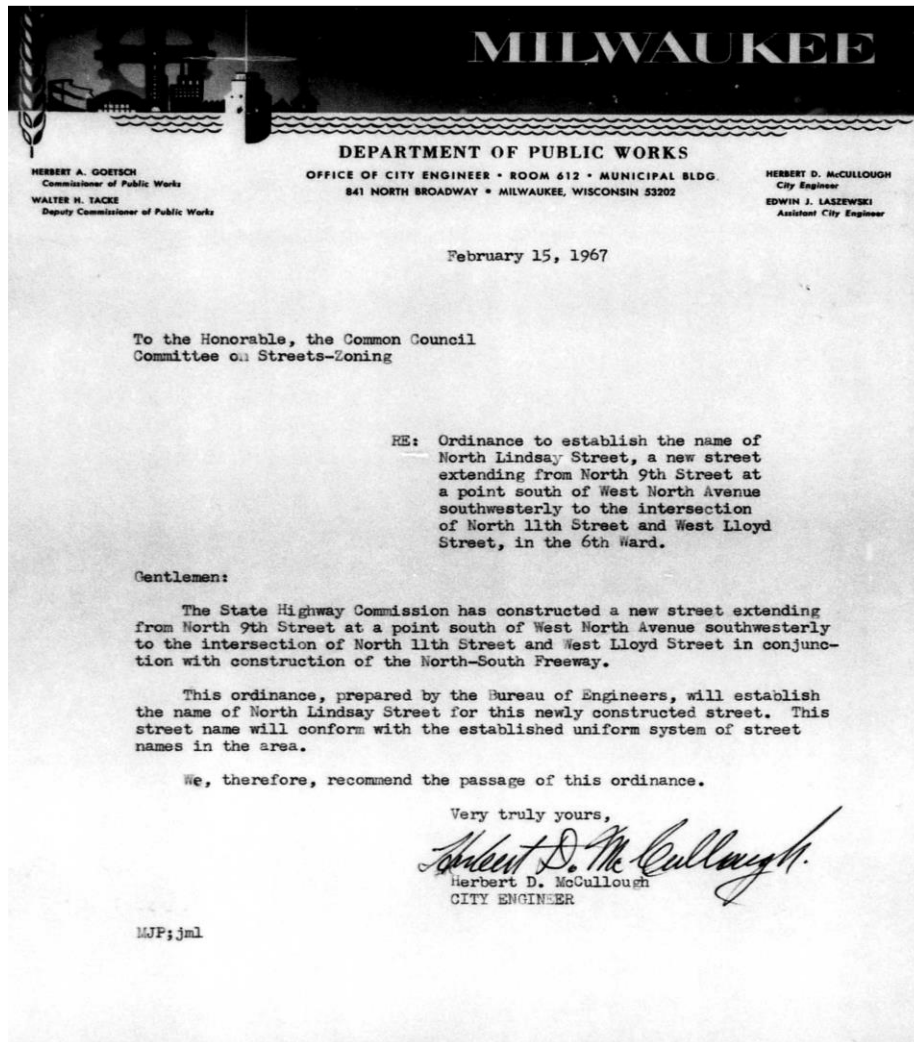


Figure 7: City Engineer's letter to the Milwaukee's Common Council for Lindsay St.¹⁵²

The memorial of Bernice Lindsay came after the Alderpersons had taken responsibility of naming the streets in Milwaukee mid-1960s.¹⁵³ The decision was made by the Common Council

¹⁵² File Number 66-3726, "Ordinance to Establish the Name of North Lindsay Street, a New Street Extending from North 9th Street at a Point South of West North Avenue Southwesterly to the Intersection of North 11th Street Lloyd Street, in the 6th Ward," The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁵³ Ibid, xi.

on March 21, 1967, after the ordinance recommendation was sent by the City Engineer (see Figure 7), and Alderperson Vel Phillips moved the motion for passage in a Common Council meeting. The involvement of Vel Phillips in this memorial suggests the struggle of gender representation in Milwaukee's commemorative street names. Bernice Lindsay appeared to be the first commemoration of a Black woman on Milwaukee's public streets, and it is plausible that Ald. Phillips struggled to make this happen for Black women's representation, moving forward.



Figure 8: Bernice Lindsay installing a new plate for North Lindsay Street.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ "Today is #InternationalWomensDay!" Wisconsin Historical Museum, Image 118870, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, accessed November 17, 2020 <https://www.facebook.com/WisconsinHistoricalMuseum/posts/today-is-internationalwomensday-bernice-lindsay-born-in-winchester-indiana-berni/10158082615614889/>.



—Journal Staff
Among the guests at a meeting of the Milwaukee Woman's club Monday were (from left) Mrs. E. L. McClure, 426 N. 70th st. interracial chairman of the club; Mrs. Bernice Lindsay, 4851 N. 44th st., national legislative chairman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Women, speaker, and Mrs. Ruth Coleman, 1022 W. National av., chairman of the board of directors of the Consolidated Tribes of North American Indians
 Figure 9: Feminist activist Bernice C. Lindsay.¹⁵⁵

Milwaukee's 3rd Street Leads to King

The 1980s saw one of the most important Black persons in history memorialized on a Milwaukee's street. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a Christian minister, a spokesperson for challenging the then status quo for racial justice in America. David Chappell documented that King's death in 1968 was a spark for change in American history.¹⁵⁶ A week after the tragic murder of King, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Civil Rights Acts of 1968 into law; a gesture to answer King's most radical demands for racial equality, fair housing opportunities and an end to systemic racism in America.

¹⁵⁵ "The Color of Law in Milwaukee's Carleton's Addition," Milwaukee Public Library, *The Milwaukee Journal*, March 14th, 1950, accessed November 17, 2020 <http://mpl.org/blog/now/the-color-of-law-in-milwaukees-carletons-addition#>.

¹⁵⁶ David L. Chappell, *Waking from the Dream: The Struggle for Civil Rights in the Shadow of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2016).

Moving into the 1970s, King's name was to be memorialized in public buildings, open spaces, schools, and streets in American cities. He was remembered on more than 900 streets,¹⁵⁷ including North 3rd Street in Milwaukee. Derek Alderman explained that naming streets after King in American cities was “no easy road” around this period. For instance, in a letter to “the alderman” on October 23rd, 1984, M.A. Preston opposed commemorating King on North Third Street, stating that “Going shopping on 3rd Street” had always helped keep a good memory of the city. Further, the writer cited that 3rd Street's business district had a recognition in the National Register of Historic Places; and if the name was changed, the good history and memory of the street would be erased.¹⁵⁸

Similarly, D. Biek in a letter written to the Committee on Public Improvement of the Common Council on August 24, 1984, described the “Old World North Third Street Neighborhood” as a location rich in historical vernacular spaces. The writer stated that since Milwaukee was the most German city of the United States, commemorating King on the 3rd Street would result to an erasure of the German culture and would imply that Milwaukee had prioritized its “civil rights history” and “superimpose[d]” it over the very heart of German heritage.¹⁵⁹ In the same vein, another president of a famous corporation, on September 2, 1983, wrote Alderman Kevin O'Connor citing among others, cultural issues as a major concern. The writer stated that in August of the same year, “Augtoberfest” drew about 10 thousand visitors to the area to enjoy some recreation like beer drinking, “brat, music, craft stands and the aura ‘Gemütlichkeit’” on the street; and changing the name of the street could hamper these rich

¹⁵⁷ Derek H. Alderman, “Naming Streets after Martin Luther King, Jr.: No Easy Road,” in *Landscape and Race in the United States*, ed. Richard H. Schein (New York: Routledge, 2006), 213-236.

¹⁵⁸ Margaret Preston, “Re: Common Council File 83-1267,” City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁵⁹ David Biek, “Re: Common Council File #83-1267 (Name Change Proposition for North Third Street), City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

cultural activities in the area. The writer also cited that in 1974, the merchants on Third Street between Kilbourn and Juneau made an agreement to “restore” the area’s dignity of early “European influence,” and if the name changed, it would draw them backwards.¹⁶⁰

This narrative of German heritage in Milwaukee could be likened to what Joseph Walzer considered as a mechanism White ethnic enclaves used to maintain power structure in the city. The author documented that as the racial civil right movement resisted status quo, especially after the World War II, “business leaders, developers, and pro-business public officials deployed these narratives of heritage and nostalgia in their efforts to reimagine the city as a post-industrial tourist and entertainment destination. In the process, such constructions effectively secured white ethnic claims to power and privilege in urban space.”¹⁶¹ It could be inferred that such resisting letter from D. Biek was such a snippet of this politics of identity in Milwaukee.

Similar cases of culture, history and identity were echoed in a letter by G.W. McGee to counter King’s memory, reiterating that 3rd Street didn’t reflect what King represented.¹⁶² But McGee and Preston suggested that the Alderpersons should look at other streets within the city to replace the Third Street to commemorate King. Other local organizations, businesses and residents along the street opposed the memorial of King based on different personal and economic reasons.

The business owners made complaints about them changing their addresses from Third Street to King, and how it would affect their daily activities. For instance, in the same letter written on September 2, 1983, to Alderman Kevin O’Connor, the writer asserted that the

¹⁶⁰ “Our Company is Very Much Opposed to Changing the Name of the Third Street to Any Other Name,” Common Council File 83-1267 (Name Change Proposition for North Third Street), City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, Common Council File 831267, City of Milwaukee.

¹⁶¹ Joseph B. Walzer, *Making an Old-world Milwaukee: German Heritage, Nostalgia and the Reshaping of the Twentieth Century City* (Ph.D. dissertation, History Department, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2017), iii.

¹⁶² Gregory W. McGee, “Dear Alderman Wayne Frank,” Common Council File 831267, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

corporation had existed in the area for 103 years and was in the midst of investing \$3 million in their plant, and if the name changed to King, “it would be catastrophic in the harm that could be done” to their investment. Also, the writer stated the expenses that could be incurred in having their business address change after decades. This would require a change in “cartons, advertising materials, labels, TV and radio commercials, checks, stationary, business forms,”¹⁶³ and among others. According to the writer, this would cost them hundreds of thousands of dollars to make these changes. Other organizations along the street collected signatures of members to oppose the name change.

In response to the foregoing, however, activists and organizations like the then Young Milwaukee Organization¹⁶⁴ collected over 100,000 signatures from Milwaukeeans,¹⁶⁵ and Ald. Marlen Johnson introduced a resolution to the Common Council,¹⁶⁶ to support the commemoration of King. Hence, a public hearing was organized in the city, and eventually, a significant part of the Third Street was renamed for King,¹⁶⁷ after the Common Council voted 13-3 and Mayor Henry Maier signed it into law.

King’s memorial story in Milwaukee underscores how socio-cultural-political characteristics collide with the creation of physical spaces and preservation of memory in cities. Culture, race, historical conservatism contours seemed to influence the opposition of Martin

¹⁶³ “Our Company is Very Much Opposed to Changing the Name of the Third Street to Any Other Name,” Common Council File 83-1267 (Name Change Proposition for North Third Street), City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁶⁴ “N 3rd St. Rooted in History,” *The Milwaukee Journal* November 4, 1983: 20, part 1.

¹⁶⁵ Jim Moody, Congress of the United States: House of Representative, Washington DC, 20515, “Ald. Richard Spaulding,” in Common Council File 831267, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁶⁶ “N 3rd St. Rooted in History,” *The Milwaukee Journal* November 4, 1983: 20, part 1.

¹⁶⁷ Ben E. Johnson, “Hearing Notice, (File No.) Re: 83-1267 Ordinance to Change the Name of Third St. N. of Wisconsin Ave. to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive,” The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

Luther King memorial, although activism and Milwaukee's progressivism prevailed to make sure King's name was memorialized on Third World Street.

It is, however, noteworthy that the remaining parts of the Third Street (North Old World Third Street), from West McKinley Avenue to West Wisconsin, was renamed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive after the Common Council anonymously voted and Mayor Tom Barrett signed the ordinance on February 9, 2021.¹⁶⁸ Alderperson Milele Coggs, whose district houses the block of the North Old World Third Street stated in an editorial that:

“every time one drives southbound on King Drive, as it abruptly turns into Old World Third Street, they may be reminded of the 1984 political fight over the street renaming, the tremendous effort to limit the King street naming from entering downtown Milwaukee and the vestiges of systemic racism and segregation that have been pervasive in this city.” Milele Coggs continued that the completed renaming would “serve as inspiration, hope, healing and encouragement for the quest for justice and racial equity.”¹⁶⁹

But the same old issue of the business address change as captured earlier, was put into consideration, as the street is famous for its bars and restaurants; And changes in address in this current financial crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, could prove costly to the business owners.¹⁷⁰ However, in an interview for this research, Ald. Milele Coggs asserted that she made a plan for public participation in the renaming process, in case any business owner had any objections to the renaming.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ File Number 201318, “A Substitute Ordinance Renaming Old World Third Street, from West McKinley Avenue to West Wisconsin Avenue, North Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive,” Common Council Files, Legislative Research Center, City of Milwaukee, accessed May 1, 2021

<https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=4760925&GUID=F97B4EAB-E700-4EE8-975C-69D736768AD9&Options=Advanced&Search=>.

¹⁶⁹ Alison Dirr, “Old World Third Street Likely to Become Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive with Unanimous Milwaukee Common Council Support,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* January 22, 2021, accessed January 23, 2021, <https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/local/milwaukee/2021/01/22/old-world-third-street-likely-become-dr-martin-luther-king-jr-drive/6669325002/>

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Milele Coggs (Alderwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in an interview with the author, February 18, 2021.



Figure 10: North Old World Third Street, Milwaukee, 2021.

The institutionalization period (1920-1990) of Milwaukee's street names entailed events dominated by men. This is a period when a significant women's commemorations were influenced by their relationship with influential white men. This was an obscurement of women's identity in the landscape of Milwaukee. The institutionalization of the naming procedure had little positive influence on gender integration on the street toponyms, although as the authority went to the Alderpersons, Vel Phillips and other Council members ensured Bernice Lindsay's memorial– a person with similar identity. Lindsay's memorial may not have happened without Vel Phillips' position, and this also demonstrated the importance of women's position in decision making.

Period of Increasing Democratization of Milwaukee's Street Naming System (1990-2005)

As stated earlier, Milwaukee passed an ordinance in 1990 that improves the democratic process for the street commemorative convention in the city. In particular, this includes the requirement to obtain more than 50 percent signatures of property owners along the street to be

renamed. And as we've seen in previous period (1920-1990), most women memorialized were related to influential men, it would be important to see if this pattern would change overtime with the new system. Also, the racial rhetoric in Milwaukee's street names began in the mid-twentieth century (the preceding period), and it would be worth noting to see if this new system made changes on these particular relations.

Smoother Ride for Chavez

The memorial of Cesar Chavez was the first selected event to be covered in this period (1990-2021), due to its comparative analysis with the Martin Luther King's memorial in the preceding period (1920-1990). Because Chavez was an activist and a person of color, it makes sense to unravel how the new naming system reconstructed the racial relations (as seen in the preceding section) in Milwaukee's street memorialization. The democratic system had decentralized the commemorative power to the people along the street to be renamed, and it is possible that such power was reflected in this memorial.

Unlike Martin Luther King, preserving Cesar Chavez's memory on a 19-block-South 16th Street in 1995 saw less opposition from residents. Cesar Chavez (1927-1993) was a Mexican American who was well known for his leadership in labor organizing and human right activism. He founded the National Farm Workers Association in 1962. His Agricultural Organization Committee led the first strike against grape growers in California, a movement that preceded the amalgamation of the two organizations. Further, Chavez explored social actions like boycotts, a 640-mile march between Delano and Sacramento, and hunger strikes in 1966 to

draw attention to his causes.¹⁷² He helped improve the working and living conditions of farmers in America cities, particularly in California and southern cities.

His contributions propelled Milwaukee's Hispanic community to petition for Chavez's commemoration on the south side of the city. Unlike the 3rd Street for King, 16th Street was claimed in the petitions to be more than 50% Hispanic from 1980-90.¹⁷³ And it would be good to recall the objective requirement of 1990 street naming ordinance, to acquire the signatures of more than half of the property owners around a street to be renamed, in agreement to the naming process. And with more than 50% Hispanics on 16th Street, it could be possible that the racial composition of the street helped to push the property owners in the area to sign in support of the name change from 16th Street to Cesar Chavez Drive in 1996.



Figure 11: Cesar Chavez's statue along Cesar Chavez Drive, Milwaukee, 2021.

¹⁷² José Angel Gutiérrez, *The Eagle Has Eyes: The FBI Surveillance of César Estrada Chávez of the United Farm Workers Union of America, 1965–1975*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2019).

¹⁷³ File Number 960685, "Proposal to Rename a Portion of South 16th Street to 'Cesar E. Chavez Drive' in the City of Milwaukee," The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

Therefore, we could suggest that the location and the racial/ethnic enclave or composition played important roles in memorializing these historical names. It is plausible to infer that the strategic location and choice of the 16th by the Hispanic communities and the city's already constituted required objectives to renaming streets, contributed to the smoother ride for Chavez in Milwaukee. Considering Chavez's case, we could also speculate that the socio-cultural characteristics mentioned earlier mixed up to influence the struggle of 3rd Street to King. All these demonstrate the root cause of the contentions and controversies surrounding the interaction between historical conservatism, race, and landscape in cities.

It could further be suggested that, despite the advantage of the Milwaukee 1990 ordinance creating a democratic process and eliminating exclusive power in (re)naming streets, and still integrating the uniform street naming system adopted in the 1920s, the ordinance also contributed to the legitimacy of racializing the street names – a phenomenon that could also be related to the gendering of the street names. This is plausible considering Milwaukee's development along racial lines and the demand to accrue more than 50% property owners' signatures, which is evident from the comparative study of Chavez and King. Anne Bonds analyzed the relations of property to race by stating that, the "enactments of property not simply as happening to one racial group through the efforts of another, but instead as co-constitutive processes whereby the loss or acquisition of property produces a set of racialized relationships and conditions."¹⁷⁴ The requirement of acquiring property owners' signatures to renaming the streets legitimizes this rhetoric of race. It demonstrates that the lower the racial/ethnic

¹⁷⁴ Anne Bonds, "Race and Ethnicity I: Property, Race, and the Carceral State," *Progress in Human Geography* 43(3) (2019): 575.

composition of residents related to a considered name and along a considered street to be renamed decreases, the lower the possibility of getting such name passed for memorial.

Preserving Joshua Glover on Reservoir Avenue

It is very interesting, however, to narrate the story of Joshua Glover, a fugitive slave, on a Milwaukee's street as a support for racial relations in street memorial, and to understand some of the progressive history of Milwaukee. This story would also support the idea that commemorative streets constitute representational spaces for different communities, especially the communities of color. It also points to the growing progressive characteristic Milwaukee embodies during this period, albeit still excluded women in its commemorative practices.

On March 30, 1994, the history students of the Riverside University High School wrote Mr. John Erickson, the City Engineer, about their petition to rename Reservoir Avenue for Joshua Glover in honor of the fugitive slave, whose escape and recapture sparked a change to ratify the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850s.¹⁷⁵ This letter was followed up with another to Alderperson Faye Anderson, the Chairperson of the Public Improvements Committee, on April 22 the same year, to push further their application (see Figure 13). Interestingly, future Ald. Milele Coggs was one of the inspirational leaders of this movement. She claimed that after the history teacher (Charles Cooney) taught them about how abolitionist, Sherman M. Booth, got his name on a commemorative street in Milwaukee in 1857, they became inspired to petition for Glover to also be commemorated. She stated that they said to themselves “if Booth could, why not Glover?”¹⁷⁶ Curtis Lawrence of *Milwaukee Journal* covered this story, and also corroborated this, when one

¹⁷⁵ “Milwaukee Public Schools: Riverside University High School, 1615 E. Locust Street,” Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁷⁶ Milele Coggs (Alderwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in an interview with the author, February 18, 2021.

of the students, a 16-year old junior named Louis Burrell said, “Sherman Booth was a great man, but what about Glover?” Another student named Trang Nguyen (one of the student leaders) stated that “Without Glover, there would be no Booth.”¹⁷⁷ Therefore, they organized the students and petitioned for Glover. Charles Cooney himself wrote in support of the students, asking the Common Council to change the name of Reservoir Avenue to honor Glover (see Figure 12).

Joshua Glover was a runaway slave in 1852 to Racine, where he was discovered and recaptured by his master in 1854. After his recapture, he was transferred to Milwaukee, where the court prosecuted him for violating the “Fugitive Slave Act.” This made Sherman Booth angry; he then organized about 5,000 residents to break Glover out. Glover was helped to Canada through Waukesha via the underground railroad. “Booth was arrested and jailed several times in a legal battle between Wisconsin courts and federal authorities over the national Fugitive Slave Act. He was finally pardoned by President James Buchanan in 1861.”¹⁷⁸ Patrick Jones stated that the case got to the Supreme Court, and the Fugitive Slave Act became non-binding.¹⁷⁹

After the petition was forwarded to the city government, Trang Nguyen led three other students, and they began the toughest part of the memorial process, by arriving at residences unannounced, and garnering the required property owners’ signatures to support their petition.¹⁸⁰ The students received massive support from the residents. A resident named Jacob Abrams was quoted as saying “Milwaukee was one of the few bastions for runaway slaves,” and he was in

¹⁷⁷ Curtis Lawrence, “Students Lobby to Honor Freed Slave: Just as Glover and Booth Intersected in Life, Streets Should Cross, Kids Say,” *Milwaukee Journal*, in Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁷⁸ Lawrence, “Students Lobby to Honor Freed Slave.”

¹⁷⁹ Jones, *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee*, 12.

¹⁸⁰ Curtis Lawrence, “Making History: Students Ask Residents to Approve Renaming Street for Fugitive Slave,” *Milwaukee Journal* May 3, 1994, in Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

happy to live on street named for Glover. He concluded that “it will mean something for the people in the neighborhood.”¹⁸¹ Eventually, at least 51 percent of the residents signed in agreement,¹⁸² and on May 17, 1994, the ordinance was signed to change “East Reservoir Avenue, between North Holton Street and its termination northeast of North Booth Street,” to Glover Street.¹⁸³

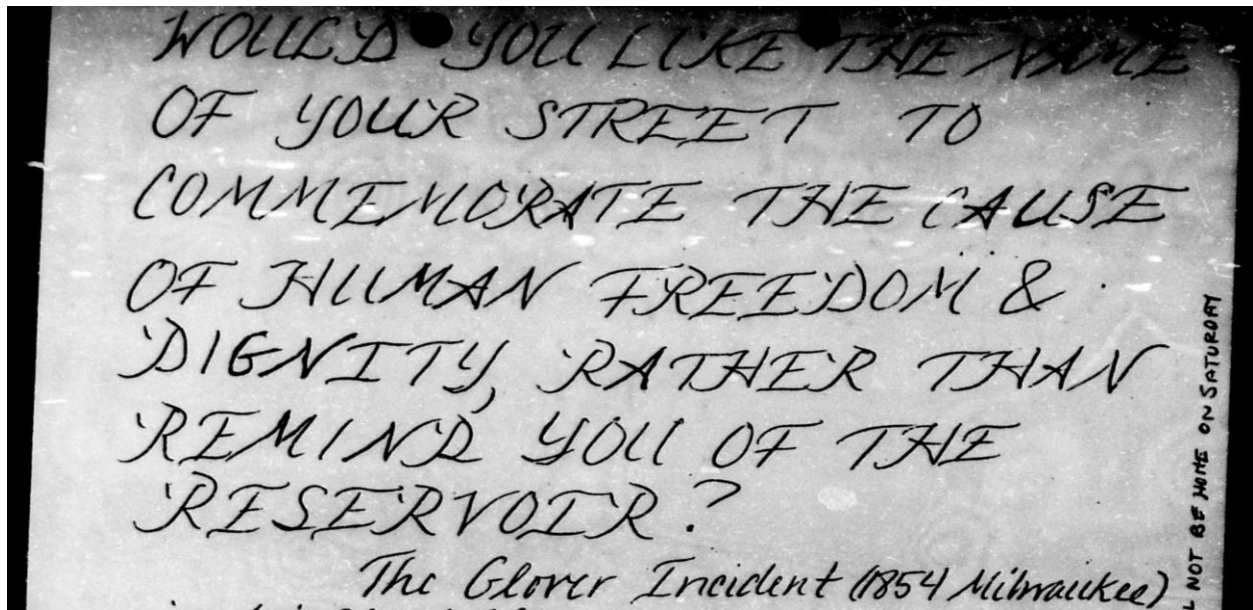


Figure 12: Introductory section of Charles Cooney’s (the history teacher) letter to the Common Council in 1994.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Lawrence, “Making History: Students Ask Residents to Approve Renaming Street for Fugitive Slave.”

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ File Number 940276, “An ordinance to Change the Name of East Reservoir Avenue, between North Holton Street and its Termination Northeast of North Booth Street, to East Glover Avenue, in the 6th Aldermanic District,” Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

¹⁸⁴ Charles Cooney’s Letter to the Common Council, in Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, City of Milwaukee.

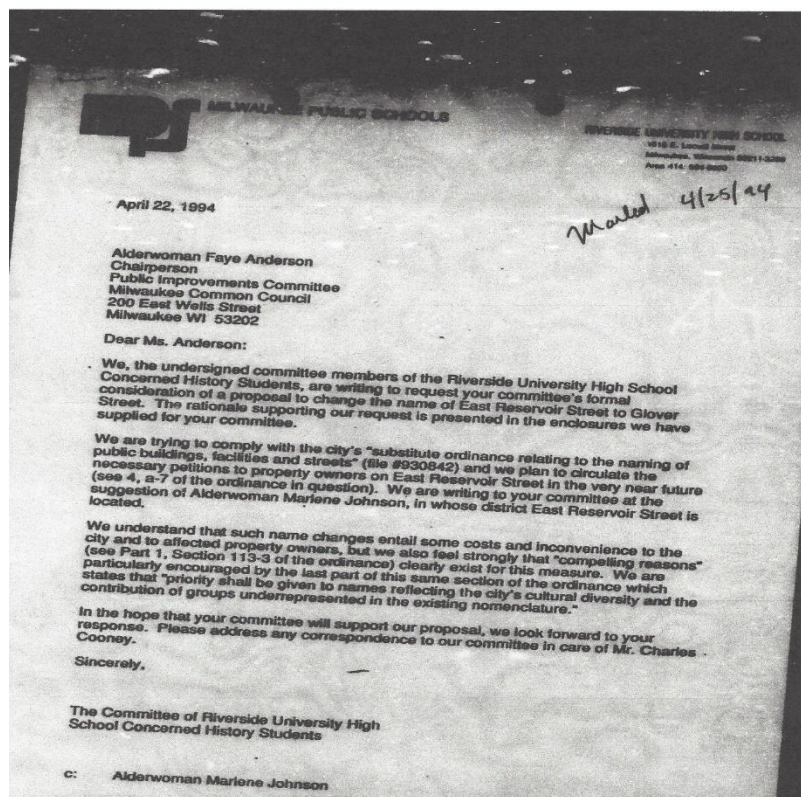


Figure 13: Riverside University Highschool students' petition to change Reservoir Avenue to Glover Avenue.¹⁸⁵

Because the narrated naming processes portrayed intersections of life and the streets, with a great deal of contentious processes for the struggle of identity, we could say that Milwaukee's commemorative street names are examples of "critical toponyms" as described by Jani Vuolteenaho and Lawrence Berg.¹⁸⁶ And because the street memorials largely represent and reflect the racial compositions on named streets, they could also imply "representational spaces" as captured in the analysis of Yoram Meital's article.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Milwaukee Public Schools: Riverside University High School, 1615 E. Locust Street, in Common Council File # 940276, Historical Preservation, City Records Center, City of Milwaukee.

¹⁸⁶ Lawrence D. Berg, and Jani Vuolteenaho, "Towards Critical Toponymies," In *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming Re-materialising Cultural Geography*, ed. Lawrence D. Berg, and Jani Vuolteenaho (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009), 1-18.

¹⁸⁷ Yoram Meital, "Central Cairo: Street Naming and the Struggle over Historical Representation," *Middle Eastern Studies* 43(6) (2007): 857-878.

From the Church to Mothers' Ways

The church has historically being a place of social (re)organization and leadership, particularly for the underserved communities. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence Mamiya, in their book *The Black Church in the African American Experience* thoroughly described the black church as a historically stable institution, an anchor to leadership, space for social and spiritual organizing tool for community development, resistance and activism for social justice.¹⁸⁸ Mary Pattillo-McCoy documented that the American Blacks are one of the most religious groups in the world, and the black church is a very integral part of social services for making provision for the socio-economic and emergency needs for its congregants and other members of the black communities and disadvantaged groups. The author further stated that among all other racial churches, the black church is most likely to involve in activism.¹⁸⁹

For instance, Steven Avella posited that we cannot dissociate the urban life of Milwaukee from its churches, especially for Black Milwaukeeans.¹⁹⁰ As a response to the discrimination faced by the African Americans in late nineteenth century Milwaukee for example, Black people established churches, social groups of women, and media outlets, as indicators of unity for social organization and delivering social services to the marginalized Milwaukee black communities.¹⁹¹ This period marked the beginning of involvement in social leadership by the black church in the city.

¹⁸⁸ Eric C. Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991).

¹⁸⁹ Mary Pattillo-McCoy, "Church Culture as a Strategy of Action in the Black Community," *American Sociological Review* 63(6) (1998): 770.

¹⁹⁰ Steven M. Avella, "Religion and the Shaping of Milwaukee," in *Perspectives on Milwaukee's Past*, eds. Margo Anderson and Victor Greene (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 256.

¹⁹¹ "Civil Rights," *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, accessed December 14, 2020 <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/civil-rights/>.

It is, however, noteworthy, that some other religious leaders like Fr. James Groppi and Fr. Reinhart Gutmann, who were not racially Black, used their Christian ministries to participate in social services and activism. The church would continue to become a space that offer opportunities to contribute to the civic development of marginalized Milwaukee communities. This consequently would result to the head of the religious groups memorialized for recognitions of their services, after petitions from members of the marginalized communities.

For instance, Katheryn Daniels was memorialized on October 16, 1995, on West Mother Daniels Way. Katheryn Daniels was the first woman commemorated in the second period (1990-2021) of this naming process. Her family migrated to Wisconsin in 1953, and she worked with the Milwaukee Public Schools, where she served in many offices for fifteen years. She engaged in services that mentally and socially developed residents around her. Mrs. Katheryn Daniels established the S.E Wisconsin Department of Music where she trained people in music. She also founded and direct Community Affairs, Holy Redeemer – a charity program that feeds homeless Milwaukeeans. Further, she served as a Wisconsin’s Christian representative (in Sunday School Department) for more than 25 years, after which Mr. Allen M. Alston, one of her church members (a deacon) petitioned for her street memorial.¹⁹²

The commemoration of Claretta “Mother Freedom” Simpson on Mother Simpson Way in 2004 was a memorialization similar to Mother Daniels’. Mother Freedom was a civil right activist who served the poor children. She established an organization known as the Career Youth Development Inc. in 1970, to help the economically struggling families. She started the establishment with her social security check, and her business motto was “Love In Action.” The

¹⁹² File Number 950890, “Substitute Ordinance to Change the Name of West Stark Street, between North 35th Street and North 36th Street, to West Mother Daniels Way, in the 1st Aldermanic District.” Milwaukee Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

establishment won a \$28,000 grant from the federal government, which has helped to keep the program alive and growing presently. Mother Freedom was also part of the 30-day sit-in protest in Milwaukee in 1964 to put an end to de facto segregation in Milwaukee's public schools.¹⁹³

Despite using the Kathryn's last name (Daniels) and "Freedom" for Claretta, however, the addition of "Mother" to generate the street names in this sub-section shows some gender revelation, as the "Mother" in the names reflect gender identity. This is unlike "Lindsay Street" that obscures Bernice's gender identity; these street names reveal the gender connotations in them. Also, one observation from the street naming of Mother Daniels is the fact that Mr. Alston stated that "the church has been an integral part of the community and that the establishment of the church should be reflected with the renaming of this portion of West Stark Street as Mo. Daniels Way."¹⁹⁴ This supports the argument that street names are used to reflect social identity in cities. The commemoration further suggests that the democratization of the street naming procedure gave the church members, who likely resided within the same neighborhood, the opportunity to memorialize this key person within their community. In fact, the church is located on Mother Daniels Way, and it is also very possible that the residents were particularly people of color that helped generate support for the naming. This could also be related to the memorial on Mother Freedom's Way.

Besides the racial connotation to these streets' naming, it is also noteworthy that the law gave opportunity to memorializing women without reference to their relatives. This is not to suggest that the democratic process eliminated sexism in Milwaukee street toponyms (see

¹⁹³ Erica Taylor, "Little Known Black History Fact: Milwaukee's Own Claretta Simpson, Community Activist," accessed May 12, 2021 <https://blackamericaweb.com/2013/05/12/little-known-black-history-fact-milwaukees-own-claretta-simpson-community-activist/>.

¹⁹⁴ File Number 950890, "Substitute Ordinance to Change the Name of West Stark Street, between North 35th Street and North 36th Street, to West Mother Daniels Way, in the 1st Aldermanic District."

Chapter Four for broader illustration), or to imply that there were no streets before this process that commemorated women without men's commemorative influence, it is to let us begin to quest the impact of the democratization on gender relations in the city.

Vel Phillips: From being a Woman of Firsts to Marching on Milwaukee, and to the Commemorative Streets

Vel Phillips was one of the most accomplished Black Americans in Milwaukee's history.¹⁹⁵ She was born in Milwaukee on February 18, 1924 and earned her bachelor's degree from Howard University in Washington D.C. One interesting achievement of Phillips was that, she was a woman of firsts. As she furthered her education, she became the first Black woman with a law degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison Law School in 1951, and at 32 in 1956, she was the first Black American to be elected into Milwaukee's Common Council. Her other firsts as an African American woman, included being the first judge in the Wisconsin law court, and the first to be elected as Wisconsin's secretary of state in 1978.¹⁹⁶ Vel Phillips was memorialized on August 23, 2018, shortly after her death on April 17, the same year.

Housing inequality, however, is another important area where activism thrived and gave opportunity for people to make indelible contributions. As segregation became pervasive in American cities through policies and actions, especially in Milwaukee (one of the most segregated cities in the US), communities of color consistently face(d) disinvestments in the neighborhoods. This often than not, inspires activists of all racial groups to organize and resist such problem. Although this is still a conspicuous issue and still protected through social

¹⁹⁵ "A Lifetime of Achievements: A Brief Biography of Vel Phillips (Feb 18, 1923 -April 17, 2018)," Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed December 6, 2020 <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS4384>.

¹⁹⁶ "March on Milwaukee: Phillips, Vel," UWM Libraries Archives, accessed December 5, 2020 <https://uwm.edu/marchonmilwaukee/keyterms/phillips-vel/>.

relations in Milwaukee, some certain results against intentional segregation were attained through activism documented in this sub-section.

Memorializing Velvlea Hortense Rodgers Phillip's activism and achievements prompts an important discourse of the collision of race and gender in street mnemonics. Despite the discrimination faced from being black, a woman and a black woman, Robert Trondson (a Wisconsin Television producer) in an interview at the *Freedom Riders* PBS screening with Mrs. Phillips, stated that Phillips always challenged the established socio-political position for different reasons, saying, "Why can't I?" "Why can't I be the one who leads this?"¹⁹⁷ Those thoughts kept propelling Phillips into trailblazing, including introducing fair housing legislation for the city of Milwaukee. The legislation was rejected four times consecutively following its introduction to the Common Council. As a result, Vel Phillips and other activists took to the streets to protest, where they were met with many counter protestors displaying Confederate flags and racist inscriptions on clothing and throwing rocks to resist the marchers. Phillips would reintroduce the fair housing bill three more times in a space of four years but was met each time with the same resisting fate.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Rosalind Early, "Vel Phillips Knocked Down Racial and Gender Barriers in Wisconsin," *Humanities*, 36(4): July/August 2015, accessed December 5, 2020 <https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2015/julyaugust/statement/vel-phillips-knocked-down-racial-and-gender-barriers-in-wisconsin>.

¹⁹⁸ Early, "Vel Phillips Knocked Down Racial and Gender Barriers in Wisconsin."



Figure 14: Milwaukee Marches, 1967.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Margaret Rozga, "A Look Back at 'March of Milwaukee' after Half Century," *Milwaukee Independent* June 29, 2017, accessed December 5, 2020 <http://www.milwaukeeindependent.com/articles/a-look-back-at-march-on-milwaukee-after-half-century/>.



Figure 15: Vel Phillips (behind) and Fr. Groppi (with the microphone), and the NAACP Youths, leading Milwaukee marches in 1967.²⁰⁰

In 1967, Vel Phillips alongside Father James E. Groppi joined forces with the Milwaukee NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) Youth Council to rally for the fair housing movement in the city (see Figures 14 & 15). Starting from August 1967, Vel Phillips and Fr. Groppi consistently led about 15,000 members of the NAACP, residents, and visitors for 200 nights to march the city from downtown to the 16th Street Bridge and towards

²⁰⁰ James Groppi, 1930-1985, "James Groppi and Vel Phillips on School Bus, circa 1967-1968," UWM Libraries Archives, accessed December 5, 2020 <https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/march/id/663>.

the South Side of the city.²⁰¹ These marches have been described as the largest in Milwaukee's history. It is also noteworthy that the 16th Street Bridge was named later by Mayor John Norquist and the Milwaukee Common Council as the James E. Groppi Unity Bridge in 1988.²⁰²



Figure 16: North Vel R. Phillips Avenue, Milwaukee, 2020.

Finally, in 1968, following the assassination of Martin Luther King, the Open Housing Ordinance was passed. The Congress and President Johnson also signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968 for the country. These laws promote racial integration and discourage intentional segregation from Realtors and property owners. Vel Phillips' struggle for fair housing reincarnates racial segregation discourses in Milwaukee. Milwaukee's marches also tell much about when housing became a pivotal issue in the country in 1960s. Recall that Dr. Martin Luther King's marches to end racism and segregation also coincided with those of Fr. Groppi and Mrs. Vel Phillips. This tells how much the 1960s recognized the issue of race in the housing markets in American cities.

²⁰¹ Rozga, "A Look Back at 'March of Milwaukee' after Half Century."

²⁰² "16th Street Bridge (Viaduct), March on Milwaukee," UWM Libraries, accessed March 24, 2021 <https://uwm.edu/marchonmilwaukee/keyterms/16th-street-bridge-viaduct>.

The memorial of Vel Phillips reflects changing gender relations in Milwaukee in this period (1990-2021). Alderperson Milele Coggs echoes this that when she and her colleagues made this petition, it received total support in the Common Council and there was also no opposition to the memorial from the public, although the naming process took a different part.²⁰³ She stated that after the Common Council had passed the ordinance, the public were informed to make their opposition known. But instead of opposition, Coggs stated the public were making bigger suggestions for her memorial.

It is, however, important to see how gender relations changed overtime with the democratization process in Milwaukee's street naming. It was observed that it helped members of the society to memorialize a couple of women in the city, although Vel Phillips' memorialization bypassed the property owners' signature requirement, and this alongside her reputation, helped the process. In sum, the democratization procedure improved the gender relations in the city, as there was opportunity to memorialize women based on their contributions. At the same time, the process was a bottle neck to gender integration, considering the requirements.

Honorary Street Naming Period: Less Bottlenecked Democratization (2005-2021)

The use of honorary street naming to commemorate persons is not only peculiar to Milwaukee, it is a common practice in cities like Chicago, Elgin, Tulsa, New York City, among others. This is an alternative to the official street naming of cities, as it gives opportunity to commemorate persons with little or no contentions, and without altering the official street names of cities. As stated earlier, Milwaukee instituted this policy in 2005, and it eliminates the 50

²⁰³ Milele Coggs (Alderwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in discussion with the author, February 18, 2021.

percent property owners' signature in the naming process. This section unpacks the events that led to the commemoration of the people in this period, as well as expose how this process impacts the distribution by gender in Milwaukee. But one striking observation from this period is the fact that the contributions disproportionately came from the church. The Black church continued the trend of using its platform to serve its disinvested communities in the city.

For example, Pastor Joseph Ellwanger, Dr. Lucy B. Hughes, Pastor Willie F. Brooks, Sr., Pastor Joe H. and Erma Todd (see Figure 17), Elder Jonathan Saffold, Sr., Rev. George Reynolds, Rev. Willie D. Wanzo, Sr., and Bishop Osie Tatum, Jr., were all honored between 2003 and 2020 (see Appendix). Other persons like Mae Elizabeth Dey, Martha 'Mama' Freeman, Dr Lester Carter, Michelle Witman, Harry Kemp, Mattiebelle Woods who contributed in other areas including wars, communication, business, medicine among others, were commemorated with the honorary names (see Appendix).



Figure 17: Pastor Joe II and Erma Todd honorary Street (in blue plate), Milwaukee, 2020.

It was observed that the honorary street naming has significant impact on gender relations, as a number of women were commemorated for their contributions to civic

development. It is very likely that the elimination of the property owners' signatory requirement, opened up window for more women's representation on the streets, although the honorary street names do not have any building number attached to them. Hence, they are not part of the city address, bringing about less recognition in this tier of commemoration.

In sum, at the start of this chapter, I suggested an idea of connecting the commemorative street names to urban history. In a broader view, it is an attempt to connect the geography of the physical spaces to history. Many may ask, why tell a story of a city with street names despite the abundance of Milwaukee history books and articles? The purpose is to direct attention to the importance of having a local history through the quotidian physical components of a city. The analysis of events around street naming kept in touch with the social, political and the physical components of a city. In essence, it links the urban tangibles to the intangibles.

Because streets are named according to contemporary values of a city, however, there appeared to be no absolute monolithic contribution on Milwaukee's commemorative streets. The post-colonial era for example, recognized both national and local icons that contributed to the democracy of the nation, and the mid-1900s saw more of Milwaukee's activists and religious leaders involved in social equity, on street memorials. Furthermore, Milwaukee's suburbanization, race relations, ethnicity, and gender all interplayed to produce Milwaukee's streets and (re)define the characters of the city. This indicates that toponyms are people centric and are spatio-temporal. It shows that commemorative street names form the reputational mechanism to claim rights over contentious city spaces.²⁰⁴ They are unequal spaces that conserve urban ideas, albeit along the contour politics of identity.

²⁰⁴ Derek H. Alderman, "Street Names as Memorial Arenas: The Reputational Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. in a Georgia County," *Historical Geography*, 30 (2002): 99.

The 1990 street naming ordinance testifies to the growing contestation of Milwaukee's streets. It could be plausible to state that the city's government realized the public awakening of using the streets as reputational spaces, and men in power for identificatory and mirrored toponyms and moved quickly to check them. Because if such activities are left unchecked, they have the potential to disrupt the unified naming and numbering system instituted in the 1920s. Therefore, the 1990 ordinance was passed to decentralize the power to commemoration in the city. But in spite the advantages of the ordinance, it also contributed to the naming of the streets along racial and gender lines, as some women gained recognition on the honorary street naming based on their contributions.

The taken-for-granted spaces had become the pillar of representation, as Milwaukeeans continued to develop more and along ethnic/racial enclaves and become conscious of the usefulness of commemorative street names to make identity statement. Milwaukee's streets would ultimately transform into a platform of critical toponyms through race, ethnic and gender relations. From 1980s, the streets essentially transfigured into different patterns of social relations in the city. Culture, race, gender, ethnicity, activism, economics, history, among others, became the ultimate characters that defined the materiality of Milwaukee through its commemorative streets.

As this chapter demonstrated, street names are archival materials that inform urban history. They preserve and emanate hegemonic stories and ideas as we daily navigate the city. They are the physical bibliography of the city, an overlooked and underrated archive that writes, rewrites, defines and redefines urban in a moment. The stories of a city and even a country, could be told by studying the names printed on the street plates. Because Lewis Mumford averred that "cities

are a product of time,”²⁰⁵ the changes in streets commemorative names could tell us stories about the changes in people’s lives and their values per time. Indeed, commemorative street names are a representation of people, a connector of a city’s past to its present. They are important texts and language of an urban center.

²⁰⁵ Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, 4.

Chapter Three

Analysis of Gender Inequality in Milwaukee's Commemorative Streets

For centuries, the material outcomes of municipal decision-making on urban place names have often been pervaded with inequality. This has commonly been influenced by many social factors, including gender. As pointed out in preceding chapters, women's share of commemorative street names has historically been unequal in cities around the world. This situation consistently reflects the development of sexist urban structures that particularly obscures the visibility of women in public spaces. Jane Jacobs, a proponent of street structure, in her monumental book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, posited that when we cognitively view our cities, the streets are the first features that come to mind. If the streets are active, so is the city, and if otherwise passive, so is the city as well.¹ This implies that if the streets disproportionately commemorate men, we are very likely to be inextricably linked to a patriarchal system, exacerbated by the sexist naming policies.. Commemorative street names are a powerful indicator of reading urban spaces and are also good reflectors of the existing urban social structure.

Street Typology and Definition

Before going into the description of this analysis, however, it is pertinent I attempt to decipher the specific and generic meanings of the term "street." The word "street," as used throughout this thesis, constitutes the general name for all types of transport arteries within and even outside a city, even though there are distinct variations. The system of streets could easily be likened to the system of arteries in the human body, which connects and supplies blood to every part of the body. The streets give access within and also connect the city to the neighboring

¹ Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 29.

communities with different characteristics and usability. Understanding just the basic variability would immerse us into the deeper meaning of the street typology, and also shed some illumination on the inherent inequality in visibility of urban toponymy.

An urban streetscape embodies a rich classification of street designs and layouts, and this ranges from a simple road or lane to the beautiful and classic boulevard. To classify and define streets require some basic knowledge of size, location, function, form, design and sometimes, direction. However, a “road” was simply described by Cliff Moughtin as “an ordinary line of communication between different places, used by horses, travelers on foot or vehicles. Or it is any path, way or course to some end or journey.”² In simple terms, a “road” is merely a connector to two ends of a geographical space. Characteristically, a road helps to access building frontages, is low in traffic speed, affords access to more developing spaces; and historically, it is the oldest mode of communication. Meanwhile, Stephen Marshall offered a simple definition of “street,” as a form of reserved public corridor basically for circulation with buildings lining on both sides. A street is designed with higher traffic and speed than a road, and connectivity is its major function.³ An avenue is very similar to a street in many respects but is different according to municipalities and street design used. For example, in cities like Milwaukee which uses the grid system, avenues are different in direction to streets. Avenues run perpendicular to a street, which could be in any direction depending on the baseline composition of a city, although in cities without the grid pattern like Atlanta, Georgia, characteristics like size, availability of trees, and usage differentiate them.

² Cliff Moughtin, *Urban Design: Street and Square* (Oxford, UK: Architectural Press, 2003), 129.

³ Stephen Marshall, *Streets & Pattern* (London and New York: Spon Press, 2005), 48-49.

Arnon Golan defined a “boulevard,” as “a broad landscaped avenue that permits several lanes of vehicular traffic as well as pedestrian walkways. The tree-lined boulevard originated in the Renaissance with the introduction of trees into urban landscapes and development of gardens as places for recreation and leisure.”⁴ Golan concluded that boulevard has historically been used to preserve a city’s prestige of beauty, as well as employed for commute purposes. In addition, Gerry Forbes stated that “unlike a boulevard,” an avenue’s axis is usually “terminated by a civic building or monument.”⁵ A “lane,” as used within the definition of “boulevard,” is a tiny access with scant residences located around it, and with rural characteristics; while a “drive” has the attributes of a boulevard on the one side that include walkways and buildings, and greenspaces on the other side.⁶ Furthermore, Phil Edwards and Gina Barton in a short educational video, succinctly described the relationship between most of these street types. They described a “drive” as a winding long street that has taken its shape due to the distorting natural features like mountains or waterways along its path. An example is the Lincoln Memorial Drive along Lake Michigan in Milwaukee. While a “terrace” follows the top of a slope, a “place” is a dead-end street, just like a “court” that forms a loop, and a “parkway” that goes through a pastoral parkland. A “highway” on the other hand, is a fast-flowing traffic channel through the outskirts of the city, which also connects with other low hierarchy streets.⁷

The different categories of street layout are specifically defined by the aforementioned physical attributes of function, form, size, and movement. The implication is that, as the

⁴ Arnon Golan, “The Street as Urban Icon? Tel Aviv’s Rothschild Boulevard,” *Urban Geography* 36(5) (2015): 724, DOI: 10.1080/02723638.2015.1016308.

⁵ Gerry Forbes, “Urban Roadway Classification: Before the Design Begins,” *TRB Circular E-C019: Urban Street Symposium* June (28–30) (1999): B-6/4, accessed February 11, 2021. https://nacto.org/docs/usdg/urban_roadway_classification_before_the_design_begins_forbes.pdf.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Phil Edwards and Gina Barton, “How Streets, Roads, and Avenues are Different,” *Vox*, November 16, 2016, accessed February 07, 2021 <https://www.vox.com/2016/11/14/13275486/streets-roads-avenues-names-reasons>.

hierarchy of the street type increases, so is the visibility both physically and digitally.

Boulevards, streets, avenues, drives, among others are more likely to be visible to traffic and observers, due to their higher traffic capacities, connectivity, usages, and activities in abutting development, compared to roads, lanes, courts, terraces, among others. I was mindful of this classification as I analyzed through the street names, and it should also be considered when municipalities decide to bring gender parity to their commemorative street names.

Gender Analysis of Milwaukee's Commemorative Street Names

To make claims for gender disparity in urban spaces, we are required to view every shared urban resource through the lens of gender and via the purview of social justice (captured fully in Chapter Five). And when we put into consideration the material inequality through the gender lens or any other classed category, we are first committed to providing evidence for acknowledging the depth of disproportionate distribution. The evidence-making makes up the major principle for arguing for inequality and to making claims for fair intervention and just praxis. John Rawls in his iconic book *The Theory of Justice* posited that “when we have no evidence at all, the possible cases are taken to be equally probable.”⁸ Indeed, evidence-making forms the spine of deconstructing what is, with a view to reconstructing what ought to be, for a just society. Without the facts, we are destined to calcify and maintain the status quo.

It is, however, noteworthy that researchers and social actors involved in the activism of social justice for equality, are often faced with the issue of reifying their claims of injustice. In a similar vein, policy makers are often challenged with the difficulty of substantiating how their

⁸ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Revised Edition) (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 146.

deliverables (ends) or their predecessors' decision-making processes (means) have perpetuated disparity. This problem always prods the question of how unequal a decision is. When I considered the topic at hand – “Milwaukee’s Unequally Gendered Commemorative Street Names” – I was motivated in this chapter, to quantitatively evaluate and visualize the commemorative street names of Milwaukee (through a digital map), so as to make substantial claims for gender disparity in the city. Further, this was done to argue for the appropriate and fairest intervention on the identified gender inequality. This is important and corroborated by William Frankena, that “justice, whether social or not, seems to involve at its center the notion of an allotment of something to persons — duties, goods, offices, opportunities, penalties, punishments, privileges, roles, status, and so on. Moreover, at least in the case of distributive justice, it seems centrally to involve the notion of comparative allotment.”⁹ This focus propelled me to have a comparative analysis of Milwaukee’s commemorative street names based on gender.

Again, this analysis should not be viewed as a means of promoting the binary dimension of male and female gender and trying to shadow other sexes. Nor should it be perceived as an attempt to offer a “woman’s” definition in the light of a “man.” We should also steer clear from the notion that because this is research carried out and written by a male researcher, the study attempts to set a “man’s” standard for rationalizing women’s being and undermining women’s inequality experience. Patricia Cain critiqued that rhetoric from iconic philosophers has historically exacerbated the issue of gender relations in human society. The author posited that for example, Aristotle believed that “Women are either the same as men or different, and in

⁹ William K. Frankena, “The Concept of Social Justice,” in *Social Justice*, ed., Richard B. Brandt, (Englewood Cliff, N.J: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1962), 9.

either case, men have set the standard. They have also defined what it means to be a woman.”¹⁰

The analysis in this chapter, should instead, be viewed as a means of answering the question of how much gender disparity exists in Milwaukee’s streets, so that we can focus attention on bridging the identified gaps.

This analysis was, however, carried out with some simple mathematical techniques and with the application of some geographical information system techniques. First, the street names identified were mapped out in both the Google Map and the ArcGIS interfaces, based on gender of the commemorated persons (as explained in Chapter One). Second, the physical attributes of each street in terms of hierarchy was observed from the names and tabulated. Furthermore, the lengths of the streets were traced out on the map, and manually calculated in parts (because some streets were named disjointedly in different quadrants of the city) and then tabulated (see Table 1 and Appendix for further breakdown).

On the one hand, the length didn’t merely serve to let me have knowledge of the streets’ dimension, it made me refer to the probability of the city naming a mile of street for either a man or woman, if other factors like location are held constant for all street classes considered. In other words, the lengths were used to produce ratios that were employed to infer the likelihood of coming in contact with a mile of a street named for either a man or a woman in each of the street categories, if we turn a blind eye to the location characteristic of each street type this time. However, the location factor was visually expressed and discussed with the map. On the other hand, the numerical information (irrespective of location) was used to infer to the possibility of Milwaukee naming a unit number of street category for persons, who were either a man or a woman. It is important to stress that both the number and length information have simultaneous

¹⁰ Patricia Cain, “The Limits of Feminism,” *24 Ga. L. Rev.* (1989): 805.

impacts on the visibilities of the streets, but we are more likely to see a longer street when driving through the city than three short streets located in a quadrant of the city. This in part, is because longer streets serve as major arteries and urban planners and GIS often send us to drive on them rather than the short streets, which makes them more visible primarily to the residents and visitors. Traveling along urban streets has more to do with distances and time (and location, but held constant), rather than in numbers, while the numerical values have better potentials to influence the numerical distribution across the gender groups. Take for instance, when we drive through Milwaukee, we are very likely to ply Appleton Avenue, which measured at least 8.3 miles and cuts through the city, rather than driving on Alvina Avenue and Alvina Courts, which in a combined state measured 0.62 mile. This is not to suggest that the number information doesn't influence visibility or distribution; it is to also stress the importance of considering the length when naming and (re)distributing the names.

The list of the commemorative street names garnered contains some names that sound like human names, but they couldn't be traced to their historical significance. This set of names were analyzed based on gender according to the European human naming convention. The street names were first mapped out on Google Maps, with dots representing the specific locations of each street name, and the lines showing the lengths of the streets, before exporting them into the ArcGIS interface for better representation. The interactive map provides visualization opportunity for easy comprehension of the gender disparity existing in Milwaukee's commemorative street names (see <https://arcg.is/0yGPfL>), as well as the spatial pattern of the streets by individual gender category (<https://arcg.is/1SnS9v> and <https://arcg.is/0SSaCG>). Purple and green colors represent the streets named for men and women respectively (see Figure 18).

The commemorative street names were grouped into two categories—official and honorary names—and analyzed slightly differently. This is because on the first hand, only the official street names make up the address book of the city. And on the second hand, it would be erroneous to assign lengths to the honorary streets, as they do not alter the official names on which they are designated. For instance, Pastor Joe H. and Erma Todd honorary street sits on a portion of West Meinecke Avenue, and Rev. Willie D. Wanzo, Sr. honorary street is designated to a part of West Burleigh Street. It would be inappropriate to measure the same space for two names simultaneously.

These honorary names are not contained in any address book of the city, and they are merely to commemorate the considered persons. The commemorations are only on the streets alongside the official names, where passersby could see them. They don't lead anyone anywhere. Hence, they were analyzed based on numbers and not on length, unlike the official street names they were examined on both characteristics. In addition, streets commemorating family groups were included in the data for record purposes only (see Appendix), but not included in the analysis. These types of streets (family memorials) were coded neutral, as the families commemorated were most likely to constitute persons of both the gender groups. It is also prudent to note that some streets on a couple of occasions, were co-named to commemorate a group of people who were of the same gender. For example, Bradley Road remembered the Bradley brothers, named William, Edward, and James Bradley in 1926. Also, Chapman Place commemorated the Chapman brothers (Silas and Timothy) in 1933, and Lynmar Court and Lynmar Terrace remembered the two sisters Lynne and Mary (the daughters of Val Zimmermann) in 1954. In this instance, these groups of streets were coded to commemorate a gender type.

Unsurprisingly, the result shows a city of men written in the commemorative street names, as a vast majority of Milwaukee's streets commemorated male persons (see Table 1, and Appendix for further breakdown). Of the 233 commemorative street names given between 1920 and 2021, a grand total of 185 streets which constituted a staggering 79.4 percent, memorialized men; while 48 streets, which only made up 20.6 percent of the total streets, commemorated women. It is noteworthy that the 233 identified streets memorialized only 208 names (including the 20 that couldn't be traced to its origin). Hence, from the 208 names identified, a significant 78.37 percent (163) and 21.63 percent (45) were named for men and women respectively. Most times, men's names were simultaneously commemorated on multiple street categories. For example, Samuel Appleton had an avenue, a lane, and a place to his name; and McKinley was memorialized on an avenue, boulevard, and a court. In fact, if we subtract 208 names from 233 streets, the remaining streets commemorated men, except for Angela Avenue and Angela Drive that were named for Angela Ava Miller; Alvina Avenue and Alvina Court, which remembered Alvina Pfeiffer; and Lynmar Court and Lynmar Terrace that memorialized Lynne and Mary Zimmermann (see Appendix). This result established the fact Milwaukee city is approximately four times more likely to memorialize men than women on a unit considered street, when it commemorates humans.

In addition, similar result was obtained in terms of length. From the total 113.55 miles of street length (obtained from the 211 official streets) that memorialized humans in Milwaukee, 94.33 miles which constituted about 83.07 percent commemorated men, while almost insignificant 19.22 miles (approximately 16.93 percent) remembered women. This poor figure would be more pronounced if we eliminated about 1.5 miles obtained from Jeannetta Simpson-Robinson Memorial Highway, which was named by the State of Wisconsin. We also need to

know that this memorial name is still not contained in the Google address of the city, and I had to manually map it out, and its dimension was added to the analysis, which consequently offset the gap. This implies that Milwaukee city is about 83 percent more likely to name a mile of a street for a man rather than a woman. This simply means that we are five times more likely to encounter official street named for men compared to those named after women, when we travel through the city. This further demonstrates a wide gender gap in Milwaukee's street commemoration. And it also corroborates the findings of most of the identified reviewed scholarship in this thesis. For instance, María Novas-Ferradás found out that of the 383 anthroponyms studied, a pronounced 287 memorialized men, and only 97 commemorated women in Santiago de Compostela, Spain.¹¹ This finding supports the idea that most cities of the world are still pervasively sexist.

It is also worth noting that the 45 women's names were analyzed to observe the gender distribution according to the naming periods, and 32 women's names were memorialized during the first period (1920-1990), while 7 were commemorated between the second period (1990-2021). This mean that 39 women's names were on the official streets, and only 6 were on the honorary streets. Of the 38 official street names, 14 were connected to influential white men and 2 names from City Engineer's office, making 16 names. These names were commemorated during the first period, and this reflects the poor gender relations in Milwaukee at the time. It shows the marginalization of women's values at the time, which were not considered important by the City Engineer or the people. The other names were women with contributions

¹¹ Maria Novas-Ferradas, "Commemorative Urban Practices and Gender Equality: The Case of Santiago de Compostela's Urban Anthroponymy," *Hábitat y Sociedad* 11 (2018), 121.

independent of their relationships with men, and 13 names in total came up between the last two periods (1990-2021 and 2005-2021).

Joyce Schmidt and Margaret Ann Wendler are the only 2 names related to City Engineer's Office and were memorialized on both Joyce Street (in 1956) and Ann Street (in 1963) respectively (see Appendix). This suggests the fact that these street names may not have happened without their positions. It is difficult to ascertain if their influences on street naming process at the times of commemoration impacted these memories for identificatory toponyms, but we can ask questions about the possibility of them being commemorated if they weren't workers at the City Engineer's Office. This skepticism comes especially when we consider the pronounced gender issues inherent in the decades they were memorialized. You need to recall that the City Engineer's Office took over the rights to naming Milwaukee's streets from the 1920s to mid-1960s, and the memorials of Joyce Schmidt and Margaret Wendler are obviously connected to this event. In fact, they might have been excluded, if they didn't occupy those offices. Also, this result demonstrates how difficult it would have been to memorialize women before 1920, as they were faced with poorer job mobility in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. And as a result, not many women were able to attain the statuses of Joyce Schmidt and Margaret Ann Wendler to influence the commemoration process in Milwaukee.

The Great Depression saw an improvement in women's mobility into the workforce, albeit in gendered jobs.¹² The jobs less impacted by the recession in the earlier twentieth century, which were hardly in the positions of civic control, were regarded as feminine and left unoccupied by men. Jobs like meatpacking and others became popular among women in the

¹² Jessica Pearce Rotondi, "Underpaid but Employed: How the Great Depression Affected Working Women," *History* May 11, 2019, accessed February 10, 2021 <https://www.history.com/news/working-women-great-depression>.

earlier twentieth century (for illustration, see Figure 3). For instance, Deborah Fink studied the impact of World War II on employment mobility of Iowa women, and stated that “World War II reorganized the work of women in rural Iowa, as it did more generally for women throughout the country.”¹³ Following the shift from the economic depression to full recovery at the end of WWII, more opportunities began to be available to women, for better economic positions. This epoch was regarded as the “watershed moment” by William Chafe,¹⁴ which helped women get some good administrative jobs. This narrative potentially influenced Joyce Schmidt and Margaret Wendler to their respective positions in Milwaukee, which possibly helped to ensure that their names were memorialized.

¹³ Deborah Fink, “What Kind of Woman Would Work in Meatpacking, Anyway? World War II and the Road to Fair Employment,” *Great Plains Research* 5 (Fall 1995): 241.

¹⁴ William H. Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-70* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 195.

Table 1: Distribution of Milwaukee's Commemorative Streets by Gender (1920-2021)

Official street names					
Male			Female		
	Number of streets named for men (%)	Length (%)	Number of streets named for women (%)	Length (%)	Total in number, length and %
Places	33 (86.84%)	6.01mi (85.86%)	5 (13.16%)	0.99mi (14.14%)	38 (7.0mi) (100%)
Boulevard	1 (100%)	0.50mi (100%)	-	-	1 (0.50mi) (100%)
Streets	41 (82%)	20.52mi (79.84%)	9 (18%)	5.18mi (20.16%)	50 (25.70mi) (100%)
Avenues	41 (82.0%)	42.98mi (82.45%)	9 (18.0%)	9.15mi (17.55%)	50 (52.13mi) (100%)
Circles	5 (100%)	1.33mi (100%)	-	-	5 (1.33mi) (100%)
Parkways	1 (100%)	0.50mi (100%)	-	-	1 (0.50mi) (100%)
Ways	2 (40%)	0.23mi (48.94%)	3 (60%)	0.24mi (51.06%)	5 (0.47mi) (100%)
Courts	19 (73.08%)	1.88mi (80.69%)	7 (26.92%)	0.45mi (19.31%)	26 (2.33mi) (100%)
Drives	11 (84.62%)	11.65mi (94.26%)	2 (15.38%)	0.71mi (5.74%)	13 (12.36mi) (100%)
Lanes	10 (76.92%)	2.56mi (85.62%)	3 (23.08%)	0.43mi (14.38%)	13 (2.99mi) (100%)
Terrace	-	-	1 (100%)	0.27mi (100%)	1 (0.27mi) (100%)
Roads	5 (71.43%)	6.17mi (94.78%)	2 (28.57%)	0.34mi (5.22%)	7 (6.51mi) (100%)
Highway	-	-	1 (100%)	1.46mi (100%)	1 (1.46mi) (100%)
Total	169 (80.09%)	94.33mi (83.07%)	42 (19.91%)	19.22mi (16.93%)	211 (113.55mi) (100%)
Honorary street names					
Number and percentages	16 (72.72%)		6 (27.27%)		22 (100%)
Grand total	185 (79.4%)		48 (20.6%)		233 (100%)

Regarding the analysis breakdown to the street typologies, very similar results compared to the grand totals were observed. Of the 38 commemorative “place” names (street type) identified in Milwaukee in this study, only 5 were traced to female names, other 33 preserved men’s history. In terms of length, a total 6.01 miles of the “places” were named for men, and almost an insignificant 0.99 mile carried female names. When we are interested in or unintentional plying “places” in Milwaukee, this result shows that we are six times more likely to see a mile of male names than females in the city; and the city is also six more likely to memorialize men on a “place” street rather women, considering the numerical ratio. Furthermore, only one boulevard commemorated a person between 1920 to the present, and as expected from the foregoing analysis, it was named for a man—William McKinley, the 25th President of the United States. At least 41 “streets” (simply street, here), which made up about 82 percent and 20.52 miles respectively of the total “streets,” number and length, memorialized men, and the remaining share commemorated women (see Table 1).

Similarly, a pronounced 41 (82.0 percent) “avenues,” that measured 42.98 miles (82.45 percent of the total length of avenues), remembered men, while a staggering low nine avenues (18.0 percent), which added up to only 9.15 miles (17.55 percent of the total avenue length), commemorated women. Hence, we have a male to female distance and number ratio of about 5 to 1 respectively for avenues. This similar trend of male dominance was observed across other classes of streets like courts, drives, roads, and is more pronounced in terms of number in “lanes.” Only three lanes commemorated females, and a significant ten were named for men.

In addition, it is needful to stress the importance of the different street types, which is informed by their singular visibility. Arnon Golan, in the study of Tel Aviv’s Rothschild Boulevard, posited that prestigious boulevards, avenues, and ordinarily streets, have more

potential of being parts of the symbolic meaning of the city. In essence, they are likely to contribute to the historical definition of a city from the perspective of visitors, residents, and even historians or researchers. The author opined that these street types are more likely to be visible in urban centers, due to their location, function, and the surrounding development, and as such, attract more visibility, and collectively play an “essential role in shaping the urban imaginaries.”¹⁵ Importantly, “drives” in American cities also play similar roles. Some important examples of the American iconic street types outside Milwaukee include but are not limited to, Broadway and Wall Street in New York City, Mulberry Street in Memphis, Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington D.C., Las Vegas Boulevard, Las Vegas, Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles, Rodeo Drive in Beverly Hills, among others. Although these iconic street categories may likely not be famous because of their type, their use contribute more to this attribute. Their uses could be informed by the sizes, locations, histories, dimensions, and directions. All these factors are apparent in Milwaukee’s streets, as they could be seen in the street names’ map by gender of the city (Figure 18).

Because geographical information systems base-maps are typically created in layers of data in order to contain all geographical information in a piece, the streets of Milwaukee are laid in accordance to hierarchy. This is evident in the gendered street name map of the city (Figure 22). For example, most of the streets named for men are easily visible with first zoom-in activity, while those named after women require more zooming in to view the information properly (see <https://arcg.is/0yGPfL>). This is because most streets named for men are located in places of higher activities and have more uses, while those named for women are located in less developed spaces with less traffic. In fact, only Carmen Avenue, Vel Phillips Avenue and Jeannetta

¹⁵ Golan, “The Street as Urban Icon? Tel Aviv’s Rothschild Boulevard,” 724.

Simpson-Robinson Memorial Highway are quite visible, others are mostly short, hidden and have less daily traffic. This analysis further illustrates that Milwaukee's commemorative street names embody some significant level of inequality in terms of function, hierarchy, location, and usage which in a combined state, interplays to impact the inequality inherent in the visibility of the city's street names.

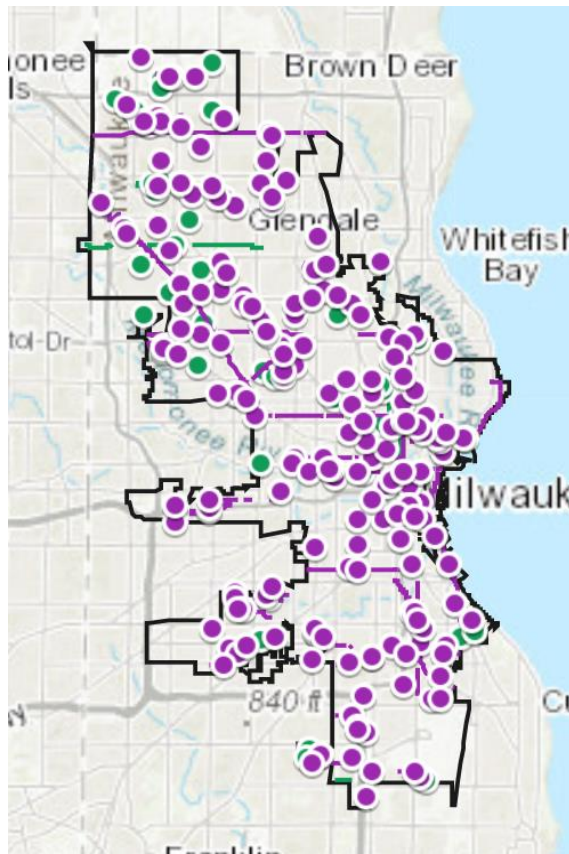


Figure 18: Commemorative street names by gender in Milwaukee, 1920-2021 (green and purple colors represent streets named for women and men respectively)

From the spatial distribution of the street names based on individual gender category, it was observed that Northern Milwaukee had a better distribution of the streets named for women compared to other parts of the city (Figure 19; <https://arcg.is/1SnS9v>). As we move towards the southern parts, women's memorials diminish. In addition, the map showing the spatial distribution of the streets named for men shows more clustering of the men's commemorative

street names in the southeastern parts of the city (Figure 20; <https://arcg.is/0SSaCG>). This analysis shows how the northern parts of the city recognized their women and tend towards just commemorative spaces.

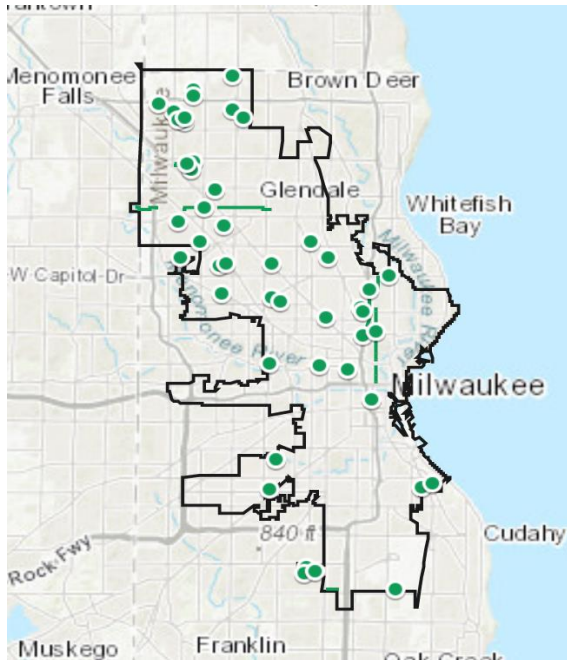


Figure 19: Spatial distribution of Milwaukee's streets named for women (1920-2021)

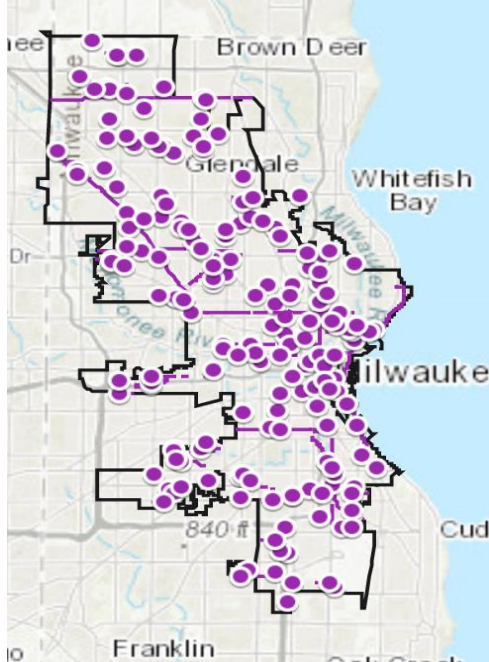


Figure 20: Spatial distribution of Milwaukee's streets named for men (1920-2021)

In sum, the data and information in this chapter established the fact that Milwaukee's commemorative street names manifest a great deal of gender inequality, with a great number of the streets celebrating men, at the detriment of women. The city's commemorative street names have constituted a great part of men's world that reinforces sexism in space, and would continue to do so, if left unattended. However, one plausible contribution to this wide gender gap, is the fact that most cities of the world, including Milwaukee, still lead a patriarchal system –which is socially constructed (see Chapter Four). And when we consider the requirements for naming Milwaukee's streets, it may not be favorable to women's commemoration.

Although the increasing democratization of the street naming helped commemorate women independent of their relationship with influential men, yet this may not help from another angle. What if the population of the property owners along a street to be renamed is dominated by men? Also, because we historically have been generally leading patriarchal urban systems, our decisions are most likely to be constitutive and informed by the societal-related gender hierarchical structure, and, therefore, likely to see sexist-patterned urban spaces. This would mean that Milwaukee is most likely to name its streets after men. Furthermore, despite the fact that Milwaukee constituted about 51.9 percent females of the total population (as stated by the United States Census Bureau in 2019),¹⁶ which is automatically more than any other sex in the city, the data in this research suggest that the city was approximately four times more likely to name a street for a male rather than a female person, and also five times probably to name a mile of a street after a man, at the expense of women. These surprising figures demand a just intervention that requires some social justice principles for actions to move us towards de-colonizing the gendered toponyms of Milwaukee.

¹⁶ United States Census Bureau, "QuickFacts: Milwaukee City, Wisconsin," accessed February 14, 2021 <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/milwaukeeecitywisconsin>.

Chapter Four

Towards Gender Parity in Milwaukee's Street Names

Having provided evidence of the manifestation of inequality in Milwaukee's commemorative street names and observed that the inherent inequality is historically a product of social injustice, arising from the procedural processes and distribution of the street names, one may agree that it is time to proffer policy statements to ameliorating such identified issue. But as evident in this thesis, commemorative street names offer important platforms for (re)writing and (re)archiving the legacies of people. They reflect whose past is preserved and referenced.

Therefore, if commemorative street names do preserve people's history, then what are other factors that help determine who is chosen for the street memorials in Milwaukee? The commemorative street naming ordinance? In part, yes. The people wielding their democratic rights to naming the streets? A positive answer is also unavoidable. If these answers are true, therefore, this implies that the "rights" of Milwaukeeans, as an independent variable, contributed to the histories conserved on the street plates. But we may need to ask questions about what constitutes these rights. What are the underlying actors that make up and underscore such networks of "rights," even beyond Milwaukee? That is, what are the social forces that shape these rights, and how are they connected to gender? Answering these broad historical rooted questions, crosscuts a much broader perspectives of the social construction in terms of inclusion and exclusion in history making and preservation in urban memorials.

We need to keep in mind that the gendered commemorative street naming of Milwaukee was created not only through the civic political actions but built and maintained via the social relations existing in the city at different periods. A city consistently goes through different gender transformation at various scales of actions both at the individual and institutional levels.

In essence, before I proffer specific equitable policies, a greater awareness on how conservation of history and the urban spaces are socially constructed through the gendered bodies must be unpacked. This is important because it would be foolhardy to consider policy as the only source of spatial gender inequality, and not unravelling the actor network that creates and bonds such patterns. Recommending solutions at the former position, would only amount to the literal expression of pruning a tree, while trying to uproot it.

The issue of inequality in memorials has been dominantly and narrowly studied through the purview of distributive justice, without looking into the broader social relations that contribute to such pattern in spaces. Importantly, the histories of persons and events are initially conserved via the quotidian social relations among people before their designation and engravement into physical spaces. And when we inadequately acknowledge this overlapping interrelation, in more cases than not, there are inevitable manifestations of unequal historical conservation of social realities and identities. This would then perpetuate a disproportionate distribution of historical resources that represent social identities through memorialization.

Gender, however, has proven to be a social identity that uniquely relates with historical spaces, in part, through urban processes, and, by large, through individual relations in the society. Gender relates with spaces, and in return, spaces do the same in unique ways different from other social identifiers. Unpacking the social relational characteristics of urban commemoration through history making is very pertinent to the understanding and development of functional policies. Leslie Kern posited that “A geographic perspective on gender offers a way of understanding how sexism functions on the ground.”¹ A typical example (as evident in Chapter Three of this project) is the apparent androcentrism of distribution of commemorative

¹ Leslie Kern, “Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-made World,” (London and New York: Verso, 2020), 13.

street names in Milwaukee, where men have more commemorative rights on the streets than women.

A city is a product of social relations and not primarily a conjunction of physical spaces. Recalling Christopher Boone and Geoffrey Buckley's definition of city, as a landscape "produced by accumulations of past and present decisions,"² points to the existing interrelations between a city's materiality and immateriality. As observed through the history of Milwaukee's street naming procedures, gender inequality as expressed in the disproportionate distribution of the street memorials, appeared to have been an existing relational problem and not just a mere physical product. Many social actors at different periods (as seen in Chapter Two) contributed to the gendering of the street names. Expectedly, and understandably, city leaders and decision makers often than not represent and take actions in line with the societal values. Milwaukee at different periods had made those commemorative decisions aligning with what was obtainable within the city.

Therefore, a broader perspective of the social construction of commemoration is required to fully capture the embedded formation. Although there is no firsthand evidence from any applied ethnographic approach in the form of interviews of residents, the broader social formation analysis was explicated for brighter illumination. This chapter broadly explores the gender interaction to history making in urban spaces and makes an argument for appropriate philosophical approaches and practices of social justice for developing just Milwaukee's commemorative street names. As evident in Chapters Two and Three, both the street naming

² Christopher G. Boone and Geoffrey L. Buckley, "Historical approaches to environmental justice," in *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Justice*, (eds.) Ryan Holifield, Jayajit Chakraborty and Gordon Walker (New York: Routledge, 2018) 223.

procedures (processes) and the street names (products) are great embodiments of inequality. Hence, a rethinking is necessary.

Social Construction of History Making and Preservation in Spaces

The discourse of the social construction of gender relations abounds in the literature, but few have considered looking at its connections to memorial practices in spaces. Steven Hoelscher and Derek Alderman's study entitled "Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship" is one exception. The authors found correlations between the social construction of memory and the production of spaces, but they delved more into the bigger political structure and not purely from the lens of gender.³ As seen in the historiography section of Chapter Two, scholars have often studied the issue of spatial gender inequality through the lens of material distribution only, shying away from illuminating the problematic historical-gender-spatial social construction. Again, the prevalent sexism in urban spaces cannot only be understood with the enumeration of distribution and evaluations of the processes; its various ways of spatial reproduction should be highlighted.

By extension, justice can only be maintained when we strive not to exclude the irreplaceable roles social structures play in shaping the decisions we aim to reshape. One possible problem is when we examine the term "sexism," and realize it is a singular word, we may tend to deal with it in its singular state rather than in its plural manifestations. Jo Little, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson echoed this when they contended "that gender divisions cannot be analysed without considering....the reciprocal way in which spatial structure and

³ Steven Hoelscher and Derek H. Alderman, "Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship" *Social & Cultural Geography* 5(3): 348-349.

environmental change reinforces and reflects gender relations.”⁴ We need to grasp the embedded micro relations that (re)produces the apparent macro actions, which would help us understand how we need to deconstruct our personal relations that maintain the unequal status quo. This analysis gives fresh insights into the complex social nature of urban inequality.

To better capture this interplay, spatial sexism was broken down into its simplest yet broadest form. It was examined not merely through the concept of discriminatory practices or men’s hostility toward women but through its individual, group and systemic embodiment—through a subtle, institutionalized, feminine-prejudiced embodied communications and actions that transform the invisible into visible.

In part, this analysis captures only not the conscious sexist bodies in the society who refused to acknowledge gender inequality, but those who acknowledge the issue, yet unconsciously enjoy, maintain, and promote the status quo from the benefits that accompany sexism. Therefore, for a start, I described sexism in historical spaces, as a form of action that unconsciously, structurally, and systematically (re)names and (re)defines the urban structures to the benefit and credit of men, at the expense of women. Although this definition might somewhat have resemblance to the conception of systemic racism as expatiated by Laura Pulido,⁵ it has its specific meaning to history and spaces different from race.

Because sexism and racism are somewhat related in the class of oppression, proving intentions has been the pillar and obsession for making claims of injustice and consequently does not take into account the assessment of the unseen role of actors that socially constitute such acts

⁴ Jo Little, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson, “Introduction: Geography and Gender in the Urban Environment,” in *Women in Cities: Gender and the Urban Environment*, (eds.) Jo Little, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London, 1988), 3.

⁵ Laura Pulido, “Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90 (1) (2000): 16.

in the first place. In this sense, injustice constitute both the tangible substances and intangible elements that make up for their material-discursive (physical and abstract) characteristics. For example, Laura Pulido examined how spatial racism has been one of the most difficult material discussions for spatial inequality, because of the difficulty in claiming intentions in its legal cases.⁶ Sadly, this is also attributable to sexism, which is maintained via relations and through the structurally instituted society and gendered bodies.

When claims do not have quantifiable variables, victims of sexism in space and time would inevitably be faced with the difficulty of proving intents in their cases of discrimination. This problem lies in the subjective differing values ascribed to the gendered bodies and reduction of the study of sexism to mere providing evidences of intentions, which undermines the elements that play key roles in the social order, both in history making and commemorative practices.

Ellen Pao, in an interview with the *Intelligencer*, narrated how she was consistently faced with sexism in her daily conversations at her workplace.⁷ She narrated that in most work events with her husband, she was asked about the welfare of their dogs, while her husband was asked questions about work. In her words, “Cocktail Party Guy asks my husband about how things are going at his news site, and he answers. Then Cocktail Party Guy asks me how our dogs are, and I answer, before pivoting the conversation back to work — and later rolling my eyes as we walk away.” She continued that “It is a form of soft discrimination that I fear might be all too familiar to all too many women—and often I find it hard to explain to my male friends and colleagues.” Just like in legal justice system, the requirement for providing evidence of

⁶ Pulido, “Rethinking Environmental Racism,” 13.

⁷ Annie Lowrey, “Ellen Pao and the Sexism You Can’t Quite Prove,” *Intelligencer: Subtle Sexism*, March 30, 2015, accessed February 24, 2021 <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2015/03/ellen-pao-and-the-sexism-you-cant-quite-prove.html>.

intentionality has historically been a strength, and simultaneously, a threat to social justice. Instead of directly proving to the male colleagues at Ellen Pao's workplace the inherent malicious intent in their questions, maybe they could be asked questions about why Ellen Pao didn't deserve a question about work, but those of domestic values. She concluded that "Occasionally, I even find myself struggling to convince them that it is discrimination, and that it has consequences."⁸ Apparently, it has consequences, and one of such end product is expressed in history making and spatial history preservation like the street naming.

Our communications have strong links to every aspect of our lives, be it physical or social spaces. Liane Loots described our means of communications as one that "gets to be one of the prime ways in which we actively construct shared assumptions and transmit implicit value systems and modes of behavior. Language thus becomes one of the prime means in which we, as subjects of discourse, give consent to the world around us."⁹ This implies that this kind of personal relation usually metamorphose to influence institutional policies and practices that shape our spaces. Dolores Hayden, echoed this, that the phrase, "A woman's place is in the home' has been one of the most important principles of architectural design and urban planning in the United States for the last century."¹⁰ Indeed, communication is a form of discursive social order which shapes our daily realities.

Leslie Kern further argued that the urban design director of Toronto, Lorna Day, discovered that the city's adopted policies and guidelines of the wind effects on buildings and tunnel assumed the physical characteristics of "height, weight and surface area" of an adult man.

⁸ Lowrey, "Ellen Pao and the Sexism You Can't Quite Prove."

⁹ Liane Loots, "The Body as History and Memory: A Gendered Reflection on the Choreographic 'Embodiment' of Creating on the Socially Constructed Text of the South African body," *South African Theatre Journal* 24(1) (2010), 105.

¹⁰ Dolores Hayden, "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work," *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5(3) (1980): S170.

The author stated that “You’d never think that gender bias influences the height and position of skyscrapers or the development of a wind tunnel, but there you have it.”¹¹ Sexism is unconscious, and because of this, most subjects (both unconscious and conscious sexists) do not acknowledge their acts as sexist, and as such, make up the system that alters the experience of women in space and time. It is also through this unconscious sexism that men’s activities are labeled “heroic,” and women’s, “supportive,” which consequently contributes to the erasure of women in history.

For instance, the long struggle to emancipation and the civil right movements for racial equality have often been portrayed events of men, despite the fact that it is very likely that emancipation from slavery would not have officially happened on January 31, 1865, if not for the indelible marks made by abolitionists who were women. Yet, we barely hear about women in this event. In fact, hardly are the legacies of women like Elizabeth Margaret Chandler, Abby Kelley, Sarah Grimke, Angelina Grimke, Lucretia Mott, Lydia Maria Child, and many other white women kept. These were women who consistently critiqued and resisted the system of slavery with whatever means they had at their disposal yet have less documentation in urban bibliographies compared to their male counterparts. We can also point to the hard-to-come-by commemorations of Sarah Mapps Douglass, Maria Stewart, The Forten women [Charlotte (mother), Sarah, Margaretta, and Harriet (daughters) and Charlotte (granddaughter)] and many more, as an indicator of gender construction of history preservation, rather than a measure to their brave contributions.

When you further recall the civil right movements of the mid-twentieth century, what comes to your mind? I guess you have a picture of men led by the great Dr. Martin Luther King,

¹¹ Kern, “Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-made World,” 14.

Jr., in the front line, while walking the crowds from Selma to Montgomery, to Washington D.C, to Chicago, to Milwaukee, and to other American cities. How many women's contribution could one remember? This is a personal question, and its answers should give us insights on the issue raised here. We hardly read or hear about the contributions of Coretta Scott King, the wife of Martin Luther King, who alongside Martin led activism and continued the struggle after his assassination. She, just like many other female activists, who lost their male partners to the civil rights struggles bore the pains independently and could only shoulder the societal responsibilities that came afterwards. Furthermore, we hardly might have come across the story of Viola Liuzzo.

Donna Britt documented that Viola Liuzzo was a 39-year-old “wife and mother of five who’d left her family in Detroit to drive to Alabama to march with Martin Luther King Jr. And.... shot after ferrying protesters in her car with a ‘Negro man,’ as African Americans were referred to then.”¹² Countless other women made their indelible marks on the struggles of racial justice, yet, their stories are not heroically told like the men's. Belinda Robnett thoroughly documented Black American women's contributions to these struggles in her book *How Long? How Long?: African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*.¹³ Women like Dorothy Cotton, Ella Baker, Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, Fannie Lou Hamer and many others are rare names attributed to the narratives of the mid-twentieth century civil rights movements. It has pervasively been a male narrative, a male preservation of history.

The story of Claudette Colvin tells another side of the story of sexism, as an influence on history preservation. In a documentary which captured the women's roles in the civil rights

¹² Donna Britt, “A white mother went to Alabama to fight for civil rights. The Klan killed her for it,” *Washington Post* December 15, 2017, accessed February 28, 2021 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/12/15/a-white-mother-went-to-alabama-to-fight-for-civil-rights-the-klan-killed-her-for-it/>.

¹³ Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

movements, Claudette Colvin narrated how history have had her “glued to seat.”¹⁴ She narrated that she “was arrested in 1955, March the 2nd for refusing to give my seat to a White lady.” Consequently, the arrest and thereafter the legal charges faced by the then 15-year-old Claudette Colvin with other three women in Montgomery, ended up at the Supreme Court, and this began the movement to end bus segregation in the south. It was stated in the documentary that it was their court cases that led to the illegality of bus segregation in Alabama and all over the south. Although many may attribute this event to the well told story of Rosa Parks (who is now believed to have been inspired by Claudette Colvin), the struggle to end bus segregation was actually started nine months before Rosa Parks’ famous feats. What has sexism got to do with this history preservation, when both historical figures belong(ed) to the same gender category?

When the question about why the-almost-forgotten history of Claudette Colvin arose in the documentary, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, a staff member of the Women’s Research & Resource Center, Spelman College, suggested that “Rosa Parks is the ideal candidate for the Montgomery bus boycott. She is respected in the community, she is ‘married.’”¹⁵ Married to whom? A man – Raymond Parks. In essence, the documentary suggested Rosa Parks’s connection to a man in matrimony, contributed to the redefinition of her identity and acceptance. The male connection of Rosa Parks possibly made her the face of the bus segregation movement. Even though she was a member of the NAACP, which also contributed to the politics of identity that made her the center of action, her marital status possibly helped boost her cause of history preservation. On Colvin’s part, she was not married, not light skinned like Rosa Parks, she was a teenager and was

¹⁴ Deborah Brunswick, Janelle Gonzalez, Abby Phillip, Jeff Simon and Cassie Spodak, “Black Women's Roles in the Civil Rights Movement have been Understated -- But That's Changing,” *CNN Politics*, February 21, 2021, accessed February 24, 2021 <https://www.cnn.com/2021/02/21/politics/black-freedom-movements-past-present/index.html>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

pregnant at the time of arrest. All these culminated to promote Rosa's "politics of respectability" that were very important to public campaigns.

We should, however, be very careful not to perceive this comparative analogy as a reason to belittle Rosa Parks' contributions, as that would be counterproductive, but it should rather be understood as the injustice women without connections to men's influence face in commemorative practices and the definition of women feats through the lens of men. Typical examples of this issue are epitomized in the gender analysis of Milwaukee's commemorative street names in the two previous chapters (two and three) of this research. Also, we should not use this example to exempt Rosa Parks from facing sexism and other forms of discrimination while struggling for people's constitutional rights. In fact, preserving her history were faced with many challenges after her death. Beverly Guy-Sheftall concluded in the documentary that, "the civil rights movements, that narrative, that story has focused primarily on Black male leaders. It's been a male narrative. The way Martin Luther King Jr. has been portrayed, and the way Rosa Parks has been portrayed, she's not given an activist status, she's given a tired Black woman status."¹⁶ Furthermore, these stories are not to diminish men's contributions and their sacrifices to the fights for racial justice in any way, it is essentially to illuminate how male privilege, in varied perspectives, intertwines with history preservation, and consequently produces and influences the commemorative practices we now encounter in cities.

The definition of "heroism" has been particularly a masculine conception, which have contributed to the exclusion of women in the dominant men's history. Svetlana Alexievich, the Nobel prize winner historian, documented that despite the objections of women's enlistment in World War II, about half a million women from the United States enlisted and helped in the war

¹⁶ Brunswick, Gonzalez, Phillip, Simon and Spodak, "Black Women's Roles in the Civil Rights Movement."

in different military departments.¹⁷ Lettie Gavin in her book, *The American Women in World War I: They Also Served*, posited that after the war, there began the transformation of the social order in cities.¹⁸ But despite the fact that women contributed to these wars in great numbers, the wars' stories are being spoken in men's canon, but through the women's agonizing voices and teary faces.

Considering fighting wars and struggles for democratic independence, Svetlana Alexievich asserted that women's wars and heroics are totally different from that of men.¹⁹ The author cited the sacrifice of her Belorussian grandmother in the wars as an example; she stated that when only one (her father) of the three enlisted sons returned home alive, she started to grasp the battle of women, even if it didn't matter to men. She documented that "for a long time afterward the village boys played "Germans and Russians." They shouted German words: *Hände hoch! Zurück! Hitler kaput.*"²⁰ In essence, it was men portraying warriors in wars, and, ultimately, it was men's memory that was being served in platters, and ultimately it is men's history that would be commemorated. This, in part, is because the author posited that "memory preserves precisely the moments of that greatness."²¹ History is about memory, and memory is all about events. Therefore, whatsoever socially constitute and influence events, impacts history preservation.

It is also worth recalling how the great contributions of Wisconsin governor John J. Blaine earned him a commemorative street in Milwaukee; in which one of the contributions was

¹⁷ Svetlana Alexievich, *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II* (New York: Random House, 2017), xii.

¹⁸ Lettie Gavin, *American Women in World War I: They Also Served* (Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1997), 1.

¹⁹ Alexievich, *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II*, xiv.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid, xix.

making Wisconsin one of the first states to ratify the 19th amendment, when the Woman's Suffrage Bill was passed on June 10, 1919 in Madison. From the mid-nineteenth to the date of bill's passage and thereafter, many women in Wisconsin (see Figure 10 for illustration) pushed for the passage, through activism and many other resisting means, and followed through to see the implementation of the bill. Yet, we could hardly come by a street or placename remembering Wisconsin's "Woman Suffrage" events or at large, the women who struggled for the freedom. The Wisconsin Historical Society glossed through some of the historical Wisconsin women in the Woman Suffrage. They include but not limited to Electa Quinney, Betsy Thunder, Ardie Clark Halyard, Fannie Hicklin, Ellen Ainsworth, Margaret Danhauser, Milly Zantow, and Anita Herrera.²² But a more elaborate documentation of the great local women in this feat and others, was captured in Genevieve McBride's book *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage*.²³ Again, this is not to undermine the contributions of men in the suffrage passage in any way, it is to let us start imagining how we unconsciously refuse to acknowledge women's feats in historical discourses, which has potent impacts on the erasure of their memory in spaces.

History, to a great extent, preserves men's legacy. Most events we have learned of "heroes," we know of men, and most events we know of men, hold significant values of the past. Svetlana Alexievich documented that even when we recall the women's triumphs, they are quickly remembered through the canon of men. The author stated that "Women's' war has its

²² "12 Wisconsin Women Overlooked by History," Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed March 4, 2021 <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS16291>.

²³ Genevieve G. McBride, *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

own colors, its own smells, its own lighting, and its own range of feelings. Its own words.”²⁴ She further elaborated the issue of gender relations with history making, when she stated that:

“Men hide behind history, behind facts; war fascinates them as action and a conflict of ideas, of interests, whereas women are caught up with feelings. And another thing: men are prepared from childhood for the fact that they may have to shoot. Women are not taught that...They are not prepared to do that work...And they remember other things, and remember differently. They are capable of seeing what is closed to men.”²⁵

But despite the difference in social make up of gender, women are still locked up in men’s narratives. Only few women who have fought within the men’s canons, beat the masculine expectations, are somewhat remembered. Women’s realities are different, and their feats cannot constitute the same social make up of events as men’s. If we continue to define women’s victories via the men’s narratives, we will continue to lose the diversity values of gender in itself and in history.

When we consider women’s impacts, we should steer clear from defining them via a man’s canon, because their wars, obstacles and struggles are different. Historically, men constitute part of the struggles of women, because men’s choices shape what was/is available to women. We could recall that not until the first quarter of the twentieth century, women did not have the right to participate in political engagements. They lived in the shadow of men who were consistently into the business of “making history” and subjugating their authority over women’s activities. This relation has been passed on to the present generation, influencing the distribution of the materiality of living. We should also recall that United States didn’t have a female president nor a vice president until February 20, 2021– many countries haven’t even gotten close to having one. This succinctly points to how sexism has operated over the centuries, how the

²⁴ Alexievich, *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II*, xxiii.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁵ Milele Coggs (Alderwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in an interview with the author, February 18, 2021.

male world has been constructed and endured, and historically, illustrates the societal poor understanding of women's identity.

In sum, this section has argued for the social construction of history, its socio-spatial attributes of urban commemoration, as well as point to fact that gender itself is socially constructed. History making and preservation is socio-spatial relative, and thus, a form of male chauvinism contributed to by our gendered bodies, which constitute the social networks of relations. Despite the fact that cities are ever dynamic, the issue of gender spatial inequality has endured. The arguments in this section expatiated the dominant narrow meaning ascribed to sexism in previous gender commemorative studies, which helps not to unpack and ameliorate the issue, but consistently helps spatial-sexism to mutate into different forms and develop immunity against narrow lens policy statements aimed at solving it. Studying spatial sexism and omitting the social relations that calcify it, is counterproductive. Communications, a form of discussion with material meaning has great potential against gender parity in commemorative practices. Communications, actions, policy statements and many more, are all forms of the material-discursive of urban commemorative sexism.

Incorporating sexism approach into the study of gendered commemorative inequality and social history, offers ample opportunity to unveil the many human and non-human actors that are embedded and active in shaping the pattern. In fact, nothing is made tangible in cities without the embedded intangible relations. This is the reason why the city is a material-discursive element. For example, the memorials like street names we encounter today, are a product of past social interactions. Having the conception of sexism and how it to manifests in spaces give us many advantages to tackling the issue from the roots of its past, in diverse ways and not just proffering short-term solutions.

Recognizing and acknowledging this conception is important, because it has historically and unconsciously placed a less character on women as second-class citizens compared to men. And this is the first step to un-gendering the sexism of Milwaukee's commemorative streets and in other places. Other recommendations would be done with the application of social justice postulates.

Towards Just Milwaukee's Commemorative Street Names

As evident in this research thus far, the inequality identified in Milwaukee's commemorative street names is a problem that has connections with the philosophies of social justice. Nancy Fraser directly echoed the importance of dealing with inequality problems from the justice lens. The author posited that, in the contemporary days, when claiming for social justice, claimers have consistently made their cases from two interrelated viewpoints. She begins, "first, and most familiar, are redistributive claims, which seek a more just distribution of resources and wealth."²⁶ According to the author, this is an older form of looking at social justice, which tends to treat inequality by employing the principles of egalitarian redistribution. However, this "political philosophical exchange" has evolved to include a Hegelian postulate that tends to improve the social relations and redresses the inequality existing in social relations. According to Nancy Fraser, "the politics of recognition" has proven to be the new order of social rearrangement.²⁷ These principle draws from the logics of progressiveness that strives to balance social relations and material outcomes in cities.

²⁶ Nancy Fraser, "Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation," in *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*, Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth (London and New York: Verso, 2003), 7.

This section, however, outlines the application of the theory of practice which draws majorly from the principles of “Just City” of Susan Fainstein, for tackling the identified gender inequality in Milwaukee’s street names. It is important to apply a theoretical framework of justice because equality discussion is controversial in political arena. And applying the Just City principles could help evaluate and reconstruct some of the recommendations proffered for equitable solutions to the problems of gender inequality in Milwaukee’s street names. Just City provides an appropriate means to reconfigure such discursive power structure that undermines women in the city’s toponyms.

Fainstein developed this concept to evaluate justice in urban policies through the viewpoint of those disproportionately affected with decision making, rather than the mere cost-benefit analysis of competitiveness and mere resource distribution that were hegemonic in urban policies.²⁸ Hence, the recommendations were collapsed in accordance to diversity, democracy and equity (Just City).

Diversity in Milwaukee’s Street Naming

Diversity is a well contested concept in the literature. Among others, Fainstein developed the Just City concept with a view to redefining urban diversity that was misinterpreted. She posited that the use of “diversity” in the late twentieth century by scholars led to contradictory theories and policies arising from the different connotations behind the concept. Because diversity has a controversial meaning, its exploration must be done with caution. For example, diversity means an entirely different thing to urban designers, who sees it as a blend of different building type. To urban planners, it connotes mixed land uses (which may include integrating residential,

²⁸ Susan Fainstein, “The Just City,” *International Journal of Urban Sciences* 18 (1) (2014): 11.

commercial, industrial, public uses together in a convenient and efficient manner) that emerges from attempts to ameliorate the ills of zoning. To planners like Jane Jacobs, developing such mixed cities could generate a social mixing that have the potentials to reduce transport cost, housing shortage, and to improve the productivity of cities economically. Richard Florida and proponents of creative class support this idea and view diversity through economic standpoint. To them diversity is a stimulant of the urban economy.²⁹

However, to un-gender Milwaukee's commemorative street naming, diversity could imply some significant recognition of women in the society and naming process. "Recognition" was seen by Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth, as a phenomenological relation in which members of separate groups see themselves as equal but different. A phenomenon that permits recognition of identity from an outgroup member, and also in turn, reciprocates similar recognition.³⁰ This new progressive interaction, was what Nancy Fraser called "the politics of recognition."³¹ However, the author posited that redistribution-recognition relations is often a dilemma, especially when faced with solving injustice that has relationships with the theoretical body. She stated that when faced with such problem, where we are to pursue recognition and redistribution simultaneously, we must look deep into the issues and develop contextual means to satisfy both requirements.³²

To integrate recognition, first, Milwaukee needs to acknowledge that its text is sexist. Recall, that the street names help movement within the city, which means they are spoken daily by residents and visitors. Therefore, the texts (street names) reflect the historical language of the

²⁹ Fainstein, "The Just City," 11.

³⁰ Fraser and Honneth, "Introduction: Redistribution or Recognition?" 10.

³¹ Fraser, "Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation," 7.

³² Fraser, "From Distribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age."

city. They are the bibliography of the city and constitute a significant portion of the city's language. Dale Spender posited that language is a potent weapon that helps maintain the status quo of patriarchy.³³ For women to fully realize liberation, every language spoken in Milwaukee (be it spatial) must be free from gender bias.

During the interview with Alderperson Milele Coggs,³⁴ she pointed to how she didn't observe the issue of sexism in Milwaukee's streets until she got the subject of the interview invitation. Unfortunately, not many people do either. The education I received through my graduate courses at the Urban Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee gave me insights into the manners we embody sexism and how it manifests in spaces. Coggs agreed to the power of education as a means of acknowledging this issue, and she rightly did so.

Education is a tool that could help bridge the gender gap existing in Milwaukee's commemorative street names. Fainstein posited that "education is a crucial aspect of policy to be considered under the rubric of the just city."³⁵ Public awareness about people's rights to urban commemoration and the women's contributions, accompanied by the inequality women face (including in the city's street commemoration), could be done in order to awaken the women and progressive thinking individuals to make moves and support the changing of some street names in the city for women in history. Every feminist organization could be informed about this issue and the rights they could exercise for women to be commemorated, to help bridge this inequality gap. This was also highlighted by Coggs, when she recalled her leading role in the renaming of East Reservoir Avenue to Glover Street event in 1994. She stated that she and other students mused:

³³ Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (London and Boston: Pandora Press, 1990), 12.

³⁴ Milele Coggs (Alderman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in an interview with the author, February 18, 2021

³⁵ Susan S. Fainstein, *The Just City* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2010), 7.

We could change it? That's what we can actually do?.....We started the process, but most people never do that. The more women know, would be better. And also, to know about equity.³⁶

It was the enlightenment and education from the history class that informed the students about their civic rights to make the name change in 1994. This awareness is also important for women, and a feminist street commemorative movement could spark a real change, not only for Milwaukee, but for the country at large. For the financial aspect, a coalition with the social diversity organizations could be formed to help sponsor programs for public education on feminism values in physical spaces. Private sponsors could also be motivated through public donations and via campaigns.

It is further important that what is regarded as “heroic” be redefined in the light of gender diversity or recognition in Milwaukee. Heroism must be inclusive of feminist values when evaluating contributions worthy of commemoration. For instance, when naming places after war heroes, it is important to evaluate based on gender difference, expectations, and values. By giving diversity its place in the definition of “heroism,” women would be acknowledged for what they do, rather than what men expect them to do. Affirmative recognition, which promotes developing policies and actions that embody feminism values (expectation of women) must be fostered in Milwaukee's street toponyms.

Broadly speaking, programs that tell and retell women's contributions to humanity within the women's narratives are important to this approach. The media outlets have important roles to play in this. Informal education constitutes a significant aspect of human learning process, and the media make up an important aspect of it. Historical movies that tell and make reparations to

³⁶ Milele Coggs (Alderwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in an interview with the author, February 18, 2021.

the stories of women's struggles, could help in the cause of documenting the forgotten victories of local and national women. This was resonated by Leslie Kern when she documented that "the imagined city is shaped by experience, 'media,' art."³⁷ Every last primary source left of women's contributions needs to be saved. By so doing, we can save the women's memories from extinction and for every urban center looking to un-gendering its sexist commemorative streets by remembering its women.

Also, it is imperative that urban decision makers acknowledge the gender difference in place naming processes. It is typical that the gender composition of decision makers on toponyms be reflected in the names. So, it is likely that the more men dominate the decision-making processes, the more the procedure supports naming streets for men. Milwaukee needs to pay attention to the gender composition of the committee set-up to make decisions on street naming. The committee and the quorum to be formed should reflect diversity in gender and race. This should include historians or individuals who promote feminine and racial values. It is also important that when attempting to make changes in sexist Milwaukee streets, it is wise to look into the racist aspect of the names. Again, this is because racism and sexism are intertwined. Alongside gender, Milwaukee's streets must be able to reflect ethno-racial heterogeneity, for diversity to be attained. If people of color are excluded from the names, then it is certain some particular women would miss out in the mix, reflecting the initial problem—social exclusion. Although this strategy looks more like the invocation of democracy principle of the Just City, rather than diversity, in actual sense, diversity begins with the assessment of processes. In other words, if diversity must be fostered in Milwaukee's street names, it must be promoted within the decision-making premises.

³⁷ Kern, "Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-made World," 7.

To make the names more inclusive, the city should promote what I termed the gender co-naming principle. For instance, when women and or men are to be commemorated, Milwaukee could memorialize both a woman and a man of similar contributions on the street. When a woman or a man who was an activist is to be commemorated, a person's names of opposite gender in similar contribution area could be memorialized in a combined name. But attention should be placed on the gender connotations of the contributions of those to be commemorated and not evaluate them from the canon of men's expectations. Co-naming has been practiced in Milwaukee in time past. For instance, LYNne and MARY Zimmermann were memorialized on Lynmar Court and Lynmar Terrace in 1954, and these didn't jeopardize Milwaukee's toponym's objectives, although they were of the same gender. Lastly, names like Lindsay Street could be renamed to reflect gender identity.

Democracy in Milwaukee's Street Toponyms

Incorporating the principle of democracy in urban decision-making gained traction through the frameworks of liberal jurisprudence. This include discourse ethics or deliberation where people's stories are listened to by decision makers before formulating policies for them.³⁸ For instance, scholarship that promotes the idea of 'right to the city' were the first set of studies that instilled the principles of democracy. For instance, David Harvey defined democracy in urban development process through equal opportunity to change the city according to common interest.³⁹

In recent times, there has been burgeoning scholarship in democratic urban processes from the purview of Fainstein's Just City. For example, Primož Medved applied it to neighborhood

³⁸ Fainstein, "The Just City," 7.

³⁹ David Harvey, "The Right to the city." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27(4) (2003): 939.

development in Harbour (Malmö).⁴⁰ In the naming of Milwaukee's streets, this is applicable in gender-mainstreaming based policies which rest on the substantial inclusion of women in decision making. As stated earlier, urban decision making is typically a male-dominated process, but Susan Fainstein writes that, "within a democratic community each party should have its say, and no privileged hierarchy, whether based on power or technical expertise, should exist. As a riposte to economistic thinking within social analysis, this represents a progressive move."⁴¹

It is, nonetheless, important we don't get carried away with the promises of democracy within the context of justice, because Fainstein warns that democracy could fail, if the system it operates neglects to disengage the hierarchical systems existing in the city; and in this sense, could perpetuate the inequality it looks to ameliorate. An example is in the democratic process to naming streets instituted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1990 and reviewed in 2005. The process seems cumbersome and poses threats to the name changing processes. The post card survey for more than 50 percent of the property owners along the streets in support of the name change, seems very cumbersome and expensive. According to Ald. Milele Coggs, this is practically impossible to do. She narrated how she and other members boycotted this requirement when they continued the renaming of North Old World Third Street for Martin Luther King, Jr. She stated that:

it's not just you got to have 51 percent, its just you have to do a mail-in. To do a mail-in to all of these property owners for any long stretch street....its gonna cost you thousands of dollars. So, we don't have thousands of dollars. That sets you out right there. Then you have to get 51 percent of them to say 'yes.' But any non-mail is considered a 'no.'And think about any given block, the people who actually receive the mail-in may not be the property owners. It may be the renter, the leaser, or the business owner or whoever who is actually there. But the ordinance said, 'property owners.' So, the likelihood of you able to get 51 percent of property owner to respond positively for a street name change.....that's virtually impossible to do.⁴²

⁴⁰ Primož Medved, Exploring the 'Just City Principles' within Two European Sustainable Neighbourhoods. *Journal of Urban Design* 23(3) (2018): 414-431.

⁴¹ Fainstein, "The Just City," 7.

⁴² Milele Coggs (Alderdwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in discussion with the author, February 18, 2021.

Due to this impracticability, Coggs stated that she and other Council members voted, made their resolutions, and made a public announcement for property or business owners along the streets to report their opposition to the name change.⁴³

The requirement of public signature in the ordinance seems more democratic when one encounters it, but in actual sense, it is not. For example, Corrinne Hess asserted that only seven percent of the Blacks in Milwaukee owned homes in 2017, which means that naming streets for Blacks would almost be difficult, except if the streets to be named are in predominantly Black owned neighborhoods.⁴⁴ Further, a no mail-out from property owners is considered a ‘no’ in the process. This could actually truncate the major purpose of the public discussion to be had in the naming process. If “property owners” refused to mail-out votes, then we could actually be helping to perpetuate societal inequality. The signatory process in this format, could facilitate easier ways to negate any form of democracy a street name change is to bring. This is because democracy isn’t just giving power to the public; it simply means decentralizing significant power to the disadvantaged groups.

In a better way, a non-mail out vote of property owners should not be counted as a ‘no,’ but a ‘yes.’ This is so, in the sense that, many property owners may be indifferent about this name change, and this should be seen as a “yes,” rather than a “no,” once the majority of the Alderpersons agreed to the name change. Alternatively, the system of federal rule-making could be adopted in the sense that, once the Alderpersons agreed to the name change and the public is notified, specific deadlines could be given to residents to make their objections known through

⁴³ Milele Coggs (Alderman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in discussion with the author, February 18, 2021.

⁴⁴ Corrinne Hess, “Milwaukee Ranks 3rd Worst in US for Black Home Ownership,” accessed May 11, 2021 <https://www.wpr.org/milwaukee-ranks-3rd-worst-us-black-home-ownership#:~:text=The%20Milwaukee%20metro%20area%20ranks,to%20the%20latest%20data%20available.>

different media, for public conversations. This would in part, save time and resources, keep the democratic motives intact and reduce the burdensome process. Ald. Coggs echoed this idea by asserting that:

right now, it's a couple of things we are looking at. One is that, any street name change that could get a super majority (four-fifth) of the Alderpersons.....to support it, does not have to go through that whole process at all..... I get it, on the one hand, you don't want people changing every street to their friend.....but you also don't wanna make it impossible for people to honor folks.....that helps contribute to the city moving forward.⁴⁵

Because the Alderpersons represent the people, it makes sense they should be given some commemorative rights – after recommendations from either the public or individuals – to decide by vote, those who the city's streets should bear their names. The use of political rights to naming streets after relatives (for subjective toponyms) is one important setback to this kind of approach. But this can be limited by maintaining the part of the ordinance that prioritizes dead persons over living individuals for street memorials. In fact, when a relative of an elected city official – who is supposedly worthy of commemoration – is to be memorialized, the process could be more discreet, which could involve independent committee members made up by some members of the public, to review and objectively perform the commemorative rights of the Alderpersons at that instance. Instead of the committee forwarding their recommendations, they could make the decision independently of the Alderpersons. This would improve the objectivity in street naming and maintain the initial aim of progressive history preservation the street names are meant to serve.

⁴⁵ Milele Coggs (Alderdwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in discussion with the author, February 18, 2021.

Another way of decentralizing power is having a collective women's voice in the place naming process. For instance, when commemorating women of substance, it is important women in each city or around the spaces to be named, be given opportunities to cast votes electronically for the decisions. It is believed that the names they choose could represent their values, as they would have social reasons for making the choices. A majority rule could then be used to make the final choice, as there would be diverse choices among the women. It is important women get involved in these kinds of choices, as it would be counterproductive, if men make these decisions for them. Due to population difference, attention should be paid to the recognition of women of color in this type of strategy by simultaneously employing the affirmative recognition principle of equity.

Equity: An Approach to Spatially Redistribute Milwaukee's Street Names

When faced with the challenges of spatial distribution as seen in the maps, it is easier to draw from the ethos of "redistribution" as the first social justice principle for political action, inspired from the elementary mathematical techniques of adding and subtracting. Although many scholars have traced the origin of redistribution to the egalitarian liberal philosophy of the nineteenth century, its basic origin came from the logic of mathematical counting that could be traced to immemorial times. It is basically from the reality of counting that the abstractions of redistribution models were formulated.

Scholars like John Rawls, Ronald Dworkin, David Harvey, collectively argued that realizing social justice in the world of inequality is premised on the essentialism of fairly distributing resources. They began the wave of applying the concept of redistribution to social justice issues from the purview of distributive justice. For instance, John Rawls' theory of justice

captured justice as a fair (re)distribution of resources.⁴⁶ As an exploratory thesis, Rawls left a gap open about the process through which fairness could be realized when applying the distributive justice hypothesis. Ronald Dworkin, on the other hand, argued further that the “envy test” requirements must be met before an equal (re)distribution is attained. This implies that after a (re)distribution exercise between a group of people is carried out, the envy test is tested and passed, if an individual is/was not drawn to another person’s share of resources, “but he prefers what he would have had under some fairer treatment of the initially available resources.”⁴⁷

Fainstein warned that when pursuing equity as a political goal, it should be redistributive and should be able to provide answers to who gets what. And to what extent one gets what. She argued further that even though equity is directed to bridge inequality gaps, it is not necessary to treat every member of different social groups in the same way, but it is imperative everyone receives an appropriate treatment.⁴⁸ Hence, the equity principle here will be applied through the affirmative action of street renaming. This is required when we consider the difference in the spatial distribution of the street names. The southern parts lacked significant number of streets named for women, and it is important the city representatives (Alderspersons) particularly in these areas, consider renaming some streets to recognize their women.

Although I am not in the best position to point to certain streets to be renamed (in the face of scarcity), but some guidelines could be given. First, I think each representative (Alderspersons) in the city could assess the gender distribution of the street memorials in their district and make selective decisions on streets to be renamed to bridge the gap. A couple of numbered streets

⁴⁶ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 1-10.

⁴⁷ Ronald Dworkin, “What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 10(4) (Autumn, 1981): 286.

⁴⁸ Fainstein, “The Just City,” 12.

could form part of this action with a view to avoiding some contentions over the renaming. Ald. Coggs corroborated this when she narrated how the renaming of 4th street for Vel Phillips, among other factors like the respectability of her legacies, helped smoothened the commemorative process. She asserted that:

when I did the Vel Phillips Street, there will always be some people who don't want a street renamed, they just, they used to being with the whatever the name it is. I think it helped, that the street we are choosing to rename was a numbered street, so it wasn't named after somebody else or anything like that. So, I think that helped us.⁴⁹

Milwaukee could also exercise “toponymic cleansing” as described by Rose Redwood and others⁵⁰ or “landscape cleansing” by Mariusz Czepczyński, where streets that do not fulfil the principal objective of the city be renamed.⁵¹ City officials need to keep in mind the purpose of commemoration and maintain it. The commemorative streets are meant to preserve the histories of persons that have contributed to both the civic and national development, and it is also very important to make sure that such history contributed to human progression and not suppression of any kind. Ald. Coggs supported this idea when she stated that:

when we talk about equity and we talk about disparity that exist in this town and across this country, it is really amazing how we see buildings, we see statues, and we drive down streets every single day, and are named after some historical figures that have contributed to the disparity we now face, the inequity we now see and the oppression that many of us have felt. And I think that has to change, that has to change. We have to be giving recognition to people who contributed positively to society in different ways, and I think that includes people of color and more women.⁵²

⁴⁹ Milele Coggs (Alderwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in an interview with the author, February 18, 2021.

⁵⁰ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Moaz Azaryahu, “Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-name Studies. *Progress in Human Geography* 34(4) (2010): 460.

⁵¹ Mariusz Czepczyński, *Cultural Landscapes of Post-socialist Cities: Representations of Powers and Needs*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 109.

⁵² Milele Coggs (Alderwoman, 6th District, Milwaukee) in an interview with the author, February 18, 2021.

In addition, streets that were named for humans but could not be connected to their specific people, could also form part of the gender equity action in Milwaukee.⁵³ Street memorials make up the history of a city, and if any street could not serve this purpose, it could be redirected to do so in another line of progressive history. Lastly, some subjective toponyms could also form part of the cleansing action. Applying equity to street renaming in Milwaukee could also help to bridge the racial and ethnic gaps. Women of substance of all races who are disproportionately recognized should be remembered when implementing such acts. It is also important to bear in mind the location of the streets to be renamed for women, because having critical locations can also help reduce the inherent poor visibility of the existing streets named for women.

Table 2: Application of the Just City Principles to Milwaukee's Street Naming

Principles	Definition
Democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's input in urban place naming
Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public enlightenment • Un-gendering the definition of heroism • Women representation in Street toponymy • Ethno-racial heterogeneity in street toponyms • Avoiding exclusive decisions on toponyms • Prioritizing co-naming (co-commemoration), which includes the gender groups
Equity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affirmative recognition • Toponymic cleansing

⁵³ Street names that sound like human names without historical origins: Killian Place, Lawrence Avenue, Lorene Avenue, Louise Place, Madeline Avenue, Marilyn Street, Maxwell Place, Muriel Place, Randolph Street, Sharon Lane, Teresa Lane, Verona Court, Walton Place, Willis Place, Tucker Place and Vera Avenue, Swan Road, Pfeil Street, Lauer Street, Jones Street.

This chapter argued that the inequality inherent in street names is socially constructed; and applying the social justice theories like Fainstein's Just City is appropriate. The principles of democracy, equity, and diversity formed the analytical framework of my arguments. Women's participation in Milwaukee's street naming should be prioritized in the dynamics of democracy and diversity. The construction of men's heroism needs to be dismantled for women's feats to be acknowledged as form of diversity and recognition in Milwaukee's street memorialization.

The streets should further reflect heterogeneity, both in terms of gender and race. Lastly, Milwaukee could employ equity as a principle through affirmative recognition, by cleansing the landscape or memorial spaces of unprogressive history to reclaim some spaces for women. Milwaukee, a big progressive city of Wisconsin, can set the pace for commemorating its women towards developing a just city. In sum, the Just City concept has proven to be an applicable concept to Milwaukee's street toponyms.

Chapter Five

Concluding Remarks

This thesis revealed that gender inequality is a major issue in Milwaukee's street commemoration. The share of the streets named for men and women revealed a wide gender gap both in the distribution and recognition in Milwaukee's urban landscapes. It also showed that gender inequality in street naming is an accumulation of cultural inequality that has existed over a long period of time in the city's relations. Street naming is socially constructed, and this greatly contributes to determining who and why a person is to be commemorated in a city.

Street names are contentious urban spaces that constitute a great part of the critical toponyms used by residents to represent identities. They form part of the gender, racial, ethnic, and class identity of residents related to the street names. In fact, the issue of gender inequality may not be fully dealt with without looking at the issues of racial injustice. Systemic racism and sexism are intertwined, and they thrive at the level of unequal social relations. They are both subtle, yet active discursive actors that shape the material meanings of cities.

Importantly, as street names preserve the histories of individual persons, they are also a collective reference of urban history. They are very active and an often-updated index that consists of scaffolded urban history. It is important that we begin to pay attention to the power the commemorative street names evoke. Indeed, it is a salient urban historical element. Because street names are active parts of critical toponyms, the naming process are often problematically politicized, which in turn exacerbates the inequality inherent in the urban landscapes. City officials and land developers, who have historically determined whose names are to be commemorated in Milwaukee, made use of their offices and exercised their civic power to name streets for their relatives and selves, thereby constituting part of the urban identificatory or

mirrored toponyms. Naming the streets after oneself or relatives reflects and installs personal political ideology or identity into the urban landscape.

Politically charged commemorative street names, however, are closely knitted with the social construction of the naming processes. It is the social construction of commemoration that actually determines whose history is to be preserved, and what means such preservation would take. History making and preservation are also binary parts of the social construction that relate with gender in a mutually constitutive way. Sexism constitutes a subtle, yet an important socio-cultural element of urban social relation that immensely contributes to the gender inequality in urban commemorations. It obscures history making of women and redefines it in the purview of men, which in turn influences the definition of what a “hero” is and eventually affects urban commemorative practices. Sexism has the potential to redesign the urban components to the benefits of men, at the expense of women. This relation and attributes of commemoration need proper understanding before one could demystify the complex nature and proffer solutions to tackle gender inequality in toponymical practices.

In addition, the street naming processes show different gender relations in Milwaukee. The democratization of the naming process opened up more opportunities for streets to be named for women with contributions not related to men, although there is little difference in numbers. However, Milwaukee needs to frame its commemorative policy through the Just City concept. Diversity, democracy, and equity should form the spine of the street naming convention. Diversity through public education that promotes and recognizes feminist values need to be fostered in the city. Centers for diversity need to make more public campaign about gender inequality in the city, because through gender parity, racial inequality could be tackled to a great extent. Every form of primary materials left of its women in history needs to be saved.

Milwaukee needs to rewrite and redefine history through its (re)commemorative practices for recognizing women.

Democracy needs to improve the participation of women in street naming. In large part, this would entail some rethinking of the procedures. The postcard survey of property owners should be rethought. The name change vote and decision making could be made by the Alderpersons, and thereafter, the public should be notified, in the cases of objections. The committee in charge of the (re)naming process should be diverse in gender and race. Furthermore, gender co-naming could also help maintain gender parity moving forward. A woman and man's names could together form a name for a street and their histories should be preserved in city records.

Equity could be applied through the application of affirmative renaming. Milwaukee should maintain the objectives of its street memorials and could rename streets commemorating persons who have contributed to the inequality presently faced, although it is difficult to weigh in on the contributions of persons of history, as some have controversial contributions. Furthermore, some numbered streets or historically dormant streets could be renamed for women. These include streets that have lost the historical significance behind their names. If after proper research is carried out, and a street still remain dormant historically, its name needs to be changed, to serve the objective purpose of history preservation. But it needs to be kept in mind that ameliorating misdistribution does not solve the problem of recognition. One step towards recognition is making optimal choices of streets located at critical places for better visibility. Lastly, both private and public sponsors could be motivated to finance these motives. In sum, Milwaukee has portrayed a positive progressive image in the past, and it can begin another wave towards gender progress.

Bibliography

- “12 Wisconsin Women Overlooked by History.” Wisconsin Historical Society, <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS16291>.
- “A Lifetime of Achievements: A Brief Biography of Vel Phillips (Feb 18, 1923 -April 17, 2018).” Wisconsin Historical Society, <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS4384>.
- Alderman, Derek H. “Commemorative Place Naming; to Name Place, to Claim the Past, to Repair Futures.” In *Naming Places*, edited by Frédéric Giraut and Myriam Houssay-Holzschuch, 1-26. In press: ISTE-Wiley, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/341412389_Commemorative_Place_Naming_To_Name_Place_To_Claim_the_Past_To_Repair_Futures.
- Alderman, Derek H. “Naming Streets after Martin Luther King, Jr.: No Easy Road.” In *Landscape and Race in the United States*, edited by Richard H. Schein, 213-236. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Alderman, Derek H. “Naming Streets, Doing Justice? Politics of Remembering, Forgetting, and Finding Surrogates for African American Slave Heritage.” In *Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage*, edited by Sungjae Choo, 193-228. Kyung Hee University Press, 2015.
- Alderman, Derek H. “Street Names as Memorial Arenas: The Reputational Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King Jr. in a Georgia County.” *Historical Geography* 30 (2002): 99-120.
- Alderman, Derek H., Brasher, Jordan P. and Dwyer, III, Owen J. “Memorials and Monuments.” In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, edited by Aubrey Kobayashi, 39-47. Second Edition, Vol. 9, Elsevier 2020. 7. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-102295-5.10201-X>.
- Alderman, Derek H. and Inwood, Joshua, “Landscapes of Memory and Socially Just Futures.” In *A New Companion to Cultural Geography*, edited by Richard Schein, Jamie Winders, and Nuala Johnson, 186-197. Wiley-Blackwell, 2013.
- Alderman, Derek H. and Inwood, Joshua. “Street Naming and the Politics of Belonging: Spatial Injustices in the Toponymic Commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr.” *Social & Cultural Geography* 14, no. 2 (2013): 211–233.
- Alexievich, Svetlana. *The Unwomanly Face of War: An Oral History of Women in World War II*. New York: Random House, 2017.
- Algeo, John. “From Classic to Classy: Changing Fashions in Street Names.” *Names* 63, no. 4 (2015): 80-95.
- Avella, Steven M. “Religion and the Shaping of Milwaukee.” In *Perspectives on Milwaukee’s*

- Past*, edited by Margo Anderson and Victor Greene, 256-285. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009.
- Azaryahu, Moaz. "The Power of Commemorative Street Names." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 14, no. 3 (1996): 311-330.
- Azaryahu, Maoz H. and Kook, Rebecca. "Mapping the Nation: Street Names and Arab-Palestinian Identity: Three Case Studies," *Nations and Nationalism* 8, no. 2 (2018): 195–213.
- Baehr, Carl. *Milwaukee Streets: The Stories behind Their Names*. Milwaukee: Cream City Press, 1995.
- Baehr, Carl. "Street Naming and Numbering." *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/street-naming-and-numbering/>.
- Bassey, Samuel A. and Bubu, Ncha G. "Gender Inequality in Africa: A Re-examination of Cultural Values," *Cogito - Multidisciplinary Research Journal* 11, no. 3 (2019): 21-36.
- Berg, Lawrence D. and Kearns, Robin A. "Naming as Norming: 'Race', Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand." *Environment and Planning D* 14, no. 1 (1996): 99-122.
- Berg, Lawrence D. and Vuolteenaho, Jani. "Towards Critical Toponymies." In *Critical Toponymies: The Contested Politics of Place Naming Re-materialising Cultural Geography*, edited by Lawrence D. Berg, and Jani Vuolteenaho, 1-18. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009.
- Biek, David. "Re: Common Council File #83-1267 (Name Change Proposition for North Third Street), City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.
- Bigon, Liora. "Names, Norms and Forms: French and Indigenous Toponyms in Early Colonial Dakar, Senegal." *Planning Perspectives* 23, no. 4 (2008): 479-501.
- Bigon, Liora and Zuvalinyenga, Dorcas. "Urban Pulse – Gendered Urban Toponyms in the Global South: A Time for De-colonization?" *Urban Geography* (2020): 1-14, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1825275>.
- "Blaine, John James 1873 – 1934." Wisconsin Historical Society, <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS5521>.
- Bonds, Anne. "Race and Ethnicity I: Property, Race, and the Carceral State." *Progress in Human Geography* 43, no. 3 (2019): 574-583.
- Boone, Christopher G. and Buckley, Geoffrey L. "Historical Approaches to Environmental Justice." In *The Routledge Handbook of Environmental Justice*, edited by Ryan Holifield, Jayajit Chakraborty and Gordon Walker, 222-230. New York, NY: Routledge, 2018.

- Bosworth, Mark. "Are Our Street Names Sexist?" *BBC News Magazine*, April 11, 2012, <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-17203823>.
- Britt, Donna. "A white mother went to Alabama to fight for civil rights. The Klan killed her for it," *Washington Post* December 15, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/12/15/a-white-mother-went-to-alabama-to-fight-for-civil-rights-the-klan-killed-her-for-it/>.
- Brunswick, Deborah, Gonzalez, Janelle, Phillip, Abby Simon, Jeff and Spodak, Cassie. "Black Women's Roles in the Civil Rights Movement have been Understated -- But That's Changing." *CNN Politics*, February 21, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/02/21/politics/black-freedom-movements-past-present/index.html>.
- Cain, Patricia. "The Limits of Feminism." *24 Ga. L. Rev.* (1989): 805-847. <https://digitalcommons.law.scu.edu/facpubs/264/>.
- Chappell, David L. *Waking from the Dream: The Struggle for Civil Rights in the Shadow of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2016.
- Chafe, William H. *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic and Political Roles, 1920-70*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Charles Cooney's Letter to the Common Council. In Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, City of Milwaukee.
- Circa: 1990, Patrick Cudahy, Founder of the Meat-Packing Company, Milwaukee Sentinel Files, in "Patrick Cudahy through the Years," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* October 17, 2018, <https://www.jsonline.com/story/galleries/communities/south/news/cudahy/2018/10/17/short-historical-look-patrick-cudahy-meat-processing-plant-cudahy-wis/1669631002/>.
- "Civil Rights," *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/civil-rights/>.
- Cohen, Saul B. and Kliot, Nurit "Place-Names in Israel's Ideological Struggle Over the Administered Territories," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82, no. 4 (1992): 653-654.
- "Collection of Index Card," Milwaukee Municipal Research Center <https://cdm16698.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC>.
- Corwin, Margaret. "Street-Naming and Property-Numbering Systems." Planning Advisory Service, Report No 3, 8, http://www.emerycounty.com/addressing/documents/apa_streetnaming.pdf.

- “Cudahy Brothers.” *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/cudahy-brothers/>.
- Czepczyński, Mariusz. *Cultural Landscapes of Post-socialist Cities: Representations of Powers and Needs*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Desmond, Matthew and Emirbayer, Mustafa. “What is Racial Domination.” *Du Bois Review* 6, no. 2 (2009): 335-355.
- Dickenson, Gregory. “Through Highways: Construction of the Expressway System in Milwaukee County, 1946-1977.” Master’s thesis, History Department, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2015, <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/802>.
- Dirr, Alison. “Old World Third Street Likely to Become Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive with Unanimous Milwaukee Common Council Support.” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* January 22, 2021, <https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/local/milwaukee/2021/01/22/old-world-third-street-likely-become-dr-martin-luther-king-jr-drive/6669325002/>.
- Dworkin, Ronald. “What is Equality? Part 2: Equality of Resources,” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 10, no. 4 (Autumn, 1981): 283-345
- Early, Rosalind. “Vel Phillips Knocked Down Racial and Gender Barriers in Wisconsin.” *Humanities*, 36 no. 4 (2015): <https://www.neh.gov/humanities/2015/julyaugust/statement/vel-phillips-knocked-down-racial-and-gender-barriers-in-wiscons>.
- Edwards, Phil and Barton, Gina. “How Streets, Roads, and Avenues are Different.” *Vox*, November 16, 2016, <https://www.vox.com/2016/11/14/13275486/streets-roads-avenues-names-reasons>.
- Elliott, Cecil D. “Monuments and Monumentality.” *Journal of Architectural Education* (1947-1974), 18, no. 4 (1964): 51-53.
- Fainstein, Susan. “The Just City.” *International Journal of Urban Sciences* 18, no. 1 (2014): 1-18.
- Fainstein, Susan S. *The Just City*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- File Number 050197. “A Substitute Ordinance Relating to the Procedure for the Renaming of Streets.” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.
- File Number 060402. “An Ordinance Relating to the Procedures for Renaming Streets and Assigning Honorary Street Names.” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.
- File Number 071361. “An Ordinance Relating to Costs and Fees for Official Street Renamings

and Honorary Street Namings.” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

File Number 201318. “A Substitute Ordinance Renaming Old World Third Street, from West McKinley Avenue to West Wisconsin Avenue, North Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive,” Common Council Files, Legislative Research Center, City of Milwaukee, accessed May 1, 2021
<https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=4760925&GUID=F97B4EAB-E700-4EE8-975C-69D736768AD9&Options=Advanced&Search=>.

File Number 34156. “An Ordinance to Create Sections 1169 to 1169.08 of the Milwaukee Code of 1914 Providing a Uniform System for Numbering Houses and Buildings and Fixing the Time When the Same Shall Take Effect,” *Proceedings of the Common Council 1928-29, City of Milwaukee*, 1716 Municipal Research Library, City of Milwaukee.

File Number 66-3726. “Ordinance to Establish the Name of North Lindsay Street, a New Street Extending from North 9th Street at a Point South of West North Avenue Southwesterly to the Intersection of North 11th Street Lloyd Street, in the 6th Ward.” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

File Number 66-3726. “Resolution Establishing the Name of N. Lindsay Street in Honor of Bernice Lindsay.” *Proceedings of the Common Council 1967-68, City of Milwaukee*, Municipal Research Library, Milwaukee.

File Number 70-1920. “An Ordinance to Change the Name of North 16th Street between West Kilbourn Avenue and A Location 129 Feet North of West Kilbourn Avenue to North Renee Street and to Establish the Name of North Renee Street for A New Street Extending from a Location 129 Feet North of West Kilbourn Avenue Northwesterly to the Intersection of North 17th Street and West State Street, in the 4th and 10th Wards.” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee. City Records Center, Milwaukee.

File Number 76-1999. “Resolution Proclaiming West Garfield Avenue from North 10th to North 14th Streets ‘Gaines Avenue’ for a Day Observance.” *Proceedings of the Common Council, 1977-78, City of Milwaukee*, Municipal Research Center, Milwaukee.

File Number 900822. “An Ordinance Relating to the Naming of Public Buildings, Facilities and Streets.” The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

File Number 940276. “An ordinance to Change the Name of East Reservoir Avenue, between North Holton Street and its Termination Northeast of North Booth Street, to East Glover Avenue, in the 6th Aldermanic District.” Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

File Number 950890, “Substitute Ordinance to Change the Name of West Stark Street, between North 35th Street and North 36th Street, to West Mother Daniels Way, in the 1st Aldermanic District.” Milwaukee Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City

Records Center, Milwaukee.

File Number 960685, "Proposal to Rename a Portion of South 16th Street to 'Cesar E. Chavez Drive' in the City of Milwaukee," The City Clerk, Common Council Files, City of Milwaukee, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

Files, Emily. "Oconomowoc, Nagawicka, Okauchee: Unpacking Wisconsin's Native Place Names," *WUWM* January 3, 2020, <https://www.wuwm.com/regional/2020-01-03/oconomowoc-nagawicka-okaauchee-unpacking-wisconsins-native-place-names>.

Fink, Deborah. "What Kind of Woman Would Work in Meatpacking, Anyway? World War II and the Road to Fair Employment." *Great Plains Research* 5, (Fall 1995): 241-262.

Forbes, Gerry. "Urban Roadway Classification: Before the Design Begins," *TRB Circular E-C019: Urban Street Symposium* June (28–30) (1999): B-6/4, 2021. https://nacto.org/docs/usdg/urban_roadway_classification_before_the_design_begins_forbes.pdf.

Frankena, William K. "The Concept of Social Justice." In *Social Justice*, edited by Richard B. Brandt, 1-29. Englewood Cliff, N.J: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1962.

Fraser, Nancy. "Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition, and Participation." In *Redistribution or Recognition? A Political-Philosophical Exchange*, edited by Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth London and New York: Verso, 2003.

Gavin, Lettie. *American Women in World War I: They Also Served*. Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1997.

Goff, Charles D. "The Politics of Governmental Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee." Doctorate dissertation, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1952.

Golan, Arnon. "The Street as Urban Icon? Tel Aviv's Rothschild Boulevard." *Urban Geography* 36, no. 5 (2015): 721-734.

Górny, Krzysztof and Górna, Ada "Street Names in Dakar-Plateau: A Colonial and Post-Colonial Perspective, Planning Perspectives," <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2019.1633949>.

Gottlieb, Dylan S. "Sixth Avenue Heartache: Race, Commemoration and the Colorblind Consensus in Zephyrhills, Florida, 2003-2004." Master's thesis, Temple University, 2013.

Groppi, James 1930-1985, "James Groppi and Vel Phillips on School Bus, circa 1967-1968." UWM Libraries Archives, <https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/march/id/663>.

Gutiérrez, José A. *The Eagle Has Eyes: The FBI Surveillance of César Estrada Chávez of the United Farm Workers Union of America, 1965–1975*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2019.

- Hagen, Joshua. "Book Review: The Political Life of Urban Streetscape." *Geographical Review* 108, no 4 (2018): 634-636.
- Harvey, David. "Monument and Myth: The Building of the Basilica of the Sacred Heart." *Annals of the Association of American Geographies* 69, no. 3 (1979): 362-381.
- Harvey, David. "The Right to the city." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 27, no. 4 (2003): 939. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0309-1317.2003.00492.x>.
- Hayden, Dolores. "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work." *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 3 (1980): S170-S187.
- Helman, Anat. "Civic Involvement and Street-Naming in Inter-War Tel Aviv." *Jewish Culture and History* 8, no. 2 (2012): 29-52.
- Hess, Corrinne. "Milwaukee Ranks 3rd Worst in US for Black Home Ownership." <https://www.wpr.org/milwaukee-ranks-3rd-worst-us-black-home-ownership#:~:text=The%20Milwaukee%20metro%20area%20ranks,to%20the%20latest%20data%20available>.
- Hoelscher, Steven and Alderman, Derek H. "Memory and Place: Geographies of a Critical Relationship." *Social & Cultural Geography* 5, no 3: 348-349.
- "Houston's Dowling Street to be Renamed Emancipation Avenue." *Associated Press*, January 12, 2017, <https://www.houstonpublicmedia.org/articles/news/local/2017/01/12/183416/houstons-dowling-street-to-be-renamed-emancipation-avenue/>.
- Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961.
- Jayachandran, Seema. "The Roots of Gender Inequality in Developing Countries." *Annu. Rev. Econ.* 7 (2015): 63-88.
- "John S. Conway Papers, 1855-1978." Wisconsin Historical Society, <https://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaididx?c=wiarchives;cc=wiarchives;view=text;rgn=main;didno=uw-whs-mil00110>.
- Jones, Patrick D. "The Selma of the North": Race Relations and Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee, 1958-1970 (Ph.D. dissertation, History Department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2002).
- Jones, Patrick D. *The Selma of the North: Civil Rights Insurgency in Milwaukee*. Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Kern, Leslie. "Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-made World." London and New York: Verso, 2020.

"Land Acknowledgement." Electa Quinney Institute,
<https://uwm.edu/eqi/about/land-acknowledgement/>.

"Langlade, Charles Michel 1729 – 1801." Wisconsin Historical Society,
<https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS9683>.

Lannelli, Nick. "Virginia House votes to turn 'Jefferson Davis Highway' into 'Emancipation Highway.'" *Wtopnews*, February 5, 2021, <https://wtop.com/virginia/2021/02/bill-would-eliminate-virginias-jefferson-davis-highway-statewide/>.

Lawrence, Curtis. "Making History: Students Ask Residents to Approve Renaming Street for Fugitive Slave," *Milwaukee Journal* May 3, 1994, in Common Council File 940276, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

Lawrence, Curtis. "Students Lobby to Honor Freed Slave: Just as Glover and Booth Intersected in Life, Streets Should Cross, Kids Say," *Milwaukee Journal*, in Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

Light, Duncan. "Street Names in Bucharest, 1990-1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Post-Socialist Change." *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no. 1 (2004): 154-172.

Lincoln, Eric C. and Mamiya, Lawrence H. *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991.

"Lindsay Street, North," City of Milwaukee Municipal Research Center,
<https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1239>.

Liu, James H. and Hilton, Denis J. "How the Past Weighs on the Present: Social Representations of History and Their Role in Identity Politics." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44, (2005): 537-556.

Little, Jo, Peake, Linda and Richardson, Pat. "Introduction: Geography and Gender in the Urban Environment." In *Women in Cities: Gender and the Urban Environment*, edited by Jo Little, Linda Peake and Pat Richardson, 1-20. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London, 1988.

Loewen, James W. *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*. New York and London: The New Press, 2019.

Loots, Lliane. "The Body as History and Memory: A Gendered Reflection on the Choreographic 'Embodiment' of Creating on the Socially Constructed Text of the South African body." *South African Theatre Journal* 24, no. 1 (2010), 105-124.

Lowrey, Annie. "Ellen Pao and the Sexism You Can't Quite Prove." *Intelligencer: Subtle Sexism*, March 30, 2015, <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2015/03/ellen-pao-and-the-sexism-you-cant-quite-prove.html>.

Lynch, Kelvin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, US, and London, England: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1960.

"March on Milwaukee: Phillips, Vel," UWM Libraries Archives, <https://uwm.edu/marchonmilwaukee/keyterms/phillips-vel/>.

Marshall, Stephen. *Streets & Pattern*. London and New York: Spon Press, 2005.

Mask, Deirdre. *The Address Book: What Street Addresses Reveal About Identity, Race, Wealth, and Power*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2020.

McBride, Genevieve G. *On Wisconsin Women: Working for Their Rights from Settlement to Suffrage*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1993.

McGee, Gregory W. "Dear Alderman Wayne Frank." Common Council File 831267, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center Milwaukee.

Medved, Primož. Exploring the 'Just City Principles' within Two European Sustainable Neighbourhoods. *Journal of Urban Design* 23, no. 3 (2018): 414-431.

Meital, Yoram. "Central Cairo: Street Naming and the Struggle over Historical Representation." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 6 (2007): 857-878.

"Milwaukee Public Schools: Riverside University High School, 1615 E. Locust Street," Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

Moughtin, Cliff. *Urban Design: Street and Square*. Oxford, UK: Architectural Press, 2003.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938.

Neaga, Diana E. "Doing and Undoing Gender in Urban Spaces: The University Square Bucharest." *Analize: Journal of Gender and Feminist Studies* 3, no. 17 (2014): 28-49.

Niculescu-Mizil, Ana-Maria. "(Re)naming Streets in Contemporary Bucharest: From Power Distribution to Subjective Biography." *Analize: Journal of Gender and Feminist Studies* 3, no. 17 (2014): 69-94.

Nirappil, Fenit, Zauzmer, Julie and Chason, Rachel. "'Black Lives Matter': In Giant Yellow Letters, D.C. Mayor Sends Message to Trump," *Washington Post* June 05, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/dc-politics/bowser-black-lives-matter-street/2020/06/05/eb44ff4a-a733-11ea-bb20-ebf0921f3bbd_story.html.

"Notable People" 466,

<https://city.milwaukee.gov/ImageLibrary/Groups/ccClerk/HPC/DOCs/BayviewVol2Pt3.pdf>.

Novas-Ferradas, Maria. "Commemorative Urban Practices and Gender Equality: The Case of Santiago de Compostela's Urban Anthroponymy." *Hábitat y Sociedad* 11 (2018): 109–129.

Orgeret, Kristin S. "The Road to Renaming - What's in a name? The changing of Durban's Street Names and its Coverage in the Mercury." *Journal of African Media Studies* 2, no. 3 (2010): DOI: 10.1386/jams.2.3.297_1.

Oto-Peralias, Daniel. "What Do Street Names Tell Us? The 'City-text' as Socio-cultural Data." *Journal of Economic Geography* 18, no. 1 (2018): 187-211.

"Our Company is Very Much Opposed to Changing the Name of the Third Street to Any Other Name," Common Council File 83-1267 (Name Change Proposition for North Third Street), City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, Common Council File 831267, City of Milwaukee.

"Patrick Cudahy through the Years." *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, October 18, 2018, <https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/communities/south/news/cudahy/2018/10/17/short-historical-look-patrick-cudahy-meat-processing-plant-cudahy-wis/1669631002/>.

Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. "Church Culture as a Strategy of Action in the Black Community." *American Sociological Review* 63, no. 6 (1998): 767-784.

Pinchevski, Amit and Torgovnik, Efraim. "Signifying Passages: The Signs of Change in Israeli Street Names." *Media, Culture & Society* 24, no. 3 (2002): 365-388.

Points on House Numbering and Street Naming, 02/19/1923. City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.

Poon, Linda "Mapping the Sexism of Street Names in Major Cities," *CityLab* (2015), <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-11-04/mapping-the-sexism-of-street-names-in-major-cities>.

Post, Chris W. and Alderman, Derek H. "'Wiping New Berlin off the Map': Political Economy and the de-Germanisation of the Toponymic Landscape in First World War USA." *Area* 46, no. 1 (2014): 83-91.

Preston, Margaret. "Re: Common Council File 83-1267," City of Milwaukee, The City Clerk, City Records Center, Milwaukee.

Pulido, Laura. "Rethinking Environmental Racism: White Privilege and Urban Development in Southern California." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, no. 1 (2000): 12-40.

- Rast, Joel. "Annexation Policy in Milwaukee: An Historical Institutional Approach." *Northeastern Political Science Association* 39, no. 1 (2007): 55–78.
- Rawls, John. *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Robnett, Belinda. *How Long? How Long?: African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben. "From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City." *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, no. 4 (2009): 431-452.
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben S. "Indexing the Great Ledger of the Community: Urban House Numbering, City Directories, and the Production of Spatial Legibility." *Journal of Historical Geography* 34, no. 2 (2008): 286-310.
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Alderman, Derek H. and Azaryahu, Maoz. "Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies." *Progress in Human Geography* 34, no. 4 (2010): 453-470.
- Rose-Redwood, Reuben, Alderman, Derek H. and Azaryahu, Maoz. "The Urban Streetscape as Political Cosmos." In *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place*, edited by Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman and Maoz Azaryahu, 1-24. New York, NY: Routledge, 2018.
- Rossi, Pauline and Rouanet, L´ea. "Son Preference and Gender Inequality," <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01074934v2/document>.
- Rotondi, Jessica Pearce. "Underpaid but Employed: How the Great Depression Affected Working Women." *History* May 11, 2019, <https://www.history.com/news/working-women-great-depression>.
- Rozga, Margaret. "A Look Back at 'March of Milwaukee' after Half Century." *Milwaukee Independent* June 29, 2017, <http://www.milwaukeeindependent.com/articles/a-look-back-at-march-on-milwaukee-after-half-century/>.
- Schein, Richard. "Race and Landscape in the United States." In *Landscape and Race in the United States*, edited by Richard Schein, 1-21. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Schutz, F.B. 07/30/1917, City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, 1909-1975. MSS AS, Box 8, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.
- Seligman, Amanda I. "The Street Formerly Known as Crawford." *Chicago History* (Spring, 2001): 36-51.

Shabad, Rebecca and Clark, Dartunorro. "D.C. Mayor Bowser Has 'Black Lives Matter' Painted on Street Leading to White House." *NBC News* June 05, 2020, <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/d-c-mayor-bowser-has-black-lives-matter-painted-street-n1225746>.

"South African City of Port Elizabeth becomes Gqeberha," *BBC News* February 24, 2021, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-56182349>.

South Division Civic Association of Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin letter, 10/03/1922. City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, Box 11, Folder 2, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.

Spain, Daphne "Gender and Urban Space." *Annual Review Sociology* 40 (2014): 581-598.

Spain, Daphne. "Women's Rights and Gendered Spaces in 1970s Boston." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 32, no 1 (2011): 152–178.

Spender, Dale. *Man Made Language*. London and Boston: Pandora Press, 1990.

Street Numbering, 05/7/1913, City Club of Milwaukee Records, Milwaukee, 1909-1975. MSS AS, Box 8, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Libraries Archives.

Stump, Roger W. "Toponymic Commemoration of National Figures: The Cases of Kennedy and King." *Names* 36, no. 3-4 (1988): 203-216.

"Suburbanization." *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*, 2014, <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/suburbanization/>.

Taylor, Erica. "Little Known Black History Fact: Milwaukee's Own Claretta Simpson, Community Activist." <https://blackamericaweb.com/2013/05/12/little-known-black-history-fact-milwaukees-own-claretta-simpson-community-activist/>.

Thale, Christopher. "Changing Addresses: Social Conflict, Civic Culture, and the Politics of House Numbering Reform in Milwaukee, 1913-1931." *Journal of Historical Geography* 33, no. 1 (2007): 125-143.

"The Color of Law in Milwaukee's Carleton's Addition." Milwaukee Public Library, *The Milwaukee Journal*, March 14th, 1950, <http://mpl.org/blog/now/the-color-of-law-in-milwaukees-carletons-addition#>.

"Today is #InternationalWomensDay!" Wisconsin Historical Museum, Image 118870, *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, <https://www.facebook.com/WisconsinHistoricalMuseum/posts/today-is-internationalwomensday-bernice-lindsay-born-in-winchester-indiana-berni/10158082615614889/>.

- Trap, Paul M. "Charles Langlade in the French and Indian War." Master's thesis, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, 1980,
https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2939&context=masters_theses.
- Tretter, Eliot M. "The Power of Naming: The Toponymic Geographies of Commemorated African-Americans." *The Professional Geographer* 63, no. 1 (2011): 34-54.
- Vaughn, Jacob. "Dallas Activists Wants Lamar Street Changed to Botham Jean Boulevard." *Dallas Observer* July 07, 2020,
<https://www.dallasobserver.com/content/printView/11922314>.
- Walzer, Joseph B. Making an Old-world Milwaukee: German Heritage, Nostalgia and the Reshaping of the Twentieth Century City. Doctorate dissertation, History Department, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2017.
- Wanjiru, Melissa W. and Matsubara, Kosuke. "Street Toponymy and the Decolonisation of the Urban Landscape in Post-Colonial Nairobi." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 34, no 1 (2016): 1-23.
- "Women Congratulate Governor Blaine for Signing the Women's Rights Bill." Wisconsin Historical Society, Image ID 118142,
<https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM118142>.
- Yeoh, Brenda. "Colonial Urban Order, Cultural Politics, and the Naming of Streets in Nineteenth – and Early Twentieth – Century Singapore." In *The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place*, edited by Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek H. Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, 1-15. New York, NY: Routledge, 2018.

Appendix

Commemorative Street Names in Milwaukee (1920-2021)							
Former names/changed names (former street names)	New names (new street names)	Commemoration year	Length	Method of commemoration	Contribution area of the commemorated (profession)	Gender	Sources
	Emanuel Finger (Finger Place)	1920	447ft	Land subdivision	Dairy farming	Male	Carl Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets: The Stories behind Their Names</i> (Milwaukee: Cream City Press, 1995), 89.
	Bernhard Woelky (Bernhard Place)	1922	930ft	Land subdivision (family members)	Unknown	Male	Ibid, 24.
	Hiram Story (Story Parkway)	1922	0.5mi		Quarry business	Male	Ibid, 246.
	Emerson D. Hoyt (Hoyt Place)	1922	0.256mi	Wauwatosa city ordinance	Agriculture and politics	Male	Ibid, 125.
	George D. Luscher (Luscher Ave.)	1923	1,353ft	Oakdale Subdivision	President of the Franklin Bank	Male	Ibid, 161.
Lee St.	Adolph Meinecke (Meinecke Ave.)	1923	4.34mi	Wauwatosa city ordinance	City development	Male	Ibid, 174; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "W Meinecke Avenue,"

							accessed November 30, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1034 .
	Sarah Ann Swain (Swain Court)	1923	336ft		Mother of George S. Meredith	Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 249.
	Theodore Roosevelt (Roosevelt Drive)	1923	1.80 mi	Finance and Investment Company	26 th United States President (who survived an attempted assassination from John Schrank in Milwaukee in 1912)	Male	Ibid, 229.
	Louise Place	1923	393ft			Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 160.
	Thomas Woodrow Wilson (Wilson Drive)	1924	476ft	Village of Whitefish Bay	Politics (28 th president of USA)	Male	Ibid, 281.
	Emery Galineau (Emery Ave.)	1924	592ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Land economics (president of Wisconsin Land and Realty Exchange)	Male	Ibid, 81.
	Henry and Lucille Swendsen (Birchwood Ave.)	1925	1,019ft	Land subdivision	Manufacturing of horseless carriages	Family (Male and Female)	Ibid, 25.
Alexander St.	John Clinton Austin (Austin St.)	1926	2.28 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	unknown	Male	Ibid, 16. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "S Austin Street," accessed November

							30, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/99 .
Wine St.	William E. Anderson (Anderson Ave.)	1926	425ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	City governance and education (city clerk and superintendent of schools).	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 8. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Anderson Avenue, East,” accessed November 30, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/47 .
North and South Fond du lac Ave.	Samuel Appleton (Appleton Ave., Lane, Place)	1926	Ave. (8.30 mi) Lane (0.56 mi), Place (0.41 mi) total 9.27 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Education, Law, and policies	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 10. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Appleton Avenue, West,” accessed November 30, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/49 .
	Bradley brothers; William, Edward, and James Bradley (Bradley Road, Ave.).	1926	Ave. (0.27 mi), Road (5.56 mi),	Land subdivision	Business (lumbermen)	Males	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 29.

			Total (5.83 mi)				
	Karl Hjalmar Branting (Branting Lane)	1926	0.40 4mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politician (Sweden)	Male	Ibid, 31.
Algoma St.	William J. Fiebrantz (Fiebrantz Ave., Court)	1926	Ave. (4.09 mi), Cour t (96ft) , total (4.11 mi)	Milwaukee city ordinance	Real Estate	Male	Ibid, 88. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Fiebrantz Avenue, East,” accessed December 1, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/673 .
	Ludwig van Beethoven (Beethoven Place)	1926	496ft	Land subdivision (Atlas Land Company)	Music	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 22.
Alten St.	James II of England (Albany Place)	1926	671ft	City ordinance	Duke of York and Albany	Male	Ibid, 4; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Albany Place, West,” accessed November 22, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/48 .
	Carol Wenz (Carol St.)	1926	0.25 mi	Land subdivision	Daughter of Arthur Wenz (a land developer and	Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 43.

					security investor) firm		
Chicago Ave.	Enoch Chase (Chase Ave.)	1926	4.65 mi	City ordinance	Politician	Male	Ibid, 47; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Chase Avenue, South,” accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/459 .
Arthur St.	Leander and Cicero Comstock (Comstock Ave.)	1926	887ft		Business (saw and flour mills)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 56. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Comstock Avenue, West,” accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/376 .
	Robert Fulton (Fulton St.)	1926	956ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Steamship invention	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 95.
	Verona Court	1926	236ft			Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 264
	Killian Place	1926	1225 ft			Male	Ibid, 141.
	Randolph Street	1926	795ft			Male	Ibid, 222.
Cold Spring Ave;	William McKinley (McKinley Ave., Boulevard, Court)	1926	Ave. (1.40 mi),	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (25 th US president)	Male	Ibid, 173; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center,

Way Place			Blvd (0.5 mi) Court (457 ft), Total (1.99 mi)				“Curtis Avenue, Town of Wauwatosa,” accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1353 .
Keene St.	Truman Curtis (Curtis Place)	1926	367ft	Town of Wauwatosa		Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 62. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Curtis Avenue, Town of Wauwatosa,” accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/2369 .
Part of Juneau Ave. and E. State St.	Morgan L. Martin (Martin Drive)	1926	0.37 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (congressman, assemblyman, and state senator) and one of the founding fathers of Milwaukee	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 169. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Martin Drive,” accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1045 .

	George and Michael Schlinger (Schlinger Ave.)	1926	0.37 mi	Wauwatosa town ordinance	Wolf hunting	Males	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 235.
Inland Place	Ernest Vilter (Vilter Lane)	1926	1,014 ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Machine business	Male	Ibid, 266.
Central Ave.	Peter J. Somers (Somers St.)	1926	507 ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (mayor and US representative)	Male	Ibid, 242. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "Somers Streets, West," accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1812 .
	Frederick Miller (Miller Lane)	1926	367 ft	Land subdivision	Brewery	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 178.
	Nathaniel Louis Stevenson (Stevenson St.)	1926	1.15 mi		Literary figure	Male	Ibid, 246.
Chicago Rd.	Charles (aka Charlie) B. Whitnall (Whitnall Ave.)	1927	1.91 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Park system (father of Milwaukee County parks)	Male	Ibid, 279 Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "Martin Drive," accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/2108 .
Hazelton Place	William H. Metcalf (Metcalf Place)	1927	0.68 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Manufacturing (shoes) and art	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 177. Milwaukee Municipal Research Center,

							“Warnimont Avenue, West,” accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1087 .
Park View Place.	Morgan L. Burdick (Burdick Ave.)	1927	0.24 mi	Land subdivision	Milwaukee development	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 36; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Burdick Avenue East,” accessed November 20, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/273 .
Forest Dr.	Carmen Gettelman (Carmen Ave.)	1927	3.39 mi	Land subdivision	Wife of Sidney Gettelman (land developer and security investor)	Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 43; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Carmen Avenue, West, Town of Granville,” accessed November 21, 2021 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/304 .
William Ave.	John Crawford (Crawford Ave.)	1927	0.5 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Security (general), sailing and farming.	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 60; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “W. Crawford Avenue,” accessed December

							10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/325 .
	Gerry Whiting Hazelton (Hazelton Court)	1927	297ft	Milwaukee city ordinance and Wauwatosa city ordinance	Politics (US congressman, Wisconsin lieutenant governor, state senator, US attorney for Milwaukee area)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 117; Milwaukee: Cream City Press, 1995), 60; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Hazelton Court, West,” accessed December 10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/858 .
	Samuel M. Dixon (Dixon St.)	1927	0.33 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Communication (newspaperman) and politician	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 70.
	Anthony Singer (Singer Circle)	1927	0.30 mi	Land subdivision	Landscape gardening business	Male	Ibid, 241.
	School Sisters of Notre Dame (Notre Dame Court)	1927	600ft		Christian Missionary and education	Female s	Ibid, 194.
	Christopher Latham Sholes (Sholes Drive)	1927	0.24 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Communication (newspaper editor) and invention (typewriter invention)	Male	Ibid, 240.
	Scranton Brothers (Scranton Place)	1928	0.33 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Iron Business	Males	Ibid, 236.

York Street	Charles Carter (Carter Place)	1928	434ft		Law	Male	Ibid, 44.
James St.	Ozro Judson Hale (Hale Place)	1928	426ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (alderman)	Male	Ibid, 111.
	Robert C. Spencer (Spencer Place)	1928	0.31 mi	Milwaukee City Ordinance	Education equity for people who lived with disabilities like hearing impairments	Male	Ibid, 243.
Payne	Peter Eggert (Eggert Place)	1929	0.21 mi		Business	Male	Ibid, 77.
	David Parker Young (Young St.)	1929	423ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Transportation (first car driver from Milwaukee to Green Bay)	Male	Ibid, 287.
	Henry L. Palmer (Palmer St.)	1929	1.54 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Law and politics	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 202.
Maurice Ave.	Sebastian Gebhard Messmer (Messmer St.)	1929	778ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Theology	Male	Ibid, 177.
Austin St.	Eugene Warnimont (Warnimont Ave., Court)	1929	Ave. (1.90 mi), Court (145 ft), Total (1.93 mi)	Milwaukee city ordinance	City governance	Male	Ibid, 272; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "Warnimont Avenue, West," accessed December 10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1087 .

	Russell Bennett (Bennett Ave.)	1929	0.47 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Agriculture	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 23.
York Street	Charles Carter (Carter Place)	1929	434ft		Law (lawyer)	Male	Ibid, 44; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Crater Place, West,” accessed December 10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/355 .
	Lydia Ely (Ely Place)	1929	478ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Artist	Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 80.
	Richard Hamilton (Hamilton St.)	1929	0.36 mi		Real estate and land development	Male	Ibid, 112.
Cedar St.	Byron Kilbourn (Kilbourn Ave.)	1929	2.73 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	One of Milwaukee’s founding fathers	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 140; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Kilbourn Avenue, North, West,” accessed December 10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1129 .
Ruths Court and Leeds Place	George W. Peck (Peck Place, Court)	1929	Place (489 ft), Court	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (mayor and governor) and art (musician and humorist)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 206; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Peck Place, West,” accessed December

			(97ft), Total (586 ft)				10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1587
Commerce Ave.	John E. Cameron (Cameron Ave.)	1929	0.45 mi		Patriotism	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 41.
Park St.	William George Bruce (Bruce St.)	1929	1.55 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Seaport management and business (publishing)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 34.
	Thomas Paine (Paine St.)	1929	821ft		Revolutionary War writings	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 202.
	Abraham Lincoln (Lincoln Memorial Drive)	1929	3.83 mi		First Republican elected USA president (abolition of slavery, preservation of the Union among others)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 154.
Water St.	John Plankinton (Plankinton Ave.)	1929	0.68 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Business (meatpacking business)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 211; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Plankinton Avenue, North,” accessed December 10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1654 .
	Edgar Allan Poe (Poe St.)	1929	154ft	Land subdivision	Poetry and writing	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 212.

Northway St.	John Purdue (Purdue St.)	1929	0.43 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Education	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 219.
	John Ruskin (Ruskin St., Court)	1929	Street (0.49 mi) Court (146 ft), Total (0.52 mi)	Concord Hill Subdivision	Literature (writer)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 231.
Elizabeth Ave.	Tennis Saveland (Saveland Ave.)	1929	1.02 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Water navigation (a sea captain)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 234; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "Saveland Avenue, East," accessed December 10, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1961 .
S. Water St.	Seeboth brothers: Michael, Albert, and Adam Seeboth (Seeboth St.)	1929	0.14 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Business	Males	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 237.
Smith Street	John Kinzie (Kinzie Ave.)	1929	278ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Trade	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 143.

	William Osborn Goodrich (Goodrich Ave., Court)	1930	Ave. (0.34 mi), Court (317 ft), Total (0.40 mi)	Fox Point ordinance	Oil business and music	Male	Ibid, 101.
Pulaski Ave	Anne Cesar Luzerne (Luzerne Court)	1930	223ft		Revolutionary war (French minister)	Male	Ibid, 161; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "Luzerne Avenue, East, Town of Lake," accessed December 1, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1211 .
	Walton Place	1930	322ft			Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 270-71.
	Willis Place	1930	695ft			Female	Ibid, 280.
	Heinrich and Mary Kiehnau (Kiehnau Ave.)	1930s	0.41 mi			Family (Male and female)	Ibid, 139.
	Thomas Ramsey (Ramsey Ave.)	1931	1.71 mi	Greenfield ordinance	Real estate	Male	Ibid, 221; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "Ramsey Avenue, West, Town of Greenfield,"

							accessed December 1, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1745 .
	John H. Rohr (Rohr Ave.)	1931	0.62 mi	Greenfield ordinance	Medicine (physician)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 228-229.
Elliot Circle	Nelson Dewey (Dewey Place)	1931	0.18 mi	Wauwatosa city ordinance	Politics (governor of Wisconsin)	Male	Ibid, 70.
	Patrick Cudahy Jr. (Cudahy Ave.)	1931	0.33 mi		Founder of Cudahy city and Business	Male	Ibid, 61-62.
	Emery Swan (Swan Road, Circle)	1931	Road (0.2 mi), Circle (866 ft), Total (0.36 mi)	Wauwatosa ordinance	Agriculture	Male	Ibid, 250.
	Leopold and Leo Mangold (Mangold Ave.)	1931	346ft	Land subdivision	Realty	Males	Ibid, 165.
	John A. Becher (Becher St.)	1931	3.22 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	War (Civil War veteran)	Male	Ibid, 21.
	Don A. J. Upham (Upham Ave., Court)	1931	Ave. (800 ft), Court	Greenfield ordinance		Male	Ibid, 260.

			(185 ft), Total (985 ft)				
Frederick Ave.	William E. Armitage (Armitage Ave.)	1933	0.30 mi	Wauwatosa city ordinance	Religion (a bishop)	Male	Ibid, 12.
	David Vance (Vance Place)	1933	0.21 mi	Wauwatosa city ordinance		Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 262; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, "Vance Place, West, Town of Wauwatosa," accessed December 1, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/2034 .
Melvina Ave.	Chapman brothers (Silas and Timothy) (Chapman Place)	1933	703ft	Wauwatosa city ordinance	Business	Males	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 46-47.
	Tucker Place	1933	329ft			Male	Ibid, 258.
	Maxwell Place	1933	478ft			Male	Ibid, 172.
	Riverious Elmore (W. Elmore Ave., Court)	1933	Ave. (0.31 mi), Court (132	Wauwatosa city ordinance	Business (Coal mining)	Male	Ibid, 80.

			ft), Total (0.34 mi)				
	Jacob and Mathilda Klein (Klein Ave.)	1937	1,17 7ft	Land subdivision	Tavern operator	Family	Ibid, 144.
Part of 73rd St.	Abraham Lefebber, Jr., (Lefebber Ave.)	1938	0.87 mi		Agriculture	Male	Ibid, 152.
	Henry Hassel (Hassel Lane)	1938	992ft		Farming	Male	Ibid, 115.
	Stack brothers (Stephen Sylvester and Earl L. Stack) (Stark St.)	1939	0.93 mi	Land subdivision	Medicine (physician) and gas station operation respectively	Males	Ibid, 245.
	Paul Gauer (Gauer Circle)	1939	0.45 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (South Side alderman 1920- 1936)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 97.
Alpine Lane, N. Green Rd.	Jacob Donges Jr. (Donges Court)	1940	808ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Business	Male	Ibid, 72.
	Jacques Laramie (Laramie Road)	1940	512ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	French Canadian trapper	Male	Ibid, 150.
	LINDsey Hoben and WALter P. Blount (Linwal Lane)	1940	169ft		Communication (editor of Milwaukee Journal) and real estate.	Males	Ibid, 157.
	Edwin Reynolds (Reynolds Place)	1940	750ft	Milwaukee city ordinance (Carl)	Business	Male	Ibid, 223.

	Carl Luebbe (Luebbe Lane)	1940s	0.39 mi	Land subdivision	Agriculture	Male	Ibid, 161.
	Alvina Pfeiffer (Alvina Ave., Court)	1941	Ave. (0.59 mi), Court (139 ft), Total 0.62 mi	Land subdivision	Manufacturing (assembler)	Female	Ibid, 8.
	Vera Ave.	1942	0.68 mi			Female	Ibid, 263.
	Marcia Endrizzi (Marcia Road)	1944	799ft		Wife of alderman Thomas Nardelli	Female	Ibid, 166.
	De Witt Clinton (Clinton Ave.)	1947	0.44 mi	Grantosa ordinance	Politics (New York governor)	Male	Ibid, 52.
	Jerelyn Ganser (Jerelyn Place)	1947	0.58 mi	Land subdivision	Granddaughter of Roman Ganser	Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 133.
	Millard Fillmore (Fillmore Drive)	1948	0.47 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	13th US President (He objected the enforcement to return fugitive slaves from northern cities).	Male	Ibid, 89.
	Paul Wick (Wick Place)	1951	461ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Real estate	Male	Ibid, 280
	John J. Blaine (Blaine Place)	1953	379ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (Wisconsin Chief executive, and Governor)	Male	Ibid, 25.

	Harris K. Evans (Evans St.)	1954	916ft		Real estate	Male	Ibid, 82.
	James B. Colgate (Colgate Circle)	1953	882ft	Milwaukee city ordinance		Male	Ibid, 54.
	Andrew Jackson (Jackson Park Drive)	1953	0.97 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (president of the USA)	Male	Ibid, 131.
	Moses Elias Kiley (Kiley Ave., Court)	1953	Ave. (867 ft), Cour t (161 ft), Total 1,02 8ft		Religion (Catholic archbishop)	Male	Ibid, 141.
	Rae Raskin (Rae Ave.)	1954	834ft	Land subdivision	Wife of Melvin Raskin (A land developer)	Female	Ibid, 221.
	Henry Dodge (Dodge Place)	1954	0.34 mi		War and politics (Wisconsin governor)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 71.
	William Prentiss (Prentiss St.)	1954	739ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics	Male	Ibid, 216.
W. Raskin Place	John J. Tallmadge (Tallmadge Place, Court)	1954	Plac e (0.36 mi), Cour t	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (mayor)	Male	Ibid, 251.

			(128 ft), Total (0.38 mi)				
	Gerhardt Van Beck (Van Beck Ave., Way)	1954	Ave. (1.03 mi), Way (363 ft), Total (1.10 mi)	Milwaukee city ordinance	Farm production	Male	Ibid, 261.
	Muriel Place	1954	970ft			Female	Ibid, 186.
	Donna Forman (Donna Drive, Court)	1954	Drive (0.47 mi), Court (372 ft), Total , (0.54 mi)	Land subdivision	Wife of Harry Former (a land developer)	Female	Ibid, 72.
	LYNne and MARY Zimmermann (Lynmar Court, Terrace)	1954	Court (242 ft), Terr	Land subdivision	Daughters of Val Zimmermann	Females	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 162.

			ace (0.27 mi), Total (0.32 mi)				
S. Herman St.	James Duane Doty (E. Doty Place)	1955	861ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (governor of Wisconsin 1841- 1844)	Male	Ibid, 73.
	David Burbank (Burbank Ave.)	1955	0.29 mi		Medicine (dentistry)	Male	Ibid, 36.
	Lawrence Ave.	1955				Male	Ibid, 150.
	Casper W. Collins (Casper St.)	1955	233ft		Security (a cavalry officer)	Male	Ibid, 44.
	John Plankinton (Plankinton Ave.)	1955	0.68 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Business (meatpacking)	Male	Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Plankinton, East, Cudahy,” accessed December 1, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1637 .
	Joyce T. Schmidt (Joyce Ave.)	1956	0.34 mi		City development (city engineer’s secretary)	Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 134.
	Lafayette Martin (Martin Lane)	1956	0.37 mi		City development	Male	Ibid, 170.
	Teresa Lane	1956	736ft			Female	Ibid, 253.
	John Hustis (Hustis St., Court)	1957	Street (0.29	Milwaukee city ordinance	Law	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 127.

			mi), Cour t (145 ft), Total (0.32 mi)				
	Edward Petersik (Petersik St.)	1957	0.20 mi		City development (worked at City Engineer's Office)	Male	Ibid, 207.
	Lorene Ave.	1957	0.29 mi			Female	Ibid, 159.
	Marilyn St.	1957	0.4m i			Female	Ibid, 167.
	William Frederick "Buffalo Bill" Cody (Cody St., Circle)	1958	Stree t (331 ft), Circl e (0.25 mi), Total (0.31 mi)		Security and entertainment (army scout and a showman)	Male	Ibid, 52-53.
	Madeline Ave.	1958	0.37 mi			Female	Ibid, 163.
	Harold Denmark (Denmark St.)	1958	0.44 mi		Urban development (City Engineer's Office)	Male	Ibid, 69.

	Charles Michel de Langlade (Langlade St.)	1958	0.38 mi	City Engineer's Department (Carl)	Father of Wisconsin and fur trader	Male	Ibid, 149.
	Isaac Shelby (Shelby St.)	1958	462ft		American Revolution	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 239.
	Leo and L.O Goldman (Goldcrest Ave.)	1959	698ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Real Estate	Males	Ibid, 100.
	William F. Halsey (Halsey Ave.)	1959	0.57 mi		War (5-star admiral)	Male	Ibid, 111.
	Joseph Sileno (Joleno Lane)	1962	381ft	Land subdivision	Land development	Male	Ibid, 133.
	Debbie Schroedel (Debbie Lane)	1962	789ft	Land subdivision	Granddaughter of developer Francis Schroedel	Female	Ibid, 67.
	Marcelle Schroedel (Marcelle Ave.)	1962	996ft	Land subdivision	Grandson of developer Francis Schroedel	Male	Ibid, 166.
	Alexander Hamilton (Hamilton Court)	1962	0.38 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Treasury (first secretary of the treasury)	Male	Ibid, 112.
	Katherine Fowler Philips (Orinda Court)	1962	471ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Poetry	Female	Ibid, 199.
	Stephen Kearny (Kearney St.)	1963	1.05 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	War (a general)	Male	Ibid, 137.
	Margaret Ann Wendler (Ann St.)	1963	0.35 mi		City Engineering (City Engineer's Office)	Female	Ibid, 9.
	Joseph Eckmann (Joseph Ave.)	1963	0.36 mi	Land subdivision	City planner	Male	Ibid, 134.

	Anita Celine Denemark (Celina St.)	1963	0.31 mi		Wife of city's draftsman, Harold Denmark	Female	Ibid, 46.
	Charles W. (Chick) O'Connor (O'Connor St.)	1963	1.01 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics (alderman for 24 years)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 196.
	Michele Miller (Michele St.)	1964	0.38 mi		Granddaughter of alderman Clarence Miller	Female	Ibid, 178.
	Wilbur Halyard (Halyard St.)	1965	0.42 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Financial institution (owner of Columbia Savings and Loan Association)	Male	Ibid, 112.
	Bernice Copeland Lindsay (Lindsay St.)	1967	1,00 2ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Civil rights	Female	Ibid, 155.
	Sylvia Meyers (Sylvia St.)	1967	927ft		Wife of Ludwig Haas	Female	Ibid, 250.
	John W. Polcyn (Polcyn St.)	1968	685ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Policing (police chief)	Male	Ibid, 213.
	Beatrice J. Prause (Beatrice St.)	1969	522ft		Wife of alderman Clarence Miller (Northeast Side alderman from 1964-1978)	Female	Ibid, 20.
	Allyn Miller (Allyn Street, Court)	1970	0.55 mi		Son of Clarence Miller (alderman Northeast Side 1964-1978)	Male	Ibid, 7.
	Raymond R. McAuley (McAuley Place)	1970	376ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Education (vice- president of	Male	Ibid, 173.

					Marquette University)		
	Renee Ertl (Renee St.)	1971	630ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Alderman Robert Ertl's daughter	Female	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 223.
	Sharon Lane	1971	734ft			Female	Ibid, 238.
	Steven Nardelli (Steven Road)	1974	781ft		Son of alderman Thomas Nardelli	Male	Ibid, 245.
	Thomas Faulkner (Faulkner St.)	1974	0.36 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Farmer and peacekeeping	Male	Ibid, 87.
	Ray Richardson (Richardson Place)	1975	797ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Social service (Executive director of Neighborhood House) (Carl and Coll)	Male	Ibid, 224.
	Jonen family (Jonen St.)	1978	0.41 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Agriculture	Family	Ibid, 133.
	Everts brothers (Truman and Charles Everts) (Everts St.)	1978	0.33 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Farmers	Male	Ibid, 83.
	Angela Ava Miller (Angela Ave., Drive)	1978	1,249ft		Granddaughter to Clarence Miller (an alderman 1964-1978)	Female	Ibid, 9.
	Callahan family (Callahan Place)	1978	519ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Business (tavern owners)	Family	Ibid, 40.
Bridge St.	Robert Boden (Boden St., Court)	1981	Street (0.41	Milwaukee city ordinance	Agriculture (farmer)	Male	Ibid, 26; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center,

			mi), Cour t (796 ft), Total (0.56 mi)				“W. Boden Court (Formerly W. Bridge Court) Ord. 148 F#81-1259,” accessed November 21, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/210/rec/1 .
Muskego Ave.	Peck brothers (Emmett and Bernard Peck) (Emmber Lane)	1982	0.28 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Business (owners of Peck food corporation)	Males	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 81; Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “N. Emmber Lane (formerly N. Muskego Ave.)” accessed November 22, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/637/rec/1 .
Jewell Court	Jerry Zellman (Zellman Court)	1983	575ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Business (manager of the Burlington Coat Company)	Male	Ibid, 289; City of Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “W. Zellman Court (Formerly W. Jewell Court) Changed by Ord. 38, F#83-12, May 17, 1983)” accessed November 20, 2020

							https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/120/rec/1 .
North Third Street and Green Bay Ave.	Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (Dr. Martin Luther King Jr Drive)	1984, 1985	3.10 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Civil rights	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 141; City of Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Ordinance to Change the Name of Third St. N. of Wisconsin Ave. to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive,” Common Council File 831267.
Fountain Court	Donald Sleske (Sleske Court)	1984	315ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Member of Civic Division Economic Development	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 242; City of Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “W. Sleske Court (formerly W. Fountain Court from N. 81st Street to its Termination West) File #84-1390 Ord #175,” accessed November 27, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/1952/rec/1 .

	Marquis de LaFayette (LaFayette Hill Road)	1989	846ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Revolutionary war	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets: The Stories behind Their Names</i> (Milwaukee: Cream City Press, 1995), 146
	Lynn Morgan (Lynndale Ave.)	1990	0.37 mi	Land subdivision	Son of Win Morgan (later, Lynn became captain and fought at the WW 1)	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 162.
	Alonso Kane (Kane Place)	1994	1,15 2ft		Real estate development and politics (alderman)	Male	The City Clerk, “An Ordinance to Change the Name of North Water Street, between North Astor Street and the Angle- point in the Street Alignment Located 152.5 Feet to the West as Measured Along Center Line, to East Kane Place, in the 3rd Aldermanic District (Engineers),” Common Council File 940342, City of Milwaukee.
Reservoir Ave.	Joshua Glover (Glover St.)	1994	619ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Slavery abolition	Male	Baehr, <i>Milwaukee Streets</i> , 100; The City Clerk, “A Substitute Ordinance to Change the Name of East Reservoir Avenue, between North

							Holton Street and its Termination Northeast of North Booth Street, to East Glover Avenue, in the 6th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 940276, City of Milwaukee.
W. Stark Ave.	Kathryn Daniels (W. Mother Daniels Way)	1995	322ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Religion and Community development	Female	The City Clerk, “A Substitute Ordinance to Change the Name of West Stark Street, between North 35th Street and North 36th Street, to West Mother Daniels Way, in the 1st Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 950890, City of Milwaukee.
20th Street	Abraham Lincoln (Lincoln Place)	1995	703ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Politics and administration (16th US President)	Male	City of Milwaukee Municipal Research Center, “Lincoln Place,” accessed November 11, 2020 https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/MKEMRC/id/3075 .
S 16th St	Cesar E. Chavez (Cesar E. Chavez Drive)	1996	443ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Farming and labor movement (leader of labor movement)	Male	The City Clerk, “A Substitute Ordinance to Change the Name of South 16th Street

							between West Mitchell Street and West Pierce Street to South Cesar E. Chavez Drive, in the 12th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 960685, City of Milwaukee.
	Frank Crandon (Crandon Place)	1996	791ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Wisconsin Legislation (Creation of Forest County)	Male	The City Clerk, “An Ordinance to Change the Name of South 49 th Place, between West Forest Home Avenue and the City Limits line 93 Feet to the Southeast to South Crandon Place, in the 11th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 960919, City of Milwaukee.
N 7th St.; East Scott St.	James Lovell (James Lovell St.)	1997	0.48 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Astronaut	Male	Legislative Research Center, “A substitute ordinance to change the name of North 7th Street between West Clybourn Street and West State Street, to North James Lovell Street, in the 4th Aldermanic District,” Common Council

							File 961795, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 20, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=145945&GUID=8C6287F8-A953-48AA-947E-CEBDC6505584&Options=Advanced&Search=
East Scott Street	East Jones Street	1997	699ft	Milwaukee city ordinance		Male	Legislative Research Center, “A Substitute Ordinance Changing the Name of East Scott Street, between South Lincoln Memorial Drive and South Harbor Drive, to East Jones Street (14th Aldermanic District),” Common Council File 970254, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 20, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=146211&GUID=31823F22-2708-4011-8D1E-93395693DBC7&Op

							tions=Advanced&Search=
	North Lauer Street	1998	849ft	Milwaukee city ordinance		Male	Legislative Research Center, "A Substitute Ordinance Relating to Changing the Name of North 114th Street, from West Heather Avenue to West Brown Deer Road, to North Lauer Street in the 15th Aldermanic District," Common Council File 981389, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 20, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=149356&GUID=4C843890-952E-4CCD-929A-E1A3CA4F7E4B&Options=Advanced&Search=
N. 111th Street	North Pfeil Street	1999	966ft	Milwaukee city ordinance		Male	Legislative Research Center, "A substitute Ordinance Relating to Changing the Name of North 111th Street, from the Intersection with West Donna Avenue to West

							Heather Avenue, to North Pfeil Street in the 15th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 981035, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 20, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=149003&GUID=E3A17859-FFCB-49EF-A7B1-66B1643E9F22&Options=Advanced&Search=
	North Swan Road	2001	1,017ft	Milwaukee city ordinance		Female	Legislative Research Center, “An ordinance changing the name of North 91st Street between West Brown Deer Road and West County Line Road to North Swan Road (15th Aldermanic District),” accessed December 20, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=153174&GUID=5F4734E

							2-9586-4A62-BC44-7A729D93E539&Options=Advanced&Search=
N 35th Street	Kathryn Daniels (N. Mother Daniels Way)	2003	314ft	Milwaukee city substitute ordinance	Religion and Community development	Female	The City Clerk, "An Ordinance to Change the Street Name of North 35 th Street between West Hampton Avenue and West Mother Daniels Way to North Mother Daniels Way," Common Council File 020758, City of Milwaukee.
W. Hadley St.	Virdell Wallace (Elder Wallace Drive.)	2003	764ft	Milwaukee city substitute ordinance	Religion and civic leadership	Male	The City Clerk, "A Substitute Ordinance Changing the Name of West Hadley Street between North 27 th Street and West Fond du Lac Avenue to West Elder Wallace Drive (7 th Aldermanic District)," Common Council File 030106, City of Milwaukee.
Barclay St.	Jake Marchese (Jake Marchese Way)	2004	858ft	Milwaukee city substitute ordinance	Business	Male	The City Clerk, "A Substitute Ordinance Changing the Name of a Portion of South Barclay Street to

							South Jake Marchase Way in the 12th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 030703, City of Milwaukee.
2900 Block of N. 10th St.	Claretta “Mother Simpson Freedom” (Mother Simpson Way)	2004	294ft	Milwaukee city substitute ordinance	Civil rights	Female	The City Clerk, “A Substitute Ordinance Changing the Name of the 2900 block of North 10 th Street to North Mother Simpson Way in the 6 th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 031601, City of Milwaukee.
North 50th Street	Jeanne M. Gengler (North Gengler Circle)	2004	414ft	Milwaukee city ordinance	Medicine (nursing)	Female	Legislative Research Center, “A Substitute Ordinance Changing the Name of a Portion of North 50th Street to North Gengler Circle, Common Council File 040542, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=159

							413&GUID=D803E261-A545-47DB-A03F-6E1B416CAC46&Options=Advanced&Search=
	Dr. R.E McCrory (Honorary Street)	2006		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution		Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Authorizing the Honorary Naming of West Highland Boulevard, from North 27th Street to North 29th Street, as “Dr. R.E. McCrory,” Common Council File 050851, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020, https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=161481&GUID=806A7726-9AB5-48FC-9A62-3D17701FBB5D&Options=Advanced&Search= .
	Antoine Taylor (honorary Street)	2006		Milwaukee Common		Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute

				Council Resolution			Resolution Authorizing the Honorary Naming of North 4th Street, from West Melvina Street to West Capitol Place, as 'Antoine L. Taylor,'" Common Council File 060530, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=163018&GUID=486E4531-70E1-4A19-9166-E7B3FEBCE865&Options=Advanced&Search= .
West Fiebrantz Avenue from North 53rd Street to the east terminus	James Frank Moore II (West Frank Moore II Place)	2006		Milwaukee city substitute ordinance	Security selflessness	and Male	Legislative Research Center, "A Substitute Ordinance Renaming a Portion of West Fiebrantz Avenue from North 53rd Street to the east terminus as 'West Frank Moore II Place,' in the 2nd Aldermanic District," Common Council File 060523, City of

							Milwaukee, accessed December 2, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=163006&GUID=374ECC-A2-47FC-4A06-B905-F534403DBE20&Options=Advanced&Search=
	Dr. James Cameron (honorary St.)	2007		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution		Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Authorizing the Honorary Naming of West North Avenue, from North Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive to North 7th Street, as ‘Dr. James Cameron,’” Common Council File 060392, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=162866&GUID=34079690-A37A-4B0A-85FE-39BACE076A0A&O

							ptions=Advanced&Search=
	Pastor J. Ellwanger (honorary St.)	2008		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Social services (human rights, children education and hunger alleviation)	Male	Legislative Research Center, "Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name, 'Pastor J Ellwanger,' to West Walnut Street from North 16th to North 17th Streets in the 15th Aldermanic District," Common Council File Number 080357, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=205405&GUID=34B76844-F567-4543-B30E-872F80AA524B&Options=Advanced&Search=
	Dr. Joe L. Hughes (honorary St.)	2009		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Religion (a bishop)	Male	Legislative Research Center, "Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name, "Dr. Joe L. Hughes," to the 2900 block of West State Street in the 4th

							Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 090436, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=453525&GUID=EA53B325-304A-4831-A922-0DE76426AEDC&Options=Advanced&Search= .
	Dr. Lucy B. Hughes (honorary St.)	2009		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Religion (minister)	Female	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name, ‘Dr. Lucy B. Hughes,’ to West State Street from North 29th to North 31st Street in the 4th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 081606, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=348804&GUID=6B74F890-7C20-4A88-A0CB-27D4648E0E67&Opt

							ions=Advanced&Search=.
	Mother Lucy Payne (honorary St.)	2009		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Community development and private affordable housing provision	Female	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name, ‘Mother Lucy Payne,’ to North 11th Street between West Chambers Street and West Hadley Street, in the 6th and 15th Aldermanic Districts,” Common Council File 081040, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=292892&GUID=CDDDB0E95-5C46-430F-843D-2FFF0EA4F349&Options=Advanced&Search= .
	Pastor Willie F. Brooks, Sr. (honorary St.)	2009		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Social services (drug and alcohol mitigation through rehabilitation programs; children education and	Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name, ‘Pastor Willie F. Brooks, Sr.,’ to West Brown Street

					community integration)		from North 22nd to North 24th Streets in the 15th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 081319, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=314104&GUID=8B073DE5-0F1B-46F4-AE44-9B7CB11A9B5D&Options=Advanced&Search=.
	Reuben K. Harpole, Jr. (honorary St.)	2009		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Higher education and youth development	Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name, ‘Reuben K. Harpole, Jr.’ to West North Avenue, from North 1st Street to North 2nd Street in the 6th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 090372, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.leg

							istar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=407871&GUID=13152709-F2AF-4530-881C-7E5180840BFC&Options=Advanced&Search=.
I-43	Jeannetta Simpson-Robinson Memorial Highway	2009	1.46 mi	Wisconsin Act	Activism and Community development	Female	State of Wisconsin, Department of Transportation, “Commemorative Highways and Bridges,” accessed February 09, 2021 https://wisconsindot.gov/Pages/travel/road/comm-hwys/default.aspx .
	Mattiebelle Woods (honorary St.)	2011		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Communication (first lady of Milwaukee black press)	Female	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name ‘Mattiebelle Woods’ to West Center Street between North 27th Street and West Fond du Lac Avenue in the 15th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 091537, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020

							https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=655836&GUID=10F82F77-BCC2-4449-B3A5-C0BFE26373E6&Options=Advanced&Search=.
	Harry Kemp (honorary St.)	2013		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	War (veteran), Photojournalism and teaching	Male	Carl Baehr, “25 Streets Have Added Honorary Names,” accessed December 1, 2020 https://urbanmilwaukee.com/people/harry-kemp/ .
	Mitchelle Witman (honorary St.)	2014		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	War (veteran)	Female	Honorary Chicago, “Mitchelle Witman,” accessed December 5, 2020 http://www.honorarychicago.com/honorary-wisconsin-blog/michelle-witmer
	Pastor Joe H. and Erma Todd (honorary St.)	2016		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Religion (clergy) and social services (higher education)	Family	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name ‘Pastor Joe H. and Erma Todd’ to West Meinecke Avenue from North 5th Street to North 6th

								Street in the 6th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 160683, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=2842067&GUID=02521817-36C6-4763-A17B-241F17C7DFC5&Options=Advanced&Search= .
	Dr. Lester Carter (honorary St.)	2017		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Pharmacy, (Korean veteran) literature	war war and	Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name ‘Dr. Lester Carter Drive’ to North 24th Street from West Burleigh Street to West Auer Avenue in the 7th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 170611, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3114

							497&GUID=44BB88C3-42F3-4C1E-AF9D-11B7C087F23A&Options=Advanced&Search=.
	Martha Freeman 'Mama' (Mama Freeman honorary St.)	2017		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Law and peacekeeping in Milwaukee community	Female	Legislative Research Center, "Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name 'Mama Freeman' to West Port Sunlight Way from North 25th Street to North 27th Street in the 1st Aldermanic District," Common Council File 170005, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3025424&GUID=E25C010F-C542-4E5C-AF21-FE8E4B51C7CD&Options=Advanced&Search=.
	Elder Jonathan Saffold, Sr. (honorary St.)	2017		Milwaukee Common	Religion	Male	Legislative Research Center, "Substitute Resolution Assigning

				Council Resolution			the Honorary Street Name 'Elder Jonathan Saffold, Sr.' to Auer Avenue at Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive, North 2nd Street and North 3rd Street in the 6th Aldermanic District," Common Council File 170052, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3025493&GUID=6B3E1B5A-52DB-41A3-B98E-6B31AB7AE659&Options=Advanced&Search= .
	Mae Elizabeth Dey (honorary St.)	2018		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Business	Female	Legislative Research Center, "Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name "Mae Elizabeth Dey" to West Virginia Street from South 6th Street to South 9th Street in the 12th Aldermanic District," Common Council

							File 180769, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3651491&GUID=42B314B1-5E21-454C-9E5E-C5B37E590EDA&Options=Advanced&Search=.
	Kevin Pittman (honorary St.)	2018		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Social equity	Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name ‘Kevin Pittman’ to North 36th Street from West Hampton Avenue to West Ruby Avenue in the 1st Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 180575, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3549925&GUID=CAEF2EDA-C113-4FB2-A8FC-

							7D1E32710549&Options=Advanced&Search=.
	Rev. Willie D. Wanzo, Sr (honorary St.)	2018		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Community development	Male	Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street name ‘Rev. Willie D. Wanzo, Sr.’ to West Burleigh Street from North 13th Street to North 14th Street in the 6th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 180603, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3552667&GUID=470E02AA-9440-4A8E-8F54-DF73A53828F1&Options=Advanced&Search=
North 4th Street from West St. Paul Avenue	Velvalea R. Phillips (Vel R. Phillips Ave.)	2018	3.16 mi	Milwaukee city ordinance	Human rights, affordable housing, law, and city development	Female	Legislative Research Center, “A Substitute Ordinance Renaming North 4th Street from West St. Paul Avenue to West Capitol Drive

to West Capitol Drive							<p>‘Vel R. Phillips Avenue,’ Common Council File 180127, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020</p> <p>https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3484082&GUID=A6F98976-FCE8-4150-8049-572DF78535FF&Options=&Search=</p>
21st Street from Clarke Street to Center Street	Rev. George Reynolds (honorary St.)	2019		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Social services (hunger alleviation)	Male	<p>Legislative Research Center, “Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name ‘Rev. George Reynolds’ to 21st Street from Clarke Street to Center Street in the 15th Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 190795, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020</p> <p>https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=4077232&GUID=AF23362E-54AD-4198-BAB1-</p>

							3762AB21135D&Options=Advanced&Search=.
North Avenue from 17th Street to 27th Street	Don Sykes (honorary St.)	2019		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Social development	Male	Legislative Research Center, "Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name 'Don Sykes' to North Avenue from 17th Street to 27th Street in the 15th Aldermanic District," Common Council File 190795, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 <a data-bbox="1501 779 1795 1104" href="https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=4128207&GUID=0C9B6E42-5153-40D8-9AC4-66039B748A49&Options=Advanced&Search=.">https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=4128207&GUID=0C9B6E42-5153-40D8-9AC4-66039B748A49&Options=Advanced&Search=.
35th St. from West Florist Ave. to West Douglas Ave	Bishop Osie Tatum, Jr. (honorary St.)	2020		Milwaukee Common Council Resolution	Social services	Male	Legislative Research Center, "Substitute Resolution Assigning the Honorary Street Name 'Bishop Osie Tatum Jr.'" to 35th St. from West Florist Ave. to West Douglas

							Ave. in the 1st Aldermanic District,” Common Council File 200311, City of Milwaukee, accessed December 1, 2020 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=4574903&GUID=7DE972EF-9006-4EE1-BB08-EF507D841651&Options=Advanced&Search= .
Old World N Third Street	Dr. Martin Luther King Drive	2021	0.55 mi	Milwaukee Common Council Ordinance		Male	Legislative Research Center, A Substitute Ordinance Renaming Old World Third Street, from West McKinley Avenue to West Wisconsin Avenue, North Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive,” Common Council File 201318, City of Milwaukee, accessed May 1, 2021 https://milwaukee.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=4760

							925&GUID=F97B4E AB-E700-4EE8- 975C- 69D736768AD9&Op tions=Advanced&Sea rch=
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--