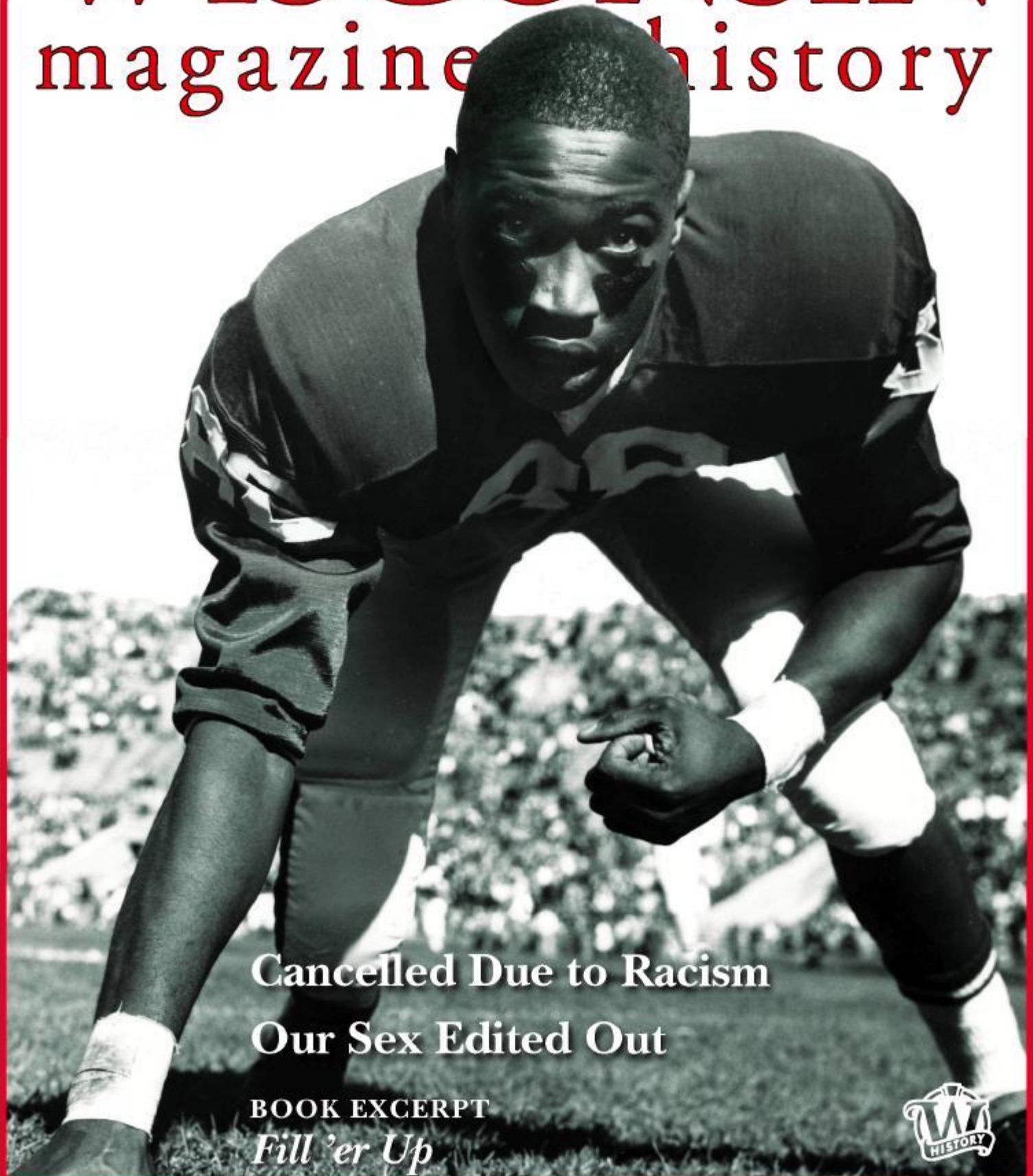


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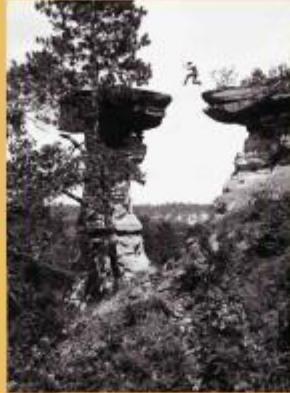


Cancelled Due to Racism
Our Sex Edited Out

BOOK EXCERPT
Fill 'er Up



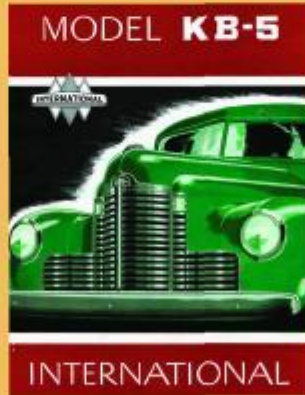
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On the front cover: In 1958, Earl Hill, the sure-handed end for the University of Wisconsin, was the team's leading pass receiver.

UW SPORTS INFORMATION



2



16



20



28

- 2 “Dying Like Rotten Sheep”**
Camp Randall as a Prisoner of War Facility During the Civil War
by Tommy Thompson

BOOK EXCERPT

- 16 Fill ’er Up**
The Glory Days of Wisconsin Gas Stations
by Jim Draeger and Mark Speltz

- 20 More To It Than Meets the Eye**
Odd Wisconsin Exhibit Presents Unique Objects with Fascinating Stories
by Joe Kapler

BOOK EXCERPT

- 26 Odd Wisconsin**
Amusing, Perplexing, and Unlikely Stories from Wisconsin’s Past
by Erika Janik

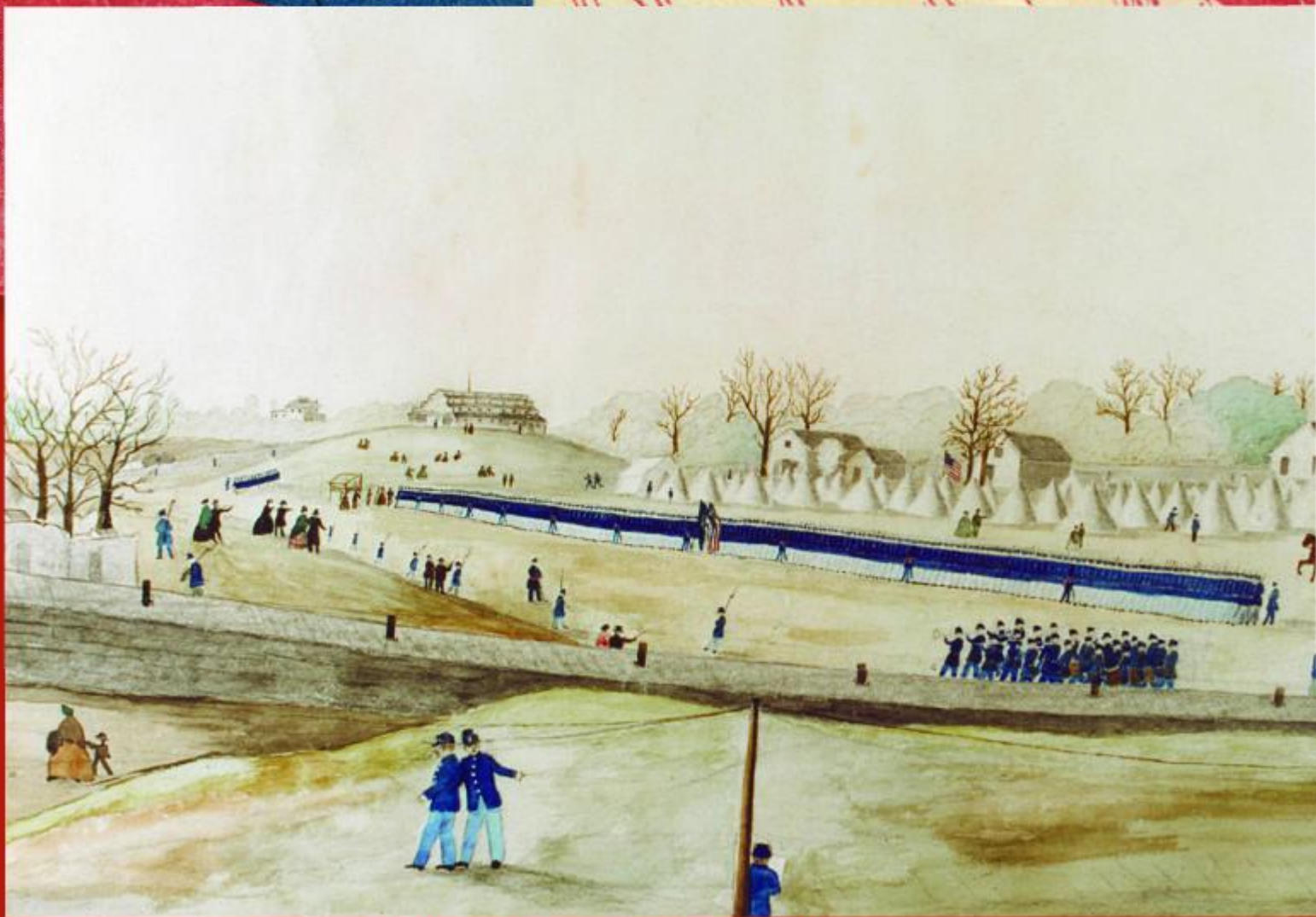
- 28 Way Past Deadline**
The Women’s Fight to Integrate the Milwaukee Press Club
by Kimberly Wilmot Voss and Lance Speere

- 44 Cancelled Due to Racism**
The Wisconsin Badger Football Games Against Louisiana State in 1957 and 1958
by Richard Carlton Haney

54 Letters

56 Curio

“DYING LIKE CAMP RANDALL AS A PRISONER OF

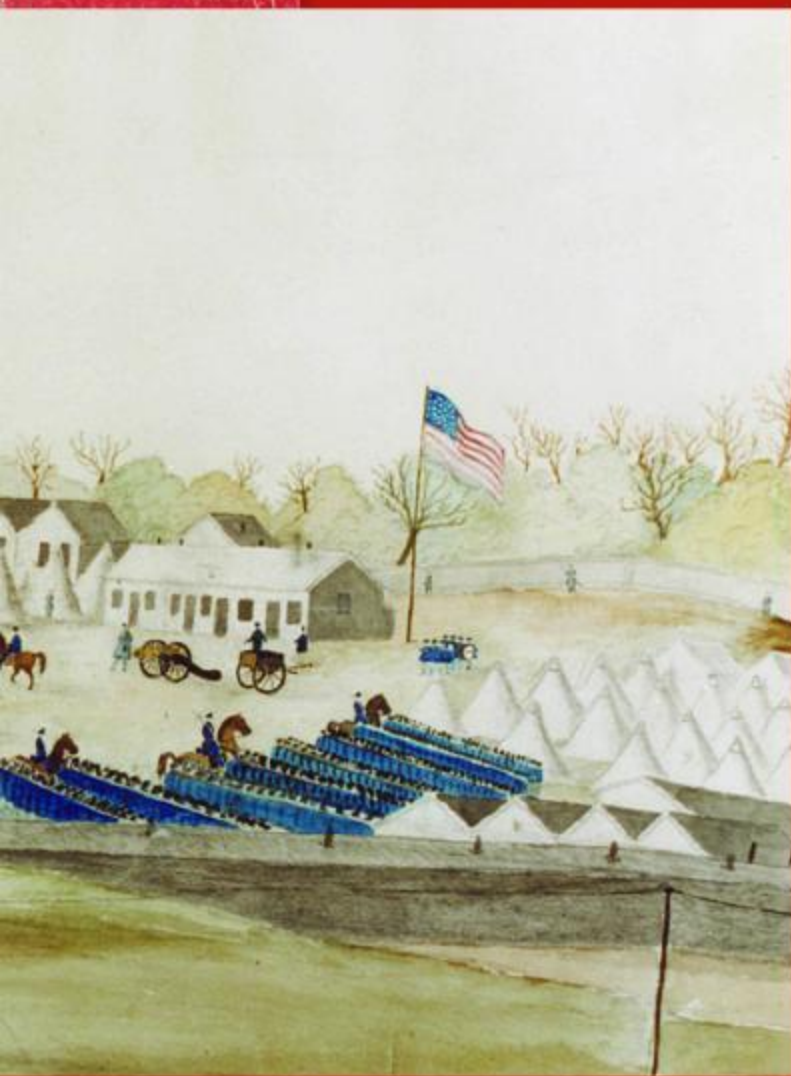


During the war Camp Randall was primarily used to train Union troops before they were sent to the front.

“ROTTEN SHEEP”

WAR FACILITY DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by Tommy Thompson



In late April 1862, Camp Randall was diverted from its primary purpose for a brief time in order to become a prison camp for captured Confederate soldiers. Camp Randall, located in Madison, Wisconsin, had originated as a troop training center in 1861 with a call from Governor Alexander W. Randall for volunteers to fight the South. The Wisconsin Agricultural Society responded by offering the state fair grounds, approximately ten acres, located west of Madison. Compared to other northern facilities, Camp Randall was not a major prison, holding prisoners only from late April through May 1862, although a small number of ill Confederates remained there into the summer of that year. Thousands more prisoners were held at Camp Douglas in Chicago, Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio, and the many other camps run by the Union during the Civil War. Consequently, fewer men died at Camp Randall—no more than 140 of the 26,000 Confederate soldiers that died in all union camps. Because of its relatively minor role, less has been written about Camp Randall by historians. However, captive soldiers at Camp Randall, as in all Civil War camps, north and south, endured illness, boredom, feelings of resentment, a desire for release, and death. All camps were tragic, and Camp Randall was part of that story.¹

In the spring of 1862, as a result of the Union's Mississippi River campaign, it became necessary to use Camp Randall as a prisoner of war camp. Wisconsin newspapers closely followed the Union advance down the Mississippi in early March; the subsequent evacuation of Columbus, Kentucky, by southern forces; and the movement of those troops near the Confederate fortified Island No. 10, located just a few miles upriver from New Madrid, Missouri. After erroneous reports regarding the fall of Island No. 10 during the last two weeks of March 1862, the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* in Madison victoriously announced in early April 1862 that U.S. warships had run past the island and cut it off from other southern forces. The South had lost a strategic position on the Mississippi, and consequently, U.S. forces now controlled the upper Mississippi River Valley.²

After Island No. 10 was bypassed, the Confederate troops tried unsuccessfully to flee, leaving "half-prepared meals." A soldier of the 4th Arkansas Battalion, one Thomas H. Lockridge, wrote to his family (with less than perfect spelling) shortly before his capture, "They have run us down the river as far as we can go. We are surrounded by the Lincolnites. They are above below and opposite us on the river batteris." It is unclear from the published Official Records whether the soldiers on the island were captured there or with other southern forces a few miles south near Tiptonville, Tennessee, on the eastern shore of the Mississippi. Major-General John Pope, whose forces occupied New Madrid, Missouri, reported from Tiptonville in two separate communications the number taken prisoner at two thousand to six thousand. The latter number appeared in the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, although Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War, reported to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton from Tiptonville that the number was about five thousand prisoners. Modern scholarship estimates a more accurate figure to be 4,400 prisoners.³

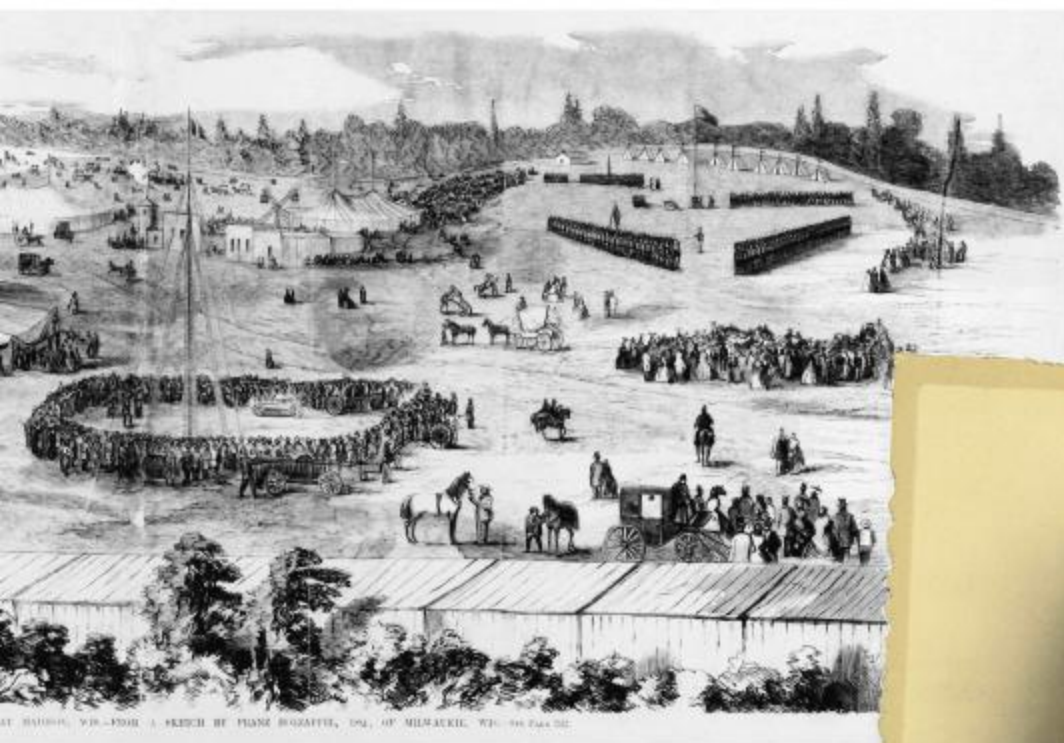
While a reporter for the *Chicago Times* wrote that the southerners were well-armed and clothed, although they appeared "gloomy and morose at being captured," a more realistic assessment of the Confederates' armaments appeared in a report by Confederate Brigadier-General William W. Mackall, written near Island No. 10 on April 1. Detailing the strength of the troops under his command, he stated that the 55th Tennessee had "few arms," the 11th Arkansas "all sorts of arms," including "[e]very variety [of] country guns," the 46th Tennessee had 160 of 400 men armed, and the 4th Arkansas Battalion was "badly armed."⁴

Once the prisoners were captured, the U.S. military had to decide where to send them. Major-General Henry W. Halleck, commander of the Department of Missouri and headquartered in Saint Louis, made the decision on April 9, telling General Pope to send Confederate officers to Fort Warren in Boston and Camp Chase in Columbus, Ohio, while enlisted men were assigned to various camps. Once again different sources reported different numbers for the camps selected. Halleck's



numbers were fifteen hundred for Camp Douglas in Chicago and one thousand for Camp Butler at Springfield, Illinois. On the same day he wrote Wisconsin Governor Louis P. Harvey that two thousand to three thousand would be assigned to camps in Madison and Milwaukee, although it turned out that no prisoners were sent to Milwaukee. They would reach Camp Randall by traveling up the Mississippi to Prairie du Chien, and from that point they would traverse Wisconsin. Some of the men originally sent to Camp Douglas would soon be sent to Camp Randall.⁵

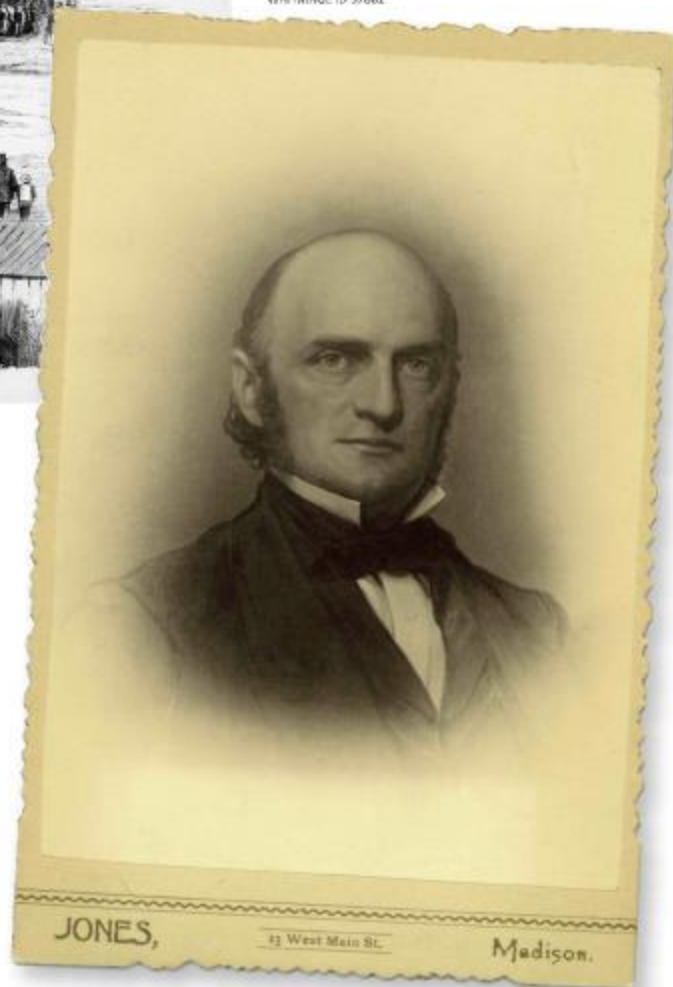
A tragedy of the movement of those prisoners who went directly to Madison is that many, if not most, of the men were ill. Pope wrote to Halleck on April 10 that he had a thousand sick prisoners at New Madrid, a number undoubtedly made worse because the federal forces held all Confederate enlisted men along the river bank in a cold rain, and he was unclear where to send them. Seventy-five Confederates had already been buried in a mass grave where they surrendered north of Tiptonville. Some may have died from wounds suffered in the Union attack, but many of the soldiers were probably ill. The Arkansas soldier Thomas Lockridge mentioned earlier had written to his mother that "I have been puny for 3 or 4 days." An article in the *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot* of Madison in early May noted that the eight-day trip for the prisoners sent directly to Madison was very difficult. The ship from Cairo, Illinois, was apparently so overcrowded that it could not be kept clean. The men were probably under-clothed (Thomas Lockridge, the Arkansas soldier, had also asked his mother to send additional clothing), and they had poor food rations and no medi-



This drawing from 1858 shows the state fair held on the grounds that would later become Camp Randall.

Alexander Randall was Wisconsin's governor at the outbreak of the Civil War, and lent his name to Camp Randall.

WHI IMAGE ID 57862



cine. Reportedly, ten of them were buried at Prairie du Chien. Overall, the condition of the southern soldiers certainly helped determine what would happen when they arrived at their sites of imprisonment.⁶

In early April 1862, troops in training were notified that southern prisoners would be sent to Camp Randall, and they began preparing for the arrival of the Confederates. One of the local newspapers reported that the barracks were “renovated and repaired” and some bunks were replaced, although the complete accuracy of this statement is questionable. In the first week of May, Lieutenant-Colonel William Hoffman, the U.S. government’s Commissary-General of Prisoners, had been visiting Camp Randall. He wrote to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton that the barracks for the prisoners “are mere sheds” and that rubbish in the camp was left for the prisoners to remove. By mid-April the 19th Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteers—an independent regiment organized by Racine lawyer Horace T. Sanders and the only available troops in Wisconsin at the time—prepared to go to Madison from Racine to guard the soon-to-arrive prisoners. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Whipple and three or four companies of the 19th Wisconsin would arrive in Madison on April 19th, and while Sanders was in charge of the 19th Wisconsin, Whipple was given command of Camp Randall and handled matters relating to the prisoners.⁷

The first 881 southerners reached Camp Randall the evening of April 20, coming by way of Camp Douglas in Chicago; and three hundred more arrived April 24 along with Sanders who had accompanied the prisoners from Prairie Du Chien. The majority of the prisoners were from the 1st Ala-

bama Infantry, although a fair number hailed from Tennessee and Arkansas as well. Curious local citizens anticipated their arrival for a week, watching every train that stopped in Madison. The *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* reported that as the first of the Confederates disembarked from the railroad cars, there were no “taunts or jeers,” and that the prisoners “behaved well.” Some fairly good-natured exchanges did take place. As the prisoners marched to the camp, one local vocalized his opinion about the power of the Union, to which a Confederate replied: “I reckon you are one of the stay-at-home kind—to do the windy work.” When the next group of prisoners reached the camp on April 24, probably by way of Prairie du Chien, at least sixty of the men were seriously wounded or

ill. Guards from the 19th Wisconsin Regiment helped these individuals traverse the ground to the camp. Some local citizens also tried to make life more comfortable for all prisoners, both well and unwell, by providing newspapers and other reading material, jellies, puddings, and brandy.⁸

Overall, the local newspapers contended that the prisoners were treated well and were pleased with conditions at Camp Randall. Some played ball and cards or read, although the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* said some “sat in moody silence” and the *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot* commented on some of the men’s “listless attitudes.” Unfortunately, one other activity the Confederates engaged in was fighting amongst themselves, as did men in all of the prison camps. George J. Paddock, one of the 19th Wisconsin Regiment guards, described his feelings regarding the prisoners in letters to family members (also with his own unique spelling), declaring that the prisoners fought “like the devil.” He said one prisoner killed another when they were “quarling a bout there super.” The next day the killer was stabbed. The newspapers also claimed that the men who wrote letters told their families that conditions at the camp were good. This view possibly reflected prisoners’ feelings during the first days at Camp Randall. However, Whipple or one of his subordinates read all letters the Confederate soldiers wrote, a standard practice, and it was possible the censor did not allow letters to leave the camp if they complained too much about conditions or mentioned the high death rate that developed. One former prisoner, J. C. R. Kerr of Texas, wrote a half century after the war ended that the prisoners were treated very well by Whipple, but that conditions worsened after the first two weeks when the U.S. Commissary General of Prisoners would visit the camp and place primary authority in the hands of another officer selected by him. Former prisoner P. E. Ward, of Gaston, Alabama, also wrote in 1898 that Whipple treated the prisoners well and that he had “a cherished respect” for him.⁹

One of the most interesting comments made by a local citizen was that of a reporter for the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*. He remarked that the southerners did not suffer the “bullying and insults heaped upon Union prisoners held by the South, to say nothing of the starvation and cruelty practiced upon our men in captivity at Richmond and other points.” By 1863, the treatment of prisoners worsened on both sides and feelings reflected the change, but to read such a bitter view so early in the war is somewhat of a surprise. Probably even in the spring of 1862 the Confederates received mixed treatment from the men of the 19th Wisconsin regiment who guarded them. Paddock wrote that some of the rebels were “as nice men as I ever see.” On the other hand, some were “big devils as was ever in the world.” He concluded that “I pity some . . . and some of them I would as live kill . . . and I will kill them if they cross my beat.”¹⁰

From the first day at the camp it was obvious the two sides, Confederate prisoners and local, loyal Union citizens, understood each other no better than did the North and South prior

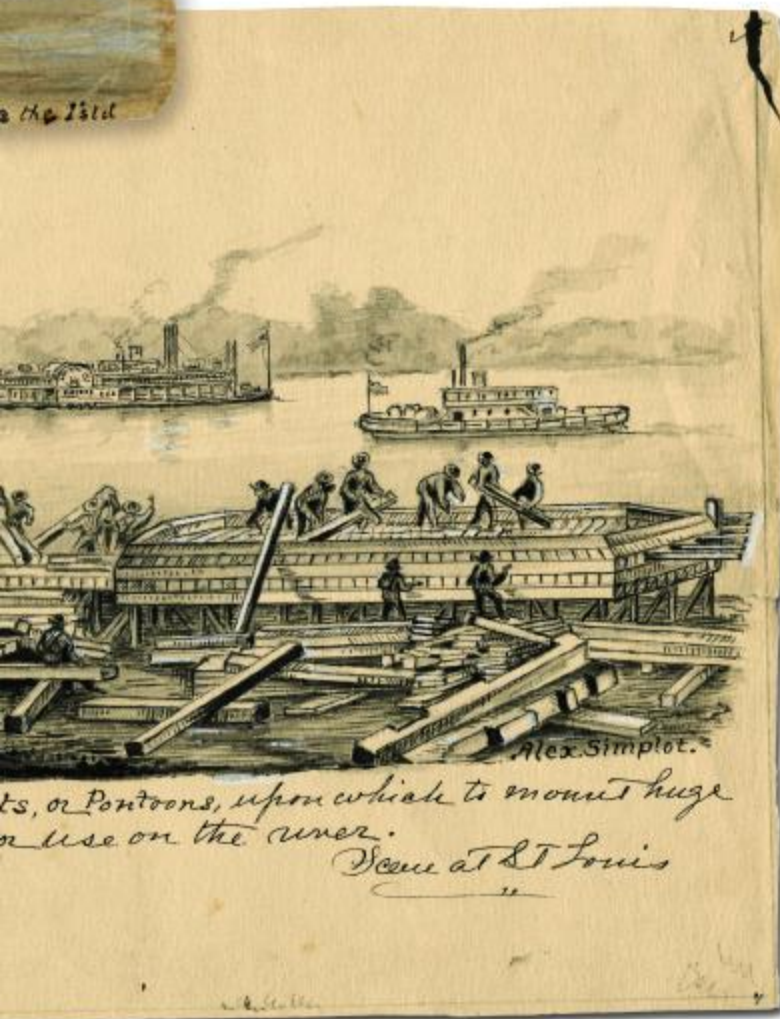


to the outbreak of war. When Whipple allowed Madison newspaper reporters to visit and interview the prisoners in late April, the feelings became obvious. A reporter for the *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot* said he felt almost sorry for the “rag, shag, bob-tail . . . chaps,” especially because they had been under the influence of “scheming, unprincipled demagogues.” Whether accurate or not, this visitor to the camp felt most of the prisoners seemed to “lack intelligence” and they probably came from the “floating floodwood of society,” the “fungi of southern peasantry.” What confounded this northerner most was the reasoning of the southern prisoners as to why they were fighting. The Confederates said they were fighting for their “liberties.” The reporter replied that the southerners had the same liberties as all Americans, such as the liberty to earn a living. A Mississippian tried to further enlighten the reporter by telling him southerners were also fighting for the liberty to own slaves, to which the reporter answered that only abolitionists called for the end of slavery, and they (abolitionists) were “odious” to most northerners. Perhaps southern men fought because they hated northern society, because they simply wanted adventure in what everyone “knew” would be a short war, because they felt public pressure to join the army, or even because they wanted to defend states’ rights. Or, as for the Arkansas soldier Thomas H. Lockridge, perhaps they fought because whatever the reason or reasons the southerner had for joining the Confederate forces, they were the “right ones.” As Lockridge explained in a letter to one of his sisters in late February 1862, “I hope and trust we will



Gunboats on the Mississippi River at Island Number 10, drawn by Wisconsin artist Alexander Simplot

Pontoons under construction at St. Louis. Mortars were mounted on these pontoons for use in the Union's offensive against the Confederate Army in the spring of 1862.



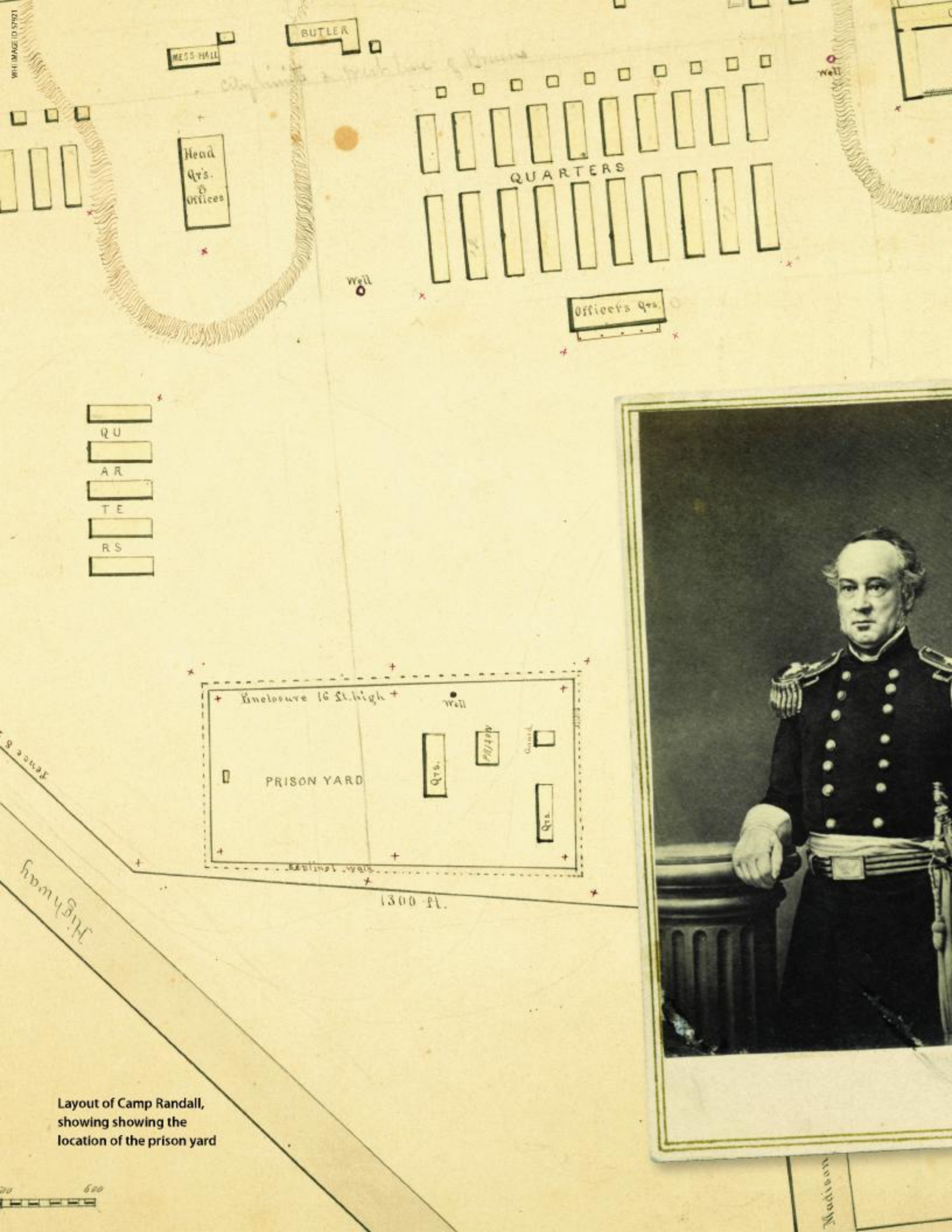
come out victorious at last if we will do as we should. I think God is on our side." How could anyone understand the other side when God was on his side?¹¹

Very likely the Confederate prisoners held no love for their captors. Many probably felt it was their duty to make life difficult for those who guarded them, and as a result, the question of discipline was bound to be a central question at the camp. It became so April 29 when two prisoners escaped. Since the camp was surrounded only by a low fence, flight could not have been overly difficult. The two men were quickly caught around ten miles east of Madison. When captured, they said their par-

ents lived near Madison and they were simply going home. Whipple, however, made them walk through Madison tied together as they were brought back to camp. He immediately ordered a cessation of all visitors to Camp Randall because it was too difficult to distinguish between loyal and disloyal individuals. The *Daily State Journal* did report a few days later that a private in the 19th Wisconsin, one of the guards, had been bribed by the two southerners, and he was arrested and sentenced to be shot. George Paddock wrote to his father in early May that the guilty guard was being held in irons awaiting his fate.¹²

Hoffman arrived at the camp by May 6, and wrote to Whipple on May 7 that all orders and regulations to "promote discipline and preserve good order in the camp" should be "observed." Before leaving Camp Randall, Hoffman assigned Major Richard S. Smith, who was in Madison on a recruiting assignment, to act for him. He made clear to Smith and Whipple that the former was really in control and could issue orders in Hoffman's name regarding discipline in the camp. It is also quite likely that Smith instituted a rule created by Hoffman for Camp Douglas in Chicago a week earlier that said the camp commander had to hold all money belonging to prisoners so that they could not use it to bribe guards. Smith wrote to Hoffman about two weeks later that camp conditions were "gradually improving" but that there was still an "extraordinary delay in fulfilling promises to execute orders," presumably by the camp commander. Despite Smith's efforts, other cases of attempted escapes undoubtedly occurred, although the surviving information is sparse. Thomas N. Shearer, a former prisoner, wrote in the 1920s that four of his company who were in the hospital in the camp's initial days walked away from the camp the first night there and eventually surfaced in Mississippi. Also, in June, two prisoners who were helping care for the sick in the hospital walked out of the camp and, according to Smith, probably boarded a train headed east or west. Camp guards did nothing to apprehend them.¹³

Guards reported that their level of frustration occasionally became intolerable because, they claimed, the prisoners were so insolent and abusive. On May 16 the situation exploded at Camp Randall when a sentry, Clarence Wicks, shot and killed a prisoner. This incident occurred when a prisoner, H. W. Spears, came out of the hospital building to relieve himself at one of the "sinks" (a ground toilet). According to testimony given at a court of inquiry, which met the same day, the sentry ordered the prisoner to use another sink, either because the other one was not finished or because the guard preferred that the prisoner relieve himself at a greater distance from the guard's location. The prisoner refused to move, so the guard threw a "small stone" and hit Spears in the face. At this point, six or seven prisoners came running, and Spears' brother, G. W. Spears, called the guard a "damned son of a bitch." The guard then shot and killed G. W. Spears. Wicks told the court that he had been



Layout of Camp Randall,
showing showing the
location of the prison yard

ordered "to shoot rebels insulting me and did shoot him." The *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot* reported that Whipple had indeed told the sentries to shoot prisoners who would not obey or who used foul language against guards.¹⁴

Wicks was supported by the testimony of Sergeant Eber Hill, who said prisoners would often try to use the toilet near guards just to irritate them and that they would often use "obscene and sometimes mutinous language" when told to use toilets further away. As a result, the three-member court concluded that Spears had been particularly aggressive and that Wicks was justified in protecting himself by shooting Spears. The court, by a two-to-one vote, found it unnecessary to hear testimony from H. W. Spears, the brother of the dead man. A

few days later, on May 23, Smith added in a letter to Hoffman that "none of the prisoners who were present were examined." This situation may have bothered Hoffman because when he sent a copy of the court's proceedings to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton on May 26, he wrote that he did not know whether the inquiry had been "properly conducted." He did feel that the incident probably had occurred because of "a want of discipline in the camp."¹⁵

The *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* reported that a few days prior to the Spears episode, another sentry tried to shoot a prisoner when the latter called him "a Bull Run son of a bitch," but his musket misfired. The only other known shooting incident occurred the evening of May 16, after the shooting of Spears. With a rather macabre sense of humor, the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* reported that with the fall of darkness there was an alarm given. A sentry saw movement, and thinking an escape attempt was taking place, he fired. He hit his intended target and it collapsed. The fugitive? A dead vagrant dog. The sentry had challenged the dark figure, but according to the newspaper, the "dog made no reply."¹⁶

Henry Halleck was headquartered in St. Louis and directed the theatre in which Island Number 10 was located. In July 1862 Halleck became General-in-Chief of the Union armies, headquartered in Washington, D.C.

WHI IMAGE ID 57915

The most important concern at Camp Randall was the death rate among the prisoners. Immediately after prisoners arrived at the camp, the local newspapers began keeping a running tabulation of the number and names of prisoners dying. From May 1 through May 7, thirty-one died. Thomas Lockridge, the soldier correspondent from Arkansas, was number two on the list. By May 10, fifty-eight had died, and eventually the number would approach one hundred and forty. In early May, Joseph A. Potter, Assistant Quartermaster at Camp Douglas in Chicago, traveled from Chicago to Madison to investigate the "situation and condition" of prisoners at Camp Randall. He reported that he found conditions "even worse than has been reported to me." The hospital, with two hundred sick, was in a "terribly bad condition." Some of the men were lying on the bare floor, and he felt many were dying because of a lack of proper care and attention. For Potter to make these comments, conditions at Camp Randall must have been fairly bad—considering that Camp Douglas was already becoming "a killing ground of pestilence," according to a recent study of that camp. Potter blamed the doctors, the camp commander, or both, and on May 1 sent his findings to Hoffman, Paddock, who helped bury the dead Confederates, felt some remorse regarding the deaths. He wrote to his father that the rebels have a "hard time here they dye off like rotten sheepe." He added that "when they are ded we take them and put them in to a bag and throw them in to a grave and cover them up and go and get an other one."¹⁷

Rumors of poor conditions at Camp Randall, and news of the death rate among the prisoners spread rapidly in Madison.

Captured Confederate soldiers at a train depot in Chattanooga, Tennessee, wait to be transported north.



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Recruiting poster for the 19th Wisconsin Infantry

By this time Hoffman had arrived at Camp Randall to examine all aspects of the facility. He was visiting camps in several states as ordered by the Quartermaster-General, Brigadier-General Montgomery C. Meigs of the army. In a report to Secretary of War Stanton, Hoffman said the camp was not set up well, the guards of the 19th Wisconsin were poorly armed and lacking discipline, and the sick were "in a very bad condition." He felt the doctors were probably unequal to the task of caring for the prisoners. Something that shocked him a great deal was the disappearance of medicines. The camp had received 168 pint bottles of liquors to use as medicine from Chicago, what should have been a six-month supply for the Regiment and twelve hundred prisoners. All of the medicine was gone in five days. As a result, Hoffman ordered that the local physician, Hobbins, be put in charge of the sick prisoners on a full time basis at a salary of one hundred dollars per month, and the doctors of the 19th Regi-



The *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* reported on May 3 that there was talk of "gross neglect" at the hospital and expressed hope that the situation would be corrected. Men from the *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot* visited the hospital to see for themselves. They found a local physician, Dr. Joseph Hobbins, helping the prisoners. Hobbins was assisted by Dr. William A. Martin, a surgeon with the Confederate forces, and Homer C. Markham and Thomas J. Linton, doctors with the 19th Wisconsin Regiment. On May 4 Martin responded to the rumor of gross neglect published in the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* the previous day. He said the doctors were doing everything possible for the men, and that readers should be informed many of the Confederates were already ill when captured and that those who came up the Mississippi had suffered greatly on the boat. The *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* then moderated its accusatory tone and stated the newspaper did not mean to blame the doctors, who told the newspaper's representatives some of the

Thirty-five years after the war, former prisoner P. E. Ward expressed gratitude in a letter to Major Frank Oakley. He was thankful to both Colonel Whipple and the Orderly Sergeant of the 19th for their kind treatment of him at Camp Randall.

ment were ordered to attend only to the men of the 19th Regiment. Then Hoffman directed that three Confederate doctors from Camp Douglas in Chicago be sent to Camp Randall to aid Hobbins. However, these men did not stay. The southern doctors considered themselves non-combatants who were allowed to leave the camp to go into the town. When the camp commander denied them this privilege they refused to work, so the commander ordered them back to Chicago. Lastly, Hoffman directed that the hospital building should be repaired and that sanitation in the camp should be improved. He did add in a letter to Smith that Confederate privates could be used as nurses, and the sick prisoners should have clean clothes, sheets and pillow cases, and bathing tubs. Unfortunately, the number of sick continued to be high. In late May, when Hoffman ordered all Camp Randall prisoners who were well enough to travel sent to Camp Douglas in Chicago, 238 of the 1,036 prisoners were ill.¹⁹

Although Hoffman may have brought about improved conditions (it is not known if his reforms actually took place), his career as Commissary-General of Prisoners is certainly controversial. Although he ordered reforms, Hoffman always told subordinates to do things as cheaply as possible. In letter after letter to officers in charge of helping sick prisoners, he always told them to be parsimonious. For Camp Randall, Hoffman instructed Smith that the prisoners be kept clean. Smith should create a hospital fund by not using all the provisions offered by the contractor. As Hoffman said, if Smith could withhold "any part of the ration . . . without harm let it be done," so Smith could use the money saved to purchase furniture and other items for the prisoners. On May 23 Smith wrote to Hoffman that by reducing rations for the prisoners at Camp Randall he had purchased for them ("very cheap from the State") a thousand combs, five hundred towels and about twenty-two dollars of tobacco. Hoffman's superior, Meigs, encouraged such frugality by declaring that prisoners were only entitled to one ration per day. Did cutting rations for all prisoners have a negative impact on health and relegate more men to the hospital and possibly a grave?

Hon F. W. Oakley
Madison Wis
Kind Sir

Answer early favor of
Gaston Ala
Jan 11th 1898

P.S. could you give me the
address of Col Whipple 19th Wis
or the address of the Orderly
Sergeant Co H 19th Wis I mean
about May & June of 1862
I have a cherished respect
for both of those men. They
treated me nicely & were they
ever to come my way I
would give them a kindly
& hospitable welcome
P. E. W.



Confederate prisoners occasionally had time to make things—such as this horse hair finger ring given to Colonel G. E. Bryant by an unidentified prisoner.

WISCONSIN VETERANS MUSEUM

Hoffman carried out a policy of thrift demanded by the army, but in the process he may have done more harm than good as far as the prisoners were concerned in all camps.²⁰

In late May 1862 rumors quickly circulated around Madison that all prisoners were going to be sent to Camp Douglas in Chicago. What was a rumor in the *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* on May 28 developed as fact the next day when the newspaper announced that the 19th Wisconsin was "to leave speedily" and that Hoffman had ordered all prisoners to be sent to Chicago except for those too ill to travel. On May 30 all those capable of enduring the journey left on twenty-three freight cars for Camp Douglas. The 19th Wisconsin Volunteers accompanied them in three coaches, on their way to the war front in Virginia. At least one hundred ill prisoners, a few Confederates to act as nurses, and a small guard of fifty men of the 19th Wisconsin Volunteers were left behind at Camp Randall. On June 22 Smith reported to Hoffman that he had sent about forty sick prisoners to Chicago in early June and planned to send about fifty more the next day. That would leave only twelve to fifteen in the hospital, according to his numbers. The *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot* reported in late June that there were still twenty men remaining at the camp, although this number probably included the Confederate attendants. Smith told Hoffman in a letter that just a few days earlier, two attendants in the hospital had walked away from the camp and that the

guards made no effort to apprehend them. Smith also reported during the first three weeks in June at least twenty-five to thirty prisoners had died, bringing the total dead to 138.²¹

The small number of sick prisoners and the handful of Confederate attendants remained at Camp Randall another month. Smith wrote to Hoffman August 22 that when the last group of men left, there were only five or six left at the camp to die as well as two or three attendants, making eight in all.²² Smith told Hoffman that four of these men had asked to take the oath of allegiance, which he had administered to them. They planned to find work in Madison and save money to pay for a return trip to their homes in the south when there was no danger of being forced back into the Confederate forces. The other four, according to Smith, were "doing good and faithful service" at Camp Randall and asked to remain there. Smith asked Hoffman if he would allow them to do so, but no reply could be found.²³

Thus ended Camp Randall's time as a prisoner of war camp. Following the Civil War, buildings were sold or destroyed and the land put to other purposes. It was lucky that the camp was not the destination point for even more prisoners—twelve hundred prisoners or so on ten acres was bad enough, considering the amount of human waste and potential spread of disease. The prisoners at Camp Randall, in their brief stay, probably experienced very similar treatment to that

Register of Deaths of Prisoners

No.	Names	Rank	Regt.	Comp.	Date
71	W. J. Beard	Private		C	May 15 th
72	Robert Rily	"		D	" 15
73	Pierce Register	"		C	" 15
74	John V. Stagner	"		C	" 15
75	J. H. Smith	"		H	" 15
76	Wm. Ingraham	"		C	" 15
77	J. M. Edwards	"		C	" 15
78	H. Faulk	"		D	" 15
79	Edward Smith	"		C	" 16
80	L. W. Spears	Corporal		B	" 16
81	J. M. Mays	Private		E	" 16
82	J. M. Paul	"		G	" 17
83	J. H. Flowers	"		H	" 19
84	N. Smart	"		C	" 19
85	S. V. Barber	"		H	" 20

Camp Ra

Regiment
1 st Alabama
1 st Alabama
1 st Alabama
1 st Ala. Tenn. & Miss.
1 st Alabama
1 st Alabama
1 st Ala. Tenn. & Miss.
1 st Alabama
1 st Alabama
1 st Ala. Tenn. & Miss.
10 th Tenn.
1 st Ala.
1 st Ala. Tenn. & Miss.
1 st Ala.

WHL IMAGE ID S7886



Picture from *Harper's Weekly*, April 5, 1862, showing Confederate prisoners at Camp Douglas, Chicago. Camp Douglas was a notoriously heinous camp for war prisoners.

REBEL PRISONERS AT CAMP DOUGLAS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.—[SEE PAGE 22.]

Randall Madison Wisconsin.

Post Office	Remarks
Wataulga Ala.	
Prattville Ala.	
Pineville Ala.	
Debtoville Ala.	

of prisoners in other camps, both good and bad. When some of the first Confederates arrived at Madison by way of Camp Douglas, they declared that Camp Randall was definitely better. Of course, the camp had just been opened. When they left in late May they said they preferred to stay in Madison and that they had good water and good treatment. No doubt, by that time they would have known of the growing reputation of Camp Douglas as a horrific camp.²⁴

Because there is very little information on life at Camp Randall compared to what historians know about life at the major prisoner camps, it is very difficult to draw exact conclusions about the life of the prisoners at Camp Randall. Perhaps the best we can say is that Camp Randall was no Eden, but neither was it the hell described at Camp Douglas in Chicago and many of the other prison camps. ❧

Camp Randall death register

MRS. WATERMAN'S BOYS

When the Confederate prisoners held at Camp Randall were removed in the summer of 1862, they left behind 138 of their comrades who had succumbed to illness and circumstance while detained in Madison. The graves of these men—in the northernmost Confederate cemetery—were understandably forgotten by a populace faced with escalating Union casualties and the hardships and shortages brought on by the Civil War. They had fallen into neglect by the time southern-born Alice Whiting Waterman moved to Madison in 1868.¹

Alice Whiting Waterman was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on October 18, 1820, but moved with her family to New York City when she was ten.² A widow by the time she moved to Madison, Waterman worked as a housekeeper, and later a landlady, at the Vilas House Hotel for several years after her arrival.³ Although she lived in the north most of her adult life, a friend of Waterman's explained that she "had always a great affection for the Southland," an affection that became apparent a few years after her relocation to Madison when she learned of a section of Forest Hill Cemetery that was the final resting place for over one hundred Confederate soldiers.⁴

Waterman cleared each gravesite of weeds, placed mounds of earth above the graves, and planted trees and a hedge. She also had a wooden fence built around the section of the cemetery known as "Confederate Rest" and replaced the original grave markers with a painted board bearing the name of the deceased soldier, his company and regiment, and the date of his death. For close to thirty years, Mrs. Waterman faithfully took care of Confederate Rest, planting flowers, replacing the boards marking each soldier's grave three times, and replacing the original wooden fence with a stone border on which she spent the final five hundred dollars of her savings.⁵ She also planted a hedge around the graves, "to keep the cold wind off my boys."⁶ Mrs. Waterman hoped to place a marble monument in the cemetery that would bear the names of the Confederate soldiers buried there. Unfortunately, Mrs. Waterman's livelihood was lost, and her plans went unfulfilled at the time of her death in September 1897.⁷

Waterman's efforts did not go unnoticed. She was reportedly encouraged and assisted in her efforts by then-governor Lucius Fairchild, and later received offers of assistance from acting Madison mayor B. J. Stevens and other city officials.⁸ Fairchild's successor, C. C. Washburn, along with a contingent of former Union soldiers, placed flowers on the graves Mrs. Waterman

cared for so meticulously, becoming the first northern governor to honor the Union's erstwhile enemies buried in northern soil.⁹ For many years thereafter, Wisconsin governors continued to decorate these Confederate graves in Forest Hill Cemetery on Memorial Day, a tradition the Confederate Veterans' Association called a "beautiful and touching tribute."¹⁰ The Association also noted that the attention paid to the graves exhibited "a more than excellent spirit on the part of the good people of Madison and encourage us to believe that in that city at least, the war with all its animosities, has long been at an end."¹¹



Alice Waterman took upon herself the work of cleaning up the section of Forest Hill Cemetery where Confederate dead were buried.

After her death, Mrs. Waterman was remembered fondly in the *Confederate Veteran*, and Major F. W. Oakley, who had taken Mrs. Waterman into his family in 1883 when her property was lost, received letters from several Confederate veterans expressing their gratitude for Mrs. Waterman's work. Oakley also received offers for donations to build a suitable monument for Mrs. Waterman, who was buried at her request near "her Boys" in Confederate Rest.¹² Donations were collected throughout the south, and although the Spanish-American War delayed fundraising, Mrs. Waterman had her kindness repaid on June 15, 1906, when the Daughters of the Confederacy erected a marble monument bearing her name and the inscription: "Erected in loving memory by the United Daughters of the Confederacy of Mrs. Alice Whiting Waterman and her boys."¹³

Confederate Rest, which is part of Madison's Forest Hill Cemetery, is still maintained by the City of Madison, and can be visited on the city's near west side at 1 Speedway, Madison, WI 53705. For more information on visiting Forest Hill Cemetery, call (608) 266-4720 or email: foresthillcemetery@cityofmadison.com.

Notes

1. "Report of the Committee," Confederate Veterans Association publication, January 2, 1898, 4, in Frank W. Oakley papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison.
2. Major F. W. Oakley to Colonel J. B. O'Bryan, January 3, 1898, Frank W. Oakley Papers.
3. Madison Directory, 1868 [Madison, WI: A. Brainerd, 1868], 102; Madison Directory, 1875–1876 [Madison, WI: Pryor and Co., 1875–1876], 97.
4. Major F. W. Oakley to Colonel J. B. O'Bryan, January 3, 1898, Frank W. Oakley Papers.
5. O. D. Brandenburg, "A Woman of Mystery," *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 5, 1921.
6. Brandenburg, *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 29, 1885.
7. *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 29, 1885.
8. "Report of the Committee," 3–4.
9. William A. Titus, "A Wisconsin Burial Place of Confederate Prisoners of War," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 36, no. 3 (Spring 1953), 194.
10. "Report of the Committee," 4.
11. Ibid.
12. "Beautiful Devotion to Confederates," *Confederate Veteran* 6, no. 1 (January 1898), 43.
13. *Wisconsin State Journal*, December 27, 1901, July 5, 1921; *Capital Times*, May 30, 1967.



Confederate Rest, the section of Forest Hill Cemetery at Madison where Confederates who died while at Camp Randall are interred, was surrounded by the wooden fence Mrs. Alice Waterman built.



Confederate graves at Forest Hill Cemetery decorated with Confederate flags

Notes

1. Carolyn J. Mattern, *Soldiers When They Go: The Story of Camp Randall, 1861–1865* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1981), 2–3. Some of the best studies on Civil War prison camps include: Charles W. Sanders Jr., *While in the Hands of the Enemy: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2005); Lonnie Spear, *Portals to Hell: Military Prisons of the Civil War* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997); and George Levy, *To Die in Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas, 1862–1865* (Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1994).
2. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, March 3, March 4, March 13, March 17, March 18, March 20, March 24, April 8, April 9, 1862.
3. Thomas H. Lockridge to Margaret J. Lockridge, Tiptonville, Tenn. [1862]. Lockridge Papers in the possession of the author. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 9, 1862. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Ser. I, vol. 8, 674–676 (hereafter cited as OR). A good analysis of the total number of prisoners captured can be found in Larry J. Daniel and Lynn N. Bock, *Island No. 10: Struggle for the Mississippi Valley* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1996), 142–144, 159.
4. *Chicago Times* reporter quoted in *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 12, 1862. OR, Ser. I, vol. 8, 807–808.
5. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 435. James M. McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 394.
6. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 439. Daniel, *Island No. 10*, 146. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, May 3, May 10, 1862. Thomas Lockridge to Margaret J. Lockridge, Madrid Bend, March 7, 1862, and Tiptonville [1862]. A plaque north of Tiptonville, Tennessee, marks where the Confederates surrendered and the location of the mass grave.
7. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 11, April 15, 1862. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 509, 539–541. William DeLoss Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion* (Chicago: Church and Goodman, 1866), 389. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot* April 19, 1862. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot* April 26, 1862. It has previously been written that Lt. Col. Whipple was promoted to replace Col. Sanders (see Mattern, 66) and that Whipple was relieved of command and replaced by Sanders (J.C.R. Kerr, in *Confederate Veteran*, January 1918, 45). However, multiple sources indicate that Sanders and Whipple served together in the 19th Wisconsin as Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel, respectively, until May, 1863 when Whipple was given command of the gunboat General Jesup. See for example William De Loss Love, *Wisconsin in the War of the Rebellion*, 389–395.
8. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 21, 1862. *Wisconsin Daily Patriot* April 24, 1862. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, April 26, May 3, 1862.
9. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, April 26, 1862. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 22, April 23, April 25, 1862. Mattern, 63–64, 65. *Confederate Veteran* 26 (January 1918), 45. George J. Paddock to his sister, April 27, 1862. George J. Paddock Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society Archives, Madison. P. E. Ward to Frank W. Oakley, January 11, 1898, Frank W. Oakley Papers.
10. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 25, 1862. George J. Paddock to his sister, April 27, 1862. George J. Paddock Papers.
11. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, April 26, 1862. Many historians have continued to examine what motivated the Civil War soldier, north and south. See: Larry M. Logue, “Who Joined the Confederate Army,” in *The Civil War Soldier: A Historical Reader*, ed. Michael Barton and Larry M. Logue (New York: New York University Press, 2002). Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb: The Common Soldier of the Confederacy* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1971), 15–19. Thomas H. Lockridge to Martha L. Lockridge, Columbus, KY, February 25, 1862.
12. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 539–541. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 29, April 30, May 3, 1862. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, May 3, 1862. George J. Paddock to his father, May 5, 1862. George J. Paddock Papers. Lieutenant Colonel Hoffman wrote to Secretary of War Stanton on May 16 that the soldiers guarding the prisoners took lumber, straw and fuel for their own use. It is hard to believe the prisoners were not aware of such activity. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 539–541.
13. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, May 6, 1862. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 513, 526, 586; vol. 4, 52–53. *Confederate Veteran* 32 (July 1924), 283–284.

14. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, May 16, 1862. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, May 24, 1862. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 578–586.
15. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 578–586, 598.
16. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal* May 16, May 17, 1862.
17. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, May 10, 1862. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 509. George J. Paddock to his sister, April 27, 1862. George J. Paddock to his father, May 5, 1862. Levy, *To Die in Chicago*, 70.
18. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, May 3, May 5, 1862. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, May 3, May 10, 1862.
19. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, May 6, May 8, May 27, 1862. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 526, 528, 539–542, 632.
20. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 526–527, 586, 607, 617. Sanders, *While in the Hands of the Enemy*, especially 90, 310–311. See also: Hoffman to J. Cooper McKee, Assistant Surgeon U.S. Army, Camp Butler, Ill., in OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 607, and Hoffman to Captain Thomas Foster Jr., Commissary of Subsistence, Indianapolis, in OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 617.
21. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, May 28, May 29, May 30, June 24, 1862. *Weekly Wisconsin Patriot*, May 31, June 14, June 28, 1862. OR, Ser. II, vol. 4, 52–53. Colonel Hoffman had written to Smith on May 7 telling him to use Confederate privates as nurses. OR, Ser. II, vol. 3, 526–527.
22. OR, Ser. II, vol. 4, 422.
23. OR, Ser. II, vol. 4, 422–423.
24. *Wisconsin Daily State Journal*, April 22, May 30, 1862.



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

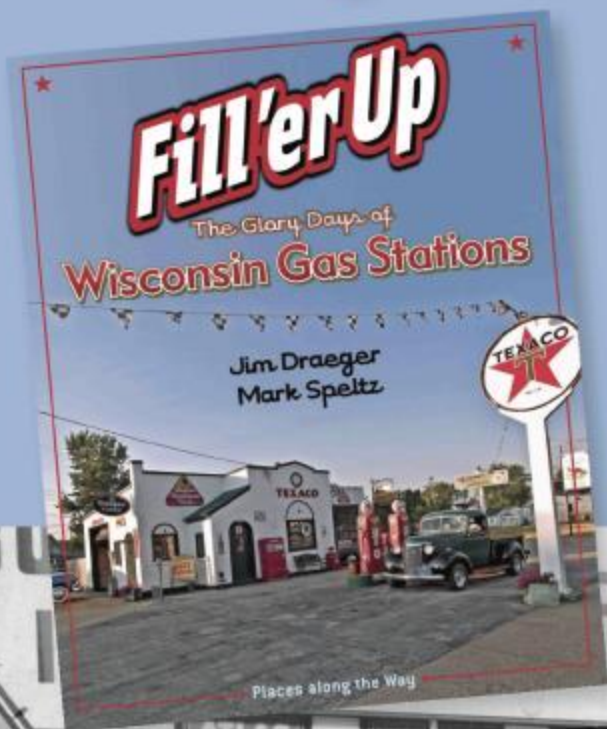
Dr. Thompson is professor emeritus of history at the University of Nebraska–Omaha, where he spent thirty-five years teaching American colonial and Southern history. He is author of a history of his campus and numerous articles published in state historical and regional journals, most of which focus on social history. Dr. Thompson hopes to travel to Madison in the near future to visit Forest Hill Cemetery and the grave of his ancestor, Thomas H. Lockridge, who was a private in the 4th Battalion, Arkansas Volunteers. He previously published two articles dealing with Thomas Lockridge in the *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, “Letters Home: From Private Thomas Henry Lockridge, 1861–1862” and “Searching for the American Dream in Arkansas: Letters of a Frontier Family.”

Fill'er Up

THE GLORY DAYS OF WISCONSIN GAS STATIONS

by Jim Draeger and Mark Speltz

The following excerpt is from Fill'er Up: The Glory Days of Wisconsin Gas Stations, by Jim Draeger and Mark Speltz, to be published in October by the Wisconsin Historical Society Press. The book is a companion to the Wisconsin Public Television documentary of the same name.



COURTESY OF EVAN M. LEGAND



Sturgeon Bay station located at 253 Michigan Street, ca. 1960

As we look out onto the built landscape of Wisconsin, it is our unmistakable conclusion that gas stations are among the most ephemeral of all buildings. Where hundreds of single-purpose gas stations defined by familiar and personal service once stood in Wisconsin's largest cities and dotted its highways and busy corners, only handfuls remain. Today we fill up anonymously at convenience stores, often paying at the pump with no human interaction. Stations have fallen victim to competition, obsolescence, changing transportation needs and housing patterns, as well as stronger environmental regulations. Historic stations are becoming a rarity; those that remain are artifacts of the twentieth century's struggle to accommodate the revolutionary changes brought by the automobile.

Built for a specialized use in a highly competitive business, the majority of all gas stations ever constructed in Wisconsin have already been demolished. Many had a useful life of no more than a decade before their owners replaced them with a new station, remodeled them to keep up with marketplace trends, abandoned them, or adapted them to a new use. All but the most modern gas stations included in this book are rare survivors, and even those face only a slim chance of surviving until the public sees them as something worthy of preservation.

Nostalgia for full-service stations is strong in the generations that grew up with them. Robert Broetzman's personal nostalgia for the 1940s, when he hand-cranked gas at the visible pumps of his father's station, led him to rescue the Town of Maple Valley filling station to serve as a backdrop for his growing collection of pumps, signs, and accessories. The rescue and purchase of Frank Seneca's station—a pagoda-style Wadham's station that has become a treasured landmark—by the City of West Allis and its restoration as a local museum is a civic commitment to automobile history. Stories like these are being repeated in Wisconsin communities such as DePere, Brooklyn, and Independence as we awaken to the realization that if we don't act soon, these humble buildings will vanish and their stories will be lost.

It is hard to imagine that similar nostalgia will compel us to someday preserve the bland, boxy convenience stores that have replaced full-service stations. Unlike the friendly personal service of the past, modern gas dispensing—thanks to pay-at-the-pump—no longer even requires a face-to-face transaction. Gas retailing has become impersonal. Like the neighborhood tavern, the corner grocery, and the local hardware store, the neighborhood gas station has fallen victim to larger, more efficient, cost-cutting operations, physically removed from us and only tangentially connected to our lives. Although many of us value the speed and convenience of new stations, the rich social dimension that marked gas stations of the past has been lost.

Gas stations have mirrored changes in the broader culture that gave rise to them. From the crude shacks of the early twentieth century onward, stations changed as the social, economic, and political forces that created them evolved over time. Gas stations played a pivotal role in our auto age. Their builders

pioneered auto-related community planning, giving birth to the commercial strip and creating prototypes for nearly all detached "drive-in" structures. Gas companies were at the forefront of the development of twentieth-century corporate image through the use of consumer psychology and marketing. The surviving stations of each era are three-dimensional slices of our past, objects that tell the stories of time and place.

We invite you to hit the road and explore the gas stations presented in *Fill 'er Up*, or those remaining in your communities, and reflect upon the historical patterns of change that created them.

WIS ACCESSION 2006/0081 PHOTO BY MARK LAY



MONROE 1323 NINTH STREET

Clarence "Slim" Freitag's new Pure Oil service station created a sensation in 1935 when the local newspaper announced that "an attractive new brick station, finished in white and blue, has been completed. It is of unusual design, with high peaked roof and weathered copper trim."

Slim was a big-band trombonist and a pilot who gave flying lessons to several Pure Oil Company executives. After his father, Henry, lost part of an ownership in an automobile sales dealership, Slim bought a corner lot and built this sixteen thousand-dollar station for his father.

The quaint English Cottage-style station with its bright blue tile roof was built according to the standard corporate design created by company architect Carl A. Petersen. The domestic appearance of the station allowed it to be easily integrated into its location on the edge of a quiet residential neighborhood about three blocks from the city square. This station represents the basic standardized plan and could easily be expanded for larger lots, as was the case with the Pure Oil station in La Crosse. Larger stations simply began with the cottage-style station at the core, and additions—service bays (Pure Oil referred to them as "Lubridomes") and showrooms—were

completed with similar rooflines, materials, and, of course, the blue-and-white paint scheme.

In addition to selling Pure Oil Pep, Ethyl, and Excel gasolines, Henry Freitag marketed tires and batteries and serviced and oiled automobiles in the Lubridome service bay addition. Several individuals operated the Pure Oil station after Henry passed away in the mid-1940s. Simon Meyer ran it from the early 1950s until the 1970s. Shortly after becoming a Union 76 station, the station closed. It has housed a water-conditioning business for the past two decades.

Freitag's Pure Oil Service Station was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1980 as an example of early-twentieth-century architecture used as a commercial marketing technique and corporate symbol. Even its downspouts were embossed with the Pure Oil monogram.

CEDARBURG N58W6189 COLUMBIA ROAD

Driving through the historic town of Cedarburg, its downtown streets lined with handsome nineteenth-century stone buildings, the last thing one would expect to see is a Japanese pagoda complete with Japanese lanterns suspended from it. Set next to a colossal Civil War-era mill, the former Wadhams service station warrants a second look.

Well-known Milwaukee architect Alexander C. Eschweiler designed the exotic station for the Wadhams Oil and Grease Company of Milwaukee in 1926. His groundbreaking designs for the company captured the excitement and adventure of travel. Eschweiler's innovation was imagining architectural design as a marketing device: the pagoda became yet another piece of corporate imagery, joining gas pumps, signs, logos, and other devices in imprinting the corporate identity on the customer. Upon seeing the bright red metal tile roof with its flared eaves, motorists immediately knew they were approaching a Wadhams station.

When it opened, this station featured women's and men's restrooms and office space. Two large plate-glass windows showcased products available for sale. Multi-pane windows spanned the length of the two sides of the structure. In the back, a sizable garage space with a pit and, later, a hoist, allowed for greasing, car washing, and other services.

Known as Billy's Service Station, the structure was built for William Schnabel. Although it rained nonstop on opening day, November 13, 1926, 288 curious motorists pulled through the pumps and purchased 1,805 gallons of Wadhams gasoline.

The station continues to be owned by the Schnabel family. William's daughter, Kay Walters, the current owner, spent much of her childhood there. One of her fondest memories is playing on a swing that her father hung from the garage hoist, which he designed and built himself.

More than one hundred of these eye-catching Wadhams stations were built in Wisconsin between 1917 and 1930, but only a handful of them remain. This unique structure, which now houses a jewelry shop, is on the National Register of Historic Places as part of Cedarburg's Washington Avenue Historic District.

STURGEON BAY 253 MICHIGAN STREET

A good location is imperative to the success of any gas station. Since the 1930s, this busy corner in Sturgeon Bay has been the site of a succession of gas stations that have continually evolved to reflect changes in the gas-retailing industry.

Standard Oil Company, which owned a two-bay, box-type station here from the 1940s to 1960s, leased out the station to a series of operators, most of whom stayed a short time. The station's shiny porcelain-enamel facade attracted the attention of countless Door County visitors, who stopped to fill their tanks on their way up the peninsula.

In 1971, the pressure to make room for more pumps forced the owners to demolish the existing building and locate a new, larger station near the back of the sizable corner lot. Functionally, the station was simply a bigger box-type design, now with three service bays; its Colonial-style exterior was a response to the growing popularity of Colonial- and ranch-style designs in the 1960s and 1970s. Perched on the edge of

WHS ACCESSION 2006006 PHOTO BY MARK FAY



COURTESY OF KAY WALTERS



the transition to self-service, the station offered one pump island devoted to full-service and two islands with self-service. The owners clearly still relied heavily on vehicle-service revenues in the two service bays, but a car wash occupied the third bay. This arrangement lasted nearly two decades, before change again transformed the site.

In the late-1980s, Charles Wiegand (who had previously leased the site in the 1950s), his wife, Ada, and four sons, Dan, Dale, Dave, and Duane, leased the station before purchasing it outright a few years later. The family's success with a large convenience store station in Algoma convinced them to apply the same business model to this Sturgeon Bay location. So the Colonial-style station got another makeover as a convenience store. The service bays were replaced with aisles of convenience foods, milk, beverages, and other impulse purchases.

The change made sense for the family business and for its customers. During this period, large chains of specialized auto-repair shops, such as brake and muffler shops, were making the vehicle-service business more competitive. Self-service gasoline also dominated the industry. The Wiegands converted the full-service island to self-service about this time, investing in a massive forty-five-by-forty-eight-foot canopy over the pump islands. Steel King in Waupun built the canopy, which was installed to protect customers from the changeable Door County weather. After many years at this location, the Wiegand family decided to get out of the gas-retailing business and sold the station in 2004.



MILWAUKEE 4924 WEST ROOSEVELT DRIVE

In 2001, when the former Copeland Service Station reopened as a coffee shop in Milwaukee's Sherman Park neighborhood, the restored building shined as a new chapter in its long and storied history began. Community support, financial assistance, and a creative adaptive reuse had turned what was a dilapidated service station and property into a neighborhood project worth celebrating.

Completed in January 1939 at an estimated cost of three

thousand dollars, the Streamlined Moderne-style station reflected the Standard Oil Company's modern image. Walter H. Copeland contracted with Urban F. Peacock and A. C. Runzler to design the station. Peacock, a celebrated Milwaukee architect, was known for his lavish motion picture palaces (including the Oriental Theatre), not gas station designs. Yet, as the Depression years wore on, architects often welcomed projects outside their specialty to stay busy and bring in income.

When Copeland passed away in 1942, his son, Walter Jr., took over until his own death in 1967. Continuing the family business, Wally Copeland, a grandson, ran the station, switching first to Texaco products, then Union 76. Wally sold the station upon his retirement in 1990. A few years later, back taxes and contamination issues almost resulted in its demolition.

Facing a daunting task, Bob and Patrice Olin became the new owners in 2001. They harnessed the energy of local residents, such as Cliff Leppke, looking to revitalize the abandoned property and took advantage of city, county, and state funding, including a brownfield cleanup grant from the Wisconsin Department of Commerce. The project also made use of a new state law that made it easier for cities to return tax-delinquent, contaminated properties to the tax rolls.

The Sherman Perk coffeehouse now serves as a community gathering place. Borrowing from service station design and signage, the new owners even placed the words "coffee" and "cappuccino" over the former service doors that once read "greasing" and "washing." The adaptive reuse of the former Copeland Service Station is a model for the rehabilitation of other derelict stations—an example, as one neighbor notes, of how to live with history. [W](#)

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Jim Draeger is an architectural historian with the Wisconsin Historical Society with more than twenty years of historic preservation experience. From roadside architecture to North Woods resorts, Draeger celebrates the importance of ordinary buildings to our daily lives through his research, writing, and lectures. He shares a historic 1936 International-style house in Monona with his wife, Cindy, and son, Nick.



where he lives with his wife, Kari.

Mark Speltz is a historian at American Girl and is completing a master's degree in history with a specialization in public history at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He has worked as an independent researcher on exhibits for museums, including the Ellis Island Immigration Museum, and is active with several museums in Mineral Point,

MORE TO IT THAN MEETS THE EYE

Odd WISCONSIN EXHIBIT PRESENTS

Too often a cultural object or work of art must be a masterpiece or an original one-of-a-kind to be considered a “museum treasure.” But even an item that appears ordinary or commonplace may have an unusual or unexpected story in its history.



THE “MONSTER BOWIE KNIFE” OF JOHN FOX POTTER

Politicians have traditionally bestowed gifts on each other as expressions of support or gratitude. Usually these are tokens in nature, but this literally larger-than-life pocket knife symbolized the political discord that led to the Civil War.

On April 5, 1860, Republican Owen Lovejoy of Illinois delivered a fiery anti-slavery speech in the House of Representatives. Representative Roger Pryor, a Democratic secessionist from Virginia, objected to Lovejoy's bellicose manner, but Wisconsin's John Fox Potter rose to Lovejoy's defense, arguing that he be allowed to express himself.

Believing that Potter offended his honor, Pryor challenged him to a duel. Potter accepted the challenge and chose to fight with bowie knives. Pryor refused because the selection of weapon was considered “vulgar, barbarous, and inhuman.” The situation escalated until police arrested both men to keep the peace, and the duel never occurred. At the 1860 Republican convention, pro-Union delegates from the slave state of Missouri presented John Potter with this 34-pound, 6 1/2-foot-long folding knife to commemorate his knife fight “victory” over Roger Pryor. It was a highlight of the convention and earned national press exposure.¹

Note: 1. Online excerpt at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/museum/archives/003358.asp>

UNIQUE OBJECTS WITH FASCINATING STORIES *by Joe Kapler*



MEMENTO OF A PRESIDENT

This simple plaid shawl reveals a story that is anything but ordinary, for it once wrapped around one of the most important presidents in American history. Abraham Lincoln wore the shawl in 1861 on his journey from Springfield, Illinois, to his inauguration, and at later times during his presidency. After his assassination, Mary Todd Lincoln gave the shawl to Anderson Ruffin Abbott (1837–1913), a black doctor from Toronto, Canada, whom Lincoln had befriended during the war. Abbott served as a civilian surgeon in three Army hospitals in the United States.

In a 1901 article, Dr. Abbott explained his connection to this important piece of the president's personal property:

The remaining weeks that Mrs. Lincoln spent in the White House, after the removal of the President's body to Springfield, Ill., were spent in disposing of her late husband's personal effects. Several articles which he valued very much, and which were much used by him, were given away as mementos to his friends. The writer received the plaid shawl which Mr. Lincoln was frequently

seen wearing of a chilly evening when going to the War Department to consult Mr. Stanton on important state business.

The shawl was passed down from Dr. Abbott to his grandson who, while residing in Wisconsin, lent the shawl to a traveling Lincoln exhibit in the Wisconsin Historical Society's Historymobile, before eventually donating it in 1963.



Dr. Abbot

BASCOM HILL'S FAMOUS FLOCK

Plastic pink flamingos typically grace front yards or gardens.

This particular flamingo was part of one of the greatest pranks in American collegiate lore. As University of Wisconsin–Madison students made their way up Bascom Hill on the first day of classes in 1979, they were greeted by a sea of 1,008 pink flamingos. Members of the now-legendary Pail & Shovel Party had planted the birds on September 4. The pink flamingo flock represented a celebration of sorts for the Pail & Shovel Party, which had won re-election to head the Wisconsin Student Association. The admittedly absurdist party had formed primarily as a joke while campaigning in the spring of 1978. Contrary to even their own expectations, they garnered enough votes to win a plurality.

During their first year in office, the Party spent budget funds on such things as a toga party for ten thousand people and a partial replica of the Statue of Liberty that they placed on the winter ice of Lake Mendota. The next year, the Pail & Shovel Party president, James J. Mallon, and vice-president, Leon D. Varjian, dared the student body to be “nuts enough” to “go for it all” by re-electing them. Apparently, there were enough UW students who were up to the challenge.

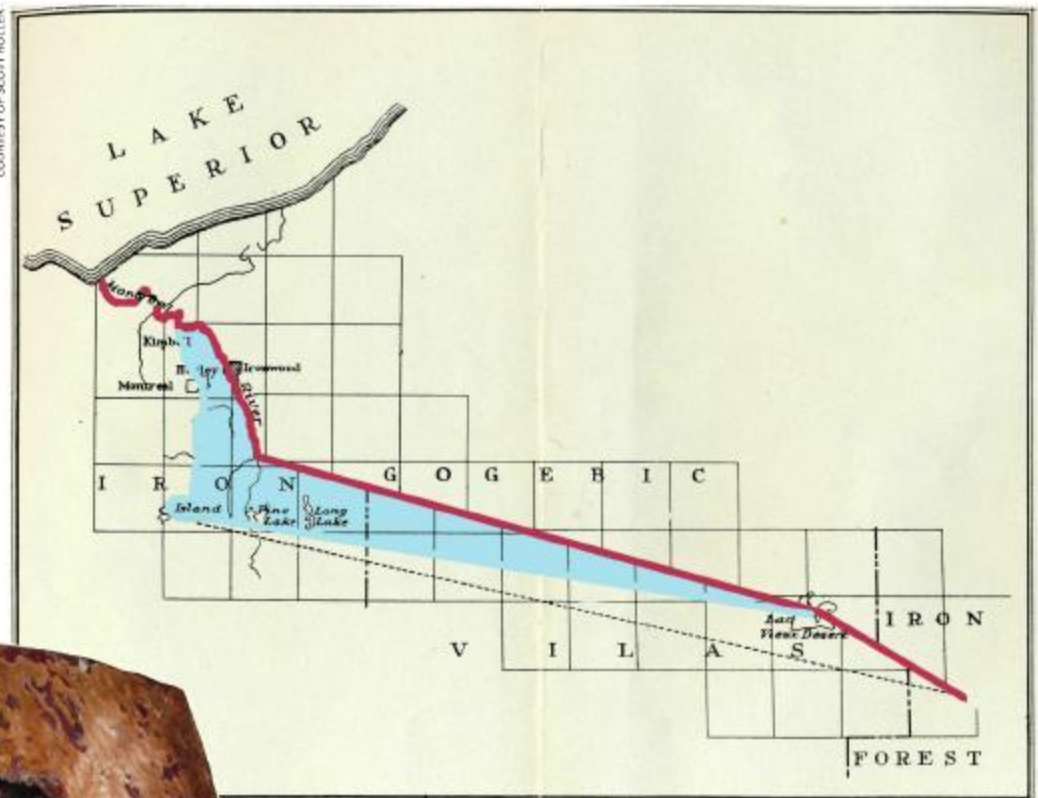
The flock did not last long, as the flamingos were plucked by students as souvenirs, but the famous scene continues to sell postcards to this day. Mallon and Varjian salvaged this flamingo and donated it to the Historical Society.¹

Note: 1. Online excerpt at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/museum/archives/001660.asp>



PHOTO BY AND COURTESY OF MICHAEL VIEVIE

COURTESY OF SCOTT ROLLER



THE DISPUTED BORDER WORTH MILLIONS

In 1841 Captain Thomas J. Cram of the U.S. topographical engineers and Dr. Douglas Houghton, first state geologist of Michigan, had their names carved into this tree “blaze”—a surveyor’s signpost in the wilderness. They were completing a survey mission to define the border between the Wisconsin Territory and Michigan based on Congressional orders.

A year earlier Cram discovered that the physical realities of the landscape differed from the legal border description. Cram and Houghton’s 1841 interpretation of the ambiguous Congressional instructions placed the city of Hurley and numerous iron mines on the Gogebic range inside Wisconsin. Michigan later challenged the border claiming that the men erroneously placed the border too far north, improperly giving Wisconsin land worth millions in mineral and tourism wealth. The dispute eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1920s, but the Court rejected Michigan’s claim and upheld the border as initially placed by Cram and Houghton.¹

Note

1. Online excerpt at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/museum/artifacts/archives/0033358.asp>



DEATH AND SCANDAL IN THE WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE

The negative advertisements in today's political climate create a nasty tone that can inhibit bipartisan cooperation but do not result in murder (at least not literally). This typical 1840s men's vest bears the scars of an extreme in political violence—an actual bullet hole.

An 1842 session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature was suddenly interrupted when one member shot and killed another. Following a debate on the floor of the Council of the Legislative Assembly, Charles C. P. Arndt implied that fellow Council member James R. Vineyard made misstatements regarding the issue at hand, and Vineyard vehemently denied the accusations.

Following an adjournment, Arndt approached Vineyard's desk on the floor of the assembly and the two continued their disagreement. Arndt raised his hand and struck Vineyard in the head. Before any other legislator could intervene, Vineyard drew a pistol and shot Arndt in the chest. Arndt reeled backward, fell to the floor, and died about five minutes later.

Bribery and scandal typified the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature in its early years, and the Arndt shooting did not help Wisconsin's reputation. Charles Dickens, who was touring the United States at the time of the incident, even cited the affair in his *American Notes for General Circulation* as an example of rampant lawlessness in the United States.¹

Note: 1. Online excerpt at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/museum/artifacts/archives/001035.asp>



Odd Wisconsin Satisfy Your Curiosity

The exhibition presents intriguing artifacts, images, and documents along with the compelling stories that accompany them—including the real characters and true curiosities that enrich our state's history. The exhibit opens in October 2008 at the Wisconsin Historical Museum. For more details, visit www.wisconsinhistory.org/museum or call 608-264-6555.





THE ULTIMATE IN FAST FASHION

Classic fashion stands the test of time; trendy fashion is a passing fad. This colorful dress made from paper was never meant to last, but ended up preserved in a museum because of its temporal nature.

Scott Paper Company, with factories in Marinette and Oconto Falls, Wisconsin, sparked a national fashion phenomenon in the spring of 1966 when it introduced two disposable paper dresses. They were offered as premiums to promote Scott's new line of "Color Explosion" paper products. Customers who purchased the dresses paid \$1.25 and also received coupons for Scott's toilet paper, paper towels, and napkins. When orders for half a million dresses poured in, the promotion overwhelmed the Scott Company. Six months after it began, company executives abruptly ended the advertising campaign, stating they "didn't want to turn into dress manufacturers."

The dresses, sold as "Paper Caper" products, were not purely paper. They were constructed of an "un-paper" that the Scott Company called Dura Weave. The material consisted of ninety-three percent paper-napkin stock reinforced with rayon webbing, a combination that made the material more durable than standard paper and gave it a more fabric-like drape.

This colorful "paper" paisley print shift-style dress was owned by Mrs. John Marshall of Madison.¹

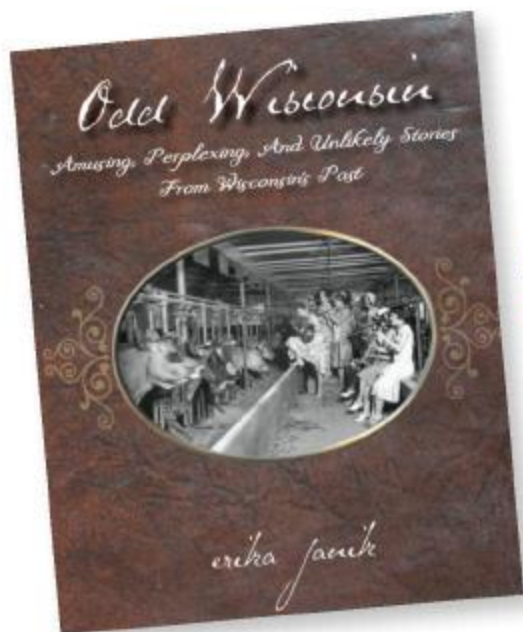
Note

1. Online excerpt at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/museum/artifacts/archives/003921.asp>

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Joseph E. Kapler Jr. joined the Wisconsin Historical Society staff as a museum curator in January 2001. He holds a Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Loras College, Dubuque, Iowa, a Master of Arts degree in American history from Marquette University, and a Master of Arts degree in historical administration from Eastern Illinois University. He subsequently worked in museums and historical societies in Minnesota, Missouri, Iowa, and Michigan before arriving in the Badger State. Working on the Odd Wisconsin project has certainly been the most unusual exhibition experience of his career.



ODD WISCONSIN

AMUSING, PERPLEXING, AND UNLIKELY STORIES FROM WISCONSIN'S PAST

by Erika Janik

If it's the offbeat, the paranormal or the downright odd that you crave, there may be no better place to find it than Wisconsin. Wisconsin's past is full of crazy characters, bizarre events and surprising incidents that somehow didn't make the official account of state history—and yet the state would not be the same without them.

History isn't a list of names and dates, and it isn't a smooth ride to the present day. The stories in *Odd Wisconsin* present Wisconsin with all its bumps, bruises, and perplexities, the things that make a place more than a location on a map or an entry in an encyclopedia.

Bob La Follette's exploits as a Progressive Era leader are legendary, but did you know that when governor, he personally saved countless valuable government documents and paintings during the disastrous capitol fire of 1904? Or that the Bibles that grace nearly every motel and hotel nightstand drawer were the result of a chance meeting in a Boscobel hotel more than 100 years ago?

Some stories are simply amusing or unexpected, as in, that happened here? Others are completely strange and creepy. But all are true—or at least as far as the people and the documents that reported them at the time believed. They are included and retold because they are an important and intrinsic part of Wisconsin's past and worthy of recognition as such. All of the tales told in *Odd Wisconsin* reflect real people, real events and real reporting from the time.

Odd Wisconsin is your history, my history, our history—and it is a history for which we can feel justly proud because it's hard to believe that any state could be as quirky as Wisconsin!

Here's just a sample of the oddity that awaits you in *Odd Wisconsin*...

Wisconsin's Own Indiana Jones

Trotting the globe in search of adventure, Roy Chapman Andrews suffered blistering sandstorms, fended off deadly snakes, and escaped roving bandits to become a world-famous fossil hunter.

Raised in Beloit, Andrews once said, "I was born to be an explorer" and, like so many other famous sons and daughters of Wisconsin, he left the Badger State as soon as he possibly could. After graduating from Beloit College, he landed in New York in 1906, using money saved from his job as a taxidermist. He applied for a position at the American Museum of Natural History but was told that no jobs were available. Ever persistent,

Roy Chapman Andrews and his wife Billie at their Connecticut home



BACK COVER OF TOCCOMAN ANDREWS AN EXPLORER COMES HOME (NEW YORK: DOUBLEDAY, 1947)

Andrews asked if he could scrub the museum floors and was given a job. He rose rapidly in the ranks, and over the next thirty years, his scientific expeditions carried him to Indonesia, China, and Central Asia, usually with a cowboy hat and a revolver. The press portrayed him as a swashbuckling scientist who conquered the Gobi Desert and Mongolia to discover dinosaurs and recover relics. He did, in fact, survive life-threatening encounters with armed bandits, deadly pythons, angry whales, and hungry sharks and was erroneously reported dead more than once as he roamed the world in the name of science.

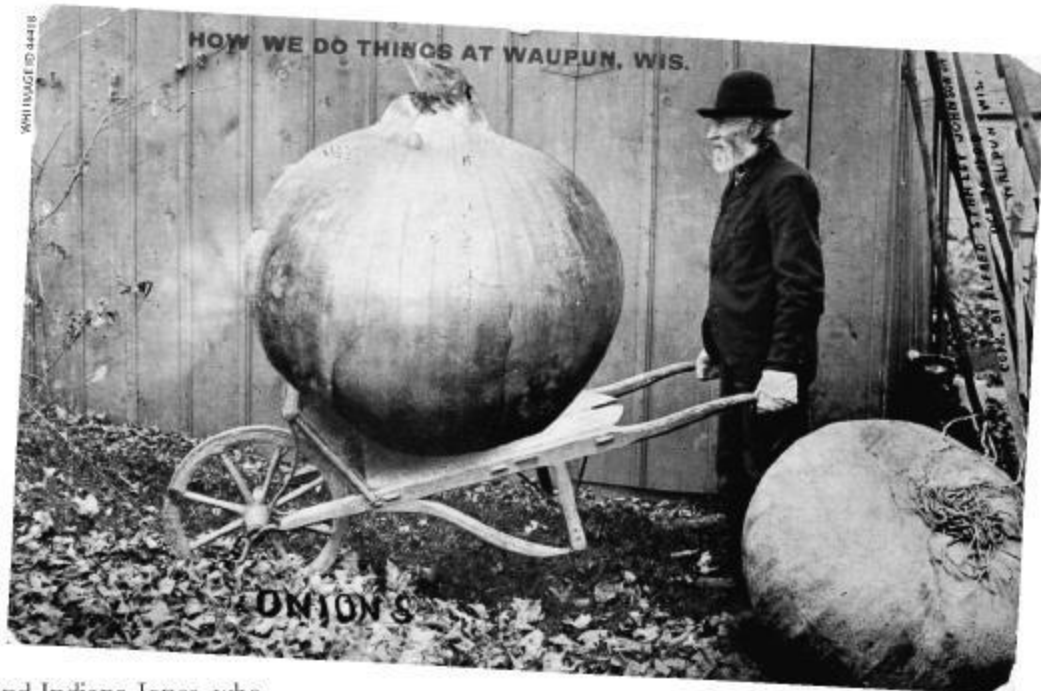
Andrews is widely believed to have been a model for the movie legend Indiana Jones, who along with other explorers like Percy Fawcett and W. Douglas Burden contributed to the archetype of the dashing adventurer/scientist.

From 1934 to 1942 Andrews served as the director of the Natural History Museum, but after a life of adventure he probably didn't much enjoy the staid institutional halls. He moved to California in 1942 and spent the rest of his life writing about his experiences in several books. His popular books for lay audiences helped spawn a fascination for dinosaurs among children that shows no signs of waning fifty years later. Andrews died in Carmel, California, on March 11, 1960.

And You Thought Your Vegetable Gardens Were Out of Control

August in Wisconsin for home gardeners and cooks often means bumper crops of zucchini, cucumbers, tomatoes, and more. As you think of clever ways to bless your neighbors with piles of squash, just imagine trying to deal with the vegetables that came from the imaginary garden of Alfred Stanley Johnson, a Waupun photographer who specialized in the production of tall-tale postcards. In these images, produced between 1911 and 1917, Johnson staged friends and family in elaborate backgrounds that he later embellished with enlarged vegetables and fruits.

Wisconsin's bountiful soils were a primary selling point for town promoters seeking to lure new settlers and immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Immigrant guides lavishly praised the state's agricultural potential, often citing examples of amazing crop yields and profit earned in Chicago, Cleveland, and other eastern markets. Johnson's tall-tale postcards attributed the astounding agricultural achievements pictured to the fertility of Wisconsin soils and the skills of local farmers, sustaining an image of abundance that rural communities hoped would help them grow. ❧



The giant onions of Waupun

Potatoes enough for everyone...



ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Erika Janik grew up in Redmond, Washington, but now knows more about Wisconsin history than she ever thought possible. She has master's degrees in American women's history and journalism from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and has written many essays and articles on Wisconsin history for the Wisconsin Historical Society online collections and as editor of the Society's membership newsletter, *Columns*. Her work has appeared in *Wisconsin Trails*, *On Wisconsin*, *Renewing the Countryside*, *Isthmus*, the *Wisconsin State Journal*, and the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*.

WHY DON'T
YOU
IM-PRESS
US?

WAY
ST
LINE

YES

OLDEST
and
MOST
ARCHAIC

SHIP!





Way Past Deadline

The Women's Fight
to Integrate the
Milwaukee Press Club

by Kimberly Wilmot Voss and Lance Speere

The women's picket signs read "Our Sex Edited Out," "It's Way Past Deadline," and "Oldest and Most Archaic" as they marched in front of the Milwaukee Press Club building at 125 E. Wells Street on September 19, 1966. The protest began at 12:36 p.m., rather than the formerly scheduled time of 12:30 p.m., which the *Milwaukee Journal* reporter Gordon Gottlieb condescendingly noted twice in his coverage of the event.¹ The women journalists were fighting to get into the oldest continuously running press club in the country.² It was a symbol of the women's fight for equality occurring across the country in the 1960s.

Reporters Marian "Toni" McBride, Bernice Buresh, Sue Kaufman, and Georgiana Pilley of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, and Mildred Freese of the *Milwaukee Journal* picket the Milwaukee Press Club, September 19, 1966.

The Milwaukee women journalists issued a press release to express their frustrations: "When the spittoons were thrown out of news offices long ago, you forgot to get rid of another archaic practice. Our picketing today is to remind you that you are not addressing yourself to this problem and that it is time to act."³ It was a course of action that the women journalists took after years of discrimination. In a comment responding to the protest, Press Club President Bennett F. Waxse said the chance of the women being allowed to join was "pretty slim." He further explained, "I'm sure they would not want to share our only men's room."⁴

The fight to allow women in men-only press clubs paralleled the fight that many women faced in order to gain acceptance in the newsroom. At most metropolitan newspapers, not only were women relegated to the women's pages—these journalists were often in a different room and sometimes on different floors than the men. The exclusion of women from the mainstream media process was longstanding. What makes the case of the Milwaukee Press Club significant is the process

women participated in to become members, from the fight for inclusion—including protests and threatened lawsuits—to the effort to stop others from spreading myths and creating a woman-against-woman model in which some women wanted to be members and others did not.⁵ Examining the fight for equality exposes newspapers' sometimes dark history toward women journalists.

Press clubs had been around for decades before the Milwaukee fight for female membership. For example, the Chicago Press Club was established in 1880 to develop contacts between journalists and local leaders.⁶ By 1919 press clubs existed in most major American cities, serving the professional and social roles of journalists. These clubs often excluded women, and thus women-only press clubs were established. The history of these clubs has been explored by historians Maurine Beasley⁷ and Elizabeth Burt.⁸ Over the years, women journalists had made several unsuccessful attempts to become part of men's clubs, such as the fight to become members of the National Press Club or the Gridiron Club.⁹

Women reporters were relegated to the balcony in order to listen to a speaker at the National Press Club, January 12, 1968.





Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson at the Milwaukee Press Club. Because women reporters were not allowed into the club, they were effectively barred from access to important contacts.

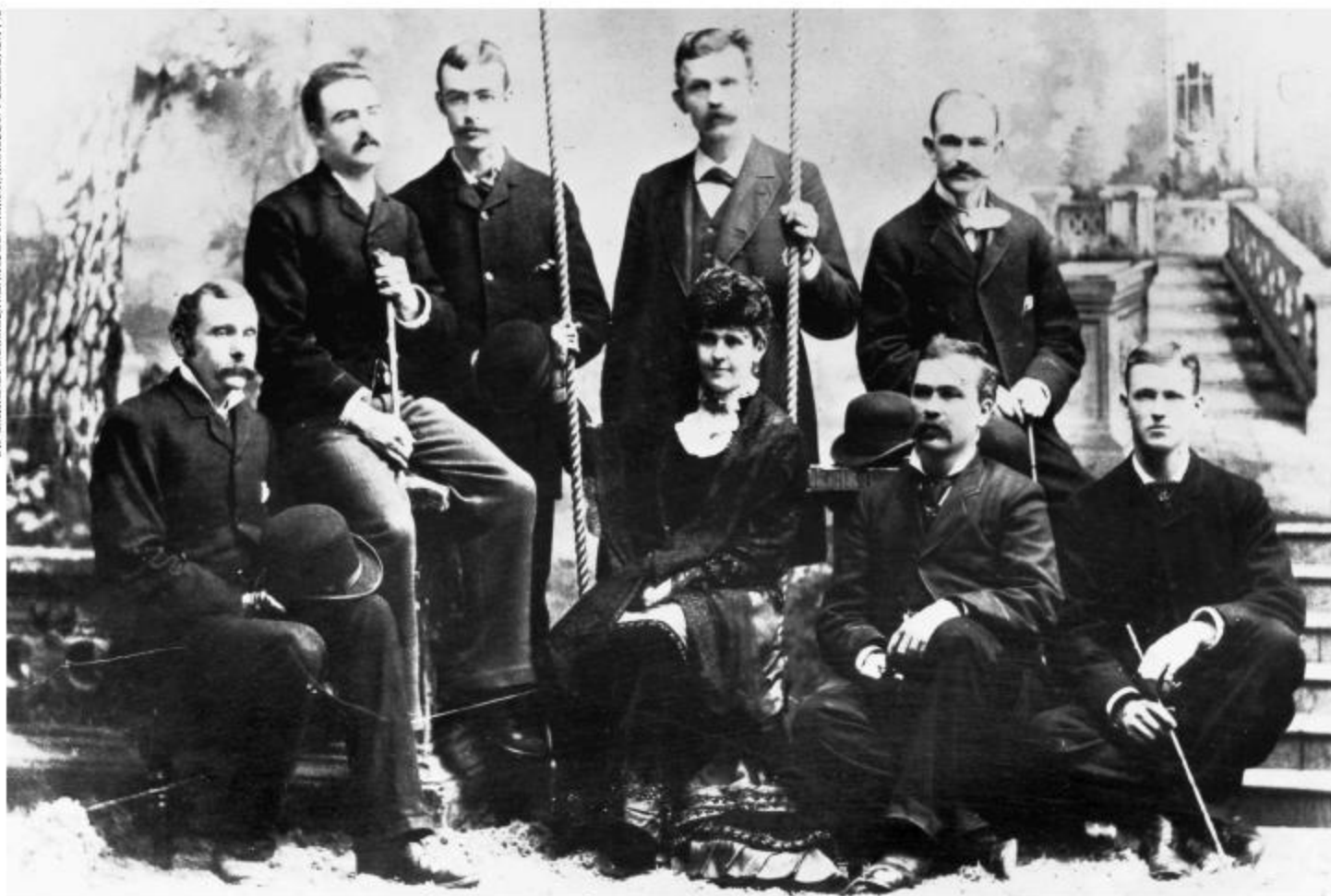
This is not to imply that all press clubs excluded women—organizations such as the Nevada Press Club had already elected its second female president by 1966.¹⁰ An informal review of press clubs shows that communities that did not have a traditional gender structure, such as Las Vegas, were more likely to include women as members. A review of the press clubs established in the 1960s shows that women and men were members. But, it was clearly common to exclude women as members in many more established press clubs.¹¹

The story of these Milwaukee women and their five-year fight for inclusion exposed the bias against women in journalism in both its literal and symbolic senses. The Milwaukee Press Club was not only a social organization—it also featured important speakers and access to critical political connections.¹² After World War II, numerous leaders gave important speeches at the National Press Club, making news that was carried the next day in media outlets across the country. However, women were not allowed in the National Press Club to cover the speeches until 1955.¹³ Exclusion came at the expense of women journalists' ability to gather news. The compromise that the all-male National Press Club members had adopted to "include" women journalists that year allowed women jour-

nalists to cover speakers from the balcony of the ballroom. The women had to stand, however, because the balcony was too narrow for chairs. According to Bonnie Angelo, chief of the *Newsday* bureau in Washington:

Here were the people in the balcony, distinguished journalists treated like second-class citizens. I *had* to cover the stories there. Some people equated the balcony with the back of the bus, but at least the bus got everybody to the same destination just as well. We could not ask questions of the speakers. . . . All this standing—it was like a cattle car. And all the time you were really boiling inside. You entered and left through a back door, and you'd be glowered at as you went through the club quarters. It was discrimination at its rawest.¹⁴

Back in Milwaukee, the women picketed for inclusion in the local Press Club. Their exclusion also seemed to carry further significance, as women had been in reporting and editorial positions in sections other than women's sections at Milwaukee newspapers for years. For example, Jessica Knowles was an editorial page writer at the *Milwaukee Journal*,¹⁵ Ellen Gibson



Milwaukee's first newspaperwoman, Mrs. H. L. Bridgemen of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, poses with her male colleagues in an 1881 photograph.

MacQuarrie Wilson specialized in welfare reporting in the 1940s and 1950s at the *Milwaukee Journal*.¹⁶ and Laurie Van Dyke covered the civil rights movement and school desegregation in 1962 at the *Milwaukee Sentinel*.¹⁷ (Van Dyke went on to become president of the Milwaukee Press Club in 1985.) This list is not an indication that there was a sense of equity at the newspapers during this time period. *Milwaukee Journal* Women's Page Editor Aileen Ryan, who had revolutionized fashion reporting at newspapers,¹⁸ addressed the lack of opportunities for women in the Milwaukee Press Club's annual publication, *Once a Year*, in 1961. Ryan wrote, after decades at the newspaper: "There is no line of promotion for women on newspapers. Women, regardless of their attainments, are not in line for executive positions."¹⁹

Ryan wrote that this often came as a shock to young women journalists beginning at newspapers who viewed them as tools of correction for social injustice. She paraphrased the views of naïve, new female employees, who might ask, "Aren't newspapermen the foes of prejudice, champions of tolerance, fighters on the side of justice, searchers after truth, exposers of inequal-

ities, fair-minded exponents of human rights?" Ryan said her response would be: "We can only point out that newspaperwomen are not even permitted to become members of the Press Club."²⁰

The Milwaukee Press Club once had a female member, Edna Dunlop. The membership requirement that excluded women was added after Dunlop's tenure and was not part of the initial creation of the organization. It is not known when the change barring women was added. She began as a copyholder in the *Milwaukee Journal* proof room in 1891 and went on to become a reporter, columnist, and the first female assistant city editor at the newspaper.²¹ She said she was able to achieve in a male-dominated profession because she could "swear well."²² Other women had mentioned that the ability to overlook curse words gave them a path to positions at newspapers that were otherwise closed to women.²³ Dunlop became a press club member when she sold advertisements for the organization's annual report, *Once a Year*, in 1910.²⁴ The male members had decided that she was "as good a man as any" and voted her in.²⁵

According to its own history, The Milwaukee Press Club is the oldest continuously operating press club in the United States. Pittsburg had a press club earlier, but it folded briefly during the Depression.²⁶ After three earlier failed attempts to establish a press club in Milwaukee, "four journalists formally established the Milwaukee Press Club on November 1, 1885." The club's mission was "to be a means of bringing together newspaper professionals, as well as elevate the profession in general."²⁷

In 1959 the press club began an auxiliary organization that the spouses of members could join. Its goals were to allow the women to have fun and to "aid and abet the Press Club."²⁸ While the creation of this group was not an attempt to integrate the press club, its mere creation was threatening. According to the Milwaukee Press Club's annual report, "the first rumble of feminine discontent with the status quo was heard in the spring of 1958, but the entrenched males figured if they didn't pay any attention to it, it would go away."²⁹ The discontent was expressed by the wife of a member, Crystal Bealmear, who wanted to take part in some of the social functions. An article about the request noted that Bealmear's request coincided with the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of suffragette Carrie Chapman Catt, a Wisconsin native.

It appears that United States press clubs that were created in later years did not automatically exclude women as members, as the traditional structures did not exist. For example, the Idaho Press Club, which began in the early 1960s, always included women,³⁰ as did the Atlanta Press Club, which was started in 1964.³¹ The Denver Press Club began admitting women on May 26, 1970, but it is unclear if women had to lead a fight to get in.³² Women did fight to gain entrance into the male-only San Francisco Press Club in the early 1970s, including a threatened lawsuit, although the battle included aspects far different than the those in Milwaukee. The most obvious difference was the San Francisco club's policy of men swimming naked in the press club's pool.³³ The club, which no longer exists, began accepting women members in October 1973.³⁴ The Syracuse Press Club had opened its door to women in the mid-1960s, although efforts by male members to change the rules to include women had been attempted several times before.³⁵ In Florida, Florence DeVore started the Florida Women's Press Club in 1951 to address inequities that women journalists faced. The organization later allowed men to join and renamed it the Florida Press Club.³⁶

Mrs. Edna Dunlop, Journalist, Dies at 95

Mrs. Edna Johnson Dunlop, 95, the first and only woman member of the Milwaukee Press club and a widely known newspaper reporter and editor, died Sunday at St. Mary's

reporters and office boys. She always had a tender feeling for the youngsters starting out in newspaper work and befriended many of them.

Favored Office Boys

One of Mrs. Dunlop's "office boys" was Billy Sixty, now bowling and golf writer for The Journal. Whenever Mrs. Dunlop gave Billy an errand she would urge him: "Billy, run like hell!"

It happened so regularly that Billy acquired the nickname "Billy Runlike." Another of her eager errand boys was the late Sam Levy, formerly The Journal's baseball reporter.

In her newspaper days, Mrs. Dunlop knew most of the important people in Milwaukee. Veteran newspapermen claim she could call them by their first names.

She was a versatile workman. She wrote a column under her maiden name, Edna Johnson, and was a drama critic in addition to being assistant city editor.

Worked Long Hours

Mrs. Dunlop used to like to say that she got so far in the newspaper business because she could swear like a man.

"Newspapermen worked long hours in those days," a member of Mrs. Dunlop's family recalled. "Sometimes she would go to work at 7 a.m. and

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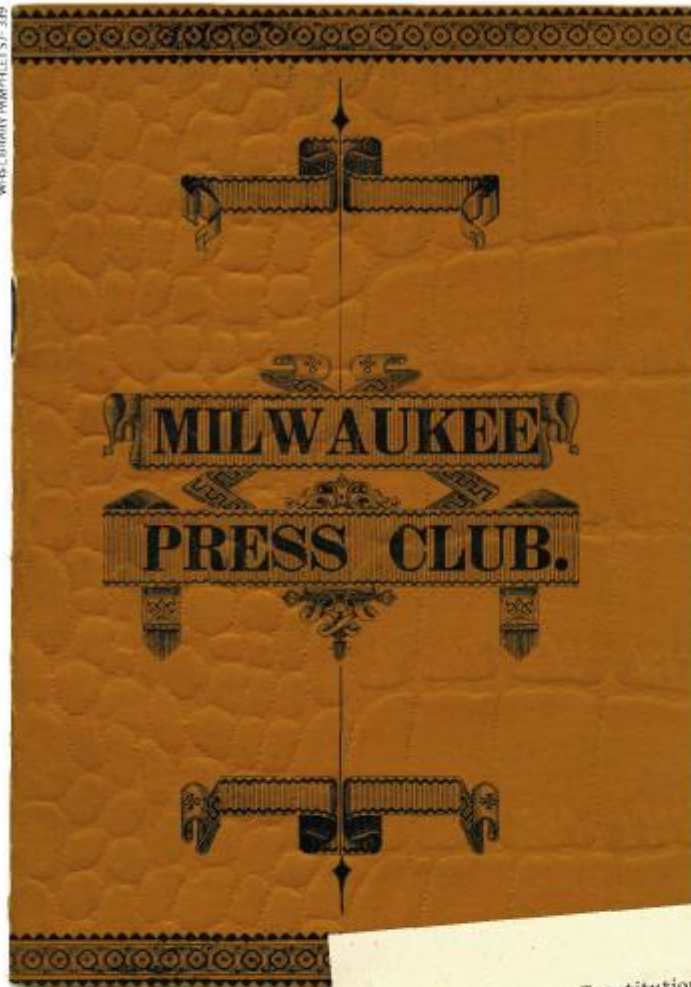
MRS. EDNA DUNLOP

nursing home, 3516 W. Center st.

Mrs. Dunlop, the only woman to hold the title of assistant city editor of The Milwaukee Journal, died of complications of old age.

She held down a man's job in a business which, in the early era of the 1900s was for men only. Despite the environment, she neither asked for quarter nor gave any — except to cub

Before the membership requirement that excluded women was added, the Milwaukee Press Club had one female member. Edna Dunlop joined the club when she sold ads for the organization's annual report in 1910.



The cover of the constitution of the Milwaukee Press Club along with the interior page including the article that stipulates no women are eligible to membership in the club.

Article 2, Section 6 of the Milwaukee Press Club constitution denied women eligibility to membership in the club.

- 8 Constitution of the
- (b) Resident editors and regular paid correspondents of journals published in other large cities.
 - (c) Artists regularly employed in the newspaper profession.
 - (d) Resident authors of books of original matter published for general circulation, and persons regularly engaged in literary pursuits.
- SEC. 3. Non-resident members shall possess all the qualifications of active members, save as to residence in Milwaukee.
- SEC. 4. Associate members shall be those who have formerly been engaged in active newspaper or literary pursuits, or who are contributors to standard publications.
- SEC. 5. Prominent authors or writers, or persons who have placed the Club under deep obligation may be elected honorary members.
- SEC. 6. No woman shall be eligible to membership in this Club.

ARTICLE III.

SEC. 1. The officers of the Club shall consist of a President, a First and Second Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and six Directors, to be chosen by ballot at the annual meeting of the Club, in the month of January of each year.

Yet in Milwaukee the press club's membership remained open to men only. But by the mid-1960s, as society was questioning gender segregation, the women journalists in Milwaukee were also ready to be part of the club. The 1966 picket outside the press club was done at a time when reporters, such as the *Milwaukee Sentinel's* Marian "Toni" McBride, were writing about women's rights issues—including her stories on Vel Phillips, the first woman and first person of color to hold political office in Milwaukee,³⁷ and equal rights in the workplace.³⁸ In one of the most well-known examples of McBride's journalistic drive, she followed President Lyndon B. Johnson's daughter, Lynda, on a canoe trip through the Boundary Waters. Lynda Johnson refused to speak to the many reporters who followed her. After days of frustration, while the male reporters were fishing, McBride and a young female intern decided to put a note in an empty bourbon bottle to get an exclusive interview.³⁹ Before too long, Lynda came over and said: "Your message was so ingenious, I just couldn't resist coming over."⁴⁰ Her "scoop" demonstrated the assertive journalism practices that were typically valued in male reporters. Her work demonstrated that she could be the kind of journalist the Club valued.

Prior to the protest, Club President Waxse was handed a petition signed by twenty-two female journalists asking for inclusion. His initial response was that the ban was not absolute because Dunlop had been a member. Then he added: "Some of my best friends are women."⁴¹ The Milwaukee Press Club publicly responded to the protest by creating a "pink ribbon committee" made up of "two bachelors and three husbands."⁴² The committee members said that it would be a concern for Toni McBride and her reporter husband Ray,⁴³ because if they let Toni become a member, then Ray would be a member of the all-female auxiliary, and this would "disturb the tranquility of the McBride household."⁴⁴

This was a time when the city, as well as the rest of the country, was becoming more enlightened about discrimination against women. Betty Friedan's book, the *Feminine Mystique*, was released in 1963, and homemakers across the country recognized the feeling that some educated,

middle-class women felt without careers or a use of their educations. Friedan referred to it as the feeling "that had no name." She was describing female students on college campuses, many of whom had been a part of the civil rights movement and had held conscious-raising meetings about inequities. The President's 1963 Commission on the Status of Women had found widespread discrimination in every category it investigated, and states had created their own commissions and found similar inequities.

McBride was aware of ongoing issues that involved discrimination against women and often spoke with Kathryn 'Kay' Clarenbach, Madison chairwoman of the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. That connection was strengthened when the commission backed the women in their bid to become part of the press club. Clarenbach was quoted as saying, "Our major interest in their cause is that women be encouraged to make a contribution to any profession. When a professional organization excludes women,

this opportunity is not completely available to them."⁴⁵ Clarenbach was later a co-founder of the National Organization for Women.⁴⁶

The support for women's rights across the country did not help the women as they picketed in 1966. Press Club President Waxse told the *Milwaukee Sentinel* that the women journalists should "put their own house in order first," as they belonged to organizations that excluded men as members. He also noted that Toni McBride was a member of the women-only journalism organizations Theta Sigma Phi and the press club's auxiliary.⁴⁷ She countered that the organizations were only created in response to the press club's ban on women. McBride said, "Any time the girls can belong to the same organization as the boys, they don't form a women's club."⁴⁸ Waxse's statement was part of the debate over journalism industry organizations Theta Sigma Phi (later called the Association for Women in Communication), which only accepted women, and Sigma Delta Chi (later called the Society of Professional

Press Club picnic, ca. 1900. The club often functioned as a men's social club.



Journalists), which only accepted men as members. By 1972, both organizations accepted members of either gender.

Milwaukee Journal reporter Robert Wells wrote about the 1966 protest in *Once a Year* and largely dismissed the issue. The article was titled "Not Before 3 p.m.," which was a reference to the organization's rule that women were only allowed as guests of members after that hour. He wrote, "The clamor of that valiant band of suffragettes who tried to batter down the Milwaukee Press Club's rules against women last year was noted with a weary smile by the old timers. They have seen feminist movements before."⁴⁹ The layout included a photo of the women and their signs below the headline: "President Ben Protects the Sanctity of Press Club While Newswomen Picket." McBride later wrote that she was unsure if the picket had been the best course of action: "If you're black, they beat you and hate you. They just laugh at women. In some ways this is harder to fight."⁵⁰

The following year, a female *Milwaukee Sentinel* reporter refused to accept a Milwaukee Press Club Award due to the exclusion of women. Bernice Buresh, who won an award for her coverage of the National Guard troops' arrival in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, during the race riots in the Milwaukee suburbs in the summer of 1966, was one of the women who had protested earlier. It was the first time that a reporter had declined a press club award.⁵¹ Meanwhile, members of the press club quietly amended their constitution to require a two-thirds affirmative vote of the entire membership, making it more difficult for women to become members.⁵²

In 1969 the press club's annual publication revisited gender issues in an article by McBride, who was a political reporter for the women's section of the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. The article furthered her views on gender and the media. She wrote,

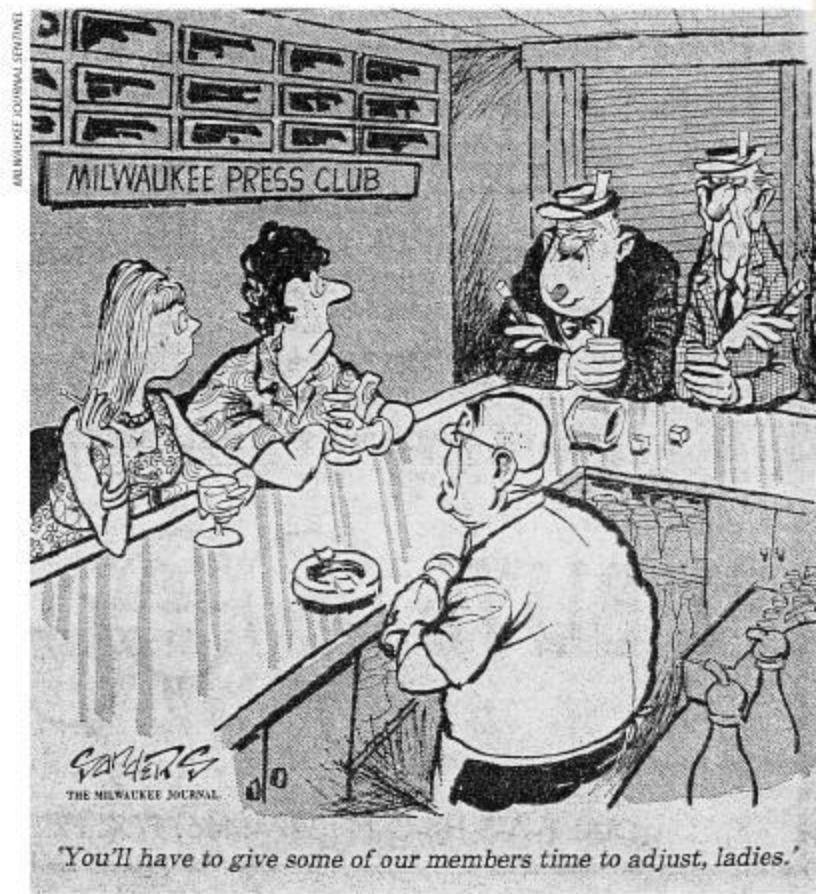
Thinking like a man never seemed to me to be a desirable quality for a newspaperwoman. At least half of the readers are women—and besides what is 'thinking like a man?' Thinking unemotionally? One of Wisconsin's greatest writers was Richard S. Davis, and it was Dick's 'emotion bursting against restraint' which makes his writing memorable.⁵³

Some of the male members were beginning to help the women in their fight to desegregate the club. For example, Bill Manley was made an honorary member of the Milwaukee Theta Sigma Phi chapter for his support of female inclusion.⁵⁴

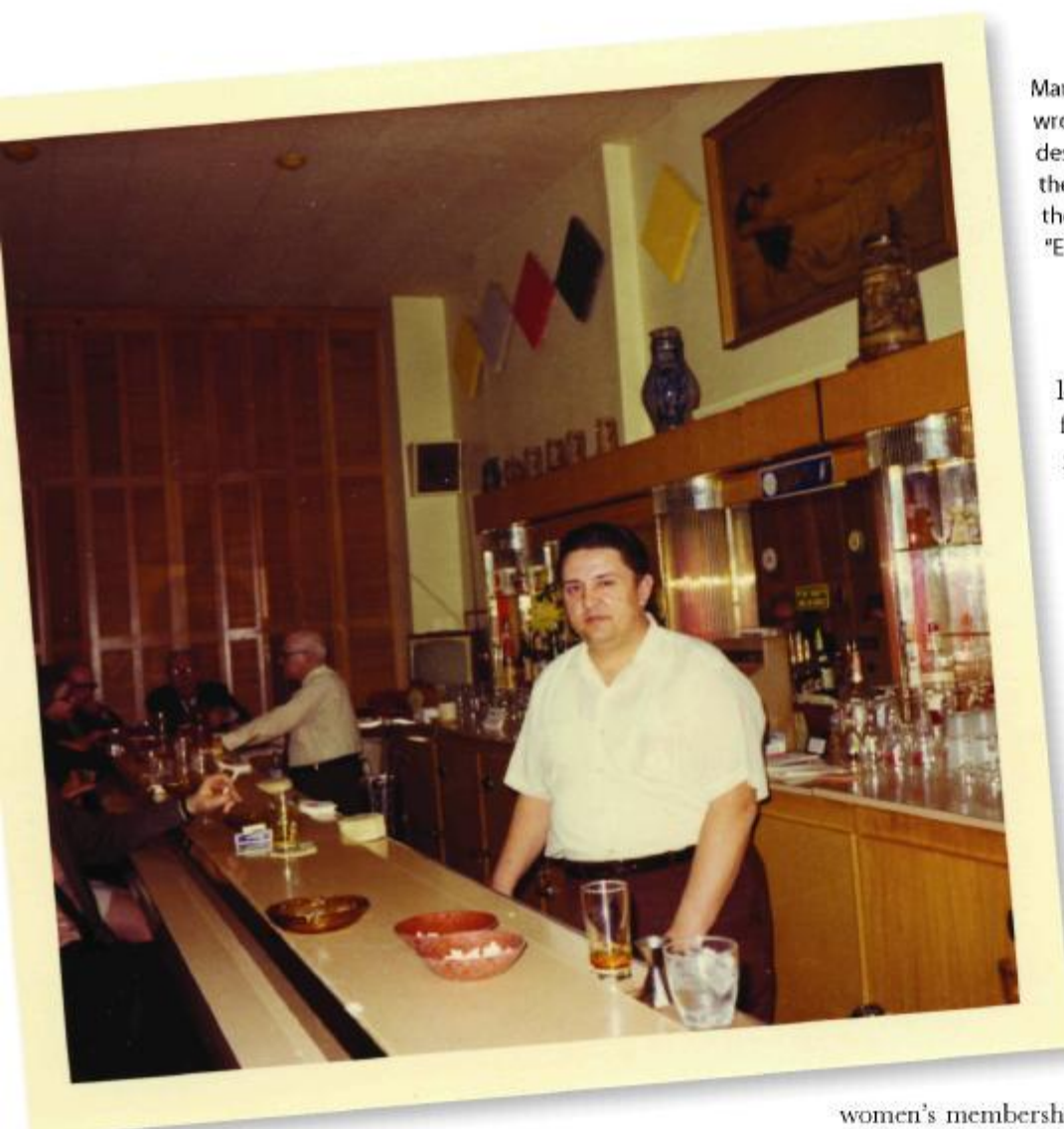
By 1970 a protest against the male-only policy occurred again. During the Milwaukee Press Club's Gridiron Dinner during which local politicians were roasted, a group of women⁵⁵ interrupted the event. They put on their "Milwaukee O-Press Klub" skit, which pointed out that the media help to keep women out of power structures. They cursed at the men and concluded with "we liberate ourselves, now liberate

your minds."⁵⁶ The story was covered in the media the following day, including an Associated Press story.⁵⁷

The Milwaukee Press Club responded to the increase in women's protests by including a story in its annual report that largely dismissed the issue. The two-page story, written by journalist Barbara Schmoll,⁵⁸ was featured beneath a mocking photo of fighting men and a cute television personality in a mini-skirt perched on the bar laughing. It was titled: "The gals (sob) couldn't care less. Says one: 'I have too much fun at home to spend my nonworking hours at that crummy bar.'" The story began with anecdotes, from unnamed sources, about how disinterested women journalists were in truly becoming club members. It cited an "informal poll of *Journal* and *Sentinel* women," and found that many did not want to join. For example, one said "she now hardly had time to take out the garbage and scrub her floors, much less fritter away hours at the Press Club."⁵⁹ The article did conclude with some attempts at balance—although even those sources said ultimately they would not join. Anonymous women expressed the counterpoint that



Once women were admitted to the Press Club, they were also invited to both professional and social events. As illustrated in the editorial cartoon above, women members were not necessarily welcomed with open arms.



Mary Spletter, one of the newly invited members, wrote a column in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* describing the men lining up at the bar under the painting of "Emma," who was reclining in the nude. In this photograph the painting of "Emma" hangs behind the bartender.

the male journalists would often criticize organizations that excluded people of color, yet "ignored their own injustices toward women."⁶⁰ It was not until the conclusion that the writer addressed the fact that important speakers, such as Golda Meir, spoke at the press club.

A committee was created to fight against women in the membership: Members to Perpetuate Camaraderie Milwaukee Press Club. According to a letter that was sent to members, attempts to integrate women "have been consistently defeated by a large majority."⁶¹ The committee, headed by former Press Club President Frank Marasco, made the following argument in its letter:

The author of the resolution to admit women, claimed at a regular membership meeting that we are one of only two press clubs that do not accept women. We have documented proof, based on a survey of press clubs, showing that there are at least five press clubs in addition to the Milwaukee Press Club, which do not admit women!⁶²

This propaganda campaign was challenged by a committee made up of several former presidents of the press club: Committee of Past Presidents for a Better Press Club. The committee outlined several arguments for the inclusion of women. In part, the committee pointed out that "with women now so important in our profession," there is no reason for denying women membership.⁶³ But the committee also pointed out a more practical issue. It wrote that if the club focused too much on its social rather than professional functions (a main reason cited for the male-only policy) then the Internal Revenue Service would remove its tax exempt status.

In advance of the vote, the past presidents committee issued a letter to its membership that addressed commonly asked questions. One of the questions was "Hasn't this question of

women's membership been 'overwhelmingly defeated' in the past?" The answer was: "No. There has never been a mail ballot of members on the question. Previous proposals for a referendum were defeated by voice vote at lightly attended club meetings."⁶⁴ Another question addressed the potential for a flood of women becoming members. The response was "From a professional point of view, the question is an absurdity. There are not that many qualified women."⁶⁵

A major step forward for inclusion was reached by the activism of the American Civil Liberties Union.⁶⁶ At a press club meeting on March 10, 1971, a letter was read from attorney Sandra S. Edlund of the law firm Greenberg, Karp, and Heitzman on behalf of the ACLU. The letter requested action on the gender discriminatory policy in lieu of litigation based on equal access.⁶⁷ Two club members, *Milwaukee Sentinel* reporters Dan Patrinos and Alex Thien, agreed to join on to the potential lawsuit for the women.⁶⁸

Apparently, the club considered fighting the lawsuit. In meeting minutes from May 12, 1971, it was noted that the organization had sought legal advice. An attorney for the club had advised that no valid defense existed for the exclusion of

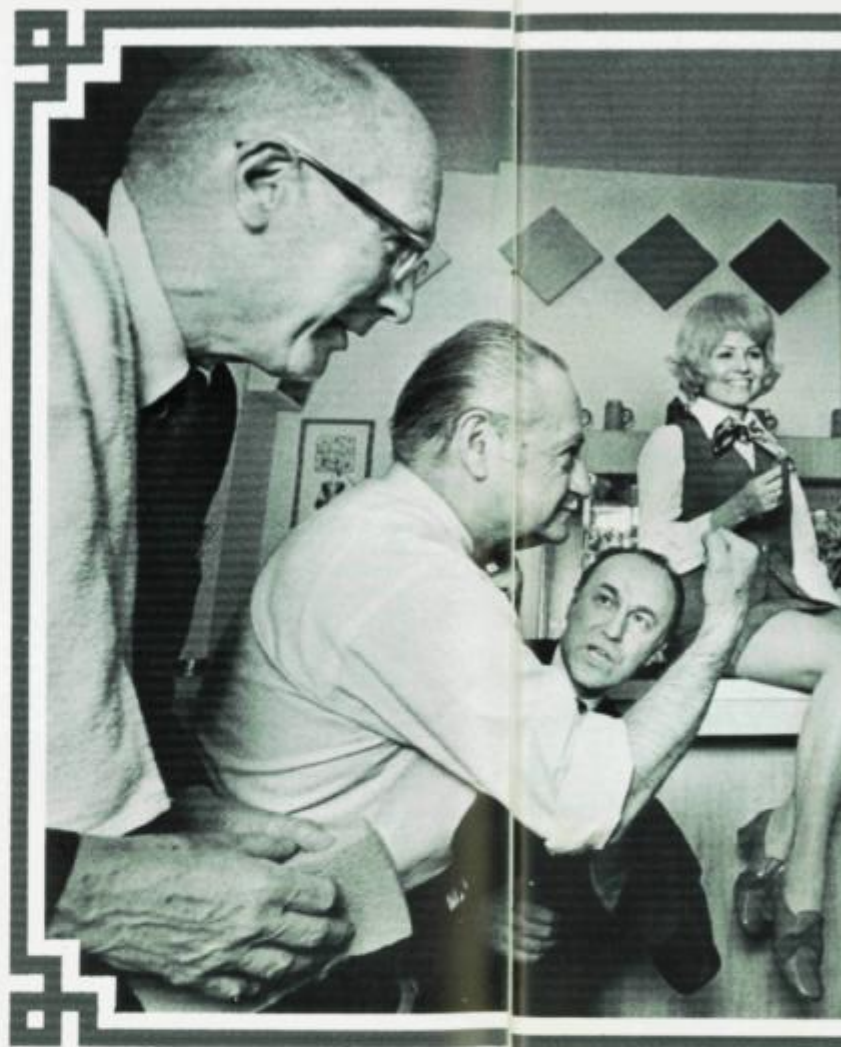
About the Press Club's
rule of rules...

The gals (sob) couldn't care less

Says one: "I have too much fun at home to
spend my nonworking hours at that crummy bar"

RISING above a Milwaukee Press Club debate that she so pleasingly personifies, Miss Bunny Raasch times the rounds as anti- and pro-women membership forces square off. On the left Chick Wegner holds the sponge and George Bernard shouts words of encouragement to men-only protagonist George Wolpert; on the right Frank Aukofer holds towel and pail and Ben Waxse cradles the jacket of let-the-gals-in warrior Bill Manly. This epic duel — pictured so well by Sherman A. Gessert Jr. — continues unabated, preventing publication of a final decision in this or perhaps any Once-a-Year.

BARBARA SCHMOLL



This photo illustrated an article written by journalist Barbara Schmoll. The two-page story began with anecdotes from unnamed sources that claimed women journalists were truly disinterested in becoming club members.

women if the ACLU did file a lawsuit.⁶⁹ In the midst of the negotiations for a vote for women's inclusion, the Milwaukee Press Club gave awards to two female journalists—Gene Cunningham and Gerry Hinkley. The 1971 certificates mistakenly listed the women as men—an act that Cunningham described as “insulting.”⁷⁰ They ripped up the certificates and returned them to the club leaders. Cunningham said it was obvious that the club assumed the top reporters would be male. The women reporters were becoming more vocal about their second-class status, and in August 1971, the committee voted to present the proposed change that would include women to the entire voting membership.

The *Milwaukee Journal* covered the vote for inclusion; the reporter described the organization as “the last major press club in the nation to admit women.”⁷¹ In the article, Club President Mark Ashley said the threatened lawsuit was a factor, although the membership had also become more enlightened about equal access. The final vote was 150 to 27 in favor of acceptance. He said, “I think club members finally just came



around to the conclusion there was really no reason to exclude women.⁷² Years later, *Milwaukee Journal* reporter Robert Wells wrote that the decision “had more to do with club finances than with the occasional feminine picket line outside the premises.”⁷³ In other words, the Club needed money and if it had to accept women to become financially healthy, it would. It was not a decision based on fairness or equality.

On August 10, 1971, the *Milwaukee Journal* featured a photo of several women having lunch with the membership chairman of the press club with the cutline recognizing that it was the first day that women were officially admitted to the club.⁷⁴ On September 9, 1971, “Welcome to the Press Club” letters were sent to thirty-two active female members.⁷⁵ Another set of letters went out to another four active women members on September 15, 1971.⁷⁶ The form letters invited the women to attend various professional and social events at the club.

One of those newly invited members, Mary Spletter, wrote a column in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* describing her first experiences in the Press Club as an actual member. She mentioned the men lined up at the bar and the painting of “Emma,” who was reclining in the nude, on the barroom wall. She also wrote of a clearly uncomfortable man who grumbled “funny, funny, funny” at the sight of women in the room.⁷⁷ Newspaper editorial cartoons show grumpy men sticking their tongues out at the female members as they sit at the Club’s bar. The women were able to be members, but they were not necessarily welcomed with open arms.

While the women’s fight to get into the Milwaukee Press Club was ultimately successful, the battle clearly uncovered the chauvinistic attitudes that existed. Women became part of the newsroom but it did not mean they were to be treated as equals. Entering a male-dominated field meant women had to continually battle for equality. The Milwaukee Press Club is the oldest continuously running press club in the country, and it did its best to uphold traditions that excluded women. The fight to include women was reminiscent of those that women journalists fought to become members of the male-only National Press Club and finally, the Gridiron Club. These battles are examples of the most visible fights for acceptance in a male-dominated industry.

In further example of how the Milwaukee women journalists felt about exclusion from the Milwaukee Press Club, it is significant to note the story of Aileen Ryan. Ryan was the

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL SENTINEL



I don't care if it has been a cardroom for ages. It's our powder room now!

While the women’s fight to get into the Milwaukee Press Club was ultimately successful, it also exposed the chauvinistic attitudes that still existed as clearly illustrated in this cartoon.

September 9, 1971

Welcome to the Press Club!

Your application has been approved by the Board of Governors and the membership of the Milwaukee Press Club. Enclosed is your membership card.

We hope you'll take the time frequently to enjoy both the good food and atmosphere the Club provides. We look forward, also, to seeing you at the many fine professional and social events on the Press Club calendar.

The officers of the Club will be glad to field any questions or comments you may have. Again - welcome!

Sincerely,

Letter sent to:

ACTIVE I

Barbara Abel
Donald B. Abert
Dorothy W. Austin
Mary F. Cahill
Eleanor Coleman
Patti A. Colla
Sandra Cota

Marilyn Gardner
Alan L. Gass
Ione Q. Griggs
Lois Hagen
Gerry L. Hinkley
Vivian Kawatzky
Dorothy Kincaid
Joy Krause

R. R. Rasmussen
Secretary

Eleanor H. Sossong
Barbara Strain
Laurie VanDyke
Sonya Zalubowski

Enclosure

Gene Cunningham
Constance L. Daniell
Peggy Daum
Carol DeMasters
Violet E. Dewey
Midred Freese

Catol A. Matusin
Mary B. Murphy
Jean H. Otto
Dan Patrinis
Bea J. Pepan
Eileen Frances Powell
Patricia W. Roberts

ACTIVE II
Margaret F. Rahill
Kenneth L. Roland

AFFILIATE
Betty J. Cole



The Milwaukee Press Club is the oldest continuously running press club in the country, and did its best to uphold traditions that excluded women. *Milwaukee Journal* reporter Robert Wells wrote that the admission of women into the club "had more to do with finances." The Press Club sent out this letter to welcome female members to the club on September 9, 1971.

women's page editor at the *Milwaukee Journal* from the 1920s through the 1960s—a time when that section was typically the only place for women reporters. She was a groundbreaking journalist, winning Penney-Missouri Awards (the top national award for the sections) three times during the 1960s. The first color photos published in the *Journal* were from her trip to

The Milwaukee Press Club's yearbook, *Once a Year*, welcomed women into the club with a bright pink cover of the club's annual report and by placing a bow around the club's mascot.



Europe to cover the fashion shows in June 1937.⁷⁸ She retired in 1967, and in 1981 she was nominated for the Milwaukee Press Club Hall of Fame. Ryan, however, rejected the honor because she was not allowed to be a member of the club during her career. During her career, she regularly argued for equal pay⁷⁹ and for equal status at her newspaper.⁸⁰ Ryan relented six years later, and in 1987 she was nominated again and did become a member of the Hall of Fame—an honor richly deserved for the numerous “firsts” she accomplished during her nearly five-decade career at the *Milwaukee Journal*. It was her work and the fight of other Milwaukee female journalists who finally ended gender segregation at the oldest continuously running press club in the United States.

Understanding the reluctance of male journalists to allow women into a press club provides context for the small number of women who have made progress in the news media—especially in the executive ranks. As the *Milwaukee Journal's* Jean Otto wrote in a 1972 article for the Milwaukee Press Club:

The woman who was editor of her college paper can never expect to have the same title again, unless she inherits her father's paper or outlives a husband who owns one. Chances are, if she's lucky to be hired at all, the woman journalist will find herself somewhere on the fringe of the action that drew her to the career.⁸¹

The news industry has been a chilly climate for women. Throughout the 1970s, lawsuits forced news organizations to hire and promote women. One of the most visible was the class-action lawsuit, *Boylan v. The New York Times*. The women charged that the newspaper's management discriminated against them in hiring, pay, and promotions. It was settled on October 6, 1978. While not admitting guilt, the newspaper agreed to an aggressive affirmative action plan and back pay for 550 women.⁸² This led to similar lawsuits from women at numerous media outlets including *The Washington Post*, *Detroit News*, and *Newsday*. In 1983 the largest news-gathering organization in the world, the Associated Press, agreed to an out-of-court settlement to pay \$2 million in back wages and improve its hiring of women and minorities. (When the lawsuit was filed in 1978, the A.P.'s news staff was about seven percent female.)⁸³ Those lawsuits did lead to some change. In 2004 the percentage of women in daily newspaper newsrooms increased slightly to thirty-seven percent after a two-year decline.⁸⁴

While some progress has been made, barriers continue. Of all the supervising positions in newspapers, women make up only thirty-four percent.⁸⁵ In a 2001 study, eighty percent of the women surveyed said “exclusion from informal networks” kept them from advancing to top positions.⁸⁶ Maybe it was those informal networks that the male Milwaukee Press Club members were trying to keep for themselves as an edge in a competitive field. ❧



Bennett F. Waxse, membership chairman of the Milwaukee Press Club, lunched with several women journalists the first official day women were admitted to the club, Tuesday, August 10, 1971. From left are Miss Barbara Strain, Miss Barbara Abel, Miss Mildred Freese, Mrs. Patricia Roberts and Mrs. Ione Quinby Griggs of the *Milwaukee Journal*, and Miss Genevieve McBride of the *Milwaukee Courier*.

Notes

1. Gordon Gottlieb, "Newswomen's PRESS-ure Club Batters on Men's Bastion," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 20, 1966, 1.5.
2. Marion Marzolf, *Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 104.
3. Gottlieb, "Newswomen's PRESS-ure."
4. Ibid.
5. As Susan Douglas points out, the media images were dominated by a "catfight" frame. She wrote: "as a metaphor for the struggle between feminism and antifeminism, the catfight provided a symbolic catharsis of women's internal conflict between the desire for liberation and the longing for security." In this case, the press club featured women who did not want to be part of the club. Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Random House, 1995), 223.
6. Katherine Lanpher, "The Boys at the Club: An Examination of Press Clubs as an Aspect of the Occupational Culture of the Late 19th Century Journalist," presented at the Association for Education in Journalism, History Division, Athens, Ohio, July 1982, 5.
7. Maurine Beasley, "The Women's National Press Club: Case Study of Professional Aspirations," *Journalism History* 15, no. 4 (Winter 1988), 112-121.
8. Elizabeth Burt, "A Bid for Legitimacy: The Woman's Press Club Movement, 1881-1900," *Journalism History* 23, no. 2 (Summer 1997), 72-84.
9. Helen M. Staunton, "Mary Hornaday Protests Bars to Newswomen," *Editor & Publisher*, July 15, 1944.
10. Ruthie Deskin of the *Las Vegas Sun* was the second woman elected president of the Nevada Press Club, in 1966. Her papers are in the Special Collections of the University of Nevada Las Vegas.
11. "Press clubs remained sex-segregated organizations until the old barriers began to break down in the late 1960s," Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, eds., *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, DC: American University Press, 1993), 10.
12. Genevieve G. McBride, ed., *Women's Wisconsin: From Native Matriarchies to the New Millennium* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2005), 438. It should be noted that Genevieve G. McBride is the daughter of Toni McBride and was among the first group of women accepted into the Milwaukee Press Club.
13. Sarah McClendon "applied for admission to the National Press Club, but whenever she inquired over the next 16 years, she was told that somehow it had gotten 'lost.'" Helen

Thomas, "Sarah McClendon: We Will Miss Her," Hearst Newspapers, <http://www.the-bostonchannel.com/helenthomas/1893155/detail.html>.

14. Nan Robertson, *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men, and the New York Times* (New York: Random House, 1992), 101.
15. Milwaukee Press Club 1991 Hall of Fame brochure, box 2, folder 34, Milwaukee Press Club Records, 1885-ongoing. UWM Manuscript Collection 146, University Manuscript Collection, Archives, UWM Libraries, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Collection cited hereafter as Milwaukee Press Club Records.
16. Ellen Gibson MacQuarrie Wilson began her journalism career in 1943, and in 1949 she became the first newspaperwoman to win a \$5,000 Reid Foundation fellowship for travel and study abroad. Milwaukee Press Club 1989 Hall of Fame brochure, box 2, folder 32, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
17. Milwaukee Press Club 1993 Hall of Fame brochure, box 2, folder 36, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
18. In the early 1930s, Ryan convinced clothing manufacturers in New York City to overturn their ban on newspaper reporters and photographers at designer showings, a prohibition unheard of today. Ekdon Knoche, "Ryan was fashion reporting pioneer while at Journal," *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, September 24, 1995.
19. Aileen Ryan, "Women's World: 'Not so,' Writes Aroused Editor," *Once a Year* (1961), 57, box 10, folder 21, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
20. Ibid.
21. Milwaukee Press Club 1986 Hall of Fame brochure, box 2, folder 29, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
22. "Edna Dunlap, 95, Pioneer Woman Journalist, Dies," *The Sheboygan Press*, July 14, 1969, 8.
23. Michigan journalist Roberta Applegate recalled that while visiting with the reporters the governor would often mutter "hell" or "damn" under his breath and then apologize to her for the vulgar language. She later determined that it was a sign that she had been accepted when the men stopped apologizing for their language. Kay Murphy, "Gentle Roberta Wrinkles Her Turned-Up Nose And Helps Settle the Problems of Clubwomen," *Miami Herald*, February 20, 1955.
24. "Press Club Ends Ban on Women," unknown publication, August 1971, box 3, folder 2, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
25. Robert Wells, *The Milwaukee Journal: An Informal Chronicle of its First 100 Years* (Milwaukee, WI: Milwaukee Journal, 1981), 106.
26. "Everything You've Always Wanted to Know About the Press Club," *Once a Year* (1974), 2, box 11, folder 11, Milwaukee Press Club Records.



27. "A (Brief) History of the Milwaukee Press Club," Milwaukee Press Club, <http://www.milwaukeeclub.org/about/history.php>.
28. Wade Mosby, "Club Auxiliary Born," *Once a Year* (1959), 32-33, box 10, folder 20, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
29. Ibid.
30. Email inquiry, Martha Borchers, December 1, 2006.
31. The Atlanta Press Club, "Our History," <http://www.atlantapressclub.org/about/history.html>.
32. Associated Press, "Press Club Now Open to Women," *Greeley (CO) Tribune*, May 26, 1970.
33. "Women Lose Bid to Join Press Club," *Oakland Tribune*, January 17, 1973. Elaine Reed, "Women Reporters Sue Press Club," *Oakland Tribune*, September 7, 1972. "Press Club Rejects Women's Lib. Move," *Oakland Tribune*, February 3, 1972.
34. Associated Press, "S.F. Press Club Admits Women," *Press-Telegram* (Long Beach, CA), October 14, 1973.
35. Joseph A. Porcello, "The Syracuse Press Club's First 50 Years," 2001, www.syracusepressclub.org/WhoWeAre/history1.html.
36. Christopher Curry, "Florence DeVore, pioneering local journalist, dies at 92," *Star-Banner (FL)*, October 19, 2006.
37. Marian McBride, "Negro Emerges in Politics," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, November 26, 1964, 4.6.
38. Marian McBride, "Women to Work for Equal Break," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, October 13, 1963.
39. This story was detailed in Marian (Toni) McBride, "Stalking Lynda in the North Woods," Milwaukee Press Club, *Once a Year*, 1966, 37, 72. The story is also recounted in Liz Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes: The Warm and Tender Story of a Single Girl who Found Adventure in the White House* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 124.
40. Carpenter, 125.
41. Associated Press, "Milwaukee Press Club Threatened With Picketing," *Sheboygan (WI) Press*, September 17, 1966, 17.
42. Associated Press, "Women Kept Out of Club," *Manitowoc (WI) Herald-Times*, September 21, 1966, 6.
43. The story of the competing reporter couple was described in a national 1965 article. "Competition in Milwaukee," *Time*, February 12, 1965. The couple was voted into the Milwaukee Press Club's Hall of Fame in the 2002 Posthumous Class.
44. Associated Press, "Women Kept Out of Club," *Manitowoc (WI) Herald-Times*, September 21, 1966.
45. "Women Backed in Press Club Bid," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, n.d., box 3, folder 2, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
46. Marcia Cohen, *The Sisterhood: The True Story of the Women Who Changed the World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 134-137. Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, *Rebirth of Feminism* (New York: New York Times Book Co., 1971), 83-85.
47. Gottlieb, "Newswomen's PRESS-ure."
48. Ibid.
49. Robert Wells, "Not Before 3 p.m.," Milwaukee Press Club, *Once a Year*, 1967.
50. Marian McBride, "Milwaukee TSPs Sue Press Club for Admission," *The Matrix*, Summer 1970, 11.
51. Associated Press, "Woman Refuses to Accept Milwaukee Press Award," *Sheboygan (WI) Press*, April 10, 1967, 12.
52. McBride, "Milwaukee TSPs Sue," 11.
53. Marian (Toni) McBride, "Act Like a Lady, Think Like Man," Milwaukee Press Club, *Once a Year*, 1969.
54. "Milwaukee TSPs Shun Press Club," *The Matrix*, Fall 1969, 23.
55. The women identified themselves as members of the women's liberation organization WITCH, or Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy From Hell. For more on WITCH see Cohen, 167-168.
56. Larry Tarnoff, "Gridiron Invaders Cry Foul," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 13, 1970, 5. This was also noted in Patricia Bradley, *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 64.
57. Associated Press, "Press Club Draws Protest," *Manitowoc (WI) Herald-Times*, April 13, 1970.
58. For a more blatant example of the tone of the times, it should be noted that the story concluded with the editor's note: "Barbara Schmoll is indisputably the prettiest contributor to this year's *Once-a-Year*."
59. Barbara Schmoll, "The Gals (Sob) Couldn't Care Less," Milwaukee Press Club, *Once a Year*, 1970, 18.
60. Ibid.
61. Letter to members from "Members to Perpetuate Camaraderie Milwaukee Press Club," box 1, folder 16, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
62. Ibid.
63. Letter to members from "Committee of Past Presidents for a Better Press Club," August 19, 1969, box 1, folder 16, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Associated Press, "Press Club Bias Faces Challenges," *Manitowoc (WI) Herald-Times*, December 16, 1969.
67. Official Minutes, Milwaukee Press Club, March 10, 1971, box 2, folder 45, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
68. "Milwaukee TSPs Shun Press Club."
69. Official Minutes, Milwaukee Press Club, May 12, 1971, box 2, folder 45, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
70. Associated Press, "Writers Refuse Awards," *Fond du Lac (WI) Reporter*, April 26, 1971, 20.
71. "Press Club Ends Ban on Women," *Milwaukee Journal*, box 2, folder 2, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
72. Ibid.
73. Wells, *The Milwaukee Journal*, 450-451.
74. "Ladies' Day," *Milwaukee Journal*, August 10, 1971, 2.1.
75. "Welcome to the Press Club" letter, September 9, 1971, box 1, folder 16, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
76. "Welcome to the Press Club" letter, September 15, 1971, box 1, folder 16, Milwaukee Press Club Records.
77. Mary Spletter, "Mary Hopes Signature Will Join Famed Ranks," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 10, 1971, 5.
78. Jacquelyn Gray, "Journal Got a Quick Start on Fashion," *Milwaukee Journal*, March 31, 1995, D5.
79. Wells, *The Milwaukee Journal*, 292.
80. Ryan, "Woman's World."
81. Dorothy Austin and Jean Otto, "The Media: Where Sex Gets in the Way," Milwaukee Press Club, *Once a Year*, 1972.
82. Kay Mills, *From Pocahontas to Power Suits: Everything You Need to Know About Women's History in America* (New York: Plume Books, 1995), 266-267.
83. Margaret Engel, "Women and Minorities Win Big Victory from AP," *Nieman Reports*, Autumn 1983, 25.
84. "Newsmen Employment Drops Again; Diversity Gains," American Society of Newspaper Editors, 2004.
85. Ibid.
86. "Women in Newspapers: How Much Progress Has Been Made?" Media Management Center at Northwestern University, 2001, <http://www.mediamanagementcenter.org/publications/data/WIN.pdf>.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



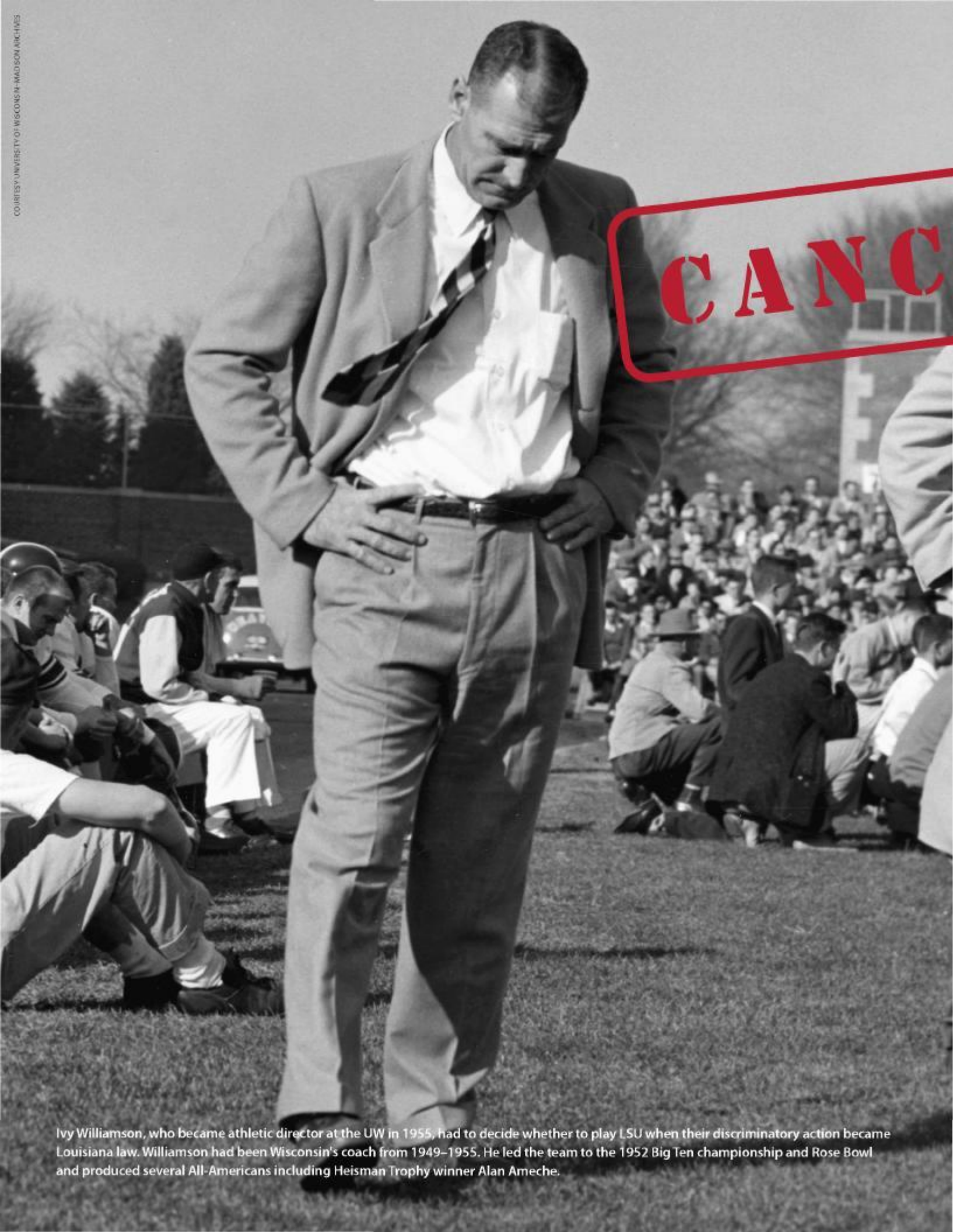
Kimberly Wilmot Voss received her PhD from the University of Maryland. She is a journalism historian who specializes in stories of women journalists from the post-World War II era through the 1970s. She is also a Milwaukee native and graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Cardinal Stritch University, Milwaukee. After

five years as an assistant professor at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, she has joined the Nicholson School of Communication at the University of Central Florida as an assistant professor. She is married to fellow journalism historian Lance Speere.



Lance Speere is the previous president of College Media Advisors. He is finishing his dissertation at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. He has co-authored several articles about women journalists with his wife, Kimberly Wilmot Voss. This past spring, he was the keynote speaker for the American Journalism Historians Association

meeting. The talk, "Tales of an Accidental Journalism Historian: What Four Archives in Four Months Taught a College Media Adviser About Pre-Women's Liberation Newsrooms," was about their archival work together. He is currently working on an article about the male editors who supported progressive women's page editors in the 1950s and 1960s.



Ivy Williamson, who became athletic director at the UW in 1955, had to decide whether to play LSU when their discriminatory action became Louisiana law. Williamson had been Wisconsin's coach from 1949-1955. He led the team to the 1952 Big Ten championship and Rose Bowl and produced several All-Americans including Heisman Trophy winner Alan Ameche.

FILED DUE TO RACISM

The Wisconsin Badger Football Games Against Louisiana State in 1957 and 1958

by Richard Carlton Haney

Two highly anticipated inter-sectional football showdowns between the University of Wisconsin (UW) Badgers and the Louisiana State (LSU) Tigers collided headlong with the racial prejudices of Louisiana segregationist politicians in the 1950s.

When the Louisiana legislature and governor passed a controversial law in 1956 to prohibit integrated athletic competition, it resulted in the cancellation of the Badger-Tiger football games scheduled for Madison in 1957 and Baton Rouge in 1958. Wisconsin had not played a Southeastern Conference opponent since defeating Alabama 15-0 in 1928. LSU's most recent Big Ten foe had been Indiana in 1924.

Racial segregation was commonplace throughout the United States in 1956. The United States Supreme Court had unanimously issued the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling ordering the integration of public schools only two years earlier. The bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, was just a few months old, and the boycott was only beginning to bring forth the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. as the recognized national spokesperson for what would eventually become a full-fledged civil rights movement. The next year, President Dwight Eisenhower would send U.S. Marshals and Army troops to enforce the court order of a federal judge permitting the enrollment of nine black teenagers at previously all-white

Little Rock Central High School in Arkansas in the fall of 1957. Southern state public universities remained strictly segregated along racial lines. James Meredith at the University of Mississippi and James Hood and Vivian Malone at the University of Alabama would break the racial barriers at those institutions six and seven years in the future.¹ LSU, like most southern universities in the mid-1950s, was a racially segregated whites-only institution both in the classroom and on the athletic field.

The *Daily Cardinal* reported in late July 1956, that the University had cancelled its games with LSU due to Louisiana's "Athletic Color Line."

Daily Cardinal

Complete

Campus Coverage

University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, Friday, July 20, 1956

34/14

FRE

'U' Cancels Its Athletic Engagement With LSU

Political Weakness Of France Cited In Williams' Talk

"The last thing to expect from puppets is leadership," said visiting Prof. Philip Williams in his address "Is France Finished?" to the University forum held at the Union.

Professor Williams considered by many to be an authority on French politics presently belongs to the Political Science department here. Originally from the University of Oxford, he is to further his study at Columbia University for one year and then return to his native England.

Williams pointed out that the French have the weak constitution they have because of the fear of a strong government. The immediate weakness however lies in the many parties that compose the French political

Action Results from Louisiana Erection of Athletic Color Line

University athletic director Ivan Williamson stated last night that university athletic teams will be unable to play Louisiana State university because of discriminatory action taken by the State of Louisiana.

"According to press reports legislation has been enacted by the State of Louisiana to prevent interracial participation in athletic contests there," Williamson and the university athletic board announced.

The former football coach said that the legislation would "have the effect of denying to the university the privilege of selecting members of its team without regard to race or color in any contest to be played in Louisiana."

The university policy of entering into contract for athletic contests "assumes freedom for each school in selecting team members in accordance with the rules of the institution and its conference."

"WE WOULD be compelled to view such action as a

Clinic Concert Plays 'Hudson River Suite'

Ferde Grofe's "Hudson Suite," calling for full symphony orchestra, a jazz band, and solo



Janet Fox, Tower on Wednesday, August 1st, 1956. Top row Janet Fox, Tower on Wednesday, August 1st, 1956. Bottom row Janet Fox, Tower on Wednesday, August 1st, 1956.



Ticket "issued for a person of the Caucasian Race" for the 1949 Sugar Bowl played in Tulane Stadium.

This ticket is issued for a person of the Caucasian Race, and if used by any other is in violation of State Law, such person may be ejected without penalty or refund. Association reserves the right to refuse admission to anyone upon refund of ticket price, and this ticket is issued subject to this condition.
NEW ORLEANS MID-WINTER SPORTS ASS'N.



The University of Wisconsin, by contrast, had a long history of numerous African American athletes participating in many sports. As early as 1900, Adelbert Matthews pitched and Vivian Ware played first base for the Badger baseball team. Ware was elected team captain for the 1902 Big Ten championship season. Wisconsin track hurdler George Poage was the first African American athlete to win an Olympic medal, which he achieved in the 1904 games. World War II navy veteran Calvin Vernon won the NCAA light-heavyweight boxing championship for the Badgers in 1947, and was a fullback on the 1948 football team. The 1951 Wisconsin football team featured All-American defensive back Ed Withers, a graduate of Madison Central High School and a Korean War combat veteran. Most African American athletes from southern states played for southern black colleges such as Grambling and Jackson State. Some moved north to play for Minnesota, Ohio State, Notre Dame, or Wisconsin, as did Sidney Williams from Little Rock, Arkansas, for the 1956–1958 UW Badger seasons.²

By the mid-1950s, Wisconsin was a perennial Big Ten football power under coaches Ivy Williamson and his successor Milt Bruhn, who took the reins beginning with the 1956 season. In the post-World War II decades, most observers recognized the Big Ten as the strongest football conference in the United States. The 1951 Badgers, featuring the legendary defensive unit known as the "Hard Rocks" (including Ed Withers and freshman running back Alan "The Horse" Ameche from Kenosha), is still considered one of the best teams in UW football history. Wisconsin had won the Big Ten championship in 1952 and represented the conference in the Rose Bowl. Ameche received the



Heisman Trophy in 1954. By 1957 and 1958, Wisconsin would again be a national power, and the teams of 1959 and 1962 both won Big Ten championships and Rose Bowl bids.

In the early and mid-1950s, Louisiana State was usually in the middle of the standings in the Southeastern Conference. LSU seldom played northern non-conference opponents. However, when Paul Dietzel became coach beginning in 1955, LSU began building toward what would become an undefeated national championship season in 1958. Dietzel was an Ohio native, had played college football at Duke University, and was a World War II veteran who would leave LSU for West Point in 1961 to become Army's head coach.³

Louisiana Law

During the summer of 1956, the Louisiana legislature busied itself making certain that the state's sports competition remained segregated. The uproar over the Wisconsin-LSU football games of 1957–1958 was triggered by the January 1956 Sugar Bowl football game in New Orleans, when Georgia Tech defeated the University of Pittsburgh 7–0. Pitt's fullback was Bobby Grier, an African American.⁴ Wisconsin had several African American players on its football roster. Grier's presence on the Sugar Bowl field led to the introduction into the Louisiana legislature of several new segregationist bills



Future Olympian George Poage, seated on the left, poses with his teammates on the UW track squad.

throughout the spring and summer of 1956.⁵ Since Wisconsin was the only northern team with black players on LSU's future schedules, the new bills were clearly designed primarily to exclude Wisconsin's black players from the coming UW-LSU games, and to insure that future Sugar Bowl games played in Louisiana would be by all-white teams.

In early July 1956, the Louisiana House of Representatives voted 71-0 for a bill sponsored by Representative H. Lawrence Gibbs of Ouachita Parish to "outlaw social events and athletic contests including both Negroes and whites." An amendment to the bill by State Senator J. D. De Blieux of Baton Rouge to exclude "athletics" from the restriction was defeated 30-2. The bill then passed the Louisiana State Senate 33-0. The press reported that the crowded "senate gallery cheered wildly when the 33-0 final vote was announced."⁶ The LSU Board of Supervisors—LSU's counterpart to the UW Board of Regents—strongly objected to the legislative action, and had voted three times to urge rejection of the proposal that would bar LSU from playing racially-integrated teams. Ultimately, the bill passed by the legislature outlawed "dancing, social functions, entertainments, athletic training, games, sports or contests and other such activities involving personal and social contacts in which the participants or contestants are members of the white and Negro races." Furthermore, it banned integrated stadium seating and required segregated stadium toilet facilities.⁷

For those in Louisiana who had opposed the law, the only remaining hope was that Governor Earl Long would veto the legislation. Long, the younger brother of Huey "Kingfish" Long who had ruled the state with an iron fist in the 1930s, was simultaneously intelligent, politically shrewd, and unpredictable. Long's record on race relations was mixed. Although he continued to enforce Louisiana's segregation laws, he had successfully equalized teacher pay regardless of race. In the late 1950s, Long's wife Blanche was part of a group that attempted to have the governor impeached because of alleged mental instability. Whether the timing was coincidental or not, Governor Long was institutionalized in a Mandeville mental hospital soon after he publicly supported black voter registration. From the hospital, he continued to function as governor.

Several influential people in Louisiana encouraged Governor Long to veto the Gibbs bill. The Sugar Bowl Executive Committee and the Mid-Winter Sports Association, which sponsored the Sugar Bowl, and the LSU Board of Supervisors all supported a veto on the grounds that the proposed law would keep northern teams, including Notre Dame, Army, Navy, and other powers at the time from playing in the annual New Orleans contest. Sugar Bowl officials were likely motivated more by the potential loss in revenue rather than from a deep concern for equal rights. Historically, the Sugar Bowl had included a printed statement on the admission ticket that it was for use by "Caucasians only," which had led to some hard feelings in the Washington, D.C., area in 1951 when Maryland played Tennessee in the game.⁸ Father James Molloy, the president of Loyola University in New Orleans, and Texas League (minor league baseball) President Dick Butler joined the chorus urging a veto. The Texas League had a franchise in Shreveport, Louisiana, and any ban on integrated teams would affect the entire league.⁹ The LSU coaches and most of the players opposed the restriction, which would deny them the opportunity to play the Badgers. *Wisconsin State Journal* Sports Editor Henry J. McCormick wrote in his "Playing the Game" column, "... the most enlightened and tolerant citizens of Louisiana are going to be plowed under by the chest-beaters for 'white supremacy.'"¹⁰

McCormick was right. Governor Earl Long signed the Gibbs bill into law because, as he explained with imprecise grammar, "The comments I've heard over the state has run about four to one in favor of it. . . . In signing it I'm going along with a majority . . ."

Evidently, the governor agreed with the openly-expressed belief of the bill's sponsor, Representative Gibbs, that northern teams would "... put first things first . . ." by accepting the cash profits for playing LSU or competing in the Sugar Bowl. Gibbs added, "This will be a strong inducement for leaving their colored players at home."¹¹

Two days after Long signed the law, University of Wisconsin Athletic Director Ivan "Ivy" Williamson said, "It looks as though the 1958 game at Baton Rouge will definitely fall

through." When asked about the 1957 game in Madison, Williamson's reply was, "I don't know," pending his forthcoming meeting with the UW Faculty Athletic Board.¹² Williamson had been the football coach from 1949 through 1955. He led the team to the 1952 Big Ten championship and Rose Bowl and produced several All-Americans, including Heisman Trophy winner Alan Ameche. His teams finished second in the conference three times, including the legendary 1951 defense-minded team nicknamed the Hard Rocks, considered by some to be the greatest football team in Badger history. He confronted the LSU decision only a few months after he had become the Athletic Director.

Williamson and the UW Madison Athletic Department did have a precedent on which to base a decision. In 1939, Columbia, Missouri, was to be the site of a scheduled triangular track meet between Wisconsin, Notre Dame, and Missouri. Shortly before the meet, Missouri informed Wisconsin that the UW's African American hurdler, Ed Smith, could not participate because it would violate Missouri's segregation laws. The UW student newspaper, *Daily Cardinal*, UW Law School Dean Lloyd Garrison (the grandson of Civil War-era abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison), the Faculty Senate, Langdon Street fraternities and sororities, and Madison's *Capital Times* all urged Wisconsin to withdraw from the track meet. UW President Clarence Dykstra and Badger Track Coach Tom Jones agreed. Wisconsin withdrew from the track meet, and Notre Dame followed suit.¹³

On July 19, 1956, the University of Wisconsin Athletic Department issued the following statement announcing that the football contract with Louisiana State was cancelled:

According to press reports, legislation has been enacted by the State of Louisiana to prevent interracial participation in athletic contests there. We have not seen the text of the legislation, but assume from the press reports that it would have the effect of denying to the University of Wisconsin the privilege of selecting the members of its team without regard to race or color in any contest played in Louisiana.

If this assumption is correct, the University of Wisconsin would be unable to play Louisiana State University either here or there. We have always entered into a contract for athletic contests with another institution on the basis that each school would have complete freedom to select its team members in accordance with the rules and policies of the institution and of the conference of which it is a member.

We would be compelled to view any action that interfered with this traditional basic policy of freedom of selection as tantamount to forcing a termination of the contract.

We regret that the reported action by the State of Louisiana will apparently make it impossible for us to

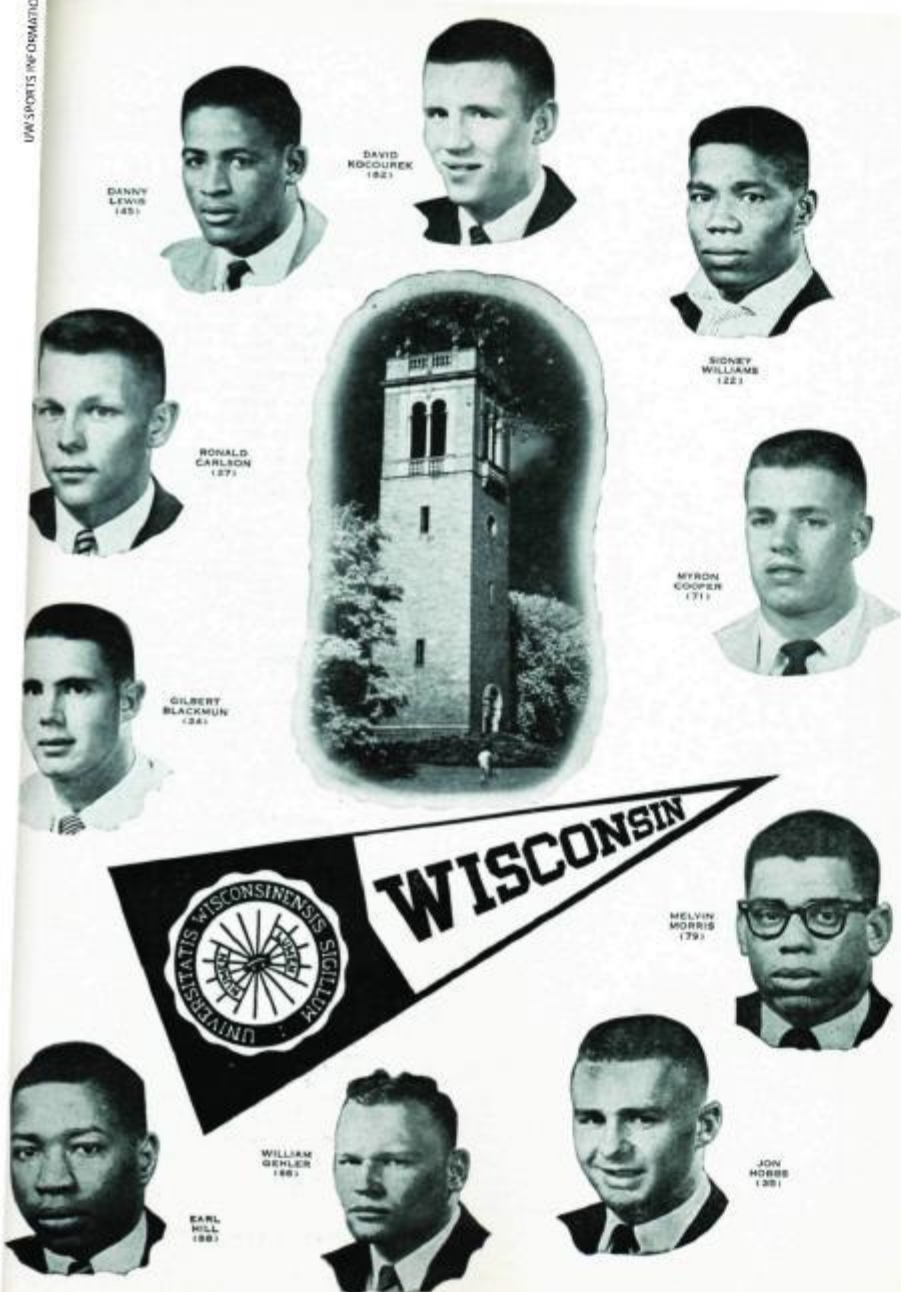
play Louisiana State University, particularly in view of the fact that we understand that the Board of Supervisors of that institution went on record as favoring national schedules in all sports without regard to race or color of participating players."¹⁴

The 1956 Badgers had fewer than a dozen African American players on the roster. First-year UW Coach Milt Bruhn was clearly facing a rebuilding season that would bear fruit during the highly successful seasons of 1957 and 1958 (when they were to have played LSU). Bruhn, who had been Williamson's line coach, was UW's head coach from 1956 through 1966. He would lead the 1959 and 1962 Badgers to Big Ten championships and Rose Bowl games. Wisconsin's star player in 1956 was All-Big Ten senior lineman Steve Ambrose, the future historian.

Coach Bruhn prepares to lead his Badger squad out of the tunnel before a game at Camp Randall.



UW SPORTS INFORMATION



This 1957 composite photo of Badger football players includes four African American players.

Wisconsin's Sidney Williams (1956–1958) was the first African American to start at quarterback in Big Ten football history, and so far as can be determined, he was also the first to start at quarterback for any NCAA Division I university other than the all-black southern colleges. A native of Little Rock, Arkansas, he chose Wisconsin because of his desire to study chemical engineering at the UW's outstanding department. In the fall of 1956, Williams was not even among the five quarterbacks on the roster. As a second-string sophomore defensive safety he played a paltry total of sixty-three minutes as the Badgers struggled to win only one of their first seven games. Having tried five others at quarterback without success, Coach Milt Bruhn turned in desperation to Sid Williams to start the final two games. Williams had not played quarterback in college, but he was a gifted athlete and an intelligent and conscientious honor student in the classroom. Williams, who gave himself a crash course on the playbook, scored the game-tying touchdowns that led to 13–13 ties against both Illinois and Minnesota. Williams was the starting quarterback for the next two seasons in 1957 (6–3 record) and 1958 (7–1–1 record), when he increasingly shared time with Dale Hackbart (1957–1959), the roughneck quarterback from Madison East High School.¹⁶

The cancellation of the Wisconsin-LSU games in 1957 and 1958 left gaps in the schedules for both schools. Both the Badgers and Tigers found replacements, but Wisconsin clearly found higher-quality opponents than did LSU. Louisiana built its own cage for the LSU Tigers by restricting itself to playing opponents that had no African American players on their rosters. Wisconsin only needed to find opponents with open dates on their schedules. The Badgers found the West Virginia Mountaineers and the Miami Hurricanes. LSU found Texas Tech and Hardin-Simmons.¹⁷

Wisconsin defeated West Virginia 45–13 in Madison on October 5 in the second game of the 1957 season, en route to a 6–3 record. Danny Lewis was named "Midwest Back of the Week" for his performance against the Mountaineers. On the same day, LSU traveled to Lubbock, Texas, where they narrowly defeated a weak Texas Tech team 19–14. LSU finished the season with a 5–5 record. In 1958, Marquette graciously shifted

A handful of African Americans became key players for the Badgers in the 1956–1959 seasons. Halfback Danny Lewis (1955–1957) finished second in all-time career rushing yards for UW behind only Alan Ameche. Lewis surpassed his All-American predecessors Howie "The Flying Dutchman" Weiss (1938) and Pat "Hit 'em Again" Harder (1942). Had Lewis been eligible for four years (freshmen were not eligible for the varsity) he might have broken Ameche's career rushing record (Ameche played for four years, including 1951 when freshmen were eligible for the varsity during the Korean War). End Earl Hill (1956–1958) was a sure-handed pass receiver. Tackle Lowell "Gooch" Jenkins (1957–1959) was a mainstay of the interior line. Above all, there was Sidney Williams.¹⁵

its game with Wisconsin to the open date of October 4, so that Wisconsin could schedule Miami as its substitute game on September 20. The Badgers opened the 1958 season against the Hurricanes in a night game in Miami with a 20-0 victory, led by the passing combination of Sid Williams to Earl Hill. LSU filled its 1958 schedule with what should have been an easy game in Baton Rouge against Hardin-Simmons. LSU won 20-6. Wisconsin and LSU were both national football powers in 1958. LSU won the national championship with an 11-0 record, including the Sugar Bowl.¹⁸ Wisconsin finished sixth in the same national Associated Press poll rankings with a 7-1-1 record.

Several other universities followed the Wisconsin example by cancelling athletic contests against Louisiana institutions because of the racist restrictions on competition. Notre Dame, Dayton University, and St. Louis University withdrew from the four-team Sugar Bowl Basketball Tournament that was to be held in conjunction with the January 1957 football game (only the University of Kentucky remained). University of Pittsburgh Chancellor Edward Litchfield announced that no Pitt team would participate "... in any athletic event in which any one of its students would be disbarred who otherwise was eligible under the rules of this university. ... As an educational institution, we recognize only the criteria of academic and athletic competence in determining who shall represent the university in intercollegiate athletics." He further explained that even if Pitt were to have an all-white team in 1956, the university would still not participate in any game where the university's students and alumni would be forced to sit in segregated stadium seating. Marquette University cancelled its basketball game against Loyola, scheduled to be played in New Orleans in January 1957. Because travel expenses for one game could not be justified, Marquette also cancelled a game at Spring Hill, Alabama, for the same week, along with a subsequent contest against Kentucky. A *Wisconsin State Journal* editorial stated with great insight that, "Governor Earl Long has signed a bill into law that practically isolates his state from the rest of the world of sports."¹⁹

Wisconsin's football coach, Milt Bruhn, remarked in later years that one of the biggest "what ifs" of his coaching career was the lost opportunity for his 1957 and 1958 teams to play LSU, especially during the 1958 season in which LSU went undefeated and won the national championship. Bruhn expressed his belief that his teams would have won both the 1957 and 1958 LSU games.²⁰

UW played a grueling schedule during an era when the Big Ten was unquestionably the strongest football conference in the country. Nobody will ever know who would have won the never-to-be-played 1957 and 1958 games, but a look at the teams and matchups could shed some light on the subject. Wisconsin was a Big Ten power by 1957 when the UW-LSU game would have been played in Madison. Quarterback Sid Williams and halfback Danny Lewis led Wisconsin on the field with their play and in the locker room by their quiet examples. Only the opening game against Marquette was a legitimate "soft spot" and the 1957 team compiled a 6-3 record. LSU, even with future Green Bay Packer running back Jim Taylor leading the way, was 5-5 for the season, and the only teams on the schedule who consistently instilled any realistic fear in opponents were Georgia Tech and Mississippi.²¹

The 1958 Badger-Tiger game in Baton Rouge would have been a football collision between two great teams with dominating defenses. LSU was the undefeated national champion

Alan Ameche, star fullback at Wisconsin from 1951 to 1954, left the UW as the NCAA's all-time leading rusher, having gained 3,212 yards in 673 carries. He won the Heisman Trophy in 1954.

Heisman Trophy winner Alan "The Horse" Ameche's jersey





Wisconsin's Sidney Williams was the first African American to start at quarterback in Big Ten football history.

with an 11–0 record (including the Sugar Bowl). Running back Billy Cannon placed third in the run for the Heisman Trophy that he would win a year later. Max Fugler was the consensus All-American center, and Warren Rabb was the Southeast Conference's all-conference quarterback. The Tigers outscored opponents 275–53 during the season, held three foes scoreless, and surrendered an average of only 191.4 yards per game. Only Duke scored more than seven points against them, but that was during an easy 50–18 LSU win.²²

LSU was among the best defensive teams in college football in 1958 and 1959, and captured the imagination of college football fans throughout the country. Notably, 1958 was the first year of LSU's legendary "Chinese Bandits" (this was a nationally-

recognized nickname given to the team's defensive unit, which today might be offensive, but at the time, evoked an image similar to today's "Ninja"). Nine of the eleven players weighed less than two hundred pounds. They relied on their collective speed and aggressiveness, and when they were on the field no opponent scored a touchdown against them in the entire eleven-game season. Clearly, LSU was a great team in 1958, although about half of their games were against "soft" opponents including Rice, Hardin-Simmons, Tulane, and Kentucky.²³

Wisconsin was ranked sixth nationally behind LSU's ersatz national champions in 1958. The Badgers were 7–1–1 overall and 5–1–1 in the Big Ten. They lost only to eventual Big Ten and Rose Bowl Champion Iowa, and tied defending Big Ten and Rose Bowl Champion Ohio State. Wisconsin outscored its first three opponents (Miami, Marquette, and Purdue) 101–6, and held two of their foes scoreless. They restricted their opponents to an average of 131.4 yards per game—fewer yards than the LSU defense had accomplished. Wisconsin played a much more difficult schedule than did LSU with only Marquette and Minnesota as weak spots on the Badger schedule.

The alternating quarterback duo of Sid Williams and Dale Hackbart was responsible for much of the Badger's success. Earl Hill was the team's leading pass receiver. Wisconsin had a defense that was among best in the country, and the Badger defenders in 1958 drew favorable comparisons to the legendary 1951 Hard Rocks. Wisconsin outscored its opponents 203–77 for the season.²⁴

Who would have won the 1958 game? Both teams had dominating defenses. Wisconsin had two quarterbacks to present a wider variety of challenges to LSU than the Tigers could have mounted against the UW defense. Wisconsin clearly played the most difficult schedule of the two teams. LSU would have had the home field advantage at Tiger Stadium in Baton Rouge. In the week leading up to the game, it is conceivable that racist Louisiana politicians and the press would have generated a distraction for the LSU team members by publicizing the key roles that several African Americans played for Wisconsin. Each team had some advantages over the other. Milt Bruhn was confident that his Badgers could have beaten the LSU team that went undefeated to become the consensus national champion.

Ironically, in 1959, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Louisiana law banning integrated sports competition was unconstitutional. If the court had acted sooner, it would have enabled the UW-LSU games to go on. In the interim, the Wisconsin basketball team confronted an off-the-court segregation incident in December 1958 when the Badgers arrived in Houston, Texas, to play Rice University. Coach Bud Foster's Wisconsin team included two African American players, Jim Biggs and Ivan Jefferson. Even though they were in uniform for the game, local segregation laws forced Biggs and Jefferson to stay in dormitories at Texas Southern, an all-black school, instead of in the hotel with their teammates. A few days later,

the entire team was integrated both on and off the court in Dallas, where the Badgers played Southern Methodist. The damage, however, was done. In response to the Houston incident, the UW student newspaper *Daily Cardinal* called upon the Athletic Department to "... end all athletic associations with Southern schools. ..." lest the UW be "... unknowingly providing impetus for racial bigotry. ..." ²⁵

Athletic Director Ivy Williamson presented the question to the UW Faculty Athletic Board on December 19, 1958. Williamson and the Athletic Board agreed with the *Daily Cardinal* and passed a resolution stating that:

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the athletic board and of the intercollegiate athletic department that wherever a Wisconsin team plays another institution in any athletic events, the members of the team are to be permitted to travel together, lodge and dine together, and play together as a team without discrimination as to any members comprising the team, resulting from a policy of the institution or from local or state laws, customs or practices.

This declaration of policy shall be included in all contracts, executed hereafter, to play other institutions and shall be a condition upon which the contract is entered into. Inability to comply with this anti-discrimination policy after a contract to play has been signed shall result in cancellation of the game or contest. ²⁶

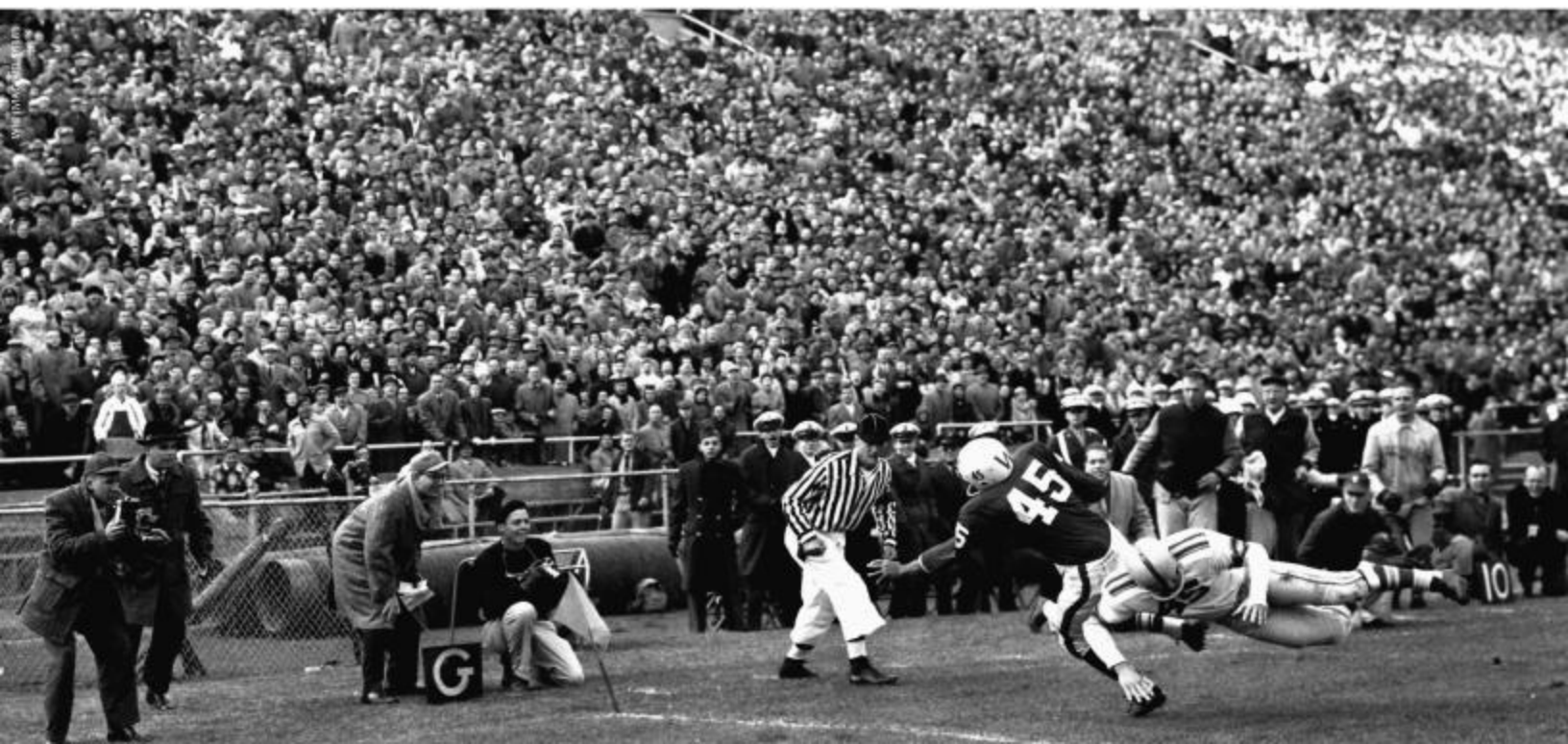
Racism and sportsmanship collided headlong when Louisiana law forced cancellation of the Wisconsin-LSU football games of 1957 and 1958. Whether or not they realized the implications of their actions, Louisiana Governor Earl Long

and the legislators who voted for the 1956 ban on racially-integrated sports competition went to an even further extreme than did Nazi Germany during the 1936 Olympic Games held in Berlin. There, the United States team included several African American athletes, among them Jesse Owens, who participated in the Olympics even though the Nazi-controlled German press did not report the medals won by African Americans, whom they routinely derided as America's "auxiliaries."

Southern segregationist and racist politicians in the mid-twentieth century often hid behind the argument that they were defending "states rights," but those responsible for the Louisiana law most definitely intended to deny to the state of Wisconsin and its university the right to select the members of its own football team regardless of skin pigmentation. The UW Athletic Board recognized the Louisiana purpose to be exactly that in the UW statement announcing the cancellation of the games. The UW cancellation of the LSU football games was certainly in keeping with the tradition of Wisconsin progressivism. In addition, the cancellation was in compliance with the Wisconsin Civil Rights Act of 1895, which banned racial discrimination in public accommodations.

By its response to the Louisiana ban on integrated sports competition, the UW Athletic Department did more than cancel two football games due to racism. UW's action was among the many harbingers of the broad-based civil rights movement lingering on the nation's horizon that would permanently transform American society. ❧

Danny Lewis crosses the goal line in what would be a losing effort against Ohio State, 1957.



1958 National Champions



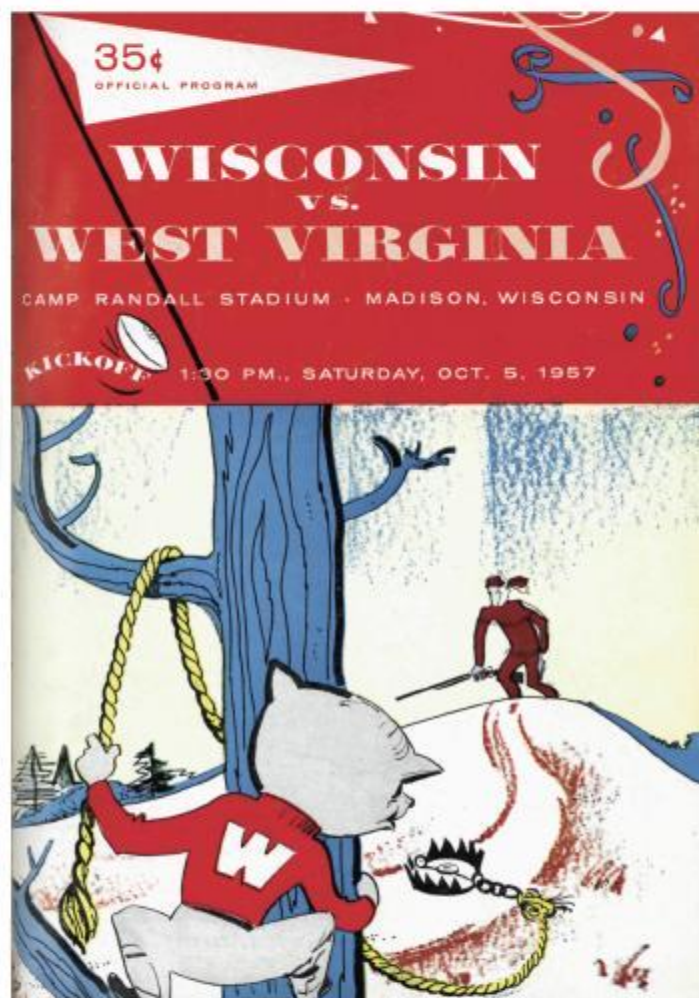
The L.S.U. Fighting Tigers

Notes

1. James Hood later resided in Madison, Wisconsin, for several years.
2. <http://uwbadgers.com>, Celebrating Black History. Also see [www.lynthiel.com/attorney-williams.php](http://lynthiel.com/attorney-williams.php).
3. <http://paulditzel.com>.
4. <http://uwbadgers.com>, Celebrating Black History, LSU Article 341.
5. Ibid.
6. *Milwaukee Journal*, July 6, 1956.
7. *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 6, 1956.
8. J.E.C., Letter to the Editor, *Washington Post*, November 28, 1951.
9. *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 19, 1956.
10. Henry J. McCormick, Playing the Game, *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 9, 1956.
11. *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 18, 1956.
12. Ivy Williamson, quoted in *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 18, 1956.
13. <http://uwbadgers.com>, Celebrating Black History, Track Article 336 and Faculty Senate article 345; *Wisconsin Badger yearbook*, 1940, p. 406.
14. *Capital (WI) Times*, July 19, 1956; *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 20, 1956; <http://uwbadgers.com>, Celebrating Black History, 1956 Football Statement.
15. *Wisconsin Badger yearbook*, 1958, p. 375-378.
16. *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 30, 1956; *Wisconsin Badger yearbook*, 1957, p. 164; <http://uwbadgers.com>, Celebrating Black History, Biography, Sidney Williams. Sidney Williams earned his chemical engineering degree from UW, went on to earn a law degree from George Washington University, worked as a patent attorney for Upjohn, was a member of the UW Foundation Board of Directors, an officer of the American Bar Association, and most recently was Legal Counsel for Flynn, Thiel, Boutell & Tanis Law Firm in Kalamazoo, Michigan. His favorite pass receiver, Earl Hill, became a Senior Lecturer at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.
17. LSU Football History, <http://www.tigerdroppings.com/history>.
18. There were no NCAA playoffs in football, so the "mythical" national champion was always determined by the votes of sportswriters and coaches in the AP polls—very unscientific, and the "mythical" term was commonly used.
19. *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 23, 1956; Litchfield, quoted in *Milwaukee Journal*, July 23, 1956; *Milwaukee Journal*, July 30, 1956; *Wisconsin State Journal*, July 25, 1956.
20. Milt and Helen Bruhn were friends of my grandparents, Chauncey and Mabel Wollerman. Both couples were active members of Madison's Luther Memorial Church, where Helen Bruhn and my grandmother were members of the same women's circles. Bruhn's comments about the LSU games were part of a mid-1960s conversation with my grandfather and me in the sunroom at my grandparents' home on Hill Street while he was waiting for the women's group to finish its meeting.
21. Paul "Bear" Bryant had not yet arrived at Alabama to build the legendary winning football program for the Crimson Tide.
22. LSU Football History at <http://www.tigerdroppings.com/history>.
23. Ibid.
24. *Wisconsin Badger yearbook*, 1959, p. 281; <http://uwbadgers.com>.
25. <http://uwbadgers.com>, Celebrating Black History, LSU article and Houston article.
26. <http://uwbadgers.com>, Celebrating Black History, Athletic Department Resolution.

The 1958 LSU Tigers went undefeated and won the national championship.

Wisconsin defeated West Virginia 45-13 in Madison on October 5 in the second game of the 1957 season. The West Virginia Mountaineers filled in open dates in Wisconsin's 1957 schedule after the cancellation of the LSU games.



ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Richard Haney earned his PhD in history at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and is a lifelong Badger fan. His book, *When Is Daddy Coming Home? An American Family During World War II* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2005), received the

Merit Award for Biography/Memoir from the Midwest Independent Publishers' Association. An emeritus professor of history at UW-Whitewater, he taught courses in twentieth century U.S. history and Wisconsin history; was twice honored with the Teaching Excellence Award for assisting students with disabilities; and was named Distinguished Alumnus in 2006. He enjoys travel, community activities, and playing his baby grand piano.

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Letters

Just read the *Apple Betty & Sloppy Joe* article in the Winter 2007-2008 *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Brings back lots of memories, as I was an Oshkosh resident in the 1950s. We lived at 56 Northwestern Avenue, 1/2 block west of the Chicago-Northwestern depot, and attended St. Mary's grade school and church. Worked at Sunlite Dairy during high school, 1952-1954, at both the North Main Street and the south side stores. Ozzie Reitz owned the business, and sponsored a Major AAA fastpitch softball team whose main competition was the team from Mueller Shell. During my junior year, 1952-53, I played on a basketball team in the city leagues sponsored by Noffke Fuels, and have pictures somewhere of that team. I wonder if the Grandma Noffke cited in the article was part of the family that owned Noffke Fuels. Our family also got apples from Rasmussen's, as Dad was big on drying apple slices. . . .

Compliment the article's authors on a cheery bit of nostalgia, and please ask them if their Grandma Noffke was part of the Noffke Fuels.

—Paul Lambeck, Sturgeon Bay, WI

Author's reply:

Noffke Fuel—no "s" on the end—was our Grandpa Noffke's business. Our dad worked for Grandpa hauling coal, and that's how he met our mother. After World War II, it became Noffke Lumber. After Grandpa retired, our uncles, Hank and Jim, ran the business, and our cousins are running it now—in three locations, I think.

—Susan Sanvidge, co-author *Apple Betty & Sloppy Joe*

I enjoyed the Spring 2008 article on the Ho-Chunk Powwows. I wonder if a little more detail should have been used for the photo caption on page 40 showing the two Army soldiers, Malott and Guisby.

The photo shows a Private First Class (PFC) and a Private (Pvt.) and not a Sergeant and a Corporal. As must be the case, both soldiers were promoted since the photo was taken. Just a few more words in the caption would have covered this.

I also enjoyed the Wisconsin's WPA Art article. Maybe you have done this story before, but a handful of Wisconsin post offices still have FAP art work in place on their walls.

—Paul Schroeder, Oshkosh, WI

I greatly enjoyed reading your Paul Bunyan article in the latest issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Thanks (Michael Edmonds, author) for all of the good work you have done and do for the Society.

My great grandfather had been a Great Lakes sailing cap-

tain by summer and a timer cruiser in northern Wisconsin during the winter. My grandfather would tell me Paul Bunyan tales when I was little, and I enjoyed reading them as a youth.

Reminiscent of our incredible last winter, one story comes to mind:

The winter of 1878 was so cold up in the pinery that when Paul Bunyan called out for Babe the Blue Ox to get her to go south for a little warmer weather the sound of his voice froze in the frigid air and was not heard until the mid-April thaw when the air had finally warmed up enough to thaw out and release the sound.

—Hank Whipple, Madison

I managed to grab the last copy of the winter issue of *Wisconsin Magazine of History* at Borders, and wanted to compliment you on another good issue. It had a nice topical balance, and great visuals with each article. I'm filing it away for future use.

—Kathleen Ernst, Middleton, WI

Thanks so much for the copy of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. I'm a subscriber, so I received the magazine last week and was just delighted by the graphics, layout, and (of course) the stellar content. I showed it to my daughter, along with the river rovers picce. She's hoping to make a river trip on the lower Mississippi later this summer (pending the weather), so I'm going to send an extra copy to her.

—Jim Leary, Mount Horeb

The *Wisconsin Magazine of History* is probably one of two of my favorite magazines. (The other is *Science News*.) But I'm occasionally brought up short by obvious errors I see in the magazine. There is one in the picture caption on page 4 of the summer 2008 issue. It says "A choreboy turns a grindstone so Paul Bunyan can sharpen his saw." Impossible! There's no way a saw, even as huge as the saw presumably used by Paul Bunyan, can be sharpened by a grindstone. A spinning grindstone, including the water drip can also shown in the picture, was normally used to sharpen an axe. There are two at the top of the picture. It could also be used to sharpen pike hooks, climbing spikes, splitting wedges, and other pointed or flat woods tools, but NOT a saw. A file is needed to sharpen a saw in the woods.

—Elmer A. Goetsch, from Web site

Thank you for the Paul Bunyan article. Entertaining & informative, a pleasure to read.

—Bob Roesler, President, Greenfield Historical Society

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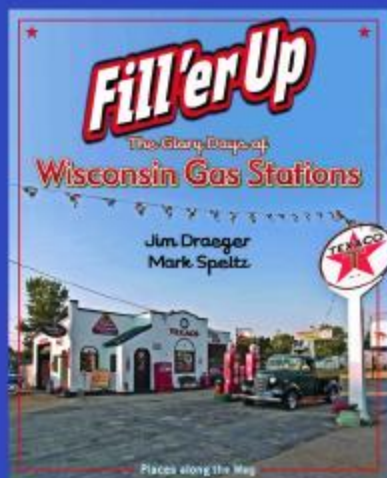
✎ Curio ✎

Not all historical photographs are black and white. Thanks to an early photographic technology that made use of the starch from potatoes, this ca. 1910–1913 photograph of a woman standing in an orchard beneath a blossoming cherry tree is in vibrant color. The image is an early color photograph known as an autochrome. French brothers Auguste and Louis Lumière patented the autochrome process in 1904. To produce the color image, a specially-treated glass plate was brushed with microscopic grains of potato starch and a black and white silver halide emulsion. The grains were dyed in a combination of orange, green, and violet, and acted as a color filter. The plate was developed as a slide, first as a negative image, and then reversed to a positive one. The starch grains remained in alignment with the emulsion so the colors could be seen properly when viewed with a slide projector. The grains on this autochrome can be seen as red, green, and blue dots in the enlarged detail of the woman's blouse. Although this particular photograph is damaged, the potato-enhanced color has withstood the test of time. The Visual Materials Archive of the Wisconsin Historical Society houses the above image and three other autochromes.

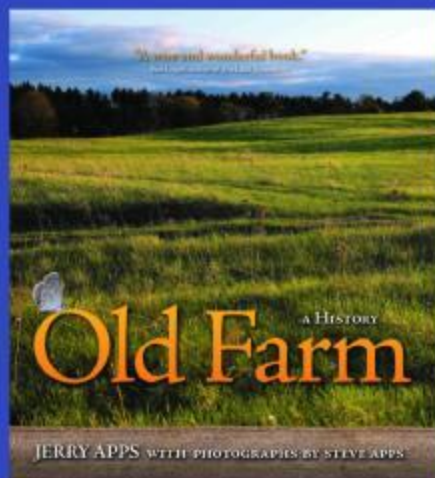


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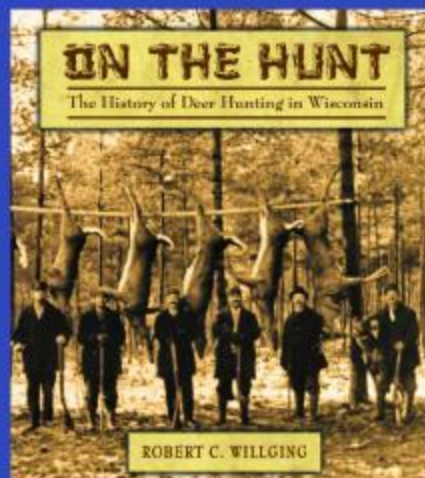
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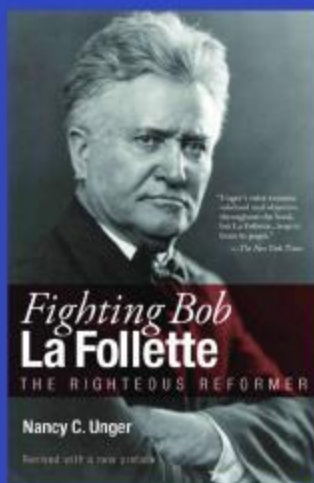
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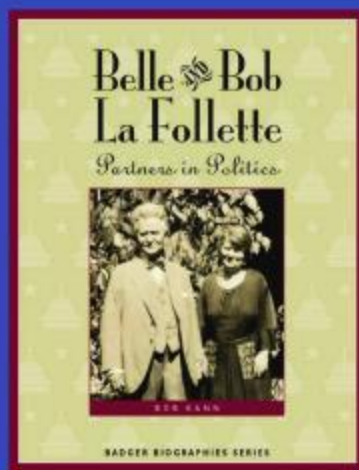


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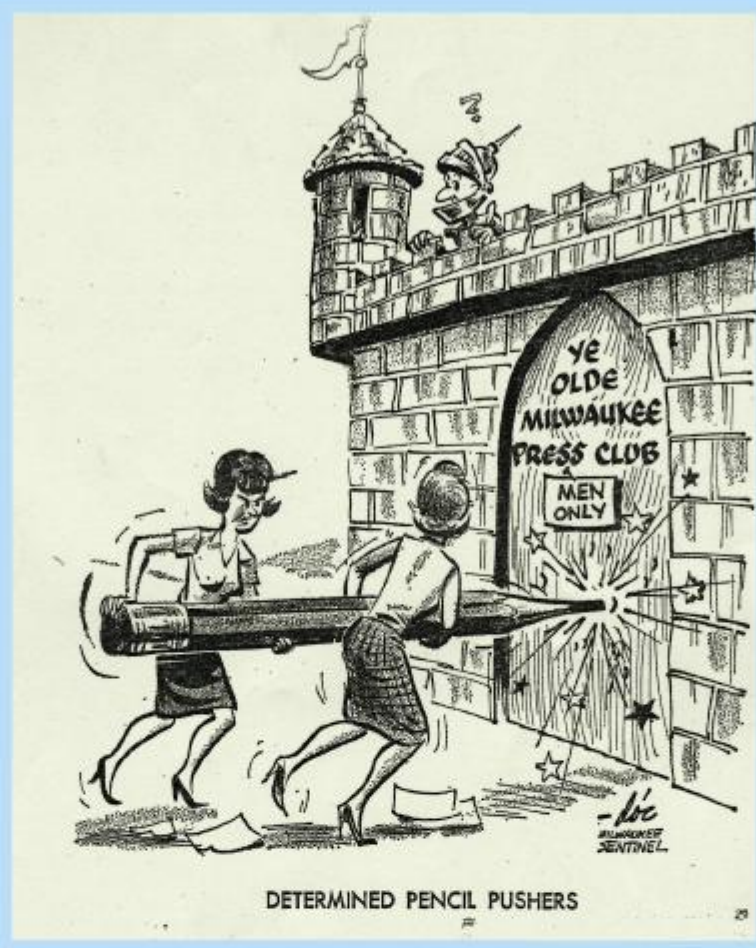
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DETERMINED PENCIL PUSHERS

The fight to allow women in men-only press clubs paralleled the fight that many women faced in order to gain acceptance in the newsroom. This political cartoon from the *Milwaukee Sentinel* documents the struggle women journalists faced to get into the oldest continuously running press club in the country—the Milwaukee Press Club. Read more about it in Kimberly Wilmott Voss's and Lance Speere's "Way Past Deadline: The Women's Fight to Integrate the Milwaukee Press Club."

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