It must be recognized that the root cause of illegal migration is economic disparity among nations. Correcting this disparity requires long-term support of economic development strategies and political systems that can result in improved income distribution and peaceful social change in the less developed world.

These above steps are the essential elements of comprehensive reform. Some believe they represent medicine that is worse than the disease. I submit that the stakes in allowing this disease to fester are too great.

We cannot eliminate illegal immigration altogether. The economic forces underlying it are too strong to submit fully to law enforcement tools. But we can significantly curtail it if we are willing to make these difficult but critical choices. A new national consensus on immigration is currently being forged. I invite your attention and voice in the debate. A durable policy that can serve us well in the years to come must adhere to four basic principles.

First, the world's poverty and population growth problems cannot be solved through immigration to the United States even were it unlimited. Second, immigration can occur successfully only in the context of continued and satisfactory progress toward social and economic justice of minorities and other disadvantaged groups in our society. Third, we should continue to be generous in our attempts to alleviate some measure of human suffering through accepting refugees according to carefully derived foreign policy and humanitarian interest criteria. Fourth, our commitment to our heritage as a nation of immigrants and a pluralistic society must remain intact and viable for the future.

The American experiment can never be taken for granted. It takes constant care through public policies which nurture shared values and through renewed assessments of the common good. A sound immigration policy will prevent difficult issues from becoming intractable and will allow sensible solutions to supplant divisive assaults on national unity. The integrity of law enforcement, our system of laws, and the character of our country are very much at stake in this matter. If we make enlightened choices now, it should be possible to remain a nation of immigrants for many, many years to come.

Olmsted's Lake Park

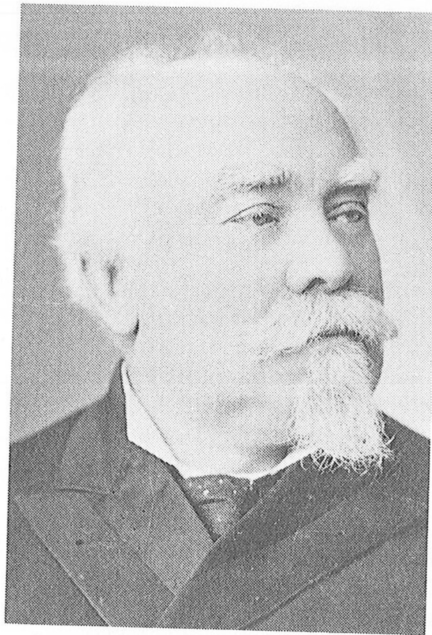
By Diane M. Buck

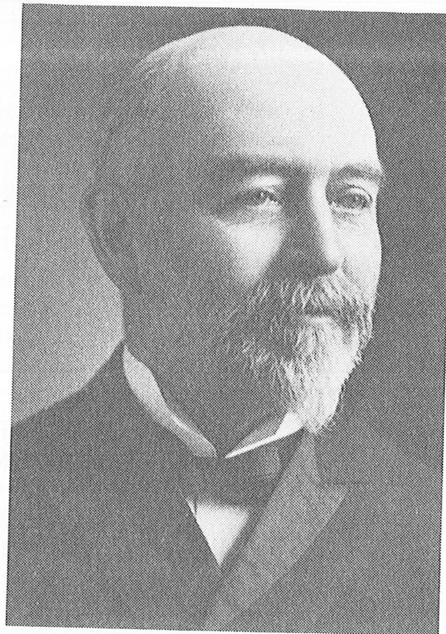
THE PUBLIC park system developed slowly in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The city was founded in 1846, but its first real park was built on the fashionable eastside lakefront in 1872. Other than this park, named after Milwaukee's founding father Solomon Juneau, the city had only several public squares and two lakefront tracts. Those were the Water Tower and the Flushing Tunnel and were landscaped by the Board of Public Works as an incidental side to their main functions for sanitation. Although Milwaukee had established a public library in 1878 and a public museum in 1882, a true park system had to wait until 1889 when the Board of Park Commissioners was created.[1]

During the period from 1870 to 1900, Milwaukee's population grew fourfold, from 70,000 to 285,000. This rapidly expanding city looked for outdoor recreation to a number of entertainment gardens operated by private interests. These gardens, which catered to families and group excursions brought to their gates by street railways, were money-making projects which offered a combination of entertainment, amusement and refreshments, in addition to fresh air and flowers. The public parks, on the other hand, were intended to be public places, open to everyone without charge, where people might relax among a pleasant green landscape free from the trammels of commercial activity.

The Milwaukee Board of Park Commissioners was created to realize this public-spirited, non-commercial approach to parks, and the commissioners began immediately to develop the parks into an extensive system which now comprises 14,700 acres of land. Mayor Thomas H. Brown appointed the first board which was composed of five civic and business leaders who served without pay. They were: Christian Wahl, president; Calvin E. Lewis, Charles Manegold, Jr., Louis Auer, and John Bentley. Each of the commissioners was to serve a term of five years with one term expiring each year. Such duty was seen as a selfless, worthy public cause which would improve the quality of life for all its citizens.[2]

This approach is typified by Christian Wahl (1829-1903), a wealthy, retired businessman, who led the park commission for its

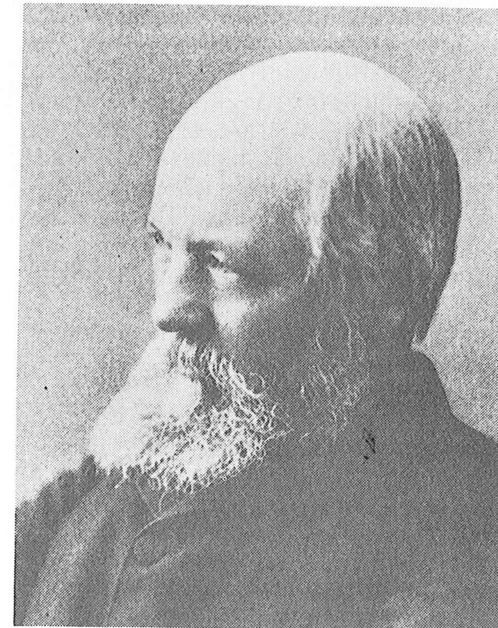




Christian Wahl (left) served as the first president of the Milwaukee Board of Park Commissioners, which was appointed by Mayor Thomas H. Brown (right).

first productive decade. In 1846 Wahl had emigrated from Bavaria to Milwaukee, where he lived with his parents on a farm only five miles north of the city. He left Milwaukee as a young man and traveled extensively before settling in Chicago, where he joined his brother in the glue business. In Chicago, Wahl served on the city council, the board of education and left his mark as an influential citizen. After selling his Chicago business interests to Philip D. Armour, Wahl returned to Milwaukee to reside in a home on Prospect Avenue, on the east side. During the last years of his life, Wahl's strong leadership as president of the park commission was instrumental in the development of the city's park system and he took a deep personal interest in the completion of Lake Park. His previous experience in Chicago helped him to meet the challenges and frustrations of his unpaid public service. His example of a wealthy community leader who devoted great attention to the city parks set a tradition which existed in Milwaukee until very recently.[3]

The creation of a system of public parks in Milwaukee had to await provisions for adequate financing. In 1889 the state legislature passed laws permitting the City of Milwaukee and its park commission to buy lands with money raised from the sale of bonds. Milwaukee was authorized to sell $100,000 worth of bonds to acquire land within the city limits for parks and to increase the property tax levy by one-half mill for park operating expenses.



Frederick Law Olmsted designed three Milwaukee parks: Lake, River, and West (now Washington).

The park commission quickly found the original authorizations too restrictive; therefore, in 1881 they successfully lobbied for new legislation authorizing more borrowing, higher mill levies and the right to acquire lands outside the city limits, but within Milwaukee County.[4]

In 1889 the Board of Park Commissioners of the City of Milwaukee signed an agreement with Frederick Law Olmsted, John Charles Olmsted, and Henry Sargent Codman to examine park sites the commissioners intended to purchase. The city agreed to pay the Olmsted firm $12.50 for every acre of ground for which park drawings and designs were prepared. By the fall of 1890 the city had acquired five park sites, two on the east side and three on the west.[5]

In February, 1893, Frederick and John Olmsted, along with Charles Eliot, visited Milwaukee to fulfill their contract and explore the park sites. In April, 1893, the Olmsted firm sent Christian Wahl preliminary landscape designs for two parks, Lake Park on the city's east side, and West Park. The plans included roads, walks, bridges, man-made ponds, belvederes, and refectory buildings. Each design was to be built around the existing topography to give a distinctive character to the site.

In an accompanying letter, Frederick Law Olmsted chided the park commissioners for purchasing large sites away from the city center. He wrote of the commissioners' responsibility to provide citizens with the opportunities to enjoy rural scenery at locations convenient to the city. The implication was the civic-minded leaders should have purchased smaller tracts closer to the city

center, so as to offer every citizen an opportunity for open-air recreation.[6]

Olmsted's criticism seems a little harsh considering that Lake Park was only a twenty-minute ride by electric street railway from the city center. Lake Park bordered on a residential area favored by wealthy Milwaukeeans, but it was still within reasonable distance of the middle-class and working-class residential areas which were located west and southwest of Lake Park closer to the industrial sites along the Milwaukee River. Lake Park's southern corner was only a ten-minute walk from the major street railway interchange at North and Prospect Avenues.

In fact, the first annual report of the park commissioners made in 1892 proclaimed the commitment to select park sites "which offer the best natural advantages and which were located as to afford accommodations for the greatest number and still adhere to the general scheme of having a chain of parks around the city connected by handsome boulevards." This statement shows clearly that the commissioners had embraced Olmsted's philosophy for urban parks and were implementing it in a reasonable fashion.[7]

Under Wahl's leadership from 1889-1899 most of the commissioners' attention was lavished on Lake Park. The other east side park, River, also received attention as it would ultimately link with Lake Park by means of a gracious boulevard. River Park was much smaller, only twenty-four acres, and presented more difficulties because the site was traversed by the Chicago and Northwestern railway. The railway generously eased problems in the river site, and plantings were made to take advantage of the steep river banks. River Park, although never as significant as Lake Park, did establish the northern boundary of industrial use of the Milwaukee River, which downstream from the park had been used from the 1840s onward as a major industrial location for Milwaukee tanneries, breweries, and other industry.

The second park design proposed by Olmsted was for West Park, which was also begun in the 1890s. This park, equal in size to Lake, was another major Olmsted contribution to Milwaukee's park system. It was developed concurrently with Lake Park, and this site, in many ways, more closely fit Olmsted's preferences for parks. West Park, renamed Washington in 1900, underwent considerable modifications after the completion of Olmsted's original design including the installation of extensive athletic facilities after 1902 and then housing Milwaukee's zoo. Lake Park, however, was kept more in conformity with Olmsted's original design.

Lake Park was the jewel in the crown of the park commission's work for the 1890s. The site was on a long, mostly undeveloped section of the Lake Michigan coastal bluffs. The linear site started north of Milwaukee's Water Tower and extended northward for one and one-half miles. The park was located on top of the bluff, 80 to 100 feet, above the Lake Michigan waterline. Such bluffs are a

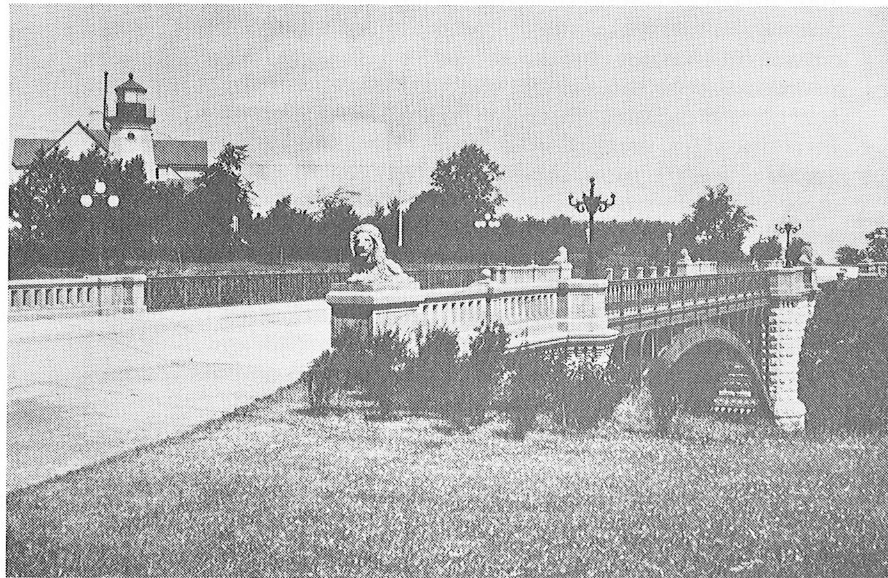
standard topographical feature of the lake's shoreline in the southeastern park of Wisconsin, except where broken by lowlands created by major estuaries or by small beaches at the foot of a steep ravine. The site was cut by several such ravines. The crest of the bluffs are generally flat and extend to a western boundary of fine table land. Oak trees provided the natural cover and in the northern park of the site there were several Indian burial mounds. One of the city's private amusement gardens, Lueddemann's-On-The-Lake, was purchased to consolidate the park land. In total, Lake Park consisted of six different plats, totaling 123.7 acres. The park commission paid a total of $255,175 to acquire the land. The neighborhood bordering on the park included St. Mary's Catholic Hospital at the southern end and carefully laid out streets where large, individually designed upper-class homes were beginning to be built in the early 1890s. Park construction was followed by more gentrification of the adjoining housing sites. This pattern was a continuation of the earlier construction of upper-class homes along the lakeshore bluffs north of the Menomonee Valley. After 1900 this same kind of private, rather than public utilization of the lake bluffs continued north of Lake Park as Milwaukee's upper-class residential suburbs pushed outward with the advent of the automobile and individual commuting. The Olmsted design and Wahl's painstaking supervision meant, however, that one fine section of the lakefront bluffs was committed to public use.[8]

The Olmsted plan for Lake Park envisioned one main road that followed the lakeshore below the bluff, another road that followed the city streets along the top of the bluffs at the park's western edge, and, finally, a connecting road from the base of the bluffs up through a ravine. Along the crest, meandering carriage roads crossed the ravines by the means of several bridges. The crest afforded a beautiful view of the lake. The ravine road led up to Newberry Boulevard which connected Lake Park with River Park. In addition to these thoroughfares, the plan showed a concert grove, music pavilion, refectory, belvedere, city street rail station, meadows and many walks.[9]

The Lake Park plan demonstrated some of the basic concepts of Olmsted's landscape philosophy. He was interested in undulating meadows fringed with grass, tranquil scenery, and groves which preserved the underbrush and the rough surface of the natural forest. The tree species were varied to give interest and tonality to the scene. The landscape provided quiet corners and shady nooks, features that were the antithesis of what people viewed on city streets and in work establishments. Olmsted had written, "A man's eyes cannot be as occupied as they are in large cities by artificial things, or by natural things seen under obviously artificial conditions, without a harmful effect, first on his mental and nervous system and ultimately on his entire constitutional organization." Olmsted put recreation into two general headings: exertive with active and passive games, and receptive with opportunities for fine art experiences, such as music. His Lake

Park design, as so much of his work, stressed the latter. Olmsted hoped to bring together industrious, democratic people of all ages and classes in his parks; therefore, his plans stressed accessibility by public and private transportation.[10]

A facet of Olmsted's park design was the provision of many roads and paths through the park so as to make the landscape's best features visible from several different perspectives. Another feature of Olmsted's designs involved landscaping the site with trees, shrubs, and flowers which would contribute a strong sense of texture and contrast to the scenery. Implementation of these two qualities became the focus of the park commission's work in the 1890s. From 1892 to 1894 Frank W. Blodgett, a park engineer, supervised the walk and road gradings, plus the bridge construction. Blodgett wrote to the Olmsted firm several times informing them of the progress and seeking advice. A total of four carriage bridges were built over the ravines during the next few years. Rustic wooden foot bridges were built across the brooks near the bottom of the ravines. The carriage roads were tile drained and bordered with cobble stone gutters. The commissioners also hired J. A. Pettigrew to be park superintendent with responsibility for landscaping. A major concern was the kinds of trees and bushes which would help secure the bluffs from erosion. In accordance with Olmsted's plan one of the large ravines, 40 feet in depth, needed to be filled and laid with 250 feet of drainage tile. This created a ten-acre meadow, opening a vista through most of the park.[11]

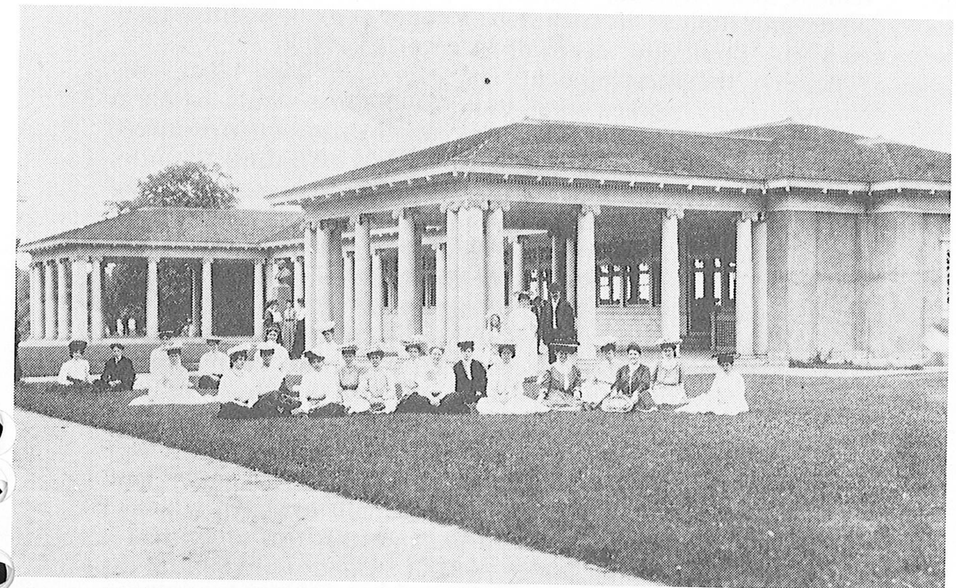


Lake Park's handsome Lion Bridge and the United States Coast Guard lighthouse.

Before Lake Park could be freely traversed by the carriage road, it was necessary for the commissioners to make arrangements with the federal government in Washington, D.C. A coastal lighthouse surrounded by two acres of land divided Lake Park into two separate sections. In 1893 efforts led by the commissioners and Wisconsin Senator John L. Mitchell resulted in permission to complete the Olmsted plan without disturbing the lighthouse's function. This meant a carriage road and two bridges could be built east of the lighthouse.[12]

Negotiations for other elements in Lake Park did not always go so smoothly. That same year the commissioners wanted a triangular strip of land (1/8 acre) east of Terrace Avenue and immediately north of North Avenue to complete the main south entrance to Lake Park. The undeveloped land was the property of St. Mary's Hospital. The representative of the hospital, Sister Julia, and Christian Wahl could not agree on a price for the land. Finally the city attorney condemned the property at a price of $700. The hospital refused the money; nevertheless, the city took possession of the property and the park superintendent temporarily fenced it.[13]

In 1894-95 the commissioners and the Milwaukee Street Railway agreed to build a station just inside Lake Park at the foot of Folsom Street (now called Locust). The architect, Howland Russell, designed an attractive wooden station with a large waiting and retiring room. The park commission and the Milwaukee Street Railway equally shared the $7,000 cost. The next



A group of waitresses from the Republican House Hotel enjoyed a day's outing at Lake Park in 1901.

year the railway company began offering free concerts at Lake and West Parks. Thus Olmsted's hope for easy access by the public was fulfilled. Thousands of visitors on summer Sundays came to Lake Park, thanks in part to the new transportation facilities. At the lakeside, Milwaukee residents could enjoy the music on a shady, cool concert grove for the price of a street railway ticket.[14]

In April, 1896, Warren Manning of Olmsted's firm visited Milwaukee to review the firm's work. Manning reported to Olmsted that work on the three parks was progressing slowly; nonetheless, in Lake Park the formal terrace and music court were already completed. Manning also indicated how closely Wahl had become involved with the park construction work. "Mr. Wahl has gone into moving large trees and done it well. Trees were carefully selected, dug with very large balls and planted in well prepared holes. Evidently Wahl decided not to trust the tastes of the current gardener [Mr. Pettigrew] and assumed some of the gardening."[15]

Christian Wahl's letters to the Olmsted firm from 1892 to 1896 chronicle his concern that the carriage roads afford the best possible view of Lake Michigan without destroying the natural vegetation. Wahl's interest in a grand system of boulevards which would eventually encircle the city was frustrated by the financial conservatism of Milwaukee. The common council had the authority to designate any street as a boulevard upon the recommendation of the park commissioners; however, they made no provisions for planting and maintaining the boulevards. Although the commissioners introduced legislation in Madison to remedy this in 1899, Olmsted's plan and Wahl's dream of boulevards linking the park system would never be realized. Only Newberry Boulevard was completed by 1898.[16]

Besides the development of parks in the 1890s, the commissioners worked to secure a law which would ensure a public controlled lakefront from downtown Milwaukee beginning at the foot of Mason Street and extending 3.5 miles north to the city limits. Much time and money was spent securing 300 feet of lakeshore rights from property owners on the lakefront bluffs. These accomplishments by the farsighted commissioners made possible extensive filling of lakefront and the development of this land for public use in recent times.[17]

In the twentieth century evolution of Milwaukee's lakefront, Lake Park has maintained the distinctive character of an Olmsted plan. However, the ordinary visitor may miss the Olmsted design altogether because the park is usually seen as only part of a long green area which stretches from the base of downtown Milwaukee northward to Kenwood Boulevard. This long stretch of parkland encloses Lincoln Memorial Drive, a four-lane road which bears a large commuter traffic, but still is thankfully less noisy than a freeway. This road and the green land around it are built at the base of the Lake Michigan bluffs, and the extensive landfill has gradually extended the lakeshore eastward in several sections.

City residents were able to travel easily to Lake Park via the Milwaukee Street Railway. The streetcar station was just inside the park at Locust Street.

Olmsted's Lake Park lies above Lincoln Memorial Drive. The drive was connected to downtown by a bridge in 1927, and then its transformation into a commuter road was completed by a cut through the northern edge of Lake Park which brings the road back to the top of the bluffs. Part of Olmsted's shore road for Lake Park has been incorporated into Lincoln Memorial Drive, but he certainly could never have envisioned it as a commuter artery.

There is nothing in Olmsted's plans to indicate he foresaw the development of the whole lakefront south of his park as a man-made lowland fill park; however, it is obvious that such ideas were part of the commissioners' agenda from the time of their first appointment in 1889. Today this land is occupied, from north to south, by a water filtration plant, a site irregularly used for free rock concerts, a gun club, a soccer field, a man-made sand beach with beach house, a county-owned snack bar and parking lot, two or three open picnic and grass areas, a group of tennis courts, a large boating and sailing area including launching sections, a yacht club, and a public marina. Today most of this lakefront including Lake Park is operated and controlled by the Milwaukee County park system.

The southern portion of this lakefront is now occupied by the Milwaukee County War Memorial designed by Eero Saarinen and completed in 1957 and later expanded eastward to accommodate the growing collection of the Milwaukee Art Museum. The bluffs

of the central and southern portion of this present green swath are occupied by a mixture of multi-storied apartments and older private residences. Only the northern most sections of the bluffs are wooded. These are part of the Olmsted park which most people see from their cars. Yet, once the bluffs are climbed, on foot or by vehicle, the original character of the park delights the visitor.

In the case of Milwaukee, Olmsted's plans gave the city designs for three unusually fine parks, Lake, River, and West. Lake Park came the closest to fulfilling Olmsted's design plans, especially because of Wahl's great personal interest in this beautiful site near his home. Still it was the local commissioners who had the broadest vision of Milwaukee's lakefront. They used the famous landscape designer's work as one piece of a larger conception of Milwaukee's parkland. Similar efforts were also undertaken in Chicago. Today the main difference between the two cities is that the scale of all elements in Chicago is much larger, and consequently its Lake Shore Drive became a major automobile traffic artery as early as the 1940s. The result has been that the Chicago's lakefront highspeed automobile road, like all freeways, formed a barrier which is difficult to cross. Fortunately Milwaukee's scale is smaller. Moreover, efforts to convert Lincoln Memorial Drive into a freeway were blocked in several skirmishes with road planners in the past fifteen years. So, unlike Chicago, Milwaukeeans still have a convenient access to their lakefront.

Notes

1 Landscape Research, *Built in Milwaukee: An Architectural View of the City*, (City of Milwaukee, 1981), p. 121.
2 Howard L. Conard, ed., *History of Milwaukee County* 2 vols., (American Biographical Publishing Co., Chicago), 1890. Vol. 1, Chapter XII, "Public Park System of the City" by Christian Wahl, p. 302.
3 Ibid.
4 *First Annual Report of the Park Commissioners of the City of Milwaukee*, 1892, p. 6.
5 The Frederick Law Olmsted Papers, the Library of Congress, Manuscript Room, Microfilm Container #32.
6 Olmsted Papers, the Library of Congress, Manuscript Room, Job File #1650.
7 *First Annual Report of the Park Commissioners of the City of Milwaukee*, 1892, p. 9.
8 Ibid., p. 13.
9 Brookline, Mass., Olmsted Associates, Lithograph Copy of a General Plan, dated 1895, by Olmsted, and Eliot.
10 S. B. Sutton, ed., *Civilizing American Cities* (Cambridge, Mass, The MIT Press, 1971), p. 243.
11 Olmsted Papers, the Library of Congress, Manuscript Room, Job File #1650.
12 *Second Annual Report of the Park Commissioners of the City of Milwaukee*, 1893, p. 18.
13 Ibid., p. 8.
14 *Fourth Annual Report of the Park Commissioners of the City of Milwaukee*, 1895, p. 16.
15 Olmsted Papers, the Library of Congress, Manuscript Room, Job File #1650.
16 Ibid.
17 *Sixth Annual Report of the Park Commissioners of the City of Milwaukee*, 1897, p. 6.

Meeting at Berchtesgaden: John Cudahy and Adolph Hitler

By Timothy P. Maga

JOHN CUDAHY, wealthy member of Milwaukee's famous Cudahy meatpacking family, is an important but complicated figure in both New Deal diplomacy and Wisconsin Democratic Party politics. Although his foreign service career and special interests in big game hunting and exploring kept him far from Milwaukee, Cudahy often returned to what he called "his gentlemen's estate" on Brown Deer Road. It was here, in 1940, that Cudahy decided to pursue a new profession, following a series of disagreements with the Franklin Roosevelt administration over preparations for war.[1]

On November 29, 1940, Cudahy officially resigned from his post as Ambassador to Belgium with the intention of employing his full efforts in the fight to prevent American entry into the Second World War. One of the best ways to achieve this, he believed, was to personally approach the instigator of that war, Germany's Adolf Hitler.[2]

In early 1941, Cudahy took a job with *Time-Life* and the North American Newspaper Alliance. As a correspondent, he hoped to acquaint the general American public with the horrors of war by exposing the aggressive policies of both Hitler's New Order and Roosevelt's "Arsenal of Democracy." The former ambassador concluded that he would be more effective in this role than as a retired diplomat and free-lance writer in Milwaukee.[3]

Cudahy's approach to politics, diplomacy, and life in general was always unique. He reveled in the fact that he had survived three ambassadorships between 1933 and 1940 (Poland, Ireland, and Belgium, respectively), and still maintained his independent frame of mind. For Cudahy, maintaining one's independence as a government representative abroad was not a contradiction in terms. It simply meant that one should try to influence events without contravening the basic foreign policy principles of the Roosevelt administration. It proved to be a difficult task.[4]

Partly responsible for the successful showing of Franklin Roosevelt in Wisconsin during the 1932 presidential campaign, Cudahy had been quickly rewarded with an ambassadorial post to Poland. Given the large Polish-American presence in Milwaukee, Cudahy seemed to be a logical choice. He even enjoyed a certain