

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

1. Name of Property

Historic name: Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House (additional documentation)

Other names/site number: HABS WI-368

Name of related multiple property listing: _____

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

2. Location

Street & number: 2000 West Wisconsin Avenue

City or town: Milwaukee State: WI County: Milwaukee

Not For Publication: Vicinity:

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following

level(s) of significance: National Statewide Local

Applicable National Register Criteria A B C D

Signature of certifying official/Title:	Date
Daina Penkiunas, Wisconsin State Historic Preservation Officer	
State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government	
In my opinion, the property <input type="checkbox"/> meets <input type="checkbox"/> does not meet the National Register criteria.	
Signature of commenting official:	Date
Title:	State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

- Entered in the National Register
- Determined eligible for the National Register
- Determined not eligible for the National Register
- Removed from the National Register
- Other (explain:) _____

Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

5. Classification

Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- Private:
- Public – Local
- Public – State
- Public – Federal

Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

- Building(s)
- District
- Site
- Structure
- Object

Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Buildings
_____	_____	Sites
_____	_____	Structures
_____	_____	Objects
<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Total

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register 1

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/Single dwelling

Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

RECREATION AND CULTURE/Museum

7. Description

Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

OTHER/Flemish Renaissance Revival

Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)

Principal exterior materials of the property: BRICK, TERRA COTTA, STONE/limestone

Narrative Description

Summary Paragraph

The Frederick and Maria Pabst House stands at 2000 West Wisconsin Avenue (formerly known as Grand Avenue) in the City of Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin (figure 1). It is a three-story, load-bearing masonry building finished with pressed brick in Flemish bond, embellished with abundant terra cotta ornament, and set on a basement of coursed, smooth-faced, limestone ashlar (photo 1). Flemish-style, S-shaped pantiles cover the steep sides of the mansard roof of the main block, as well as the many gable roofs. The Pabst House exemplifies the Flemish Renaissance Revival, featuring steeply-pitched gables and gabled wall dormers with Flemish stepped parapets. Designed by the distinguished Milwaukee architectural firm of (George Bowman) Ferry and (Alfred Charles) Clas, and attributed principally to Ferry, the house was begun in 1890 and completed in 1892.¹ In 1908, the Pabst family sold the property to the

¹ Building Permit, Fred Pabst, June 27, 1890, on file, Pabst Mansion Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; "Handsome New Residence: The Palatial Abode on Grand Avenue Which Capt. Pabst is Building," *Milwaukee Journal*, July 19,

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Milwaukee (Archdiocese). The house served as the residence of the archbishop until 1974. In 1978, Wisconsin Heritages, Inc., acquired the house.² The non-profit organization, now known as Pabst Mansion, Inc. (PMI), has operated the building as a house museum since 1978 and has carried out a series of restoration and stabilization projects over the years (discussed in the Description and Integrity sections below). The house was listed in the National Register in 1975 at the state level of significance for its architecture and its association with Frederick Pabst (also known as Captain Pabst), who guided the Pabst Brewery to become the largest lager brewery in the U.S. during the 1870s, and the largest in the world by 1892. This nomination raises the architectural significance of the house to the national level. It is the finest residential example of the Flemish Renaissance Revival style in the U.S. The Pabst House retains excellent integrity.

Narrative Description

Setting

The Pabst House sits on a rise on the north side of West Wisconsin Avenue on the west edge of the campus of Marquette University, northwest of Milwaukee's central business district (figure 1). A sidewalk and grass terrace separate the large, one-acre parcel from the roadway. Multi-story residential buildings associated with Marquette University are found immediately east and west of the Pabst House property. A large, paved surface parking lot for WISN, a local television station, is set north (to the rear) of the property. Institutional and commercial buildings dating to the mid-to-late twentieth century dominate the neighborhood surrounding the Pabst House.

On site, the house is set back about 180 feet from the back line of the sidewalk, with a mowed lawn that sweeps uphill (figure 2). A historical marker stands near the sidewalk southwest of the house. Erected in 1992, the marker provides a brief summary of the life and accomplishments of Frederick Pabst (1836-1904). A few mature trees are scattered on the lawn east and west of the house. In front of the house, a small, round garden is enclosed in a low, stone border. A narrow, paved driveway curves northeasterly from the street and passes in front of the house, following the route of the original driveway. A second driveway joins the first southwest of the house and continues north into a paved parking lot northwest of the house. A metal fence runs along the west side of the property, while chain link fencing marks the north and east boundaries.

Exterior

The Pabst House is a three-story, load-bearing masonry building finished with pressed brick in Flemish bond, featuring abundant terra cotta ornament, and set on a basement of coursed, smooth-faced, limestone (photo 2). It exemplifies Flemish Renaissance Revival, a style uncommon in the U.S., inspired by the architecture of Flemish-speaking Belgium, the

1890, 8; and "In Their New Home: Capt. Pabst and Family Now Occupy the Elegant Grand Avenue Residence," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, July 30, 1892, 3.

² John Eastberg, *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion: An Illustrated History*, (Milwaukee: Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Inc., 2009), 217, and 230-233.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Netherlands, and areas of northern Germany along the coast of the Baltic Sea dating to the 16th and 17th centuries. The Pabst House displays vertical massing with a symmetrical front facade, and is dominated by steeply-pitched, gabled projecting pavilions and wall dormers, all with lavishly decorated Flemish stepped parapets. Four of the seven gables carry chimneys. The terra cotta ornamentation includes quoins, belt courses above and below the first and second story windows, a cornice beneath the third story windows, and strapwork, scrollwork, volutes, pinnacles, finials, and floral and shell ornament on the parapets and chimney tops. A flat-roofed porch is centered on the south (front) façade and opens onto a stone terrace that extends across the façade. A flat-roofed porte cochere on a coursed, smooth-faced, limestone foundation is centered on the west façade. Both the porch and the porte cochere are clad entirely in exquisite, elaborately-embellished terra cotta. S-shaped clay pantiles, also known as Flemish pantiles, cover the sides of the mansard roof of the main block, as well as the gabled roofs of the projecting pavilions and wall dormers. The low-pitched top of the mansard is surfaced with modified bitumen roofing. Most of the windows and doors in the house are original. Generally, basement windows are replacement awnings protected with original wrought iron grilles. The first through third floor openings hold original, oak 1/1 sash. There are also six, small, round-arched attic window openings, which have been blocked or hold louvers. Another brick chimney with six round terra cotta chimney pots rises through the mansard. In addition, a skylight and a scuttle sit on the top of the mansard roof and are not visible from the exterior.

The main block of the house (figure 2) is rectangular in plan, with the long axis parallel to West Wisconsin Avenue, and a footprint measuring 70 feet (east-west) by 50 feet. A smaller, rectangular section projects from the north (rear) façade, measuring about 30 feet (east-west) by 34 feet (north-south). This is the servants' wing.

South (Front) Facade

The Pabst House overlooks West Wisconsin Avenue to the south. The south (front) façade is symmetrical and six bays wide (photo 2). Slightly-projecting, steeply-pitched, gabled pavilions with Flemish stepped parapets at either end of the façade flank the central, flat-roofed porch. Each pavilion is two bays wide and displays raised terra cotta quoins. Two, regularly-distributed, 1/1 windows appear at the first and second stories. Deep, terra cotta lintels accent the windows at the first and second stories. The belt course above each second story window is shaped to form a broken scroll pediment, framing a finial and strapwork ornament (photo 3). The frieze above the belt course displays terra cotta corner blocks enriched with delicate intricate strapwork. A group of three, smaller, 1/1 windows surmounted by transoms can be seen in the third-story gable end. Beneath the windows, the cornice projects slightly and is enriched with a terra cotta scrolled molding with a curvilinear bottom edge. Slender, terra cotta panels enriched with small, decorated diamond-shaped blocks frame and separate the windows. A narrow dentil molding and a panel with intricate strapwork appear above each transom. The center transom is surmounted by a square, terra cotta panel featuring a human-faced grotesque surrounded by strapwork. The panel displays a frame of slender, ornamented terra cotta panels inset with medallions, flanked and surmounted by terra cotta scrolls. The stepped parapet possesses terra cotta copings, each adorned with terra cotta flourishes. The coping on the bottom step is topped with a broad volute and a scroll, while the next step up features a complex pinnacle, and the remaining steps display

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

a curvilinear scrolled molding beneath the coping and support a shell ornament surmounted by a scroll. The fractable at the top of the gable is composed of a curvilinear scrolled molding, a frieze enriched with intricate delicate strapwork, and a cornice with fascia surmounted by a broad shell ornament and an ornate pinnacle. The original fractable pinnacles were all removed by 1918. The existing ones replicate the originals and were installed in 2001-04.³

A broad flight of limestone steps rise to the terrace on the south (front) façade of the house (photo 2); these are replacements replicating the original installed in 1979.⁴ The terrace is surfaced with concrete tiles, installed when the terrace was rebuilt in 1998-99.⁵ A flight of concrete steps, installed the same year, lead up to the terrace on each of the east and west ends. The terrace features coursed, limestone ashlar walls and a perforated stone balustrade with a heavy strapwork pattern. The terrace walls were also rebuilt in 1998-99. The front porch is set two steps above the terrace and is entirely clad in highly-decorated terra cotta (photo 4). The porch is made up of four piers with panels enriched with strapwork, rosettes, rectangular medallions with leaves, bead-and-reel moldings, and capitals with volutes and leafy vines. The piers support a compound architrave, a frieze featuring scrolls enlivened with drapery and ribbons, a broad cornice enriched with lionheads, and a balustrade with piers and panels embellished with heavy strapwork. Four, arched openings appear between the porch piers, composed of compound banded arches embellished with strapwork, rosettes, oval medallions, dogtooth moldings and a scrolled keystone ornament. The arches spring from slender, terra cotta pilasters, each of which has a frieze enriched with an egg-and-dart molding, triglyphs, and a bead-and-reel molding. The spandrels are also enriched with strapwork and rosettes. The porch possesses a coffered wood ceiling inset with narrow boards, and flooring made up of tiny, mosaic tiles with a border in the Greek Key pattern. The tile flooring replicates the original and dates to 1998-99.⁶

The front porch shelters the main entrance, composed of a pair of heavy, wood doors flanked by broad, sidelights and surmounted by transoms (photo 5). The sidelights and transoms hold leaded-glass in elongated lozenge pattern. The doors are richly carved, with Ionic columns embellished with fruit and leaves, and a paneled frieze, framing an arched panel on the bottom half of the door. Ionic columns surmounted by fluted consoles and a simple entablature frame a leaded-glass, elongated lozenge-patterned window in the upper half. Above the entablature, a broken pediment and urn appear. Each door possesses ornate wrought-iron hardware, created by ironsmith Cyril Colnik. Colnik (1871-1958) was born and trained in Austria and came to the U.S. in 1893 to work at the World's Columbian Exposition. Pabst is said to have encouraged Colnik to settle in Milwaukee, where he enjoyed a long and successful career. Colnik crafted much of the original wrought iron work in the house.⁷ A paneled pilaster supporting a fluted Corinthian pilaster enriches the surround between the doors. Original, wrought iron grilles protect the sidelights and transom windows, as well as the ones in the doors.

³ Eastberg, 254.

⁴ Eastberg, 245.

⁵ Eastberg, 253.

⁶ Eastberg, 253.

⁷ Eastberg, 163-64.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Above the porch, on the main block, five simple terra cotta belt courses enliven the second story. The frieze displays terra cotta panels embellished with delicate intricate strapwork. Two, regularly-distributed, gabled wall dormers with stepped parapets can be seen at the third story (photo 3, right). Each holds a 1/1 double-hung sash window, flanked and surmounted with terra cotta panels embellished with strapwork. The terra cotta ornamentation on the dormers' stepped gables matches that on the gabled pavilions, including copings enriched with volutes where the dormer meets the cornice, and a shell ornament supporting a scroll on the upper steps. The frieze consists of an entablature with a strapwork-enriched frieze, and a cornice with a fascia, surmounted by a shell ornament, and topped with a pinnacle.

North (Rear) Façade

The north (rear) façade is composed of the servants' wing (east) and the main block (west). The servants' wing is three bays wide and terminates in a double, parapeted gable (photo 6, far right). Each gable forms a broad brick chimney above the roof top. The ornamentation is similar to but simpler than the ornamentation on the south (front) façade and includes terra cotta quoins, belt course above and beneath the first and second windows, a frieze embellished with intricate strapwork corner blocks and capped with a cornice beneath the third story windows, and a frieze and cornice above the third story windows. The chimneys are enriched with terra cotta moldings, cornice with fascia, and strapwork panels. Replacement awning windows are found in the center and east bays in the basement. Original, 1/1 sash windows are evenly spaced at the first and second stories. Three smaller, original, 1/1 windows are irregularly distributed at the third story. A transom surmounts each window. A narrow, 1/1 window lights the attic in the west gable end.

The north (rear) façade of the main block is three bays wide (photo 7, center). A replacement awning window can be seen in each bay in the basement. In the east bay, a pair of fixed windows with transoms light the keeping porch at the first story, and the ironing porch at the second story. A wrought iron grille covers the first story windows, and a terra cotta balustrade with heavy strapwork panels topped by a wrought iron balustrade protect the second story windows. At the third story, the east bay possesses a wall dormer, which matches the front façade dormers in configuration and decoration. The third story displays two, regularly-distributed, single-light sash windows beneath a transom and set in a steeply-pitched, Flemish gable that forms a broad brick chimney above the roof ridge. The ornamentation is identical to that on the north façade of the servants' wing, except that the gabled parapet is adorned with terra cotta ornament that matches the decoration on the front façade gabled parapets.

East Façade

The east façade consists of the main block (south) and the servants' wing (north). Both sections display terra cotta decoration matching that of the other façades, including quoins, compound moldings above and below the first and second story windows, cornice with fascia beneath the third story windows, and corner blocks adorned with strapwork in the frieze. Deep terra cotta lintels accent the first and second story windows. The main block is four bays wide (photo 8). A steeply-pitched, gabled projecting pavilion with a Flemish stepped parapet occupies the northern two bays of the main block. The pavilion is symmetrical, with two, regularly-distributed awning

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

replacement windows in the basement, and two, original, 1/1 sash windows at the first and second stories. A slightly-projecting brick chimney rises from center of the second story, through the terra cotta moldings and cornice, continues through the gable end and extends above the ridge of the roof (photo 9). The base of the chimney is embellished with terra cotta scrolled consoles, compound moldings, a deep frieze enriched with strapwork, and a shaped molding that forms a broken scroll pediment. The chimney top displays similar terra cotta ornament composed of compound moldings, a frieze enriched with strapwork, and a cornice with fascia. In the gable end, the chimney is flanked on either side by a single-hung window and a transom set within a slender terra cotta surround enriched with decorated blocks and supporting a strapwork panel. Beneath the cornice below the windows, a curvilinear scrolled molding appears. Terra cotta ornament on the parapet steps is identical to that on the other gabled pavilions. The north face of the pavilion exhibits a simple door at the first story and a 1/1 window at the second story. On the south face of the pavilion, a one-story bay projects at the first story while a 1/1 window can be seen at the second story (photo 8). The one-story bay houses the conservatory and exhibits the same terra cotta ornamentation as the porch and the porte cochere, including the crowning balustrade. A broad, concrete-framed, fixed window with arched upper panes dominates the east face of the conservatory bay; it replaced the original wood window sometime between 1908 and 1975.⁸ A replacement awning can be seen at basement level. A single-pane window surmounted by a round-arched transom appears on the conservatory bay's south face. On the main block south of the conservatory bay, a 1/1 window is found at each of the first and second stories. Another 1/1 window appears adjacent to the pavilion at the second story. A wide, shouldered, brick chimney rises over the edge of the roof above the conservatory bay. The chimney displays terra cotta ornament including curvilinear scrolled moldings, shell ornament, and elongated scrolls on the chimney shoulders, and moldings and cornices with classical profiles, intricate strapwork panels, elongated scrolls supporting an attached finial, and a curvilinear scrolled molding on the body of the chimney. North of the chimney, a round-arched, copper-framed dormer filled with plexiglass can be seen. It is embellished with a copper ball finial.

The east façade of the servants' wing is three bays wide (photo 6, right). Four openings are irregularly-placed at the basement, first and second stories. Four replacement awning windows can be seen in the basement. At the first story, three original, 1/1 windows with transoms remain. The third opening from the north has been boarded. At the second story, three of the openings hold 1/1 windows. The northernmost opening was converted to a door ca. 1962 to provide access to the fire escape, installed at that time.⁹ Two wall dormers with stepped Flemish gables are evenly spaced at the third story. Each exhibits the same elaborate terra cotta decoration as the wall dormers on the south (front) façade. The southern wall dormer retains its original 1/1 window with transom. A tall, casement window was installed in the northern wall dormer ca. 1962 to enable access to the fire escape. A small, copper-clad dormer can be seen adjacent to the pavilion. It holds a diminutive window in a classical surround. The ca. 1962 steel fire escape descends southward from the northern wall dormer and then north from the second story, criss-

⁸ Strang, Inc., "Pabst Mansion Facility Condition Assessment," Report Prepared for the Pabst Mansion Foundation, November 2019, 33.

⁹ Michael McQuillen, Frederick Pabst House Historic Preservation Certification Application – Part 2, February 14, 2024, 13.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

crossing much of the east façade of the servants' wing. Two, small, round-arched, copper-framed dormers with copper ball finials light the attic. A low foundation of coursed, rock-faced stone projects from the servants' wing just south of the fire escape (photo 6, left foreground). The foundation was built in 1894 and supported a pavilion and a hyphen connecting to the servants' wing; these were dismantled for analysis and restoration in 2024 (discussed in the Integrity and Preservation Activities sections below).

West Façade

Both the main block (south) and the servants' wing (north) can be seen on the west façade (photos 7 and 10). Terra cotta ornamentation identical to that of the other façades is found on both sections, including quoins, compound moldings above and below the first and second story windows, cornice with fascia beneath the third story windows, and corner blocks adorned with strapwork in the frieze. Deep terra cotta lintels accent the first and second story windows. The main block is three bays wide, and features a central, projecting pavilion with a stepped Flemish gable (photo 10). A terra cotta-clad porte cochere is set at the base of the pavilion and displays lavish, low-relief decoration that matches that of the front porch (photo 11). The west face of the porte cochere exhibits two, round-arched openings. The north and south faces both possess a round-arched entrance into an enclosed porch that features a pair of simple, paneled wood doors with glass upper halves beneath a round-arched transom. The enclosed porch provides access to the west entrance into the main block, which is similar to the south entrance. A pair of elaborate wood doors with leaded-glass upper panels are framed with broad sidelights and transoms. The sidelights and transoms all hold leaded-glass in elongated lozenge pattern. A flight of stone stairs with closed stone rails leads up to the porch doors. A broader, segmental-arched opening for carriages is found west of the entrance. The porte cochere shelters a pair of paneled wood doors with glass upper halves, flanked by sidelights and transoms, which provide access to the enclosed porch from the carriage drive. The porte cochere ceiling is coffered and finished with narrow, wood boards. Above the porte cochere, a group of four windows are visible at the second story in the gabled pavilion (photo 12). Each is an original, 1/1, leaded-glass window in elongated lozenge pattern. Slender, terra cotta panels enriched with small, diamond-shaped blocks frame and separate the windows. A square panel with a lion's head surrounded by heavy strapwork, surmounted by a narrow panel with delicate strapwork, accents each window. A pair of 1/1, leaded-glass windows in elongated lozenge pattern is centered above the grouped windows. They are framed and separated by slender, terra cotta pilasters embellished with medallions and capped with composite capitals. An entablature with a broad frieze enriched with strapwork appears above, supporting a broken scroll pediment with an attached finial. Elongated scrollwork flanks the pair of windows. An oval oculus with a banded surround and four, prominent keystone-like flourishes is found near the top of the gable end. It holds a replacement casement. The stepped gables and the fractable exhibit terra cotta ornamentation identical to that on the front façade stepped gables.

North of the gabled pavilion on the west façade of the main block, a pair of original, 1/1 windows appears at each of the first and second stories (photo 7). The first story windows are leaded-glass panes with a rondel pattern, reflecting Captain Pabst's study with its Germanic

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

interior decor. These windows were restored in 2016.¹⁰ A replacement awning window lights the basement, while a round-arched, cooper-framed dormer with a copper ball finial can be seen on the roof. South of the gabled pavilion, the west façade exhibits two, 1/1 windows at the first and second stories, and two, replacement awning windows in the basement. A broad, shouldered chimney rises above the edge of the roof between the windows. The chimney displays terra cotta ornament identical to that of the east façade chimney. North of the chimney, a small, round-arched, copper-framed dormer with a copper ball finial can be seen.

The west façade of the servants' wing is two bays wide and exhibits an irregular fenestration pattern (photo 7). Two, replacement awning windows are set toward the south end of the façade. Two, original, 1/1 windows with single-pane transoms appear above them at the first story. A metal replacement door is found at the north end of the façade, beneath a copper, hip-roofed overdoor. Three, original, 1/1 windows light the second story. Two wall dormers with Flemish stepped gables can be seen at the third story. Each wall dormer holds a small, 1/1 window surmounted by a transom. The wall dormers are elaborately embellished with terra cotta ornament that matches that of the front façade wall dormers. A small, round-arched, copper-framed dormer with a copper ball finials perches on the roof between the wall dormers

Interior

Main Block: Plan

On the interior, the plan of the main block on the first through third floors consists of a central foyer with four principal rooms, one in each of the northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest corners. The stair hall is situated west of the foyer, between the northwest and southwest rooms. Generally, the first floor in the main block displays the most lavish interior decoration, the second-floor spaces are slightly less ornate, and the third floor exhibits the simplest décor. The foyer, stair hall and most of the principal rooms on each floor are finished with narrow board flooring with a parquet border in a variety of patterns.

Main Block: First Floor

The first-floor plan (figure 3) consists of the central foyer with Captain Pabst's study (northwest), the dining room and conservatory (northeast), the music room (southeast), and the parlor (southwest) arranged around it. The stair hall occupies the west-central part of the plan. The south vestibule is set south of the foyer, and the west vestibule is found west of the stair hall.

The south (principal) and west (side) entrances each open into a narrow vestibule. The south vestibule is finished with oak woodwork, including wainscot embellished with arched panels and surmounted by wallpaper, a crown molding, and an oak coffered ceiling inset with plastered panels. The mosaic tile flooring with Greek Key border matches the floor finish on the front porch. The west vestibule displays paneled and pilastered oak paneling the full height of the wall, and a crown molding. The ceiling is finished with plaster and the floor is surfaced with hexagonal tiles in a floral pattern. A small bathroom is tucked into the south end of the west

¹⁰ *Pabst Mansion Heritage Newsletter*, April 2016, 6.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

vestibule. The south vestibule leads into the foyer, while the west vestibule accesses the stair hall.

The first-floor foyer (photo 13) served as a reception hall. The foyer displays German Renaissance Revival design featuring heavy, oak decoration with classical forms and flourishes. The space is finished with tall, paneled wainscot surmounted by Lincrusta, a wall covering created by Frederick Walton in England in 1877. Lincrusta is an embossed paper made from linseed oil, resins and fiber, attached to a cloth backing. It was typically installed and then painted.¹¹ In 1960-62, the Archdiocese remodeled the house. As part of the remodeling, much of the woodwork and wall coverings in the foyers on all three floors was painted over. In 1998-99, the paint was stripped off, the woodwork was refinished, and the wall coverings were cleaned and hand-painted in their original colors.¹² The narrow board flooring is accented with a striped, parquet border. The coffered ceiling is composed of a central, rectangular panel with a foliated medallion from which hangs a wrought iron chandelier bristling with elk horns, a reproduction of the original. The panel is surrounded by hexagons and squares, and the ceiling is finished with plaster. The foyer also exhibits a compound crown molding. An ornate, segmental-arched, oak surround marks both sides of the entrance into the south vestibule as well as the foyer side of the entrance to three of the principal rooms on the first floor: the dining room (northeast), the music room (southeast), and the parlor (southwest). The surrounds are identical, and feature a heavy entablature with an architrave embellished with a dentil molding, a paneled frieze bracketed with volutes, and a cornice with fascia. A similar but narrower surround marks the entrance to the servants' wing (northeast). It holds a paneled, oak door with an ornate leaded-glass upper. A fire place is centered on the east wall. The firebox, hearth and face are of brick. The oak mantelpiece exhibits fluted Doric pilasters and a simple entablature. The frieze is enriched with scrollwork and cartouches with a medieval German flavor. The rectangular chimney breast is finished with Lincrusta. A deep cornice with a prominent leaf ornament caps the chimney breast. A cased opening separates the foyer from the stair hall (west) and another delineates the boundary between the foyer and the musician's nook (north). The cased openings are identical and exhibit fluted Doric pilasters on paneled pedestals, a simple entablature, and monumental, paired scrolled brackets on foliated consoles. The stair hall features a double, cased opening, one into the stair hall and the other overlooking the staircase. A wood bench is built into the lower half of the staircase opening. The musician's nook is tiny, raised a step above the first floor, and finished with tall, paneled wainscot and Lincrusta wall covering. The plastered ceiling is embellished with coffering. A balustrade with turned balusters and a paneled pier partially encloses the nook.

The stair hall (photo 14) houses an oak, dogleg staircase that rises from the first to the third floors. In the 1960-62 remodeling, much of the woodwork and the wall coverings in the stair hall was painted over on all three floors. In 1998-99, the paint was stripped off, the woodwork was refinished, and the wall coverings were cleaned and hand-painted in accordance with their

¹¹ Jan Jennings and Herbert Gottfried, *American Vernacular Interior Architecture, 1870-1940*, (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1993), 90.

¹² Eastberg, 252.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

original color scheme.¹³ The stair hall exhibits paneled wainscot, a closed stringer with a paneled string board, a perforated balustrade with strapwork, and a simple handrail on all three floors. Each of the square, paneled newel posts is topped with an ornate urn surmounted by a hops bud, a symbol of the brewing industry and of the Pabst Brewery. The wall above the wainscot is covered with Tynecastle tapestry, an embossed linen canvas hardened with paste that was developed in England in 1882 by W. Scott Morton.¹⁴ The Tynecastle tapestry in the stair hall displays a complex pattern of flowers, urns and foliage. The ceiling is coffered and finished with plaster at each floor. At the first floor, the staircase begins with a quarter-turn and landing. An alcove with a round-arched opening enriched with fluted, composite pilasters, compound moldings, a prominent scrolled keystone, and a deep, classical cornice is tucked beneath the staircase. The alcove originally housed a telephone and is finished with Tynecastle tapestry. The first-floor stair hall features a round-arched entrance into the narrow, side vestibule. The doorway into Captain Pabst's study is found in the west wall of the stair hall. It possesses an elaborate surround with fluted pilasters, a round arch with compound moldings above the door, and is embellished with strapwork, drapery, and a cartouche. At the landing between the first and second floors a trumpet tower overlooks the stair hall. It is a curving, wood balcony with a perforated balustrade with strapwork, resting on monumental foliated brackets. The surrounds of the windows on the landing between the first and second floor are enriched with fluted pilasters and a compound entablature. Paneled wainscot appears beneath the windows, a continuation of the wainscot on the staircase that is carried across the landing between the second and third floors as well. At that landing, the windows are set within a large, deep, round-arch, the inner face of which is coffered. The window surrounds consist of fluted pilasters supporting a simple classical entablature, surmounted by a segmental-arched pediment, richly carved with foliage. An elaborate, leaded-glass skylight is set on a paneled wood base above the staircase. It displays four shields, surrounded by garlands of ribbons and leaves, and two panels enriched with scrolls and volutes.

Captain Pabst's study (photo 15) displays a German Renaissance Revival interior that evokes the business office of a successful German merchant of the sixteenth century, which was the time of the Hanseatic League. A local newspaper described the Pabst house in 1900 as, "Of German renaissance style of architecture of the Hanseatic period..."¹⁵ This description likely came from Frederick Pabst himself. The Hanseatic League was a group of market towns and merchant guilds that banded together for trade and defense from the late thirteenth century to the late sixteenth century. The League does not have an official founding date, but rather formed when two networks of loosely affiliated trading guilds (*hansas*, in German) in cities along the eastern shores of the southern shore of the North Sea (the Rhineland network, extending from Cologne, Germany west to Flanders) and the southern shore of the Baltic Sea (the Wendish network, extending east and north from Hamburg and Lubeck, Germany) combined over the course of the thirteenth century. The Hanseatic League subsequently expanded along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea as far north as Talinn, in what is now known as Estonia. The League was known for

¹³ Eastberg, 252.

¹⁴ Catherine Lynn, *Wallpaper in America*, (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1980), 441-42.

¹⁵ "Prominent Milwaukeeans and Their Handsome Residences," *The Evening Wisconsin*, (Milwaukee) October 19, 1901, no page number.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

its mercantile architectural aesthetic, dominated by the tall, narrow, front-gable form with stepped or curvilinear parapet, a form that had been built in the Netherlands and northern Germany since the medieval era, as well as a dark wood interior. Renaissance classical ornamentation characterized both the exterior and the interior.¹⁶ Captain Pabst's study present an excellent example of Hanseatic German Renaissance interior style.

The study is finished in dark oak woodwork with walnut inlay. The most elaborate feature is the built-in humidor cabinet, centered on the east wall (photo 15, center). The lavishly-decorated door displays ornate metal hardware, a series of panels enlivened with intricate strapwork and raised rosettes, and a surround composed of fluted Corinthian pilaster on paneled pedestals, a deep frieze with alternating triglyphs and bucrania, a simple cornice and a broken scroll pediment. The pediment frames a large clock set in a wood frame with a deep entablature and a finial with a closed pediment. The study's doorway exhibits a surround that is nearly identical. The humidor cabinet and the door surround are integrated into the wainscoting, which extends from the northwest to the southwest corners of the room and incorporates smaller versions of the humidor cabinet door, some of which are also cabinet doors. Each is accented with a raised shell ornament and rests on a paneled base. The wainscot cap features cartouches, strapwork simulating wrought iron hinges, and foliated ornaments. Anaglypta, an embossed paper-based material invented in England in 1887,¹⁷ covers the wall above the wainscot. The wall terminates in a deep, wood cornice, embellished with scrolled brackets, simple moldings, and guttae. A brick fireplace is centered on the north wall. The wood mantelpiece displays slender fluted Corinthian pilasters and a simple entablature. Built-in wood cabinets are tucked into the northwest and southwest corners of the study. The coffered ceiling features a round center section, from which hangs the original, wrought iron, branched chandelier. The coffering forms rectangular and polygonal shapes around the central section, each decorated with polychrome panels grained by Louis Mayer, a distinguished Milwaukee artist who trained in Munich. Several of the panels are embellished with German proverbs in Fraktur letters. These are: *LERNE Herz Macht Schmerz* (LEARN A feeling heart suffers pain); *STREBE Ein Herz Soll Daran Haben Freud Sein Brot Zu Essen Mit Dankbarkeit* (STRIVE Bread eaten with thankfulness inspires a joyful heart); *EHRE Nichts Edleres Hab Ich Auf Erden Funden Ais Treu Von Herzen Und Still Von Wurden* (HONOR Never have I found anything on Earth more priceless than a quiet and true heart); and *WARTE Sagniemals Leis, Niemals Laut, Was Dir En Ferund Anvertraut* (WAIT Say never soft, say never loud, what a friend confides in you).

The dining room (photo 16) draws inspiration from the Louis XV variant of French Rococo interior design. It features maple and birch woodwork, including low wainscot with curvilinear panels embellished with a curving rose-and-wing flourish, compound moldings on the door and window surrounds, and curvilinear built-in corner cabinets (northwest and southwest) with raised roses and leaves and an upper cabinet with a round-arched pediment capped with leaves and a

¹⁶ Arthur Boyd Hibbert, "Hanseatic League," *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hanseatic-League/The-League-at-its-outset>, (retrieved August 4, 2024); and Henry Ashby Turner, "Architecture of Germany," <https://www.britannica.com/place/Germany/Architecture>, (retrieved August 4, 2024).

¹⁷ Natalie Shivers, *Respectful Rehabilitation: Walls & Molding, How to Care for Old and Historic Wood and Plaster*, (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1990), 54.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

shell ornament. A wood panel above each doorway holds an original landscape painting in an ornate curvilinear frame. Tynecastle tapestry painted with roses, carnations and peonies covers the walls. A fireplace with a dark green Italian marble face and hearth is centered on the east wall. It possesses a curvilinear, paneled wood mantelpiece with elongated scrolled corner brackets and a large, raised ornament enriched with leaves. The mantel supports a three-piece mirror set in wood frames with curvilinear tops embellished with vines, shells, and scalloped motifs. The ceiling is enriched with a cove, which is enriched with raised roses, rosettes, and shells, highlighted in gold leaf. In 1960-62, the woodwork, walls, overdoor landscape paintings and ceiling were painted white.¹⁸ In 1984-85, the dining room was restored to its original appearance. The paint was removed from the woodwork and wall coverings, and the latter were hand-painted in their original colors. In 1985, Conrad Schmidt Studios of Milwaukee reproduced the appearance of the original ceiling, which is lavishly adorned with a raised design painted in gold that incorporates slender, sinuous leaves, vines, roses, and netting. The paint was also peeled off the overdoor landscapes, revealing the nineteenth century paintings intact beneath.¹⁹ The gilded chandelier is original and displays an intricate ceiling canopy, and enameled candles with frosted lamps around a domed shade. The door in the southeast corner of the dining room leads into the conservatory. The conservatory is a small room that housed plants. It features a large, east-facing, four-pane window with a curving top set in a concrete frame. This window was installed sometime between 1908 and 1975, during the ownership of the Archdiocese.²⁰ The original was wood. The walls and floor of the conservatory are finished with tile, and the ceiling is surfaced with plaster.

The music room (photo 17) displays the influence of the Italian Renaissance Revival style, notably in the twisted composite columns that adorn much of the woodwork. The music room displays paneled wainscot, Lincrusta wall covering, and a heavy entablature at the top of the wall. In 1960-62, the original Tynecastle tapestry wall covering was removed. In 1986-88, Lincrusta replicating the appearance of the original Tynecastle tapestry was installed and hand-painted in the original color scheme.²¹ The two, broad door surrounds exhibit a shouldered architrave, twisted composite columns, a heavy entablature with compound architrave, a paneled frieze, and a bracketed compound cornice. There is a window alcove on the south wall, which features a curvilinear surround on twisted composite columns embellished with paneled spandrels and a dentil molding, tucked beneath the wall entablature. The fireplace exhibits a dark green Italian marble hearth and face, and the wood mantelpiece is embellished with paired twisted composite columns on a plain base, and an entablature with a simple architrave, a frieze with curvilinear panels, diglyphs and guttae as well as a long horizontal panel with raised vines and leaves. The cornice is bracketed. Above the mantel, a mirror is set in a wood frame with twisted composite columns, an entablature with a plain architrave, a frieze with horizontal panels enlivened with raised leaves and flowers, and a bracketed cornice. A built-in wood cabinet appears on the north wall on either side of the doorway into the dining room. Each exhibits twisted composite columns, corner blocks with a raised floral pattern, and a simple entablature.

¹⁸ Eastberg, 226.

¹⁹ Eastberg, 249-50.

²⁰ Strang, Inc., 33.

²¹ Eastberg, 249-50.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

All the woodwork in the music room is mahogany. Some has been enameled to appear ebony. The flooring is all parquet, composed of a checkerboard with a chevron border. The ceiling is finished with Anaglypta. A gold-toned chandelier with frosted dome shade nests in curved arms that hold frosted tulip shades. The chandelier is a replacement similar to the original and hangs from an ornate, rectangular wood medallion embellished with curving leaves and vines in the center of the ceiling.

The parlor (photo 18) is a fine example of late nineteenth century interpretation of French Rococo interior design, featuring curvilinear shapes and woodwork painted glossy white and adorned with abundant raised, curved ornament highlighted in gold leaf. The parlor exhibits low wainscot with curvilinear, horizontal, raised panels and a simple, classical cornice. Above, reproduction silk wall coverings are framed with tall, plaster panels, or *boiseries*, replicating the original wood panels. These elements were installed as part of the restoration of the parlor, carried out in 1991-1993.²² The original silk wall coverings and wood panels were removed in the 1960-62 remodeling, and the walls and ceiling were painted. The *boiseries* are embellished with inner moldings with raised flowers, garlands, scrollwork and shell motifs, and a slender outer molding. Tall, composite columns enlivened with raised cartouches, leaves and floral motifs and resting on simple, classical pedestals separate the *boiseries* on the north wall. The doorway displays a simple classical surround with compound moldings. The wall panel above forms a curvilinear frame for a painting. The south wall features a cased window alcove with monumental scrolled brackets adorned with shell and floral motifs, a paneled frieze with raised discs and a bead-and-reel molding. Within the alcove, a tall, built-in mirror framed with an ornate panel is set between two windows. The panel exhibits decoration nearly identical to that of the *boiseries* that frame the silk wall coverings. A fireplace with a white onyx face and hearth is centered on the west wall. The wood mantelpiece features a curvilinear opening enriched with raised leaves and netting ornament, and rests on scrolled brackets enriched with leaves. The paneled overmantel holds a mirror with a curvilinear top and is enlivened with raised leaves, garlands, and scrollwork. The ceiling displays a wood cove, which rests on an egg-and-dart molding and is enriched with raised leaves and shell ornament. An elaborate plaster medallion embellished with raised garlands, leaf and shell decoration is centered in the plaster ceiling. All of the ceiling and cove ornamentation was painted over in 1960-62, and hand painted in the original colors in 1991-93.²³ A replacement gold-toned chandelier with curved arms holding frosted shades and ceramic candles hangs from the medallion. The flooring is parquet in a pattern of offset rectangles and squares and possesses a wide border of interlaced chains.

Main Block: Second Floor

The second-floor plan (figure 4) is composed of the central foyer with the Regency bedroom (northwest), the master suite (east, consisting of the master bedroom to the north and the sitting room to the south), and Elsbeth's bedroom (southwest) arranged around it. A bathroom and closet are found north of the master bedroom, between the sitting room and Elsbeth's bedroom, and east of the Regency bedroom. All the second-floor spaces in the main block display narrow board flooring with a parquet border.

²² Eastberg, 250.

²³ Eastberg, 226, 250 and 252.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

The foyer exhibits the same finishes as the stairhall. Paneled oak wainscot with Neo-Classical decoration is surmounted with Tynecastle tapestry and an oak entablature, and the plastered ceiling is embellished with oak coffering. In the 1960-62 remodeling, much of the woodwork and the wall coverings in the foyers on all three floors were painted over. In 1998-99, the paint was stripped off, the woodwork was refinished, and the wall coverings were cleaned and hand-painted in their original colors.²⁴ A cased opening separates the foyer from the stairhall. The cased opening displays fluted and paneled Doric pilasters on paneled pedestals and a plain, classical entablature. A brick fireplace with a glazed brick face and glazed tile hearth dominates the east wall. The fireplace displays a wood mantelpiece with a compound surround, a broad, paneled frieze and a narrow shelf set on paired, scrolled, foliated brackets. The wood overmantel is also paneled and is capped with a deep entablature tucked under the ceiling. The entablature is composed of a compound architrave with a pellet molding, a simple frieze with a dentil molding, and a compound cornice. A pair of tall, slender, fluted composite columns flank the fireplace and support the entablature. The doorways feature identical oak surrounds with plain pilasters supporting a segmental arch over the door. The arch exhibits compound moldings and a monumental, scrolled keystone and holds a segmental-arch wood panel lavishly carved with scrollwork, strapwork and a cartouche. On either side of each doorway, tall, fluted pilasters support the wall entablature. On the south wall of the foyer, three pairs of paneled wood doors open out of the bathroom attached to Elsbeth's room. These surrounds display the same treatments that appear on the other surrounds, except that leaded glass is found in the segmental arch and spandrel panels above each pair of doors, and is also set in the upper panels of the center pair of doors. The door into the servants' wing, in the northeast corner of the foyer, also displays a leaded-glass upper panel.

The Regency bedroom, also known as Emma's room after the Pabst's youngest daughter, exhibits Regency/Empire influence with its dark wood and Greek classical details. The wall treatment consists of paneled wood wainscot surmounted by silk wall coverings in slender wood *boiserie* beneath a wood entablature composed of a simple architrave, frieze with Lincrusta, and compound cornice at the ceiling. The silk wall coverings are replacements (the originals were removed in 1960-62) and the Lincrusta cove and ceiling coverings were hand-painted in their original colors in 2005-06, restoring the Regency bedroom to its original appearance.²⁵ The north features a fireplace with a dark green, Italian marble face and hearth. The wood mantelpiece exhibits paired, fluted Ionic columns on plain pedestals supporting a deep entablature with large corner blocks embellished with a raised, gold-toned anthemion ornament. The architrave is enriched with a fluted molding and an egg-and-dart molding, while the frieze displays raised, gold-toned swags, flowers, and ribbons flanking a lyre ornament. The overmantel is a paneled wood frame inset with Lincrusta. On the west wall, a pair of windows exhibit a wood surround of paneled pilasters and a deep entablature with a dentil molding and a compound cornice. The doorways display wood surrounds with paneled pilasters and composite capitals. Above the doors a horizontal wood panel with raised, gold-toned swags, flowers and ribbons surround a lyre ornament. All the woodwork is mahogany. The attached bathroom retains its original marble

²⁴ Eastberg, 252.

²⁵ Morgan Sweet, Director of Advancement, Pabst Mansion Inc., email to Elizabeth L. Miller, June 25, 2024.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

sink with ball-and-claw feet, wood-rimmed enameled bathtub, and pull-chain toilet. The floors are finished with hexagonal tiles, and the walls display tile wainscot and plaster with stenciling of swags and garlands near the ceiling. Plaster covers the ceiling. The replacement chandelier is gold-toned and possesses curved arms holding enameled candles with frosted lamps and a frosted bowl shade.

The master bedroom was largely restored to its original, Neo-Classical appearance in 2011-13.²⁶ The room displays tall baseboards, chair rail with a classical profile, and a coved ceiling with simple, slender architrave and cornice framing a broad frieze inset with Lincrusta ornamented with garlands and ribbons. Cleaning and repainting the Lincrusta on the cove (and on the ceiling) was the principal restoration effort. Originally, the walls had Lincrusta coverings with similar decoration; it was removed in the 1960-62 remodeling and was not restored. The windows exhibit plain, paneled surrounds. Wood cupboards with paneled doors are found beneath each window. A fireplace with a pink marble face and hearth is set in the center of the east wall. The wood mantelpiece is very similar to the one in the foyer. It exhibits a shouldered, compound surround with a bead-and-reel molding, and a deep entablature with scrolled, foliated brackets flanking frieze panels carved with raised garlands. The wood overmantel features a large mirror in a shouldered architrave. Pairs of tall, slender, fluted Ionic columns flank the fireplace and support the entablature. The entablature consists of a compound architrave, a simple frieze, a dentil molding, and a compound, curvilinear cornice. The doorways are accented with wood surrounds embellished with fluted Ionic pilasters and a deep entablature with compound architrave, plain frieze, and a compound cornice with a dentil molding. All the woodwork is cherry. The ceiling is finished with Lincrusta enriched with raised, gold-toned decoration, including a large, ornate medallion. A replacement chandelier with curved, gold-toned arms holding ceramic candles with frosted lamps and frosted bell shades hangs from the ceiling. The master bathroom sits north of the master bedroom and was also restored in 2011-13.²⁷ It exhibits hexagonal floor tile, original marble double sink with claw-and-ball feet, and tile wainscot highlighting patterned tiles with garlands and ribbons. Plaster appears on the wall above and on the ceiling. Stenciled borders with garlands and flowers can be seen on the wall above the wainscot and just beneath the wood cornice.

The master sitting room was also restored, with the exception of the wall paper (removed in 1960-62), in 2011-13.²⁸ The décor is very similar to that of the master bedroom, featuring cherry woodwork that includes paneled wainscot, simple classical door and window surrounds, and a coved ceiling with a Lincrusta frieze bordered with plain, classical architrave and cornice. The Lincrusta frieze is painted with a Greek Key pattern, gold-toned cartouches, ribbons, and foliage. The walls originally had Lincrusta covering with a similar pattern. The fireplace is centered on the east wall. It possesses a pink marble face and hearth and a plain wood surround with compound moldings. Paired, paneled, battered pilasters with Ionic capitals on plain pedestals flank the surround and support an entablature with compound architrave, broad frieze enriched with shouldered panels, and a compound cornice. The wood overmantel displays a wood panel

²⁶ Sweet to Miller.

²⁷ Sweet to Miller.

²⁸ Sweet to Miller.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

with raised, shouldered surround, flanked by paired Ionic columns holding a deep entablature with compound architrave, frieze, and cornice. A cased window alcove can be seen on the south wall of the sitting room. The casing exhibits paneled pilasters and a plain entablature. The alcove features a raised, curvilinear platform with a balustrade with turned balusters. The platform replicates the original and dates to 2014.²⁹ The ceiling is covered with Lincrusta and possesses raised flowers, garlands, and ribbons, as well as feathers. A large raised medallion in the center of the ceiling is painted with the same decorative flourishes as the frieze. A gold-toned replacement chandelier with curved arms, enameled candles with frosted lamps, and frosted, scallop-edged shades hangs beneath the medallion.

Elsbeth's bedroom displays Louis XV French Rococo interior design, similar to the dining room, featuring curvilinear shapes and woodwork painted glossy white and decorated with raised, curved ornamentation. Originally, the ornamentation was painted and enriched with gold leaf, but all the woodwork was painted white during the 1960-1962 remodeling.³⁰ Elsbeth's bedroom exhibits paneled wood wainscot surmounted by plastered walls divided with paneled pilasters. The pilasters are embellished with raised garlands, scrollwork and shells. The pilasters framed fabric painted with garlands and butterflies originally. The ceiling is enriched with a cove, which is identical to the one in the dining room, and is embellished with raised roses, rosettes, and shells. The ceiling was originally ornamented as well, but is presently plastered. The windows possess plain, compound surrounds. On the west wall there is a fireplace with reddish glazed tile hearth and face. The wood mantelpiece is the same shape as the one in the dining room, with elongated scrolled brackets and a paneled curvilinear mantel surmounted by a simple entablature. The entablature was originally embellished with raised garlands and ribbons. The south wall features a cased window alcove with ornate carved scrolled brackets resting on pilasters enlivened with raised leaf and shell ornamentation and composite capitals. The windows and doors possess simple, compound surrounds. The doors feature panels with curvilinear corners and raised leaf, garland and shell ornament. The attached bathroom retains its original hexagonal floor tiles, tile wainscot with tile border enriched with leaves, flowers and ribbons, and marble sink with hooved feet. The walls and ceiling are finished with plaster. A border of stenciled floral wreaths with ribbons can be seen near the ceiling. In 2016, the tile in the bathroom attached to Elsbeth's bedroom was restored; the stenciling was replicated in 2020.³¹

Main Block: Third Floor

The third-floor plan (figure 5) consists of the central foyer with the northwest bedroom, the northeast bedroom, the library (southwest), and Gustave and Fredrick Pabst Jr.'s bedroom (southeast) around it. There is an attached bathroom east of the northwest bedroom, north of the northeast bedroom, and between the library and Gustave and Frederick Jr.'s bedroom. The spaces on the third floor have much simpler finishes and features than the first two floors. The floors are finished with narrow boards, and the walls and ceilings are plastered. The foyer's walls retain the original Tynecastle tapestry and the ceiling is coffered, matching the treatments in the

²⁹ *Pabst Mansion Heritage Newsletter*, August 2014, 6.

³⁰ Eastberg, 226.

³¹ *Pabst Mansion Heritage Newsletter*, April 2016, 1; and Jocelyn Slocum, Archivist, Pabst Mansion Inc., email to Elizabeth L. Miller, August 22, 2024.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

stair hall. In the 1960-62 remodeling, much of the woodwork and wall coverings in the foyers on all three floors was painted over. In 1998-99, the paint was stripped off, the woodwork was refinished, and the wall coverings were cleaned and hand-painted in their original colors.³² Except for the foyer, all the rooms display tall baseboards, and plain chair rails. The doors and windows throughout the third floor of the main block exhibit wood surrounds with fluted pilasters, plain frieze with raised corner blocks, dentil molding and compound cornice. The doors are paneled wood and several of them display leaded-glass upper panels. The northeast and northwest bedrooms each feature a fireplace with the same reddish glazed tile face and hearth as the fireplace in Elsbeth's bedroom. The wood mantelpiece exhibits a simple surround with a paneled frieze enriched with raised garlands, wreaths and ribbons. Above, a bead-and-reel molding, a dentil molding, and a plain cornice can be seen. The library and Gustave and Frederick Jr.'s bedroom each possess a fireplace with blue glazed tile. The wood mantelpiece is simple and exhibits slender composite columns that extend above the overmantel and hold a plain compound cornice. A small mirror is set in the overmantel. The fireplace in the library is flanked by built-in wood bookcases with glass doors and set within a shallow, cased alcove. The alcove is embellished with a wood surround enlivened with a simple entablature with plain architrave and frieze, dentil molding, and compound cornice. The bathroom between the library and Gustave and Frederick Jr.'s bathroom has retained its original tile flooring, tile wainscot with patterned tile border, and marble sink with twisted leg and ball-and-claw foot.

Servants' Wing: Plan

The plan of the servants' wing on the first through third floors is composed of the servants' stair hall in the southwest corner of the servants' wing, and servants' work spaces and quarters north of the stair hall. The staircase wraps around the 1904 elevator that rises from the first to the third floor. The elevator is enclosed behind French doors with wire glass and is no longer in use. A larger elevator was installed toward the north end of the servants' wing, near the middle of the plan, in 1980.³³ It rises from the basement to the third floor. Finishes in the servants' wing are generally board floors, plaster walls and ceilings, and tall baseboards. Paneled doors and simple door and window surrounds are found throughout the servants' wing, except as noted in the descriptions below.

Servants' Wing: First Floor

The servants' stair hall (figure 3) is flanked by the keeping porch (west) and the butler's pantry (east). The servants' dining room sits north of the stair hall. A hall runs east from the servants' dining hall to a paneled wood servants' door. Built-in wood cupboards for deliveries such as ice and milk are found on the south wall of this hall. A concrete, dogleg staircase with metal rails descends to the basement in the northeast corner of the plan. It is not original and its construction date has not been determined but it may date to the 1960-1962 remodeling.

The Servants' Staircase and Stair Hall features a wood staircase in quarter-turn-with-landing configuration with a round wood handrail. The staircase and the stair hall exhibit wood wainscot. The plastered wall above the wainscot is stenciled with rosettes surmounted by a wave pattern.

³² Eastberg, 226 and 252.

³³ Eastberg, 246.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

The keeping porch, west of the stair hall, is a small, cutaway porch with brick walls, a narrow board ceiling, and tile flooring in a herringbone pattern. It was primarily used for food preparation and storage.

The Butler's Pantry exhibits built-in wood cupboards lining the walls. The upper cabinets display glass doors. A sink with a marble backsplash is built into the countertop along the east wall next to the window. A tall cabinet in the southwest corner of the room houses a silver safe with velvet-lined drawers, and there is a tin-lined pastry safe on the west wall. The original wood icebox is tucked into the northwest corner of the room. It retains its original interior and the upper compartment for storing ice. The plastered wall is enriched with a stenciled border featuring flowers and curving ferns. The ceiling is also finished with plaster.

The Servants' Dining Room (photo 19) is the most decorated space in the servants' wing, and the only space in the house that shows Dutch influence. Tall wainscot of delft tile with a tile baseboard, a wood chair rail and a wood wainscot cap encircles the room. The tiles show scenes from the Flemish countryside. The wall above the wainscot as well as the ceiling are plastered. A narrow crown molding and a deep stenciled border with tulip motifs enrich the top of the wall. A large, built-in wood sideboard occupies the north wall. It features lower cupboards with paneled doors, upper cabinet with glass doors, and a heavy, curvilinear pediment embellished with a simple frieze and compound cornice surmounted by carved strapwork and leaf decoration and a prominent, keystone-like ornament. A long, marble sink with elaborate metal legs and an enameled panel adorned with flowers and leaves and a marble countertop and backsplash can be seen on the south wall. The windows hold leaded-glass sash in elongated lozenge pattern and are surmounted by leaded-glass transoms with German phrases. The southerly one reads, *Guter Mut Ist Halbe Arbeit* (A good attitude is half the work). The northerly one reads, *Kauf Augen Auf* (Buy with your eyes open). The latter was originally near the servants' entrance where tradespeople made deliveries. The doors display leaded-glass upper panels in elongated lozenge pattern. Carved wood strapwork, scrollwork and oversize, keystone-like ornament accent the door surrounds. All the woodwork is birch. Sometime between 1908 and 1960, the woodwork, walls and ceiling in the servants' dining room were painted over. In 1996, the layers of paint were removed. The woodwork was refinished, the tile wainscot was cleaned, and the original tulip-motif stencil was recreated.³⁴ The kitchen was a narrow room north of the dining room. It housed a large stove and ventilating hood. These were removed when the elevator was installed in 1980.³⁵

Servants' Wing: Second and Third Floor

On the second floor (figure 4), there is a small, cutaway porch west of the stair hall. Known as the ironing porch, it is finished with brick walls, a narrow board ceiling, and tile flooring in a herringbone pattern. As the name indicates, it was primarily used for ironing laundry. North of the stair hall was the servants' quarters, divided into a long bedroom that slept six (west), a sitting room (northeast), and a bathroom (southeast). The 1980 elevator extends into the former

³⁴ Eastberg, 252.

³⁵ Eastberg, 246.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

sitting room, which now serves as an office for the Pabst Mansion's director. Staff meetings are held in the former bedroom.

The third floor (figure 5) north of the stair hall is partitioned into two spaces and a small bathroom with a toilet and a sink, added sometime between 1953 and 1959.³⁶ The north end of the plan was open and is believed to have served as a sewing room initially.³⁷ During the 1960-1962 remodeling, the former sewing room was partitioned to provide more privacy to the nuns who worked in the house and lived on the third floor.³⁸ The 1980 elevator occupies the center of the former sewing room.

Basement

Masonry walls partition the basement plan into a series of work spaces, storage areas and utility rooms. The laundry area occupied the north end of the basement, beneath the servants' wing. It consisted of a central laundry with drying rooms around it.³⁹ Presently, the 1980 elevator, the 1960-1962 concrete staircase, and electrical equipment are located in the space. Two large mechanical rooms are set south of the servants' stair hall. A three-room wine cellar can be found west of the mechanical, extending beneath the west entrance porch. A beer cellar is tucked under the south (front) porch and a root cellar sits in the southwest corner of the basement. Finishes include glazed tile blocks, exposed brick, and plaster on the walls, and exposed ceilings. The floors are surfaced with original, large, hexagonal tiles. The doors and surrounds are made of oak and paneled with glass in the upper half.

Attic

The plan of the attic consists of a central open space and four rooms around it. A wood ladder rises to the scuttle east of the central space. The 1980 elevator and its equipment utilize much of the north room. Finishes include plaster walls and ceilings, and narrow board floors. The doors are plain, paneled wood with simple surrounds.

Landscape

The Pabst House did not have a comprehensive landscape plan, but rather, the Pabsts subscribed to the idea that the house itself should be the focus and passers-by should have an unobstructed view of it. A lawn swept uphill to the house from the street. The house was showcased with flower beds on either side of the stone terrace, which wrapped around the east side of the house, providing displays of color that varied through the seasons and presenting a few exotic plants, such as a palm tree, which spent winters in the greenhouse.⁴⁰

In 1898, Pabst commissioned the noted landscape architect Warren H. Manning (1860-1938), based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to prepare a landscape plan for the house. Manning had

³⁶ Eastberg, 224.

³⁷ Eastberg, 246.

³⁸ Eastberg, 228.

³⁹ Eastberg, 74.

⁴⁰ Eastberg, 85.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

worked for Frederick Law Olmsted and had completed the planting plan for the World's Columbian Exposition, among many other projects, while in Olmsted's employ. Manning's plans called for developing the entire grounds of the Pabst House as an Italian garden, featuring a fountain and a pergola. However, the plan did not come to fruition.⁴¹

Integrity

The Pabst House retains a high degree of integrity in location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Although the neighborhood around the property has changed from residential to institutional, the property is slightly more than one acre with ample setbacks from the street and adjacent properties, providing a setting on site that is very similar to the original. Alterations to the exterior of the house since the period of significance, 1890-92, are primarily confined to the installation of a steel fire escape and the conversion of one window into a door to provide access to the fire escape; and the repair or replication of damaged components. The fire escape and window conversion took place sometime ca. 1962. The impact of these changes is minimized because they are on the east (side) façade of the servants' wing and cannot be seen from the front of the building. Further, the fire escape is proposed for removal and the window will be returned to its original configuration.⁴² These are minor changes to a secondary façade and do not impair the integrity of the house. Since 1978, the Pabst Mansion, Inc., (PMI) has owned the property. The organization has undertaken a series of restoration and stabilization efforts during its tenure, including: replicating the limestone principal staircase that descends from the terrace to the driveway on the south (front) façade in 1979; the replacement of the east and west staircases from the terrace with concrete staircases that match the appearance of the original, and the replication of the terrace and porch tile flooring, in 1998-99; the repair of the tile roof, including the replacement of some roof tiles, matching the originals, in 2001-04; and the replication of the pinnacles on the stepped gables, missing since at least 1918, in 2001-04. These alterations do not impair the integrity of the house but rather have preserved its architectural character because they retain or reproduce the original appearance of the house.

In 1893, the Pabst Brewery had the concession for all the beer at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Captain Pabst commissioned the brewery's architect, Otto Strack, to design a pavilion (figure 6, extant, in storage) for the exposition. It was a Baroque Revival structure with round-arched openings on all four sides, built entirely of terra cotta, and capped with a leaded-glass dome. The exterior of the pavilion was lavishly ornamented with composite columns, embellished entablatures, caryatids, grotesques, and a decorated parapet with statuary, representing the Pabst Brewery and the brewer's trade. When the exposition ended in November 1893, Pabst brought the pavilion back to Milwaukee.⁴³ He had a one-story, barrel-vaulted, masonry hyphen added to the east façade of the servants' wing with a minimal connection that abutted the wall and enclosed an existing door, and attached the pavilion to the house in 1894. The hyphen housed a corridor about twelve feet (east-west) by nine feet (north-south), was

⁴¹ Eastberg, 86; and William H. Tishler, ed., *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places*, (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1989), 56-59.

⁴² McQuillen, 13.

⁴³ Eastberg, 84-85, and 103.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

finished with brick that matched the house, and rested on a coursed, rock-faced, stone foundation. The pavilion was one-story tall, and measured 20 feet (east-west) by 25 feet (north-south). Pabst had the pavilion enclosed with tall windows, covered with a copper domical roof, and set on a coursed, rock-faced, stone foundation. When the Archdiocese acquired the house, the pavilion was converted to a private chapel for the archbishop, and a copper roof was installed. Recently, it has served as the gift shop and ticket office for the Pabst Mansion museum. By 2024, the terra cotta exterior, never intended to be outdoors in all weather, had deteriorated significantly and the pavilion and the hyphen were disassembled. Some components are stored in the basement while others were moved off-site. The stone foundation has been left in place. The PMI hopes to restore the pavilion and plans to begin fundraising for its reconstruction in about ten years (2035). The pavilion and the hyphen do not contribute to the architectural significance of the house because they are not the same architectural style as the house. Further, they post-date the period of significance, 1890-92. Therefore, the removal of the pavilion and hyphen does not impair the integrity of the house, but rather, returns the house to its original appearance. In addition, the presence of the pavilion and hyphen in the future will have a minimal impact on the house's integrity because the pavilion is small and set apart from the house (figure 3), its placement to the side and set back from the south (front) façade reduces its visibility, and the pavilion's hyphen made a minimal connection to the house such that it did not alter the wall or its decorative treatments. In addition, it is possible that the pavilion may be rebuilt in a different location and not reattached to the house; the hyphen may not be rebuilt. Overall, the exterior integrity of the house is excellent, preserving its character-defining features, including the Flemish stepped gables and wall dormers, and the lavish, exquisite terra cotta ornamentation.

The interior of the house also retains a high degree of integrity to the period of significance, 1890-92. The alterations largely occurred between 1953 and 1980, while a series of restoration efforts have taken place since 1984. Sometime between 1953 and 1959, a small bathroom was added to the third floor in the servants' wing. In 1960-62, the Archdiocese remodeled the house, making changes that were primarily cosmetic. Walls and ceilings, along with their ornamental details, were painted over in the stair hall, the foyers, the dining room, the parlor, the master bedroom, the master sitting room, the Regency room, and Elsbeth's room. Wall coverings were removed entirely from several of the rooms, and painted over in other spaces. The concrete staircase from the basement to the first floor in the northeast corner of the servants' wing appears to have been constructed at this time. In 1980, Wisconsin Heritages, Inc. (the precursor to PMI), had an elevator installed from the basement to the third floor in the north end of the servants' wing, removing the stove and ventilating hood in the narrow kitchen on the first floor, passing through the servants' quarters on the second floor, and encroaching on the former sewing room on the third floor. These alterations do not impair the integrity of the Pabst house because they either took place in the servants' wing, an auxiliary section of the house, or were cosmetic. Further, the PMI has completed a series of restoration projects to return the rooms and spaces remodeled in 1960-62 to their original appearance, as much as has been possible. Paint has been removed and ornamental details restored in the dining room (1984-85), the music room (1986-88), the parlor (1991-93), the servants' dining room (1996-97), the stair hall and foyers (1998-99), the Regency room (2005-06), and the master bedroom and the master sitting room (2011-

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

14), and Elsbeth's bathroom (2016). All these projects have restored the original appearance to much of the interior of the house such that the integrity of the interior is excellent.

The Pabst house had several outbuildings that were either erected during the period of significance, or their construction was begun during that period. All have been demolished. None contributed to the architectural significance of the house and their loss does not impair the integrity of the house. There was a greenhouse just north (to the rear) of the house, completed in 1892. The boilers in the basement of the greenhouse provided hot water to the house's heating system. The greenhouse was demolished in 1908-09.⁴⁴ A carriage house was erected north of the house and west of the greenhouse in 1892. Designed by Otto Strack, it was a three-story, brick building that displayed the Flemish Renaissance Revival style in its steep, parapeted gables and wall dormers (figure 7). The carriage house exhibited minimal terra cotta ornament as well. The Archdiocese converted the carriage house into chancery offices in 1908. The building was demolished in 1977 as part of the deal to preserve the house.⁴⁵ A two-story, brick duplex with Flemish stepped gables was constructed in 1892-93, north of the house and facing Wells Street. It housed the butler, August Bakenhus, and the head coachman, Frederick Schumacher, and was designed by Otto Strack.⁴⁶ There was also a garage and a second boiler house that were constructed on the property after the period of significance. They did not contribute to the significance of the house and their demolition does not affect the integrity of the house.

Conclusion

The Pabst House retains excellent integrity in design, setting, materials, location, workmanship, feeling and association to its period of national significance in architecture, 1890-92. Alterations to the house since that time have been minimal and primarily cosmetic, or have involved razing outbuildings that never contributed to the house's architectural significance. A 40-year campaign of restoration projects has returned the house to much of its original appearance, particularly on the exterior. The Pabst House retains more than enough integrity to clearly convey its architectural significance as the finest residential example of Flemish Renaissance Revival design in the U.S.

END OF DESCRIPTION, DO NOT DELETE

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

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

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

⁴⁴ Eastberg, 219.

⁴⁵ Eastberg, 79-80, 83 and 219.

⁴⁶ Eastberg, 79-80, 83 and 219.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

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

Criteria Considerations

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

- A. Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
- B. Removed from its original location
- C. A birthplace or grave
- D. A cemetery
- E. A reconstructed building, object, or structure
- F. A commemorative property
- G. Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

Architecture

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is checked.)

Period of Significance

1890-1892

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Significant Dates

1890

1892

Architect/Builder

Ferry (George Bowman) and Clas (Alfred Charles)

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph

The Pabst House was listed in the National Register (NRHP) in 1975 under Criterion C in architecture at the state level. The nomination stated that “[the Pabst House] has no match in either Milwaukee or the rest of Wisconsin.”⁴⁷ This nomination provides additional documentation that raises the architectural significance of the house to the national level. The Pabst House is the finest Flemish Renaissance Revival residence in the U.S. and it retains excellent integrity. The 1975 nomination also justified state-level significance for the house under Criterion B for its association with Frederick Pabst, who guided the Pabst Brewing Company to become the largest lager brewery in the U.S. during the 1870s, and the largest in the world by 1892. This nomination does not address Criterion B.

Period of Significance and Justification

The Pabst House is significant for its architecture. Therefore, the period of significance coincides with the dates of construction of the house, 1890-92.

⁴⁷ National Register of Historic Places, Frederick Pabst House, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, Reference #75000073, 8:1.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Narrative Statement of Significance

The Pabst House is nationally significant under Criterion C in architecture as the finest Flemish Renaissance Revival residence in the U.S. It retains excellent integrity. Flemish Renaissance Revival is a very rare style in this country. Across the nation, historic buildings have been identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival primarily because they have a stepped or curvilinear gable, also referred to as a Flemish gable. However, many are more accurately classified as German Renaissance Revival, particularly if they were erected between 1885 and 1915. German Renaissance architecture, which provided historical precedents for German Renaissance Revival in the U.S., often incorporated stepped or curvilinear gables, especially if they were located in areas where the Hanseatic League operated. This was a group of market towns and merchant guilds that banded together for trade and defense from the late thirteenth century to the late 16th century. The steeply-pitched, front gable form with a stepped or curvilinear gable, derived from medieval building traditions in the Netherlands and northern Germany, is characteristic of Hanseatic architecture. Buildings identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival that were erected in the U.S. between 1915 and 1930, in contrast, are more likely English Revival/Jacobethan, a mode with historical precedents that could also incorporate curvilinear gables. The Pabst House is the only high-style Flemish Renaissance Revival that has been identified to date, and it is the sole academic example of the style that has yet been found outside of New York City.

Historic Context

Brief History of the City of Milwaukee

European-American settlement of what would become Milwaukee began with a French-Canadian trading post, established in the late eighteenth century on a site east of the Pabst House, where the Milwaukee and Menomonee rivers join and flow into Lake Michigan. The rivers divided the area into three sections: east, west, and south. Solomon Juneau was the last to operate the trading post. The U.S. government forced the Potawatomi, Ojibwe, and Menomonee tribal nations living in the vicinity to sign the Treaty of Chicago in 1833, ceding their lands in the region.⁴⁸ By 1835, the area that is now Milwaukee had been surveyed and largely claimed by three men: Solomon Juneau, who claimed the eastern edge, between the lake and the Milwaukee River; Byron Kilbourn, a surveyor and engineer from Ohio, who staked out the area west of the Milwaukee River (which includes the site of the Pabst House); and George H. Walker, who chose the narrow peninsula south of the Menomonee River, and west of the Milwaukee River. Kilbourn and Juneau platted their holdings in 1835, while Walker platted his in 1836. All three selected grid plans, laid without regard for the topography, which was predominantly low-lying wetlands. European-American settlers started arriving almost immediately. In 1837, Milwaukee incorporated as a village, encompassing all three plats, with a population of several hundred. The

⁴⁸ Robert C. Nesbit, *Wisconsin: A History*, (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 98; and Landscape Research, *Built in Milwaukee: An Architectural View of the City*, (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 3-4.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

derivation of the name is uncertain, but the city of Milwaukee claims the name comes from the Potawatomi, *mahn-ah-wauk*, meaning “council grounds.”⁴⁹

In 1840, Milwaukee counted 1,692 residents. Yankees from New York and New England dominated, but a few Indigenous people and French-Canadians remained, and European immigrants had begun to arrive in earnest. During the 1840s, local promoters, especially Kilbourn and Juneau, financed improvements to their town sites, grading hills and bluffs and filling the marshes along the riverbanks. A harbor was also created where the rivers empty into Lake Michigan, to provide access to water transportation, which would stimulate Milwaukee’s early commercial and industrial development.⁵⁰

When Milwaukee was chartered as a city in 1846, Solomon Juneau was elected the city’s first mayor. Milwaukee boomed as settlers followed the Erie Canal, traveled the Great Lakes to Milwaukee, and streamed into the rich farmlands of southern Wisconsin. Wheat was the principal crop of pioneer farmers. Milwaukee’s population reached 16,528 in 1848, as it became a principal wheat processing market and shipping point.⁵¹ Frederick Pabst and his parents, Gottlieb and Fredericka Pabst, arrived in Milwaukee in the fall of 1848. Finding the city too undeveloped, they soon moved to Chicago.⁵² Many other German immigrants found Milwaukee congenial and settled there, opening businesses. One such enterprise was the Empire Brewing Company, established by brothers Jacob Best Jr and Charles Best in 1842. The arrival of their rest of the Best family, including their father, Jacob Best Sr, their brothers Lorenz and Phillip, and Phillip’s wife and infant daughter, Maria, in 1844 prompted the reorganization of the business as Jacob Best and Sons.⁵³ By 1850, Milwaukee was becoming distinctly German.⁵⁴

Railroad construction started in the early 1850s, expanding the city’s transportation network. Rail corridors ran north along the Milwaukee River, south along the harbor, and west along the Menomonee River. Agriculture diversified in Wisconsin in the 1850s, and Milwaukee became a regional center for processing these products. Flour milling, meat packing, tanning, brewing, and boot and shoe making for export began during this period, and would increase through the 1870s. The expanding industrial sector boosted Milwaukee’s growth, and in 1860, the city had a population of 45,246.⁵⁵ German immigrants and first-generation German-Americans together accounted for a majority of the city’s residents.⁵⁶ By this time, Phillip Best had become the sole proprietor of the family brewery, renamed Phillip Best Brewing Company.⁵⁷

⁴⁹ Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee: A History of a City*, (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), 13-15, 25-26, and 36-37; and City of Milwaukee, “Milwaukee History,”

<https://city.milwaukee.gov/cityclerk/MilwaukeeHistory> (retrieved August 4, 2024).

⁵⁰ Landscape Research, 5-8; and Nesbit, 150-51, and 188.

⁵¹ Landscape Research, 7-9, and 174-75; and Still, 44-51, 107, 169-78, and 201.

⁵² Eastberg, 34.

⁵³ Eastberg, 37-38.

⁵⁴ Milwaukee County Historical Society, *Milwaukee History: History Comes To Life*, <https://milwaukeehistory.net/education/milwaukee-timeline/>, (retrieved August 4, 2024).

⁵⁵ Landscape Research, 1-2, and 7-9.

⁵⁶ Milwaukee County Historical Society.

⁵⁷ Eastberg, 38.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

During the 1860s, the rail network continued to grow. By 1870, ten railroad lines served the city and the population had risen to 71,440.⁵⁸ The commercial district grew in the eastern section of the city. The industrial sector expanded with new enterprises fabricating ready-made clothing, especially menswear, knit gloves and hosiery; leather goods; cigars and cigar boxes; and metal goods such as brewing equipment, stoves, heaters, architectural ironwork, and agricultural machinery. Several major breweries were established during this period as well, stimulated by the demand for beer in Chicago that followed the destruction of that city's breweries in the catastrophic fire of 1871. Among those that would eventually command a national market were Best (later Pabst), Blatz, Schlitz and Miller. In 1880, the city's population stood at 115,587.⁵⁹ Some 27 percent of the population were German immigrants, making Milwaukee the American city with the largest concentration of immigrants from a single group. The prominence of native Germans in the city was reflected in the presence of the four large breweries, many taverns and beer gardens, German language newspapers, music and social organizations, and educational and recreational institutions (such as the *Turnverein*, or Turners), earning the city the nickname of the "German Athens of the Midwest."⁶⁰

Several new industries arose in the late nineteenth century, some of which would become nationally prominent: candy making; drugs and chemicals such as patent medicines, soaps and cosmetics; furniture for the local market; and box and trunk manufacturing.⁶¹ Milwaukee's large and diverse industrial sector propelled the city's growth from the late nineteenth into the mid-twentieth century. The city numbered 204,468 inhabitants in 1890. This figure would rise to 373,857 in 1910. During this time, the ethnicity of Milwaukee diversified, with immigrants from Poland, England, Ireland, Scandinavia, Serbia, Russia, Croatia, and Italy. Continued expansion brought the population to 578,249 in 1930. African-Americans, present in small numbers from Milwaukee's early European-American settlement, came north as part of the Great Migration in the 1920s and 1930s, reaching 13,000 in 1945. Thriving commercial and industrial sectors kept the city growing, reaching 717,372 persons in 1970.⁶²

Since the 1970s, the decline of many industries and the relocation of others to the outskirts of the city or to other communities has led to a substantial decrease in the number of persons residing in Milwaukee. In 2020, the city's population stood at 577,222.⁶³ The city retains a German flavor from its concentration of German Renaissance Revival architecture including the former Blatz, Schlitz, and Pabst brewery complexes, as well as in its German restaurants and locally-produced traditional sausages such as bratwurst, cultural organizations such as the Turners, and the annual celebration of German heritage, Germanfest.

⁵⁸ Landscape Research, 8-9; and Nesbit, 549.

⁵⁹ Les Vollmert, Carlen Hatala and Robin Wenger, "Final Report: Central Business District Historic Resources Survey," Prepared for the City of Milwaukee, March 1986, 13, 19-25, and 33-39.

⁶⁰ Milwaukee County Historical Society.

⁶¹ Vollmert, Hatala and Wenger, 39-40, 45, and 48-51.

⁶² Nesbit, 549; and Milwaukee County Historical Society.

⁶³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Decennial Census of Population and Housing*, <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census.html>, (retrieved August 4, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Frederick Pabst and Maria (Best) Pabst

Frederick Pabst (1836-1904) was born Johann Gottlieb Frederick Pabst in Nicholausrieth, Thuringia, Saxony in what is now Germany. His parents, Gottlieb and Fredericka Pabst were farmers. In 1848, Gottlieb Pabst immigrated to the U.S. Fredericka and Frederick Pabst followed, joining Gottlieb in New York City in August 1848 and traveling together to Milwaukee. However, the city was not yet sufficiently developed to satisfy the Pabsts and they relocated to Chicago, where Fredericka Pabst passed away in a cholera epidemic in 1849. Frederick and his father initially worked in hotels, Frederick as a busboy and Gottlieb as a waiter. However, Frederick was more interested in ships than hotels and in 1852, he took a position as a cabin boy with the Ward Line, aboard a Great Lakes steamer. Pabst earned a reputation as honest, hard-working and level-headed, quickly rising through the ranks to first mate by 1856. That fall, as first mate on the steamship *Traveler*, Pabst showed courage and quick thinking in bringing *Traveler* to the rescue of the steamer *Niagara*, which had caught fire between Sheboygan and Port Washington. Pabst and his crew helped save 225 passengers and crew.⁶⁴

In 1858, Pabst joined the Goodrich Transportation Line as a first mate. He was raised to captain in 1859 at the age of 23. The Goodrich Transportation Line required captains to purchase an ownership stake in their ships, as a means of ensuring that captains behaved responsibly. Pabst invested in Goodrich vessels and would accrue a tidy sum over the course of his sailing career. Pabst regularly navigated the route between Milwaukee and Chicago during the shipping season, and often spent the winter months, when the weather prevented vessels from sailing, studying lake navigation and learning new skills, such as bookkeeping. Pabst also frequently sailed the route north from Milwaukee to Two Rivers. In 1860, Pabst was named captain of the steamship *Comet*, a side-wheeler that was one of the finest vessels in the Goodrich fleet. The *Comet* would have great sentimental value for Pabst, because he would meet his future wife, Maria Best, on this ship. She was the eldest daughter of Phillip Best (1814-1869), owner of the Phillip Best Brewing Company, a small brewery in Milwaukee. Best and his family often traveled to Sheboygan to buy barley for the brewery. Pabst and Maria Best courted for nearly two years, marrying in March 1862.⁶⁵

The Phillip Best Brewing Company originated in 1842, when two of Phillip's brothers, Jacob Best Jr., and Charles Best, migrated from Mettenheim, Germany to Milwaukee. Their father, Jacob Best, Sr., owned a brewery and winery in Mettenheim. The Best brothers established a vinegar distillery in Milwaukee. In 1844, the Bests switched to brewing lager, producing 300 barrels of beer the first year, and renaming their business the Empire Brewery. That same year, Jacob Best, Sr., sold his brewery and winery in Mettheim, and with his sons Phillip and Lorenz, as well as Phillip's wife Maria (Muth) Best and daughter Maria (1842-1906), relocated to Milwaukee. The Best family reorganized the Milwaukee business as Jacob Best and Sons (alternatively, Best and Company Brewery). The Best company grew, even as Charles and Lorenz Best withdrew in 1845, and Jacob Best, Sr., retired in 1853. In 1859, Phillip bought out

⁶⁴ Eastberg, 34-36; "Death Claims Noted Brewer," *Chicago Tribune*, January 2, 1904, 8; and Ancestry.com, *New York, U.S., Arriving Passenger and Crew Lists (Including Castle Garden and Ellis Island), 1820-1957*, [database on-line]. Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

⁶⁵ Eastberg, 36-38.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Jacob Best, Jr., and became sole proprietor of the business, which he renamed the Phillip Best Brewing Company.⁶⁶

After Frederick and Maria (Best) Pabst married in 1862, he continued to ply Lake Michigan as a steamship captain on the Goodrich Transportation Line until a harrowing experience prompted him to retire from sailing. In December 1863, Captain Pabst was navigating the *Seabird*, fully loaded with cargo and passengers, from Manitowoc to Milwaukee. South of Sheboygan, a fierce winter storm suddenly blew in, battering the *Seabird* with heavy snow and violent winds. Pabst fought for hours to bring the ship safely to Milwaukee but finally chose to ground the vessel, which saved the lives of the passengers and crew. He ended his sailing career in 1864. Meanwhile, Pabst's father-in-law had decided to reduce his involvement in his brewing company. Phillip Best sold a half share in the enterprise to Pabst in 1864 for \$21,057.05 and named Pabst vice-president. Pabst likely sold his interests in shipping to raise funds to buy into the brewing company. When Best's younger daughter, Lisette, married Emil Schandain in 1866, Best sold his remaining half of the brewery to Schandain. Pabst became president of the Phillip Best Brewing Company, and Emil Schandain was named vice president. Best retired to Germany, where he passed away in 1869.⁶⁷

Pabst and Schandain (1840-1888) worked together well and the company thrived through their collaboration. By 1868, the Phillip Best Brewing Company was the largest in Milwaukee. The Great Chicago Fire of 1871 destroyed many of that city's breweries, providing an opportunity for Milwaukee's breweries to serve a large market only 90 miles to the south. Pabst and Schandain responded quickly, as did Milwaukee's other leading breweries, Blatz and Schlitz. Success in the Chicago market may have encouraged Milwaukee's brewers to expand their export market. By 1872, half of all the beer produced in Milwaukee was exported outside the city. The Phillip Best Brewing Company expanded to a second site in Milwaukee and in 1873, the business incorporated with \$300,000 in capital and an annual production of 100,593 barrels of beer. The business continued to grow at an astonishing rate and by 1874, the Phillip Best Brewing Company had become the largest brewery in the nation.⁶⁸

In 1875, Frederick and Maria Pabst moved into the first house that was designed for them. The distinguished German-born, Milwaukee architect Henry C. Koch designed an elegant Italianate residence for the Pabst family. The house (not extant) was located at 828 Chestnut Street, adjacent to the Best brewery complex.⁶⁹

The Phillip Best Brewing Company continued to expand and prosper through the 1870s and 1880s under the direction of Pabst and Schandain. The pair consistently reinvested profits into

⁶⁶ Eastberg, 37-38; and Wisconsin Historical Society, "Best, Jacob Sr. (1761-1861), <https://wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS1658>, (retrieved August 6, 2024).

⁶⁷ Eastberg, 38-40; Wisconsin Historical Society, "Frederick Pabst and the Pabst Brewing Company," <https://wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS538> (retrieved August 6, 2024).

⁶⁸ Eastberg, 40; Robert W. Wells, *This Is Milwaukee*, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1970), 104; and Thomas C. Cochran, *The Pabst Brewing Company: The History of an American Business*, (New York: New York University Press, 1948), 47-49, 134,184, and 289.

⁶⁹ Eastberg, 41.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

improving brewery infrastructure, embracing new technology such as mechanical refrigeration (installed in 1880) and a dynamo powering 250 incandescent lightbulbs (1882). Pabst and Schandein were innovative in their marketing campaigns as they constantly sought to increase their distribution network and make their brand better known. In 1882, for example, knowing that a blue ribbon symbolized excellence in the U.S., the company started tying a blue silk ribbon around each bottleneck of their Select brand beer. This campaign was highly successful. The blue ribbon would develop such a strong association with the Select brand, the name would be changed from Select to Pabst Blue Ribbon in 1898. Another forward-thinking marketing initiative was the establishment of hundreds of “tied houses” across the country. These were saloons that were “tied” because they served only the products of one brewing company and prominently displayed that company’s logo. The brewing company owned or leased the saloon and typically provided all the furniture and equipment to ensure a consistent quality to the facility. By 1888, the Phillip Best Brewing Company was widely distributed internationally, although the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company of St. Louis had surpassed it as the largest brewery in the nation, and local brewing companies Schlitz and Blatz were not far behind, when Emil Schandein suddenly passed away.⁷⁰

Lisette Schandein, Emil’s widow and Maria (Best) Pabst’s sister, was named vice president but apparently did not have much influence on company policy. Pabst continued to guide the business and in 1889, the name was changed to the Pabst Brewing Company. The corporate logo was unchanged and an advertising campaign that bridged the company’s two names asserted, “He drinks best who drinks Pabst.”⁷¹ The Pabst Brewing Company grew at an astounding pace under Pabst’s leadership, overtaking Anheuser-Busch as the largest brewery in the country in 1889, and becoming the first brewery in the U.S. to manufacture more than one million barrels of beer annually in 1892. That year, the Pabst Brewing Company became the biggest lager brewery in the world. The firm would remain an industry leader and operate in Milwaukee into the late twentieth century.⁷²

The 1890s in Milwaukee are often called the “Pabst Decade.” Frederick Pabst was arguably Milwaukee’s leading citizen of the period, whose accomplishments demonstrated Milwaukee’s success and who made significant contributions to the community’s economic growth and cultural development. Pabst was widely respected and admired, regarded not only as a successful entrepreneur but also as a man of sterling character. During the 1890s, the Pabst Brewing Company was Milwaukee’s leading property owner. The sprawling brewery occupied six city blocks and Pabst proudly invited the public to tour the plant (listed in the National Register as the Pabst Brewing Company Historic District in 2003). Although the company invested primarily in properties that provided an opportunity to promote and sell its products, such as saloons, restaurants, and hotels, the company built or leased other types of properties as well, as

⁷⁰ Eastberg, 42-50.

⁷¹ Eastberg, 45.

⁷² Cochran, 72, 83, 352-59, 364; and Tom Daykin “Tapping History: Pabst Complex Goes Up For Sale,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, May 11, 2001. It should be noted that the Pabst Brewing Company weathered Prohibition by producing non-alcoholic beer and tonics, processing cheese, and bottling water, biding its time until it could again manufacture beer.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

did Pabst himself. Pabst purchased the former Nunnemacher Opera House in 1890, refurbishing it and christening it the State Theater, which hosted German-language music and drama. When the State Theater burned in 1895, Pabst commissioned Otto Strack, architect for the Pabst Brewing Company, to design the Baroque Revival Pabst Theater (144 East Wells Street, extant, NHL 1991), an outstanding performance venue that showcased German-language productions until World War I. The Pabst Building (1891-93, not extant, figure 8), by Chicago architect Solon Spencer Beman, was Milwaukee's first skyscraper at fourteen stories tall, and the city's premier office address. The Wisconsin National Bank, of which Pabst was president of the board, occupied the entire second floor. The Pabst Heat, Light and Power Company, with its Broadway Street powerhouse, provided electricity to Pabst's downtown properties, including some of the brewery buildings. Pabst also invested in properties around the country, including in New York City, where he developed Pabst Coney Island Loop (not extant) at the Coney Island amusement park, the Pabst Harlem restaurant (extant, altered), the Pabst Grand Circle restaurant (not extant), and the Pabst Hotel (not extant) on the future site of Times Square. By the early 1900s, the Pabst Brewing Company owned properties in every major city in the U.S. Pabst was also a patron of German and American art, history, and culture. Pabst collected art, especially painting and sculpture, during the 1890s, building one of the finest private collections of German and Dutch art in the Midwest. He was elected to the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters and to the Wisconsin Historical Society, was a director of the Musical Society of Milwaukee and Leunig's Conservatory of Music, as well as a founder of several Milwaukee business and social organizations, including the Milwaukee Club (extant) and the Deutscher Club (now the Wisconsin Club).⁷³

In July 1892, Pabst and his family moved into the Pabst House that is the subject of this nomination. The design, construction, and history of the residence is discussed in History of the Pabst House, below. Frederick Pabst only lived in the residence for eleven years. He continued to serve as president of the Pabst Brewing Company until the end of his life, despite suffering ill health beginning in the late 1890s. Frederick Pabst passed away in January 1904. Maria Pabst continued to live in the house while in Milwaukee until her death in October 1906.⁷⁴

History of the Pabst House

By 1887, the phenomenal growth of the Phillip Best Brewing Company had prompted Pabst to start planning to build a new residence, so that he could convert his house on Chestnut Street to office use and erect other company buildings on the parcel, which was on the grounds of the brewery. Pabst began assembling lots on Grand Avenue (now known as Wisconsin Avenue), which had become a prestigious street of stately mansions with expansive lawns. He purchased a lot with 80 feet of frontage on Grand Avenue at 20th Street from James Ludington in 1887.

⁷³ Eastberg, 53-57, and 151-53; Marsha Weisiger and Contributors, *Buildings of Wisconsin*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2016), 82-83; Bowery Boys, *Pabst Blue Ribbon architecture from Old New York*, September 13, 2017, <https://www.boweryboyshistory.com/2017/09/pabst-blue-ribbon-architecture-old-new-york.html> (retrieved August 7, 2024); Jana Weiss, "Frederick Pabst (1836-1904)," *Immigrant Entrepreneurship, 1720 to the Present*, August 22, 2018, <https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entries/frederick-pabst/>, (retrieved August 7, 2024); and "Death Claims Noted Brewer."

⁷⁴ Eastberg, 128-130, 133, and 135-36.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Ludington's property had a modest, two-story brick residence on it, which was leased to a third party. In 1888, Pabst acquired the lot adjoining Ludington's to the west. The property Betsey L. Newton sold him had 80 feet of frontage on Grand Avenue and extended north to Wells Street, with 80 feet of frontage on that thoroughfare; there do not appear to have been any buildings on it. In 1889, Pabst commissioned Milwaukee architect Alfred Charles Clas, to design a residence for his daughter, Elizabeth, as a wedding gift. When the *Milwaukee Sentinel* reported the erection of the large, brick house (not extant) at 34th and Wells streets, the newspaper hinted that Pabst would soon be building a new residence for himself, too. In November 1889, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* confirmed that planning for Pabst's new house on Grand Avenue was underway, noting that Alfred C. Clas was the architect, but that construction could not begin until the lease on the house then on the site expired. Clas' design reportedly called for a stone residence, three stories in height; no drawings have been discovered.⁷⁵

However, Pabst also commissioned the distinguished German-born, Chicago architect Adolph Cudell (1850-1910) to design a residence for him, suggesting that he was not pleased with Clas' plans. Cudell had recently prepared drawings for a residence at 3300 South Michigan Avenue (not extant, stone German Renaissance Revival mansion) in Chicago, as well as Black Point Estate (extant, frame Queen Anne/Stick style, NRHP 1994) in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, for Conrad Seipp, a wealthy Chicago brewer. Cudell's drawings for Pabst have not been found.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, Clas had formed an architectural partnership with George Bowman Ferry very late in 1889 or early in 1890.⁷⁷ Ferry redesigned the house for Pabst, and Pabst was so pleased with Ferry's version that he awarded Ferry and Clas the contract in March 1890, discharging Cudell and paying him \$3,000 for his efforts.⁷⁸

In May 1890, the lease on the house on Grand Avenue expired. Pabst engaged local contractor Val Mand to raze the house and prepare the site for the new residence. On June 27, 1890, Pabst secured a building permit, estimating the total cost of the residence would be \$75,000 (the equivalent of about \$2.5 million in 2024), a breath-taking figure at a time when the average cost of a middle-class house was about \$2,000. The excavation of the basement began immediately.⁷⁹ In July 1890, the *Milwaukee Daily Journal* published a rendering of the house (figure 9) with an article describing the features the house would have; these closely match the finished house, with the exception of the front terrace, where the location of the staircase to the ground was moved from the west to the south side of the terrace.⁸⁰ Local and regional firms won contracts to complete work on the house, including: Charles B. Roberts & Bro. (masonry, the largest contract at \$22,000); Fred Andres & Co. (cut stone); C.H. Ross (terracotta); Val Mand (carpentry); L.H.

⁷⁵ H. Russell Zimmerman, *Magnificent Milwaukee: Architectural Treasures, 1850-1920*, (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1987), 89-91; Eastberg, 68-70; and "A Day in the City: Capt. Pabst to Building a New Residence," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 2, 1889, 3.

⁷⁶ Eastberg, 70.

⁷⁷ Eastberg, 73; *Wright's Directory for Milwaukee, 1889*, (Milwaukee: Alfred G. Wright, 1889); and *Wright's Directory for Milwaukee, 1890*, (Milwaukee: Alfred G. Wright, 1890). Clas and Ferry are listed as practicing independently in the 1889 directory, and as Ferry and Clas in the 1890 directory.

⁷⁸ Eastberg, 73.

⁷⁹ Eastberg, 73; "The Week in Society," *Milwaukee Daily Journal*, May 17, 1890.

⁸⁰ "Handsome New Residence: The Palatial Abode on Grand Avenue Which Capt. Pabst Is Building."

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Plum (plumbing and gas fitting); Henry Weden (painting and glazing); N.W. Adamant Co. (plastering); Greenslade Bros. (architectural iron); Duerr & Rohn (electrical); Bierseach & Niedermeyer (copper); Northwesten Terra Cotta (terra cotta, of Chicago); N.W. Tile Co. (tiling); Cyril Colnik (wrought iron); Broedesser & Co. (elevator installation); H. Mooers & Co. (steam heating); and Johnson Electric (now Johnson Controls, heat regulating system).⁸¹

In 1891, as work continued on the house, construction began on the carriage house (not extant) and the greenhouse (not extant). Both were erected behind (north) the house. The carriage house (figure 7) was a two-and-one-half story, gabled ell, finished with brick and trimmed with terra cotta that matched the finishes on the house. The carriage house was a good example of Flemish Renaissance Revival design, although much smaller and simpler than the house. It displayed four, steeply-pitched, Flemish stepped gables, two of which terminated in chimneys, and six gabled, Flemish stepped wall dormers. The carriage house was ornamented with terra cotta quoins, and the stepped parapets were enriched with fractables and slender pinnacles. The greenhouse (east of the carriage house) was a frame-and-glass building, housing two boilers that provided hot water to the house's heating system, in addition to plants.⁸²

In July 1892, the Pabst House was complete and the family moved in.⁸³ The Flemish Renaissance Revival exterior of the Pabst House was unique. The interior employed German, French and Dutch/Flemish design modes, reflecting the preference for a different style in every room that was typical of the very wealthy in the U.S. in the late nineteenth century. The house had eight bedrooms (including one for the servants), ten bathrooms (most with hot and cold running water), and fourteen fireplaces. It incorporated a number of innovations. The Pabst House was one of the first in Milwaukee with central heating; the temperature was controlled by zone with sixteen thermostats. The system used hot water from two boilers, located in the greenhouse. The residence had an elevator and a conservatory for plants. Initially, the first floor had combination gas and electric light fixtures, with gas lighting on the upper floors and a plan to add electric lighting throughout the building eventually. The house had a burglar alarm system that connected to a number of exterior doors and windows, as well as a state-of-the art refrigeration system and a silver safe in the butler's pantry, and an electric servants' call system. The total cost of the house, not including taxes and insurance, amounted to \$254,614.28 (more than \$9 million in 2024, \$20 million when furnishings and artwork are included), an astonishing sum.⁸⁴

Frederick Pabst continued to improve the property for the next several years. In 1892, the servants' duplex (not extant) was built at the north end of the property facing Wells Street. Designed by Otto Strack, the duplex was a two-story, gabled ell, finished with brick. It was similar in appearance to the carriage house and its stepped parapets displayed the influence of Flemish Renaissance Revival. A wood porch tucked into the ell featured slender posts and scroll-sawn panels in the balustrade and the porch spandrels. The duplex housed the butler, August

⁸¹ Zimmerman, 90.

⁸² Eastberg, 79; and *Map of Milwaukee*, (Pelham, NY: Sanborn Publishing Company, 1894), II:209.

⁸³ "In Their New Home: Capt. Pabst and Family Now Occupy the Elegant Grand Avenue Residence."

⁸⁴ Eastberg, 74-78; and Zimmerman, 91.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Bakenhus, and the head coachman, Frederick Schumacher, and their families.⁸⁵ Pabst also bought a five-foot-wide strip of land northeast of the house from Daniel Wells, Jr., for a service drive running south from Wells Street in 1892.⁸⁶

In 1893, the Pabst Brewery was awarded the concession for all the beer at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Pabst commissioned the brewery's architect, Otto Strack (1856-1935), to design a pavilion (figure 6, extant, in storage) for the exposition. Strack was born in Roebel, Mecklenburg-West Pomerania, Germany and immigrated to the U.S. in 1883.⁸⁷ His design for the pavilion was a Baroque Revival structure, one-story tall, with round-arched openings on all four sides, built entirely of terra cotta, and capped with a leaded-glass dome. The exterior of the pavilion was lavishly ornamented with composite columns, embellished entablatures, caryatids, grotesques, and a decorated parapet with statuary, representing the Pabst Brewery and the brewer's trade. When the exposition ended in November 1893, Pabst brought the pavilion back to Milwaukee.⁸⁸ In 1894, he had a one-story, barrel-vaulted, masonry hyphen added to the east façade of the servants' wing with a minimal connection that abutted the wall and enclosed an existing door, and attached the pavilion to the house. The hyphen housed a corridor, was finished with brick that matched the house, and rested on a coursed, rock-faced, stone foundation. Pabst had the pavilion enclosed with tall windows and set on a coursed, rock-faced, stone foundation. The total cost of this project was \$11,559.62 (\$435,475 in 2024).⁸⁹

In 1895, Pabst acquired two parcels from Frederick T. Day that adjoined the west boundary of the Pabst property, creating a plot that encompassed more than two acres, and providing Pabst with an additional 80 feet of frontage on Grand Avenue.⁹⁰ In 1898, Pabst commissioned noted landscape architect Warren H. Manning, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to prepare a landscape plan for the house. Manning had worked for Frederick Law Olmsted and had completed the planting plan for the World's Columbian Exposition, among many other projects, while in Olmsted's employ. Manning's plans called for developing the entire grounds of the Pabst House as an Italian garden, featuring a fountain and a pergola. However, the proposal was not carried.⁹¹ By 1898, Pabst's health was beginning to fail, which may be why the plan did not come to fruition.

Following Frederick Pabst's death in 1904, Maria Pabst placed the Pabst House on the market in 1905. When she died in October 1906, there had been no serious offers, perhaps because Grand Avenue was no longer the most fashionable neighborhood for the well-to-do. Apartment blocks and commercial buildings were beginning to appear in the area, due to its proximity to the

⁸⁵ Eastberg, 79-80, and 83.

⁸⁶ Eastberg, 68.

⁸⁷ Ancestry.com, *U.S., Passport Applications, 1795-1925*, [database on-line], (Lehi, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2007).

⁸⁸ Eastberg, 84-85, and 103.

⁸⁹ Zimmerman, 95.

⁹⁰ Eastberg, 68. These lots were acquired after the period of significance, 1890-92, and would not have contributed to the significance of the Pabst House.

⁹¹ Eastberg, 86; and William H. Tishler, ed., *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places*, (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1989), 56-59.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

downtown. The Pabst children all had their own, newer residences and were not interested in maintaining their parents' house. In July 1908, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Milwaukee (Archdiocese) bought the Pabst House to serve as the residence of the archbishop. The purchase price of \$97,000 (plus a parcel of land) bought the house and all the outbuildings (carriage house, greenhouse, and servants' duplex), the two acres of grounds, all the original furniture for the principal rooms on the first floor (Captain Pabst's study, the parlor, the dining room, and the music room), and most of the drapes and carpets throughout the house.⁹²

Archbishop Sebastian Messmer moved into the Pabst House on July 25, 1908. Five bishops would reside in the house during the tenure of the Archdiocese, 1908-1975. Throughout that time, four or five Sisters of Saint Francis maintained the house and served the Archbishop and his staff; they lived on the third floor in the former servants' wing. Shortly after Archbishop Messmer moved in, the carriage house was renovated to house the chancery offices, and the greenhouse was razed and replaced with a one-story, brick boiler house (not extant) on a raised basement, which had living quarters above the boiler room. In 1910, a frame, one-car garage (not extant) was erected just west of the former carriage house.⁹³ About this time, the pavilion was converted into a private chapel for the archbishop, consecrated to the Virgin Mary. Leaded-glass panels and four leaded-glass windows as well as an elaborate Baroque altar piece were installed in the pavilion. Messmer died in 1930 and was succeeded by Archbishop Samuel Stritch. In 1931, Stritch had a multi-bay brick garage (not extant) erected behind the house on the west side of the carriage house. Stritch was elevated to Cardinal of Chicago in 1939, and Archbishop Moses Kiley moved into the house. During Kiley's residence, several of the bathrooms were updated with modern tubs and toilets, ca. 1946. Kiley died in 1953 and Archbishop Albert Meyer succeeded him. Meyer remained in the post until 1959. A sink and toilet were installed on the third floor in the former servants' wing during his term. The last Archbishop to reside in the Pabst House was William Edward Cousins, who lived there from 1959 to 1975. In 1960-62, the Archdiocese remodeled the house, making changes that were primarily cosmetic. Walls and ceilings, along with their ornamental details, were painted over in the stair hall, the foyers, the dining room, the parlor, the master bedroom, the sitting room, the Regency room, and Elsbeth's room. Wall coverings were removed entirely from several of the rooms, and painted over in other spaces. The concrete staircase from the basement to the first floor in the northeast corner of the servants' wing appears to have been constructed at this time. In the pavilion/chapel, the Baroque ornamentation and altarpiece were removed or covered, and simple, polished marble installed.⁹⁴

By 1970, the Archdiocese was considering selling the property. The growing Catholic community was concentrated in the suburbs and the neighborhood was no longer residential. The house was now between a Holiday Inn and an office building. In addition, the house was increasingly in need of repair and updating. In 1971, the chancery offices moved out of the carriage house, leaving that building vacant. In 1974, the Archdiocese announced that the house would be put on the market. One of Archbishop Cousins' staff members invited interior designer

⁹² Eastberg, 133, 137, and 217-18.

⁹³ Eastberg, 219; and *Map of Milwaukee*, (Pelham, NY: Sanborn Publishing Company, 1910), III:309.

⁹⁴ Eastberg, 219-29 and 232; and Zimmerman, 98.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Florence Schroeder to the house to suggest ideas for the Archbishop's new residence. Schroeder was awestruck by the Pabst House and dedicated herself to saving it. Schroeder mobilized a group to advocate for the preservation of the house. They established a non-profit organization called Wisconsin Heritages, Inc. (WHI) that labored tirelessly to raise the \$220,000 the Archdiocese was asking for the property. In March 1975, Milwaukee author and architectural historian H. Russell Zimmerman featured the Pabst House in his regular column in the *Milwaukee Journal*. Spread over four pages, the column was illustrated with numerous color photographs of the Pabst House's unique features, and it galvanized public interest in saving the house. Donations flowed in. Meanwhile, Schroeder worked with the Wisconsin Historic Preservation Office to nominate the Pabst House to the National Register. It was listed in April 1975. In December 1975, as WHI was preparing to make their offer to purchase, local newspapers reported that the house had been sold to Nathan Rakita. He had bought the Holiday Inn on the east side of the Pabst House and intended to demolish the residence to provide additional parking for his hotel. Stunned but undeterred, members of WHI continued to advocate for saving the house. In 1977, H. Russell Zimmerman convinced local entrepreneur John Conlan to get involved. Conlan negotiated a deal with Rakita that would save the house by dividing the parcel in two (as shown in Milwaukee County Certified Survey Map No. 3243). Rakita would retain the north end of the parcel and a 30-foot-wide strip along the east edge of the south end of the parcel (providing access to Grand Avenue), including the garage, carriage house, and boiler house. Conlan would purchase most of the south end of the parcel, including the house, for \$330,000. The deal was sealed in May 1977. The garage, carriage house, and boiler house were razed in October 1977, but the Pabst House was saved.⁹⁵

Conlan had intended to use the Pabst House as his offices, but instead leased the residence to WHI with an option to purchase outright. WHI continued to raise funds in 1977 and early 1978, collecting over \$100,000. This left them with \$230,000 to raise or finance. No bank was interested and the option to purchase was about to expire. WHI member Paul Hammersmith convinced the president of the Savings and Loan Council, Leo Arciszewski, to encourage local institutions to loan to WHI for the benefit of the public. Twenty-three banks and savings and loans stepped forward, each financing \$10,000 toward the purchase of the Pabst House. In April 1978, WHI took ownership of the Pabst House. Now known as Pabst Mansion, Inc. (PMI), the organization has operated the building as a house museum since 1978 and has carried out a series of restoration and stabilization projects over the years (discussed in the Description and Integrity sections above, and in the Preservation Activities section below).⁹⁶

The Architectural Firm of Ferry and Clas

George Bowman Ferry (1851-1918) was born in Springfield, Massachusetts and studied architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) with William Robert Ware from 1871 to 1873. When Ferry completed his studies, he returned to Springfield. There he worked as a bookkeeper until opening an architectural office with Newman W. Gardner, known as Ferry & Gardner, ca. 1875. Gardner (1852-1924) was a classmate of Ferry's at MIT and was also from Springfield. By 1880, their partnership had dissolved. No buildings have yet been identified in

⁹⁵ Eastberg, 229-33; H. Russell Zimmerman, "One of a Kind," *Milwaukee Journal*, March 7, 1975, part 7, 1-4.

⁹⁶ Eastberg, 233.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Springfield that were designed by either Ferry or Gardner. Ferry moved to Milwaukee in 1881, where he practiced independently until establishing a firm with Alfred Charles Clas in late 1889 or early 1890. The earliest documented Ferry & Clas design was a simple, Queen Anne residence for Oscar Mueller, a nephew of Frederick and Maria Pabst; the building permit for it was dated March 20, 1890.⁹⁷

Alfred Charles Clas (1859-1942) was born in Sauk City, Wisconsin and apprenticed with an architect in Milwaukee in 1877. He was employed with an architect in Stockton, California from 1879 to 1881, and then returned to Milwaukee. Clas worked for one of Milwaukee's most important residential architects of the 1880s, James Douglas, and then opened his own office in 1886 before joining with Ferry.⁹⁸ Both Ferry and Clas completed a number of commissions while practicing independently. Ferry's projects included the Romanesque Revival Woman's Club of Wisconsin (NRHP 1982, much altered) in Milwaukee in 1887; and the Gothic Revival Oconomowoc City Hall (NRHP 1980), 1886. Clas designed residences for several affluent clients, most of them in the Queen Anne style. In 1887, he prepared the plans for the Queen Anne house at 929 N. 29th Street (extant, Concordia Historic District, NRHP 1985) for Charles Best, Jr., secretary of the Phillip Best Brewing Company and nephew of Frederick and Maria (Best) Pabst. Clas designed the headquarters of the Schlitz Brewing Company, an excellent example of Richardsonian Romanesque, in 1889. These two projects likely brought Clas to the attention of Frederick Pabst, who commissioned Clas to design a house (not extant) for his daughter, Elizabeth, in 1889, and would subsequently engage Ferry and Clas to prepare plans for his own residence (recounted in History of the Pabst House, above).⁹⁹ The firm of Ferry and Clas produced more than 250 buildings over the 25 years it was in existence. Ferry was the principal designer and is credited with producing the firm's most notable buildings, including two outstanding Beaux-Arts designs, the Milwaukee Public Library (1895, NRHP 1974) and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (1900, NRHP 1974). He received awards for his plans for the Wisconsin building at the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo, 1901), and at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (St. Louis, 1904). The Pabst House is regarded as the firm's finest residential design. It was also the largest and most expensive. Ferry and Clas' partnership ended in 1912. Ferry practiced independently thereafter, while Clas formed a partnership with his son, Angelo Clas. Alfred C. Clas remained active in the Clas and Clas (which was known as Clas, Shepherd and Clas from 1921 to 1931) until retiring in 1936.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Eighth Annual Catalog, 1872-73*, (Boston: Press of A.A. Kingman, 1872), 17; *Springfield City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1875-76*, (Springfield, MA: The Clark W. Bryan Co., 1875), 195; *Springfield City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1876-7*, (Springfield, MA: The Clark W. Bryan Co., 1876), 155; *Springfield City Directory and Business Advertiser, 1878-9*, (Springfield, MA: The Clark W. Bryan Co., 1878), 146; *City of Springfield Directory, 1880-81*, (Springfield, MA: Springfield Printing Company, 1880), 136 and 145; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1880*, (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1880); and Eastberg, 69-73.

⁹⁸ William George Bruce, *History of Milwaukee, City and County*, (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1922), II:76-79; and Eastberg, 69-73.

⁹⁹ Eastberg, 69-73; and "Alfred Charles Clas, Designed Notable Buildings in Milwaukee – Dies at 82," *The New York Times*, July 9, 1942, 21.

¹⁰⁰ Wisconsin Historical Society, "Ferry, George Bowman 1851-1918," <https://wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS7643>, (retrieved July 27, 2024); George B. Ferry, obituary, *The Evening Wisconsin*, (Milwaukee) January 29, 1918, 1; and Eastberg, 70-73.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Significance in Architecture: Flemish Renaissance Revival

The Origins

Flemish Renaissance Revival was built in the U.S. from the 1880s to about 1915. It was inspired by Flemish Renaissance architecture, the 16th and 17th century architecture of Flemish-speaking (northern) Belgium and the Netherlands, which had fallen out of favor in the late seventeenth century. Belgian architect Emile Janlet employed the mode in his design for the Belgian Pavilion (figure 10) at the 1878 Paris Exposition, sparking interest in the style, which became known as Flemish Renaissance Revival in the U.S.¹⁰¹

Flemish Renaissance architecture developed as the principles of Renaissance design spread to Belgium and the Netherlands from France during the early 16th century. These principles were initially incorporated by applying symmetry and classical ornamentation to buildings with the traditional form; the tall, narrow, front-gabled building with a steeply-pitched roof and a stepped or curvilinear parapet. This form had been erected in the region since the medieval era. The form was also found in northern Germany. This traditional form with Renaissance classical ornamentation spread eastward along the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic Sea with the expansion of the Hanseatic League and is the architectural aesthetic associated with the League. The League was active from the late thirteenth century to the late 16th century. The *Holstentor* (figure 11, completed 1478), one of the city gates protecting Lubeck, Germany, is one German example of the stepped gable form.¹⁰² Lubeck was one of the founding cities of the Hanseatic League. Other examples include the six *Salzspeicher* (salt warehouses, figure 12) in Lubeck, built between 1579 and 1745.¹⁰³

The guildhalls overlooking the *Grote Markt* (town square) in Antwerp, Belgium (figure 13), which date to the late 16th century, illustrate the early Flemish Renaissance, with classical ornamentation applied to traditional Flemish form. Each building is narrow, masonry, four-to-six stories tall, with a symmetrical façade and a steep, parapeted gable. The parapets vary from stepped to curvilinear shapes evoking elongated scrolls or volutes. Much of the ornamentation appears on the gables and the parapets and can include cornices, finials, pinnacles, coats of arms, and other classical motifs. All the buildings are capped with pedimented, many of which are pedimented; several support statuary. Classical ornamentation can also be seen on the pilasters that frame the openings on the more elaborate guildhalls, including fluted columns with Ionic capitals. The Antwerp City Hall (figure 14), erected in 1561-65, is widely regarded as

¹⁰¹ Barbara L. Wyatt, ed., *Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin*, (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1986), II:2-13; and Washington Department of Archaeology & Historic Preservation, "Flemish Revival," <https://dahp.wa.gov/historic-preservation/historic-buildings/architectural-style-guide/flemish-revival> (retrieved June 27, 2024).

¹⁰² Museum Holstentor, "The Holstentor," <https://museum-holstentor.de/about-holstentor>, (retrieved July 14, 2024).

¹⁰³ Keith Jenkins, "Velvet Escape: Things to See in Lubeck," <https://velvetescape.com/things-to-see-in-lubeck/>, (retrieved August 14, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

representing the height of Flemish Renaissance design¹⁰⁴ It has been designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The main block resembles an Italian Renaissance palazzo, four stories tall, with a symmetrical front façade that displays classical fenestration and proportion. The ground floor displays round-arched openings and a rusticated stone finish, the second story exhibits Doric pilasters and capitals, Ionic pilasters and capitals appear at the third story, and an open gallery is found at the fourth. The features of the Antwerp City Hall that are distinctly Flemish in form are the traditional hipped roof with bell-cast eaves, and the steep, narrow, gabled entrance pavilion with stepped parapet centered on the front façade. The gable rises two stories above the eaves of the main block and boasts a profusion of exuberant classical ornamentation. The entrance pavilion matches the main block in its rusticated base with round arches, second-floor Doric order, and third-floor Ionic order. The fourth floor displays the Corinthian order, such that the pavilion of the Antwerp City Hall possesses the hierarchical display of the classical orders that is a hallmark of Renaissance design. The gable end is enriched with statuary, coats of arms, obelisks and a pedimented fractable crowned with an eagle. These elements combined create an exemplar of the Flemish Renaissance style.

The Revival Period

The Flemish Renaissance style fell out of favor in the late seventeenth century. After the appearance of the Flemish Renaissance Revival Belgian Pavilion at the 1878 Paris Exposition, the style was again built in Belgium and the Netherlands, and spread to the U.S. Flemish Renaissance Revival was a part of the current of historical revivalism in the U.S. in the late nineteenth century. American revival styles reflected the Renaissance architecture of a number of different European cultural groups, including Flemish, Tuscan, French, English, and German Renaissance Revival. Initially, architects borrowed freely from European examples, frequently combining design elements with little consideration for historical accuracy, with the goal of creating a ‘picturesque’ appearance. The increasing influence of American architects educated at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, the foremost school of architecture in Europe, or at one of the first American schools of architecture, led to a proliferation of high-style buildings that were accurate interpretations of historical precedents. The École des Beaux-Arts taught students to carefully and systematically study Greek, Roman and Renaissance architecture, to draw elaborate elevations illustrating important examples, and create designs that represented historical elements of these styles accurately. The first American schools of architecture adopted this approach in developing their coursework and it remained the standard in the U.S. for decades.¹⁰⁵ The Pabst Mansion, an outstanding academic Flemish Renaissance Revival design, illustrates the influence of the École des Beaux-Arts trained architects through its principal architect, George B. Ferry.

Ferry studied architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) with William Robert Ware from 1871 to 1873. Ware (1832-1915) founded the first architecture program at a

¹⁰⁴ J. Quentin Hughes and Norbert Lynton, *Simpson's History of Architectural Development, Vol 4: Renaissance Architecture*, (NY: David McKay and Co., Inc, 1962), 280; and Christopher Brown, “Netherland Renaissance,” <https://theglobalrenaissance.blog/home/antwerpen-stadhuis/>, (retrieved July 14, 2024).

¹⁰⁵ Wyatt, II:2-13; and Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, *American Architecture, Volume 2: 1860-1976*, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983), 268.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

university in the U.S. at MIT in 1866. He established the second university architecture program in the nation at Columbia University in 1881. Both were patterned after the École des Beaux-Arts.¹⁰⁶ Ware was one of a small group of students in the first class at the first architecture school in the U.S., established by Richard Morris Hunt in New York City in 1858. Hunt (1827-1895) was the first American educated at the École des Beaux-Arts (1846).¹⁰⁷ The connection between Ferry and the École des Beaux-Arts architectural philosophy of studying historical precedents and accurately interpreting their architectural elements, through Richard M. Hunt and William R. Ware, is clear, and Ferry's academic representation of Flemish Renaissance Revival in his design for the Pabst House demonstrates this.

The Pabst House and Its Influences

The Pabst House exemplifies the Flemish Renaissance Revival style. The distinguishing feature of the style is the tall, narrow, steeply-pitched gable with stepped parapet, although some parapets are curvilinear in shape, with an elongated-S or scrolled profile. Buildings are generally finished with brick and may incorporate quoins or rustication. High style examples may display gabled dormers with stepped or shaped parapets, and more ornamentation, such as pinnacles on parapet steps, and terra cotta or stone decoration with classical, Germanic or Dutch motifs. The Pabst House incorporates all of these components as well as lavish, delicate, filigree-like ornamentation accurately representing its classical and medieval Hanseatic precedents. The house is finished with brick in Flemish bond and trimmed with terracotta, including quoins, rustication on the front façade, classical belt courses, and entablatures. Dutch pantiles cover the roofs. Seven steeply-pitched, parapeted, shouldered gables appear. Two anchor the symmetrical front (south) façade, another is found on each of the east and west facades, and three (including a double gable) terminate in chimneys on the rear (north) facade. The front and side gables are richly embellished with intricate terra cotta strapwork, scrollwork, lion's heads, dentils, and ball finials, while the stepped parapets exhibit terracotta volutes, scrolls, pinnacles, shell ornaments and fractables with shell and strapwork decoration. The three parapeted gables on the rear façade are less decorated. The six chimneys have tops enriched with classical moldings and strapwork ornament, and the two on the east and west facades are shouldered and embellished with shell and scroll ornament. The Pabst House possesses seven, steeply-pitched, parapeted, gabled wall dormers, each elaborately enriched with terracotta volutes, strapwork, scrollwork, and a fractable with shell ornament and a pinnacle. Six tiny, round-arched, copper-framed dormers with copper ball finials accent the roof. The terra cotta front porch and porte-cochere are the house's most elaborate components and are exquisitely detailed. They display profuse ornamentation including round-arched openings with compound surrounds, pilasters with composite capitals, and delicate strapwork and floral ornament on the bases, pilasters and spandrels. Above, the entablature features a compound classical architrave, a frieze with scrolls and ribbons, a cornice with lions'

¹⁰⁶ Ware outlines his philosophy of architectural education and the courses in the department of architecture in, William R. Ware, "Report of the Department of Architecture," Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Reports of the President, Secretary, and Departments, 1871-72*, (Boston: Press of A. A. Kingman, 1872), 35-50.

¹⁰⁷ Paul R. Baker, "Richard Morris Hunt," Diane Maddex, ed., *Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects*, (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1985), 88-89; and "William Robert Ware," https://web.archive.org/web/20160430031449/http://web.mit.edu/museum/ware/ware_bio.html (retrieved July 28, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

heads, and a roof-top balustrade with heavy strapwork panels. The actual precedents that Ferry studied are unknown, but one might have been similar to the Court of Justice (figure 15) in Ypres, Belgium. The present Court of Justice could not have been a resource for Ferry as it is a 1924-30 reconstruction; Ypres was destroyed in 1914-15, and rebuilt after World War I.¹⁰⁸ The Court of Justice displays a symmetrical front façade with a central entrance porch flanked by projecting, steeply-pitched, and gabled pavilions with richly-decorated gable ends and stepped parapets, as does the Pabst House. Ferry may also have been inspired by the guildhalls of the *Grote Markt* (figure 13) in Antwerp, Belgium, with their stepped and shaped parapets embellished with volutes and pedimented fractables, in his ornamentation of the Pabst House's gables and parapets. All of these representatives of Flemish Renaissance architecture possess details that are similar to those of the Pabst House. The Pabst House retains excellent integrity.

General Contemporary Comparisons

The Flemish Renaissance Revival style is very rare in the U.S. Identifying examples of Flemish Renaissance Revival to compare with the Pabst House was challenging, as there is presently no method for searching the database of the National Register by architectural style. Even Wisconsin's architecture/history database, which can be searched by style, does not include Flemish Renaissance Revival as a distinct category. The nomination preparer and the National Register Coordinator in the Wisconsin State Historic Preservation Office consulted with staff in other state historic preservation offices. This effort yielded a number of notable buildings identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival in style, as well as buildings that show the influence of the mode, but it is possible that there are more that have not yet been identified.

There are at least four buildings identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival in New York City, with its history as a Dutch colony. Richard M. Hunt designed what may be the earliest Flemish Renaissance Revival building in the city: the Jackson Square Branch of the New York Free Circulating Library at 251 West 13th Street (extant, figure 16) for George W. Vanderbilt III in 1887-88.¹⁰⁹ The Jackson Square Branch is a narrow, three-story, brick-finished edifice with a curvilinear parapet. It is an understated and elegant Flemish Renaissance Revival building with a high degree of integrity but as a modest and institutional example of the style does not provide a good comparison to the Pabst House. The George S. Bowdoin Stable (figure 17) at 149 East 38th Street was designed by Ralph S. Townsend and erected in 1902.¹¹⁰ The stable is two-and-one-half stories tall with a gabled front façade veneered in brick and trimmed with stone. The building features quoined window and door surrounds, and a stepped parapet enriched with stone copings, volutes, and semi-circular fractable. It is accented with an oval oculus window, a stone cartouche with the address and another with the date, and three animal grotesques – two horse heads and a dog's head. In 1903, Amos F. Eno hired architect Charles Pierrepont Henry Gilbert

¹⁰⁸ Dominiek Dendooven and Jan Dewilde, *The Reconstruction of Ypres*, (London: Unicorn Publishing Group, 2020), 11 and 85.

¹⁰⁹ Paul R. Baker, "Richard Morris Hunt," Diane Maddex, ed., *Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects*, (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1985), 88-89; and Lannyl Stephens, "Exquisite Building, and once a church of 'Exquisite Panic,'" July 6, 2020, <https://www.villagepreservation.org/2020/07/06/jackson-square-library-an-exquisite-building-and-once-a-church-of-exquisite-panic/> (retrieved July 27, 2024).

¹¹⁰ "George S. Bowdoin Stable," <https://www.urbanarchive.org/sites/RTcHf4vCkP3/Tzaz3haeBn7>, (retrieved August 4, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

(trained at the École des Beaux-Arts and known for his townhouse and mansion designs) to create a new façade for his commercial building at 13 South William Street (figure 18).¹¹¹ Gilbert redesigned the façade in Flemish Renaissance Revival, with a steep, stepped, gabled parapet enriched with volutes, as well as rusticated surrounds, diamond-paned leaded-glass windows, and an oculus with prominent keystone ornaments. Gilbert produced a similar design the same year for the rear elevation, with an address of 57 Stone Street. In 1908, Gilbert redesigned the façade of Eno’s neighboring building at 15 South William Street.¹¹² The Bowdoin Stable and the Eno Building are both small, commercial buildings and their architectural details are confined to the street façade. They are not comparable to the Pabst House, although they are accurately described as Flemish Renaissance Revival. Both bear some resemblance to the *Vleeshal*, (meat hall, figure 19) in Haarlem, the Netherlands, erected in 1602-04. The other Flemish Renaissance Revival resource in New York is the West End Collegiate Church and School (figure 20) at 245 West 77th Street in New York City, which was modeled after the *Vleeshal* and is discussed in the Comparative Analysis section, below.

In search of other examples of Flemish Renaissance Revival, the nomination preparer reviewed historic buildings in other communities in the U.S. with Dutch heritage. In Albany, New York, for example, the New York State Capitol (erected 1867-1899, NHL 1979) is an eclectic Romanesque Revival/Chateausque building that shows the influence of the Flemish Renaissance Revival in the decorated gabled dormers with shaped parapets and pedimented fractables on the building’s corner towers.¹¹³ Another example in Albany is the former D&H Railroad Building (NRHP 1972), a sprawling, Late Gothic Revival edifice with Flemish stepped gabled dormers, embellished with Gothic tracery. Described as “Flemish Gothic Revival,” it was erected between 1914 and 1918.¹¹⁴ The New York State Capitol and the D&H Railroad Building are both high-style designs, but are not the same style or in the same use as the Pabst House and therefore are not appropriate comparison properties. The nomination preparer was unable to identify any other high-style Flemish Renaissance Revival residences in the U.S.

Research carried out as part of this nomination revealed that many high-style buildings that have been identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival may more accurately be classified as German Renaissance Revival, particularly if they were erected between 1885 and 1915 and are located in areas where large numbers of German immigrants settled in the mid-to-late 19th century. Across the nation, historic buildings appear to have been identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival primarily because they have a stepped or curvilinear gable, also referred to as a Flemish gable. However, German Renaissance architecture, which provided historical precedents for German Renaissance Revival in the U.S., often incorporated stepped or curvilinear gables, especially if they were located in areas where the Hanseatic League operated. German Renaissance Revival

¹¹¹ NewYorkitecture, “C.P.H. Gilbert,” <https://www.newyorkitecture.com/c-p-h-gilbert/>, (retrieved July 14, 2024).

¹¹² Tom Miller, “Nos. 13 and 15 South William Street,” September 12, 2011, <https://daytoninmanhattan.blogspot.com/2011/09/nos-13-and-15-south-william-street.html>, (retrieved July 10, 2024).

¹¹³ “New York State Capitol: Architecture,” <https://www.hudsonrivervalley.com/sites/New-York-State-Capitol-/details>, (retrieved August 4, 2024).

¹¹⁴ “A History of the D&H Building, our SUNY Plaza,” <https://www.suny.edu/plaza-centennial/history/>, (retrieved August 4, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

was inspired by German Renaissance architecture of the 16th and 17th centuries. Friedrich's Wing of the Heidelberg Castle (figure 21), erected between 160 and 1607, is one influential example of German Renaissance design.¹¹⁵ A prominent German example of German Renaissance Revival is the Hamburg *Rathaus* (town hall, figure 22), erected in 1886-1897.

Flemish and German Renaissance Revival were both built in the U.S. during the same period, about 1885 to 1915. German Renaissance Revival is quite similar in appearance to Flemish Renaissance Revival, but typically has blockier massing. It may be asymmetrical, and the parapets are more often curvilinear than stepped. Bell-cast or helmet-domed towers or turrets are common. German Renaissance Revival ornamentation is generally larger, heavier and more sculptural than that of Flemish Renaissance Revival.¹¹⁶ The New Ulm Post Office in New Ulm, Minnesota (NRHP 1970) is an excellent example of German Renaissance Revival (1909, figure 23).¹¹⁷ It exhibits boxy form and a brick finish rusticated with broad bands of stone, as well as gabled dormers and curvilinear gables enriched with heavy, broken scroll cornices. Some German Renaissance Revival buildings have features that are so sculptural they are more accurately described as Baroque Revival. An excellent example of German Renaissance/Baroque Revival is the Kalvelage House (figure 24, NRHP 1978), in Milwaukee, designed by Otto Strack and built in 1895. Finished with stone and brick, the Kalvelage House features a curvilinear parapet enriched with a heavy, compound broken scroll cornice and a shaped bell gable with elongated scrolls and a compound, broken scroll cornice. The front porch is embellished with terra-cotta half-figures (atlantes), life size and each with a unique face.¹¹⁸ In contrast, Flemish Renaissance Revival massing is more vertical and its ornamentation is more delicate, lacier, and carved with lower relief, such as the Pabst House displays.

In the U.S., Flemish Renaissance Revival has been predominantly identified in areas where large numbers of Germans, including German-born or German-trained architects and artisans, settled during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. This is particularly noticeable in cities where the brewing industry became prominent, such as Milwaukee, as well as Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri. These styles may have been selected by well-to-do German immigrants, especially brewers, to show ethnic pride and illustrate their success in the U.S. Both styles were employed in commercial, residential and institutional buildings. German Renaissance Revival was favored for breweries, where they also served as advertising, promoting the authenticity of the German beer produced therein.¹¹⁹ Wisconsin may very well have more Flemish and German Renaissance Revival buildings than any other state. The Wisconsin Historic Preservation Database (AHI),

¹¹⁵ Heidelberg Castle, "History of Design," <https://www.schloss-heidelberg.de/en/interesting-amusing/history-of-design>, (retrieved August 14, 2024).

¹¹⁶ Carlen Hatala, Senior Planner-Historic Preservation (Retired), City of Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Personal communication, August 22, 2024; and Weisiger and Contributors, 65-68.

¹¹⁷ New Ulm Public Library, "German Heritage Collection," <https://www.newulmn.gov/386/German-Heritage-Collection>, (retrieved July 15, 2024).

¹¹⁸ Wyatt, II:2-13; Washington Department of Archaeology & Historic Preservation; and Weisiger and Contributors, 67 and 118.

¹¹⁹ Wyatt, II:2-13.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

which does not differentiate between Flemish and German Renaissance Revival, records 173 properties classified as German Renaissance Revival.¹²⁰

Milwaukee, Wisconsin's largest city since at least 1850, has the greatest number of Flemish and German Renaissance Revival buildings in the state. In 1890, Milwaukee counted 204,469 inhabitants. More than half of the city's residents were German born, or the children of German-born parents. Milwaukee's German community had gained political and economic influence in the city by this time, helping earn Milwaukee the nickname, "German Athens of the Midwest."¹²¹ The first building in Milwaukee to display the influence of Flemish and German Renaissance Revival was a bar and bowling alley (not extant) erected on North 4th Street (now North Vel Phillips Avenue) just south of Turner Hall (*Turnverein*, a German athletic and cultural center, extant) in 1886. It was built for what was then called the Phillip Best Brewing Company, and featured a shaped Flemish gable and a German bell-domed turret. The co-owners of the Phillip Best Brewing Company at the time were Best's sons-in-law, Frederick Pabst and Emil Schandain. Not long afterwards, Adolph Meinicke commissioned German-born architect C.F. Ringer to design a commercial block (1889, not extant) and a factory and office building for his toy company at 117 E. Wells Street (1891, extant). Both incorporated elements of the Flemish/German Renaissance Revival. Meinicke's commercial building possessed a shaped Flemish gable and German helmet-domed turrets. A large, three-story, gable with a shaped parapet dominated the front façade of the Meinicke Toy Company Building but was later removed. The first high-style German Renaissance Revival residence (not extant) was constructed for Emil Schandain in 1888-90. He traveled to Germany often, as many well-to-do German-born Americans did, and was very familiar with the latest architectural trends in Germany. Schandain hired a German architect to prepare the plans for his grand mansion. The Schandain House (not extant, figure 25) was three-and-a-half stories tall, finished with stone and capped with a tall, mansard roof. It was asymmetrical and featured projecting gabled pavilions with applied half-timbering in the gable end, a square entrance tower with a bell-cast roof, a polygonal oriel with a helmet-domed roof, wall dormers with clipped gables, narrow dormers with bell-cast roofs, and classical moldings and cornices. Construction on the Pabst House that is the subject of this nomination began in 1890, and on the fourteen-story Pabst Building (figure 8, demolished 1981), the city's first skyscraper, in downtown Milwaukee in 1891. The Pabst Building was designed by the distinguished Chicago architect Solon Spencer Beman in the German Renaissance Revival style, and featured tall, gabled dormers with curvilinear parapets. The building that replaced it in 1989, 100 East Wisconsin, incorporates dormers with shaped parapets similar to those of the Pabst Building. The Pabst and Schandain commissions inspired other affluent German-American businessmen in Milwaukee to erect their own impressive, Flemish or German-influenced residences, factories, businesses and churches with Flemish shaped or stepped gables, helmet- or bell-domed towers and turrets, porches with round-arched openings, and stucco with applied half-timbering. The Milwaukee City Hall (figure 26, 1895, NHL 2005), an excellent institutional example of German Renaissance Revival, reflected the city's German heritage and pride. It is presented in the Comparative Analysis section below. Anti-German sentiment during World War I put a period to the influence of German/Flemish

¹²⁰ Wyatt, II:2-13.

¹²¹ Nesbit, 549; and Weisiger and Contributors, *Buildings of Wisconsin*, 67-70.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

architectural elements, leading property owners to remove Germanic features such as the steep, gabled parapets, or to raze the buildings altogether.¹²²

Several notable examples of Flemish Renaissance Revival have been identified in Missouri, particularly in Kansas City and St. Louis, both cities that welcomed large numbers of German immigrants during the mid-to-late nineteenth century. The residence of wealthy industrialist August Meyer in Kansas City, built in 1895-97, is a grand mansion that combines Queen Anne form and Flemish/German Renaissance Revival details, as discussed in the Comparative Analysis section below. In St. Louis, the Central Carondelet Historic District (NRHP 2006) has a handful of buildings identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival influenced. The earliest and most decorated of these is the Blow School (figure 27) at 516 Longborough Avenue, which is said to have inspired the other examples in the district. Designed by St. Louis architect William B. Ittner (1864-1936) and erected in 1903, the Blow School combines English Revival/Jacobethan Revival form with Flemish Renaissance Revival stepped parapets and entrance portal.¹²³ It should be noted that shaped and stepped parapets do occur in Jacobethan Revival buildings and their presence may reflect English Revival rather than Flemish Renaissance Revival influence. The three-story, brick-veneered Blow School features eight gabled parapets, each with stone rustication in the gable end, stone volutes and scrolls on the parapet steps, and a fractable with a large shell ornament. The entrance portal displays a stone surround with fluted Corinthian columns and a simple entablature surmounted by a group of three windows in a stone surround with Doric pilasters and an entablature with triglyphs and metopes and topped with an ornate stepped pediment, and the parapet exhibits scroll and finial ornament on the steps, and a pedimented fractable with a dentilled cornice and swags. Simpler examples of English Revival/Jacobethan form with Flemish Renaissance Revival details are found nearby: the Lyon School at 7417 Vermont Avenue (William B. Ittner, 1909), and the Carondelet YMCA (figure 28) at 602-08 Loughbrough Avenue (architects Guy Study and Benedict Farrar, 1925).¹²⁴

Another resource with Flemish Renaissance Revival influence is the German House (figure 29) at 2343 Lafayette Square in St. Louis' Lafayette Square Historic District (NRHP 1986). The German House, also known as Das Deutsche Haus, was designed by St. Louis architect Jacob Heim (1880-1953) and completed in 1928. Built for the city's German-American organizations, it is said to have been based on Friedrich's Wing of the Heidelberg Castle.¹²⁵ While this three-story, brick-veneered building is rectangular has been identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival, the historical precedent cited is a German Renaissance design and the four, helmet-roofed dormers are firmly German Renaissance Revival in style. The stepped gables with terracotta scroll and ball finial ornamentation are as characteristic of the German Renaissance Revival as

¹²² Weisiger and Contributors, 67-68; Eastberg, 53-54; and City of Milwaukee Department of City Development, "Milwaukee Ethnic Commercial and Public Buildings Tour," September 1994, 2-7.

¹²³ Chris Naffziger, "Revisiting Carondelet: Virginia Avenue Between Loughborough Avenue and Blow Street, Blow Elementary School," March 17, 2021, <https://stlouispatina.com/revisiting-carondelet-virginia-avenue-between-loughborough-avenue-and-blow-street-blow-elementary-school/>, (retrieved July 30, 2024).

¹²⁴ National Register of Historic Places, Central Carondelet Historic District, St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri, Reference #06000064, 7:7-8.

¹²⁵ National Register of Historic Places, Lafayette Square Historic District, St. Louis (Independent City), Missouri, Reference #72001557, 8:12.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

they are of Flemish Renaissance Revival. These elements suggest that the German House is a German Renaissance Revival building, albeit a late example.

Other buildings in other parts of the country have been categorized as Flemish Renaissance Revival buildings. However, on closer inspection, most are more appropriately classified as either German Renaissance Revival or English Revival/Jacobethan Revival. The Pabst House is the only high-style Flemish Renaissance Revival residence that has been identified to date.

Comparative Analysis

The Pabst House is nationally significant as the finest Flemish Renaissance Revival residence in the U.S. The house that is most comparable to the Pabst House in grandeur and size is the August Meyer House in Kansas City, Missouri. Other properties that provide some comparison are: the Brentwood in Philadelphia (a multifamily residence); the Milwaukee City Hall (an institutional building); the Atheneum in Indianapolis, Indiana (institutional); and the West End Collegiate Church and School in New York City (ecclesiastical). These resources also assist the reviewer in understanding the difference between Flemish Renaissance Revival and German Renaissance Revival in the U.S.

- August Meyer House (NRIS #82003146, figure 30) at 4415 Warwick, Kansas City, Missouri. Meyer was a German immigrant and a mining engineer whose immense wealth came from the mines he established in Leadville, Colorado. Designed by the nationally-known architectural firm of (Henry) Van Brunt and (Frank M.) Howe and built in 1895-97, the Meyer House is significant for its architecture, which the nomination identifies as Queen Anne, although it has more recently been described as Flemish/Queen Anne.¹²⁶ It is a three-story, brick edifice with stone trim resting on a limestone foundation and capped with a mansard roof. The house consists of the main block and an ell-shaped servants' wing that attaches diagonally to a front corner of the main block. The massing and the plan are irregular, which could reflect Queen Anne influence. The ribbed brick chimneys with corbelled chimney caps, as well as the polygonal bay and the round turret on the front façade could also derive from the Queen Anne style, although the turret displays a German Renaissance Revival-type helmet dome with a finial. Renaissance Revival elements include: the narrow, square, three-and-one-half story, hip-roofed tower on the front façade, which displays slender brick pilasters, round-arched windows, compound classical moldings, urn finials, and a pedimented wall dormer that gives the appearance of a shaped parapet with a pedimented fractable; a gable on the west (side) façade with a curvilinear parapet topped with a fractable with a shell motif and a ball finial; gabled wall dormers with curvilinear parapets; and rusticated masonry piers on the porte cochere and the former veranda, both of which display a stone frieze and cornice with minimal classical ornamentation and a perforated balustrade with brick piers inset with wrought iron panels in a curvilinear design. The only element of the Meyer House

¹²⁶ National Register of Historic Places, August Meyer House, Kansas City, Jackson County, Missouri, Reference #82003146, 7-1, 8-1 and 8-2; and Kansas City Public Library, "Kansas City Art Institute," <https://kchistory.org/image/vanderslice-hall-kansas-city-art-institute-0> (retrieved July 10, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

that could be ascribed to Queen Anne is its irregular massing; it does not have the symmetrical façade that is characteristic of Flemish Renaissance Revival. However, irregular massing is a feature of German Renaissance Revival, and all the Renaissance components of the house are typical of both Flemish and German Renaissance Revival. However, the boxy form, the heavy stone ornamentation that is sculptural and yet minimally decorated, combined with the irregular massing and the helmet-domed turret suggest that the Meyer House is a German Renaissance Revival design. Further, Henry Van Brunt (1832-1903) was one of the first group of students of Richard M. Hunt in New York City in 1858. Van Brunt was a classmate of William R. Ware, and the two established a firm (Ware & Van Brunt) in the 1860s, which remained active until 1881. Van Brunt was the lead designer and his large body of work testifies to his embrace of École des Beaux-Arts philosophy. A prime example is Memorial Hall at Harvard University (1870), which has been heralded as one of the few truly Ruskinian Gothic buildings found outside of England.¹²⁷ Van Brunt's plan for the Meyer House would not have combined picturesque Queen Anne form with Renaissance classicism, but rather would have been the result of the careful study of historical precedents, in this case, probably German Renaissance buildings. The Kansas City Art Institute has owned and occupied the Meyer House (also known as the Vanderslice Mansion) since 1928. In 1930, the Epperson Auditorium was added to the rear of the building.¹²⁸ The auditorium is a two-story, front-gabled, brick-veneered building trimmed with stone and features shouldered gabled parapets. The placement of the auditorium to the rear of the house, the short hyphen that connects the auditorium to the house, and the auditorium's compatible design minimize its impact on the house. The Meyer House is an outstanding example of a German Renaissance Revival residence with excellent integrity. In comparison, the Pabst House is a high-style Flemish Renaissance Revival, as fine and intact an example of that mode as the Meyer House is of German Renaissance Revival.

- The Brentwood (Parkside Historic District, NRIS #83004248, figure 31) at 4130-40 Parkside Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Designed by Angus Wade of Philadelphia and erected in 1897, the Brentwood is significant for its architecture as a contributing resource in the federal Parkside Historic District (NRHP 1983), and is described as an anchor building (one of two) in the smaller, city-designated Parkside Philadelphia Historic District (Philadelphia Register of Historic Places, 2006). A group of German-American builders developed the 97-acre Parkside neighborhood on the former site of the Centennial Exposition of 1876 between 1890 and 1900. The large amount of vacant land available allowed the developers to plan a residential neighborhood for the upwardly-mobile German-American community composed of two- and three-story duplexes, rowhouses, and apartment blocks united by architectural features drawn from what the nominations identify as the Flemish Renaissance Revival. These included a brick finish, gables with shaped or stepped parapets, wall and roof dormers, and full-façade front porch with heavy classical ornamentation on the frieze. Angus Wade (1865-1932) was

¹²⁷ Diane Maddex, ed., *Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects*, 187; and Sherry Piland, "Early Kansas City Architects: Van Brunt and Howe," *Kansas City Foundation News* (December 1978): 10.

¹²⁸ Kansas City Public Library.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

not of German descent, but he was one of several architects the developers employed to design buildings for Parkside. The 2006 Parkside Philadelphia District listed that portion of the federal historic district that encompasses 110 buildings, including the most high-style and intact properties, one block wide and six blocks long on Parkside and Viola avenues.¹²⁹ The Brentwood is the most fully-realized example of Flemish/German Renaissance Revival in the district. It is a three-story apartment block that gives the appearance of three, connected duplexes, set on a rusticated stone foundation and topped with mansard roofs. The central duplex features two, three-story, semi-circular bay windows that rise above the roofline and are crowned with a tall, bell-cast roof. The bay windows display terra cotta surrounds and decorative panels embellished with raised garlands of fruit, held by cherubim. The flanking duplexes each display two gabled wall dormers on brick corbel tables, terminating in stepped parapets enriched with a ball finial. A one-story front porch extends across the three duplexes and features piers with compound, composite pilasters enriched with prominent floral ornament, foliated scrolled brackets, and an entablature with paired, foliated brackets, dentil moldings and compound classical moldings. Side facades possess oval oculus windows, dormers with tall, bell-cast ten roofs, and paneled brick chimneys. The heavy, sculptural ornamentation and boxy proportions of the Brentwood suggests that its stylistic influence is German Renaissance Revival rather than Flemish Renaissance Revival. The Brentwood was restored in 1996 and retains very good integrity. It is a very good and intact example of German Renaissance Revival applied to a multifamily residence. In comparison, the Pabst House is a fully-executed Flemish Renaissance Revival design, a different style and a different residential type, and is more elaborate and more intact than the Brentwood.

- Milwaukee City Hall (AHI #016297, NRIS #73000085, NHL 2005, figure 26) at 200 East Wells Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Milwaukee City Hall is nationally significant as the only German Renaissance Revival city hall in the country, and as the location that best represents the history of socialism in the U.S. It was designed by the noted, German-born, Milwaukee architect, Henry C. Koch (1841-1910), and built in 1893-95. It is Koch's best-known work. He is said to have drawn inspiration from two sources: the *Rathaus* (city hall) in Hamburg, Germany (1880-1897) and the Pabst Building (not extant, 1891-93). Milwaukee City Hall bears a strong resemblance to Hamburg's *Rathaus* (figure 22). The two buildings are similar in form and proportion. Both possess a raised, rusticated stone basement and first floor with round-arched openings, a brick finish on the upper stories terminating in a modillioned cornice, and a steep mansard roof. A row of gabled dormers with Flemish curvilinear parapets perch on the roof. In addition, both buildings feature gabled projecting pavilions with curvilinear parapets, and a tall, narrow clock tower with curvilinear parapets and a steep roof. The similarities between Milwaukee City Hall and the Pabst Building (figure 8) are more general. The Pabst Building, discussed previously, was Milwaukee's first skyscraper. Both the Pabst

¹²⁹ Dominique M. Hawkins, "Parkside Philadelphia Historic District," nomination to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places, June 21, 2006, 4:1-3; Alan Jaffe, "Look Up: Our collection of German, Flemish Revival mansions," December 21, 2009, <https://why.org/articles/look-our-own-collection-german-and-flemish-revival-mansions/> (retrieved June 27, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Building and Milwaukee City Hall had rusticated stone lower floors with round-arched openings, and brick-finished upper floors with windows framed within multistory pilasters surmounted by round arches. The two buildings displayed steeply-pitched mansard roofs, gabled dormers with curvilinear parapets, and featured clock towers with a clock face centered in a curvilinear gabled parapet on all four sides. The eight-story Milwaukee City Hall displays somewhat restrained ornamentation, consisting of pilasters and columns composite capitals, decorated spandrel panels, dentil moldings, and modillion blocks, although the tower exhibits more elaborate, sculptural decoration beneath the clock faces. Milwaukee City Hall retains a high degree of integrity.¹³⁰ It is an excellent and intact example of German Renaissance Revival applied to an institutional building. In contrast, the Pabst House is an outstanding Flemish Renaissance Revival residence, a different style and a different type of building, and retains as high a degree of integrity as Milwaukee City Hall.

- The Atheneum (NRIS#73000032, HABS No. IND-63, NHL 2016, figure 32) at 401 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. The Atheneum (originally, *Das Deutsche Haus*) is significant both as an excellent example of Germanic architectural influence in the U.S., and in social history representing the *Turnverein*, a German-American organization that promoted physical education (especially gymnastics) and German cultural traditions. The Atheneum was erected in two phases: the original (east) section of the building is German Romanesque Revival and was erected in 1893-94; the west wing, constructed in 1897-98, is an excellent example of German Renaissance Revival. Indianapolis architects (Bernard) Vonnegut and (Arthur) Bohn, German-Americans, designed both sections of the Atheneum. The original section of the building was their first commission. The Atheneum is also a contributing resource in the Massachusetts Avenue Commercial District (NRHP, 1982) and the Lockerbie Square Historic District (NRHP, 1973), significant for its association with the German-American community of Indianapolis.¹³¹ The west wing is a massive rectangular block, three-and-one-half stories tall on a raised rock-faced stone basement, finished with brick and trimmed with stone, and capped with a steeply-pitched roof. The first floor displays heavy rustication in alternating bands of red brick and white stone and both the north and west facades. The front (north) façade is dominated by a slightly-projecting gabled entrance pavilion, which features a rusticated base, a broad, round-arched entrance portal framed with a rusticated stone surround and rusticated Doric columns, and pairs of two-story stone Ionic columns that flank grouped, leaded-glass windows in a simple stone surround. The entrance pavilion is crowned with a parapet adorned with stone decoration that includes paneled pilasters with urn finials, volutes with ball finials, pinnacles, and an ornate, pedimented fractable. In the gable end, monumental scrolled brackets support composite columns framing a three-part window in

¹³⁰ National Register of Historic Places, Milwaukee City Hall, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, #73000085, 8-1; National Historic Landmark, Milwaukee City Hall, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, 2005, 11-14; and Weisiger and Contributors, 70.

¹³¹ National Register of Historic Places, The Atheneum, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana, Reference #73000032, 7:1 and 8:1; and Connie J. Ziegler, "Vonnegut and Bohn," *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, March 2021, <https://indyencyclopedia.org/vonnegut-and-bohn/>, (retrieved August 2, 2024).

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

a Palladian motif. On the main block of the wing, a simple architrave composed of stone compound classical moldings, a plain brick frieze, and a corbelled brick cornice with a dentil molding wraps around the north and west facades of the building. The Atheneum also exhibits oculus windows enriched with stone surrounds with ball finials at the third story, and a series of tiny, helmet-roofed dormers on the west slope of the roof. The west wing of the Atheneum is an outstanding example of German Renaissance Revival applied to an institutional use. It retains a high degree of integrity. In comparison, the Pabst House exemplifies Flemish Renaissance Revival residential design, a different style and a different building use. It retains as high a degree of integrity as the Atheneum.

- West End Collegiate Church and School (NRIS #80002729, figure 20) at 245 West 77th Street/360-68 West End Avenue, New York City. Designed by Robert W. Gibson for a Dutch Reform congregation and erected in 1891-92, it was modeled after the *Vleeshal* (meat hall, figure 19) in Haarlem, in the Netherlands, erected in 1602-04. Gibson (1851-1927) was born in England and studied architecture at the Royal Academy of Arts in London before immigrating to the U.S. in 1881. Gibson practiced independently for most of his career, and is best known for his protestant ecclesiastical buildings, primarily in Late Gothic and English Revival modes. The only other design Gibson produced that he stated was Flemish Renaissance-influenced was the Church Missions Building, mentioned previously.¹³² The West End Collegiate Church and School is composed of the church (west) and the school (east). Both sections are finished with brick and trimmed with stone and terra cotta and face south. The front-gabled façade of the church wing bears a strong resemblance to the front gable of the *Vleeshal* in finish and details. Both exhibit a tall, stepped gable embellished with quoins, copings, and pinnacles with obelisks on the steps, and an elaborate fractable. The church's fractable is enriched with a terracotta panel with strapwork and floral decoration, and a semi-circular pediment holding a shell ornament. The gable end of the church displays a large, rose window in a stone and terra cotta surround, surmounted by a terra cotta panel with the coat-of-arms of the Dutch Reform Church and strapwork. The principal entrance appears at the base of the gable and is similar to that of the *Vleeshal*, both of which are composed of a tall round-arched portal in a slightly-projecting rusticated surround embellished with an entablature with scrolled brackets. Secondary entrances flank the portal of the church. These hold original paneled wood doors with elaborate strapwork hinges. The west façade of the church is also embellished with stone and terra cotta quoining and features a polygonal corner tower with tiled tent roof, and three, tall, gabled dormers with stepped parapets enriched with ornate fractables quite similar to those on the *Vleeshal*. The south (front) façade of the school wing is less ornate, but does possess a smaller, stepped Flemish gable above the entrance. The West End Collegiate Church and School is a fine example of an ecclesiastical design in the Flemish Renaissance Revival style and retains

¹³² Landmarks Preservation Commission, "West End Collegiate Church and School," West 77th Street and West End Avenue, Borough of Manhattan, January 11, 1967; Mary Beth Betts, ed., "West End-Collegiate Historic District Extension Designation Report," Prepared for the Landmark Preservation Commission, June 25, 2013, 197-98; and "Gibson, Robert Williams," in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, (New York: James T. White & Company, 1909) 11: 324.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

a high degree of integrity. Although it has been listed in the National Register for its architecture at the local level of significance, it is possible that it might be eligible at the state or national level. In comparison, the Pabst House exemplifies Flemish Renaissance Revival residential design, a different building type. It retains as high a degree of integrity as the West End Collegiate Church and School.

In comparison with the properties described above, the Pabst House is the only Flemish Renaissance Revival residence. The Meyer House, the Brentwood, Milwaukee City Hall, and the Atheneum are German Renaissance Revival designs. The two styles are part of the same current of American Renaissance Revival, and German Renaissance Revival is easily mistaken for Flemish Renaissance Revival when a stepped or curvilinear gable is present, even though such a gable is an element that is also characteristic of German Renaissance buildings in areas where the Hanseatic League was active. However, the two modes are different and they are equally deserving of recognition as nationally-important architectural styles. The only high-style Flemish Renaissance Revival property that is comparable to the Pabst House is the West End Collegiate Church and School in New York City. Erected in 1891-92 and designed by Robert W. Gibson using the Haarlem *Vleeshal* in the Netherlands as a model, the West End Collegiate Church and School is an outstanding and intact example of Flemish Renaissance Revival. However, it is an ecclesiastical building, quite different from a residence. In contrast, the Pabst House is the finest Flemish Renaissance Revival residential design in the U.S. It retains a high degree of integrity. Further, research for this nomination discovered only three other buildings that can accurately be categorized as Flemish Renaissance Revival, all in New York City: the Jackson Square Branch of the New York Free Circulating Library; the George S. Bowdoin Stable; and 13-15 South William Street. The Jackson Square Branch, designed by Richard Morris Hunt and erected in 1887-88, is an understated and elegant Flemish Renaissance Revival building with a high degree of integrity but as a modest and institutional example of the style does not provide a good comparison to the Pabst House. The Bowdoin Stable, designed by Ralph S. Townsend in 1902, displays a Flemish Renaissance Revival front façade with a decorated stepped parapet. The facades of the buildings at 13-15 South William Street were redesigned in Flemish Renaissance Revival style in 1905-08 by C.P.H. Gilbert. The Bowdoin Stable and the Eno Building are both small, commercial buildings and their architectural details are confined to the street façades. They are not comparable to the Pabst House. This demonstrates that true Flemish Renaissance Revival designs are extremely rare in the U.S., enhancing the importance of the Pabst House in architecture.

Concluding Significance Statement

The Pabst House is nationally significant under Criterion C in architecture as the finest Flemish Renaissance Revival residence in the U.S. The Pabst House retains excellent integrity. The period of significance coincides with the dates of construction, 1890-92. The Flemish Renaissance Revival is a very rare style in the U.S. Across the country, historic buildings have been identified as Flemish Renaissance Revival because they have a Flemish stepped or curvilinear gable. However, they are often more accurately classified as German Renaissance Revival, particularly those erected between 1885 and 1915. Buildings erected between 1915 and

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

1930, in contrast, are more likely English Revival/Jacobethan. Other than the single example of the Pabst House in Milwaukee, high-style examples of Flemish Renaissance Revival have only been found in New York City to date, and the Pabst House is the only residence.

Land Acknowledgement (will be reviewed by the Office of the State Archaeologist)

This nomination recognizes the depth of human presence here, the ancestral homeland of the Indigenous peoples since time immemorial. Since the time of contact, European colonization and conquest through military campaigns and government programs, in part forcefully removed Native nations from their land. This displacement resulted in Native nations being forced into and out of the land we currently call Wisconsin; these negotiations were outlined in treaties that Native nations often signed under duress. We acknowledge that the subject property in this nomination is located on land originally stewarded by and long inhabited by the Native nations of this area.

Archaeological Potential (will be drafted and reviewed by the Office of the State Archaeologist)

Preservation Activities

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Milwaukee (Archdiocese) owned the Pabst House from 1908 until 1975. The Archdiocese proved a good steward of the house, generally making only cosmetic alterations to the property during their 67-year tenure. Without the stewardship of the Archdiocese, the Pabst House might very likely have been demolished, as happened to so many other Grand Avenue mansions during the twentieth century.

In 1974, the Archdiocese placed the Pabst House on the market. Milwaukee interior designer Florence Schroeder, awestruck by the magnificence of the Pabst House, dedicated herself to saving it. Schroeder mobilized a group to advocate for the preservation of the house. They established a non-profit organization called Wisconsin Heritages, Inc. (WHI), that labored tirelessly to funds to purchase the property. In March 1975, Milwaukee author and architectural historian H. Russell Zimmerman galvanized public interest in saving the Pabst House by featuring it in his column in the *Milwaukee Journal*. Meanwhile, Schroeder worked with the Wisconsin Historic Preservation Office to nominate the Pabst House to the National Register; it was listed in April 1975. In December 1975, as WHI was preparing to make their offer to purchase, local newspapers reported that the house had been sold to the owner of the hotel next door and would be demolished for parking. Members of WHI redoubled their efforts to preserve the house. In 1977, Zimmerman convinced local entrepreneur John Conlan to get involved. Conlan negotiated a deal that would save the house by dividing the parcel in two that was finalized in May 1977. The hotel owner retained the north end of the parcel and a strip along the east edge of the south end of the parcel (providing access to Grand Avenue), including the garage, carriage house, and boiler house. Conlan purchased most of the south end of the parcel,

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

including the house. The garage, carriage house, and boiler house were razed in October 1977, but the Pabst House was saved.

Conlan leased the residence to WHI with an option to purchase outright. WHI continued to raise funds in 1977 and early 1978, collecting over \$100,000. This left them with \$230,000 to raise or finance. Twenty-three banks and savings and loans stepped forward, each financing \$10,000 toward the purchase of the Pabst House. In April 1978, WHI took ownership of the Pabst House. Now known as Pabst Mansion, Inc. (PMI), the organization has operated the building as a house museum since 1978 and has carried out a series of restoration and stabilization projects over the years. Exterior work has included: replicating the limestone principal staircase that descends from the terrace to the driveway on the south (front) façade in 1979; the replacement of the east and west staircases from the terrace with concrete staircases that match the appearance of the original, and the replication of the terrace and porch tile flooring, in 1998-99; the repair of the tile roof, including the replacement of some roof tiles, matching the originals, in 2001-04; and the replication of the pinnacles on the stepped gables, missing since at least 1918, in 2001-04.

Interior projects have sought to return the rooms and spaces remodeled in 1960-62 to their original appearance, as much as has been possible. Paint has been removed and ornamental details restored in the dining room (1984-85), the music room (1986-88), the parlor (1991-93), the servants' dining room (1996-97), the stair hall and foyers (1998-99), the Regency room (2005-06), and the master bedroom and the master sitting room (2011-14), and Elsbeth's bathroom (2016 and 2020).

In 2024, a major project was initiated to restore the 1893 pavilion and portions of the exterior of the house, including the gable ends and chimneys, the porte cochere and the front porch, and many of the windows. The pavilion was dismantled and is in storage. Plans call for the pavilion's restoration but it may not be placed in the same location. However, the foundation has been retained with a rubber roof membrane covering it to protect it from the elements. In the near future, PMI hopes to dismantle the house's gable ends and chimneys of house and rebuild them reusing the original brick. Brick that cannot be reused will be replaced in-kind. Terra cotta that can be retained will be, and deteriorated terra cotta will be repaired and replaced when possible. If it is not possible, replacement terra cotta will be manufactured that will match the original in design, color, texture and glazing. The porte cochere and the front porch will undergo the same process. In addition, the replacement conservatory window will be removed and a wood copper-clad window replicating the original installed. Original windows will be rehabilitated and reinstalled. The utilitarian skylight on the roof will be replaced. The fire escape will be removed, the brick to which it was attached will be repaired, and those windows that were converted to doors or casement windows will be returned to their original configuration.¹³³

The City of Milwaukee is a Certified Local Government (CLG). As a partner with the Wisconsin State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and the National Park Service (NPS) participating in the CLG program, the city of Milwaukee is required to maintain a system to survey and

¹³³ McQuillen, part 2, 6-13.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

inventory historic properties. That entails regular surveys with updates every 20-25 years to identify properties that appear potentially eligible for the National Register.

END OF STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE DO NOT DELETE

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

9. Major Bibliographical References

Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
 previously listed in the National Register
 previously determined eligible by the National Register
 designated a National Historic Landmark
 recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #WI-368
 recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #
 recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey #

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 Other State agency
 Federal agency
 Local government
 University
 Other
Name of repository: Pabst Mansion Archives

Wisconsin Architecture and History Inventory # 030265
and/or Archaeological Site Inventory #: _____

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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property: 1.0

Provide either the UTM system or latitude/longitude coordinates

Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

Datum if other than WGS84: _____
(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1. Latitude:	_____	Longitude:	_____
2. Latitude:	_____	Longitude:	_____
3. Latitude:	_____	Longitude:	_____
4. Latitude:	_____	Longitude:	_____

Or

UTM References

Datum (indicated on USGS map):

NAD 1927 or NAD 1983

1. Zone:	<u>16</u>	Easting:	<u>423580</u>	Northing:	<u>4765370</u>
2. Zone::	_____	Easting:	_____	Northing:	_____
3. Zone::	_____	Easting:	_____	Northing:	_____
4. Zone:	_____	Easting:	_____	Northing:	_____

Verbal Boundary Description

The Pabst House is located in the City of Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, on Parcel 2, CSM #3243, Milwaukee County, also identified as Tax Key No. 389-1408-100-6. The parcel is in the Southeast Corner of the NW ¼ of Section 30 and Part of Block 28, in Well's Addition, in the West ½ of the NE ¼ of Section 30 and a Part of the NE ¼ of Section 30, T7N, R22E, City of Milwaukee, Milwaukee County Wisconsin. The National Register boundary, which coincides with the legal boundary, encloses approximately 1.0 acre.

Boundary Justification

The National Register boundary of the Pabst House coincides with its legal boundary, shown as Parcel 2, CSM #3243, Milwaukee County. The National Register Boundary encloses all those extant resources historically associated with the Pabst House while excluding areas that do not contribute to the significance of the property.

END OF GEOGRAPHIC DATA DO NOT DELETE

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

11. Form Prepared By

name/title: Elizabeth L. Miller, Historic Preservation Consultant
organization: _____
street & number: 4033 Tokay Blvd
city or town: Madison State: WI zip code: 53711
Email: elmillerwi@gmail.com
Telephone: 608-354-5016

Additional Documentation

Figure Log

- Figure 1. Frederick and Maria Pabst House, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USGS with UTM Reference.
- Figure 2. Frederick and Maria Pabst House, Site Plan with Photo Key.
- Figure 3. Frederick and Maria Pabst House, First Floor Plan with Photo Key.
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- Figure 4. Frederick and Maria Pabst House, Second Floor Plan.
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- Figure 5. Frederick and Maria Pabst House, Third Floor Plan.
Source: Eastberg, John C. *The Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion: An Illustrated History*. Milwaukee: Captain Frederick Pabst Mansion, Inc., 2009.
- Figure 6. The Pavilion, Addition to the Pabst House.
Source: Pabst Mansion Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
- Figure 7. The Carriage House, ca. 1896, Previously on Site of the Pabst House.
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- Figure 8. The Pabst Building, ca. 1900, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

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- Figure 12. *Salzspiecher*, Lubeck, Germany.
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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property
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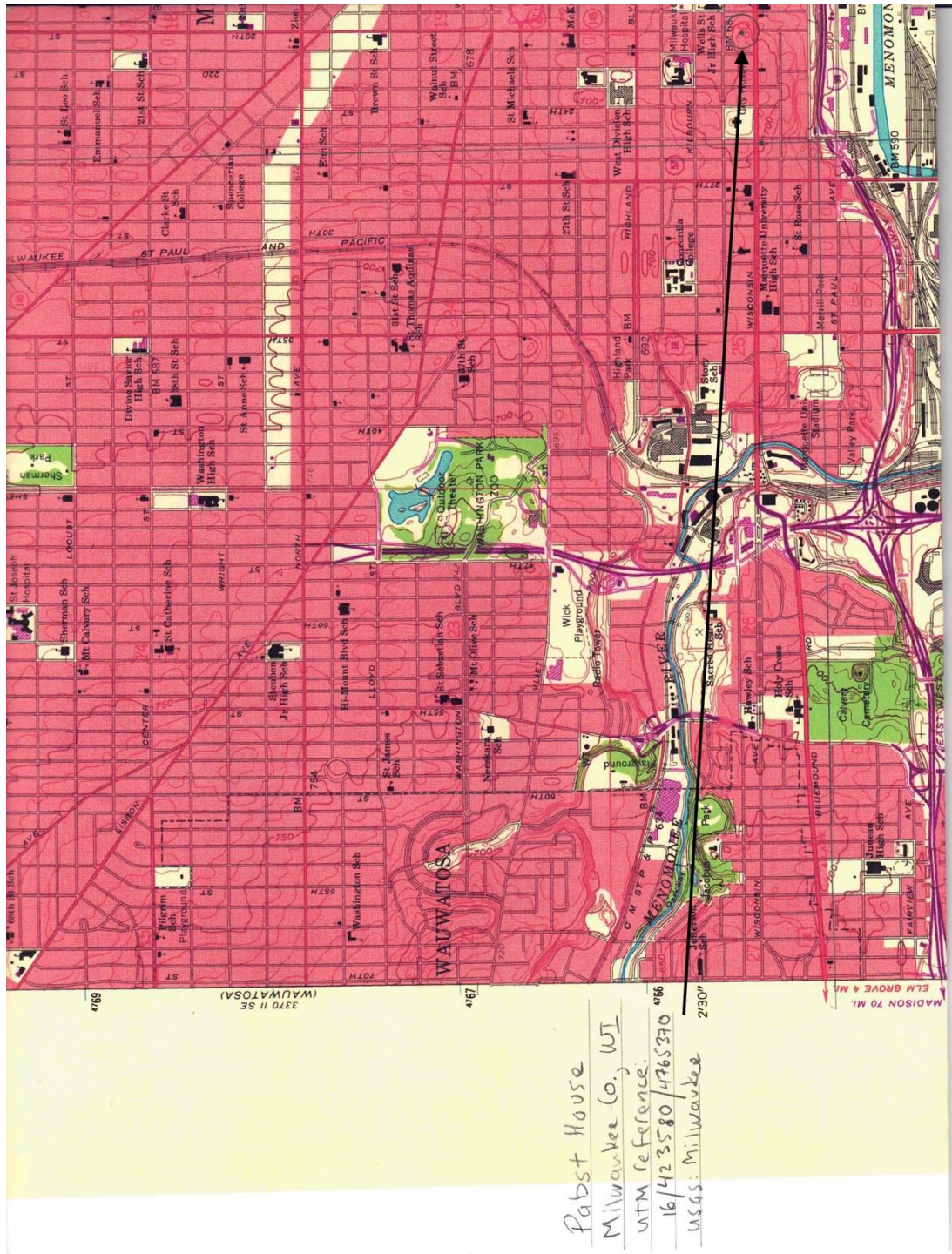
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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

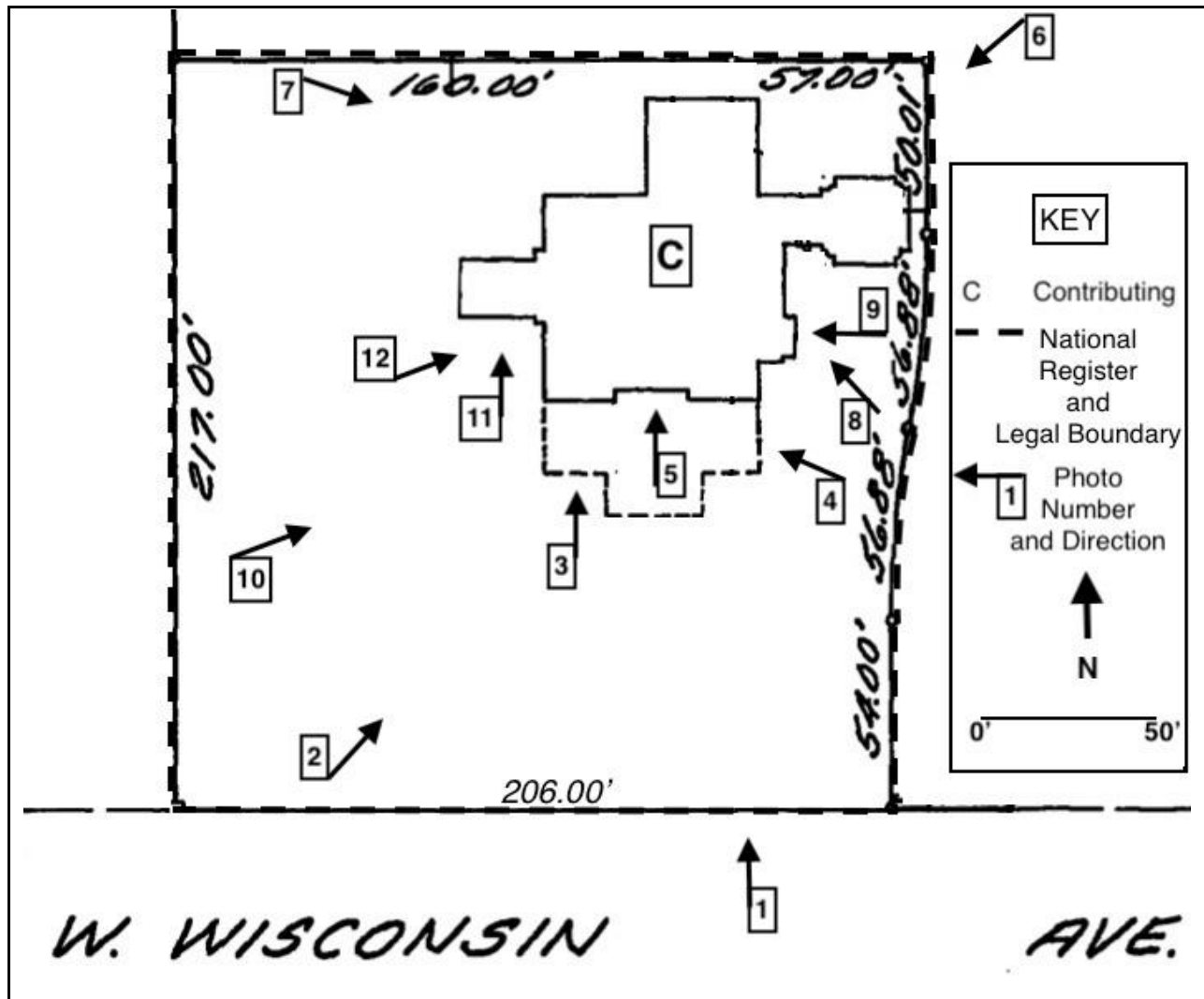
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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

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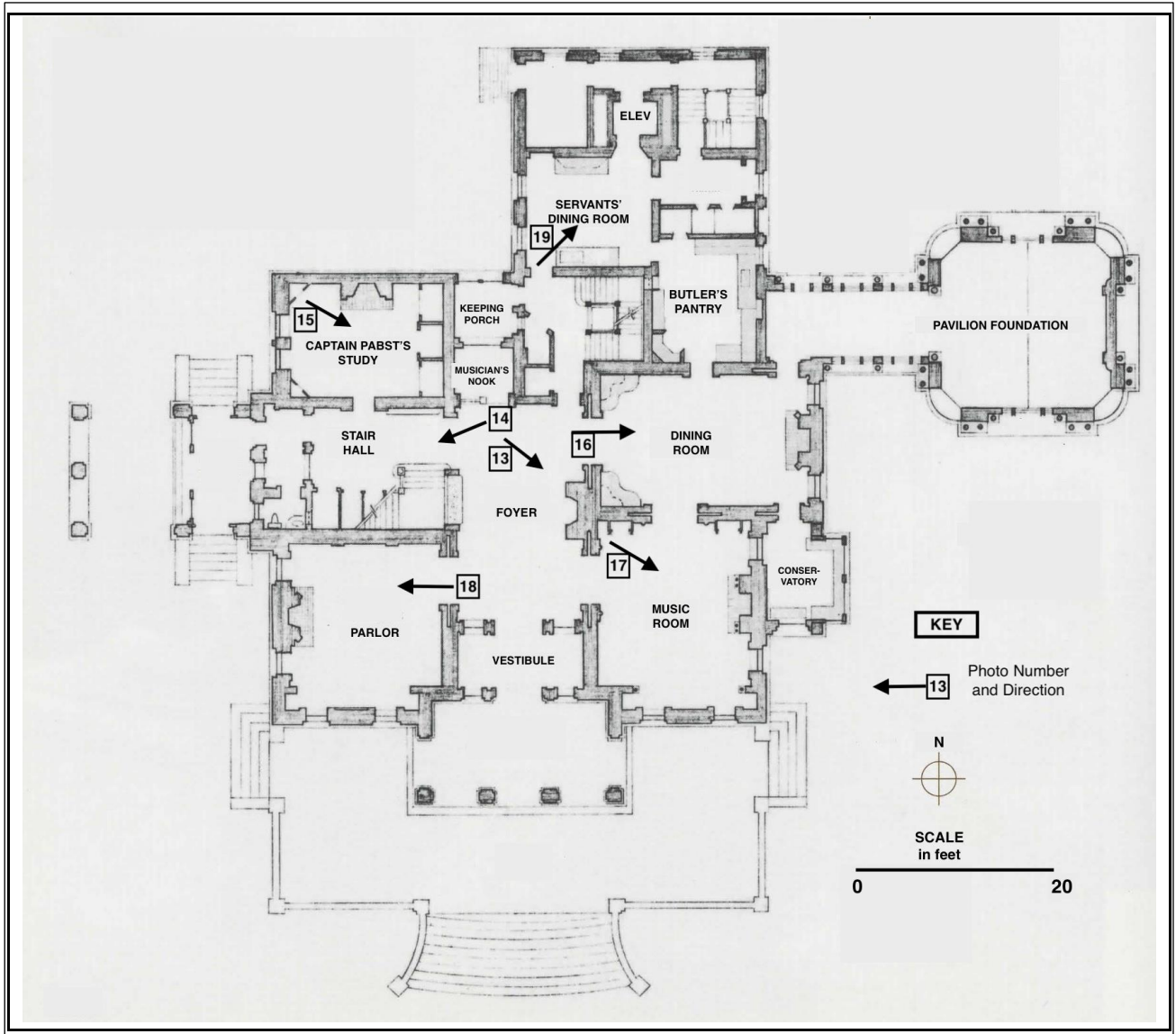


Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Figure 3. Frederick and Maria Pabst House, First Floor Plan with Photo Key.

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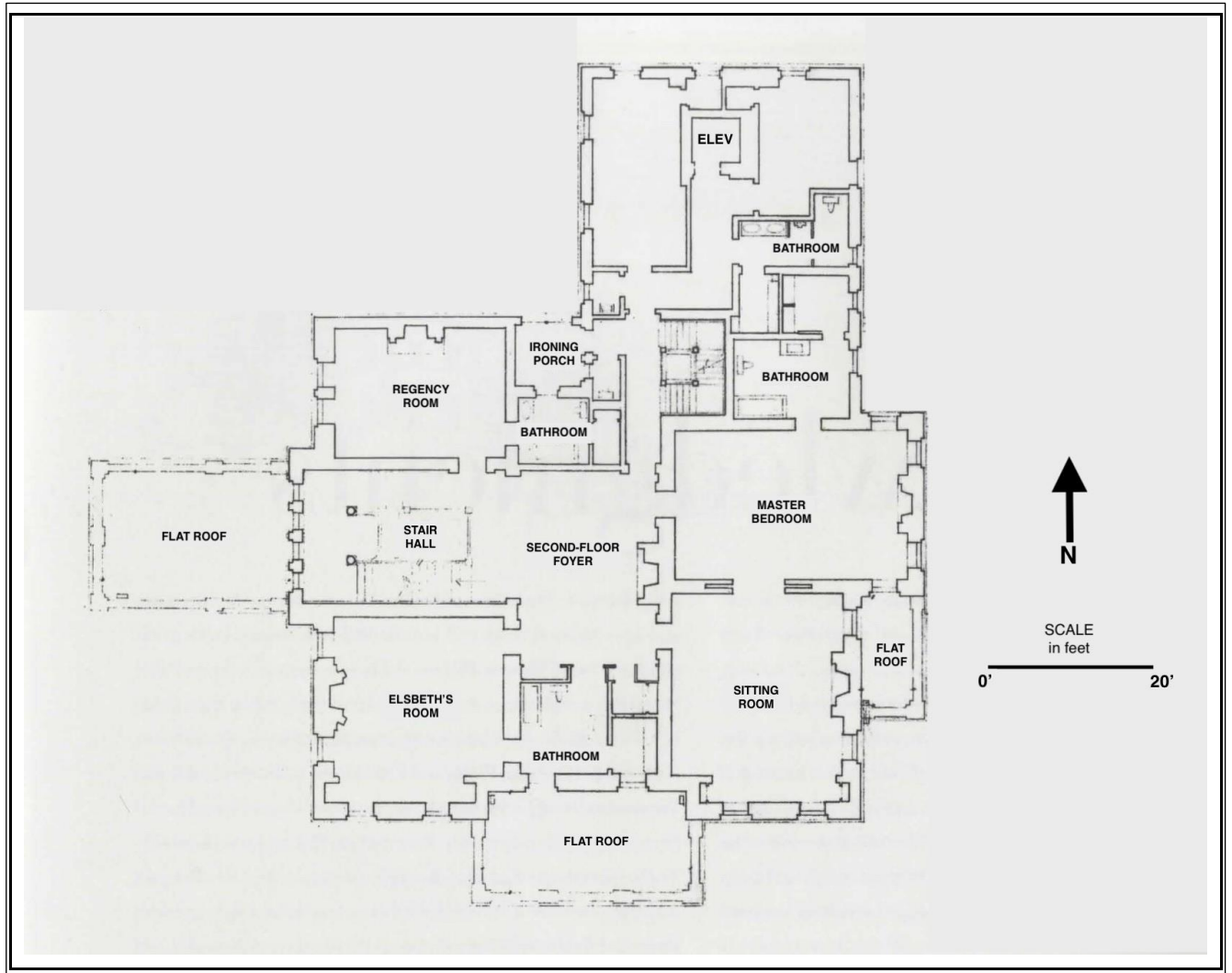


Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
Name of Property

Figure 4. Frederick and Maria Pabst House, Second Floor Plan.

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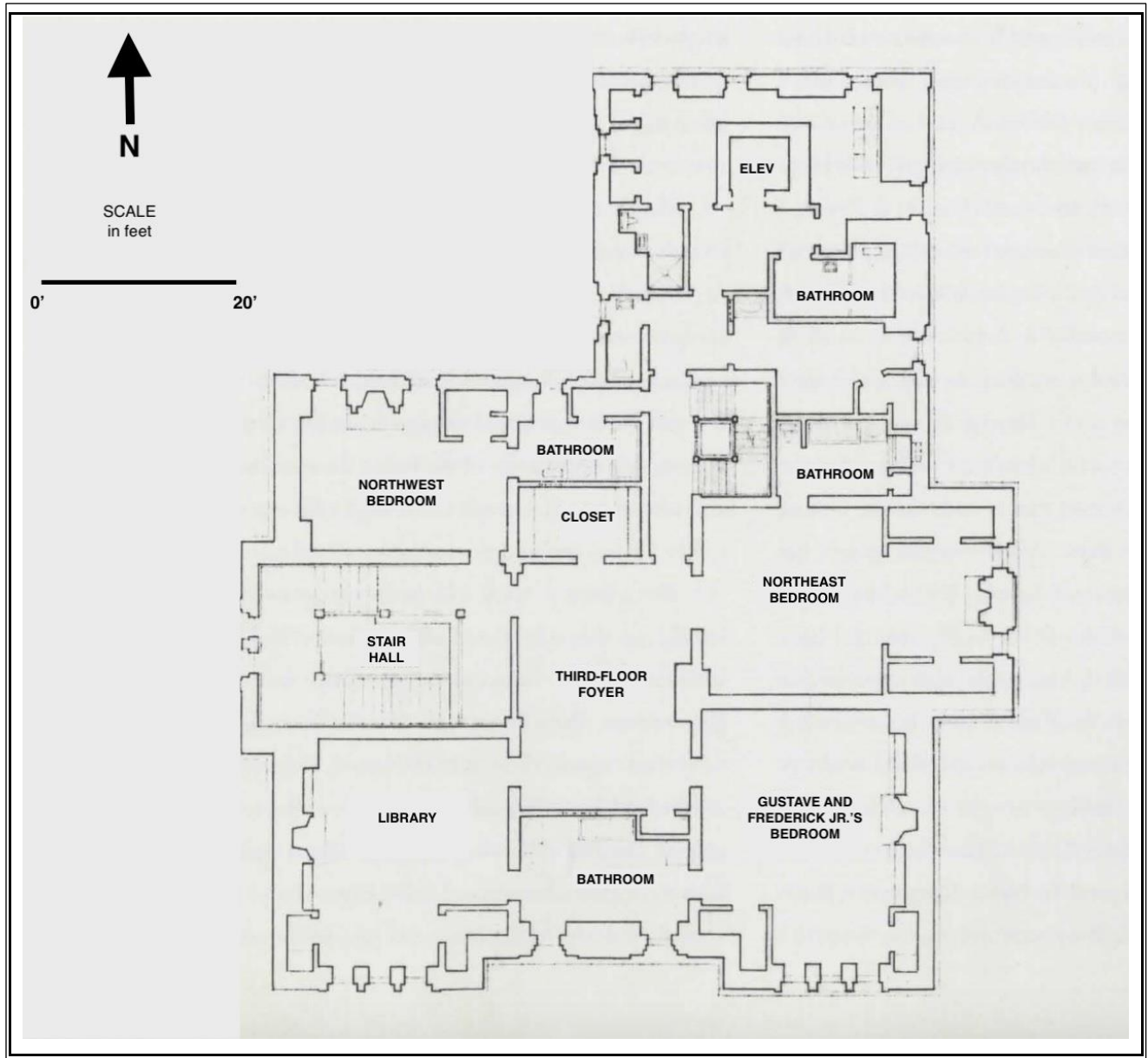
Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
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Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Figure 6. The Pabst House with the Pavilion Addition (far right).

Source: Pabst Mansion Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

Figure 7. The Carriage House, ca. 1896, Previously on Site of the Pabst House.

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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Name of Property

Figure 8. The Pabst Building, ca. 1900, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Source: Pabst Mansion Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

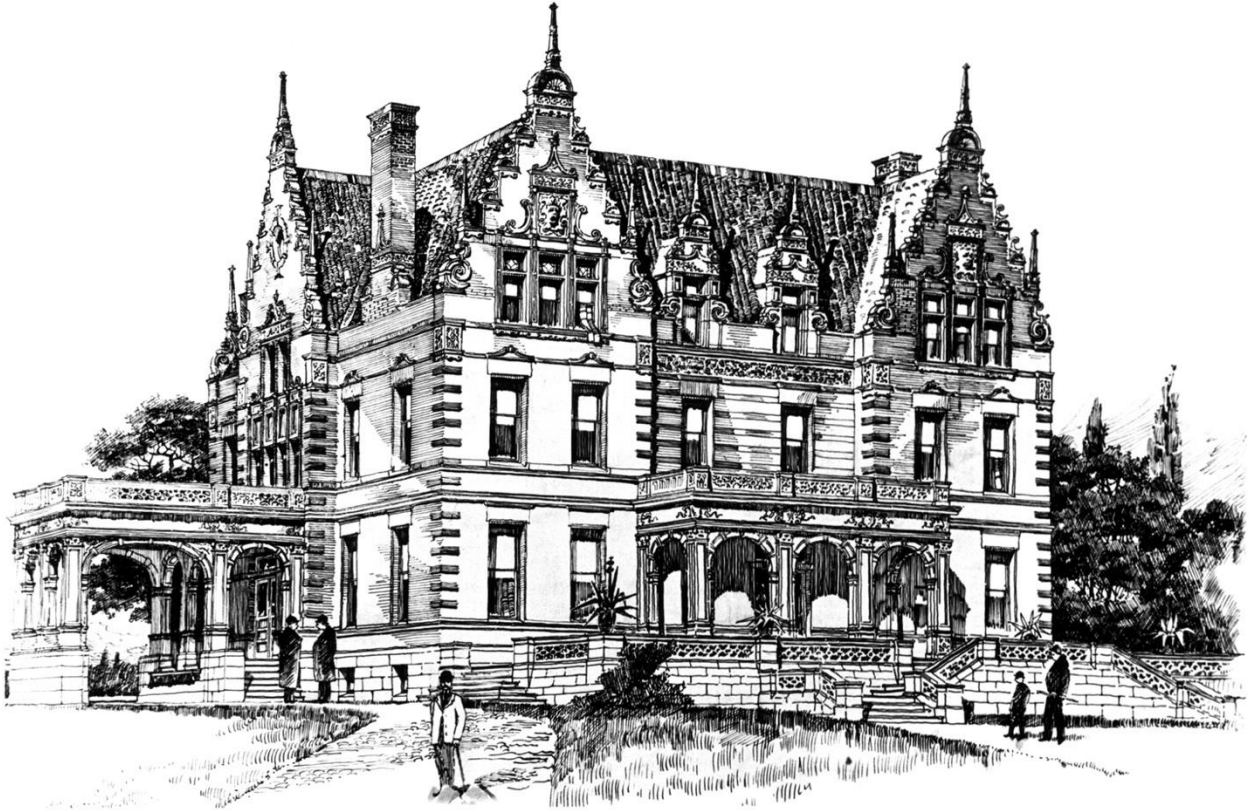
Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Figure 9. Rendering of the Pabst House, 1890, Attributed to Architect George B. Ferry.

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

Figure 10. Drawing of the Belgian Pavilion at the 1878 Paris Exposition.

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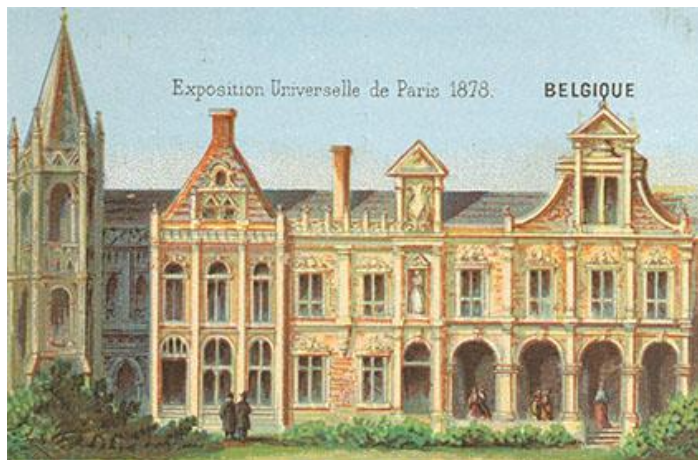


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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

County and State

Figure 12. *Salzspeicher*, Lubeck, Germany.

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Figure 20. West End Collegiate Church and School, ca. 1894, New York, New York.

Source: West End Church, "History," <https://www.westendchurch.org/history>, (retrieved July 28, 2024)



Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

Figure 21. Friedrich's Wing of the Heidelberg Castle, Heidelberg, Germany.

Source: Heidelberg Castle, "History of Design," 2015, <https://www.schloss-heidelberg.de/en/interesting-amusing/history-of-design>, (retrieved August 14, 2024).



Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

Figure 22. *Rathaus*, Hamburg, Germany.

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

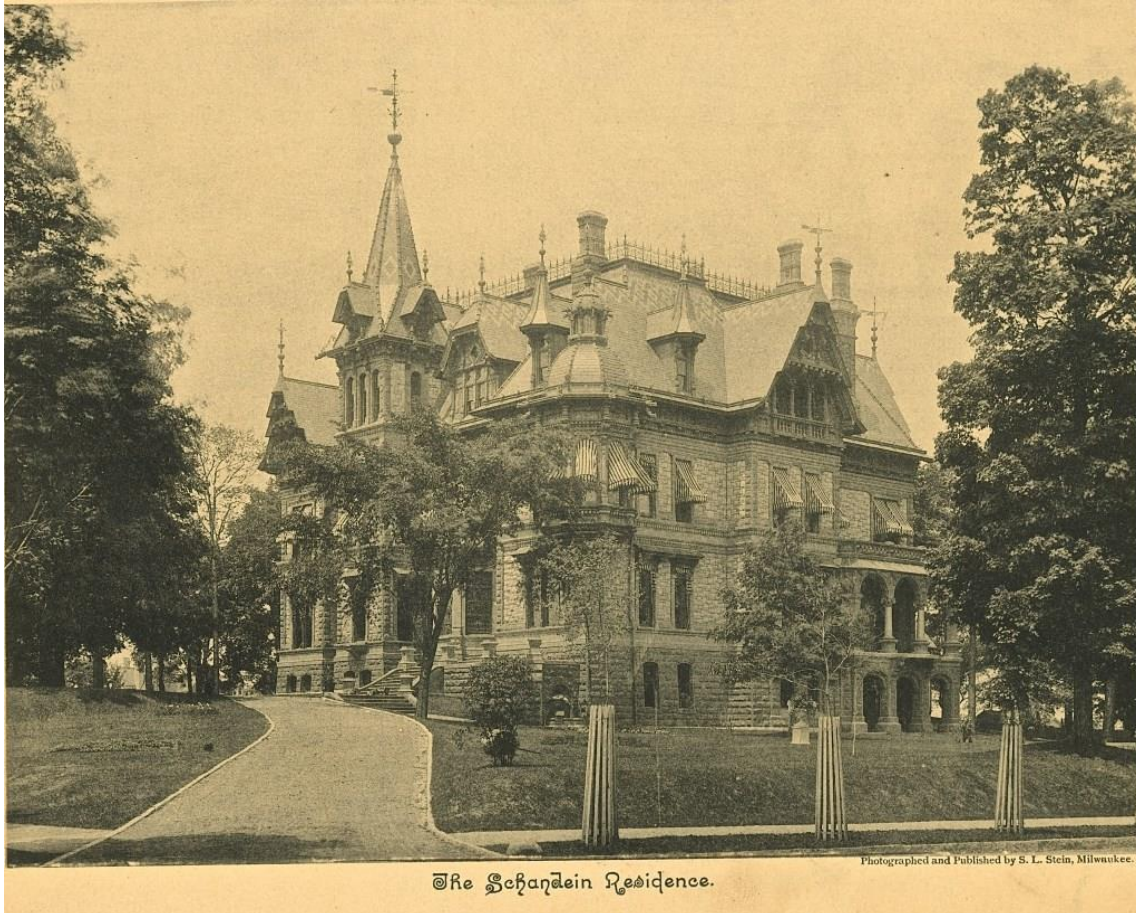
Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

County and State

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

Figure 27. Blow School, 1938, St. Louis, Missouri.

Source: Missouri History Museum, St. Joseph, Missouri, Photo No. P0900-18638-01-4a.



Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

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Milwaukee County,
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Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin
County and State

Name of Property

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Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
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Figure 32. Athenaeum (*Das Deutsche Haus*), 1970, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Source: Jack Boucher, Historic American Buildings Survey No. IN-063, reproduced in National Register of Historic Places, The Athenaeum, Indianapolis, Marion County, Indiana, Reference #73000032.



END OF FIGURES SECTION DO NOT DELETE

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once in the photograph log. The photograph order must correspond with the photograph log.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Frederick and Maria Pabst House

City or Vicinity: City of Milwaukee

County: Milwaukee County State: Wisconsin

Photographer: Elizabeth L. Miller

Date photographed: June 25, 2024 and August 3, 2024

Description of Photograph(s) and number, include description of view indicating direction of camera:

1 of 19.

Frederick and Maria Pabst House, south (front) façade, camera facing north.

2 of 19.

Closer view of south (front) façade, camera facing north-northeast.

3 of 19.

Closer view of west gable and west dormer on south (front) façade, camera facing north.

4 of 19.

Closer view of front porch, showing south and east sides, camera facing west-northwest.

5 of 19.

Closer view of south façade front doors, sidelights and transoms, camera facing north.

6 of 19.

East façade of main block (left), east façade and north façade of servants' wing (right), and foundation of former Beer Pavilion (left foreground), camera facing west-southwest.

7 of 19.

East and north façade of main block (right), and east façade of servants' wing (left), camera facing southeast.

8 of 19.

East façade of main block (left) and foundation of former Beer Pavilion (right), camera facing northwest.

9 of 19.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House

Milwaukee County,
Wisconsin

Name of Property

County and State

Closer view of east façade gable, camera facing west.

10 of 19.

East and south (front) façade of main block, camera facing east-northeast.

11 of 19.

Closer view of porte cochere, camera facing north.

12 of 19.

Closer view of east façade gable, camera facing east-northeast.

13 of 19.

First floor foyer, camera facing east-southeast.

14 of 19.

First floor stair hall, camera facing southwest.

15 of 19.

Captain Pabst's study, camera facing east-southeast.

16 of 19.

Dining room, camera facing east.

17 of 19.

Music room, showing the fireplace, camera facing east-northeast.

18 of 19.

Parlor, camera facing west.

19 of 19.

Servants' dining room, camera facing northeast.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for nominations to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.). We may not conduct or sponsor and you are not required to respond to a collection of information unless it displays a currently valid OMB control number.

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for each response using this form is estimated to be between the Tier 1 and Tier 4 levels with the estimate of the time for each tier as follows:

Tier 1 – 60-100 hours

Tier 2 – 120 hours

Tier 3 – 230 hours

Tier 4 – 280 hours

The above estimates include time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and preparing and transmitting nominations. Send comments regarding these estimates or any other aspect of the requirement(s) to the Service Information Collection Clearance Officer, National Park Service, 1201 Oakridge Drive Fort Collins, CO 80525.

Pabst, Frederick and Maria, House
 Name of Property

Milwaukee County,
 Wisconsin
 County and State

Property Owner

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

name/title	Morgan Sweet, Director of Advancement				
organization	Pabst Mansion, Inc.		date	August 23, 2024	
street & number	2000 W Wisconsin Ave		phone	414-931-0808	
city or town	Milwaukee	state	WI	zip code	53233

If there are other interested parties that should be noticed, please provide in the tables below

name/title	_____				
organization	_____		date	_____	
street & number	_____		phone	_____	
city or town	_____	state	WI	zip code	_____

name/title	_____				
organization	_____		date	_____	
street & number	_____		phone	_____	
city or town	_____	state	WI	zip code	_____

name/title	_____				
organization	_____		date	_____	
street & number	_____		phone	_____	
city or town	_____	state	WI	zip code	_____