Siftings

SIFTINGS

Histories of Discrimination and Resistance at the University of Wisconsin–Madison

The Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History

Siftings Copyright © by The Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. All Rights Reserved.

Contents

A Note on Organization vii

Thematic Table of Contents viii

Chronological Table of Contents xii

Recommended Citation xvii

An Introduction to Siftings by Center Director Kacie Lucchini Butcher 1

Why We Need Oral Histories By Kacie Lucchini Butcher 5

Access Denied: Brigid McGuire vs. the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Emma Wathen 9

The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine and Progressive Era Campus Culture By Mike Kaelin 14

The Rise and Fall of "Ethnic Centers" at UW–Madison (1968–1974) By Edward Frame 20

Surviving Conditions and Competing Visions: The Fight for a Chicano Studies Department By Dustin Cohan 30

Are Black Women Safe at the University of Wisconsin–Madison? By Angelica Euseary 39

"Successful Beyond Expectation:" Blackface, Minstrelsy, and Racist Entertainment at the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Kacie Lucchini Butcher 47

"A National Problem": Badger Athletics and the Fight Against Segregation By Andrew Kraemer 62

The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department 72

Gay Purge: The Persecution of Homosexual Students at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1962–1963. By Ezra Gerard 92

The University of Wisconsin and Japanese American Students, 1941–44 By Joy E. Block 108

Japanese American Badgers By Joy E. Block 124

"Being Hmong, you don't really have a place": Hmong American Alumni at UW–Madison By Chong A. Moua 136

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker 148

On Listening: A Reflection on the Challenges and Opportunities of Writing Native Histories of UW–Madison By Zada Ballew 163

Seizing The Day: Remembering Adela Kalvary Owen By Kacie Lucchini Butcher 169

"In the Dairy State You Cannot Discriminate:" Protesting Military Homophobia at UW–Madison By Ezra Gerard 177

On Badger Belonging: The Complexity of Shared Identity at UW–Madison by Taylor L. Bailey 189

"The Policy of Secrecy:" Parents, Administrators, and Spies Investigating Sexual Violence Before UWPD By Kyle Miron 211

Building the Southeast Dormitories: How UW's Postwar Building Program Unleashed Relentless University Expansion in Madison By Siobhan Ryan 231

Driving Change: The Legacy of the Women's Transit Authority 251

Remembering Rice Paper: The Artifact After the Obituary By T. Ngọc Phan Kim 262

Badgers Go Green: A Story of Environmental Practices and Ecological Culture at UW-Madison By Nicolás Felipe Rueda Rey 275

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s 294

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos 312

A Note on Organization

Siftings is an ongoing project, and we will frequently update this book with new stories. Because of this, we decided to organize the chapters and table of contents by date of publication, starting with our first publication and always ending with our most recent one. However, we want to provide readers with different ways to think about our research, so we have two additional table of contents: one is thematic and the other is chronological. Many of these chapters consider different historical themes and span several decades; therefore, readings will appear multiple times in the thematic and chronological tables of contents.

Thematic Table of Contents

Asian Pacific Islander Desi American (APIDA) History

The University of Wisconsin and Japanese American Students, 1941–44 By Joy E. Block.

Japanese American Badgers By Joy E. Block.

Remembering Rice Paper: The Artifact After the Obituary By T. Ngọc Phan Kim.

"Being Hmong, you don't really have a place": Hmong American Alumni at UW–Madison By Chong A. Moua.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

Athletics

"A National Problem": Badger Athletics and the Fight Against Segregation By Andrew Kraemer.

Black History

Are Black Women Safe at the University of Wisconsin–Madison? By Angelica Euseary.

The Rise and Fall of “Ethnic Centers” at UW–Madison (1968–1974) By Edward Frame.

“A National Problem”: Badger Athletics and the Fight Against Segregation By Andrew Kraemer.

“Successful Beyond Expectation:” Blackface, Minstrelsy, and Racist Entertainment at the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

Chicanx and Latinx History

Surviving Conditions and Competing Visions: The Fight for a Chicano Studies Department By Dustin Cohan.

Disability Justice & Disability History

The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine and Progressive Era Campus Culture By Mike Kaelin.

Access Denied: Brigid McGuire vs. the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Emma Wathen.

Environmental History

Badgers Go Green: A Story of Environmental Practices and Ecological Culture at UW-Madison By Nicolás Felipe Rueda Rey.

Housing

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker.

Building the Southeast Dormitories: How UW's Postwar Building Program Unleashed Relentless University Expansion in Madison By Siobhan Ryan.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

LGBTQ+ History

Gay Purge: The Persecution of Homosexual Students at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1962–1963. By Ezra Gerard.

"In the Dairy State You Cannot Discriminate:" Protesting Military Homophobia at UW–Madison By Ezra Gerard.

Methodology

On Badger Belonging: The Complexity of Shared Identity at UW–Madison by Taylor L. Bailey

On Listening: A Reflection on the Challenges and Opportunities of Writing Native Histories of UW–Madison By Zada Ballew.

Why We Need Oral Histories By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

Native & Indigenous History

On Listening: A Reflection on the Challenges and Opportunities of Writing Native Histories of UW–Madison By Zada Ballew.

Policing

Gay Purge: The Persecution of Homosexual Students at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1962–1963. By Ezra Gerard.

"The Policy of Secrecy:" Parents, Administrators, and Spies Investigating Sexual Violence Before UWPD. By Kyle Miron.

The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department.

Print History

The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine and Progressive Era Campus Culture By Mike Kaelin.

Remembering Rice Paper: The Artifact After the Obituary By T. Ngọc Phan Kim.

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos.

Women's History

Driving Change: The Legacy of the Women's Transit Authority By Andrea Linsmeier.

Seizing The Day: Remembering Adela Kalvary Owen. By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos.

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker.

Chronological Table of Contents

No Specific Dates

On Listening: A Reflection on the Challenges and Opportunities of Writing Native Histories of UW–Madison By Zada Ballew.

Why We Need Oral Histories By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

"Being Hmong, you don't really have a place": Hmong American Alumni at UW–Madison By Chong A. Moua.

1900s

The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine and Progressive Era Campus Culture By Mike Kaelin.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

1910s

"Successful Beyond Expectation:" Blackface, Minstrelsy, and Racist Entertainment at the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

"The Policy of Secrecy:" Parents, Administrators, and Spies Investigating Sexual Violence Before UWPD. By Kyle Miron.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

1920s

"Successful Beyond Expectation:" Blackface, Minstrelsy, and Racist Entertainment at the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

1930s

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos.

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

1940s

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos.

Japanese American Badgers By Joy E. Block.

The University of Wisconsin and Japanese American Students, 1941–44 By Joy E. Block.

Seizing The Day: Remembering Adela Kalvary Owen. By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker.

Building the Southeast Dormitories: How UW's Postwar Building Program Unleashed Relentless University Expansion in Madison By Siobhan Ryan.

The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

1950s

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos.

"A National Problem": Badger Athletics and the Fight Against Segregation By Andrew Kraemer.

Seizing The Day: Remembering Adela Kalvary Owen. By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

Building the Southeast Dormitories: How UW's Postwar Building Program Unleashed Relentless University Expansion in Madison By Siobhan Ryan.

The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department.

1960s

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos.

The Rise and Fall of "Ethnic Centers" at UW–Madison (1968–1974) By Edward Frame.

Gay Purge: The Persecution of Homosexual Students at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1962–1963. By Ezra Gerard.

"Successful Beyond Expectation:" Blackface, Minstrelsy, and Racist

Entertainment at the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Kacie Lucchini Butcher.

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker.

Building the Southeast Dormitories: How UW's Postwar Building Program Unleashed Relentless University Expansion in Madison By Siobhan Ryan.

1970s

Surviving Conditions and Competing Visions: The Fight for a Chicano Studies Department By Dustin Cohan.

The Rise and Fall of "Ethnic Centers" at UW–Madison (1968–1974) By Edward Frame.

Remembering Rice Paper: The Artifact After the Obituary By T. Ngọc Phan Kim.

Driving Change: The Legacy of the Women's Transit Authority By Andrea Linsmeier.

Badgers Go Green: A Story of Environmental Practices and Ecological Culture at UW-Madison By Nicolás Felipe Rueda Rey.

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

1980s

Surviving Conditions and Competing Visions: The Fight for a Chicano Studies Department By Dustin Cohan.

Are Black Women Safe at the University of Wisconsin–Madison? By Angelica Euseary.

"In the Dairy State You Cannot Discriminate:" Protesting Military Homophobia at UW–Madison By Ezra Gerard.

Driving Change: The Legacy of the Women's Transit Authority By Andrea Linsmeier.

1990s

"In the Dairy State You Cannot Discriminate:" Protesting Military Homophobia at UW–Madison By Ezra Gerard.

Access Denied: Brigid McGuire vs. the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Emma Wathen.

Post-2000s

On Badger Belonging: The Complexity of Shared Identity at UW–Madison by Taylor L. Bailey

Recommended Citation

Author First Name and Last Name, "Title of the Publication." Date of Publication. In *Siftings: Histories of Discrimination and Resistance at the University of Wisconsin–Madison.* Ed, The Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History.

Emma Wathen, "Access Denied: Brigid McGuire vs. the University of Wisconsin–Madison." April 1, 2020. In *Siftings: Histories of Discrimination and Resistance at the University of Wisconsin–Madison.* Ed, The Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History.

An Introduction to Siftings by Center Director Kacie Lucchini Butcher

If you have found your way over to this book, you may be familiar with University of Wisconsin–Madison's new Public History Project. If not, here are the basics.

- The project grew out of a campus study group that examined the history of two UW–Madison student organizations in the early 1900s that were both named the Ku Klux Klan. Chancellor Rebecca Blank commissioned the Public History Project as one of several responses to the study group's findings. This project aims to recover the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups on our campus over the past century. The broad intent of the project is to build a more inclusive university community through an honest reckoning with the institution's past.
- 
My name is Kacie Lucchini Butcher and I was hired to direct the Public History Project. I am a public historian whose work is dedicated

to building empathy, helping communities write their own history, and advancing social justice and social equity. I believe that my role as a public historian is to elevate other peoples' voices and narratives. My prior working experience has shown me that public history projects can radically alter the way people think about their communities.

- Prior to coming to UW–Madison, I co-curated *Owning Up: Racism and Housing in Minneapolis*, which explores the history of racist housing policy in the 20th century and its lasting effects on the city of Minneapolis. I worked at the Hallie Q. Brown Community Center in the historic Rondo neighborhood in St. Paul, where I helped to maintain a community archive and conducted oral history interviews with community elders. I also worked at the Sabathani Community Center in South Minneapolis installing *Owning Up* in their community history gallery.
- I view my role in this work as twofold: as scholar and as cruise director. While I will conduct, oversee, and interpret academic research for presentation in public facing historical works, I will also be organizing a production timeline and strategizing how to tell this history in a way that reflects the needs of this community.
- I cannot do this work alone. There are many opportunities for students, faculty, staff, alumni and others to become involved and I hope you will. An advisory committee of historians, students, and community leaders has been established to help guide this work. We are in the process of hiring undergraduate and graduate student workers to research in the archives and conduct oral history interviews. We are actively collaborating with faculty to bring this project into the classroom and allow students to participate in the production of historical knowledge. Together, with the campus community, we will work to make this project a reality.
- Over the next 2 ½ years, this project will research, compile, organize, and present stories from the history of this place from the perspective of various peoples and communities. To be clear, this is a monumental challenge. As any historian will tell you, it is impossible to tell the total and complete story of one place that includes all people, all viewpoints, all experiences. Inevitably, there will be stories we cannot include.

However, we intend to rise to this challenge and try tell the most complete story that we can. This project began with an investigation of exclusion and discrimination, but also with a commitment to recover the voices and visions of people who resisted marginalization and exclusion on this campus. This history contains hard truths that may provoke difficult conversations. The stories we are uncovering will push us as campus community to question not only our past, but our present. Yet, at the end of the day, this is *our* story. Knowing our past is the first step to learning from it. Reckoning with our history is a step towards changing our future.

- Research has already begun on the project, but there is a lot of work to be done. We plan to spend most of our energy during the next calendar year on research. We will be performing archival research in the UW Archives and the Wisconsin Historical Society archives. We will also be partnering with university historians, local historians, and student historians whose work has focused on this history. Many people have dedicated their lives to studying the history of this place and we plan to take advantage of their intellectual generosity and thoughtful scholarship.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us at publichistoryproject@wisc.edu. Whenever possible, we will allow people affected by this history to tell their stories in their own voice. We are therefore partnering with Troy Reeves and the UW Archives Oral History program to conduct oral history interviews with students, faculty, alumni, and community leaders. Please share your stories with us! We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages our entire community.

Look for updates to this blog in the coming months, as we post updates on the work we are doing and highlight areas of research.

As a Wisconsinite, it is an honor to do this work for the Madison community. I look forward to continuing these conversations with you all.

Kacie Lucchini Butcher

Why We Need Oral Histories By Kacie Lucchini Butcher

Originally Published on March 9, 2020. To download or print this chapter, click here

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2021, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Tucked away on the 4th floor of Steenbock Library, you will find The University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives. This blocky, non-descript concrete building holds the history of UW–Madison — legacies of innovation, academic success, institutional organization, and community. Only a front desk and a friendly staff stand between you

and the overwhelming collection of documents, materials, and objects that represent the whole history of this campus.

Well… maybe not the whole history.

In the 150+ year history of UW–Madison, hundreds of thousands of employees, students, faculty, and staff have walked through these halls, sat by these serene lakes, and worked in buildings that still stand (and some that do not) (and some that, frankly, we don't know how are still standing). How could we possibly keep every bit of historical information that may document their entire experience here? Every flyer? Every letter? Every piece of paper? It is impossible. But, ever dedicated, librarians and archivists have tried.

Thanks to these tireless efforts, we have a lot of historical information about UW–Madison… but we do not have it all. Archives, like those housed in Steenbock, are constantly making choices about what is important to preserve (often restricted by what they are *able* to preserve) and what is not. As archivists will tell you, there are many reasons why some documents get kept and others do not.

The documents that often get kept are those of important institutional figures like Chancellors, Provosts, and Presidents. Their records are organized, well maintained, and thorough, making them easy to transfer to an archive for preservation. In other instances, for example, student organizations, the preservation of materials is more difficult. Students spend limited time at UW–Madison, on average 4–5 years, and they leave the institution, taking much of their history with them. Without a dedicated student archivist to solicit promotional materials like flyers, organizational materials like meeting minutes, how then do we remember the great impacts these organizations have on our campus? It becomes much more challenging.

These are only some of the issues faced by archives. There is the philosophical — *what do we preserve?* — but what is often more pressing is the organizational and financial — *who will process, catalog, and digitize this information? Where will it be stored? How will it be stored? How will the materials be accessed and used? Is there enough financial support to continue the time consuming and expensive archival process?*

All of this to say, the archives tend to represent those who are well organized and well-staffed, the administration, and the experiences of students in the majority on campus. At a primarily white institution like UW–Madison, the archives are over represented with the experiences of white students, staff, and faculty.

The Public History Project was expressly conceived to work against this. We have been charged to uncover the histories of exclusion, discrimination, and resistance through the voices and stories of those

whose history has not been represented. Stories of discrimination, stories of resistance, stories of community that center the way people of color experience UW–Madison have been largely left out of our historical narrative. These are the stories we do not often tell, the stories not saved in our archive, and the ones that will be the most difficult to uncover.

How then do we begin to tell these narratives? As historians, we want to tell complete stories, shed light on unknown narratives, and help to create a more complete picture of the past… but the archives will never hold all the information we need.

Oral history is one way we try to uncover those lost to the past.

Prior to archives, prior to history as a field, prior even to the written language, civilizations have shared stories. This makes oral history both, "the oldest type of historical inquiry… and one of the most modern, initiated with tape recorders in the 1940s and now using 21st-century digital technologies."[1] In *Doing Oral History*, Donald Ritchie explains, "Oral History collects memories and personal commentaries of historical significance through recorded interviews."[2] He is quick to clarify that this does not include random tapings, recorded speeches, wiretappings, or other sound recordings that have two or more participants. Instead, oral history is a process that includes a well-prepared interviewer questioning an interviewee about their life, their experiences, or a part of their history. These recordings are often transcribed, summarized, and placed into archives and libraries and may be used by researchers and in public facing projects like documentaries, exhibits, and publications. Oral histories often supplement other historical materials and work towards filling in gaps of information not covered in the written historical record.

In this way, oral history is an essential tool for historians. It helps us to capture individual experiences, understand how people feel the larger forces of history, and record and document these experiences for future generations. When taken with the knowledge that archives are inherently missing information, and that humans inevitably pass away taking their stories with them, oral history becomes an even more critical tool. I would argue an integral tool for historians of recent history. Without it, we will continue to miss the experiences of those who are often left out of the historical record — communities of color.

There is some good news. UW–Madison has an Oral History Program housed in the University Archives. Lead by Oral Historian Troy Reeves, the program has over 1,900 interviews (nearly 5,000 hours of audio). Troy will be the first one to tell you that many of the early oral history interviews tend to follow the archival trend mentioned above — a

uncritical focus on white people's history. However, recently the program has worked to shift that balance, creating initiatives like the African American Athletes at UW Oral History Project , The LGBTQ+ Archive and Oral History Program, and partnering with the Public History Project to create a collection that focuses specifically on communities of color and their experience of UW–Madison. Strides are being made to include all voices in the history of UW–Madison.

Oral history is a core component of the Public History Project expressly because of the issues covered above. Oral histories may be the **only** way we recover some of the histories missing from the archive. Unless, of course, someone has access to a time machine. (If so, please contact me.)

As the Director of the Public History Project, I know this is a monumental task. I feel the weight of this responsibility every day, because I believe this work is vital and necessary to creating a campus that is truly equitable.

Yet, I cannot do it alone. Neither can the student researchers. We need the campus community. We need people who were here, who are now here, and who will be here to tell us their stories. Not only so that as a project, we can bring these stories to light, but also so that as a campus community, this history will be preserved.

This is my way of asking you to join us. As a public historian, I believe this project will be most successful when it engages the campus community. If you have a story to share, we want to hear from you. Together, we can create a more complete picture of UW–Madison. Together, we can create a more equitable campus.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] "Oral History: Defined," Oral History Association Member Site, Oral History Association, January 21, 2020.

[2] Donald Ritchie, Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Access Denied: Brigid McGuire vs. the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Emma Wathen

Originally Posted on April 1, 2020. To download or print this chapter, click here

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2021, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.



Law student saws desk

A wheelchair-bound UW-Madison law student, Brigid McGuire, uses a power saw to cut off part of a desk to protest a need for greater classroom accessibility. McGuire may face disciplinary action, an administrator said Thursday. McGuire had a seat in front of the class, but McGuire told about 100 students in the civil procedure class that she had complained about the lack of classroom accessibility to law school officials earlier. The students sit in rows behind long desk tops that extend from one side of the room to the other. McGuire cut part of the end of one desk top away so she could fit her wheelchair in the front row. By cutting away part of the desk, McGuire was able to get about three feet closer to the center of the room. Many of the students applauded her action, but Law School Dean Daniel Bernstine contends the school is not in violation of provisions of the American Disability Act. He said a decision on any disciplinary action would be made within days. McGuire was a carpenter for 12 years but broke her back in an industrial accident.

Associated Press

A newspaper clipping from the Wisconsin State Journal on Sept. 9, 1994 reads "A wheelchair-bound UW–Madison law student, Brigid McGuire, uses a power saw to cut off part of a desk to protest a need for greater classroom accessibility. McGuire may face disciplinary action, an administrator said Thursday. McGuire had a seat in front of the class, but McGuire told about 100 students in the civil procedure class that she had complained about the lack of classroom accessibility to law school officials earlier. The students sit in rows behind long desk tops that extend from one side of the room to the other. McGuire cut part of the end of one desk top away so she could fit her wheelchair in the front row. By cutting away part of the desk, McGuire was able to get about three feet closer to the center of the room. Many of the students applauded her action, but Law School Dean Daniel Bernstine contends the school is not in violation of provisions of the American Disability Act. He said a decision on any disciplinary action would be made within days. McGuire was a carpenter for 12 years but broke her back in an industrial accident."
–Associated Press

"I'd like to take my place among you as your classmate," UW law student Brigid McGuire announced to her civil procedure class on September 7, 1994, before revving up her circular power saw and cutting off a portion of her desk to make room for her motorized wheelchair. Amid applause, she added, "My hope for this action today is for this law school to get a carpenter in here and do the right thing."[1]

Her act of protest, though inspired by the seating arrangements, was the culmination of months of struggles involving campus accessibility. During the spring semester of her first year, she accumulated nine parking tickets and missed several classes because she could not find a parking space close enough to the Law Building on Bascom Hill. "I simply do not have the stamina to get from a distant spot that involves maneuvering up or down the hill," McGuire explained.[2] "The dean [Assistant Dean Robert Correales] said I should have considered the geography before I came here."[3]

McGuire was not the first student to hear that response. Truman J. Karabis recalled that when he started at UW–Madison in 1967, at a time when only two curb cuts were built into academic buildings to allow access for wheelchair-users like him, "The general reaction I got from admissions people was, 'It's your problem, not ours.' They suggested I go to a flat-campus school."[4] Defending the general inaccessibility of student housing in 1975, Director of Housing Larry Halle suggested,

"There is probably not a large number of handicapped with college interest."[5]

The testimonies of UW students with physical disabilities do not reveal a lack of interest but a lack of access. After learning that equipment used in a required cartography class was located on an inaccessible floor in Science Hall, UW student Marcia Carlson submitted a proposal titled "Access Accessibility" in 1988 and received the university's first Leadership Trust award, along with a $2,000 budget to conduct an accessibility study of approximately 200 buildings on campus.[6] "Campus accessibility is worse than anticipated. My researchers and I found only about 25% of the buildings and 10% of the rest rooms were accessible," she reported.[7] Even though university officials had long expressed receptivity to making campus more accessible, many of the same accessibility problems pointed out by students in the early 1970s were reiterated by Carlson in the late 1980s—and even faculty members who were sympathetic to the struggles of students with disabilities couldn't produce satisfactory solutions. "Relocating us separates us from the rest of the class," Carlson said, referring to the university's policy of offering alternative instruction sites for students with disabilities. "We miss out on the give-and-take of classroom discussion."[8]

McGuire, too, felt isolated by this policy. When she told Correales that she did not want to watch videotaped classes at home because she "needed the friendship and support of others in the law school," he replied that she was "hanging out with the wrong group of people." Correales, she said, "referred to these conversations as 'pep talks' but I left them feeling upset and demoralized."[9]

In a letter that detailed the "history of accommodations" the law school had provided her, Correales vehemently disagreed with her assessment of his character. "You told your classmates that your actions were necessary because of my refusal to comply with your numerous requests to modify the classrooms in the law school. **That, in fact, is a request that you have never made to me and is an issue that was brought up only in passing in our conversation last Thursday**."[10] What he failed to understand was that the inaccessible desk, far from being an isolated incident mentioned in passing, was the tipping point in an unending parade of frustrations, an emblematic obstacle that McGuire, as a former carpenter, could safely and effectively use to express herself.

The two-year renovation project that began in October 1994 intensified the conflict between McGuire and the university after the construction barred her from parking on the grass. On December 5,

1994, she was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct when she tried to prevent her car from being towed. "The instructor was right in the middle of talking about the final when a student came into class and told me, 'They are towing your car away,'" McGuire said. "When I got outside, my car with my dog inside was halfway up on a Schmitz Auto flat-bed truck."[11] Six police officers pulled her off the truck and shoved her into a wheelchair-inaccessible police van. The following day, she was admitted to Meriter Hospital for injuries sustained during her arrest.[12] As of February 1995, she had spent five of the last nine weeks in the hospital recovering from those injuries.[13]

Ultimately, the Office of Civil Rights concluded that "there is insufficient evidence to support a conclusion that the University discriminated against the complainant on the basis of her disability."[14] It is clear, from the McBurney Disability Resource Center records in the UW Archives, that McGuire, like many activists before her, did not follow procedure to the letter when advocating for change. It is also clear, however, that she spent countless hours navigating systems that were supposed to help students with disabilities and running into barriers, both physical and bureaucratic. Her unwillingness to compromise may have seemed "antagonistic" to the university, but through the accumulation of careless mistakes, insensitive comments, and institutional obstacles, the university proved undeniably antagonistic to her and to thousands of other people with disabilities, both visible and invisible, who have studied and worked at UW–Madison over the years.[15]

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] Nicole Miller and Kimberly Tucker, "McGuire seeks to chop away bias," *The Daily Cardinal*, September 8, 1994, 1, UW Archives; Jeremy Kamps, "Disabled student demands equal access," *The Badger Herald*, September 8, 1994, 1, UW Archives.

[2] Brigid McGuire, "Discrimination Complaint," October 6, 1994, McBurney Disability Resource Center Records (1965–2009), 2005/146 40A9, Box 11, Folder 3: McGuire, B. Supp. Notes, UW Archives, 3.

[3] Nicole Miller and Kimberly Tucker, "McGuire seeks to chop away bias," *The Daily Cardinal*, September 8, 1994, 1, UW Archives.

[4] Karl S. Gutknecht and Tom Menzel, "No Longer is UW Mt. Everest for the Physically Handicapped," *The Capital Times*, March 10, 1972, 35, UW Archives.

[5] Shelagh Kealy, "Handicapped on uphill climb,'" *The Daily Cardinal*, January 15, 1975, 4, UW Archives.

[6] Jodie Tabak, "Study looks at handicapped availability," *The Badger Herald*, January 1, 1989, 1–2, UW Archives; Tracy Dingmann, "She aims for accessibility," *The Capital Times*, May 28, 1988, 21, UW Archives.

[7] Marcia Carlson to Donna Shalala and Mary Rouse, memoranda, January 24, 1989, McBurney Disability Resource Center Records (1965–2009), 2005/146 40A9, Box 4, Folder 27: Accessibility Projects 7/1/88–6/30/89, UW Archives.

[8] Tracy Dingmann, "She aims for accessibility," *The Capital Times*, May 28, 1988, 21, UW Archives.

[9] Brigid McGuire, "Discrimination Complaint," October 6, 1994, McBurney Disability Resource Center Records (1965–2009), 2005/146 40A9, Box 11, Folder 3: McGuire, B. Supp. Notes, UW Archives, 6, 4.

[10] Robert I. Correales to Brigid McGuire, letter, September 7, 1994, McBurney Disability Resource Center Records (1965–2009), 2005/146 40A9, Box 11, Folder 4: Brigid McGuire/Law School, UW Archives.

[11] J. Bradshaw-Rouse, "Renewed controversy for McGuire," *The Daily Cardinal*, December 6, 1994, 1, UW Archives.

[12] Ingrid Berg, "McGuire's quest for access leads to injury," *The Daily Cardinal*, January 1995, A2, UW Archives.

[13] Jeremy Kamps, "UW law student and administration grapple over solution to access controversy," *The Badger Herald*, February 20, 1995, 1, UW Archives.

[14] Mary Frances O'Shea to David Ward, letter, May 19, 1995, McBurney Disability Resource Center Records (1965–2009), 2005/146 40A9, Box 11, Folder 4: Brigid McGuire/Law School, UW Archives.

[15] Casey A. Nagy, "Brigid McGuire v. University of Wisconsin–Madison Board of Regents: Answer and Motion to Dismiss or Restrict Claims," February 6, 1995, McBurney Disability Resource Center Records (1965–2009), 2005/146 40A9, Box 11, Folder 3: McGuire, B. Supp. Notes, UW Archives, 19.

The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine and Progressive Era Campus Culture By Mike Kaelin

Originally Posted on April 22, 2020. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2021, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this blog post is problematic, offensive, and disturbing.

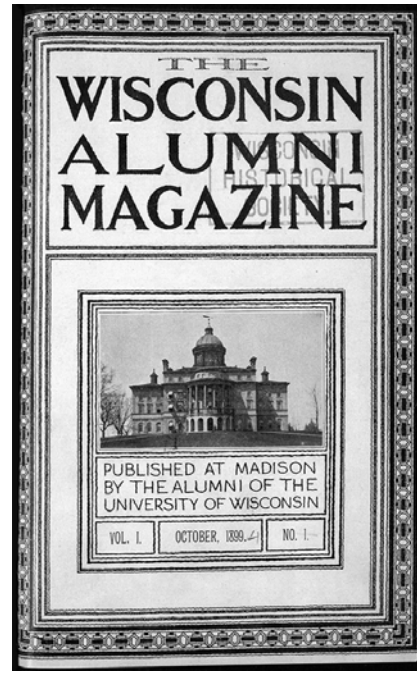


Image provided by UW Archives

Founded in 1899 and continuing publication today under the title *On Wisconsin*, the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* sprung from a desire to keep former students at the University of Wisconsin–Madison appraised of campus happenings and to encourage their ongoing involvement in university affairs. From its inception, the magazine sought to both reflect and reinforce the institution's self-image as a model Progressive Era institution. A cursory reading through the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* reveals many self-congratulatory articles that paint the University of Wisconsin as inclusive and forward-thinking school, and its students as motivated by a sense of social responsibility. Despite the real strides that the university had made in extending education to people of color and women by 1900, however, the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* reinforced harmful stereotypes of a wide range of marginalized people who were present in the campus community.

The *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine's* second-ever issue includes a reprint of a poem entitled "Obijibjaw," which was originally published in a Wisconsin students' magazine in 1857.[1] The piece plays upon the association of Native Americans with alcoholism, and recounts the demise of the titular character in a whiskey-fueled brawl. The protagonist is not a mythical figure relegated to the far west, but one living on the land that became the city of Madison. The poem, which the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* described as the "best" verse from the 1857 magazine, begins

Did you know the big Injin,
The big Injin, big and strong,
That used to live on Lake Mendota,
Lake Mendota and Monona,
And would have lived there until this day,

Had he not have kicked the bucket,
Kicked the bucket in a fracas…
One day, Obijibjaw drank
Too much whiskey by a jugfull,
And the meanest kind at that.
He got boosey, he got tight,
He got mellow, he got drunk,
He got a most tremendous big brick
In his hat – the hat of Obijibjaw.

The poem's first verse includes a startling reversal of responsibility for the dispossession of Native American lands. Settler colonialism plays no role in driving "Obijibjaw" from his home. Instead, the Indian's implied moral weakness led to his death and, presumably, the vacancy of the land surrounding Lakes Mendota and Monona. The remainder of the poem recounts "Obijibjaw's" conflict with another Indian man that led to the deadly brawl, employing mocking diction and stilted structure to depict its subject as crude and, perhaps, to justify the construction of an institution of higher education on his former homeland. The magazine's decision to reprint the poem and single it out for praise forty-two years after its initial publication further suggest the durability of this particular form of prejudice at the University of Wisconsin throughout the late nineteenth century, and the attempts of alumni to perpetuate it.

The contributions of alumnus D.K. Tenney highlight the tension between Wisconsin's egalitarian aspirations and its pervasive culture of discrimination. Tenney, who attended the university in the 1850s, recounted a prank he committed which drew the ire of the faculty. He viewed their attempt to expel him, however, as entirely disproportionate to the infraction. As he explained it, "I had been attending the institution for three years, on a charity scholarship, while the other boys had to put up their money. I fancied that the faculty wanted to get rid of me because I was poor and not contributing a cent toward the payment of their meagre salaries. Necessarily, I was wrathy at the infliction of so severe a penalty for so small an offense."[2] His classmates evidently agreed that Tenney was the victim of class-based discrimination. In a show of solidarity, his fellow students announced they would all leave the university if Tenney was expelled, and the faculty relented.

If this episode shows a welcoming side to Wisconsin's campus community, another of Tenney's articles reveals a much darker aspect of early Wisconsin student life. Tenney described a new student as "tall, slim and slender, with countenance as fierce as that of an Indian, and with a head of curly hair, most remarkable for a white man. He was of

English birth and as poor as Lazarus, but regarded his woolly hair as sufficient capital for any undertaking."[3] This student, whom Tenney implies was mixed-race, became the object of a series of cruel mockeries and pranks throughout his time at the university. Made fun of for his apparently bad poetry and ridiculed for his support of women's suffrage, the student endured months of torment until he experienced one last terrifying indignity. As Tenney recounted,

> And still our poet and his woolly locks continued to flourish. One night, when he was asleep, some mischievous fellows, masked, got quietly into his room, seized him in his bed, sheared off all his beautiful curls and completely daubed his head with mucilage. Next morning, he went up to the chancellor's office, stood before him bareheaded, and said:
>
> 'Chancellor, see there!'
>
> 'Yes,' said the chancellor, 'that is a great improvement over your old style.'
>
> That chancelloric decree broke the poet's heart. He left the university and returned no more forever.[4]

Perhaps more disturbing than the toxic student culture and lack of faculty support that led to this student's experience is Tenney's obvious enjoyment he takes in recounting the story in 1902. No part of this story is a cause for shame, and, alarmingly, an editorial board read through, approved of, and distributed this story. As the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* insisted at the end of each issue, the magazine was intended for distribution among all former students, regardless of whether or not they had graduated. In principle, then, the publication counted the ridiculed student among its target readership, although it is hardly likely he would have had any desire to remain connected with the university. Most damagingly, the publication of this story served to condone discrimination and abuse of students on campus, celebrating Tenney and his classmates' behavior in the 1850s and implying that similar activities in 1902 would be equally well received.

The publication of the articles mentioned above should not be surprising, given how prevalent articles promoting scientific racism were throughout the early years of the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*. The magazine served as a platform for direct articulations of racial determinism, such as those found in Charles Francis Adams's keynote address at the dedication of the Wisconsin Historical Society.[5] In his speech, Adams credited Wisconsin's success to its immigrants of Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, and Scandinavian stock, and erases Wisconsinites of other backgrounds. Adams presented Social Darwinism at its baldest, asserting that "In the history of Wisconsin I shall seek to find… evidence of the truth of the great law of natural selection as applied also to man."[6] In Wisconsin's history, Adams identified its Anglo-Saxon,

Germanic, and Scandinavian inhabitants as "the masterful race – the master of its own destiny, it is master of the destiny of others."[7] In Adams's mind, these people were "the more enterprising, adventurous, and energetic of three of the most thoroughly virile and, withal, moral and intellectual branches of the human family… Tough of fiber and tenacious in principle, the mixed descendants from those races were well calculated to illustrate the operation of a natural law."[8] Wisconsin's place at the forefront of "human evolution," then, was due to its racial majority's inherent traits, not universal principles. The state and university could only follow the maxim "Forward" because its population primarily descended from western and northern Europeans.

The *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* illustrates the ways in which alumni affairs can serve to reinforce or perpetuate damaging aspects of campus culture. While the rapid turnover of university students would suggest that they would have relatively short institutional memories, this publication demonstrates that alumni still enjoy a powerful platform to define the limits of inclusion for their alma mater's community long after they graduate. Above are only three examples of discriminatory articles from the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*; unfortunately, such themes were pervasive throughout the early twentieth century. Moving forward, alumni publications need to be cognizant of their power to shape notions of belonging in the broader University of Wisconsin community.



The following response was provided by Sarah Schutt, Chief Alumni Engagement Officer for Wisconsin Foundation and Alumni Association, and Executive Director of the Wisconsin Alumni Association:

> We at the Wisconsin Foundation and Alumni Association would like to thank the Public History Project and Mike Kaelin in particular for researching the UW's past. It's distressing to see how much attitudes of bias were accepted and even promoted on campus. The article illustrates how much things have changed in a century. The items cited would never appear in today's *On Wisconsin,* nor in any issue published in recent decades. I'm proud of what *On Wisconsin* is today — of its honest and thoughtful look at the university and its alumni.
>
> The UW has come a long way in the last 120 years, as has American society in general. In that time, the university has given us the Wisconsin Idea and cemented Sifting and Winnowing as its guiding principle. We at WFAA are proud to celebrate UW–Madison and its ideals.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] "Obijibjaw," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 1 no. 2 (Nov 1899): 66-69.

[2] D.K. Tenney, "An Early Event in 'North College,'" *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 5 no. 7 (April 1904): 223.

[3] D.K. Tenney, "The First University Poet," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 4 no. 3 (Dec 1902): 98.

[4] Tenney, "The First University Poet," 102.

[5] Charles Francis Adams, "The Modern Conception of History," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 2 no. 2 (Nov 1900): 49-66.

[6] Adams, 51.

[7] Adams, 62.

[8] Adams, 62-63

The Rise and Fall of "Ethnic Centers" at UW–Madison (1968–1974) By Edward Frame

Originally Posted on May 12, 2020. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2021, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

In October of 1968, an Afro-American and Race Relations Center opened at 929 University Avenue. Its mission was to "encourage Afro-American studies," a new field at the time, and to sponsor events, such as "lectures, black theatre productions, art exhibits, [and] conferences on

Afro-American art and culture."[1] The center quickly became a source of pride for students and, among administrators, proof that the Madison campus supported "programs of interest and relevance to Afro-Americans."[2]

Less than five years later, however, on August 8, 1973, campus officials announced that the center would close, permanently.[3] John Weaver, the President of the UW system, justified the decision by saying he didn't think Wisconsin's flagship university had any business subsidizing what, by then, he described as "ego-satisfying, identity segregating, cultural rap centers."[4] He complained that the center's emphasis on black culture and community uplift looked to him now like "segregation," and he called for more "academic" and "multi-cultural" alternatives.[5]



1970: Four students stand on the porch of the former Afro-American Community Center at 935 University Avenue. Photo courtesy UW Archives

How had such apparently strong support for the center in 1968 hardened into such staunch opposition by 1973? And why?

The center, like most things in academia, was the product of a committee. In May of 1968, shortly after Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, William H. Sewell, Chancellor of the Madison campus, convened an emergency "Committee on Studies in Instruction and Race Relations" to "consider what this University can appropriately do to help its students become better informed on problems of race relations."[6] Against the backdrop of an increasingly self-confident black student movement at UW, and a burgeoning Black Power movement across the country, one of this committee's first recommendations was to establish a "black cultural center."[7]

Sewell stepped down as Chancellor in June and was replaced by H. Edwin Young, a labor economist with a reputation as an administrative hardliner. Young acknowledged that he saw little educative value in the demands percolating across the nation for "Black Studies." In fact, he told colleagues that his own views on "black education" aligned with those of the St. Lucian economist W. Arthur Lewis, who counseled black

Americans to "use all the normal channels of advancement" to "become top members of the establishment."[8] A separate Afro-American Center therefore made little sense to Young, but he threw his support behind creating one anyway almost certainly because doing so would present his administration in a positive light and would "help separate moderates from others," as another official later characterized Young's basic approach to neutralizing protest movements as Chancellor.[9] Thus, on October 23, 1968, the Afro-American and Race Relations Center opened its doors with Suzanne Lipsky, the wife of Michael Lipsky, Young's Special Advisor on Race Relations, as its acting interim director.[10]

Unfortunately for Young, the collective self-assertion of black students at Wisconsin—and throughout the country—only grew louder in the months to come. In November, students at the Wisconsin State University at Oshkosh (now UW Oshkosh) occupied their campus to demand, among other things, a "Black Cultural Center." Hundreds of protestors were arrested and ninety expelled.[11] Then, in February of 1969, thousands of students, black and white, participated in a "Black Student Strike" in Madison to agitate for thirteen "non-negotiable" demands, including the insistence that "full control" over the existing Afro-American and Race Relations Center be placed in the "hands of Black students."[12]

With National Guardsmen occupying Bascom Hill and angry, often ugly letters flooding his office to complain about the presence of "black militants" at UW, Chancellor Young repeatedly pointed to the center as evidence of progress.[13] "We have assumed that the [center] would change and grow," he announced in the midst of the strike, "and we hope and intend that black students will continue to have a major role in its development."[14] Young's words of calm and reassurance sounded a somewhat incongruous note when arsonists set fire to the fledgling center on February 18th, forcing it to be relocated to a new location at 935 University Avenue.[15] But the Black Student Strike galvanized support for the center's existence—at least temporarily.

Finding a full-time director to succeed Suzanne Lipsky remained a challenge, however. In September of 1969, the Board of Regents approved C. Elrie Chrite for the job.[16] But Chrite, a former director of the Washtenaw Office of Economic Opportunity in Ann Arbor, quickly resigned. His departure was bitter. "I am sick and tired of this faculty's martini circus liberalism," he thundered in the *Daily Cardinal* before leaving town, "to say nothing of the non-career threatening radicalism around this place."[17] In response, Stephen C. Kleene, Dean of College of Letters and Sciences, convened a committee to seek Chrite's

replacement; in the meantime, Eugene Parks, a city alderman, filled in the center's next interim director.

By November of 1970, the committee had found its man: Kwame Salter, 24-year-old graduate of UW-Whitewater and doctoral student in the Department of Educational Policy Studies. A self-described "outsider," Salter was initially labelled "bourgeois" because of his penchant for wearing suits instead of dashikis or camouflage jackets.[18] He also encountered resistance at one of the first meetings he ever attended at the center for insisting that, in his view, access to the building should not be restricted, particularly to white people. "To stoop to the level of the people who have oppressed you and do the same thing," he pleaded at the time, "is not progress."[19]



September 17, 1973: Kwame Salter marches through Van Hise Hall in protest over the University's decision to close the Afro-American Cultural Center. Photo courtesy UW Archives

Salter's arguments—and his iconoclasm—eventually won out. He pushed students to think of center as much more than just a "hang out" and pledged that, as director, he would transform the small, underfunded institution into "an advocate of change, a visible mechanism to represent and articulate the needs of blacks … [as well as] the hard hats, blue collar workers, [and] poor whites of Appalachia."[20] Administrators balked, but facing pushback from stakeholders and students who backed Salter's appointment, the Board of Regents eventually approved Salter's hiring on November 20, 1970.[21]

Over the next two years, Salter fulfilled his promises. He and his skeletal staff published a variety of handbooks to help black students adjust to life at a predominantly white university; they created a student newspaper called *The Black Voice* and a Black News Radio Show; and they established a Malcolm X Memorial Library designed to curate and disseminate black history and literature. Under Salter's leadership, the center also sponsored several public-facing events, including a Black Arts Festival and a Free Clothing and Food Drive, and it sought to provide neglected basic services to the local black community, such as job and housing referrals or, if necessary, bail bonds. "Our involvement in the above-mentioned areas," Salter explained in a "functional

analysis" of the center from June of 1972, "reveals a larger societal failure."[22]

In the fall of 1972, no doubt inspired by Salter's success, Native American and Latino students at Wisconsin appealed to administrators for "ethnic centers" of their own. "They felt isolation, they felt marginalized," Salter remembered, "and they saw the [Afro-American] Center thriving."[23] A Native American Center was temporarily established at 931 W. Dayton Street with a budget of $67,000, but the requests for the new centers proved fateful—and, ultimately, fatal.[24]

The operating budget for the existing Afro-American Center was roughly $90,000; if the university granted the demands for two additional centers, its expenses would triple.[25] "With the prospect of other groups making the same demand in the future," a journalist for the *Capital Times* correctly surmised, "the University must make up its mind how it intends to spend money earmarked for the education of minority and disadvantaged students."[26]

Fearing an endless proliferation of splinter centers, the Board of Regents hastily released a statement reaffirming "its support for the education of minority and disadvantaged students," while cautioning that its members would only support "a multicultural approach" to "supportive programs" and would reject "a segregated or separatist approach for any such program."[27] The initiative was spearheaded by Edward E. Hales, a lawyer from Racine and the only black member of the Board, who stated that it was his "strong feeling that there has been too much time, too much effort, and too many lives lost, to develop a system of integrated education in this country."[28]

Salter leapt to center's defense, insisting, yet again, that "the Center is not segregated. We don't spend any energy excluding people from the Center."[29] But his appeals did little to deter officials from their decided course.

In August, administrators announced that they had decided to close the centers for good and create three new positions in the Dean of Students office to assist minority students: one for Native Americans, one for Latinos, and one for African-Americans. Funds for these positions would be drawn from the existing Afro-American Center budget; Salter would be reassigned and guaranteed his existing salary for one more academic year. Paul Ginsberg, Dean of Students at the university, explained that these decisions would "extend the commitment we have to *all* racial and ethnic groups … while at the same time being sensitive to their cultural heritage."[30]



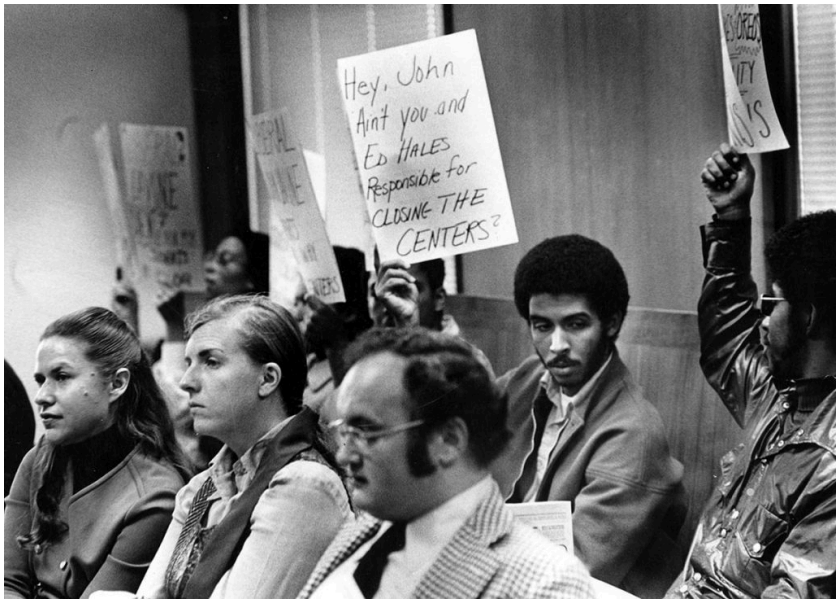
September 1973; Students protest the closing of the Afro-American and Native American Cultural Centers. Photo courtesy UW Archives

In an echo of 1969, students marched on UW President Weaver's office and adopted the rallying cry "the beat goes on" to channel the revolutionary energy of the Black Student Strike.[31] But September of 1973 was not like February of 1969. The renewed protests attracted far smaller crowds than they had years earlier, and although Salter continued to report for a job that no longer existed and a group calling themselves the Open Centers Committee (OCC) occupied the center for months, the administration was no longer in an accommodating mood.[32] In April of 1974, after months of negotiating, the Afro-American and Race Relations Center was officially closed; Salter left shortly thereafter.[33] In his stead, the university hired Truman T. Lowe, a member of the Ho-Chunk Nation, as the new Assistant Dean of Students and Coordinator of Multi-Cultural Programing. (Lowe, who earned his MFA at Wisconsin, initially struggled to appease students who understood that he was, in effect, the centers' replacement. Ultimately, however, Lowe managed to thrive in the position and eventually became a full professor in the Art Department and the coordinator of UW's Native American Studies program in 1975.)

Salter charged that, by closing the centers, the university had succumbed to a "white supremacist mentality."[34] State representative Lloyd Barbee, a Democrat from Milwaukee who had defended the expelled Oshkosh students as a civil rights attorney back in 1968, agreed and characterized the shift towards "multicultural" programing as nothing but "bigotry in liberal clothing."[35]

Administrators denied such accusations, of course. Chancellor Young defended closing the centers by saying it was "inappropriate that we should develop and support with state funds the separatism we for so long denied" while President Weaver channeled Regent Hales and

stuck to their agreed-upon script, insisting he was "for integration, not segregation."[36]



1973: Students hold up signs in protest over the elimination of the Afro-American and Native American Cultural Centers in 1973 at a Board of Regents meeting. Photo courtesy UW Archives

But these justifications don't stand up to scrutiny, as Salter himself pointed out in a local newspaper shortly after the university announced that the centers would close. He again reminded readers that the Afro-American Center was never segregated and in fact "geared all of its programs to the education and enlightenment of whites to the culture, genius, expression, and moods of our people."[37] Moreover, he noted that the "Wisconsin Idea" testified to a long-standing tradition of working within local communities. "There was an old saying," he elaborated:

> that the "boundaries of the UW campus are the boundaries of the state." … Now we live in times where the urban communities of the state are crying out for some assistance. An undeniable part of that urban community is made up of blacks and other people of color. We are asking that the enormous resources of this great university be used not just to "study" us but also to help us. We are asking that we be included in the official academic mission not just as "bright individuals" who made it in spite of the odds but as citizens of this state who have been excluded for decades. We want to be allowed to do some "sifting and winnowing" without being accused of being "racist in reverse" or practicing "reverse discrimination."[38]

"Segregation" had nothing to do with why Salter wasn't allowed to do

some "sifting and winnowing" of his own. Quite the contrary. The problem, which he recognized immediately, was that the centers were never seen as essential institutions within the larger university. Their value, not only as oases to marginalized students, but as beacons of cultural difference that made the university more representative of the state's real-world diversity, was invisible to officials like Weaver, Young, and Hale whose own thinking tended to universalize a particular vision of meritocratic, color-blind liberalism that was more congenital to Wisconsin's predominantly white, middle-class majority. Or, as Salter himself put it, "you know, the University of Wisconsin was, really, an Anglo-American Cultural Center. They just didn't see it."[39]

With such ideological blind spots so firmly entrenched on Bascom Hill, university officials decided to close the centers just liked they'd opened them—by fiat, according to expedience—thereby exemplifying, however unconsciously, what Salter called a "supremacist mentality."

"There was no discussion," Salter would remember years later. "It was a decision."[40]

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] UW News Press Release, 23 October 1968, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 1, University Archives (hereafter UA).

[2] Ibid.

[3] "News Conference Statement by UW–Madison Dean of Students Paul Ginsberg," 8 August 1973, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 1, UA.

[4] "Ethnic Center May Close on University Campuses," *Beloit Daily News*, 20 July 1973.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Letter from William H. Sewell to Bernard C. Cohen 15 May 1968, Series 4/21/1, Box 18, UA.

[7] Memorandum from the Subcommittee on the Afro-American Center, 30 August 1968, Series 4/21/1, Box 1, UA.

[8] Letter from H. Edwin Young to Gordon R. Walker, 1 May 1969, Series 4/21/1, Box 15, UA; W. Arthur Lewis, "Black Power and the

American University," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 18 March 1969 (Vol. 69. No. 21), 16.

[9] Handwritten note to H. Edwin Young, undated (circa December 1968), Series 4/21/1, Box 20.

[10] UW News Press Release, 23 October 1968, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 1, UA.

[11] On Oshkosh, see the online public history exhibit, "Black Thursday Remembered" http://www.blackthursday.uwosh.edu/blackthurs.html.

[12] "Thirteen Needs Explained," Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 1, UA.

[13] Letter from Douglas B. Morris to H. Edwin Young, 10 March 1969, Series 4/21/1, Box 212, UA. Young received hundreds of similar letters.

[14] Statement by the University of Wisconsin Administration, 12 February 1969, Series 7/52/1/1, Box 1, Folder 3, UA.

[15] "Investigate Fire at Afro Center," *Watertown Daily News*, 22 February 1969; Statement by Chancellor Young, 21 February 1969, 5/52/1/1, Folder 2, UA.

[16] UW News Press Release, 6 September 1969, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 2, UA.

[17] Elrie Chrite, "The University: Chrite Speaks Out," *Daily Cardinal* (undated).

[18] Kwame Salter, oral history recording with author, 20 March 2020.

[19] Ibid.

[20] UW News Press Release, 26 January 1971, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 2, UA.

[21] UW News Press Release, 20 November 1970, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 2, UA.

[22] "Functional Analysis: Afro-American Center," Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 2, UA.

[23] Kwame Salter, oral history recording with author, 20 March 2020.

[24] On the additional centers and their initial budgetary requests, see Diane Sherman, "UW Ethnic Centers: A Clash Over Priorities," *Capital Times*, 21 May 1973.

[25] Letter from Kwame Salter to Paul Ginsberg, 9 June 1971, Series 7/52/1/1, Folder 20, UA.

[26] Diane Sherman, "UW Ethnic Centers: A Clash Over Priorities," *Capital Times*, 21 May 1973.

[27] Education Committee Resolution 352, 8 December 1972, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 1, UA.

[28] Minutes of the Regular Meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, 8 December 1972, Board of Regents Collection http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/UWBoR.

[29] Quoted in "Afro-Center Status Getting Reassessed," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 17 March 1973.

[30] "News Conference Statement by UW–Madison Dean of Students Paul Ginsberg," 8 August 1973, Series 5/52/1/1, Folder 1, UA.

[31] "300 March on Weaver's Office," *Capital Times*, 27 August 1973.

[32] "Sept. 17 Closing Set for UW Afro Center," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 8 September 1973.

[33] "Afro Center Cleared by UW," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 10 April 1974.

[34] "Salter Blasts Center's Closing," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 9 August 1973.

[35] Ibid.

[36] "Chancellor Young Defends Closing of Afro Center," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 11 September 1973.

[37] "Let the Public Decide on Ethnic Centers," *Capital Times*, 1 September 1973.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Kwame Salter, oral history recording with author, 20 March 2020.

[40] Ibid.

Surviving Conditions and Competing Visions: The Fight for a Chicano Studies Department By Dustin Cohan

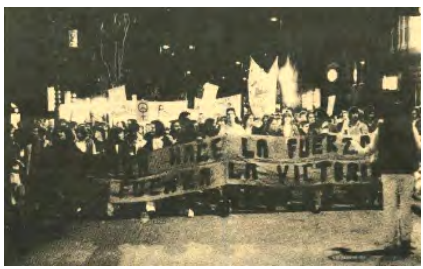
Originally Posted on July 20, 2020. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2021, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Since the late 1960s, Chicanx activists, academics, and students have been fighting for the legitimacy of Chicano Studies as a discipline with a rightful place as a department at the University of Wisconsin–Madison and on campuses across the country.[1] Following a four-month protest

and successful state lobbying effort in 1975, Chicanx students and activists amended the university's budget to allocate $50,000 for "American Ethnic and Chicano Studies."[2] After the College of Letters and Science refused to house Chicano Studies, the School of Education established a program with minimal funding and kept its budget unchanged for over a decade. By positioning the Chicano Studies Program at the bottom rung clawing for scraps, the university administration created conditions that fractured the movement for a Chicano Studies Department. Caught in limbo between activist ideologies forged in the Chicano Movement and the restrictions of an academic institution, Chicanx activists and academics experienced the effects of structural racism through institutional poverty in Chicano Studies and division in their communities. Despite these circumstances and the infighting that erupted between Chicanx activists and academics, both parties helped Chicano Studies survive the 1980s and enabled future generations to grow the program.

From 1975 to 1988, the College of Letters and Science and the School of Education kept the Chicano Studies Program depressed. Devoid of support and the necessary resources for growth, Chicanx activists and academics split between pragmatism and principle, causing a schism that made it easier for the university administration to confine the program. Representative of its limited funding and institutional stature, it took the Chicano Studies Program six years to offer its first class. Frustrated by this glacial pace, a diverse group of Chicanx activists and academics disagreed on how to combat the institutional racism that created such economic limitations. As an organized national movement, M.E.Ch.A. (*Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán*) maintained a nationalist, community-based version of Chicano Studies detailed in *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, and the UW–Madison's branch stressed that its members follow this party line. Others disagreed, such as graduate student and program director Mario Compean, who favored a more pragmatic approach that balanced academics and service in an effort to placate the university administration.[3] In essence M.E.Ch.A. and Compean wanted the same thing: to develop Chicano Studies as a discipline that served both students and the community. Yet, economic



July 1983; Latinx and Chicanx activists march down State Street protesting the U.S. Invasion of Nacaragua. Photo courtesy UW Archives.

limitations magnified disagreements and sowed division within the movement for a Chicano Studies Department. Numbers and unity, however, did not guarantee success. With the prevailing conditions constructed and maintained by the university administration, working from within the system assured only struggle. Nonetheless, this period of survival strengthened the drive for Chicano Studies and empowered future generations to challenge restrictive institutional structures.

In the fall of 1982 after a five-year hiatus, Jesús Salas returned to his PhD studies at the UW–Madison. Immediately, he helped reorganize the La Raza Unida student group into a branch of M.E.Ch.A. Under this banner, the UW–Madison's M.E.Ch.A. chapter initiated coalitions with African and Native American groups, coordinated Mexican American cultural events in the community, and successfully lobbied the state legislature on migrant issues.[4] Academically, though, the Chicano Studies Program that some M.E.Ch.A. members helped establish in 1975 was still little more than a sign on a wall. Salas reflects that the program "belonged" in the College of Letters and Science, but administrators refused to house it alongside complementary humanities departments and programs.[5] (The program would later be moved to the College of Letters and Sciences.) In the absence of administrative support, the Chicano Studies Program remained undeveloped and underfunded in the School of Education. Its first two program directors left in less than ten months, it had no affiliated faculty, and during the academic year 1982–83 the program had no staff or plan and appeared on the verge of collapse.[6] While some students and staff believed it could grow incrementally, M.E.Ch.A. argued that there was no hope for developing Chicano Studies as a program. Instead they reignited a decade-old movement, calling on the UW–Madison to form a Chicano Studies Department. The distinction is key and one that the university knows creates inequities. Departments, not programs, are needed as a tenure home for faculty, and organize the majority of major programs. In addition, despite funding not being guaranteed for either departments or programs, ethnic studies programs at the University have been consistently threatened by state budget crises and competing strategic demands in the past 10 years. While programs are popular with students and have been able to fight off institutional threats that aim to collapse or dissolve them entirely, the institutional power overwhelmingly rests with departments.

A fundamental difference between M.E.Ch.A.'s and Mario Compean's approaches was their willingness to pacify the university and Wisconsin's shifting political climate. In 1975, when Chicanx activists successfully lobbied the Wisconsin legislature to amend the university

budget and allocate funds for Chicano Studies, the state house had been more vulnerable to political pressure from the political left. By 1983, however, an increasingly conservative legislature pushed budget cuts that put ethnic studies in danger of extinction. Wisconsin was and is a state dominated by white residents who, by and large, are unfamiliar with Chicano Studies. To sustain a program at the UW–Madison, faculty and leadership had to demonstrate how it would bring value to the statewide community and provide a desirable service to students. Being that Chicano Studies was a young program without significant funding, institutional support, or statewide recognition, it was lucky to survive. Still, even in their conciliatory approach the program under Compean failed to gain any traction.

Despite their common goals, a rift developed between M.E.Ch.A and Compean that sent ripples through the Chicanx student body and Madison community. While M.E.Ch.A. had become a cultural and political fixture, Compean had worked both as a university recruiter and a Chicanx community organizer. After arriving in September 1979, Compean began building bridges across disciplines and schools to foster relationships that could support future Chicano Studies endeavors.[7] His approach to developing the discipline accounted for the white majority in the state and positions of power at the university. He considered the rising tide of conservatism in relation to M.E.Ch.A.'s uncompromising stance against a program and for a specific brand of Chicano Studies, and argued that the university would not abide by such a narrow, cultural nationalist vision of the field.[8] As the two sides divided along ideological lines, structural and institutional inequalities kept a stranglehold on the program's growth plans.

Their conflict began in the summer of 1983 when School of Education Assistant Dean Walter Lane hired Compean as the Chicano Studies "Project Assistant."[9] In all but title, Compean was the program's director. This move upset M.E.Ch.A. who felt that the position should have gone to one of their own. They were the ones who protested and endured police beatings and incarceration in 1975 during the struggle for a Chicano Studies Department. When the College of Letters and Science refused to house the program, they organized for it to be formed in the School of Education. Despite repeated institutional rejections, these activists and former students remained engaged through La Raza Unida and its successor M.E.Ch.A., criticizing the university for failing to live up to its promises and keeping Chicano Studies undeveloped.[10] These experiences, they felt, earned them the right to lead the program under their vision of Chicano Studies.

Compean was a respected Chicano Movement leader, but he opposed

M.E.Ch.A.'s strict posture on Chicano Studies that amounted to an ultimatum: a university department or nothing. Conscious of political realities, Compean believed that a more conciliatory approach was the program's only chance of success. In the late 1960s, Compean was a founder of the Mexican American Youth Organization, which led a Chicano political revolution in south Texas, inspired the La Raza Unida political party, and served as a precursor to M.E.Ch.A. Compean became a key La Raza Unida member and in 1978 ran for Governor of Texas under the party name. Regardless, Compean's acquiescence to the university administration and program status was unacceptable to M.E.Ch.A.

In a fall 1983 M.E.Ch.A. meeting, group leaders expelled Compean and his supporters, seeding a near-forty-year divide between Chicanx community activists and the Chicano Studies Program. As Compean recalls, "They kicked me out and said, 'Go back to Chicano Studies and bring your guys with you…You're a political boss and you don't know what the hell you're doing.'"[11] Referring to his leadership in Texas with the La Raza Unida Party, M.E.Ch.A. felt Compean had lost sight of the grassroots principles that guided their vision of Chicano Studies. In the midst of the encounter, students took sides. Nearly half left M.E.Ch.A. "They [M.E.Ch.A.] had only one goal," Compean contends. "They didn't just want Chicano Studies, they wanted a particular type of Chicano Studies."[12] He believed that M.E.Ch.A. leadership was content letting Chicano Studies fail if it did not meet their narrow vision, and saw that as sacrificing the needs of students who clamored for this kind of knowledge.

Members of M.E.Ch.A., nevertheless, remained consistent in their approach and organized off-campus Chicano Studies classes. Tony Castañeda recalls that Compean, "didn't abide by the militant stance that M.E.Ch.A. had taken."[13] When they found out that the university had hired Compean, Castañeda remembers, "we were pissed off, because we felt like we were being sold out. 'Hey, we're fighting for a department.' We told the university. We took a strong stance against it saying, 'We don't want a program. We want a department. A program is crap. There is no major, no assigned professors."[14] Castañeda and M.E.Ch.A. leadership preached the party line, but as a forty-three-year-old *veterano* Compean was confident in his decisions and moved to develop the program without their interference. In M.E.Ch.A.'s view, Compean had betrayed them.

While M.E.Ch.A. maintained a nationalistic focus on Chicano concerns, Compean continued the Sisyphean task of growing the program. As the feud persisted, M.E.Ch.A. publicly criticized Compean

in an attempt to delegitimize his leadership. Andrea-Teresa "Tess" Arenas, a graduate student at the time, remembers, "One of the critiques was Mario [Compean] was not as confrontational as he could have been with administration."[15] There was a simple reason for this. In the academic year 1981–82, Compean observed the program's second director José De Paz endure repeated rejections from the university administration, because of his Chicano nationalist approach. "Mario didn't want to fail like that," Arenas attests. He "formed alliances across campus and was critiqued for 'kissing too much ass instead of being in their [administration] face.'" Compean rejected M.E.Ch.A.'s objections, asserting that a confrontational brand of Chicano politics would not work in the Midwest where Chicanx were such a small minority. While their population in southern Wisconsin was nothing compared to parts of Texas or California, M.E.Ch.A. had the support of a substantive Chicanx community in making their demands. Nonetheless, Compean viewed administrative accommodation and coalition building as the right strategy, and refused to incorporate any of M.E.Ch.A.'s strategies.

Meanwhile, M.E.Ch.A. officially separated themselves from the Chicano Studies Program, arguing that by accepting the watered-down version of Chicano Studies offered by the university, Compean had compromised students' decade-long effort to create a department. Castañeda explains, "It was a very crucial time, because we became separated, M.E.Ch.A. We had our own offices, which the university allowed us to keep. We had our own student organization. Mario [Compean] and some of the students…they acquiesced. They accepted the program status."[16] Angered by some activists' willingness to follow Compean, Castañeda details how M.E.Ch.A., "ignored anything that was going on with the program and stayed away from their activities."[17] By disowning the program, M.E.Ch.A. thought that they had made themselves targets. "We would have these battles between the program people and us," Castañeda remembers. "They were the ones who were recognized by the university administration and they tried to shut us down several times. They tried to cut our funding."[18] In the face of attacks by the Chicano Studies Program, university administration, and student leadership, M.E.Ch.A. maintained their stance against a program. Castañeda explains, "The important piece for us was always the battle for a department over a program. When the university went with the program we stayed away. We would not give it any credibility by recognizing it. In a way it was bad, because it isolated us, but we continued to do our political work."[19] Despite some apprehension, M.E.Ch.A. pressed on, maintaining opposition to program status and

continuing their dynamic activism in the Madison and campus communities.

When the School of Education decided to hire Mario Compean, M.E.Ch.A. saw their vision of a community-run Chicano Studies Department evaporating in front of their eyes. Being that Chicano Studies was a product of community activism, they believed it would set a precedent for how an ethnic studies entity should operate. When it did not, many reacted by rededicating themselves to the fight for a department. Considering the economic conditions and lack of university support, it is hard to say whether the history of Chicano Studies at the UW–Madison could have been different had these foes found a way to harness their knowledge and skills in collaboration. With or without M.E.Ch.A.'s support, Compean committed himself to fostering Chicano Studies bit by bit. Still, by the fall of 1987 the program budget remained unchanged, Chicano Studies hadn't offered a second class, and Compean's strategy was no closer to expanding the program.

In the ensuing three decades, however, the Chicano Studies Program has made significant progress with the creation of a certificate program in 1994 and a six-fold expansion of affiliated faculty since 2000. Reflecting on how the program has survived with such minimal institutional support, former director Professor Benjamin Marquez argues, "We exist because students, faculty, and staff demand it."[20] Over the past forty years, the university administration has attempted to both consolidate and reduce ethnic studies in tandem with state budget cuts, but support from students, alumni, and the wider community has enabled the Chicano Studies Program to grow and maintain autonomy. "The greater good is not what university administrators think about," Marquez contends. "They think about their own programs, their own departments. [We] have been forced to do the same."[21] To support community demands and ensure the program's existence, Chicano Studies leaders like Marquez have had to focus on the things that university administrators cared about, "the bottom line and political power."[22] Meanwhile, M.E.Ch.A. has had numerous organizational successes. During the early 1980s, mid-to-late-1990s, and 2000s, M.E.Ch.A. experienced surges in membership while maintaining a strong political and cultural presence on campus and in Madison. Despite their prolonged division, M.E.Ch.A. activists and program faculty, staff, and students have continued to build their organizations into campus entities engaged in the lives of Chicanx students and their histories.

Notwithstanding these efforts, the schism between M.E.Ch.A. and the program benefited, above all else, the university administration. With

the movement for a department divided, administrators kept Chicano Studies "illegitimate" and underfunded, and took comfort in the absence of a united community response.[23] Nevertheless, as Chicano Studies faced repeated institutional threats to defund and consolidate it with other ethnic studies fields, both M.E.Ch.A. and the program played vital roles in defending its autonomy. Together, Chicanx academics and activists kept the movement for a Chicano Studies Department alive and active. Going into the fall of 2020, the program has more affiliated faculty and students than ever before. With support from alumni, students, and the community, the program is hopeful that it will establish a Chicano Studies major in the upcoming academic year and make another stride toward the ultimate goal, a department.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] A note on terminology. Chicano or Chicana refers to a Mexican American person, usually second generation, who has been politicized by the Chicano Movement or its politics that originated in the 1960s. The terms Chicano and Chicana do not have universal meanings. Oftentimes people who embrace the identity of Chicano or Chicana define it in varied ways. Chicanx is a twenty-first century word created for gender inclusivity.

[2] Laws of Wisconsin 1975, Chapter 39, Sec. 727, 30 July 1975, CLS history, Box 1, Chican@ and Latin@ Studies Archives, UW Archives.

[3] Compean served as the director of the Chicano Studies Program from fall 1983 to spring 1988, and again from fall 1989 to spring 1991.

[4] In the fall of 1982 M.E.Ch.A. spearheaded a lobbying effort to pass the 1982 Migrant Bill that gave seasonal migrant workers access to state services. Jesús Salas, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 21 February 2020, Roberto Hernández Center, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee.

[5] Jesús Salas, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 21 February 2020.

[6] Mario Compean and Tricia Price, Chican@ & Latin@ Studies Program UW–Madison Chronology 1975–2006, UW–Madison Archives Department File, Series 7/71, 5 May 2006.

[7] Mario Compean, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 19 March 2020.

[8] Chicano cultural nationalism emerged from the Chicano Movement in the 1960s and 1970s. It refers to a form of nationalism shaped by Chicano culture. In this era, cultural expression frequently came in the form of murals, paintings, dance, fashion, theater, music, wood carvings, and film.

[9] Despite his graduate student status and job title, Compean acted as the program's director and only full time employee from 1983 to 1988, and then again in 1989, 1990, and 1991.

[10] Jesús Salas, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 21 February 2020.

[11] Tony Castañeda, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 6 March 2020.

[12] Mario Compean, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 19 March 2020.

[13] Tony Castañeda, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 6 March 2020.

[14] Tony Castañeda, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 6 March 2020.

[15] Andrea Teresa Arenas, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 5 March 2020.

[16] Tony Castañeda, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 6 March 2020.

[17] Tony Castañeda, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 6 March 2020.

[18] Tony Castañeda, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 6 March 2020.

[19] Tony Castañeda, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 6 March 2020.

[20] Professor Marquez served as the director of the Chicano Studies Program from 1995 to 1997. Then, he served as director of the Chican@ and Latin@ Studies Program in the spring of 2014 and again in the academic year 2015–16. Benjamin Marquez, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 29 January 2020.

[21] Benjamin Marquez, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 29 January 2020.

[22] Benjamin Marquez, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 29 January 2020.

[23] C. Alejandra Elenes, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 17 March 2020; and Francisco Scarano, interviewed by Dustin Cohan, 15 April 2020.

Are Black Women Safe at the University of Wisconsin–Madison? By Angelica Euseary

Originally Posted on October 5, 2020. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2021, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this blog post is offensive and disturbing. In this post, you will encounter an

uncensored racial slur. As historians, we felt it was important to use the word, uncensored, for two reasons. One, the word was used during the time period and is quoted directly from newspaper publications which also use the word in full. Quoting primary sources as they originally appear is part of sound historical practice. Two, hiding the word, or censoring the word, only serves to hide racist actions perpetrated by people in the past. Lessening their violence by hiding their language makes their action seem less violent. At the same time, it protects our modern audiences from dealing with the serious violence and dehumanization that occurred "back then" but that continues to occur now. We believe in the historical accuracy of using the word but also in the power of making audiences see the word, process it, and sit with its heavy emotional weight.

On April 11, 1988, a Black female University of Wisconsin–Madison student athlete was attacked by Gordon L. Chapman, a 45-year-old white, male Madison resident. The student was called a "fucking nigger" as she was beaten, strangled and thrown to the ground on the 1400 block of University Avenue.[1] Initially, it was reported that a crowd stood and watched as the woman was attacked. Chapman, who attacked her, screamed repeatedly that he was going to kill (her) and all the other n*****s. The survivor, who chose to remain anonymous, said she wasn't going to report it at first because she didn't think it would matter much since she was Black. She said she just wanted to graduate and go home.

The student had a Black belt in karate and tried to defend herself. "I've been through all the racial stuff before," she said, "the looks, the comments, but never anything like this. He can say whatever he wants, but when he tried to touch me that got me mad."[2] The assaulter continuously choked her and she kept falling to the ground. "The police told me he was probably crazy," she said. "He wasn't crazy, he was prejudiced and wanted to kill me."[3] The day after the attack, she filed a police report with the Madison Police Department (MPD) and received a call from then acting Dean of Students, Mary Rouse. She thought she was going to get



Black woman attacked as bystanders do nothing

By Ann Powers
OF THE CARDINAL STAFF

At approximately 10:45 a.m. Monday morning, a female student was called a "fucking nigger," beaten, strangled and thrown to the ground on the 1400 block of University Avenue. The White male who attacked her repeatedly screamed he was "going to kill (her) and all the other niggers."

Out of a crowd of people waiting for the bus, walking to their 11 a.m. classes or coming out of the McDonalds across the street, no one tried to help her.

After the woman had been verbally and physically beaten, she gathered her books and her composure, and headed for her women's studies class.

"I just wanted to get out of there," the victim said on grounds of anonymity. "The crowd didn't try to help me and I didn't know if they were going to rush me too. I wasn't going to report it at first. I didn't think it would matter to them much because I'm Black. I just want to graduate and go home."

The victim said she wasn't shocked at first when the assailant began to hurl racial slurs. But she was surprised and deeply angered when he physically attacked her.

"I've been through all the racial stuff before," she said, "the looks, the comments, but never anything like this. He can say whatever he wants, but when he tried to touch me that got me mad."

The victim is a black belt in karate and said she attempted to defend herself to her greatest

See ATTACK, page 7

News clipping from The Daily Cardinal, April 13th, 1988. The headline story reads "Black woman attacked as bystanders do nothing."

suspended because she was an athlete, and she knew they weren't supposed to get in trouble. The student was pleasantly surprised when Dean Rouse sympathized with her plight. "But Mary made me feel like she really cares," the survivor said. "I would have just tried just to forget about the whole thing, but maybe reporting it will help other people out."[4]

Chapman was charged with battery and disorderly conduct.[5] He admitted to the crime in a counseling session and claimed that he forgot to take medication. However, MPD authorities denied racism as the motive in the brutal attack. "Mental illness plays an enormous part of the whole incident," Madison police expeditor Mary Anne Thurber said. "And now this man has taken responsibility for his actions."[6] The survivor, religious leaders and Madison civil rights leaders, and Black UW students responded to this statement. "They told me the stuff about forgetting to take his medicine," the survivor said. "No, no, no. Is his sickness prejudice? I just don't buy it. If it was due to mental illness why didn't he boil up at the white girl standing nearby?" [7] The Madison community was outraged by the incident and worked with leaders and organizations to raise awareness about it.


The Daily Cardinal

Police blame attack on mental illness

News clipping from The Daily Cardinal, April 14th, 1988. The headline story reads "Police blame attack on mental illness."

Eugene Parks, then Madison Affirmative Action Offer, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation also investigated the attack.[8] Parks, a civil rights leader in the Madison, made it his duty to protect and uplift the lives of African American people in the city. Parks' involvement in this case proves how important it was to the Black community and emphasizes the community's distrust of the MPD. Parks said that their campus was invaded and stressed that an attempted murder took place on this street. He disregarded MPD's claims about the attack occurring solely because of Chapman's mental health issues and forgetting to take his medicine.

In a show of solidarity, the Minority Coalition called for two rallies to be held for both community and campus groups to unite in efforts against Madison-area racism.[9] The rallies were both held on Monday, April 18, 1988, and Parks and other activists spoke to nearly 100 protestors who intended to raise awareness about what had happened. [10] Protestors rallied on the 1400 block of University Avenue, the same place where the incident occurred. "The illness is racism," Reverend

Amy Morrison, moderator of the rally, said. "Our whole society is sick with racism."[11] Morrison said that this particular man was sane enough to direct his aggression to a particular group—Black women. The second rally, the Community's Rally Against Racism, was held later that Monday at the Library Mall at 7 p.m.[12] Students organizations, allies and protestors marched down Langdon street to raise awareness about the incident and the racism in the Madison community. The students made three demands that evening, including "full accountability from both University and city officials regarding the extent of racist attacks and racial incidents."[13]

The attack received attention from Black students at UW–Madison as well. "If the University wants to increase the number of minority students, it must concentrate on looking after their physical and psychological well-being," Black Student Union member, Judylyn Ryan said.[14] The MPD compiled reports of at least five witnesses saying they attempted to aid the Black student who was attacked.[15] Students observed the incident from the Army and Air Force ROTC Building and went to intervene, but when they got there the fight had ended. After reviewing the incident as part of the 11-page police report, MPD Officer Andy Garcia stated, "A short time later the crowd understood what was happening and some of them indicated that they would call the police but apparently no one did."[16]

Members of the Madison community were disappointed that the survivor wasn't helped during the attack, and that they watched the assault happen. It is important to note that most of the bystanders were just that—bystanders. Members of the Minority Coalition said the observers added insult to injury by ignoring this deplorable act and continuing on their way as if someone had just dropped a book, and that in their collective silence, they shouted "FUCKING NIGGER", too.[17] The support and voices of white allies was helpful because it spread awareness about the incident outside of Black and brown communities. The students who watched the survivor get attacked needed to understand that there was power in helping her. They could've made a more positive statement and combatted the racist attack by doing anything but being bystanders.


The Daily Cardinal

Groups say racism rally requires White role

News clipping from The Daily Cardinal, April 18th, 1988. The headline story reads "Groups say racism rally requires White role."

Nestor J. Rodriguez, then acting president of Union Puertorriquena and Coalition member said white people needed to get involved in large numbers because otherwise their efforts to combat racism in Madison won't work.[18] Alliance and support from the white community of Madison was important to spreading awareness about this incident. The support from white students could have changed the course of events after the incident. The narrative of the story would have been different if the white student bystanders had supported the survivor as she was attacked. "I never thought it would happen to me; it is something I will never forget," the survivor said.[19]

As a Black female graduate student at UW–Madison, I was shocked, but not surprised to learn about this case. The racially motivated attack of a Black female UW student is an important moment in the history of the University of Wisconsin–Madison. This incident is one of the examples of why Black students feel unsafe, unwelcome and marginalized on UW's campus. Black students continue to endure racism and discrimination at the UW. This brutal incident depicts the dangers of being a Black woman at a public, primarily white institution.

This attack raised awareness about how Black students, Black women specifically, are not safe on campus. Yet, this is not the only time a Black women has been harassed, attacked, or degraded. Incidents of negative racial attitudes and violence against Black women at the UW and in Madison date back to the mid-1930s to July 2020. Below are only a few examples:

- Starting in 1935, three Black women, Frances Murphy and her two older sisters Ida and Carlita came to UW–Madison from Baltimore. In an oral history interview, Frances Murphy remembered hostility from the house mother at Barnard Hall, a student dormitory on campus. [20] The house mother, Miss Ross, "had a fit every time she looked at us Black kids coming down the steps to dinner," Murphy recalled.[21] Murphy didn't remember Wisconsin too fondly and it was a chore, something she had to do.[22] She remembered being resentful of her high school friends who attended HBCUs and joined clubs like the Drum and Bugle Corps. "I don't recall being too welcomed in

any of those things at Wisconsin," she said. [23]

- Liberty Rashad, a Black woman, first arrived at UW–Madison in 1966. She recalls that the girls in her freshman year dormitory "didn't really have any intention of accepting me because I was quite unique, from New York, African American, very progressive politically".[24] Rashad was heavily involved in the Black Student strikes and protests of 1968–1969. "I remember being confronted by the guards, literally having a physical fight with a national guardsman and almost getting my behind whooped, but luckily there was ice," she said[25]. Rashad recalls slipping and the (national) guardsman raising his baton to come down on her, then someone snatched her and she slid across the ice out of the way[26].
- On March 16, 2012, members of UW–Madison fraternity Delta Upsilon used racial slurs and threw a glass bottle at two Black female students. The women became the target of "racial slurs and class-oriented taunts".[27] This incident took place while the women were walking past the fraternity's house on Lake Mendota.[28]
- On July 9, 2020, a Black woman and her family were attacked by a white man in a Woodman's parking lot on Milwaukee Street. The man told officers he was upset with the woman because her car blocked him from pulling out of a parking stall.[29]

These incidents are proof that Black women are not safe in Madison, Wisconsin. They have not been welcomed or protected in this city or on the UW–Madison campus for over 70 years. If Black women are not safe in Madison, the beloved Badger City, then they are not safe UW–Madison's campus, and vice versa. The two are not separate entities. Black women in Madison, Wisconsin are in danger of racially motived violence, attitudes, and hateful slurs, when they're driving their cars, leaving the grocery store or walking near or on campus. If the University of Wisconsin–Madison intends to continue recruiting Black female students, accountability must be held for University administration and city officials to protect them as students on campus and as Madison residents.

The following response was provided by Student Affairs:

> As a community, UW–Madison is committed to creating a community where individuals are treated with dignity and respect; where Black lives matter; and where all underrepresented students feel welcome, supported, and safe. Hate is not tolerated on our campus and we know from recent incidents of hate on campus, and across the world, there is still work to be done.
>
> Hate or bias should never be part of the Wisconsin Experience and we reinforce the process that if you or someone you know is hurting, there are resources to provide support.
>
> We will not be perfect in our work. As a collective staff within Student Affairs, working diligently with partners from across campus, we embrace the tough and imperfect conversations and actions we need to take in order to collectively move forward to truly build an inclusive campus where all people are set up for success and can thrive.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] Ann Powers, "Black woman attacked as bystanders do nothing," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), April 13, 1988.

[2] Ibid, Powers

[3] Ibid, Powers

[4] Ibid, Powers

[5] Ann Powers, "Police blame attack on mental illness," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), April 14, 1988.

[6] Ibid, Powers

[7] Ibid, Powers

[8] Jennie Anderson, "FBI to investigate attack," Daily Cardinal (Madison, WI), April 19, 1988.

[9] Anthony Shadid, "Group says racism rally requires White role," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), April 18, 1988.

[10] Ibid, Anderson

[11] Ibid, Anderson

[12] Ibid, Shadid

[13] Anthony Shadid, "Coalition lists demands at rally," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), April 19, 1988.

[14] Ibid, Anderson

[15] Ann Powers, "Witnesses claim they tried to assist attack victim," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), April 21,1988.

[16] Ibid, Powers

[17] Eduardo Bonilla and Jose Padin (of the Minority Coalition), "Accomplices to racism", *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), April 18, 1988.

[18] Ibid, Shadid, "Groups say racism…"

[19] Ibid, Powers, "Black woman attacked…"

[20] David Tenenbaum, "Recovering the history of UW's first African-American students", *University of Wisconsin–Madison News*, (Madison, WI) July 12, 2016.

[21] Frances L. Murphy, interview by Fern Ingersoll, October 25, 1991, Interview #1 pp. 1-38, transcript, Washington Press Club Foundation, Washington, D.C.

[22] Ibid, Frances L. Murphy

[23] Ibid, "Frances L. Murphy: Interview #1"Frances L. Murphy

[24] Transcript, Oral History Interview with Liberty Rashad, 2018. University of Wisconsin–Madison Communications.

[25] Transcript, Oral History Interview with Liberty Rashad, 2018. University of Wisconsin–Madison Communications.

[26] Ibid.

[27] State Journal Staff, "UW fraternity Delta Upsilon suspended over alleged racial slurs," *Wisconsin State Journal*, (Madison, WI) March, 22, 2012.

[28] State Journal Staff, "UW fraternity…"

[29] Maija Inveiss, "Woman struck in the face in Woodman's parking lot, police say", *Channel 3000*, (Madison, WI) July 13, 2020.

"Successful Beyond Expectation:" Blackface, Minstrelsy, and Racist Entertainment at the University of Wisconsin–Madison By Kacie Lucchini Butcher

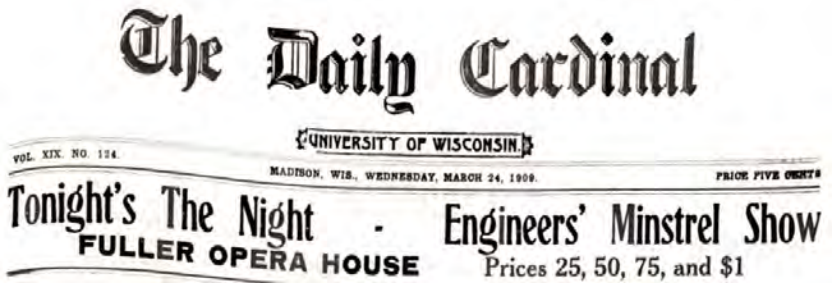
Originally Posted on October 26, 2020. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2021, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims

to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this blog post is offensive and disturbing. In this post, you will encounter descriptions of minstrel shows, racist performances, and Halloween costumes. Some of these descriptions use offensive terms and racial slurs. You will NOT encounter images of individuals in blackface or performing minstrelsy. These images and depictions are dehumanizing, harmful, and deeply racist. We believe that publishing, promoting, and sharing these images serves to further dehumanize and harm Black individuals in our campus community. We have provided links to images for individuals who would like to see them. If you click a link in this blog post, you will see images, cartoons, and depictions of people in blackface.

In 1909, a parade of UW–Madison students wove its way through downtown Madison to campus. In "grease and stovepipe hat," with "darky costume and color," carrying minstrel banners and American flags with a live bugle corps, the students sought to advertise and promote their upcoming minstrel show.[1] Promising to provide "the usual minstrel stunts, rage and coon songs, jokes, and buck-and-wig dancing," the show "promised to be a success."[2] The parade stopped outside of university President Van Hise's home so he could address the students. He commended the students on their minstrel show, saying "I congratulate you on the success of this undertaking. It shows your versatility, and that is a quality all engineers should possess. To be able to adapt himself to all sorts of men and surroundings."[3] The minstrel show that year was a success. So successful, in fact, that for the next century, blackface, minstrelsy, and racist entertainment would become a central part of campus culture.


The Daily Cardinal

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

VOL. XIX. NO. 124. MADISON, WIS., WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1909. PRICE FIVE CENTS

Tonight's The Night - Engineers' Minstrel Show

FULLER OPERA HOUSE Prices 25, 50, 75, and $1

The headline on the front page of the Daily Cardinal, advertising the evening's entertainment. Dated March 24, 1909. News clipping courtesy UW Archives.

The history of minstrelsy in the United States began in the early 19th

century. Blackface performance originated in Northern cities, primarily on the East Coast, as early as 1830. The "Father of Minstrelsy," Thomas Dartmouth Rice, created the most famous minstrel character, "Jim Crow," a Southern slave character who rejoiced in his own enslavement.[4] Minstrel performances generally follow a formulaic set of three acts. The first act included a musical comedy parade that weaves the performers through the audience in an effort to get the audience to participate by stomping, clapping, and dancing. Once on stage, end men would play "bones" and "tambo," tell classic minstrel jokes, or sing romanticized songs about southern heritage that included violent lyrics about slavery.[5] The second act featured a stump speech or a stand-up comedy act. Often these speeches were used to mock slavery abolitionists though later they were used to mock Black women by either by portraying Black women as oversexualized "wenches" or mammy figures as desexualized property of white men.[6] The third act was a short play or routine that provided political commentary on slavery, the South, or the relationship between freed Black people and white people.[7] The performances aimed to distort the features of Black people – their appearance, dress, language, behavior, and, insidiously, their culture – music, dance, religious beliefs, etc. At its height, blackface minstrelsy was the most popular form of entertainment in the United States, reaching hundreds of thousands of viewers annually.[8]

Although it is difficult to understand fully the motivations behind minstrelsy, it is clear that this form of entertainment from its earliest conceptions drew upon dehumanizing stereotypes and images of Black men and women. Rather than simply excusing the racist depictions of Black people as an entertainment form of a bygone era, it is important to understand the long-term implications of these stereotypes. Originally many scholars viewed minstrelsy as an act that allowed white people to borrow and capitalize on Black culture with the larger goal of controlling Black people. In his seminal book on minstrelsy, Eric Lott complicates this idea, arguing that blackface emerges out of a "racial desire" that allows white people to "try on" blackness.[9] As Lott and other scholars like David Roediger have shown, minstrelsy was often the only exposure white people had to Black culture.[10] Many performers and attendees mistakenly believed that by participating in minstrelsy, either actively in its creation or passively in its consumption, they were learning about Black culture. What Lott, Roediger, and other scholars make clear however is that participation, performance, and consumption of minstrelsy relied on racialized stereotypes that aimed to dehumanize and portray Black people as "others," or apart from the larger, dominant, normative strands of American culture. This "othering" allowed white

people to secure their own positive identity through the stigmatization and dehumanization of those that they deem(ed) "other." Minstrelsy continuously repeated and entrenched this dehumanization into national and local culture at large.

While minstrelsy was originally performed by professional actors and musicians, by 1845 famous performers began to sell sheet music and how-to guides that encouraged amateur performers to create their own shows. Dr. Rhae Lynn Barnes, Assistant Professor of History at Princeton, argues that this shift from professionals to amateurs reshaped minstrelsy, making its audience of white men into active participants and creators, rather than passive consumers.[11] As this unfolded, minstrel show productions became easier and cheaper to create. They became the province of amateur troupes and special occasions rather than full-time professional actors, singers, and dancers. As the format of these shows easily accommodated local humor and culture, they spread across the United States from private theaters to elementary schools, college campuses, and community centers.

Minstrel shows became particularly popular on college campuses. Soon after amateur production became more accessible, college fraternities and student organizations began to host minstrel shows as a form of fundraising.[12] College aged men could easily write, produce, and perform minstrel shows, raising hefty profits with little overhead.[13] In turn, these profits could then be invested back into the campus community as contributions to capital projects such as building funds. Minstrel shows were increasingly considered a wholesome, and collegial group activity that forged bonds among young men. They were also considered patriotic, since they often used American flags and patriotic music.[14]

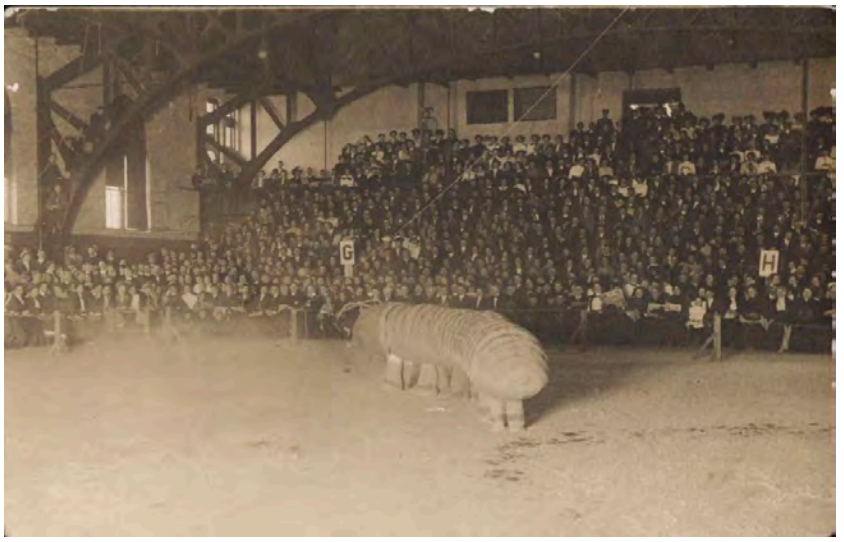


An advertisement in the 1922 UW Yearbook, courtesy UW Archives.

UW–Madison's men joined in as well. The most widely advertised, well attended, and financially successful minstrel shows on campus were the "Wisconsin Senior Engineers World Famous Minstrel Productions." Beginning in 1903 and continuing until 1920, the senior class of engineers wrote, produced, and performed minstrel shows to sold out

audiences full of students, faculty, and Madison community members. What started out as "decidedly amateurish" shows grew to be a complex run of multi-night performances that became so successful that the Wisconsin Alumni Association asked the seniors to travel and perform the show in Milwaukee at the Pabst Theater.[15] The performances, with little overhead and intense popularity, raised money that was invested back into the campus community; donations from the troupe helped to construct Memorial Union — $300 in 1909 and $650 in 1920, totaling about $12,000 in today's dollars.[16]

Minstrel culture seeped into other facets of university life at UW–Madison as well. At the height of minstrel popularity on campus, a student organization called the Dixie Club, comprised entirely of Southern students, was formed in 1910 to highlight Southern music and culture. While seemingly a display of Southern pride, Dixie bands were formed decades after the Civil War to promote Confederate values and culture. They often romanticized the Civil War, promoting a Lost Cause narrative which claimed that the Civil War was fought over state's rights and not the desire to keep slavery — a powerful myth. The Dixie Club went on to host minstrel shows, and Dixie music events attended by powerful people. Their luncheon in 1914 was attended by four United States governors including Francis E. McGovern of Wisconsin, Cole L. Blease of South Carolina, Luther E. Hall of Louisiana, and Emmet O'Neal of Alabama.[17] Their true intentions seem best embodied by their pages in the Badger Yearbook which display blackface caricatures and cartoons depicting Black men as subservient to wealthy, white men.[18] A 1916 UW–Madison Convocation featured Dixie music including the song "My Old Kentucky Home" — one of the most famous and widely popular minstrel songs ever written and performed.[19]



A large crowd watching a UW Circus performance in the Red Gym ca. 1920s. Photo courtesy UW Archives.

While the senior Engineers' productions were the most popular minstrel shows, they were not the only form of racist entertainment on campus. Beginning in 1903 and continuing until 1916, UW–Madison students hosted a successful biannual circus. Student organizations, fraternities, and individuals were encouraged to submit proposals for "acts" to be performed under the big top that would give students the chance to earn ribbons and trophies.[20] They often hosted a parade in costume to advertise. Entries included a "thrilling" Wild West show complete with performers as cowboys and "Indians" on "New Mexican ranges"; a "hobo band" to give students a taste of "canvas classics"; an introduction to the "splendor of the Orient" with an appearance by the "Empress of the Nile" Cleopatra; and the Ku Klux Klan with a performance entitled "A Dark Horse."[21] In 1909, the UW Circus invested the $800 profit back into the university as a donation to the Athletics department — an amount that is close to $20,000 today.[22]

The most popular and arguably most famous performing group at UW–Madison from the 1920s until the 1960s, the Haresfoot Club, also relied heavily on blackface as well as racialized and gendered stereotypes. Their shows, which featured white male students dressed as women, toured the United States garnering national attention. Their intensive initiation process and early performances show white students dressed as the Romani people (gypsies in the parlance of the time), Native Americans, enslaved Black people, Jewish people, and various ambiguous Asian and Middle Eastern individuals.[23]



A Union Vodvil Program from 1925, courtesy UW Archives.

Though much shorter lived, the Union Vodvil, hosted by the Men's Union, was also a popular event. In reflections on the event from alumni in 1936 and 1947, they noted it was the "highlight of the campus year" as it attracted the best talent, including "campus stars" like Porter Butts.[24] It included minstrel shows and cowboy bands presented to "enthusiastic audiences."[25] Other one-time events, like the UW Jamboree in 1921, boasted similar success with prizes awarded to students "brilliantly costumed" as "Indians, convicts, and hoboes."[26] Even as minstrel shows were at their height at UW, students found ways to "other" many additional races, genders, and populations. From impoverished migrant workers, to people who had been imprisoned, to Indigenous peoples, to exoticized and often ambiguous races from across the globe — white students reinforced their positive identity in the stigmatization of others. Notably, during the period when these performances were popular, widely attended, and widely publicized on campus, the targets of this dehumanization, non-white people, were enrolled at UW. They faced this dehumanization at the hands of their classmates and peers in a campus community that promoted, financed, and reveled in these performances. Racist entertainment at UW was part of a broad matrix of performances and masquerades put on by white students for white students.

Dr. Rhae Lynn Barnes also notes that blackface, whether in minstrel shows or Halloween costumes, was often seen as acceptable, a "harmless form of play," which is why it often got past yearbook editors, particularly before the Civil Rights Movement.[27] A flip through The Badger Yearbook reveals near continuous depictions of students dressed as Native Americans, Jewish people, or in blackface. If not explicitly displayed as photographs, the yearbooks contain an unbelievable number of cartoons and caricatures that mock, disparage, and dehumanize nearly every "racialized other" in the United States.

Even after minstrelsy began to fall out of fashion, relics of this period

remained in popular culture. Some even remain today. As Barnes and other scholars have noted, common phrases in American culture such as "cake walk" and "that takes the cake," as well as jokes like "why did the chicken cross the road?" all come from popular minstrel shows.[28] Even the beloved cartoon character Mickey Mouse was born out of minstrelsy.[29] Mickey Mouse's first ever appearance as "Steamboat Willie" features Mickey depicted as a steamboat stevedore, presumably in the South, playing the tune we now call "Turkey in the Straw." However, during the period, this melody was known as "Old Zip Coon" — a minstrel standard. Scholars have also noted that Mickey's facial characteristics, the use of white gloves, and his "bodily plasticity" were all common characteristics of minstrel performance at the time.[30]

As minstrelsy began to fade as popular form of entertainment during the 1940s, blackface and other racialized depictions remained at UW–Madison. After the Civil Rights Movement, blackface became particularly taboo, at least publicly. However, as Dr. Rhae Lynn Barnes has documented, students on college campuses did not stop doing blackface. Instead, they worked to keep parties and events that featured blackface private.[31] At UW–Madison, racially themed parties were part of campus culture from at least the 1940s up until the late 1980s. In the 1940's, Zeta Beta Tau held an annual Polynesian party which featured fraternity brothers in full body blackface wearing grass skirts and sipping drinks from coconuts.[32] In the 1950's, Southern themed parties such as "Dixie Bashes" and "Southern Comfort" parties were commonplace.[33] Though scant descriptions of the parties exist, it is clear that they promoted the culture of the Confederacy. During the same period, fraternities also hosted "Cherokee Chug-a-lugs" and "Skid Row" parties.[34] In the late 1980's UW–Madison featured repeatedly in national news headlines after a series of controversial parties. Beginning in 1986 with a "Martin Luther Coon" party, followed by a "Harlem Room" party featuring fried chicken and watermelon, then a "Fiji Islands" party advertised with a racist caricature, and ending with a slave auction party in 1988, the university became a central location for racist college parties.[35] Then-Chancellor Donna Shalala released a strong statement of condemnation calling the behavior "insensitive and irresponsible," but she also admitted she was powerless to punish fraternities in any substantive way, claiming that their actions were protected under the First Amendment.[36]

While there is no known documented response from students of color regarding minstrel shows in the early 20th century at UW, from the inception of blackface, there have been staunch, vocal critics. In 1848 Frederick Douglass criticized blackface performers as "the filthy scum of

white society, who have stolen from us a complexion denied to them by nature, in which to make money, and pander to the corrupt taste of their white fellow citizens."[37] By the 1980s at UW–Madison, student, faculty, and alumni response to incidents of blackface were widely published. After the slave auction party in 1988, the Minority Coalition, a group of student activists, held a number of well-attended protests. At one protest on Langdon Avenue, Nat Turner, a Black student was quoted "There will be no tranquility for any student on this campus until people of color are treated with respect, receive true justice, and are compensated for the physical, mental, and emotional pain of racism."[38] Faculty from the Law School penned an open letter to Shalala arguing against absolutist readings of the First Amendment and expressing concern over the harm caused by inaction on the part of the administration.[39] The first signee is Dr. Kimberlee Crenshaw, a nationally renowned critical race scholar, who was a visiting scholar at UW–Madison between 1988–1989. The Daily Cardinal even went to far as to publish a staff opinion in support of Black students stating "What is needed, as students of color themselves have pointed out, is for whites to recognize their inherent racism. This racism does not necessarily take the form of a slur or a lynching, but is often expressed in more subtle ways… Those interested in solving the problem must first confront its core: white culture, white history, and white people."[40]

Under the false assumption that blackface and other racialized stereotypes are "harmless forms of play," contemporary photos of white people in blackface, largely at Halloween or other themed parties, are widely available, at UW and elsewhere. Recent high-profile incidents of blackface, like that of Virginia Governor Ralph Northam, were documented and came to light as a result of yearbook photos. Scholars, journalists, and community members were quick to point out that blackface photos in yearbooks spread far beyond Virginia, or even the South. Barnes has documented the unique type of costume modeled by Northam and seen almost exclusively in the North — college-aged men in blackface portraying Black people and the Klan. UW–Madison has multiple photos of this kind. In the case of Canada's Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, the conversation focused more clearly on forms of blackface and brownface that are viewed as costumes — a continuous problem on university campuses and American culture at large. As recently as 2010, UW–Madison students were photographed at the Madison's annual Halloween festivities dressed as Native Americans in face paint and headdress.[41] In 2016, during a home football game between Wisconsin and Nebraska, two attendees put on a performance in costume: one wore a prison jumpsuit, a noose around his neck, and

(alternately) masks of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton; the other, holding the noose, wore a Donald Trump mask.[42] While much of the reporting of these incidents focused on the naivety of those in costume or their attempt to be provocative, local newspaper articles failed to highlight the severity of the situation and the ways that costumes of this nature perpetuate stereotypes and dehumanization.

What are we to make of a century of blackface, minstrelsy, and other forms of racist entertainment and costume at UW–Madison? It is important to note that dehumanization — whether through minstrelsy or other means — is both a tool of white supremacy and a product of its existence. Every act of dehumanization reinforces expectations of white supremacy and racial hierarchy in daily economic and social life. It is a constant reminder of who has power, who "belongs," and who gets to set those parameters. Most clearly then, for UW, this history highlights the issue of representation and participation. The achievements and experiences of people of color at UW–Madison are not well represented — not in the popular stories and myths we tell ourselves, not in the archives, not in the statues and monuments around campus. Yet, people of color have been "represented" in the countless forms of blackface, minstrelsy, racist caricatures, and costumes depicted in the archives through newspapers, photos, and performance programs. This form of representation is not created by people of color, and it comes without their participation or consent. It is a voyeuristic "othering" that allows white people to continue to control the narrative about other people's culture and community — both at UW–Madison and in the larger American culture. This form of representation is not authentic, meaningful, or informative. It is racist. It is harmful. And it advances and entrenches the worst aspects of this campus's history, ideas, and attitudes — many of which linger on today.

This is history is compounded by the fact that students, faculty, and staff of color are consistently marginalized — or in many cases completely absent from — campus. In the fall of 2019, minority students made up only 17% of the student population. Only 2.03% identify as African American.[43] In 2018, faculty of color accounted for 22% of all faculty. Only 2.03% self-identified as Black.[44] Even accounting for a new surveying method launched in 2010 that allowed people to choose more than one race, Black faculty members who may have identified with multiple races still only account for a maximum of 4% of all faculty.[45] Students of color who are on campus voice continuous concerns about their wellbeing, safety, and participation in the institution. In the 2016 Campus Climate Survey, 80% of reported feeling safe, respected, and welcomed. However, only 69% of LGBTQ students,

67% of students with a disability, 65% of students of color, and 50% of trans/non-binary students said the same.[46] About 11% of students reported experiencing incidents of hostile, harassing, or intimidating behavior directed at them personally. Students of color (19%), LGBTQ students (21%), students with a disability (28%), and trans/non-binary students (33%) were more likely to report experiencing this behavior directed at them personally.[47] Not only then are people of color not authentically represented on campus in the archives and in the history of this institution, but they are underrepresented in our classrooms and boardrooms and continue to be marginalized and denied full participation in the institution.

It becomes clear then why this history matters. Just because minstrel shows do not continue on campus today does not mean that their effects do not linger here. The dehumanization continues through historical racist depictions in our archives and yearbooks; through Halloween costumes and themed parties; through an intentional misrepresentation and underrepresentation; through a lack of full, equal participation in our institution. If we can learn anything from this history, it should be that these "harmless forms of play," are in fact, anything but harmless. Our actions and inactions will ripple out in ways we are not fully able to grasp and the impacts of our actions often vastly outweigh our intent. We can break this cycle of dehumanization, if we make it unacceptable and intolerable. We have the power on our campus and in our community to do that. The question is — will we?



The following response was provided by the Wisconsin Alumni Association:

> *The Wisconsin Foundation and Alumni Association would like to thank the Public History Project for their dedicated work to shine a light on untold stories of racism and exclusion in UW history.*
>
> *The research shared by the Public History Project continues to show how much attitudes of bias were accepted and even promoted on campus. It is incredibly regretful that the Wisconsin Alumni Association participated in any way with these activities in the early years of the 20th Century.*
>
> *WFAA is committed to fostering an inclusive environment among our alumni and friends and to supporting UW–Madison in efforts to create and sustain a positive campus climate. As part of that mission, we believe we should all be allies to staff, students, and alumni of color and actively work to make meaningful change to address systemic racism and acts of injustice.*

The following response was provided by UW–Madison's Interfraternity Council and Panhellenic Association student leaders:

> *We acknowledge the central role UW–Madison's Interfraternity Council (IFC) and Panhellenic Association (PHA) played in perpetuating blackface and minstrel shows on campus throughout our history and the harmful effects they had on our community. These acts are not in line with our values. We know the impact lives on today, and we are committed that it will not be part of our future. We are finalizing details on our specific commitments to educate, discuss, and engage our members on racial inequities to ensure this harmful behavior never happens again in our communities.*

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] "Van Hise Speaks to Engineers: Commends Success of Minstrel Show," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Mar. 24, 1909, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[2] "Minstrels Have Florodora Sextet," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Mar. 19, 1909, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[3] "Van Hise Speaks to Engineers: Commends Success of Minstrel Show," 1909.

[4] "Blackface: The Birth of An American Stereotype," National Museum of African American History and Culture, The Smithsonian.

[5] Rhae Lynn Barnes, interviewed by Nathan Connolly, Backstory Radio, podcast audio, February 8, 2019.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[10] See David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 2007).

[11] See David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class.*

[12] Ibid.

[13] Barnes, *Backstory Radio*.

[14] Ibid.

[15] University of Wisconsin–Madison, *The Badger* (Madison, Wisconsin: 1904), 392, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/UW/UW-idx?type=header&id=UW.UWYearBk1904, November 21, 2019.; Advertisement, *The Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Mar. 10 1914, University of Wisconsin Archives.

[16] Wilson Trueblood, "The Engineers Minstrels of 1920," *The Wisconsin Engineer,* December 1920, 43–44.

[17] Dixie Club Governor's Luncheon program, November 12, 1914. UW Memorabilia Collection 1913–1915; Series I 4/13; Box 7. University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[18] See the University of Wisconsin–Madison, The Badger Yearbook; 1911, pg. 452; 1914, pg. 503; 1915, pg. 530; 1916, pg. 527.

[19] UW–Madison 1916 Convocation program, March 17, 1916. UW Memorabilia Collection 1916; Series I 4/13; Box 8. University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[20] "Circus Draws Many Entries," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Apr. 25, 1920, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[21] "Wild West Show to Be Thriller," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Apr. 7, 1916.; "Tightrope Teasers Awe Audience at Circus," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Apr. 6, 1916.; "Circus Shows Cleopatra in Huge Pageant," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), May 19, 1920.; "Saw Dust Arena Packed with Thrills at "World's Greatest Show" Yesterday," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), May 23, 1920. University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[22] "Circus Proceeds for Athletics," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Apr. 5, 1909, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[23] See various programs from 1914–1938, available in the UW Memorabilia Collection; Series I 4/13. University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[24] University of Wisconsin–Madison, The Badger Yearbook, (Madison, WI: Graduating Class of 1936), University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, pg. 205. ; "Campus Traditions Flower and Fade," *Wisconsin Alumnus Magazine*, February 1947, pg. 7.

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Riot of Fun for Big Crowd at the Jamboree," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), Jan. 16, 1921, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[27] Barnes, *Backstory Radio*.

[28] Rhae Lynn Barnes Interviewed by Amy Goodman, "Historian: Americans Must Face Violent History of Blackface Amid Virginia Gov. Racist Photo Scandal" on *Democracy Now*! (February 4, 2019).

[29] Nicholas Sammond, *Birth of an Industry: Blackface Minstrelsy and the Rise of American Animation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2019).

[30] Gene Demby, host, interviews Nicholas Sammond "From Blackface to Blackfishing" National Public Radio *Code Swtich* (podcast), February 12, 2019, accessed January 16, 2018.

[31] Barnes, *Backstory Radio*.

[32] Zeta Beta Tau "Polynesian" party ca. 1940s.

[33] Angela Peterson, "Protest, Pity and Panty Raids: A Case Study of Moderate Resistance in University of Wisconsin–Madison Fraternities and Sororities, 1947–1962," (undergraduate paper, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2019) page 14.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Barry Siegel, "fighting words: it seemed like a noble idea—regulating hateful language. but when the university of wisconsin tried, its good intentions collided with the first amendment," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA) March 28, 1993; Robert Gebeloff, "ZBT Accused: Pledge Auctions stirs controversy," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI) October 24, 1988, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[36] Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, Donna Shalala, *Statement to the Community on the ZBT Incident*, November 14, 1988. University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[37] Frederick Douglass, *The North Star* (27 Oct. 1848).

[38] Jennie Anderson, "No Tranquility: Blacks rally; UW urged to punish ZBTs," *Daily Cardinal*, October 27, 1988, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[39] Correspondence from minority faculty at the UW–Madison Law School to Chancellor Donna Shalala, 2 December 1988, Series 4/21/1 Box 6, Folder 16, Chancellors Records "ZBT 87–88", University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[40] Staff Opinion, "Confront racism: Whites must join struggle," *Daily Cardinal*, November 1, 1988, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[41] R. Rainey, "Officials Call Freakfest A Success," *Badger Herald*, November 1, 2010, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives.

[42] Nico Savidge, "UW–Madison criticized for response to costume that depicted Obama in noose," *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, WI) November 1, 2016.

[43] Office of the Provost. 2019–2020 Data Digest. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin–Madison, March 2020. Accessed June 2020.

[44] Office of the Provost, Faculty and Staff Trends by Gender and Ethnic Status (annual reports to the Committee on Women). Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin–Madison, August 2019. Accessed July 2020.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Campus Climate Survey Task Force, 2016 Campus Climate Survey Task Force Report. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin–Madison, Fall 2017. Accessed July 2020.

[47] Ibid.

"A National Problem": Badger Athletics and the Fight Against Segregation By Andrew Kraemer

Originally Posted on February 22, 2021. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work toward building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this blog post is offensive and disturbing. In this post, you will encounter

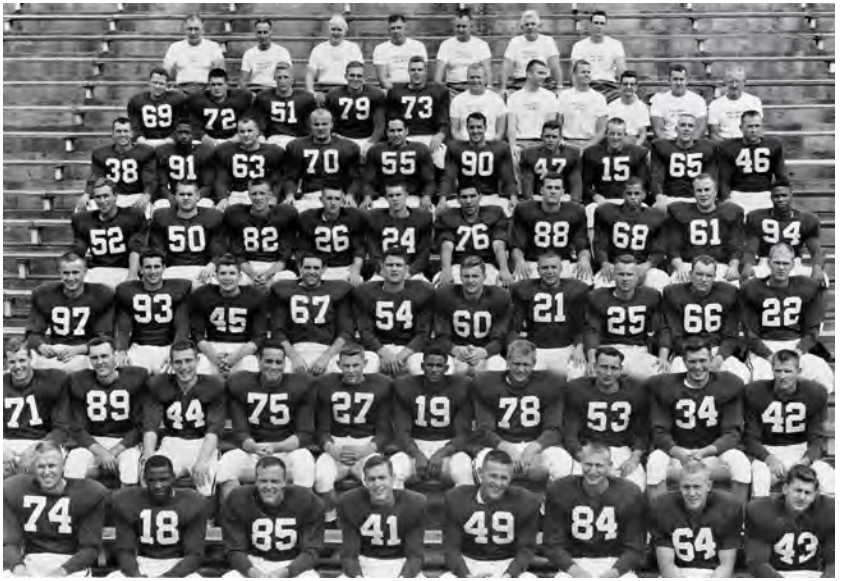
censored racial slurs which are quoted directly from primary source material.

The 2020 college football season may be the oddest on record. The COVID-19 pandemic forced NCAA machine to retool on the fly in hopes of both protecting athletes and preserving at least some of the economic boost football brings to schools and their communities every year. Some conferences, including the Big Ten, initially postponed football seasons until spring 2021, then ended up starting play in late October. Others, like the Southeastern Conference, elected to delay the season by only a few weeks and deal with problems as they arose. Regardless of which tack programs have taken, postponed and canceled games have defined the season as, each week, teams have shut down in accordance with COVID-19 isolation protocols, leaving some teams struggling to play even half a dozen games. Like many aspects of life in 2020, such a bizarre football season can easily feel unprecedented. But not so long ago, in an era of similar social tumult, fans saw their teams canceling football games not for safety but to spur social change.

In the summer of 1956, the University of Wisconsin athletic department took a stand against segregation in the Jim Crow-era South. Citing Louisiana's newly enacted law against interracial social and athletic gatherings, UW declared that it "would be unable to play Louisiana State University" in either of two interconference football matchups the schools had scheduled for 1957 and '58.[1] For this decision and the trend of similar policies it sparked in universities across the northern U.S., the University has been rightly lauded. But to end the story there would be to tell only half the tale. After all, this was not the last time the school's ethics were tested by southern segregationist policies. As the 1950s came to a close, UW's approach to these issues put Badger athletics at the center of conversations about discrimination in America, often elevating the University as a model of good policy even as rampant segregation went—and continues to go—largely unchecked across the state of Wisconsin.

This saga truly started before Wisconsin ever got involved, though, with a University of Pittsburgh squad that would likely have been forgotten by now if not for their last game of the 1955 season. Following a 7–3 regular season, the No. 11-ranked Panthers played No. 7 Georgia Tech on January 2 in the 1956 Sugar Bowl, losing 7–0 in a game remembered not for what happened on the field but for the controversy surrounding it.[2] In a game sited in segregated Louisiana, Pitt planned to play African American fullback and linebacker Bobby Grier to the

great consternation of many Southerners, particularly politicians. The run-up to the game saw a host of segregationist challenges to Grier's participation, including then-Georgia governor Marvin Griffin proposing to "forbid the athletic teams of the university system of Georgia from participating in games against any teams with Negro players or even playing in any stadium where unsegregated audiences breathe the same air."[3] Pittsburgh's players stood by Grier, however, and just a month after Rosa Parks famously refused to give up her bus seat, he became the first African American athlete to play in the Sugar Bowl.[4]



The 1956 UW–Madison Football Team photo from the 1957 Badger Yearbook. Courtesy UW Archives.

Grier's participation sparked a movement in the Louisiana legislature that led to the unanimous passing in July 1956 of a law prohibiting racially mixed social and athletic events.[5] The law also required that stadium seating and restrooms be segregated.[6] The Sugar Bowl Committee and LSU's Board of Supervisors argued against the law, likely worried the restrictions would limit game revenue and the LSU's ability to compete at the national level, respectively.[7] Proponents of the law brushed these concerns aside, however, repeating bill sponsor H. Lawrence Gibbs' assertion that northern schools would prioritize making money from such lucrative interconference games as the Sugar Bowl over any moral hang-ups they might have had.[8]

Gibbs did not have to wait long to find himself proven wrong. On

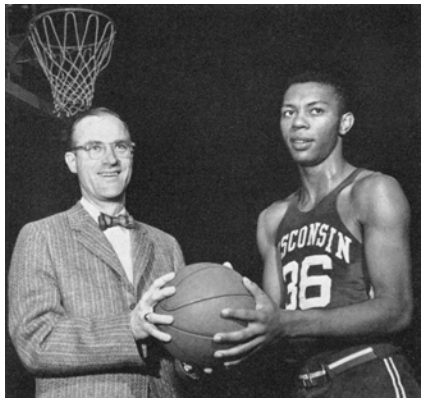
July 19, 1956, the University of Wisconsin athletic department issued a statement advising that because Louisiana's new law "would have the effect of denying to the University of Wisconsin the privilege of selecting the members of its team without regard to race or color," UW would be forced to cancel the football games the schools were scheduled to play against each other in the next two seasons.[9] The *Wisconsin State Journal* applauded the action, saying to do otherwise "'would have been a violation of the traditions which have made [the University of Wisconsin] world famous'" and likening "Louisiana's segregationists to an 'obnoxious little boy.'"[10] UW's stance toward segregationist policies was swiftly adopted by many other schools including Notre Dame, Dayton University, St. Louis University, fellow Wisconsin school Marquette University, and appropriately, Pitt.[11]

But UW's decision to terminate its contract with LSU still left the Badger football team with holes in its schedule. After replacing LSU with the University of West Virginia in 1957, the Badgers ended up playing the University of Miami in 1958, creating an awkward situation for the UW administration.[12] Despite the athletic department's previous condemnation of Louisiana's discriminatory policies, the Badger football team was allowed to play its September 26 game before a segregated crowd in Miami's Orange Bowl stadium.[13] A letter from a Miami resident to the Madison student newspaper the *Daily Cardinal* protesting UW's decision to play the game described the scene in the Orange Bowl: "The popular chant in my section of the game was 'Get that n——,' or 'Kill that n——.'"[14] Additionally, the *Miami Herald* reported that hundreds of Black fans were barred from entry to the stadium because a city ordinance disallowed them from sitting anywhere but the already-full, 2400-seat section allotted them.[15] In its response, the *Cardinal* argued—with a curious focus on UW players as opposed to the more vulnerable Black fans in the stands—Badger athletics should cease competing in front of segregated crowds, predicting, "Besides the jeering . . . other incidents could occur. It is entirely possible that some year a race riot could develop after a game, and Wisconsin players who happened to be Negroes might suffer injustices they would never forget."[16] Continuing, of UW's 20–0 victory the *Cardinal* proclaimed, "The University in that game served to humiliate the southern bigots—and we're proud of it for that. After all that is all part of the University of Wisconsin Idea."[17] A pattern was beginning to emerge in which Wisconsinites seemed more interested in holding segregation over the South as a mark of their own Northern superiority than they were in actually stopping discrimination, whether in Florida or back home in Wisconsin.

In December of that same year, Badger athletics would again respond questionably to racist Southern policies. Ahead of a game at Rice University, the men's basketball team stayed in a hotel in Houston, but Jim Biggs and Ivan Jefferson—the first African American players in Badger basketball history[18]—"were obliged to spend the night at Texas Southern university, a Negro college in Houston."[19] As in the Miami case, UW was evidently more focused on its players' ability to compete than on higher-level social justice concerns. When the University scheduled the game against Rice roughly eighteen months prior, Biggs and Jefferson were not yet enrolled, and "there was 'no consideration' of the possibility" that the Badger men's basketball team might one day include Black players.[20] Upon realizing the week before that lodging for the Rice game would be a problem, Coach Bud Foster had addressed the situation with the team, who decided to proceed with the contest.[21] Wisconsin athletic director Ivan Williamson stated that the administration would "give consideration to the situation" if Badger athletics encountered such issues again,[22] and before the end of 1958, the UW athletic department decided, "Wisconsin teams will no longer play at schools where team members are segregated or discriminated against."[23]



Jim Biggs, one of the first Black Basketball players at UW–Madison, takes a jump shot. Photo courtesy the 1958 Badger Yearbook, UW–Madison Archives.



Ivan Jefferson, one of the first Black Basketball players at UW–Madison, poses with Coach Al Hovland. Photo courtesy the 1958 Badger Yearbook, UW–Madison Archives.

By the time that policy was announced, though, the University's inconsistency had already generated a conversation around Madison about the right way to handle matchups with Southern schools in the future. Before UW athletics announced their resolution, the University of Wisconsin Student Senate was considering an emergency measure urging the athletic department to ensure Black athletes would be better accommodated in the future.[24] The *Daily Cardinal*, for its part, argued for a complete UW boycott of all sporting events in the South, arguing, "Providing fodder for hate-mongers is simply not one of the functions of the University of Wisconsin."[25] Others believed appeasement was a better approach. A letter to the *Cardinal* editor in December 1958 argued, "The boycott is a device which engenders hate from disagreement. It is most important that the North and South meet on as many common grounds as they can."[26] The Wisconsin Socialist Club wrote in to advocate playing in the South but only with strict conditions of equal treatment for all involved, saying, "We demonstrate our principles to the South and set an example all northern schools can follow,"[27] echoing the sentiment of superiority the *Cardinal* espoused following the Miami incident months prior. The Club contended segregation "is not a southern problem . . . Nor is it a northern problem. It is a national problem. Segregation of Negroes in the South means segregation of any Negro or any African or Oriental who happens to be traveling in the South. As long as Jim Crow lives in the South, it will affect the nation."[28] Notably, this letter—like all its peers to that point—was disgusted by segregation but viewed it as a decidedly Southern phenomenon that must nonetheless be addressed at the national level.

A day after the Wisconsin Socialist Club's statement was published, the *Cardinal* printed a pair of letters to the editor that finally pointed out the state's dirty little secret: Even as Wisconsinites looked down their noses at Louisiana, Florida, Texas, et al., Wisconsin was itself home to some of the most severe segregation in the country.[29] By 1958, decades of redlining and restrictive covenants had pushed African Americans into

specific, increasingly neglected neighborhoods in Milwaukee and other cities while whites fled to the comfort of the suburbs.[30] One of the letters published by the *Cardinal* pointed out this reality, observing that many Wisconsinites were less bothered than the newspaper's staff by segregation in the South:

This lack of moral indignation is not surprising. It is a little hard on the conscience to get indignant about something that happens in Texas when it also happens in your home town [sic]. In which Wisconsin towns are Negroes living? Milwaukee, Racine, Green Bay, Madison, Beloit, and very few others. Few are naïve enough to believe that this is purely Negro preference as to where they would like to live. This segregation is as rigidly enforced by social pressure and law (probably unenforceable, but law nonetheless) in Wisconsin as it is in the South.[31]

The second letter to the editor described how some of these enforcement mechanisms functioned, even in the progressive haven of Madison. Until only a couple years prior to the Rice University basketball incident, some "independent, [University of Wisconsin]-approved houses . . . had the policy of asking for a person's race or religion on their applications—mainly, so they said, to make sure that you and your roommates can choose each other on this basis if it makes any difference to people involved."[32] After this system was abolished, houses began to ask applicants for their photographs instead, which the letter's author rightly noted had the same effect as the previous method.[33] Whether potential renters had to write in their race or furnish a headshot, such practices allowed whites to congregate with other whites while pushing people of color out of those same areas.

In the more than sixty years since UW athletics made its stand against racism in the South, the situation in Wisconsin has not changed much. Despite the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case that ruled school segregation unconstitutional in 1954, schools in Milwaukee's "central city were 90 percent Black" as of 1960,[34] due in large part to the housing segregation that had already concentrated Milwaukee's African American population in the inner city. In response to allegations of school segregation brought by the Wisconsin NAACP in 1963, the Milwaukee school board "refused to accept responsibility for its role in causing segregation and denied their obligation to correct it."[35] Not until 1976 did a federal judge rule that Milwaukee's schools were illegally segregated, and the school board took another three years after that to begin correcting the problem.[36]

Perhaps even more distressing than Milwaukee's delayed efforts to desegregate its public schools is the lack of progress in the forty-plus years since. As of 2017, the Brookings Institute ranked Milwaukee as

the most black-white segregated metro area in the United States, with a "segregation index"—a 0-to-100 metric in which "a value of 100 indicates complete racial segregation"—of 79.8.[37] Although it has made some headway in the last twenty years or so, Milwaukee remains woefully divided.[38] In this, the Cream City is similar to many other northern cities. Following the passage of the 1968 Fair Housing Act, the U.S. South has become increasingly integrated, but the North has not followed suit; of the twelve most segregated cities in the country, ten are in the traditional North.[39] In addition to its extreme segregation, Milwaukee also "has the second-lowest Black homeownership rate among the nation's largest metropolitan areas" at 27.2 percent, and the third-highest rate of Black incarceration in the country.[40] Due to a lack of political will for integration, the disappearance of industrial jobs from the Milwaukee area in the 1980s, white flight that has sapped the city's tax and investment bases, and innumerable other factors, Milwaukee's (and Wisconsin's) African-American community finds itself little better off than it was sixty years ago.[41]

One must ask, then, why this is the case. Why does Wisconsin remain as segregated as ever in 2020 even as the South that Badger fans once denigrated has made strides toward integration? Why has Wisconsin chosen mass incarceration over public education? Why are protestors marching for equality in Wisconsin—whether in 1967 or 2020—met with counterprotests and even violence? Why do so many Wisconsinites apparently need a sort of second-class citizen to look down upon? And what does the "Wisconsin Idea" that the University of Wisconsin so proudly trumpets really stand for if the UW community does not prioritize equality and progress for all people across the state, regardless of skin color?

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] Kaz Oshiki, "Race Ban Blocks 2 Games," *Capital Times* (Madison, WI), July 19, 1956.

[2] "22nd Annual Sugar Bowl Classic – January 2, 1956," AllstateSugarBowl.org, accessed December 1, 2020.

[3] Gene Collier, "Collier: Bobby Grier and Pitt Lost That Day but Won So Much More," last modified November 2, 2013.

[4] Collier.

[5] Richard Carlton Haney, "Cancelled Due to Racism," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 92, no. 1 (2008): 46-47, accessed November 9, 2020.

[6] Haney, 47.

[7] Haney, 47.

[8] Haney, 47.

[9] Oshiki.

[10] Gregory Bond, "1956, Football Game Cancelled at Louisiana State," accessed November 16, 2020.

[11] Haney, 50.

[12] Haney, 49–50.

[13] "Segregation," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), October 4, 1958.

[14] "Segregation," *Daily Cardinal*.

[15] "Segregation," *Daily Cardinal*.

[16] "Segregation," *Daily Cardinal*.

[17] "Segregation," *Daily Cardinal*.

[18] "Celebrating Black History," UWBadgers.com, accessed December 1, 2020.

[19] "Segregate Cagers in Texas Saturday," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), December 10, 1958.

[20] "Segregate Cagers," *Daily Cardinal*.

[21] "Segregate Cagers," *Daily Cardinal*.

[22] "Segregate Cagers," *Daily Cardinal*.

[23] "Athletic Board… Praiseworthy Policy," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), January 6, 1959.

[24] "Senate May Consider Bias on Houston Basketball Trip," *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), December 16, 1958.

[25] "Senate May Consider Bias," *Daily Cardinal*.

[26] Judy Stiehm, letter to the editor, *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), December 12, 1958.

[27] Executive Committee of the Wisconsin Socialist Club, letter to the editor, *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), December 18, 1958.

[28] Executive Committee, *Daily Cardinal*.

[29] "Black History in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed November 17, 2020.

[30] "The Legacy of Milwaukee's Redlining Continues to Shape Racial Segregation," Milwaukee Independent, March 5, 2019.

[31] "Segregation Here, Too," letter to the editor, *Daily Cardinal*, December 19, 1958.

[32] Harriet Toozman, letter to the editor, *Daily Cardinal* (Madison, WI), December 19, 1958.

[33] Toozman, *Daily Cardinal*.

[34] "Black History in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society.

[35] "School Desegregation," UW–Milwaukee, accessed November 16, 2020.

[36] "Black History in Wisconsin," Wisconsin Historical Society.

[37] William H. Frey, "Black-White Segregation Edges Downward Since 2000, Census Shows," December 17, 2018.

[38] Frey.

[39] Frey.

[40] Talis Shelbourne, "UWM Study on the State of Black Milwaukee Describes the City as 'the Epitome of a 21st Century Racial Regime,'" July 24, 2020.

[41] Shelbourne.

The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department

Originally Posted on March 8, 2021. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work toward building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this

blog post is offensive and disturbing. In this post, you will encounter descriptions of police violence. You will also encounter descriptions of police investigations including those into student sexuality, sexual assault, and rape.

A note on language: For most of its existence, the University of Wisconsin–Madison Police Department was referred to as the Department of Protection & Security. However, even when it was formally titled the Department of Protection & Security, it was also referred to as "campus police," "University police," and "the campus police department" in archival documents and newspaper articles. For clarity and consistency, we will be referring to the department as the University of Wisconsin–Madison Police Department (UWPD).

In the summer of 2020, following the widespread social upheaval in the United States reacting to the murder of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis Police Department, the UW–Madison Police Department (UWPD) released a statement explicitly condemning many historically oppressive practices of policing. The statement outlined the efforts of the department to combat racism and to create more equitable work practices. The UWPD clearly outlined the problems facing the department as they attempted to make meaningful changes, highlighting the long history of racist policing practices in the United States:

> "The history of policing is stained by its complicity in perpetuating racial injustice. Over the course of its history, policing has played a direct role in the preservation of slavery, segregation, political corruption, xenophobia, the infringement of constitutional rights to free speech and peaceful assembly, and the destabilization of communities via mass incarceration."[1]

As a project, we have been tasked with studying the history of racism, discrimination, and resistance on campus. The history of police on campus, as shown by the UW–Madison Police Department's statement, is clearly an area that fits within the scope of our investigation. In order to truly bring to light the structures at the university that impede the development of a more equitable environment, we must grapple with the history of university police, and their relationship to students on campus.

The troubled relationship between students and police was not created in 2020 and it long predates this summer's uprising. It is clear from the historical record that the underlying conflict between community and

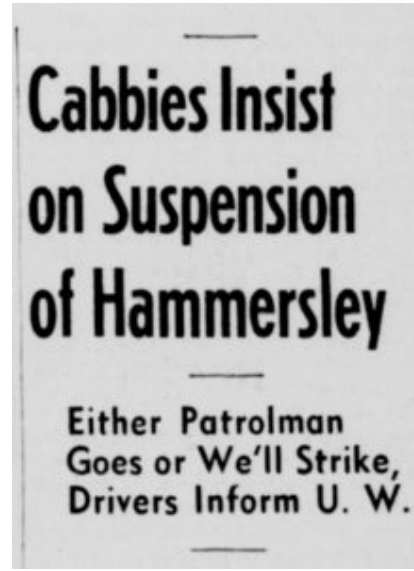
police stems from a fundamental fissure in understanding about the role of police. There is a sizable disconnect between the way the police see their role on campus and in society and the way students understand the police on campus and in society. This gap has never been properly addressed. Further, the woeful misremembering of the history of police on campus exacerbates this misunderstanding and contributes a flawed understanding of our university's history as a whole. The Public History Project was created to address just that.

This research began in January 2020, but calls for research on the history of UWPD long predate the project. While researching history is rarely without challenges, we, the authors of this piece, struggled to uncover this history. The intimate nature of police records, the secrecy of police structures (and university structures), multiple departmental reorganizations, and poor archival records have left this research with unanswered questions. Yet, during our research the behavior of one individual high ranking UWPD officer seemed to illustrate the fragile nature of community trust between campus communities and police. For this reason, we have focused this article on Officer Joseph Hammersley and his 20-year career at UWPD. Despite research limitations, we wanted to outline the continually shifting role police have played on our campus over the last half century and to show how individual actions can create a culture of secrecy, mistrust, fear, and violence.

The first iteration of the University of Wisconsin–Madison Police Department (UWPD) was markedly different from what we now know as campus police. UWPD was created during the 1930s as a group of night watchmen who worked in the Buildings and Grounds Department. Their primary responsibility was to patrol campus looking for unlocked doors, vandalism, or other activity that threatened the physical infrastructure of the university. This role quickly expanded to include investigations, interrogations, and detailed incident reporting. During the early stages of their professional development, the department did not have law enforcement authority in Dane County or the State of Wisconsin. Their authority was instead granted by the Board of Regents to enforce university disciplinary structures.[2] If a case was found to violate city or state law, it was then transferred to the appropriate local or state authorities. The confusing and competing jurisdictions and responsibilities that governed the earliest years of UWPD helped create an environment of mismanagement, disorder, poor police practice, and distrust between police and the UW community.

By the 1940s, despite UWPD having only been operational for less than ten years, there were multiple serious complaints from students and Madison community members. By the 1950s, the department was fully reorganized in response to the complaints and public outcry that had continued to plague university officials. In the span of less than 15 years, how did the relationship between police and community sour? The increasingly uneasy relationship between UWPD and the UW–Madison campus community can be largely attributed to a sole perpetrator. In op-eds, student testimonies, and newspaper articles, one officer in particular was singled out as a malevolent force in the department — Officer Joseph Hammersley. Today, Hammersley's history has largely been rewritten by UWPD. He is often embraced as UWPD's first police chief, though he never held this title. In various UWPD annual reports, Hammersley's actions are often celebrated, if not excused. Yet, the history Hammersley's behavior is instructive about the pattern of mistrust between the UW–Madison community and UWPD.

Hammersley's archival record paints a clear picture of a man who could not be controlled by the university and who regularly acted aggressively, belligerently, and with impunity. Starting at UW in 1938 as emergency laborer, Hammersley quickly moved into his role as a night watchman, then police officer, and finally became the department's sole investigator.[3] Concerns about his behavior first made the news in less than five years after he began his post. In 1943, an op-ed published in the *Wisconsin State Journal* alleged Officer Hammersley had "grown too big for his pants," describing him as a "sort of combined Keystone cop, a Sherlock Holmes, and the gestapo."[4] Officer Hammersley's behavior again made the headlines in 1945 when the Madison Taxi Cab Drivers Association went on strike, refusing to drive cabs in Madison as long as Hammersley was employed by the

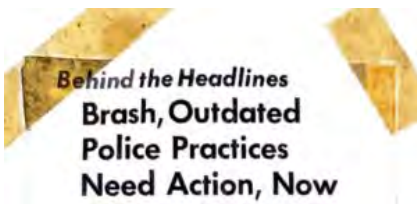

Cabbies Insist on Suspension of Hammersley

Either Patrolman Goes or We'll Strike, Drivers Inform U. W.

After poor treatment from UWPD Officer Joseph Hammersley, Madison Cab Drivers threatened to strike in 1945. A Wisconsin State Journal headline reads "Cabbies Insist on Suspension of Hammersley. Either Patrolman Goes or We'll Strike, Drivers Inform UW" September 13, 1945. News clipping courtesy UW–Madison Archives.

university.[5] They accused Hammersley, then the only officer patrolling campus, of ticketing without cause, provoking drivers with violence to solicit more serious criminal charges, and using abusive language to "torment drivers," including using anti-Semitic slurs.[6] In response, the Student Board launched the first investigation into UWPD. Based on the testimonies of 15 students and Madison community members, they passed a resolution that stated, "Hammersley's conduct is inexcusable, completely inconsistent with University standards and constitutes a real detriment to the welfare of the student body."[7] No action was taken to remove Hammersley from his position.

Between 1946 and 1950, concerns about Hammersley's behavior continued to mount. It is important to note that while Hammersley was just one investigator, he made up a third of the Police Department at the university during the 1940s and early 1950s. His actions had an outsized impact upon the campus reputation of UWPD. Student complaints regarding the attitude and role of UWPD on campus reached fever pitch in 1950. In response, the Wisconsin Student Board asked for the establishment of a special investigating committee to look into the university police.[8] The Student Board recommended to the Regents that Hammersley be transferred. On the basis of 12 unsigned testimonies, they charged that he did not "live up to the qualification of an officer and is generally disliked by the student body."[9] The Regents and the university administration took no action. Students again raised concerns in 1951 noting that he had "compiled anything but an admirable record" – citing his overzealous and legally questionable tactics.[10] The Regents once again took no action against Hammersley.


Behind the Headlines
Brash, Outdated Police Practices Need Action, Now

Students began to raise concerns to UW administrators about Officer Hammersley's behavior as early as 1945. After administrators failed to act, the Wisconsin Student Board began an investigation. This 1951 Daily Cardinal opinion piece headline reads "Behind the Headlines – Brash, Outdated Police Practices Need Action, Now." May 23, 1951. News clipping courtesy UW–Madison Archives.

What had started out as individual complaints about Hammersley's behavior spiraled into complaints about the department at large. When President Fred refused to act, the Student Board again launched their own investigation into the conduct of the whole of UWPD, and by May of 1951 passed a resolution urging a "re-evaluation of the philosophy of the department" and the creation of a committee to study the issue further.[11] The university complied, and in June of 1951 created the Advisory Committee on University Police Procedures and Policies to

investigate the issue of policing on campus and provide future recommendations to the university.[12]

In the year that followed, more students began to voice their concerns. Following the Student Board resolution, the *Daily Cardinal* editorial board published a scathing op-ed expressing their view on current campus police practices. Criticizing the lack of action on the part of the university, they stated, "Throughout this period the strained attitude between the university police and the student and faculty community has continued. Rudeness, imprudence, police flaunting of the law, and the acute failure to provide any satisfactory student police policy has persisted."[13] They continued: "Gruff, antagonistic, blunt and belligerent conduct has surrounded the police with a cloudy myth that cannot be refuted."[14] They ended the article by listing incidents that had happened in the past years – throwing leaded billy clubs at students, disrupting class to arrest students, searching dormitories without warrants, threatening students with firearms, and improper "handling and methods of approach to student sex activity and homosexuality."[15] The scathing article highlighted rampant abuses of power that produced serious tensions between the student body and UWPD.

Numerous students were brought in to testify privately before the Advisory Committee. The testimonies concerned a variety of issues, but all condemned a police department that was at best, not properly trained in police protocol, and at worst, flagrantly defying the laws they purported to uphold. In one case, a student's car was illegally searched.[16] In two others, students were falsely accused of crimes – one a charge of homosexual activity, and another a charge of indecent exposure.[17] In another case, an officer implied that students were being illegally watched, saying "I've got my eye on you. It may take a while but I'll get you."[18] In yet another, an officer committing libel, telling a student's roommates, landlord, and the Dane County District Attorney that they were a "troublemaker and a law breaker" when he had no criminal record.[19] Some students reported these incidents to Officer Hammersley, then UWPD's lead investigator, but no action was taken. Others did not report for fear of reprisal. As the Student Board aptly summarized, "students have been reluctant to testify in writing against men who still represent the forces of law and order on campus."[20] Others still did not report because they did not know what reporting processes existed within the university.[21]



UWPD was often asked to consult on student disciplinary hearings. Pictured, Officer Joe Hammersley attends hearing of the Student Court. Photo courtesy the 1950 Badger Yearbook, UW–Madison Archives.

Students were not the only members of the UW–Madison community to raise concerns. Committee notes from the Student Affairs Disciplinary Committee, composed primarily of UW faculty, revealed significant concerns about Officer Hammersley's conduct and reliability. In one meeting when the committee questioned Hammersley on facts reported, he became "huffy," and went on to describe a sexual act in graphic detail. They noted "His desire to introduce crude details and his manifest opposition to professors made the committee wonder about his reliability in the matter — one member thought that he was getting vicarious thrills from his job. Practically every member of the committee could tell of difficulties which he or some close friend had had with this officer."[22] History Professor William B. Hesseltine wrote a letter to UW administrators expressing concern after campus police interrupted his class to make an arrest, stating: "There is no question whatsoever but that the actions of our policeman on this occasion were wholly unwarranted."[23] A letter from Alice Fosse, a university librarian, stated that a UWPD officer approached her in an "insinuating and caustic manner such as I have never heard."[24] Sociology Professor Howard Gill wrote in a memorandum that he was "shocked by some of the methods reported to me as currently in use in the enforcement of law on the campus." Gill was quick to add that he was "equally dismayed at the hatred expressed toward the campus police by both students and faculty."[25] The relationship between UWPD and the student body appeared to be reaching a breaking point, but the harm caused by UWPD was not limited to the university campus. The Madison

community as a whole was also impacted by the actions of the campus police.

The most damning critique of UWPD came not from students or faculty, but from the Dane County District Attorney Richard Hardwell. In a private letter in February of 1952, Hardwell detailed two cases handled by UWPD that should have resulted in arrests, but due to poor police practice could not be pursued by the county. He stated:

> The manner in which these cases were handled hardly measures up to what might even be remotely considered efficient police practice… If the university intends to operate its own police force on anything approaching a reasonably efficient basis, decisions on criminal matters should not be left to people devoid of legal or police experience as background.[26]

He continued:

> The absurdity of waiting an entire week to report a case of grand larceny to this office would appear to be a thinly disguised attempt to pass the buck to this office on decisions that should be made at the police level at the University. In other words, if the University is desirous of maintaining its own police force, it should be operated as a police force.[27]

He concluded, "It is my urgent suggestion that somebody be placed in charge of the University police that has some idea of what law enforcement is all about. The ineptness of the present system is apparent from the manner in which the foregoing cases were handled."[28]

Hammersley's handling of cases involving male students suspected of participating in consensual, same-sex sexual acts, was particularly disturbing. Wisconsin State Law made consensual sex acts between same-sex individuals illegal. Largely referred to as sodomy laws, Wisconsin did not remove its sodomy ban from the books until 1983.[29] Hammersley played an outsized role in the Gay Purge of 1948. Hammersley was the officer who originally discovered two men in a vehicle together in May of 1948 and accused them of illegal sexual conduct.[30] He interrogated one of the men, a student, zealously, and without legal representation, forcing the student to incriminate others in his social group. He then pursued the case with the District Attorney, and led the raid on the men's home searching for "obscene literature and other evidence indicating unnatural sex activity."[31] Over the entirety of his time at UW–Madison he continued to pursue morals cases, setting up sting operations in university bathrooms, and accusing people of homosexual behavior with little to no evidence.[32] Hammersley's aggressive pursual of "morals cases" directly contributed to a creating a

moral panic around the sexual activity of students that would last for at least another 15 years.[33]

While the majority of cases being handled by UWPD were break-ins, thefts, vandalism, and parking violations, the department occasionally handled serious criminal offenses like sexual assault or rape. These cases, though indicative of attitudes and police practice of the period, are nonetheless alarming. As UWPD's only investigator, Hammersley was solely responsible for investigating these offenses. In various police reports, it is clear that Hammersley refused to take women's reports seriously. He repeatedly accused victims of lying and fabricating their stories. He forced women to undergo rigorous interrogations and lie detector tests and to provide evidence to him, only to dismiss findings that did not support his view of the cases. He also frequently found witnesses to testify against the women such as university doctors, landlords, and male acquaintances of victims (including ex-boyfriends), whom he treated as more credible. The majority of the assault and rape cases handled by Hammersley were dismissed by the District Attorney with no charges filed.[34] Hammersley was successful, however, in policing women's sexuality in other ways. In various police reports, women who are caught kissing or doing other consensual sex acts with men were quickly reported to campus authorities. Between the end of World War II and the early 1960s, there were 49 conduct cases against female students who were charged with illicit sexual activity.[35] Often, they were forced to seek mental health treatment, or worse, were expelled from the university.[36]

Following the publications of the Advisory Committee's report, in April of 1952, at the direction of President E.B. Fred, the police department began a formal reorganization. In a public statement, Fred emphasized that the reorganization was not in response to police misconduct, even though that is what began the committee investigation.[37] He repeatedly deemphasized the committee's role, and their investigation, favoring an approach that ignored the student action that compelled this change. It is clear from committee meeting notes and letters that the university hoped that a reorganization would solve the problems plaguing UWPD. UWPD was moved from the Buildings and Grounds department, and now reported to the Vice President of Business and Finance, bringing the department into the administrative chain of command. The department moved to hire a full-time director, one trained in modern police practices, who became the Director of Protection & Security (the defacto Chief of Police). In the meantime, Frederick B. Wilcox was assigned as temporary Director. Hammersley was immediately given a suspension with pay pending a

full reorganization.[38] However, rather than firing Hammersley, the university established a new position for him – Investigator – that reported directly to the Director of Protection & Security and had no authority over any other officers in the department.[39] He was "assigned specifically to investigatory work" and had no supervisory capacity.[40] It appears that while the administrators were seemingly compelled to keep Hammersley at the university, they no longer wanted him patrolling campus, interacting with students, or training new officers.



Officer Joseph Hammersley (far right) with fellow officers Crary, Reis, and Fisher, next to one of the campuses new, more conspicuous patrol cars. Photo courtesy the 1951 Badger Yearbook, UW–Madison Archives.

In October of 1952, the Director search was completed and UW hired Albert Hamann to direct UWPD. Before his departure, Wilcox wrote a letter about Hammersley and his behavior to the VP of Business and Finance stating that he wanted it to become part of the "written record." He detailed Hammersley's attempts to sabotage his fellow officers, as well as Wilcox. In one case Wilcox said, "It resulted in the firing of a man who was lured into a bad situation through a faked telephone call – more of the Hammersley method."[41] He ended the letter "I must assume that Hammersley is again trying to run things as he wishes. His attentions are resented by the officers, and someone is going to get hurt."[42] The university took no action.

After Hamann began as Director, he quickly moved to professionalize the police department and to repair trust between community and the department. Officers were required to wear uniforms while on the job. These uniforms were designed to be distinct from other local agencies so as to minimize the chance of confusion.[43] Officers were encouraged, but not required, to attend all local law enforcement training performed by Dane County Sheriff's department, the Madison

Police Department, and federal agencies. The department's cars were painted to be more conspicuous.[44] The department was given an official headquarters at 324 N. Charter St. in what used to be student housing.[45] Outdated police practices such as entrapment, fear filled interrogation, forceful or physical arrests of minors, "roughing up" offenders, improper search and seizure, unreasonable overzealous and harassing enforcement were all forbidden (though officers were rarely fired for these offenses when they did occur).[46]

Beyond Hammersley's individual behaviors, it is clear from the Special Advisory Committee on Police Policies and Procedures that there was a fundamental confusion concerning the role of police on campus. A detailed memorandum compiled by Sociology Professor Howard Gill at the request of the committee wrestles with the complexity and the unique challenges of law enforcement on campus. Gill begins by arguing that universities, operating "in loco parentis" or as parental figures for students, had "a responsibility to protect the youth in its charge from the severe consequences of their immaturity as far as possible and to develop and educate them rather than merely punish them… In other words, the university cannot regard its police functions in just the same way that a community does toward ordinary mature citizens."[47] Even as he explained the possible role of police on campus, he struggled to rationalize it, often doing the exact opposite, and making a strong argument for why police should not be on campus. For example, he stated that "it is a concept well established in society in general that interference or even participation of the police in school, the church, or the home is repugnant to American standards and to be avoided as far as possible." He went on to note that juvenile cases are handled by private or state social service agencies and "not to punishment as criminals." He continued, "In other words, every other means of dealing with erring youth but be exhausted before authoritarian police methods are tried."[48]

Despite the student and community involvement in numerous conversations regarding the role of police on campus, the reorganization of UWPD implemented by university administrators seemed to largely ignore or bypass the concrete suggestions put forward for change. The reorganization did not meet most of the main suggestions laid forth by the Student Board and Professor Gill. They had both argued that UWPD should report to someone with experience in "human relations and youth counseling," but the police force was reorganized to report not to the Dean of Students, who had clear training in these areas, but to the VP of Business and Finance. They also argued that the department needed a philosophical reevaluation

that prioritized education and prevention rather than punitive, criminal punishment. Yet, with more trained officers, more staff, and more financial resources, UWPD reported apprehending and ticketing more people after the reorganization than before. Further, complaints against Officer Hammersley, now the department's "investigator," continued to pour in. The Student Board had also urged for a continuous committee, made up of students and faculty, that would consult on police issues. The university instead created a committee with no student members and no obligation to consult with students that worked to protect UWPD from "unjust criticism."[49]



Officer Joseph Hammersley fixing the hat of UW's first deputized police woman Genevieve Dohse. Dohse would later sue UWPD citing "intolerable" behavior. October 22, 1951. Photo courtesy UW–Madison Archives.

Even after the complete reorganization of UWPD, Hammersley's behavior continued to be a problem for the university. In 1953, immediately following the reorganization, Genevieve Dohse, UWPD's first deputized female officer, lodged a formal complaint with the Governor of Wisconsin alleging misconduct by Hammersley and others within UWPD. She resigned from her post, citing "intolerable" behavior in the department.[50] An Attorney General's investigation found there was not enough evidence to formally charge Hammersley. Instead, then-Governor Kohler urged the UW Regents to create rules and regulations to "avoid complaints of the type that had been made."[51]

Moreover, Hammersley's behavior outside of his official role in UWPD was a constant source of bad press for the university. In these articles, Hammersley is never without his official UW title and is, by association, clearly linked to the university. Both of Hammersley's divorces, first in 1944, and again in 1958, made front page news in the *Wisconsin State Journal*. His first divorce in 1944 from then-wife Violet described his violent, drunken rages, and alleged that he had threatened her life and their two daughters including "describing how he would dispose of the bodies."[52] His 1958 divorce trial gained even more sensational press attention. Lasting eight days, it included testimony from his fellow officers of violent outbursts, abuse, and infidelity. In 1959, Hammersley was charged with drunk and disorderly conduct after Madison police arrived to find him staggering and yelling obscene remarks. The charges

were later dropped due to lack of evidence and Hammersley was again reinstated to UWPD.[53] A few months later, in September of 1959, Officer Joseph Hammersley died when his vehicle rolled over into a creek.[54]

Hammersley's 20-year record of student complaints and legal violations is vast, and well documented. In fact, it is Hammersley's behavior, and the behavior of the officers he was tasked with leading, that clearly began the student outcry about police on campus. If the reports, letters, and newspaper articles do not focus on Hammersley exclusively, they point to officers close with Hammersley, and those trained by him. Yet, he was never punished, reprimanded, or fired from the university. We were unable to locate any letters that indicate that university administrators or regents ever considered seriously reprimanding Hammersley, let alone dismissing him.

Maybe more concerningly, even after Hammersley had left UWPD, his presence lingered. As one of the longest-serving members of the force, Hammersley was responsible for training dozens of UWPD officers. His aggressive approach, particularly towards "morals cases," can be traced through the department years after his departure. One of the officers who trained directly under Hammersley, Detective Peter Rordam, led the 1962 gay purge.[55] His primary tactics — sting operations in university bathrooms — came directly from Hammersley. His rigorous and often overzealous interview tactics mirror those of Hammersley, including physical aggression and threats. And towards the end of the purge, when Rordam was challenged by university faculty and officials about the effectiveness of these tactics, Rordam followed Hammersley's lead. He confronted university doctors and administrators claiming that these tactics were necessary.[56]

It would be easy to simply chalk up Officer Hammersley's behavior to that of the typical policeman during his time. It would also be easy to do that for subsequent officers. To be sure, the policing of the 1950s and 1960s was often categorized by Hammersley-esque behavior — brutish, aggressive, unprofessional, and often, questionably legal. As a direct result of this type of categorization, police departments across the country have spent decades trying to repair their reputations through increased professionalization. In this way, UWPD's history is directly in line with the histories of many police departments. After several repeated high-profile incidents, UWPD has continually moved towards further professionalization — more funding, more training, more institutionalization, more credibility, and hopefully, more trust. Yet, in this case, further professionalization did not fix the problems plaguing UWPD. The university, when faced with mounting calls for Hammersley

to be removed (and men like Hammersley to be removed), failed to take action. What resulted was an incalculable loss of trust between police and community that spanned decades and affected untold numbers of students, faculty, and community members.

It would also be easy to chalk up all distrust of UWPD to Officer Hammersley's behavior, to excuse his actions and their consequences as the act of one "bad apple." Yet, decades after Hammersley left UWPD, and decades after the officers he trained left UWPD, the distrust between community and police has remained. In the 1960s, student activists clashed with UWPD both in the Dow Protests and the 1969 Black Student Strike. Students noted, then and in oral history interviews since, that these violent events hardened relationships between students and the police, even when relative peace returned to campus in the 1970s.[57] In the 1980s, UWPD faced criticism for overaggressive tactics during a TAA Strike, and internally, faced lawsuits from UWPD officers alleging racial discrimination and sexual harassment.[58]

Controversies over the actions of UWPD continued into the 1990s and early 2000s, and continue to the present day. In 2016, UWPD arrested King Shabazz, also known as Denzel McDonald, for allegedly spraying anti-racist graffiti around campus. The arrest and subsequent protests began the #TheRealUW campaign in which students of color shared their experiences dealing with racism on campus. Most recently, students have criticized UWPD for their handling of the protests following the murder of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis Police Department. UWPD provided "mutual aid" to the Madison Police Department at these protests, helping to deploy pepper spray (oleoresin capsicum), as well as smoke grenades and other crowd control methods, at the cost of $6,500.[59]

In an effort to repair community trust, UWPD announced their Racial Equity Initiative in June of 2020. The stated goal is to ensure that the department demonstrates its commitment to racial justice in policing in ways that are meaningful to members of the community, particularly those from marginalized groups. The plan will solicit and collect feedback; review departmental policies and practices through a workgroup of external and internal stakeholders; share results of this review with the public; and install a long-term accountability mechanism that is transparent and easily accessible to the public. Despite these actions, distrust remains, and in fact, appears to have intensified. In recent months, student activists from the BIPOC Coalition and the TAA have advocated for defunding UWPD, holding a "Cops Off Campus" rally in early October of 2020. In September, the Associated Students of Madison voted "no confidence" in UWPD to

show their "lack of trust" and their frustration with UWPD's policies.[60] Chief Kristen Roman released a statement in which she stated she was "disappointed" in the vote.

While UWPD has recognized the complicity of policing in perpetuating racial injustice, they, like most police departments across the country, have not recognized their specific histories of mistrust and violence. UWPD has stated they are committed to creating a more equitable police force on campus, yet, the legacy of Hammersley still lingers as a pointed reminder of the decades of mistrust between UWPD and the UW–Madison campus community that have gone unrecognized. Hammersley's history has largely been rewritten by UWPD. He is embraced as UWPD's first police chief. In various UWPD annual reports, Hammersley's actions are often celebrated, if not excused. For example, in the 1991 Annual Report, he is described as "something of an institution on campus" and remembered for his "oftentimes zealous efforts to uphold moral standards among students."[61] This failure to address uncomfortable histories, to own up to misdeeds of the past, and to repair the trust that was broken continues to haunt our departments and units across campus. How we address our historical wrongs is not only indicative of our character but of our commitment to our values and principles.



The following statement was provided by the UW–Madison Police Department:

> The UW–Madison Police Department would like to thank the Public History Project, its researchers, and its writers for their work on this piece. We denounce the actions of Joe Hammersley, and are deeply dismayed by the pain he inflicted on so many he was sworn to serve and whatever legacy of mistrust he sowed within our campus community. This blight does not represent today's UWPD — your UWPD — in spirt, policy or practice.
>
> We believe it's important to acknowledge and learn from our history. This chapter serves as another reminder of the many significant strides we have made and more importantly, the work still to be done in ensuring a more just future for our campus. Guided by our core values, every member of our department cares deeply about the community we serve and, collectively, we are committed to continuing to do our part in cultivating a campus environment in which all students, faculty, and staff are safe.
>
> In that spirit, last summer UWPD launched our Racial Equity Initiative — a comprehensive action plan for identifying, adopting, and continually assessing needed changes within the department in the short-and-long-term. A core part of this plan, which is ongoing, is to ensure our department

demonstrates its commitment to racial justice in policing in ways that are measurable and meaningful to members of our community, particularly those from marginalized groups. It is our hope this important project furthers fair and just policing practices and contributes positively to our shared desire for lasting reconciliation.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] The University of Wisconsin–Madison Police Department, "A Message from UWPD," 2020.

[2] In letters, individuals given parking tickets or moving violations often reference this fact. They often state that they are refusing to pay the fine because the University has no state authority and therefor the unpaid violations will not affect their driving record. See Letter from E.A. Bulkley to University of Wisconsin–Madison re: parking ticket, September 25 1958, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1958–1959, Series 24/1/1, Box 418, "Department of Protection and Security 1958–1959" Folder, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archive, Madison, Wisconsin (henceforth referred to as UW Archives).

[3] Conduct for Police Officers – Building and Grounds Department, August 1, 1951, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[4] "File This Under Civic Improvements," Wisconsin State Journal, March 31 1943.

[5] "Cab Strike Called Off," Wisconsin State Journal, August 15 1945.

[6] "Cabbies Insist on Suspension of Hammersley," Wisconsin State Journal, September 13, 1945.

[7] Student Board Hammersley Report, March 4 1946, Hammersley Papers, Locked Cabinet Drawer 3, Item 2, UW Archives.

[8] Letter from George Wheeler, President of Wisconsin Student Association, to President E.B. Fred, April 3, 1950, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[9] "Campus Cop Joe Hammersley Ends Twelve Years on Campus," *Daily Cardinal*, September 19, 1950, UW Archives.

[10] Newspaper Clipping, "Brash, Outdated Police Practices Need Action, Now," *Daily Cardinal*, May 23, 1951, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[11] Letter from John Seale, President of Student Board, to President E.B. Fred, May 10, 1951, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[12] Progress Report: Advisory Committee on University Police, March 4, 1952, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[13] Newspaper Clipping, "Brash, Outdated Police Practices Need Action, Now," *Daily Cardinal*, May 23, 1951, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Rough Draft of Statements by Students before Special Advisory Committee on Police Policies and Procedures, March 19, 1952, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Testimony of Elliot Riggs on Police Incident, May 16, 1952, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[19] Rough Draft of Statements by Students before Special Advisory Committee on Police Policies and Procedures, March 19, 1952.

[20] Student Board Hammersley Report, March 4 1946, Hammersley Papers, Locked Cabinet Drawer 3, Item 2, UW Archives.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Committee Notes on the Mary Catherine Weaver and Robert Clark Case, ca. 1942–1944, Student Affairs Discipline Records, Series 19/5/1, Box 4, "Weaver & Clark" folder, UW Archives.

[23] Letter from A.W. Peterson to Professor William B. Hesseltine, July 13, 1950, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[24] Various Letters about UWPD, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/

1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[25] Memorandum to the Committee Re: Proposed Statement on University Police, May 8, 1950, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[26] Letter from Richard Hardwell to Frederick B. Wilcox, February 6, 1952, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Joyce Murdoch, "Laws Against Sodomy Survive in 24 States," The Washington Post, April 11, 1993.

[30] Joe Linzmeier, "Beneath Madison's Veneer: 1948: Red-baiting and Gay-bashing," May 1984, Out! Newspaper, Vol. 2, No. 7.

[31] "Raid Reveals Obscene Reading; Two Men Arrested on Morals Counts," June 9, 1948, *Wisconsin State Journal*.

[32] Richard Wagner. *We've Been Here All Along: Wisconsin's Early Gay History*. [Madison, Wisconsin]: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019. P. 231.

[33] Susan Riseling, Staff, et. al, University of Wisconsin–Madison Department of Protection & Security 1991 Annual Report, Physical Plant, Protection & Security Subject Files 17/1/1 Box No. 1, UW Archives.

[34] It is important to note that many cases of sexual assault and rape are reduced to this type of investigation still. Investigations which fail to take victims seriously, which take no forensic exam of the victim or fail to analyze these exams, and which use police methods like lie detector tests which are inaccurate.

[35] Wagner, R. Richard. We've Been Here All Along: Wisconsin's Early Gay History. Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019. Page 246.

[36] For individual female cases, see Student Affairs Discipline Records, Series 19/5/1, Box 4, UW–Madison Archives.

[37] Outline of Proposed Reorganization of Police, May 8, 1952, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[38] Outline of Proposed Reorganization of Police, May 8, 1952, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[39] Letter from A.W. Peterson to President E.B. Fred, April 2, 1952, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files,

Ce-Coll, 1951–1952, Series 24/1/1, Box 289, "Buildings and Grounds University Police" Folder, UW Archives.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Letter from Frederick B. Wilcox to A.W. Peterson re: Hammersley, November 12, 1952, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1952–1953, Series 24/1/1, Box 307, "Department of Protection and Security 1952–1953" Folder, UW Archives.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Letter from Albert Hamann to A.W. Peterson re: police practice, December 7, 1953, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1953–1954, Series 24/1/1, Box 325, "Department of Protection and Security 1953–1954" Folder, UW Archives.

[44] Letter from Albert Hamann to A.W. Peterson, April 17, 1953, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1952–1953, Series 24/1/1, Box 307, "Department of Protection and Security 1952–1953" Folder, UW Archives.

[45] Letter from Charles Olson to A.W. Peterson about 324 N. Charter St, May 21, 1953, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1952–1953, Series 24/1/1, Box 307, "Department of Protection and Security 1952–1953" Folder, UW Archives.

[46] Letter from A.W. Peterson to the Board of Regents on Department of Protection & Security Rules and Regulations, May 1, 1953, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1952–1953, Series 24/1/1, Box 307, "Department of Protection and Security 1952–1953" Folder, UW Archives.

[47] Memorandum to the Committee Re: Proposed Statement on University Police, May 8, 1950, Dean of Men's Records – Kenneth Little, Series 19/2/3/4, Box 28 "Campus Police Problems" Folder, UW Archives.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Letter from Albert Hamann to A.W. Peterson re: committee formation, February 17, 1954, VP of Business and Finance Records, General Correspondence Files, Ce-Coll, 1953–1954, Series 24/1/1, Box 325, "Department of Protection and Security 1953–1954" Folder, UW Archives.

[50] "Kohler promises to investigate charges against U.W. Police," *Wisconsin State Journal*, January 10, 1953, accessed at https://newspaperarchive.com/madison-wisconsin-state-journal-jan-10-1953-p-1/

[51] "U.W. Police Cleared, But New Rules Set," *Wisconsin State Journal*,

May 9, 1953, accessed at https://newspaperarchive.com/madison-wisconsin-state-journal-may-09-1953-p-1/

[52] "Officer Hammersley Siued For Divorce," Wisconsin State Journal, September 21, 1944, accessed at https://newspaperarchive.com/madison-wisconsin-state-journal-sep-21-1944-p-1/

[53] "Hammersley is Cleared of Drunk, Disorderly Charges," *Capitol Times*, July 9, 1959, Madison, Wisconsin, accessed at UW Archives.

[54] "Crash Kills Hammersley, U Policeman," *Capitol Times*, September 14, 1959, Madison, Wisconsin, accessed at UW Archives.

[55] R. Richard Wagner, *We've Been Here All Along: Wisconsin's Early Gay History*. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019), 288.

[56] Minutes of the Committee on Student Conduct and Appeals, April 17, 1962.

[57] "13 Demands: The 1969 Black Student Strike," UW News, 2019.

[58] "UW Teaching-Aide strikers intensify picketing," Wisconsin State Journal, April 12, 1980; "Madison policemen sue fellow officers," *Kenosha News*, June 15, 1983, 8, accessed at https://www.newspapers.com/.

[59] Mary Magnuson, "Records reveal UWPD spent over $6,000 on pepper spray, smoke grenades during George Floyd BLM protests," October 16, 2020, *Badger Herald*.

[60] Savannah Kind, "ASM votes 'no confidence' in UWPD, votes to support UW BIPOC Coalition," September 29, 2020, *Badger Herald*.

[61] Susan Riseling, Staff, et. al, University of Wisconsin–Madison Department of Protection & Security 1991 Annual Report, Physical Plant, Protection & Security Subject Files 17/1/1 Box No. 1, UW Archives.

Gay Purge: The Persecution of Homosexual Students at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1962–1963. By Ezra Gerard

Originally Posted on March 22, 2021. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The three-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work toward building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this

blog post is disturbing. In this post, you will encounter descriptions of LGBTQ+ persons that is harmful and offensive.

In 1962, the University of Wisconsin began to systematically seek out and expel homosexual male students.[1] Undergraduate and graduate students suspected of engaging in same-sex relationships were brought before the university's Committee on Student Conduct and Appeals (CSCA), interrogated, and in many cases expelled. Those who escaped expulsion were reprimanded and coerced into seeking psychological "treatment" in order to remain students at the university. Some lost their scholarships and jobs. What came to be known as the "Gay Purge," these efforts to cleanse the university of "vice" had dire consequences on the lives of homosexual students. In its moralistic crusade, the University of Wisconsin destroyed students' career prospects and caused them tremendous emotional and psychological anguish. The Gay Purge and the broader history of institutionalized homophobia on campus constitutes a shameful blemish on the history of the university which has yet to be officially acknowledged. While the Gay Purge represents a particularly virulent example of homophobia, it was by no means an isolated incident, but rather part of a continuum of moralistic and bigoted policy and action at the university. **In this essay, I refer to the victims of the purge with pseudonyms to preserve their privacy.[2]**

The Gay Purge was not the first time UW officials expressed concern over the "problem" of homosexuality. In 1948, twelve men, including several UW students, were arrested and prosecuted for "sodomy" and "disorderly conduct." Some were expelled and denied their degrees because of their conviction.[3] Furthermore, the university tracked students expelled for homosexuality, sending letters to prospective employers to prevent "perverted" students from getting jobs. Student conduct records between the 1920s and 1960s indicate that the university consistently harassed and punished students for engaging in "immoral" sexual practices.[4] Interest in the "problem" of homosexuality increased considerably in this period. This heightened scrutiny mirrors broader trends in the policing of homosexuality in the United States. In the 1930s and 1940s, Americans witnessed a "sex crime panic."[5] This mass hysteria concerning various forms of sexual "perversion," including homosexuality, was fueled by the media, which promulgated sensationalized narratives of the non-normative sexual behaviors purportedly compromising the moral fiber of the nation.[6] This panic stemmed in part from the social disorder and perceived increase in crime resulting from the Great Depression.[7] Contributing

to such fears was J. Edgar Hoover's campaign against sexual "perverts," particularly homosexuals, who allegedly threatened the nation.[8] McCarthy era purges of homosexuals from the federal government contributed to a culture of paranoia about non-normative sexuality.[9] Post-World War II anxieties also stoked concerns over sexual "deviance."[10] The influx of soldiers after the war raised questions about how these emotionally damaged and brutalized men would be reintegrated in society. Government propaganda and the media promoted the ideal of the nuclear family to support the return to the status quo after the war.[11] Anxieties that the sex-segregated environment of the military caused homosexuality persisted into the post-war era as some feared that men would not "readjust" to "normal" heterosexual relationships. This view was common among doctors at the University of Wisconsin.[12]

Amid these cultural anxieties about sexual deviance, medical scrutiny of homosexuality increased considerably. The medicalization of homosexuality would play a crucial role in how the Gay Purge was conducted. American doctors and psychiatrists researched the causes and potential "cures" of homosexuality.[13] Building on theories developed in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, sexual researchers particularly focused on the question of whether homosexuality was innate or acquired.[14] Proponents of the innate model posited that homosexuals were born with their "condition" due to a mental imbalance or physical disorder. Others proposed that homosexuals acquired their proclivities through "corruption" by an older man or that they chose to have same-sex relations out of a desire for novel sex practices. While homosexuals who fell under both categories were subject to moral, medical, and legal scrutiny, acquired homosexuals were often judged more harshly. While innate homosexuals were regarded as "victims" of a disease, acquired homosexuals were demeaned for choosing to have same-sex sex. During the Gay Purge, university officials drew on medical research on homosexuality which claimed that homosexuals could be "cured" through therapy.



Dr. Annette Washburne, the first woman to be made full professor in the UW Medical School, laid the foundation for the "gay purges" at UW–Madison. Dr. Washburne, the director of psychiatric services, created the guidelines for how the university would handle students they believed to be gay. Photo courtesy UW–Madison Archives.

Several doctors at the University of Wisconsin contributed to the medicalization of homosexuality. Dr. Annette C. Washburne, director of psychiatric services, was an important figure in the medicalization and treatment of homosexuality at UW. Appointed as Assistant Professor at the UW medical school in 1934, Washburne was the first female doctor hired by the university. She played a role in founding the Neuropsychiatry Department within the Student Health Clinic.[15] In the late 1940s, Washburne provided a report for assisting the Committee on Student Conduct and Appeals in handling cases of homosexuality. Like other psychiatrists in this period, Washburne maintained a distinction between "true" and "pseudo" homosexuality. Washburne asserted that while "pseudo" homosexuals could be "cured' and reintegrated into the university community, she regarded "true" homosexuals as fundamentally dangerous to other students. She claimed that psychotherapy was "seldom beneficial" in the case of "true" homosexuals because such individuals possessed a "fixed personality" and did not want to be cured. Washburne was concerned that homosexuals might "corrupt" others, writing that university psychiatrists must consider the "effect and influence such individuals may exert on other students."[16] Washburne concluded that "such individuals should be discouraged from continuing their university careers" because they could "contribut[e] to the delinquency of others."[17] Chairman of the CSCA H.C. Jackson thanked Washburne for her report, calling it an "excellent statement."[18] In 1949, the CSCA passed a motion adopting Washburne's report as a "guide" to handling homosexual students. As a result of Washburne's report, Jackson stated that the CSCA would "consider for re-admission only those students who have taken treatment through the Student Health Clinic and are

recommended for re-admission thereby."[19] This report laid the foundation for the persecution of homosexuals during the purge.

The 1962–63 Gay Purge marked a concerted effort to expunge homosexuals from campus fueled by post-war anxieties and "scientific" research on the "threat" of homosexuality. While homosexuals had consistently been subject to disciplinary action in previous decades, the purge was unique in its systematic nature. During the purge, the Dean of Men, Department of Protection and Security (DPS, now UWPD), and psychiatrists at Student Health Clinic collaborated in seeking out, disciplining, and "treating" homosexuals. Dean of Men Theodore Zillman and DPS detective Peter Rordam headed the campaign against homosexual students. Students were initially called in for interrogation by Zillman or Rordam before the CSCA considered whether it would take disciplinary action. Zillman emphatically maintained that the university "cannot allow admitted homosexuals on this campus."[20] During the purge, the university approached the issue of homosexuality through a medical *and* moral lens. The notion that homosexuality resulted from disease did not supplant the assumption that homosexuals were immoral "perverts."

Homosexual students came to the attention of university officials in several ways. Some were caught while attempting to have sex. Others were called before the CSCA simply for being suspected of homosexuality. In their interrogations, detective Peter Rordam demanded that students divulge the names of other homosexual students. Rordam asked students "the names of others with whom they had had personal involvement as well as those whom they thought or believed to be homosexuals."[21] Some were told that they would be treated more leniently if they complied. Many students lied to avoid incriminating their friends.[22] Others falsely accused other students when interrogated, likely naming the first person who came to mind.[23] University officials did not simply discipline students who had been caught in a same-sex relationship. They actively sought out students *suspected* of being homosexual.

Some CSCA members questioned "the desirability of seeking hear-say information" about students' sexuality.[24] An SSC report from the early months of the purge indicates disagreement as to the extent to which the university should seek out homosexual students. The minutes note that

> "After considerable discussion, it appeared that possible disagreement existed over the extent to which enforcement in these cases should be pressed — over the aggressiveness which the University should display in uncovering homosexuality. Several committee members seemed agreed that, with the exceptions of the professional homosexual, the assaultive

> student, the recruiter [i.e. a person who tries to make others homosexual], and the activity producing public display or embarrassment, the University investigative role here need properly be no more intensive or vigorous than is the case with enforcement efforts directed toward illicit heterosexual activity."[25]

Despite this disagreement, Rordam's aggressive and invasive tactics prevailed. Rordam emphasized that such testimony was necessary in order to continue the investigation.[26] Dean of Students L.E. Luberg commended DPS for its handling of the "group of deviates" accused of homosexuality.[27]



Dean of Men Theodore Zillman. Zillman orchestrated the "gay purges" and emphatically maintained that the university could not "allow admitted homosexuals" on campus. Photo courtesy the 1955 Badger Yearbook, UW–Madison Archives.

Students who came to the CSCA's attention initially received phone calls notifying them of the accusation and summoning them for interrogation.[28] Zillman persistently harassed students who did not answer the call. In an oral history interview, Lewis Bosworth, a graduate student in the French Department, reported being harassed at work after ignoring the calls.[29] Rordam was sent to Bosworth's place of employment at the Medical School to demand his appearance before the CSCA. Rordam insisted that Bosworth be "dragged out" of the operating room where he was working.[30] Bosworth reported that Rordam "threatened me with not appearing before university officials as requested."[31] Rordam told Bosworth that he would be subpoenaed by the District Attorney if he did not comply.[32] Bosworth was compelled to appear at the Dean of Men's office, where Zillman attempted to procure a confession. Bosworth resisted the Dean's efforts and refused to admit to homosexual conduct.[33] Bosworth also declined to divulge the names of other homosexual students as Zillman demanded of him. While CSCA did not expel Bosworth because he had not admitted to having homosexual sex, the university revoked a scholarship he had received to study abroad.[34]

The university only expelled students who had an (alleged) record

of homosexual conduct. Dr. Annette Washburne bemoaned this fact, stating that "it would be a blessing if a governing board could sanction dismissal" in cases of "true" homosexuals, even if they had not had sex with another man. Washburne regarded "true" homosexuals as a "menace" to the university community.[35] While students were not expelled for *being* homosexual, their sexual orientation played an important role in whether the committee viewed them as a threat. Whether a person was considered an innate homosexual factored into discussions of the likelihood that they would repeat their "offence." In the case of two undergraduates who were arrested behind the Kollege Klub because they *intended* to have sex, the committee ruled that "these students are so *homosexually oriented* that the probability of their repeating overt activity of this nature is great [emphasis added]."[36] It is unclear how the committee decided that these students were "true" homosexuals.[37] The case of "Jacob Merman" also indicates a particular concern for "true" homosexuals. After being expelled, Merman was initially denied a petition for readmission on the basis of an evaluation by Dr. Robert Bujard of Student Health Clinic who concluded that he was "homosexually-oriented" and therefore unlikely to change his "behavior."[38] Merman was later readmitted after he "devoted time and energy to his problem and sought council for it."[39] These cases indicate that the CSCA saw the distinction between "true" and "pseudo" homosexuals as an important factor in deciding a student's fate.

The CSCA's accusations had dire effects on students' academic and professional careers. "Julian Goldman," a PhD student in the German Department, was about to receive his degree before he was called before the committee. The CSCA forwarded Goldman's file to the German Department and requested that Goldman's case be reviewed prior to deciding whether to confer his PhD.[40] In addition to the academic jeopardy students faced, the university denied some of its victims funding while still allowing them to remain in school. After petitioning the committee, "Michael Stewart" was granted readmission to the university, but was denied funding because of his conviction for homosexuality. Th CSCA "recommend[ed] to appropriate departments of the university that [Stewart] not be furnished subsidy by the university in the form of appointments such as teaching assistantship, etc."[41] Similarly, the CSCA "recommend[ed] against University appointments" for "Amos Russo" because of his sexuality. Russo had sought a teaching assistantship in the English Department, but Zillman stated that he should "not be encouraged" in seeking employment at the university.[42]

These cases show that homosexual students continued to be

marginalized by the university even when they were granted readmission. In part, the refusal to award funding to homosexual students served as a means of discouraging them from remaining at the university without formally expelling them. Additionally, the insistence on denying homosexual students teaching assistantships likely derived from assumptions that homosexual instructors might seduce their students. Furthermore, by preventing graduate students from teaching, the university denied these prospective scholars the teaching credentials necessary to further their careers in academia. Most importantly, denying homosexual students teaching assistantships deprived them of their financial stability. Herman Gladstone, a university doctor involved with evaluating homosexual students, testified in favor of one of his patients by stating that his "problems" would not "interfere with his functioning as a student or his effectiveness as a teacher."[43] Despite this medical testimony, the committee advised against allowing this student to be employed as a teaching assistant by the university. The moralism of the CSCA thus superseded the recommendations of university doctors.

This was not the only time university doctors expressed disapproval of the purge. While the Student Health Clinic collaborated with the CSCA in evaluating and disciplining homosexuals, some psychiatrists repudiated how the committee treated its victims. Gladstone consistently expressed disapproval of the CSCA's tactics and particularly took issue with Rordam's interrogation procedures. Gladstone objected to the process of interrogation because "effective evaluation [of homosexuals] under stress circumstances was not possible."[44] Writing to the CSCA about a homosexual student, Gladstone asserted that it would "be detrimental to both this boy and to the University to subject him to an administrative psychiatric evaluation in view of the unethical way that he was brought to the university's attention."[45] Furthermore, Dr. Seymour Halleck, a psychiatrist at Student Health Clinic, reported in a recent interview that he "tried to convince the Dean . . . that these people did not represent any threat or embarrassment to the university."[46] While these men by no means regarded homosexuality in a positive light, they called attention to the unjust interrogation procedures employed by Rordam and Zillman and viewed homosexuals as less threatening than the CSCA. This indicates that the purge was ultimately a moralistic crusade which veiled itself in medical authority.

Students faced the termination of their academic career for their involvement in consensual same-sex relationships. In addition to the threat a conviction of homosexuality posed to the livelihood of homosexual students, the emotional trauma of being brought before

the committee had devastating effects. In one case, the distress of being persecuted by the university resulted in a suicide attempt.[47] Some students left the university before they faced the CSCA. One student withdrew because "he just didn't know how to cope with it."[48] The purge created a culture of fear among homosexual students. Homosexual students were "even afraid of each other," because they worried a friend might name them during an interrogation.[49] A student who was brought before the committee later recalled the emotional strife and sense of loneliness homosexual students felt as a result of the purge: "You couldn't talk to your parents because you were in the closet . . . We were even afraid to talk to each other for a while . . . There was a feeling of paranoia."[50] Another student reported that he cut his hair because he "didn't want to look like a fairy."[51] Even students who were not called before the CSCA were adversely affected by the homophobic climate fostered by the university. The purge created an environment hostile to homosexuality which likely sent many homosexual students back into the closet and caused them to doubt their sense of self.

Students were generally given the option to petition for readmittance to the university. In order to gain readmittance, students had to prove that they had made "progress" in handling their "condition." Generally, this proof came in the form of a statement from a psychiatrist, either at the university or in the student's hometown. Letters from university psychiatrists included an affirmation that the student no longer threatened the university community. A letter written by Dr. Seymour Halleck is typical of medical testimonies on behalf of homosexual students. Halleck wrote that the student "has demonstrated the capacity to control his action and is not a danger to himself or the university community. He has improved his social adjustment and appears well motivated to remain in school."[52] After students submitted their petition for readmission, the committee deliberated on whether the student had solved their homosexual "problem" and could therefore return to the university. While the committee readmitted a number of students, it reaffirmed its moralistic injunction against future homosexual conduct. In a letter notifying a student that he would be readmitted, Zillman cautioned that the CSCA "will expect the best performance as a campus citizen from you henceforward. I believe you recognize that further misconduct must prove most embarrassing for you."[53] Similar statements were common in such letters.

Other students had their petitions rejected on the basis of an unfavorable report from their psychiatrist. "Andrew Harrington" was denied readmission based on a report by Dr. Robert Bujard. A few

months later, Harrington made another attempt to gain readmission after consulting with Dr. Gladstone. This time his request was granted. Gladstone affirmed that Harrington did not require psychiatric treatment. Harrington assured the committee that his homosexual relationship had been merely a "momentary aberration" and emphasized that the "completion of college is an all important goal in my life."[54]

It is difficult to know the extent to which students internalized the moralization and pathologization they faced from the university. In their pleas for readmission, many students claimed to have changed their ways, although it is likely at least some of these men simply parroted what they knew the committee wanted to hear. Others were likely thrown into a state of doubt and self-hatred after being subjected to psychiatric evaluation and disciplinary action. The case of "David Novak" provides a unique example of resistance against the university's curative efforts. Novak insisted at his hearing with the committee that "he did not desire to be cured."[55] He seemed content with his desires and "described to the committee the great relief he felt when he discovered that there were other homosexually oriented people and that he could feel at home with them."[56] Novak asserted that "as long as he was not harming anyone and being discreet, he felt he was acting with appropriate propriety."[57] Even when faced with potential expulsion, this student affirmed that he did not see anything wrong with his sexual desires.

The preceding case is exceptional, however. Students generally made desperate efforts to downplay their involvement in same-sex relationships and to prove that they did not constitute a threat to the university community. In their defense, students repeatedly affirmed that they were not "aggressive homosexuals" and some stated that they solely played the passive role.[58] One student affirmed that he had "never … felt any urge to 'bother' students with his activities."[59] Such statements were meant to assure the committee that these men would not "corrupt" other students. DPS reports on homosexual students often noted that the accused had "never tried to convert anyone," indicating that the issue of homosexual seduction concerned university officials.[60] "Edward Young" declared that he "wanted definitely to get help with his problems and felt certain he could overcome his difficulties."[61] "Samuel Jones" defended himself by stating that he "found no satisfaction in those activities."[62] "Aaron Harrington" stated that he wasn't sure if he needed "psychiatric help" but "after thinking it over" reported to the committee that he would meet with a university psychiatrist to be certain he does not have a problem."[63] This

reconsideration of the need for counseling indicates that this student may have found it pragmatic to adhere to the university's advice even though he did not consider his desires a "problem."

In addition to proving that they had been "cured" through psychiatric treatment, religion played an important role in students' attempts to gain readmittance to the university. "Gregory Anderson" requested permission to re-enroll after having been "reprimanded" for homosexual conduct and told that he could not enroll in future semesters without prior approval of the committee. Anderson affirmed that he would continue "treatment" for homosexuality at his church. His pastor asserted that as a result of "several sessions" Anderson "decided to truly face the problem and became determined to do something about it."[64] After confirmation that Anderson would continue to seek what amounted to conversion therapy at his church, university officials assented to his readmission. In a letter notifying Anderson that he would be readmitted, Zillman commended him for seeking religious council.[65] It seems that the university saw religious indoctrination as an equally valid way of treating homosexuality as psychological counselling. This indicates a convergence of medical and moral views of homosexuality that produced an image of homosexual students as both sick and immoral.

The University of Wisconsin's moralistic crusade against homosexual students imperiled students' careers and caused indelible emotional and psychological damage. Efforts to expel homosexual students were a part of a wider movement at college campuses across the country to extirpate "sexual perverts." Most famously, Harvard University conducted a purge of its male homosexual students in the 1920s.[66] Other institutions including the University of Michigan, the University of Texas, the University of Missouri, and the State College of Iowa also disciplined and expelled students for homosexuality.[67] Despite the prevalence of these purges, their history has largely remained silent.

Despite important strides at the University of Wisconsin promote diversity and inclusion in recent years, the history of institutionalized bigotry has yet to be officially acknowledged. I urge the university to do justice to the victims of this purge by formally apologizing for the indelible damage it inflicted on gay students. While the trauma experienced by victims of the purge cannot be undone, it is imperative that the university acknowledges its bigoted past and condemns institutionalized homophobia. Furthermore, I urge the university to seek out survivors of the purge and provide monetary reparations for the emotional and financial hardships they endured. Although the Gay Purge marks a particularly egregious example of institutional bigotry,

it is by no means an isolated incident. By coming to terms with its history, the university can make a statement to queer students that discrimination will not be tolerated. This is a crucial gesture at a time marked by a surge in bigoted rhetoric and acts of violence across the United States. Through condemning its history of homophobia and taking action against contemporary bigotry, the university can help to ensure that UW's campus will become a safer place for queer students.



The following statement was provided by Student Affairs:

> We in Student Affairs appreciate the efforts to highlight this difficult period in our campus history. It is painful to learn how challenging and cruel the college experience was for LGBTQ+ students at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. There is no excuse for such actions. The students' stories are real and should be heard.
>
> Student Affairs as an organization didn't exist at UW–Madison during the timeframe enumerated in this post, but it currently houses some of the specific areas that are mentioned: student health services, student conduct, and the Dean of Students. We are committed to acknowledging and learning from the university's past in order to create an inclusive community now for LGBTQ+ students and employees. The biases and prejudices that drove the actions shared in this post are still present today and demand systemic and cultural changes.
>
> Today, at UW–Madison there are many services and support systems for the LGBTQ+ community. While this support is an improvement from the past, much more still needs to be done, and it does not excuse our past shortcomings. We commit to reflecting on our past and listening to our current LGBTQ+ students, faculty, and staff as we continue the vital work to create an inclusive campus.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. *publichistoryproject@wisc.edu*

[1] There is no evidence that lesbians were expelled because of their sexuality. This should not be interpreted as evidence that the university was accepting of lesbians. The gender disparity of the purge, and the

university's greater concern for male homosexuality in general, relates to assumptions that male homosexuals constituted a greater threat to "morality" because they purportedly "seduced" other men into their "lifestyle." Furthermore, female sexuality was regarded as more passive, resulting in the assumption that lesbians did not seek out sexual encounters as men did.

[2] The sole exceptions are the cases of Lewis Bosworth and George Stambolian, both of whom have spoken openly about their experiences during the purge.

[3] See *Wisconsin State Journal*, June 12, 1948 and *Capital Times*, June 9–12, 18, and 21, 1948. See also Margaret Nash and Jennifer Silverman, "An Indelible Mark: Gay Purges in Higher Education in the 1940s," *History of Higher Education Quarterly,* Vol. 55, No. 4 (January 2017): 441–459.

[4] See student conduct cases 1928–1939, 1952–1953, 1953–1954. UW Archives. Dean of Students Records, 1957–1971, Accession 1994/070, Box 4.

[5] Estelle B. Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires": The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920–1960," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (June 1987): 83–106.

[6] Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires," 84.

[7] Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires," 88.

[8] Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires," 93.

[9] See David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

[10] Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires," 96–97. Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two,* (New York: Penguin, 1990), Chapter 7.

[11] Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire,* 258.

[12] See for example Benjamin Glover, "Observations on Homosexuality Among University Students," The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, Volume 113, Issue 5 (May 1951): 377–387 which has since been retracted by the publisher; and Annette Washburne, Role of the University Psychiatrist, 1–2. Student Conduct and Appeals Committee 1923–1970 Series 5/87, Box 1, Student Conduct Committee (1948–1949) Folder, UW Archives.

[13] See David Minton, *Departing from Deviance: The History of Homosexual Rights and Emancipatory Science in America*, for a discussion of the medicalization of homosexuality in the United States.

[14] For a discussion of the origins of medical theories of

homosexuality in Europe, see Anna Katherina Schaffner, *Modernism and Perversion* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

[15] Biography of Annette Clarke Washburne. Annette Washburne scrapbook and Publications, UW Archives, Accession 2006/146 54D8.

[16] Annette Washburne, Role of the University Psychiatrist, 1–2. Student Conduct and Appeals Committee 1923–1970 Series 5/87, Box 1, Student Conduct Committee (1948–1949) Folder, UW Archives.

[17] Washburne, Role of the University Psychiatrist, 1–2.

[18] Letter from H.C. Jackson to Annette Washburne, September 20, 1949. Student Conduct and Appeals Committee 1923–1970 Series 5/87, Box 1, Student Conduct Committee (1948–1949) Folder, UW Archives.

[19] Letter from H.C. Jackson to Annette Washburne, September 20, 1949.

[20] qtd. in R. Richard Wagner, *We've Been Here All Along: Wisconsin's Early Gay History*. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2019), 288.

[21] Minutes of the Committee on Student Conduct and Appeals (hereafter CSCA), April 17, 1962.

[22] George Stambolian, *Nothing to Hide*. Qtd in Gina Slesar, "That Would Never Happen Here: The 1962 Purge at the University of Wisconsin, Madison," unpublished undergraduate paper, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2013.

[23] Ibid.

[24] CSCA Minutes, April 17, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, "Homosexual Problem" Folder.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Letter from L.E. Luberg to A.F. Ahearn, May 16, 1962.

[28] Ron McCrea, "Madison Gay Purge," *Midwest Gay Academic Journal*, Vol. 1 No. 3 (1978): 26.

[29] Oral History Interview with Lewis Bosworth. Interviewed by Scott Seyforth, 2009. UW Madison Oral History Project, UW Madison Archives.

[30] CSCA Minutes, May 14, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1.

[31] Oral History Interview with Lewis Bosworth.

[32] CSCA Minutes, May 14, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Oral History Interview with Lewis Bosworth.

[35] Nash and Silverman, "An Indelible Mark," 449.

[36] CSCA Minutes November 13, 1962, 2. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1.

[37] Both men reported having come across homosexuality because of seduction by an older man. This contradicts the committee's assertion that these men were homosexually oriented.

[38] CSCA Minutes, May 15, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Minutes of the Appeals Section, May 15, 1962. Letter from Zillman, May 16, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Untitled Folder.

[41] Letter from Dean Zillman, May 22, 1962. August 10, 1962. See also CSCA Minutes, March 19, 1962, Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[42] CSCA Minutes, March 7, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[43] Ibid.

[44] CSCA Minutes, April 12, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[45] CSCA Minutes, September 10, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[46] Interview with Seymour Halleck. Interviewed by Scott Seyforth, 2009. Halleck's statement should be approached with caution, however, because he may have been attempting to exonerate himself for involvement in the purge.

[47] Madison Police Department Officer's Report, April 8, 1962.

[48] Oral History Interview with Lewis Bosworth.

[49] McCrea, "Madison Gay Purge," 29.

[50] McCrea, "Madison Gay Purge," 29.

[51] McCrea, "Madison Gay Purge," 29.

[52] CSCA Minutes, June 14, 1963. For another example of a doctor's letter see minutes from September 10, 1962.

[53] Letter from Dean Zillman, June 17, 1963.

[54] CSCA Minutes, August 10, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[55] CSCA Minutes, March 27, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59]CSCA Minutes, March 19, 1962.

[60] See for example, P. Rordam, Supplementary Report, March 6, 1963. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[61] CSCA Minutes, March 28, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[62] CSCA Minutes, March 7, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[63] CSCA Minutes, March 25, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[64] CSCA Minutes, August 7, 1962. Dean of Students, LGBT Historical Liaison, 1968–2010, Accession 2005/002, Box 1, Homosexual Problem Folder.

[65] Letter from Zillman, August 14, 1962.

[66] See William Wright, *Harvard's Secret Court: The Savage Purge of Campus Homosexuals*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006.

[67] Margaret Nash and Jennifer A. Silverman, "An Indelible Mark Gay Purges in Higher Education in the 1940s," History of Education Quarterly, 2015–11, Vol.55 (4), p.441–459. Capital Times, "Anti-Homosexual Drive Nets 29," January 5, 1960. Daniel Tsang, "Ann Arbor Gay Purges: Part 2." *Midwest Gay Academic Journal* 1/2 (1977)

The University of Wisconsin and Japanese American Students, 1941–44
By Joy E. Block

Originally Posted on April 5, 2021. To download or print this chapter, click here.

This post is the first in a series of blog posts celebrating the 2021 Asian Pacific Islander Desi American (APIDA) Heritage Month at UW–Madison. For more information about APIDA events and programming, visit UW–Madison's APIDA Heritage Month page. Stay tuned for part two of the series which will be published on April 14th.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The multi-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this blog post is disturbing. In this post, you will encounter descriptions of anti-Asian cartoons, caricatures, and newspaper articles published on UW–Madison's campus during this period.

When Japanese bombers attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, they did more than provoke the United States to enter WWII. They also triggered an era of uncertainty and hardship for Japanese in the U.S., including college-aged Japanese Americans across the country. At the time, Japanese people were not allowed to immigrate to the United States or become United States citizens. Still, over 284,000 lived in the U.S. and its Hawaiian Territory, having migrated across the Pacific Ocean before 1924 and established families throughout Hawai'i and the West Coast states.[1] Their children who were born in the United States (a generation called "Nisei" in the Japanese language) became U.S. citizens, and Japanese Americans had hoped that over time they could integrate into American society regardless of the exclusions that their first generation continued to face. In 1941, the Nisei generation was just coming of age, with the oldest attending college for undergraduate and graduate work. They were supposed to be the future leaders of their racial group and the ones whose futures would validate their parents' efforts and mitigate the exclusion they had endured.

Their hopes unraveled as Pearl Harbor exploded.

The Japanese attack seemed to galvanize Americans into a defensive form of unity. Previously a majority of Americans had advocated putting "America first" and leaving the Europeans to fight WWII amongst themselves. Now the vast majority vowed to make great sacrifices in protecting their country and its allies. From draft registration to food stamps, from tending victory gardens to following daylight savings time — Americans attempted to gear up for what they considered a "total war" situation.

In drawing together defensively after Pearl Harbor, however, Americans as a whole turned against Japanese and Japanese Americans living in the United States. All the ways that Japanese in the U.S. had been excluded previously now fueled distrust of their loyalty. Excluded from American citizenship, they had never publicly revoked loyalty to the emperor of Japan. Treated as "aliens" in the U.S., they had kept strong ties with family back home, even educating their American-citizen children in Japan. Furthermore, American culture and media

depicted Japanese people (and other immigrants from Asia) as being so different in their behaviors and ways of thinking that they could *never* be truly American.

These conditions made it unsurprising that many Americans began to suspect everyone of Japanese descent as a possible agent of the Japanese emperor, while the same racialized enemy status did not apply to German and Italian Americans. A nation-wide, anti-Japanese atmosphere seemed to take hold, galvanizing federal officials. Hours after the bombing at Pearl Harbor, the FBI began arresting leaders in Japanese communities and searching homes of those living on the West Coast for items that would demonstrate disloyalty. By February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order that classified California, Washington, and Oregon as military zones and commanded the relocation of anyone of Japanese decent from those states. People of Japanese descent initially could leave the West Coast voluntarily, but on March 24 the U.S. Army switched to using forced evacuation. Anyone of Japanese descent in the Pacific states lost the freedom to travel without the approval of the War Relocation Authority.

Over the next few months, more than 120,000 adults and children left whatever property they could not carry and relocated, imprisoned first in large assembly centers and then in hastily-built internment camps mainly in remote areas across the American West.[2] American-born citizens made up two thirds of those interned. In the Territory of Hawai'i, where people with Japanese ancestry composed one third of the total population, less than two thousand of those suspected of disloyalty were interned, but martial law was instituted over the population at large. Non-Japanese Americans sometimes questioned the need and the morality of such measures, but few actively criticized the U.S. policy of internment. The social pressure to prove the loyalty of Japanese in the U.S. meant that few wanted to undermine the government's power by criticizing its methods of defense.

The University of Wisconsin responded to WWII by retooling to meet wartime needs for education. The University agreed to establish a Navy Radio School and a Mechanics School for the Army, among other initiatives, bringing in military trainees from across the country.[3] As male college students and recent high school graduates joined the U.S. military, the university's college population became primarily female, and the new military trainees were welcomed into the campus social scene, particularly to field wartime sports teams and continue the campus's date and dance-night culture. Academically the university also welcomed the opportunity to turn its capabilities towards national service. University administrators shortened semesters, eliminated

spring breaks, and expanded summer course offerings so that students could finish their degrees and enter national service sooner. Even though political views and partisan divisions remained, the campus as a whole supported America's wartime interests and success. UW President C. A. Dykstra sanctioned the university's activities as an integral part of the nation's war effort, saying "Let us work as we never have before so that when Uncle Sam speaks we will all be ready. We are all preparing for national service."[4]

Most histories of this period have neglected an important university initiative. As one of the nation's large Midwestern institutions, UW played a role in relocating Nisei college students from the West Coast and internment camps and disbursing them to other campuses across the country. Only a handful of Nisei students attended UW prior to WWII, preferring to attend West Coast institutions closer to their families, but by the end of WWII UW's Japanese American population had greatly expanded. Japanese American UW stories reveal both the value and the limits of UW's liberal racial values and policies at the time. For many who came, the University of Wisconsin and the city of Madison remain places of affection and belonging, a place where life could continue and flourish amidst the national atmosphere of anti-Japanese hysteria and antagonism. Still, Wisconsin struggled to do the good it wanted to do and Japanese Americans could not escape the pressure to continually prove their loyalty and rehabilitate popular perceptions about their racial community.



Keith Nakamura and Toru Iura, both undergraduate students at UW, are shown at the entrance to the College of Agriculture building. Courtesy of the War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, WRA no. I-517, The Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley.

Loyalty After Pearl Harbor

In May 1942, the *Daily Cardinal* reported that only one American citizen "of Japanese origin" attended UW, as a fellow in the biochemistry department.[5] This statement signals the very small numbers of Japanese Americans at UW at the time but gives an inaccurate picture of the 1941–42 population. In fact, several American citizens with Japanese ancestry attended from the U.S. Territory of Hawai'i. Beginning in the

late 1800s, Hawai'i had recruited Japanese and other Asian immigrants as workers for its sugar plantations. Their children had grown up as Americans in the territory's highly diverse population. In the fall of '41, at least two other Hawaiian Japanese Americans studied in UW's Economics Department and the Law School. UW did not keep lists of students by racial group, so it was easy for administrators to overlook members of a very small campus population.

For this handful of Nisei, the bombing of Pearl Harbor was as much of a shock as it was for other UW students. Forty years later, Tom Ige still remembered what he had been doing the night of December 7, 1941 — eating "at a chop suey house in downtown Madison with an old high school and University of Hawaii friend," Ben Takayesu.[6] Ige learned of the attack upon returning home, when Takayesu called him with the news. On campus, it was all people could talk about, as radio news bulletins blared from Memorial Union's lounge and down residential hallways.

Surely, UW's Japanese American students heard the rumors of an anti-Japanese demonstration the next day and felt relief when nothing transpired among the spectators on the corner of Gilman and State streets.[7] Still, they were filled with fear and uncertainty. Takayesu shared with the *Daily Cardinal* about his fears for his parents, whose Asian birth meant they were not allowed to become legal U.S. citizens; for his continued college funding, given the destruction on his home island of Oahu; and how the "alien" status of his parents might affect their family's property claims.[8] Bank accounts of many first-generation Japanese immigrants like his parents had already been frozen in the summer of 1941.[9] Following the bombing of Pearl Harbor, banks also began freezing the assets of other Japanese Americans on the orders of the FBI and stopped cashing checks for them.[10] These policies were often applied indiscriminately to anyone on a given list, meaning that Americans who were racially Japanese as well as white Americans born in Japan could be singled out for such treatment. Students were forced to grapple with how to pay tuition, board, or housing when their parents' accounts were frozen and banks refused to offer them services.

With racial and family ties to Japan, Nisei students felt shame for Japan's actions and the need to prove their American allegiance. Tom Ige remembered, "It was a most uncomfortable period for me…There was no harassment of the few Nisei students in Madison, Wisconsin but, nonetheless, we felt uneasy as reports of American casualties kept pouring in from all fronts."[11] In the face of such international aggression and newly entrenched racial lines, being born an American no longer felt like much of a defense.

Despite UW President Dykstra's encouragement for students to continue their education "until our country sees fit to call us,"[12] Japanese American students sought ways to verify their American loyalty. Ben Takayesu left his studies at the UW Law School to join the U.S. Army soon after learning about Pearl Harbor.[13] Although he had completed two years of Reserve Officer Training and anticipated getting drafted in March, he was not interested in merely waiting until his number was called. He told the *Daily Cardinal*, "if those Japanese want to attack our homeland and our families I am ready to get into things myself."[14] Like many Niseis, Takayesu wanted to distance himself from America's enemies. Tom Ige also tried to enlist, but neither the Navy nor the Air Force would accept his application. The best Ige could do was to report himself to the FBI office in Madison — hoping that this would forestall any concerns about him — and carry on with his MA work in Economics.[15]

Ige soon became a voice defending Japanese Americans on campus and in newspaper venues. He started by speaking on a panel hosted by the International Club, ostensibly about education in the homelands of "international" students. Ige used it as an opportunity to talk about how Hawai'i's Japanese had rapidly assimilated American values, saying "The type of thinking of the Hawaiians and Americans on the mainland is very close. Although there are more than 150,000 Japanese Hawaiians in the territory, many of them are no longer 'marginal men' because of their rapid assimilation of the American democratic process."[16] In a time when many Americans treated anyone with Japanese ancestry as a possible national enemy, Ige hoped to fortify public perception of Japanese Americans by highlighting their American worldviews and cultural participation.

In May, Ige wrote a letter to the *Daily Cardinal* in response to campus comments in favor of relocating Nisei college students to UW to finish their studies. Despite calling the comments "beautiful" and "gratifying," he cautioned against too idealistically opening the campus to many evacuees. Merely relocating students would not solve the deeper problems they faced. Ige wanted the campus community to treat Nisei students as "primarily Americans with common loyalties, ideals, and stakes in this war...just as anxious as the rest of the American community in the successful prosecution of the war."[17] He wanted to make sure that any students relocated to UW's campus would be received as fellow Americans rather than as potential subversives.

These actions prepared him for what would be his most large-scale defense of Japanese Americans. In July 1942, *The Nation* had published an article by Albert Horlings, which argued that Japanese Americans in

Hawai'i could not be trusted and thus should be evacuated and interned like those in the West Coast states. Immediately upon reading the article, Ige felt the injustice of its portrayals of Hawaiian Japanese. Additionally, "[C]ensorship was widely imposed in Hawaii and…it would be difficult for anyone in Hawaii to reply to this article."[18] Following the UW principle of active engagement in civic life, Ige used the relative freedom he experienced in the Midwest to defend Japanese American loyalty before a national audience. Point by point, he contradicted Horlings' examples and arguments, even offering alternate solutions for protecting the nation's safety. If Japanese agents in Hawai'i were really a problem, Ige urged, "Double or triple the FBI force in Hawaii. This would be more practical and wise than a wholesale evacuation, which would involve innumerable hardships as well as seriously undermine our democratic concepts and the values of United States citizenship."[19] Ige effectively offered his readers different ways to view and treat Japanese Americans, options that sought to take seriously both national security and the status of Niseis as full Americans.

In the short-term, these public defenses of Hawai'i's Japanese population helped Tom Ige affirm his loyalty and belonging to America in the absence of military service. But in the wartime atmosphere of the coming years, such civilian service paled before the social pressure to serve in the military. Unable to mentally focus on PhD work, Ige moved to Detroit with one of his professors to work for the regional War Labor Board there.[20] Then after less than a year (including several months when he was suspended without pay as some agency "investigated" him), Ige volunteered for the Army — to join in the fight that recently claimed a dear friend and to finally prove his American allegiance in the only way that seemed to matter. Only after two and a half years of military training, serving in the Pacific, and earning a Purple Heart would Ige be able to return to the University of Wisconsin and complete his PhD.

UW's Campus Response to Japanese American Students

The inclusive mentality that UW tried to cultivate on campus encouraged students to adopt a more compassionate view of Japanese American students. Only two days after Pearl Harbor, some 30 students organized the Wisconsin Liberal Council and, in what the *Daily Cardinal* termed "the first expression of organized campus sentiment on the war with Japan," stated their opposition to citizens taking retaliatory measures against Japanese inside of the U.S.[21] A columnist for the *Daily Cardinal* followed up with cautions against "Any acts of willful destruction directed against the property of these citizens," reminding readers that "We cannot hate our brethren."[22] Throughout the Spring '41 semester, the *Cardinal* published several statements of support for

Japanese Americans, including comments by students and a statement by the campus YMCA affirming that Japanese American students were welcome on UW's campus. One Nisei UW alum replied to the *Cardinal* staff, "you can't imagine how thankful we are in receiving concrete examples of tolerance and justice which the Cardinal has always upheld."[23] For Nisei like himself, whose faith in America had been shaken by recent events, it was gratifying to behold examples of both "tolerance and beauty" in the campus newspaper.

Professors and coaches also provided support for wartime Nisei college students. One of Thomas Ige's Economics professors, Dr. Martin Glaeser, offered him a research assistantship for the spring 1942 semester. Although Glaeser worked on economic topics in which Ige had no previous experience, the position offered funding for Ige to finish his MA in the very semester that other Nisei and international students struggled to receive checks from overseas. Ige surmised that the kindness came from Glaeser's recognition of his plight: "He was of German descent and told me of the many hardships his whole family suffered during the First World War in rural Wisconsin. I'm sure he wanted to spare me some of the same heartache."[24] Akio Konoshima, a Japanese American who attended UW beginning in 1944, likewise recalled his boxing coach and teammates offering him support. When a referee at Penn State unfairly awarded a bout to Konoshima's opponent, after promising that he "wasn't gonna let any Jap boy win,"[25] Coach John J. Walsh publicly castigated and dismissed the skewed call while teammates offered condolences and emotional support. Although unable to overturn the ruling, Coach Walsh along with fellow teammates made sure Konoshima did not have to weather the injustice alone. Personal kindnesses such as these were deeply meaningful for UW's Nisei student population.



Akio Konoshima with Coach John J. Walsh and teammates of the UW Boxing team. Courtesy of *What Pearl Harbor Wrought* by Akio Konoshima (Plain View Press, 2010) by permission, page 72.

Still, racism circumscribed Japanese American experiences at UW. For instance, the *Daily Cardinal* reprinted an article from a Chinese

newspaper entitled "You Can't Do Business with the Mikado." It drew on anachronistic portrayals of Japan found in Gilbert & Sullivan's opera *The Mikado* to attack Japan as unintelligible, paranoid, and possessing "grandiose delusion(s)."[26] Nevertheless, it was validated by the *Daily Cardinal* as a supposedly unbiased perspective: merely "one Oriental looking at another." Japanese American students would have undoubtedly bristled at the assumption that the entirety of the Japanese people could be reduced to a few simple traits and that the Chinese people — or any group! — possessed the authority to cast such generalizations. Regrettably, the American public was used to thinking of all Asians as "oriental" and thus opposite to Americans or "Westerners."

In another *Daily Cardinal* issue, the newspaper published a joke piece by "U Noh Hu" that proposed to teach UW students the "most difficult" language of Japanese.[27] The piece elicited ridicule of the Japanese people by doubling down on negative racial stereotypes. For instance, it used the prevalence of indefinite verbs in the language as commentary on the character of Japanese people, saying "The little yellow men find it hard to decide…whether they can make up their minds at all." In suggesting topics that a Japanese-language learner must study, the author depicted modern Japanese as the sword-fighting Samurai caricatured in Hollywood. In fact, the whole article was written in faux Japanese-English, including pronunciation difficulties common for Japanese learners of English as well as writing popular English phrases in fake Japanese syllables. Despite efforts to promote inclusion and compassion, racist caricatures such as these pervaded campus culture and made racial diversity an elusive goal.

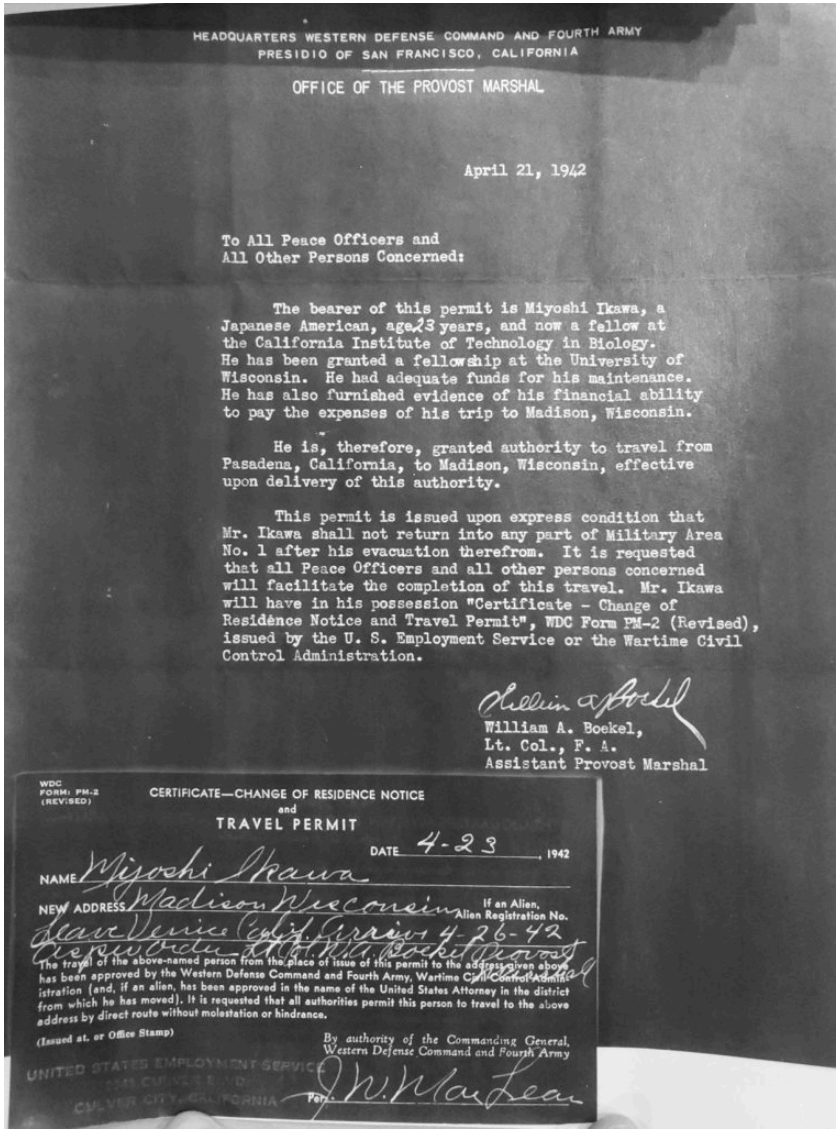
In the face of such microaggressions, Japanese Americans had to make the uncomfortable choice of defending their racial group or smiling and laughing along. Casual exclusions — such as assuming all racially Japanese students were "international" or ignoring Nisei exclusion and incarceration — also left students feeling misunderstood and cut-off from the campus community. As one student remembered of her days at UW, "There wasn't much interest in [exile and incarceration. The students] probably didn't know anything about camp and that I had come from a concentration camp."[28] While the absence of harassment was a relief for Japanese Americans at UW, it did not mean the campus always felt welcoming. Still, Japanese American students did find supportive students, professors, coaches, and staff at UW. This was particularly notable given the rampant anti-Japanese sentiment in American society during the World War II era.

UW Administration and Japanese American Student Relocation

During spring 1942, the evacuation and internment of Japanese American college students drew the UW administration into an evolving national dilemma. Nisei students at colleges in California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska were being evacuated and incarcerated along with the rest of the area's Japanese Americans. The situation developed quickly. At the beginning of March, people were allowed to leave the West Coast states voluntarily, but by March 24 only Army-directed evacuation was allowed. Those who did not flee in the first three weeks of March were sent to assembly centers and internment camps until the U.S. government allowed them to leave.

Imagine the anxiety of college students in the middle of their spring classes. Would they be able to finish their courses and get credit for the semester? Should they forget the tuition they had paid, drop out in mid-March, and move to another state? Could they transfer to another university in only a couple weeks to continue their education? Should they return to their parents so the family could stay together no matter what internment might bring? Suddenly, an exam grade or a final paper hardly mattered to their futures.

Nisei college students began sending anxious letters to possible transfer universities, and West Coast university administrators, educators, and church leaders did the same, hoping to help students complete their educations. The wave of letters of inquiry that landed on the desks of UW administrators during the spring of '42 caught many by surprise. By June 11, President Dykstra's secretary calculated that UW administrators had received 67 inquiries about Japanese American student transfers.[29] Initially, President Dykstra suggested that "it might be much wiser for these young American Japanese to go to Midwest universities which have not tied themselves into the training program of the Army and the Navy."[30] He feared that the attitudes of incoming recruits would make the campus less welcoming to Japanese American students. However, as more letters accumulated, Dykstra began to look for advice from the federal government. He wrote to the Department of Justice's commissioner, Marshall Dimock: "[M]ay I ask what in the world we are to do with all these applications for the admission of Japanese students from the West Coast?"[31] On a trip to D.C., he sat down with the director of the War Relocation Authority, Milton Eisenhower, to discuss how Nisei students could be spread out among Midwestern universities. Dykstra hoped they would design a policy for redistributing Japanese American college students so that they could complete their college degrees while at the same time not alarming any state's citizens.[32] After all, anti-Japanese sentiment was widespread across the United States following the attacks on Pearl Harbor.



HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST MARSHAL

April 21, 1942

To All Peace Officers and
All Other Persons Concerned:

The bearer of this permit is Miyoshi Ikawa, a Japanese American, age 23 years, and now a fellow at the California Institute of Technology in Biology. He has been granted a fellowship at the University of Wisconsin. He had adequate funds for his maintenance. He has also furnished evidence of his financial ability to pay the expenses of his trip to Madison, Wisconsin.

He is, therefore, granted authority to travel from Pasadena, California, to Madison, Wisconsin, effective upon delivery of this authority.

This permit is issued upon express condition that Mr. Ikawa shall not return into any part of Military Area No. 1 after his evacuation therefrom. It is requested that all Peace Officers and all other persons concerned will facilitate the completion of this travel. Mr. Ikawa will have in his possession "Certificate - Change of Residence Notice and Travel Permit", WDC Form PM-2 (Revised), issued by the U. S. Employment Service or the Wartime Civil Control Administration.

William A. Boekel,
Lt. Col., F. A.
Assistant Provost Marshal

WDC FORM: PM-2 (REVISED)

CERTIFICATE—CHANGE OF RESIDENCE NOTICE
and
TRAVEL PERMIT

DATE 4-23, 1942

NAME Miyoshi Ikawa

NEW ADDRESS Madison Wisconsin

If an Alien, Alien Registration No.

Leave Venice Calif. Arrive 4-26-42

By order of Lt. Col. W.A. Boekel Provost

The travel of the above-named person from the place of issue of this permit to the address given above has been approved by the Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, Wartime Civil Control Administration (and, if an alien, has been approved in the name of the United States Attorney in the district from which he has moved). It is requested that all authorities permit this person to travel to the above address by direct route without molestation or hindrance.

(Issued at, or Office Stamp)

By authority of the Commanding General,
Western Defense Command and Fourth Army

For J.W. MacLean

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA

Travel permit to Madison, WI, for Miyoshi Ikawa. Courtesy of the Chancelors (Formerly Presidents) of the University Miscellaneous File, Series 4/0/1, Box 43, UW–Madison Archives. Full text »

Despite Dykstra's efforts, no solution was in place before the Army began forcibly removing Japanese Americans to assembly centers. Still, Dykstra continued to lobby for a solution along with other university administrators and church leaders across the country. By May, the federal government had approved the formation of a National Japanese American Student Relocation Council (NSRC) and tasked it with

designing and managing a program to relocate college students and distribute them among the nation's post-high-school institutions.[33] NSRC volunteers began visiting assembly centers and internment camps to pass out student questionnaires. These would help them begin the process of matching students with schools, obtaining federal permission for each student's leave, and raising money to fund tuition, room, and board for the first year out of camp.

The NSRC's job was made more difficult by "proscribed lists" created by the Army and Navy, detailing institutions where Nisei transfer students would not receive federal clearance. The Navy's list was especially harsh, removing almost every large school with technical training programs from consideration. Unfortunately, the University of Wisconsin was on this list. No one could say whether the Navy considered as "confidential" the activities at its UW-based radio training school or some undisclosed research project on UW's campus.[34] Whatever the reason, no student from an internment camp was supposed to be admitted to UW. Confusion abounded regarding which Japanese American students *were* allowed, however. In correspondence with UW administrative staff in the summer of 1943, a staffer at the War Relocation Authority affirmed a lenient policy, saying that the WRA had "never considered" that the prohibitions of military departments would extend to students outside of internment camps.[35] Japanese American students who had *not* been evacuated seemed free to attend. But just four months later, an official in the Office of the Provost Marshal General stated, "The War Department makes no distinction between Japanese-Americans who were evacuated to Relocation Centers and those who were never in a Relocation Center."[36] This official said that *all* potential students of Japanese origin needed to gain approval by the War Department before admission to the University of Wisconsin. Such inconsistent messaging from the federal government caused university administrators to second-guess almost every Japanese American college application and set up hurdles for Japanese Americans that other prospective students did not face.

To honor its wartime collaboration with U.S. military agencies, UW attempted to set a conservative admissions policy that aligned with federal regulations without practicing racism in its own admissions policies. This proved easier said than done. During the spring and summer of 1942 while they waited for a federal policy, UW administrators and admissions staff delayed accepting applicants who had been evacuated by the federal government, cautioning that the university would not admit them without federal approval. The eventual decision of federal agencies cemented the university's admissions

policy, limiting Japanese American enrollment only to those from Hawai'i or who had "voluntarily evacuated" the West Coast before April 1942. Where UW administrators had hoped a federal policy would open doors for acceptance, they now had to follow that policy's restrictions.

Among the U.S. Japanese population and those who sought to help Nisei relocate, UW's restrictive acceptance policies in 1942–44 earned the university a reputation that was at odds with its earlier support of Nisei students. Rumors lingered that UW refused to admit Japanese American students. An alumna from UW's School of Education who taught in a Japanese internment camp learned that one of her students had been encouraged not to apply to UW.[37] She wrote the UW out of disbelief that, with its much-lauded attitudes on race, UW would exclude her student because of his Japanese ancestry. President Dykstra hastened to defend the university's position, blaming the Navy's tight-fisted clearance policy and asserting that UW gladly accepted Japanese Americans who had not been interned. Still, the rumors reflected a truth — UW *was* refusing admittance to Americans who had been interned because of their race. Another student who eventually attended and graduated from Wisconsin would recall UW's closed doors to him while he was stuck in an internment camp. As he had heard it, "[A]t that time, they wouldn't take Nissei".[38] The university's good intentions did not change the reality that its training programs and research associations hindered it from practicing the racial inclusion many of its members desired.

In the end, UW's administrative decision to push the federal government for a national policy on admitting Japanese American internees to colleges kept UW in a good relationship with the federal government and its executive agencies. UW could then advocate for more relaxed treatment of Japanese American college students. Throughout 1943 and '44, UW continued to lobby for its removal from the list of proscribed colleges, and eventually the War Department reconsidered UW's status as well as those of other universities. However, UW's policy also meant it was not able to help U.S. citizens who sought early relief from the injustice of Japanese American internment. Regardless of good intentions and community support for intervention, UW was limited by the most restrictive and racist policies of organizations with which they had associated themselves. For the many Japanese American students refused admittance to UW, the effect was the same as if UW itself held those values.

Epilogue

In the fall of 1944, when the U.S. War Department finally took Wisconsin off of its proscribed list of colleges, the Japanese American

population at UW suddenly quadrupled. Finally the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council could place Japanese American students in UW's technical programs. Of the 34 Japanese American students who attended UW in 1944–45, 66% of them were enrolled in specialized or technical programs, with half of those focusing on medicine.[39] Moreover, UW was now allowed to accept the applications of any Japanese American students who applied. Half of UW's Japanese American population listed internment camps as their "hometown": Topaz, Utah; Hood River, Oregon; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Gila River, Arizona; McGehee, Arkansas; Hunt, Idaho; Amache, Colorado. Other Japanese American students also had lived in internment camps at one time but had already relocated or chose to claim the cities from which they had been evacuated. These, along with students hailing from Hawai'i and those who had escaped internment altogether, made up UW's newly robust Nisei population. UW was finally able to open its doors to the Japanese Americans that many had hoped to help during the early internment years.

Japanese Americans generally have recorded fond memories of their times at UW during the WWII era: supportive professors and friends, enjoyable participation in campus life. Those who knew them also remember them as upbeat, friendly, and conscientious. In the context of widespread anti-Japanese hysteria and a national policy of Japanese American internment and incarceration, however, these rosy memories omit the intense pressure that Nisei felt at the time to overlook discrimination. While American students commonly demonstrated their patriotism through military service or support for the troops, Nisei often felt additional patriotic responsibility to serve as ambassadors of Japanese Americans to the larger American populace. Thus, the fuller story of UW's engagement with Japanese Americans during WWII comes by also attending to the thoughts and experiences that students papered over and smiled through, as they shouldered the burden of proving their own loyalty and recuperating the public image of an entire racial group.

The University of Wisconsin can be proud of cultivating a campus environment that encouraged students in the early 1940s to desire fair treatment of Japanese Americans and to not participate in the harassment and physical violence Japanese Americans encountered elsewhere. Still, UW's previous commitments to training programs and research activities limited its ability to enroll many of the Nisei college students who sought relief from internment. The high ideals of the university were reduced to administrative lobbying for a federal policy of relocation…and then having to live within that policy's confinements.

*Unless otherwise noted, all unpublished letters, memos, and miscellaneous documents included here come from the UW Archives' files on Japanese Student Evacuees (Chancellors [Formerly Presidents] of the University Miscellaneous File, Series 4/0/1, University Archives, University of Wisconsin–Madison.)

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] 126,947 in mainland US in 1940, according to "Characteristics of the Population" *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943) 19.

About 158,000 in Hawaii in 1940, according to Harry N. Scheiber et. al. "Hawai'i's Kibei under Martial Law: A Hidden Chapter in the History of World War II Internments," *Western Legal History: The Journal of the Ninth Judicial Circuit Historical Society* 22 (2009): 3.

[2] Mae M. Ngai, "The Word War II Internment of Japanese Americans and the Citizenship Renunciation Cases," *Impossible Subjects (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 175.

[3] C. A. Dykstra, "To the Parents of Students at the University," June 1942.

[4] C. A. Dykstra, "Dykstra…to Students," *Daily Cardinal*, December 9, 1941.

[5] Prescott Lustig, "Campus Favors Letting Jap Students Enter UW," *Daily Cardinal*, May 13, 1942.

[6] Tom Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu* (University of Hawaii Press: Honolulu, 1989), 59.

[7] According to the *Daily Cardinal*, no demonstration transpired, and the disappointed crowd gradually dissipated. "War Outbreak Startles UW," *Daily Cardinal*, December 9, 1941.

[8] "Hawaiian Students Will Worry Over Income, Family, Homeland," *Daily Cardinal*, December 13, 1941.

[9] Brian Niiya. "Voluntary evacuation," *Densho Encyclopedia* (accessed January 4, 2021).

[10] Esther Hibbard, Letter to C. V. Hibbard, December 12, 1941. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Archives Division, Wis Mss QN, Box 3.)

[11] Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu,* 70.

[12] C. A. Dykstra, speech at All University Convocation, December 12, 1941.
[13] Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu*, 59.
[14] "Hawaiian Students Will Worry Over Income, Family, Homeland," *Daily Cardinal*, December 13, 1941.
[15] Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu,* 59.
[16] Abdul K. Disu, "Education in Home Lands Discussed By International Club Sunday Meeting," *Daily Cardinal*, January 13, 1941.
[17] Thomas H. Ige, "Japanese American Comments on Admitting Displaced West-Coast Students To University," *Daily Cardinal*, May 21, 1942.
[18] Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu,* 60.
[19] Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu*, 69.
[20] Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu,* 70–71.
[21] "Liberals Oppose Jap Retaliatory Measures," *Daily Cardinal*, December 10, 1941.
[22] "We can't hate our brethren…Only Ignorant People Become Hysterical," *Daily Cardinal*, December 11, 1941.
[23] Iwao Uyeda, "Second Generation Japanese Sees Tolerance and Beauty in Blood-Drenched World," *Daily Cardinal,* January 9, 1942.
[24] Ige, *Boy from Kahaluu,* 59–60.
[25] Akio Konoshima, Interview, March 22, 2004. Veteran's History Project.
[26] "One Oriental Looks at Another, You Can't Do Business with the Mikado," *Daily Cardinal*, December 10, 1941.
[27] U Noh Hu, "Jap Language Most Difficult…So Solly," *Daily Cardinal*, February 4, 1942.
[28] Leslie A. Ito, "Loyalty and Learning: Nisei Women and the Student Relocation," Honors thesis (Mount Holyoke College, 1996) 58–59.
[29] Memo, June 11, 1942.
[30] C. A. Dykstra, Letter to L. P. Sieg, March 17, 1942.
[31] C. A. Dykstra, Letter to Marshall E. Dimock, April 30, 1942.
[32] C. A. Dykstra, Letter to Milton Eisenhower, April 17, 1942.
[33] Allan W. Austin, *From Concentration Camp To Campus: Japanese American Students and WWII* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).
[34] E. M. Rowalt, Letter to C. A. Dykstra, August 18, 1942.
[35] John H. Provinse, Letter to C. A. Smith, June 25, 1943.
[36] Alton C. Miller, Letter to Mrs. H. G. Cannon, November 20, 1943.
[37] Jennie M. Turner, Letter to Clarence A. Dykstra, October 7, 1942.
[38] Konoshima, Interview, March 22, 2004.
[39] University of Wisconsin, "University Directory," Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1945.

Japanese American Badgers By Joy E. Block

Originally Posted on April 14, 2021. To download or print this chapter, click here

This post is the second in a series of blog posts celebrating the 2021 Asian Pacific Islander Desi American (APIDA) Heritage Month at UW–Madison. For more information about APIDA events and programming, visit UW–Madison's APIDA Heritage Month page. Stay tuned for part three of the series which will be published on April 26th.

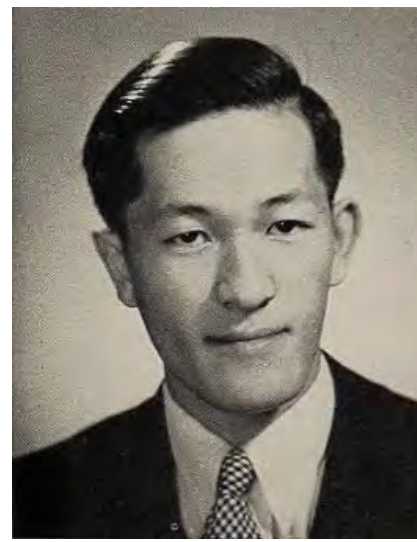
The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The multi-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

In the 1940s, Japanese American students — together with Asian

international students and a few other Asian American students — formed the small Asian population on UW's majority white campus. At the time, Asian American students did not have their own social organizations on campus. Assimilation into the larger campus community was usually the goal, so students who sought social outlets with other Asians and Asian Americans either gathered individually with friends or joined the International Club at Memorial Union. (Asian Americans from California and Hawaii who spoke at Club events often spent their time explaining how they were *not* internationals.) This could be lonely and isolating at times, but many also found ways to flourish and enjoy their years at UW, developing deep friendships with classmates and advisors. These are some of their stories.

Miyoshi Ikawa

Miyoshi Ikawa was one of the first "students of Japanese ancestry" that found a place at UW after Pearl Harbor, primarily because his graduate advisor at CalTech, Linus Pauling, was sensitive to the mounting anti-Japanese tension faced by his graduate students. Pauling began searching for new placements for his students as soon as President Franklin Roosevelt declared Pasadena, CA, a military zone in February 1942.[1] A renowned chemist and biochemist, Pauling sent out inquiries to several universities where his students' skills might fit into ongoing research programs. At Wisconsin, only one biochemist needed another graduate student at that time, so Miyoshi Ikawa joined Karl Paul Link's research lab in UW's School of Agriculture. Ikawa needed to switch from studying anti-coagulation chemicals to studying antibodies in blood, but it was similar enough work that Ikawa could fit quickly into the Madison lab. Because of professors and administrators who acted on the urgency of Ikawa's situation, wheels began to turn quickly. By April 14, Ikawa received a



Miyoshi Ikawa's Senior picture in the California Institute of Technology's 1941 yearbook. Courtesy of Ancestry.com, U.S., School Yearbooks, 1880–2021.

research assistantship in Biochemistry. A week later, he held in his hand a travel permit from the Western Defense Command in California, and two weeks later he reported for duty in Madison for his new research position. The Pearl Harbor attacks had changed life for all Japanese Americans, but at least Ikawa was able to continue moving along his career path.

Ikawa was lucky, given that the Army had begun restricting Japanese American movement and forcing evacuation from the West Coast at the end of March. Yet this did not mean Ikawa could smoothly settle into graduate work at UW; the instability of Japanese Americans in general meant that Ikawa's own status at UW was frequently uncertain too. His new advisor spent the summer of 1942 advocating for him. In June, Ikawa received a letter from the Dean of the College of Agriculture, informing him that full acceptance for Japanese Americans required "some kind of official clearance from a Federal authority indicating that [the student is] not subject to internment and that they are being vouched for by some Federal authority."[2] Ikawa had already received permission to travel to Madison from Army authorities in California, but his travel permit did not verify the specific conditions UW wanted. How was Ikawa supposed to acquire further clearance from an Army caught up with evacuating over a hundred thousand people? Instead, Karl Paul Link advocated on his behalf, interviewing Federal officers in Chicago for their advice on the case and interceding with UW's administration on Ikawa's behalf.

Adding to this anxiety, on July 13, 1942, Ikawa's temporary military deferment expired, and UW's Office on Occupational Deferment refused to handle Ikawa's case, presumably because he was not yet officially accepted to the university.[3] Dr. Link himself had to advocate for Ikawa with the Los Angeles County Board to get Ikawa's deferment renewed for another seven months. One can imagine the suspense Ikawa lived with for the month after his deferment expired before he learned of the extension. Only because his new UW advisor corresponded with the Los Angeles County Board and interviewed Federal officers in Chicago, was Ikawa able to get his military deferment renewed and his grad school transfer accepted. As a researcher at UW, Miyoshi Ikawa would go on to prove his skill as a biochemist by, along with his lab mate, creating a new version of the chemical dicoumarol, more popularly known as the revolutionary rat poison "Warfarin."[4] However, he only received this opportunity and the support to take advantage of it through the advocacy of his academic advisors, who were willing to fight for the continuation of his education.

Toshi Toki



Toshi Toki's Senior picture in the University of Wisconsin's 1942 yearbook. Photo courtesy UW Archives.

Before 1942, only one Japanese family lived in the Madison area — the Tokis. Toshi Toki, the third of the family's four children, was a UW Senior majoring in Geography at the time.[5] She was born and raised in the Madison area, on a farm just south of today's Beltline highway and the South Towne Mall.[6] Since there were so few people of Asian descent living in the area, her family assimilated into a primarily white Madison and carved a niche for themselves in the farming community — delivering fresh produce to Madison groceries every few days in their truck. While a student at West High School, Toki would either ride the family truck or walk into town, catching the streetcar at Lakeside Street and taking it in towards University Avenue. She probably took a similar route as a college student as well, since she continued to live at home rather than renting an apartment near campus.[7]

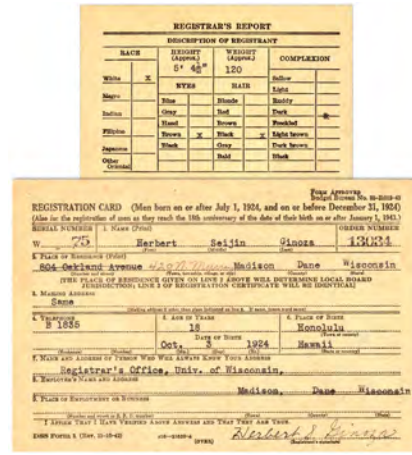
In many ways, Toshi Toki was a typical, young Wisconsinite from Madison's surrounding farmland. However, her family was Japanese, so as U.S. relations with Japan soured, she and her family endured some of the same suspicions as Japanese Americans across the country. Even before December '41, the family's bank assets were frozen, and they were advised not to travel.[8] After the Pearl Harbor attacks, FBI agents began checking out the family, asking all their neighbors and known acquaintances about their national loyalty. Thankfully, the neighbors all gave good accounts of the family, so the federal officials left them alone. Still, fearing a rise in anti-Japanese sentiment, Madisonians advised the Tokis not to travel into town on their normal delivery route. Instead, friends in the American Legion and at the family's grocery stops came out to the farm to pick up food orders.

How did this all effect Toshi Toki? She left no record of her experiences on campus, but it is likely that she laid low on the farm with her family during the winter break that followed Japan's attack. Once

classes restarted in January, however, she likely returned to attending class on campus. Her family found the Madison community generally supportive — especially after the family's only son volunteered for the Army. A family friend, one of the leaders of Madison's American Legion, tried as often as possible to give the family good press, even making sure that the Legion honored the family as "fine American citizens" for their son's military service.[9] Madison's low levels of anti-Japanese sentiment at the time would have given Toki some confidence as she continued with her classes and graduated in the spring of '42. Over the next two years, while Toki became a UW graduate student and teaching assistant in the Geography Department, more Japanese American students and families began to move to Madison, either "voluntarily evacuating" from the West Coast or relocating out of internment camps. In these wartime years, Toki and her family became a social hub for these new Madisonians, hosting holiday dinners with Japanese food and providing a sense of home for the dislocated. In fact, Toki's two sisters and brother eventually married Japanese Americans who moved to Madison during this period for education or relocation. With her MA in Geography, however, Toki moved on to Washington, D.C. to work for the U.S. Census Bureau — a Badger using her skills and education for the country's national service.

Herbert Seijin Ginoza

When Herbert Seijin Ginoza left California to escape internment and continue his college education in the Midwest, he did so without first receiving acceptance to any institution. Since he had voluntarily evacuated, UW was willing to accept him for the 1942–43 school year. Ginoza also took precautions to look less threatening to university administrators. Since the Territory of Hawaii was not under evacuation orders, Ginoza listed his family's hometown of Honolulu as his home address to avoid suspicion, despite having left home a few months before the Pearl Harbor attack.[10] However, unlike students who received scholarships or assistantships, Ginoza needed to work his way through school. When he ran out of money, he "had to drop out of school and work for awhile" before he could return, according to the stories he told his son.[11] He studied at a number of schools as he worked his way across the country.


REGISTRAR'S REPORT

DESCRIPTION OF REGISTRANT

RACE		HEIGHT (Approx.)	WEIGHT (Approx.)	COMPLEXION	
White		5' 4½"	120	Sallow	
Negro		EYES	HAIR	Light	
Indian		Blue	Blonde	Ruddy	
		Gray	Red	Dark	
Filipino		Hazel	Brown	Freckled	
Japanese		Brown	Black	Light brown	
Other Oriental		Black	Gray	Dark brown	
			Bald	Black	

REGISTRATION CARD (Men born on or after July 1, 1924, and on or before December 31, 1924)

W 25 Herbert Seijin Ginoza 13034

804 Oakland Avenue Madison Dane Wisconsin

(THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE GIVEN ON LINE 3 ABOVE WILL DETERMINE LOCAL BOARD JURISDICTION; LINE 3 OF REGISTRATION CERTIFICATE WILL BE IDENTICAL)

Same

B 1835 18 Oct. 3 1924 Honolulu Hawaii

Registrar's Office, Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Dane Wisconsin

Herbert S. Ginoza

Herbert Seijin Ginoza's draft registration card from 1943 which incorrectly indicates his race as "White." Courtesy of Ancestry.com. U.S., World War II Draft Cards Young Men, 1940–1947.

Perhaps tuition at UW was too high for such a strategy; he did not end up continuing at UW after the 1942–43 school year. Then again, his leaving may have been related to what Ginoza would always remember as being "illegally" drafted. According to Ginoza's accounts, initially he had volunteered for service but the Army turned him away due to his race.[12] Only after he paid his semester's tuition money and started classes did the local draft board have a change of heart, in order to meet their draft quota during a local flu epidemic. Documents show that Ginoza registered for the draft at Dane County's local draft board on January 2, 1943.[13] Then in April, Ginoza was inducted at the Fort Sheridan in Illinois.[14] Could Ginoza have been referring to Dane County's draft board in his story? It seems likely. The draft card Ginoza signed in Madison only 4 months before being inducted listed his race as "White" rather than "Oriental," which would have encouraged a draft board to look the other way when calling up new draftees. Wherever the situation occurred, it remained a source of resentment for Ginoza over the years, not because of any unwillingness to serve in the U.S. military but because of his lost tuition money and the months of labor that went into earning it. Such events also reflected how white Americans enforced or ignored racial status in ways that often served themselves.

Despite Ginoza's frustration about how he entered the Army, he went on to serve as one of only five Japanese Americans in the U.S. Army Air Corps and became an American POW in Germany after falling into German territory during a bomber mission.[15] Finally, after his military service he was able to finish college training in Nebraska and serve as a civilian biochemist in the U.S. Army and with NASA.[16] He is a good example of how Japanese American UW students during WWII often could not finish degrees or were forced to take disjointed paths to do so. Their stories are as much a part of UW history as those of its graduates and reveal the more complicated ways that Japanese Americans interacted with Madison's university and city administrations.

Toru Iura



Toru Iura performing during his time as a UW Cheerleader. Notably this photo was featured on the cover of the Wisconsin Engineer Magazine, March of 1948. Photo courtesy UW Archives.

When he started his Senior year of high school in the fall of 1941, Toru Iura hoped that during the next year he would join many of his classmates at UCLA.[17] However, developments after the Pearl Harbor attacks derailed this Senior Class vice president's dreams. In March 1942, Iura's family evacuated before internment orders were finalized and moved to Fort Lupton, Colorado.[18] Unable to graduate with his high school class in Los Angeles, Iura still managed to complete his high school work through correspondence and received his diploma in the mail that summer. However, most universities in his new state would no longer accept Japanese Americans. Only Colorado A&M was willing to accept him as a student, but when he began classes, he realized that its focus on agriculture was a poor fit for his engineering career goals. He began applying again, this time to universities further east. Again, more than a dozen universities rejected him, but he finally received an acceptance from the University of Wisconsin after a long wait while its administration dithered over whether they could admit him. In the end, Toru Iura met the university's policy for acceptance: his family had "voluntarily evacuated" California rather than being interned by the U.S. military.

Toru Iura loved his years at UW, and he flourished in the field of mechanical engineering. Already by his second year at UW, he was a member of multiple honor societies, including Tau Beta Pi and Pi Tau Sigma and served as Business Manager of the *Wisconsin Engineer*.[19] He worked at the UW Rathskeller as part of putting himself through college.[20] Moreover, Iura embraced campus social life. Most visibly, he won a position on UW's varsity cheer leading squad and led the crowds in cheers during football games, a role he would encore at UW reunions for decades afterwards. His visible presence on campus did much to encourage other local Japanese Americans. One twelve-year old who

had evacuated California with his family marveled at seeing a "Japanese cheerleader" when he went to watch Badger football games.[21] Iura was also instrumental in organizing social events to help Japanese Americans meet and settle in the area, when many began arriving from internment camps in fall 1944.[22] His sociability, engaging personality, and sense of humor won him support among peers and professors alike.

World War II caused disruptions for everyone, however. When interviewed for the *Wisconsin Engineer* in September 1944, Iura said that following his undergraduate studies, he hoped to "take grad work if the army didn't catch him first."[23] As it turned out, Iura did not even get through his undergraduate courses before the Army called his number. In 1945–46, Iura served as an Army private, spending time in Florida and in the Army Specialized Training Program.[24] Still, his military service did not sidetrack his career ambitions. Iura was able to return to UW and graduated with a BS in 1948. Then, he returned to California for his graduate studies and worked in space and missile development there.

Akio Konoshima

The University of Wisconsin was the third college that Akio Konoshima attended when he arrived in the fall of 1944. Three years previous, during the fall before Pearl Harbor, Konoshima had begun his studies at San Jose State, preparing to enter engineering school. However, evacuation during his freshman spring semester paused those ambitions. Like many college-aged Nisei, Konoshima was evacuated with his family, first being held at an assembly center (Santa Anita, CA) and then being moved to an internment camp (Heart Mountain, WY) after its hasty construction.[25] Unlike most Japanese Americans his own age, however, Konoshima was not considered "Nisei" or American-born Japanese. Instead, he was considered a first-generation immigrant because he had been born in Japan and immigrated to the U.S. at the age of six months. At a time when the loyalty of Japanese Americans was categorized primarily by race and place of birth, Konoshima struggled to take advantage of opportunities reserved for American citizens. He spent most of 1942 and '43 in an internment camp or out on work crews as temporary farm labor in Montana. Work crews of interned Japanese Americans helped to replace the labor of workers who had joined or been drafted into the military, but they did not receive much income for their services.

On Christmas Eve of 1943, Konoshima left the camp in Heart Mountain to attend a small Christian college in Illinois. The University of Wisconsin would have been more to his taste, but Konoshima could

not leave his camp to attend an institution on the Navy's "proscribed" list. Instead, he settled down to study engineering at a smaller school. Unfortunately, after missing college classes during almost two years of internment, Konoshima confessed, "I had forgotten a lot of math and science I had learned [before, and] I wasn't doing as well as I should have in school."[26] Konoshima left after just a semester of classes and resolved to learn the newspaper business while working in Chicago. His Chicago career also proved short-lived, however, when Konoshima learned that UW had received permission to accept all Japanese American students. That very summer, Konoshima applied to UW and entered with other incoming students for fall 1944 to study journalism.



Akio Konoshima photographed for the UW Boxing Team ca. 1946. Photo courtesy UW Archives.

A studious, glasses-wearing youth, Konoshima was a few years older than the average incoming freshman student, but this was not unusual in the late-wartime environment of soldiers and sailors returning to college. He settled in to his studies during the week, paying expenses by working in a dorm cafeteria as well as at the Oscar Mayer meat plant on the weekend. One day, Konoshima heard about a different opportunity. Due to the small number of men on campus, the UW boxing team needed many new boxers to join. Konoshima had learned the sport as a teenager by sparring with his older brother. Now he was told, "[I]f you make the team, they will give you a scholarship." On the evening of February 2, 1945, Konoshima won a seat on the varsity team by outboxing his opponent in the All-University Tournament.[27] By the end of his first season, Konoshima held the best record on the team — only one loss out of seven fights. Even the loss was highly contested. The referee at Penn State had previously said he "wasn't gonna let any Jap boy win,"[28] so when Konoshima lost the match with what even Penn State students considered a "lousy decision,"

UW Coach Tom Kenneally told the press that Konoshima had been "robbed."[29]

Despite an unusual wartime season for UW's boxing team, Akio Konoshima had become a UW star, capturing the attention of the campus with his quick punches. The following year, the team also elected Konoshima as their honorary captain. Calling him "remarkable" and "one of the toughest fighters in the ring," the *Daily Cardinal* cheered the choice: "Congratulations, 'Akie.' You earned it."[30] Boxing had given Konoshima the opportunity to both pay for some of his schooling and gain recognition on campus. His road of persevering through anti-Japanese sentiment and racism was not over, but he did leave the University of Wisconsin with some good memories. After graduating, Konoshima would go on to serve in the Korean War and work as a professional journalist in Japan, London, and the U.S.

These five vignettes cover a variety of Japanese American student experiences at UW–Madison in the 1940s. Still, the available archives only offer the historical details to tell certain people's stories. Oral histories provide one of the most vivid sources for experiences and opinions left out of more institutional sources, but even these are limited by who records their memories. For instance, we see Japanese American women fleetingly in archival collections. Toshi Toki's vignette drew on brief mentions in published documents or from her brother's oral history. Likewise, Akio Konoshima's younger sister became the president of Groves Co-op, the first explicitly interracial housing at UW–Madison. A *Daily Cardinal* issue captures her photo and a summary of the co-op, but it is only through her brother's oral history that we learn about her responses to lingering anti-Japanese public sentiment.[31] She felt the need to Anglicize her name from "Dudiko" to "Carolyn" when she came to UW, a change notable to her brother because it completely surprised him when he visited her at Groves. Perhaps future UW students will continue the work of uncovering the stories of those usually left out of archival collections. Alternately, if you have experiences, historical knowledge, or primary sources that would help broaden our collections of Asian and Asian American experience at UW, please contact us at *publichistoryproject@wisc.edu*.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from

you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] Oregon State University Libraries Special Collections & Archives Research Center, "Carol Ikeda and Miyoshi Ikawa," *The Pauling Blog*, June 28, 2017.

[2] E. B. Fred, Letter to Miyoshi Ikawa, June 15, 1942.

[3] Karl Paul Link, "Prepared for the Office of the President: Re: Miyoshi Ikawa," nd.

[4] Ramya Rajagopalan, "A Study in Scarlet," *Distillations*, March 29, 2018.

[5]Badger Yearbook, 1942, page 192.

[6] Akira Toki, Interview: Part 2, February 4, 1994. Wisconsin Historical Society.

[7] University Directory, "The 1943 Badger."

[8] Akira Toki, Interview: Part 1, November 2, 1993. Wisconsin Historical Society.

[9] Benjamin H. Bull, Letter to L. P. Seig, October 12, 1944.

[10] University Directory, "The 1943 Badger."

[11] Otis Wright Ginoza, "Second Hand War Stories," *Discover Nikkei*, 2019.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] The National Archives in St. Louis, Missouri, *Draft Registration Cards for Wisconsin, 10/16/1940–03/31/1947*, Record Group: *Records of the Selective Service System* 147, Box: 226. Ancestry.com.

[14] "Herbert Seijin Ginoza," Japanese American Military Experience Database, *Discover Nikkei*. Accessed 01/11/21.

[15] *Ibid*.

[16] "Herbert Ginoza: Obituary," *San Jose Mercury News*, September 11, 2011.

[17] "The Los Angeles High School Blue and White," Los Angeles: the Graduating Class, 1942. *Ancestry.com.*

[18] Rita Takahashi, "Toru Iura Papers," Attachment to Letter to Toru Iura, November 25, 1998.

[19] Mae E. Zimmerman, "New Staff," *Wisconsin Engineer*, September 1944.

[20] Kurt F. Wendt, Letter of Recommendation to Officer in Charge on A.S.T.P. Board, January 23, 1945.

[21] Judy Iura, Letter to Joy Block, February 7, 2021.

[22] "Madison Evacuees 'Meet the Town' at University Party," *Pacific Citizen,* c. September 1944

[23] Zimmerman, *Wisconsin Engineer*.

[24] Kurt F. Wendt, Letter to Officer in Charge, A.S.T. P. Board, January 23, 1945.

[25] Veterans History Project, "Interview with Akio Konoshima Part 1 of 2," March 22, 2004.

[26] Veterans History Project, "Interview with Akio Konoshima Part 1 of 2," March 22, 2004.

[27] "Ossowski Breaks Nose; Veterans Retain Titles," *Daily Cardinal*, February 6, 1945.

[28] Veterans History Project, "Interview with Akio Konoshima Part 1 of 2," March 22, 2004.

[29] "Boxers Nip Lions; Seahawks Fight Here Friday Night," *The Daily Cardinal*, February 20, 1945.

[30] "Sports Session with Sy Sherman," *The Daily Cardinal*, March 28, 1946.

[31] Akio Konoshima, interview by Richard Hawkins, Go For Broke National Education Center, University of Southern California, July 21, 2009.

"Being Hmong, you don't really have a place": Hmong American Alumni at UW–Madison By Chong A. Moua

Originally Posted on April 26, 2021 To download or print this chapter, click here.

This post is the last in a series of blog posts celebrating the 2021 Asian Pacific Islander Desi American (APIDA) Heritage Month at UW–Madison. For more information about APIDA events and programming, visit UW–Madison's APIDA Heritage Month page.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The multi-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this blog post is disturbing. In this post, you will encounter descriptions of anti-Asian, racist stereotypes.

I joined the Public History Project team in June of 2020, right after campus and the entire country swiftly moved to shut down in response to the COVID-19 global pandemic. The Project was looking for a graduate student with the knowledge and capabilities to research the experience of Asian Pacific Islander Desi American (APIDA) alumni. As a Hmong American graduate student who is pursuing a PhD for the purpose of including Hmong refugee history within U.S. Cold War history, I jumped at the opportunity to insert Hmong American voices into the history of UW–Madison because institutionally funded projects tend to not include APIDA topics and issues.

In my job interview with Kacie Lucchini Butcher, the director of the Public History Project, I was transparent in my goal for the position, saying that if given the chance, "I was going to find my people" and use this opportunity as a way to "claim institutional space" for Hmong American students, past, present, and future. Considering the exponential reemergence of anti-Asian racism and discrimination since the beginning of the pandemic, these interviews with Hmong American alumni are timely in that they reveal how their experiences at UW–Madison underscore the historical and continued invisibility of Asian Americans in the U.S.[1]

Hmong American students began matriculating into colleges and universities across Wisconsin in the mid-1980s, with their numbers slowly increasing into the 1990s.[2] Data on Hmong American students attending UW System schools was not easily obtainable until 2006 when UW–Madison (and 2008 the rest of the UW System schools) began offering "Hmong" as an ethnic category on their applications for admission. A report, the first of its kind to disaggregate the data on Hmong American students, compiled by a team of researchers at UW–Madison noted that prior to 2006, the UW system typically combined data on Hmong students within larger categories such as "Asian," "Southeast Asian," or "Targeted Minority" in public reports on students. Within the UW system, over 3,132 Hmong American students have attended UW–Madison from 2008–2018 (second to UW–Milwaukee, 6,494), with the majority of them coming from Wisconsin. [3] In my interviews with them, Hmong American alumni

expressed that to be Hmong on campus was to be "exhausted" from constantly explaining who Hmong people were, surviving a multitude of microaggression, and carving out a sense of belonging and community in their own terms.[4]

Racially at "home" at UW–Madison

For Hmong American students who grew up in the Midwest, especially in small rural cities where the population was predominantly white, their experiences at UW–Madison campus felt like "home" in that they experienced similar forms of racism and discrimination on campus as they did in their hometowns.

The resettlement of Hmong refugees to the Midwest beginning in the mid-1970s was similar to that of Polish and Hungarian refugees escaping communism in eastern Europe in the 1950s. The resettlement apparatus shifted from helping Eastern Europeans to Southeast Asians after the end of failed U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia in 1975. Refugee resettlement operated as a partnership between the federal government, state and local governments and local voluntary organizations, most of which are religious, or faith based. The Midwest became a region for refugee resettlement due to the robust nature of religious institutions like Catholic Charities' Refugee Resettlement in Milwaukee, the Catholic Charities Diocese of Des Moines, and the Minnesota Council of Churches Refugee Services in Minneapolis. In Wisconsin, the first Hmong refugee families arrived on January 31, 1976, sponsored by Catholic Charities Diocese and Lutheran Social Services.[5]

Immediately upon resettlement to Wisconsin, Hmong refugees faced racism and discrimination. Studies done in the 1980s found that discrimination against Hmong refugees included harassment and the perpetuation of racist stereotypes such as the eating of pets. For instance, Hmong families reported being constantly harassed on the phone, usually late at night, with obscene phone calls and people asking if they eat dog meat.[6] Hmong students and children were also called derogatory names outside of their homes. Rumors that Hmong ate dogs were commonplace, for example, in Eau Claire, local white residents alleged that Hmong homes contained freezers full of frozen dogs that prompted the circulation of tales about dog meat sandwiches being eaten by Hmong students.[7] Similarly, white residents in Wausau spread rumors that Hmong refugees had killed and ate all the wild ducks in the area and stole dogs to eat.[8] Hmong refugees were also often called "Chinese" and told to "go back to your country" by their white American neighbors.

Despite being U.S. born, the Hmong American alumni interviewed experienced similar forms of racism like those of their parents' generation who arrived in the late 1970s and 1980s growing up and as students at UW–Madison. Spending much of her childhood in a small city on the Minnesota-Wisconsin border, *Tang[9] recalls that her first visceral experience of noticing her racial difference was through an interaction with the grandmother of her white best friend in grade school. After meeting the grandmother at *Tang's best friend's house, *Tang says her best friend's behavior changed. After much prodding, her best friend revealed that it wasn't a good idea for *Tang to go over anymore because "My grandma says I shouldn't have people like you over." That moment, says *Tang, was "the first time I felt kind of different and alienated from others … I didn't realize I could be judged in this way, too. I knew I could be judged by like, if I got [a] bad grade or if I had bad behavior … but I didn't understand the skin part until then." The effect of this incident was long lasting because she developed a sense of paranoia about how white people might perceive her. According to *Tang, "So, even now when people look at me, I feel like why, right. What about me right now is making you study me?" *Tang also had experiences of being "othered" inside the classroom when teachers pointed out her grammar as "weird" or asked her to pronounce and repeat things fifty times because they did not understand what she was saying.

*Sheng, another Hmong American alumnus, says that it was not until her family moved from California to a predominantly white suburb in the Twin Cities in Minnesota that she noticed the disadvantages of the racial and socioeconomic status of her family. She spent the first ten years of her life in a diverse, but poor, environment around other Asian Americans and Southeast Asian Americans, where she says, "It never occurred to me that we were poor … because we were living amongst other people who were poor or refugees … I never second-guessed my upbringing." When her family moved to Minnesota, the neighborhood and school she attended was predominantly white and middle class. It was at school where she said "it was very clear to me that I was one the few people who had free lunch … So that was one of the clear markers for me in Minnesota, where in California I had never even—everyone was on free reduced lunch in California." The lack of diversity meant Hmong were simultaneously the most visible minority but the least understood by the white community. This predominantly white environment also led to *Sheng developing internalized racism where she internalized the racist conceptions of Hmong as uneducated, "backwards and poor," and reliant on social welfare.

Growing up in a predominantly white environment did not prepare

*Siab for the "culture shock" of being in a diverse environment for the first time. *Siab grew up in Sheboygan where she mostly had white friends from grade school to high school. During her freshman year on campus, *Siab lived in the dorms where she had a Black roommate and Black Residential Assistants (RAs) that helped her become more comfortable talking about race and her racial identity. The summer of that first year, *Siab left Wisconsin for the first time, for a 3-month pre-med program for underrepresented students in Ohio. There she said she experienced "culture shock" because

> All I saw my entire life were white people for the most part so I'm here [at the program] and I have people who are Muslim and Black students, and Vietnamese and just like a whole variety and I was so like shocked. My first instinct was to be like mom and dad, I want to come home, I don't want to do this anymore. I ended up staying and I like met so many people and heard their stories and like this is the first time I could like relate to like other groups of students that like have similar backgrounds — whose parents did immigrate here, whose parents came from nothing, whose parents had to go back to school, whose parents literally like sacrificed everything for them to like to go college and who like didn't really have anyone else tutor them growing up … — actually relatable people to me. People who would listen to me about my story because no one in Madison does that for sure. They don't care here … It was just really cool and like you kind of like build mutual respect and sincere support for each other because you understand that it's hard in this world when you're not white, which was really nice.

Returning to UW–Madison for her sophomore year, *Siab says was "devastating" because something in her had changed. Her sophomore year did not go as well because she said she was "so busy distracting myself not like feel so out of place." Things got bad enough to where *Siab considered transferring out of UW–Madison. It was a conversation and encouragement and guidance from her freshman year RA that convinced her to stay.



Chancellor's Scholars graduating in 1993 from UW–Madison. Photo by Jeff Miller, courtesy UW Archives.

Much of the racism and discrimination Hmong American alumni experienced came in the form of microaggressions. For example, one instance that made *Tang's body temperature rise due to anger was when a white male, at a ROTC formal event where *Tang was the only person of color sitting at that table, emphatically proclaimed at the end of a discussion on affirmative action, "Well, I just have one thing to say, I didn't get here because of the color of my skin." Alysia also reported receiving similar dismissive comments when she told people she was part of the Chancellor's Scholars program, saying "they [mainly white students] talk about how they [chancellor's scholars] got in just because they're a minority, or they got into Madison just cause they're a minority." *Toua, another Hmong American student part of a scholarship program, said he "had a few instances where people, mainly people of European or Caucasian descent, said the only reason I got into the UW–Madison was because of my ethnicity or race and no other factors—just because they [the university] wanted to fill in minority acceptance rate or something at the UW." Tiffany's experience occurred in high school but continued to haunt her at UW–Madison and later in her professional career as well. In high school, Tiffany had a good white male friend in her English class. They often talked about how they both wanted to get into UW–Madison. When Tiffany told him that she had gotten accepted to UW–Madison, he responded, "You only got in because you're a minority," and stopped talking to her after. In reflecting on that experience, Tiffany says

> Although I didn't think too much about it, I think his voice, like every time like I'm on campus or like every time, like even still today like I got my master's over at the U and now I'm a working adult, I still have his voice in my mind. His voice is always like, I still keep hearing like "you only got in because you're a minority". I feel like that every time, every achievement that I get, every opportunity that I get, I'm always constantly like second guessing myself like oh man, I probably only got this because I'm here to

> make people look cool, or I'm here to make the company look good or the school look good or something like that.

When asked about how it felt to be a Hmong student on the UW–Madison, Tiffany answered, "I feel like I was never heard," within the Asian American student community as well as the students of color community. She felt like she had to "always … explain myself, explain my community and my culture to like even other Asian subgroups because like there's a lot of stereotypes and so I felt like I always had to tell them "No, Hmong people are not like this" and this is our culture and stuff like that. Having to tell them that Hmong people are not from Mongolia." In terms of being Hmong within the students of color community on campus when she says

> And then also being a person of color in general as well too, there's a lot of like you hear a lot of incidences that happen *txhua xyoo* (every year) on campus to like people of color and stuff like that. And when I try to share my experience, they're like "Oh no, no this is not your time to share like how you feel". Like yes, you're a person of color too but this is not your time. And so, it's just like okay, I want to stand in solidarity with my brothers and sisters of different backgrounds specifically like people who identify as people of color but then at the same time when I do try to share my experience, I feel like I'm being shut down. So yeah, that's kind of how I felt as a *Hmoob* student on campus. Yeah, I felt like I was never heard.

Her frustrations with not being heard by the university, by the Asian American student community and the students of color community reflect the ongoing issue of how where and how do Asian Americans, including Hmong Americans, fit into the conversation of race on campus and in U.S. society. The conversation around race is often talked about within a Black-white binary which continues to render Asian American students and their struggles invisible.

Community Building Strategies: Finding "My" People

Hmong American students had to find their own ways of establishing a sense of belonging and finding community on a predominantly white campus. One strategy was to build that community for themselves by finding people, student organizations, and classes that would, in the words of *Tang, be

> Somewhere I could be myself and speak my mind freely but in a safe space. And be able to relate to others and have others feel the same way back, also relate with me and just you know have a sense of community like "Oh I can belong here" or "Oh I can make a difference" … But mainly, the main thing was feeling comfortable and safe.

For *Tang, her community included student organizations like the Hmong American Student Association (HASA) and the Asian American Student Union (AASU) and the Center for Educational Opportunity (CEO).



The Hmong American Student Association (HASA) poses for a picture at 1999 Multicultural Orientation and Reception (MCOR) at the Union Theater in Memorial Union. Courtesy UW Archives.

For other students, like Kelly, they came to UW–Madison with friends they trusted and then expanded upon that community. Kelly's process of building community on campus was utilizing people who were closest to him. For example, in his first year, he mainly hung out with his roommate, another Hmong student he knew from high school. Even though Kelly was not actively involved in student organizations his first year, his roommate was and because of that, Kelly had access and connection to other networks of people on campus. Kelly also had two good Somali friends who are Muslim that he knew prior to coming to UW–Madison. The trio of them had gone through the Summer Collegiate Experience (SCE) together the summer before their first year. As a result of these two friends, Kelly found community among the Muslim student community on campus and became acquainted with and learned to enjoy and appreciate the Multicultural Student Center (MSC). Being in the MSC exposed Kelly to the larger APIDA student community. During Kelly's junior and senior years, he became actively involved (including taking leadership roles) within the Lao and Cambodian Student Association on campus. In Kelly's own words, once he found his community and his people, he "stayed within what I was comfortable with or where I've gone that I liked."

Community and a sense of belonging on campus was not something that all Hmong American alumni found readily. The constant microaggression on a predominantly white campus made it difficult for *Siab to find a consistent sense of community. She explains it as

> I think it's just like walking—it can be constantly walking into a room filled with people who don't like look like you and like with backgrounds that are like extremely privileged that they don't check. It's like you do that over and over and over again and it's like really hard … They'll never get like what it's like to work three jobs or what it's like to send money back to your parents if they really need it. … Or like I was in a sociology class and we were

> talking about race one day and you could just—there was like 5 people of color in that class—you just could hear the white kids moan. It's that—it's those experiences that like really get to you. Umm, yeah. Ooof, man. It's like it doesn't happen just once. Those are the constant things that they don't recognize because they're the majority and when you're there and you—like I said you become hyper aware to all these little things. It's just a lot and it eats away at you every time it happens.

Even though *Sheng found meaningful community with other Hmong American students on campus, she was looking for deeper cross-cultural experiences and found that lacking at UW–Madison, remarking, "I think a lot of times my white counterparts didn't know how to engage with people of color unless like the people of color were performing as white." It was in her experiences studying abroad in places like South Korea and Kenya where she found what she was looking for, explaining

> The best connections I've had with white college students were in my experiences abroad and it was with white college students who were not from the Midwest … I found what I was looking for when I was not in Madison, unfortunately. It was these experiences that I had because of Madison but ultimately the friendships that I made where I was able to share and be vulnerable about being a Hmong person and a Hmong woman it was with people who were actually not from Madison but who were very interested and invested in me … that was my experience.

While many acknowledged the quality of the education they received, they also highlighted the many ways in which the institution was not built for them to recognize them. And when the university does "recognize" APIDA students, *Siab notes, it is usually in the form of tokenization because of the model minority myth which itself is a racist idea that unfairly homogenizes all APIDA groups and experiences. These multiple layers of elision most keenly experienced by Hmong American alumni led many to feel what *Siab concluded, that "being Hmong, you don't really have a place" on campus.[10] *Sheng summarizes her UW–Madison experience by saying,



Students from the Hmong American Student Association (HASA) at 1999 Multicultural Orientation and Reception (MCOR) at Memorial Union. Courtesy UW Archives.

> Ultimately, like I'm really glad I chose Madison. I mean, it gave me all of the opportunities I had to be where I am today. But it could have been so much more if the space had been welcoming. And if Hmong students weren't responsible for having to advocate on their own behalf or have to fight to explain why they were there and not seen as products of affirmative action.

The experiences of Hmong American alumni show what is possible despite the limitations of a place like UW–Madison. It is time for UW–Madison to stop sifting and winnowing the needs of their APIDA students and invest in more resources that would make them feel as if the promised Badger experience extended to APIDA students as well, beyond giving them a student ID number.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think

should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] Many organizations and initiatives have emerged to respond to this reemergence of anti-Asian racism. One such effort is the Stop AAPI Hate reporting center was formed by the Asian Pacific Planning and Policy Council (A3PCON), Chinese for Affirmative Action (CAA), and the Asian American Studies Department of San Francisco State University on March 19, 2020 to track and respond to the incidents of "hate, violence, harassment, discrimination, shunning, and child bullying against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the United States." To learn more about what they do, including read their 2020–2021 National Report, visit their site: https://stopaapihate.org/

The Center for the Study of Hate & Extremism at California State University San Bernardino has also compiled a factsheet on anti-Asian hate crimes reported to police in 16 of America's largest cities in 2020. The report notes that while overall hate crimes dropped 7% in 2020, in the 16 cities included in the study, anti-Asian hate crime increased by 149%.

The issue of anti-Asian racism has also prompted a response and action from the White House. They have released a memorandum condemning racism against Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders as well as announcing additional actions to respond to the violence.

[2] Mai Zong Vue, *Hmong in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2020), 52.

[3] Bailey B. Smolarek, Maineng Vang, and Matthew Wolfgram, "HMoob American Undergraduate Students at University of Wisconsin's 4-Year Comprehensive Colleges—Background, Enrollment Statistics, and Graduation Trends (October 2019), Center for Research on College-Workforce Transitions, UW–Madison, (October 2019), 3.

[4] For Hmong American student-led research projects and findings on the experiences on Hmong American students and alumni, see the following studies: Weaving the Paj Ntaub for Future Hmoob Students: A compiled collection of advice and The Necessity of Ethnic Studies: Prioritizing Ethnic Studies During COVID 19 and Beyond

[5] Mai Zong Vue, *Hmong in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2020), 7.

[6] Most recently, in April of 2021, three teachers from Texas were recently placed on leave for asking middle school students to identify cultural norms in China. On the list was "eating cats and dogs."

[7] Jo Ann Koltyk, *New Pioneers in the Heartland: Hmong Life in Wisconsin* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 77.

[8] Jo Ann Koltyk, *New Pioneers in the Heartland: Hmong Life in Wisconsin* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1998), 78.

[9] Names with an *asterisk next to it are pseudonyms given to participants who have partially restricted access to their interview material.

[10] Quote (and title) are from an interview with a Hmong American alumnus.

Breaking Racial Lines: The Formation of Black Greek-Letter Organizations at UW–Madison By Kayla Rose Parker

Originally Posted on October 29, 2021. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The multi-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

The Black fraternal system at UW–Madison has built a legacy of community, resistance, and perseverance. Black Greek-letter Organizations (BGLOs) became a crucial part of the Black Student community at UW–Madison, creating the first formally Black spaces on

an otherwise white campus. UW–Madison has been home to eight of the nation's nine historically Black Greek-letter organizations, known as the Divine Nine. These organizations established themselves at UW–Madison as the first Black-community oriented spaces, finding a home on campus despite—and in some ways because of—its predominantly white student body. The predominantly Black Fraternities UW–Madison has had on campus are Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc., Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc., and Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc. The Sororities are Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc., Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc., Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., and Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc.

Nationally, six out of the nine organizations that make up the Black fraternal system were founded at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), reflecting the single most important goal of these organizations: uplifting the Black community. The remaining three organizations were established at predominantly white institutions (PWIs), including the very first organization, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., founded at Cornell in 1906.

BGLOs came to be at UW–Madison in the same way that they did at most predominantly white institutions—as expressions of the need for solidarity and mutual support in the face of a frequently hostile and demeaning campus environment. At universities across the country white Greek Letter Organizations (WGLOs) were created to be exclusive, and as a result they were exceptionally so. White fraternal organizations, when exposed to a changing campus demographic, hardened their stance even as formal social organizations (such as clubs and honors societies) loosened theirs. The WGLOs did not simply ban Black students from being admitted into its ranks, but for decades actively fostered an anti-Black environment. Prior to the founding of the Black fraternal system, Black UW–Madison students were not permitted to join many social organizations, making it difficult to find community and connection.

During the course of my research, I struggled to find information on BGLOs at UW–Madison because the archival record on these organizations was incredibly sparse. The information that I did find about these fraternities and sororities took months of paging through archived files—files that left me with almost nothing on Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc., Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc., and Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity, Inc. Most of the information I did find came during the era of the Human Rights Committee, a university body aimed at ridding the university of discrimination, which functioned between 1950 and 1973. Both Phi Beta

Sigma Fraternity, Inc and Zeta Phi Beta Sorority, Inc. were established in 1979; these organizations therefore came into being after this archival window into Black Greek life had closed. Similarly, virtually no record was left of Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc. and Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. Outside of records pertaining to their establishment, the university largely neglected to collect the printed history of these organizations. When compared to the multitudes of information that was kept on WGLOs—party fliers, meeting minutes, fees and dues—the discrepancy is jarring. The university's concern for the presence and wellbeing of Black students was, in this way, demonstrably surface level. This gap in the historical record is unfortunately reflected in the very limited references to these four organizations in the rest of this post.

Most BGLOs that have graced UW Madison's campus were established or re-established between 1967 and 1973. During that time, the Human Rights Committee ensured the anti-discrimination policies of all the fraternities and sororities on campus were being upheld. As such, when it came time for the BGLO Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. to prove its lack of discrimination during re-establishment in 1968, the national fraternity stated in a letter to the university "that Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity has never had any provision restricting membership and it was principally because of such restrictions which caused the formation of this Fraternity. Non-discrimination is, in fact, practiced."[1] The environment surrounding the conception of the Black fraternal system contributed to the system's operations. Black Greek students were far too acquainted with discriminatory policies to create such policies themselves—they were concerned, instead, with establishing a community space they could thrive in.

The university—content with the work it was doing to rid itself of discriminatory policies and increase diversity within the student body—neglected to establish the community space necessary to ease the transition of students of color onto a primarily white campus. BGLOs were therefore expected to rely on traditionally white methods of organization to exist on this campus. Methods such as joining the white fraternal organizing body, the Inter-Fraternity Council, and engaging in events designed for the pleasure of a white student body, such as homecoming, demonstrated to the BGLOs, and Black students more generally, that their Blackness would be only tolerated, not welcomed. Rather than suffer through this mere toleration, BGLOs chose to design methods of their own to establish a functioning Black community space. The BGLOs organized a Black Greek Council and hosted their own Homecoming events. In an advertisement for the event, the Council stated that it "decided to break away from the traditional Homecoming

activities because of their white domination and differences in goals."[2] The lack of support and attention the university dedicated to Black students, coupled with how small the Black community was in proportion to the greater student body, left an isolated Black student body understandably reluctant to express solidarity with the white campus mainstream.[3] Every BGLO attended this event, and it seems that most of the Black student body opted for this over the traditionally white Homecoming events as well. Black Homecoming began in 1969 and continued for several years, becoming a glorious demonstration of BGLOs and the larger Black student community's ability to make space for themselves within the university structure. The Black fraternal organizations did not conform to the institutions of the white fraternal organizations. Where they could, they made their own coordinating bodies, they hosted their own events, and they redefined what 'Greek Life' meant to them.



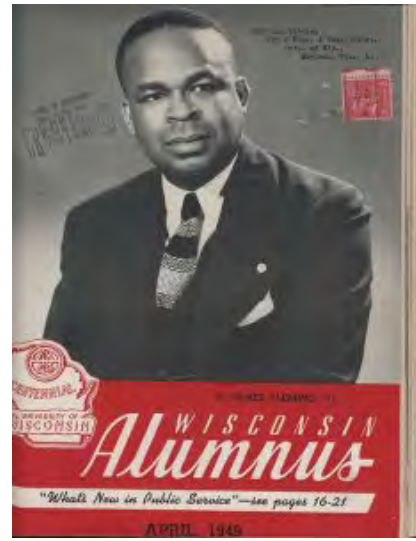
The 1969 Homecoming Court. Carolyn Williams, the first Black Homecoming Queen, is 3rd from the left. They are pictured with Bill Cosby who headlined a stand-up show at the Field House to kick off that year's Homecoming weekend. Courtesy UW Archives.

The reluctance of BGLOs to participate in mainstream campus activity did not result in a complete boycott. Rather, the BGLOs actively worked to reform these mainstream activities while simultaneously hosting their own events, evidenced by the election of Carolyn Williams as UW–Madison's first Black woman as Homecoming Queen in 1969. Carolyn Williams was sponsored by Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. who hosted their own vote alongside the Homecoming committee's vote to ensure that the final election count was not tainted.[4] Even in participating in existing structures, Black students felt they could not

trust the university's intentions. The election of Carolyn Williams was discussed by some students as "a step towards improvement" regarding the race relations on the campus.[5] This student interpretation of progress is slightly misleading, however, as the election was only accomplished through an immense push by the Black student community, and even then, their distrust of the primarily white student body to honestly participate is evident in their double-check of the vote. The BGLO engagement with mainstream campus activity was limited to reformative purposes. Until the white campus community tried of their own will to welcome Black students into the community, this limited interaction with campus-wide social activity and the separate institutions crafted by BGLOs would necessarily remain.

Black Students in White Fraternities

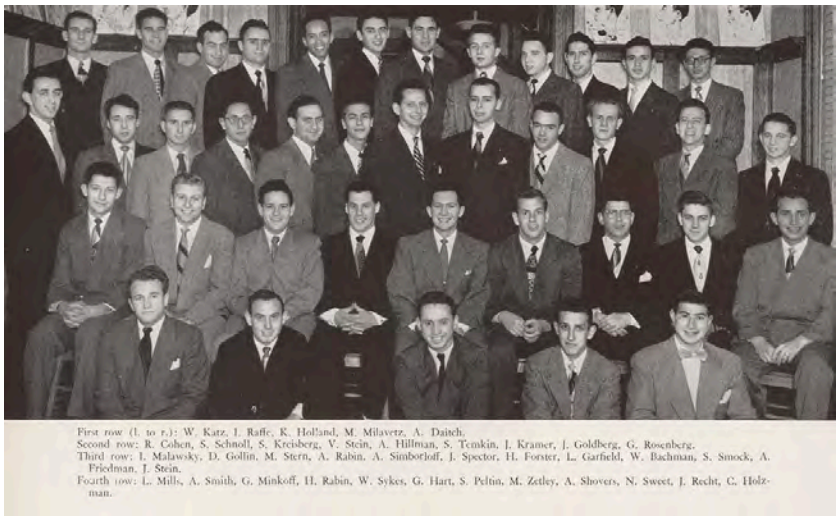
For the larger part of UW–Madison's existence, only white fraternal organizations were established on campus. There are very few instances of Black students attempting to join a fraternity before the establishment of Madison's first Black fraternal organization. In my own research, I have only come across one. But this one instance demonstrates the veracity of discrimination within white fraternal organizations that bore the necessity of the BGLO. In 1932, UW–Madison student James Flemming was urged by university leaders to join the national honors speech fraternity, Delta Sigma Rho. Flemming, a Black student and decorated speaker and debater, was denied membership based on his race. Delta Sigma Rho kept an anti-Black provision within their constitution which prevented the Madison chapter from admitting Flemming. While both the university and the local chapter petitioned the National organization to rid itself of this racist clause, the National fraternity did not budge, and they subsequently dropped the issue.[6] The unwillingness of an honors



G. James Flemming pictured on the cover of the Wisconsin Alumnus Magazine, April 1949. Courtesy UW Archives.

fraternity to part with its history of racism left little hope for traditional social fraternities whose function was decreasingly scholarship and increasingly social.

The prejudices of UW–Madison's fraternal system were challenged 17 years later. In the fall of 1949, the first Black student was pledged into a white fraternity at UW–Madison – Phi Sigma Delta. Weathers 'Sonny' Sykes was welcomed into the Jewish fraternity whose members, when questioned, stated they "came to see him as a man, rather than as a color, and it was on that basis that 'Sonny' was suggested and discussed for pledging." In this discussion, the pledging of a Black man was not at all overlooked, rather it was a severe deduction from Sykes' status as a potential pledge. Over more than five hours, the members of Phi Sigma Delta discussed Sykes' character and the implications for their chapter in the pledging of a Black man. To Sykes' luck, "in the final weighing, the positive factors over-balanced the negative ones."[7] Each student, deciding that pledging Sykes was worth breaking past precedent, voted to admit Sykes into their social fraternity. The milestone of this event even made it into local newspaper coverage. When questioned by students on why this event was covered in the news section, rather than being published in the social section, *The Daily Cardinal* responded that "when the time finally arrives that the pledging of a Negro to a white fraternity is not an unusual event and can be handled on the society pages in the routine way, a great goal will have been achieved. But until that goal is in sight, each milestone is news and must be recorded as such. Every innovator, from Archimedes to Henry Kaiser gets a lot of publicity."[8] The pledging of Sykes was clearly a newsworthy event.



First row (l. to r.): W. Katz, I. Raffe, K. Holland, M. Milavetz, A. Daitch.
Second row: R. Cohen, S. Schnoll, S. Kreisberg, V. Stein, A. Hillman, S. Tenkin, J. Kramer, J. Goldberg, G. Rosenberg.
Third row: I. Malawsky, D. Gollin, M. Stern, A. Rabin, A. Simborloff, J. Spector, H. Forster, L. Garfield, W. Bachman, S. Smock, A. Friedman, J. Stein.
Fourth row: L. Mills, A. Smith, G. Minkoff, H. Rabin, W. Sykes, G. Hart, S. Peltin, M. Zetley, A. Shovers, N. Sweet, J. Recht, C. Holzman.

Weathers 'Sonny' Sykes pictured in Phi Sigma Delta's 1950 Badger Yearbook photo. Sykes is in the fourth row, fifth from the left. Courtesy UW Archives.

The Jewish background of this Fraternity is crucial to this event. Because Jewish students at the time were similarly barred from most white fraternal organizations, they created their own. It was because of their prior exclusion from other fraternities that their newly created body, Phi Sigma Delta, possessed no restrictive clauses in its constitution which ultimately allowed Sykes to be admitted. The fraternity was therefore pre-disposed to operate in a non-exclusionary way. Even before the pledging of Sykes, Phi Sigma Delta was involved in the Fraternity Inter-Racial Committee which focused on increasing understanding between racial and religious minorities on campus. There was already an effort on behalf of this fraternity to close the racial gap. Few other social fraternities would follow suit.

Discriminatory Clauses

Unlike Phi Sigma Delta, most historically white fraternal organizations did not care to admit students of color and often, under the terms of their national constitutions, forbidden from doing so.[9] A significant number of the white fraternities and, to a lesser extent, sororities at UW–Madison possessed discriminatory clauses at some point in their time on campus. Interestingly, sororities often did not have discriminatory clauses in their charters, yet they remained exclusively white organizations, speaking to a culture of active exclusion.

As popular opinion shifted, this exclusionary philosophy grew questionable to students, followed by faculty. In November of 1948, the

UW student government, called the student board, hosted a session on discrimination in which they voted to ban fraternities and sororities that did not rid themselves of their discriminatory clauses within the following 3 years.[10] The Human Rights Committee, established in 1950, was in part a response to this student board session. In its first statement after its founding, the committee described discrimination as a corrosive ideal that the university would be working to eliminate.[11] In 1952, the Human Rights Committee published Document 1041 including what would become the infamous "1960 clause" which stated, "that no such organization which has in its national or local constitution or pledge instructions a discriminatory clause shall be approved by the University after July 1, 1960."[12] The clock was officially ticking for the white fraternities and sororities at UW–Madison—if after that date they still possessed discriminatory language within their constitution (later amended to both discriminatory language and behavior) they would no longer be allowed to affiliate with the university. As white 'Greek' students and alumni clung onto the discrimination they had so thoughtfully nurtured, the university dissolved its toleration for discriminatory behavior and began to dismantle it within the fraternal and sororal systems.

Hence began a rather tumultuous period for white Greek-letter organizations on campus; many members of WGLOs did not enjoy the moral microscope that they were put under in this process. Some members of the organizations demonstrated this discontent by refusing to cooperate with and even protesting the Human Rights Committee. Many within the fraternal organization—students and alumni alike—contended that discrimination was an essential part of the fraternal system. 'Greek' students tended to take one of two sides on this point. On one hand, students claimed that if the discriminatory ways of the system were to be challenged, the system would fall apart. This is evident in the many newspaper articles written by students within the white Greek-letter system who accused members of the Human Rights committee of seeking the destruction of fraternities and sororities, claiming victimhood for themselves in the process.[13] On the other hand, some 'Greek' students encouraged their 'brothers' and 'sisters' to welcome this change, inspiring empathy and discussing the necessity of modernizing to keep the system alive.

By 1962, most of the fraternities and sororities on campus (social and scholarship based) had successfully met the requirements of the "1960 Clause" and removed their discriminatory policies. However, there remained cases of discriminatory behavior. In 1961, Margaret Mitchell claimed that she was refused from a sorority because she was Black.

This was investigated by the Americans for Democratic Action, a student organization.[14] Claims such as this persisted on both a formal and informal level throughout the 1960s provoking a few investigations. In response, the university threatened to kick a couple organizations off campus; no punishments were administered. Outside of these instances, there is no record of interaction between minority students and white fraternities and sororities. The pledging of minority students into the WGLOs and communication between BGLOs and WGLOs halted during this time, even as discriminatory clauses fell away.

The university continued to keep an eye on white fraternities and sororities as their national organizations could enforce discriminatory practices without them being written. The reluctance of the white fraternal system to rid itself of the discriminatory culture that permeated it left it as the last social institution to be segregated at UW–Madison. With every other organization at UW–Madison seeking to expand and broaden the diversity element of their membership after years of segregation, the fraternal system remained an artifact of the era in which it was created. Some would argue that it stubbornly remains that way.[15]

Alpha Phi Alpha and Kappa Alpha Psi in the 1940s

It was in this environment that Black Greek Letter Organizations were first established on campus in 1946. In part due to the small Black student population, these organizations remained small and few until the 1970s. The Madison Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc., Beta Omicron, was established at the university on April 22, 1946. In its first yearbook appearance, the fraternity stated its purpose was "to inspire its members to an achievement in all fields of human endeavor."[16] The fraternity hosted several annual social events such as a summer picnic and a homecoming dance. Even in its first years on campus, it was active in the political scene, engaging the primarily white student body in presentations about Civil Rights.[17] Also in 1946, the Madison Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Gamma Epsilon, was established. One of its members, referred to in the yearbook as I. Miller, even served on the Inter-Fraternity Council in 1948 – a managing body on each University campus that promotes cooperation between the fraternities by providing a space for representatives of each fraternity to gather.[18] Cooperation between BGLOs and WGLOs in this fashion is rarely seen again. Ironically, as WGLOs were faced with more pressure to cooperate with BGLOs, they became more reluctant to do so. As BGLOs grew in strength and number, they participated in their own managing body,

the Black Greek Council, creating a collaborative space where they were respected rather than tolerated.



The Beta Omicron Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity pictured in 1948 Badger Yearbook. Courtesy UW Archives.

Re-establishments and Establishments in the 1960s and 70s

Madison's Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. chapter was deactivated in 1954 due to a lack of participation and therefore lost funding before being reactivated in 1963, and again in 1968. Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. was deactivated in 1961 for unrecorded reasons, though it seems to have remained informally active until its reestablishment in 1969. In 1968, it still hosted a dance and a Thanksgiving food drive in the wake of MLK's assassination despite not being formally recognized by the university.[19] Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc. is established in 1967, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. in 1968, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. in 1969, and Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc. in 1973. Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc., Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., and Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. all begin their efforts of establishment through pledging several UW–Madison students through the organizations' Milwaukee chapters before the chapters are established at UW–Madison. The flurry of establishments of BGLOs at the university was met with no administrative resistance if paperwork and pledges were in order. The agreeable nature of the establishment process, in

contrast to the usual sticky bureaucratic policies that tend to slow such practices, was justified by a university administrator who stated that they "believe we jeopardize the college experience of our present negroes for the long-range goal of integration by not accepting the predominantly negro fraternities…why try to create other means of integration, which are often artificial and rejected, when an existing system can assist us in obtaining our objectives?"[20] Perhaps in some ways supportive of the growing Black community, and in other ways eager to be relieved of their diversity-initiative duties, the university welcomed the establishment of BGLOs during this time. As a result, BGLOs became the first organized Black space on campus.

Relationship between BGLOs and the Black Community

The necessity of the independence of these organizations and their structures has already been discussed, but the impacts of these organizations on the Black community—the community for which they were created and of which they are composed—at UW–Madison is crucial and understanding their significance. Black Greek Letter Organizations at UW–Madison expanded beyond the campus community and were directly involved in the Black Power Movement of the 1960s and 70s. Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. released a pamphlet entitled "The Dream Lives On" following MLK's assassination where they discuss the plight of Black students at the university. The pamphlet stated, "No one knows the 'test of a man' as well as the undergrad Brothers here in Madison. Not only do we Brothers deal with keen classroom situations, but also the social, economic, political, and everyday coping that seems to be a constant deterrent." The pamphlet also discussed how the members of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc felt grateful to have a campus community of Black students.[21] The Black fraternal system's focus on bettering Black lives was again demonstrated by a public policy statement published by Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., upon request of the UW–Madison Fraternity-life coordinator, sent a 10-page pamphlet underscoring the national fraternity's public policy to the university for distribution to the student body. The pamphlet detailed the national fraternity's stance on many political issues facing Black Americans including but not limited to higher education, unemployment, fair housing, racism in the media, and political prisoners. [22] The BGLOs were on the same frequency as most other Black students at the time—the issues facing the Black community required focus and action, regardless of the university

climate. BGLOs made the most of the space they created, immortalizing themselves as a place of Black community on campus.

Within the Black student body, there were divides along 'Greek' and 'non-Greek' lines. At the height of the Black Power Movement, some Black students questioned the necessity of BGLOs, suggesting that they stood in the way of the central idea of unity. BGLOs, however, saw themselves as contributing to unity among the Black student population. Alpha Kappa Alpha Fraternity, Inc., stated in a newspaper article in 1969 that "The Black Movement is composed of different groups, Black arts, politics, etc., and what we are all doing is social and service. What is essential to a Black movement is Black people and a sorority doesn't negate this."[23] The members of the sorority asserted that they were contributing to the Black Power Movement, and that any questions of their Blackness were unwarranted. Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Inc., newly established in 1969, added onto this defense: "We are Black and being a Delta doesn't make any difference."[24] Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Inc. and Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Inc. similarly represented themselves as Black students first and 'Greeks' second. Sara Jackson, the president of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Inc. in 1969, characterized this difference as two groups within the Black student community. Jackson said that every Black student was a part of the Black Power Movement, but the divide laid between those who were "very, very, very into the Black Power Movement," and those who "had the same concerns, but were not as strong into the struggle."[25] Many Black students at this time were activists; some simply spent more time with their activism than others. Regardless of this divide, BGLOs were still recognized as an important part of the Black student community. In a pamphlet catered towards incoming Black students, Black 'Greek Life' was praised as a place of community building and social thriving.[26] BGLOs contributed to the small Black community at UW–Madison. This community was essential to the Black student's well-being at a predominantly white institution.

Conclusion

Black Greek Letter Organizations have long been denied the recognition that they deserve on campus. Conceptualized and created by Black individuals who knew themselves deserving of social organizations at institutions of higher learning, BGLOs carry an impressive legacy as centers of Black community and Black excellence, characteristics which ring true for the BGLOs on UW–Madison's campus. Their existence at the University of Wisconsin–Madison was prompted by the institution's

whiteness. As the university decided to confront the racial disparities that it fostered, white fraternal organizations clung to their discriminatory traditions. The white fraternal system's reluctance to modernize in some ways inadvertently created space for BGLOs on campus. However, it is important to recognize that these institutions were and are far more than a mere response to racism—they are a cultural and social institution that, above all, were established on UW–Madison's campus to promote community among the Black student population. In the face of a largely unsupportive and unsympathetic university, BGLOs survived and thrived. Now half a century old, the predominantly Black fraternal and sororal organizations have established a permanent presence on this campus and continue to pursue the goals they have always stood for.



If you or anyone you know was a part of the BGLO community during the 1960s and 1970s and wishes to add that story to our growing collection of information, please contact us! Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

---

In April of 2021, UW–Madison campus leaders and students gathered to break ground on the new Divine Nine Garden Plaza on East Campus Mall. The plaza will create a garden space and install historical markers recognizing the contributions of the National Pan-Hellenic Council, the nine historically Black Greek-letter fraternities and sororities in the nation. This is an important step in recognizing the deep history and the significant contributions that Black Greek Letter Organizations have made at UW–Madison. Student Affairs has launched a fundraising campaign to create the garden plaza, which is estimated to cost about $250,000. Information on donating can be found on the Student Affairs website.

---

[1] H. H. Holloway to George Bohrnstedt, Mar. 27, 1963, Coordinator of Fraternity Affairs Records, UW Archives.

[2] Kathryn Kreinz, "Black Homecoming," *The Badger Herald,* Nov. 5, 1970, Coordinator of Fraternity Affairs Records, UW Archives.

[3] "1969 Black Student Strike," UW Madison News; The earliest report of student attendance based on racial/ ethnic identity did not occur until the 1974–1975 academic year in which 825 students identified as African American out of 36,915 undergraduate and graduate students, which is roughly 2% of the student population. Between 1967 and 1974, however, an effort to recruit Black students to the university was undertaken, therefore the figure in 1969 is most likely lower than that of 1974.

[4] "Homecoming," *The Black Student at the University of Wisconsin–Madison,* 1970, Afro-American Center Records. Box 1, UW Archives. P. 6.

[5] Millie Clark, "sister reigns over UW," *...and Beautiful,* Dec. 11, 1969, Wisconsin Historical Society.

[6] "Bar to Negro Stirs Campus," *The Journal's Madison Bureau,* May 15, 1931; "On the Cover," *Wisconsin Alumnus,* Apr. 1949.

[7] "Phi Sigma Delta breaks precedence: Fraternity explains Negro pledging," *The Daily Cardinal,* Nov. 15, 1949, The University of Wisconsin Archives.

[8] University of Wisconsin Madison, *Wisconsin Badger* (Madison, WI: 1950), 368, UW Digital Collections.

[9] For more on the history of exclusion in White Greek Letter Organizations at UW–Madison see Angela Peterson, "Rewriting Chapters: Resistance to Addressing Discriminatory Practices in University of Wisconsin–Madison Fraternities and Sororities, 1947–1962" Archive Journal, Volume 23, May 2020, University of Wisconsin–Madison.

[10] Jim Zucker, "Board Will Vote Tonight on Greek Restrictive Bars," *The Daily Cardinal,* Nov. 24, 1948, UW Archives.

[11] "Document 933: University Committee Report on Human Rights for Students," Feb. 6, 1950, Coordinator of Sorority Affairs Records, UW Archives.

[12] "Document 1041: Report of the Committee on Human Rights," May 19, 1952, Coordinator of Sorority Affairs Records, UW Archives.

[13] Roy Clark, "Is Destruction the Goal?," *The Rattle of Theta Chi,* 1953, Coordination of Sorority Affairs Records, UW Archives.

[14] "New Officers for ADA Committee Picked Wednesday," *The Daily Cardinal,* Oct 9, 1961, UW Archives.

[15] For more see Maryam Gamar, "Greek life is losing members. Here's why.," Vox, April 23, 2021; Charlotte Hogg, "Sororities and fraternities are finally confronting their racist past," *The Washington Post*,

October 21, 2020; Ezra Marcus, "The War on Frats," The New York Times, August 1, 2020.

[16] University of Wisconsin Madison, *Badger '47*, (Madison, WI: 1947), 292, UW Digital Collections.

[17] University of Wisconsin Madison, *Badger*, (Madison, WI: 1948), 278, UW Digital Collections.

[18] University of Wisconsin Madison, *Badger*, (Madison, WI: 1948), 263, UW Digital Collections.

[19] Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, *The Dream Lives On*, 1968, Alpha Phi Alpha Records, Box 1, UW Archives.

[20] Letter from Robert Winkler to Roland Hinz, Oct. 12, 1967, Committee on Human Rights Records, Box 19, UW Archives.

[21] Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, *The Dream Lives On*, 1968, Alpha Phi Alpha Records, Box 1, UW Archives.

[22] Alpha Phi Alpha, *Public Policy Statement,* 1970, Coordinator of Fraternity Affairs Records, UW Archives; Letter from Earl Settlemyer to Laurence Young, Nov. 9, 1971, Coordinator of Fraternity Affairs Records, UW Archives.

[23] "Black groups on campus," *...and Beautiful,* Dec. 11, 1969, Wisconsin Historical Society.

[24] Ibid.

[25] "Sara Jackson-Brunson", transcript of an oral history conducted 2021 by Kayla Parker, UW–Madison Public History Project, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, pg 3.

[26] "Greek Life," *The Black Student at the University of Wisconsin–Madison,* 1970, Afro-American Center Records, Box 1, UW Archives. P. 14.

On Listening: A Reflection on the Challenges and Opportunities of Writing Native Histories of UW–Madison By Zada Ballew

Originally Posted on November 8, 2021 To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The multi-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our student researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. There will be alternative perspectives to those detailed below. We believe that the discussions that arise out of these differing perspectives are an integral part of the process of reckoning with our history. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

"What advice would you give non-Native administrators at UW, or coming to UW in the future, about what it was like to be a Native student at UW during your time?"

> "...We need non-Natives to be our ally...*listening* is the best advice I could give."[1] [emphasis added].

As anyone who has ever attended a pow-wow, scrolled through Native TikTok, binge-watched *Reservation Dogs*, or lived near an Indigenous community will tell you: Native people are not silent. We never have been, and I think it's safe to assume that we never will be. We are storytellers, sharing our experiences and passing on our wisdom to those who we trust and who we believe will benefit from our knowledge. We also know that giving and receiving wisdom and guidance from others is an honor, privilege, but, more importantly, an opportunity. It's an opportunity for someone who is willing to listen to learn from our shared history in order to ensure that our shared future is an equitable one.

As an enrolled citizen of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi, I grew up listening to and sharing stories with my relatives. I'll never forget the visits to my grandmother's home on our tribal homelands in southwestern Michigan. Whenever there was a gathering, my family and nearly all of my dad's eleven siblings and their kids would pack into a house that could barely hold less than half of us. Within minutes of our arrival, my dad, aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandma would immediately begin doing what we do best: telling stories about times both recent and long gone. The good, the bad, the hilarious, and the tragic: nothing was off-limits. I remember often thinking about how lucky I was to be able to listen to these stories, to learn from my relatives' mistakes and successes, and to hopefully have the chance to pass on similar stories to others who might need them.

I brought my love of storytelling and listening with me to graduate school at UW–Madison. During my second year in the history department, I learned that the Public History Project was looking for someone to research and write about the Native history of UW. Though I had been at UW for nearly two years, I still had very little knowledge about the Native people who had called, and continue to call, this land "home." Knowing that this was an opportunity to learn from and share stories of our ancestors' experiences at UW, I immediately applied for the job and was hired to begin finding and documenting these stories. Although the Director of the Public History Project, Kacie Lucchini Butcher, expressed confidence in my ability to do this work, she also made one thing clear: *Native people and their histories at UW are simultaneously everywhere and nowhere*. I didn't fully understand what she meant by this phrase until I began looking for these stories myself.

I started my journey where many history students and researchers

typically begin: with the documents. When I went into the annals of the UW Archives and the Wisconsin Historical Society, however, Butcher's words finally became clear. A people, who I am certain have been sharing and listening to stories since long before UW–Madison became a university in 1848, was suddenly nowhere to be found at UW. I combed through hundreds of issues of the *Daily Cardinal*, strategized with archivists, and Googled every combination of "Native American + UW–Madison" that I could think of. After weeks of digging into our shared history, all I had to show for my work were pieces, fragments, and whispers of Native voices, none of which could tell us a full story about our past.

What had happened? How could a university that occupies Ho-Chunk land, with nearly two hundred years of history and thousands of confirmed Native students, faculty, and staff,[2] have only significantly documented and archived its Native students', faculty, alumni, and staffs' experiences a handful of times since it was founded? Why had Native peoples' voices been silenced in our archives?

From History 101 to 901, students who take UW history courses quickly become familiar with one of the central challenges of writing history: archival silence. Though this term can be defined innumerable ways, archival silence simply refers to the gaps in documented and archived information about the past. As Kacie Lucchini Butcher explained in a recent Public History Project blog post, archival silences are inevitable. It's impossible to adequately or accurately document and preserve every written, published, or spoken statement made throughout history because "the past is infinite."[3]

And yet, the vast majority of oral histories that are preserved in the UW Archives assist those non-BIPOC students, administrators, staff, faculty, and alumni who look like the narrators themselves. As Butcher explained in her blog post, in order to create and maintain a more diverse telling of the history of this university, "We need the campus community. We need people who were here, who are now here, and who will be here to tell us their stories. Not only so that as a project, we can bring these stories to light, but also so that as a campus community, this history will be preserved."[4]

Realizing that the histories that I wanted to write couldn't be found in our State's and University's archives, I changed my approach to this work. Instead of relying mostly on UW–Madison records and documents to help me write Native histories of UW, I set out to see if Indigenous activists, leaders, students, faculty, staff, and alumni would be willing to share their stories with me. Knowing Native peoples' fraught history with academic researchers from the last century, who

mined and altered Indigenous history to suit their own publication goals, I knew that not every Native person who attended UW would want a representative from the University digging into their past if they weren't in charge of co-writing their own narratives. I braced myself for what I thought would be a community that had been silenced for so long that they no longer wished to speak to those who finally wanted to hear their voices.

I was wrong. When I went to those whose voices I couldn't find in our archives and started asking the kinds of questions that I wished my sources had considered, I was introduced to a community of inspirational, determined, and fearless UW Native peoples who had been waiting a long time for someone from the University to listen. Over the course of a few short months, I met a revolutionary from the 1970s American Indian Movement, who worked together with other minority organizations on campus to protest the University's unjust treatment of Indigenous, Black, and Hispanic students and the Vietnam War. I was introduced to a two-time UW graduate who is now working as a tribal attorney for one of Wisconsin's twelve Tribal Nations. This individual, who admitted that it was unlikely that they would've graduated from UW if not for the community they found in Wunk Sheek, is now using their UW degrees to ensure that Native peoples are guaranteed the rights and opportunities that our ancestors have fought tirelessly to maintain. I learned about William Milton Baine, the first confirmed Native student to attend UW–Madison, who played football and went to class while non-Indigenous UW students and faculty believed and insisted that Native peoples were "vanishing" from the land at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century.[5] I also met Kelly Holmes, an enrolled member of the Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe and former co-President of Wunk Sheek from 2015–2017, who began every Wunk Sheek meeting and public-facing event with an acknowledgment that their gathering was taking place on Ho-Chunk land, even before the "Our Shared Future" initiative and the widespread adoption of land acknowledgments.[6] These are just a few of the thousands of stories that can be learned if we center Native voices and experiences and listen to what needs to be heard.

Many people who I contacted for an interview had the same reactions to my request. Several couldn't believe that anyone would be interested in learning about the history of UW from their perspective. Others never thought that what they had done while at Madison, be it organizing with Wunk Sheek, dancing in the annual pow-wow, or becoming one of the first in their family to graduate from college, would have any historic value. Regardless of whether they responded one way

or the other, one thing remained constant: all of the storytellers were grateful that UW–Madison was willing and ready to listen to Native people share their stories. And, when I asked if those mentioned above knew of any others who also might be interested in sharing their stories of UW, they replied with hundreds of names of current or former students, faculty, and staff who each had profoundly shaped the history of UW during their time in Madison, none of whom I had found documented in our archives. The overwhelmingly positive response from the UW–Madison Native community made me realize that we are at a crucial moment in our shared history when Native students, faculty, alumni, staff, and others are willing and ready to tell their stories of UW to those from the University who are willing and ready to listen and act on behalf of their Native students, faculty, and alumni.

Going back in time and recording the experiences of William Milton Baine, and so many others who have already passed away is impossible. But what is possible is listening to those in our time who are willing, able, and ready to share their difficult histories of UW with us. Identifying the archival silences, listening to Native histories of UW, and ensuring that the gaps in our shared histories are at least partially filled in during our time are just some of the steps we can take to ensure a more equitable, just, and complete telling of the history of UW.

When someone years from now attempts to write the history of UW again, it is my hope that they will have access to more voices, experiences, stories, debates, songs, prayers, ceremonies, and more than we could have ever dreamed to have during our effort to write this history today. I hope that the problem in the future is not "Why have Native peoples' voices been silenced in our archives?" But, instead, "From the hundreds of Indigenous oral histories of UW, how can we possibly choose which one to listen to first?" I hope that those researchers, whoever they may be, feel not like they're knocking on a door to a house where no one is home. But, instead, I want them to feel like they're entering a cramped home that is overflowing with sounds and people, each with a unique voice telling stories that build upon those that have been told and heard before. Native people have never been silent, only silenced. Are we finally ready to listen?

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages

all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] Paige Morningstar Skenandore, "Oral History," interview with the author, Aug. 26, 2021.

[2] According to a list of UW Native Alumni assembled by Aaron Bird Bear, between the years 1946 and 2005, at least 822 Native students graduated from UW–Madison. As useful and informative as this list is, it does not include those students who attended UW–Madison but did not graduate, nor does it include any students who graduated after 2005. So, this list is an underestimate of the true number of current and former UW Native students.

[3] William Cronon, "UW–Madison American Environmental History Town Hall with Bill Cronon," Sep. 30, 2020.

[4] Kacie Lucchini Butcher, "Why We Need Oral Histories," *Public History Project*, Mar. 9, 2020.

[5] Tom Benjey, *Doctors, Lawyers, Indian Chiefs: Jim Thorpe & Pop Warner's Carlisle Indian School football immortals tackle socialites, bootleggers, students, moguls, prejudice, the government, ghouls, tooth decay and rum* (Carlisle, PA: Tuxedo Press, 2008). For more on national attitudes towards Native peoples at the turn-of-the-twentieth century and "playing Indian," see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). For more on the history of the UW–Madison Pipe of Peace Ceremony, see Frederick Henry Tennessen, "The Pipe of Peace Ceremony," *History 600: Difference, Exclusion, and Resistance at UW–Madison*, Prof. Stephen Kantrowitz, 2020 [unpublished]; Kacie Lucchini Butcher, "UW–Madison's Public History Project, YouTube video, 3:08, June 13, 2021.

[6] Kelly Holmes, "Oral History," interview with the author, Aug. 30, 2021.

Seizing The Day: Remembering Adela Kalvary Owen By Kacie Lucchini Butcher

Originally Posted on January 25, 2022. To download or print this chapter, click here.

This blog post was created to honor International Holocaust Remembrance Day — a day that marks the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Prison Camp. This post remembers Adela Kalvary Owen, a UW–Madison alumna and Holocaust survivor, who resisted, survived, and ultimately, seized the day. To learn more, please visit the International Holocaust Remembrance Day website.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The multi-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims

to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content in this blog post is disturbing. In this post, you will encounter descriptions of the Holocaust.

When Adela Kalvary Owen arrived at UW–Madison in 1950, she had seen and experienced more than many of her peers could imagine. She had been a freedom fighter, a slave laborer, a displaced person — all by the age of 25. But once Adela reached the Groves Housing Cooperative, in her own words, she "had come home."[1]



Adela Kalvary Owen was featured multiple times in The *Daily Cardinal* between 1950–1951. This photo accompanied an article from July of 1950 announcing her arrival to campus. Courtesy UW Archives.

Adela Kalvary Owen was born in Warsaw, Poland in 1925 — the daughter of Dorothea Machonbaum and George Paschal. Her father died when she was a baby. She was raised by her mother, and her stepfather, Stanislaw Kalvary, along with her two half siblings — Halinka and Alexander.

As a woman with Jewish roots living in Poland, by the age of just 14, Adela had been forced to fight to survive as World War II reached her country. When she was around 15 years old, her stepfather was among the Polish officers executed by the Soviets during what came to be known as the Katyn Massacre. Adela and her surviving family were forcibly moved to the Warsaw Ghetto — a horrific and brutal place. The Warsaw Ghetto was established by the German government in 1940 as a way to isolate and control Jewish residents and prepare them to be deported to concentration camps. At its height, the Warsaw Ghetto was estimated to have a population of 400,000 residents in less than 2.4% of the city's area — an average of 7.2 persons per room.[2] Food was rationed and starvation was common. Because of the close proximity of residents, infectious diseases spread rapidly. This, on top of violence by Germans, led to the deaths of thousands of Jews per month.[3]

Movement in and out of the Warsaw Ghetto was heavily restricted.

Because of this, Adela's mother, Dorothea, could no longer run the family furniture factory that lay outside the Ghetto's perimeter. Instead, she was offered a trade by a Polish couple. She would give up the family furniture factory in exchange for a position to run, not own, a factory inside the Ghetto that produced stoves — an essential product. The factory employed Jewish residents of the Ghetto and Dorothea worked hard to protect them from deportation. At one point, she went to German offices to beg them not to deport Jewish people laboring in the factory, arguing that the stoves were essential to the Germans. The next day, a German soldier showed up at the factory to shoot her. When he didn't find her there, he shot a worker instead and left.

Seeds of resistance were ever present in the Warsaw Ghetto and across Poland. Jewish people in the Warsaw Ghetto documented the brutal conditions and the violence they suffered at the hands of government officials. As deportations to concentration camps increased, residents physically fought back. Some even risked their lives to partake in armed resistance in January of 1943. At least 7,000 Jewish people died during what is now called the Warsaw Uprising.[4] Under an assumed name, Adela joined the Polish Underground — an underground resistance movement that published newspapers and broadcast radio programs to reach non-Nazi sympathizers during the war.[5] At great risk to herself, she resisted, helping the Underground transport weapons by train.[6]

Between 1942 and 1943, German officials began increasing mass deportations. It was during one of these mass deportations that Adela's mother and her siblings were sent to a concentration camp where they were killed.[7] Adela was "selected out" — most likely because she was able-bodied and could be used for labor during the war.

Later, Adela would escape the Warsaw Ghetto but only with the help of a German man, Paul Domeland. Adela considered him to be one of her "angels." Domeland, a business acquaintance and friend of her mother, gave her a forged three-day pass from the Warsaw Ghetto. Using these fake papers, she was able to work outside of Warsaw as a forced laborer. Later, Domeland would take her to Germany to his family farm. Because the Domelands were elderly, they were allowed to take Adela to work for them as a forced laborer.[8]

Adela said, "My survival was due to the people who saved me and were my angels along the way. Ironically, they were all Germans. They put their lives at risk for me."[9]

She worked for the Domelands for eight months until she was taken from them and forced to work at a munitions factory at the Domitz prison camp in Mecklenburg. Working 12 hours a day in grueling conditions, Adela still resisted. She later said "We did what we could

when nobody was supervising us. The powder caps were of a certain weight. When we put more than enough in, they exploded and the caps were useless."[10] By 1944, Adela was liberated from the Domitz prison camp by allied forces.[11]

From there, Adela spent a year in a displaced persons camp or "DP camp." The camps became centers to recover from the horrors of the war and centralized places where families tried to find one another. But they also aimed to be social spaces. Schools were established to restart children's education and theater troupes, musical groups, and athletic clubs were established, giving residents social opportunities long denied in the previous years.[12] While Adela was at a DP camp, she kept busy. She acted as a German-French interpreter and eventually managed 300 displaced persons, helping them adjust to life after the war.[13] In between these activities, she "read all the books available to her in order to educate herself [through] high school."[14]

Adela undertook a "rigid self-education" program and passed the entrance exam for the University of Göttingen. She was active in the international student group on campus.[15] It was then that she decided she wanted to pursue an education in the United States. She said "it isn't easy to get to America. I became quite discouraged and disgusted with [having to go through] about 30 medical examinations."[16] After months of paperwork, testing, and waiting, Adela was summoned to Munich for an interview and was informed that UW–Madison students had selected her as a finalist for a scholarship. The scholarship was being offered by female students at the Groves Housing Cooperative. After being located at a displaced persons camp and surviving the war, Adela had almost nothing. A scholarship, like the one being offered by Groves, was life changing.



GROVES

Friendly Spirit Spurs Co-Op

Front Row (l. to r.): C. Konoshima, N. Stein, E. M. Krumbach, A. Zurav, J. Braatz. Second Row: N. H. Handler, L. M. Foug, M. D. Cochrane, Mr. W. Terwilliger, Mrs. A. Terwilliger, R. E. Vaughn, B. Bobo, E. Arnold, V. Sprinz. Third Row: T. Cooper, M. P. Duft, C. L. Wruck, L. M. Hiller, H. Evans. Fourth Row: A. Kalvary, E. McKinney, C. Smith, M. Kovenock, F. M. Bennett, B. Feigin, C. Robinson, M. A. Carey, P. Sachsenmaier, R. Grabis, P. Rosenberg.

The women of the Groves Housing Cooperative were featured annually in the Yearbooks. This page from the 1951 Badger Yearbook was Adela Kalvary Owen's first year on campus. Adela is pictured in the upper left hand corner. Courtesy UW Archives.

Founded in 1944, the Groves Housing Cooperative was the first interracial housing cooperative at UW–Madison. The house had no racial or religious restrictions; instead, it aimed to create a diverse living environment for university women.[17] The democratic cooperative was controlled and maintained by the women who lived there, which made it affordable and community-oriented. The house was named after Economics Professor Harold Groves who backed its formation.[18] He was an ardent supporter of social justice on campus. The women at Grove's raised $1,000 expressly to bring a displaced person from Germany to study at UW–Madison.[19] They would later select Adela.

Adela arrived at UW–Madison in the summer of 1950. She considered being a sociology major because she was "interested in people." She took English and psychology during the summer session before choosing to study Chemistry.[20] Prior to attending UW–Madison, she had already received her B.S. in Chemistry from the University of Göttingen. Adela found Wisconsin "full of beautiful and wonderful nature," and discussed wanting to become a U.S. citizen in a *Daily Cardinal* article. Almost

immediately after arriving on campus, the article noted that she was "well-liked by her acquaintances because of her natural charm and sincere good humor."[21] She graduated in 1954 with a Bachelor's degree in Chemistry.



Adela Kalvary Owen sits amongst her new friends. Marie Davis Gadsden, center, explains where she will study on Fulbright Scholarship. They are seated alongside Carolyn Konishima (sister of boxer Akio Konoshima) who came to UW–Madison after being incarcerated with other Japanese-Americans during WWII and Clarice Wruck, a Wisconsin resident, and then-President of Groves. Courtesy UW Archives.

Adela's daughter, Margaret Warker '86, a UW–Madison alumna, shared her mother's fond memories of the Groves Housing Cooperative — "she was proud to be a part of the cooperative." During her time at Groves, Adela found more than roommates. She found lifelong friends. Adela met Marie Davis Gadsden, who would go on to become a top administrator of education and philanthropic organizations. She would also become the first Black woman to chair the board of Oxfam America — a global organization fighting to end inequality and poverty. During her time at Groves, Adela remembered Marie as "a gracious and compassionate person of great integrity and determination."

Beyond Adela and Marie, women like Carolyn Konoshima — who survived Japanese incarceration in the wartime United States — found a home and a community at Groves.[22] Clarice Wruck, a Wisconsin resident and member of Groves, described the cooperative — "The atmosphere here is a cosmopolitan one, and we have a chance to know well many stimulating people we ordinarily wouldn't meet."[23] The cooperative was so unique and successful that it was featured in the popular women's magazine *Mademoiselle* in October of 1948. The article stated, "Undergraduates are questioning old stereotypes, hitting out hard against prejudice and social structures which reinforce prejudice." It continued, "Young women representing all nationalities, races, and religions come to regard living together as a natural and mutually beneficial experience rather than as an effort to surmount a problem."[24]

Adela said of Groves and UW–Madison "This is the first place I have learned about tolerance. I didn't have much experience with that before. Here I learned how a group can live together without hate or prejudice and where people accept you without trying to convert you into something you are not."[25]

After graduating from UW–Madison, Adela and her husband Clifford "Frank" Owen began a family. After raising four children, Adela pursued a graduate degree in Social Work which she attained in 1977. Adela's youngest daughter, Margaret, described her mother as a "do-er, a changemaker." She worked as a geriatric social worker, for low-income seniors and "put her heart into the job."[26] After all that she had experienced, and maybe because of those experiences, Adela found a favorite saying — "carpe diem" — a Latin phrase that translates as "seize the day."

Adela did just that. She seized opportunities. She resisted and survived the Holocaust, even in the midst of horrifying circumstances and devastating loss. At UW–Madison she gained not just a degree but a community of friends and peers. Adela married and raised children with her loving husband, and enjoyed spending time with their seven grandchildren, and getting to know some of their great-grandchildren. In addition to creating a family, Adela improved the lives of many as a geriatric social worker. And she still found time for her hobbies: reading, gardening, swimming, and restoring a 200-year-old house in Greece.[27]

Though Adela carried within her the pain and trauma of losing so many of her loved ones during the Holocaust, she was still able to create a life filled with family, friends, purpose and joy, and also enriched the lives of many. Adela was fortunate in that she spent her final years in the home of her second son and his family in Florida before passing away in 2019 at the age of 93.

Today, Adela may not be a well-known name at UW–Madison. But her presence has been felt on campus through her two daughters and her one grandson who graduated from UW–Madison and her first son who was a visiting assistant professor in the Economics department. They too found a "home" at UW–Madison. Just as Adela did that day in the summer of 1950 when she approached the doors of Groves Cooperative.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] Gwyneth Roe, Feature Story, UW News Press Release, June 28, 1951, UW Archives.

[2] "Warsaw," The Holocaust Encyclopedia.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Gwyneth Roe, Feature Story, UW News Press Release, June 28, 1951, UW Archives.
[6] "Members Corner: An Incredible Life: Adela Kalvary Owen," The 1818 Society Quarterly, Fall 2019, Volume 2, Issue 3.
[7] "Members Corner: An Incredible Life: Adela Kalvary Owen," The 1818 Society Quarterly, Fall 2019, Volume 2, Issue 3.
[8] Members Corner.
[9] Members Corner.
[10] Gwyneth Roe, "Polish Born Adela Kalvary Finds Group," *The Daily Cardinal*, July 3, 1951, UW Archives.
[11] Judith Rothstein, "Adela Kalvary Relates Double Liberation," *The Daily Cardinal,* July 13, 1950, UW Archives.
[12] "Displaced Person," The Holocaust Encyclopedia.
[13] Rothstein.
[14] Rothstein.
[15] Rothstein.
[16] Rothstein.
[17] The University of Wisconsin News Service, Press Release, November 15, 1951.
[18] The University of Wisconsin News Service, Press Release, November 15, 1951.
[19] Gwyneth Roe, "Polish Born Adela Kalvary Finds Group," The Daily Cardinal, July 3, 1951, UW Archives.
[20] Rothstein.
[21] Rothstein.
[22] Roe, *The Daily Cardinal*.
[23] Roe, *The Daily Cardinal*.
[24] "Campus Correspondence — U.S. Life through Foreign Eyes," *Mademoiselle Magazine*, October 1948.
[25] Roe, *The Daily Cardinal*.
[26] Members Corner.
[27] Members Corner.

"In the Dairy State You Cannot Discriminate:" Protesting Military Homophobia at UW–Madison By Ezra Gerard

Originally Posted on June 6, 2022. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this blog post was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Public History Project. The multi-year project aims to reckon with the university's history of racism, exclusion, and discrimination. The project will culminate in an exhibit in the fall of 2022, an interactive online website, and curricular tools. By sharing research before the opening of the exhibit, we hope to begin conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication. We welcome responses and discussion. Responses submitted by email will be posted in a response and discussion post within one week after the original publication date. Responses with vulgar or offensive language will not be posted.

Content Warning: The UW–Madison Public History Project blog aims to provide a space where our community can begin the difficult work of reckoning with our history. Some of the content and language in this blog post is disturbing. In this post, you will encounter descriptions of LGBTQ+ persons that are harmful and offensive.



Then-Chancellor Donna Shalala stands outside her office talking to students who are protesting the ROTC policy on gays and lesbians. Next to her stands a man wearing a T-shirt that reads "Silence=Death." UW–Madison Archives.

In April 1990, students crowded around UW–Madison Chancellor Donna Shalala's office demanding the expulsion of the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) from campus. Student activists sought to ban the ROTC because of the U.S. military's discriminatory policies against gays and lesbians. This protest was the culmination of years of activism on the part of students and faculty who argued that the military's exclusion of gay and lesbian service members contradicted laws against discrimination in the state of Wisconsin as well as the university's avowed commitment to diversity and equality.[1] Protesters faced significant resistance from university officials. While the chancellor and most members of the Board of Regents opposed the military's policy, they insisted on maintaining the university's ROTC programs. This insistence stemmed largely from concerns over a loss of federal funding which university officials assumed would result from a termination of the ROTC's contract with the university. While UW officials publicly espoused a commitment to ending discrimination on campus, they ultimately prioritized financial considerations over protecting the rights of gay students.

Students' opposition to UW's relationship with the military began as early as the 1950s. In 1968, students staged a protest against compulsory ROTC training for male students.[2] Opposition to military programs on campus gained momentum during protests against the Vietnam War. In 1969, Karleton Anderson, (who was not a student at the time) set fire to an ROTC building on campus.[3] Anti-ROTC sentiment remained strong throughout the Vietnam War era. Anderson would later become most famous for his involvement in the Sterling Hall Bombing which killed graduate student Robert Fassnacht. The melding of anti-military attitudes with outrage against discrimination fueled a new wave of anti-ROTC activism in the 1980s and 1990s.

In the 1980s, professors and students raised questions about the ethics of the military's presence on campus due to its homophobic policies. This was a period in which the plight of gays and lesbians gained greater visibility both locally and nationally. In 1986, a group of professors and students organized an "ad hoc committee on the relationship between the University of Wisconsin and ROTC Programs in regard to university non-discrimination policy."[4] The following year, the committee approved a document demanding the termination of UW's contracts with the ROTC if discrimination against gays and lesbians persisted. Committee members pointed out that the ROTC's policies went against the university's newly ratified anti-discrimination guidelines as well as state law. Wisconsin became the first state in the U.S. to legally protect the rights of gay people when the Legislature added sexual orientation to its nondiscrimination law in 1982.[5] The university followed suit, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual "preference" in 1987.[6] These new protections catalyzed the movement against UW's affiliation with the ROTC.

Student and faculty discontent with the university's inaction over the issue of military discrimination culminated in 1989–1990. The most prominent opponent of UW's affiliation with the ROTC was sociology professor Joe Elder. Elder served as co-chair of Faculty against Discrimination in University Policies (FADUP), which fought against the ROTC's policy.[7] Elder opposed the ROTC not only because of its homophobic policies, but also because of the "contradiction" between the aims of the military and those of the university. He stated that at the university, "we're teaching people to think critically" while members of the ROTC were "being told to obey."[8] According to Elder, ROTC officers on campus responded to the issue of military discrimination by stating that they were "just following Pentagon orders,"[9] a stance Elder argued "contradicts what seems to me to be the essence of a liberal education, which is: If orders don't make sense, they ought to be challenged."[10]



Professor Joe Elder and attendees at the Faculty Senate Meeting, December 4, 1989. UW–Madison Archives.

Elder opposed the ROTC on ethical grounds and worked with other faculty members to call for the termination of the university's contract with the ROTC unless they abolished their discriminatory policies. Elder and FADUP circulated a petition to convene an all-faculty meeting to vote on the issue of UW's contract with the ROTC. The petition received nearly 300 signatures from faculty across departments.[11] On December 4, 1989, the all-faculty meeting convened at the Stock Pavilion, where students on both sides of the issue voiced their opinions over whether the ROTC should be permitted to remain at UW. [12] At the conclusion of the meeting, the faculty voted 386-248 in favor of removing the ROTC from campus in 1993 unless gays and lesbians were allowed to participate. This would allow current cadets to finish their education and training before the termination of the university's contract with the ROTC. Newspapers across the country reported on this historic vote, inspiring protests on other university campuses, including Dartmouth and Yale.[14] Sue Hyde, director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Military Freedom Project stated that "The resounding vote [at UW] is but the first wave of public universities insisting that the Pentagon change its policy and insisting that gay and lesbian discrimination will not be tolerated."[15]

In response to the faculty vote, Elder received numerous letters, some expressing gratitude for his support. Faculty members at UW and other universities across the country praised Elder for taking a stand on discrimination.[16] Military enthusiasts also sent Elder letters deriding his activism and affirming the supposed importance of ROTC training on campus. Much of the opposition to Elder's work came from Christians who cited the Bible as evidence of the "sinful" nature of Elder's activism. One respondent was "sickened" by the faculty vote, stating that the AIDS crisis evidenced God's hatred for "perverts."[17] As the debate on ROTC programs continued on campus, numerous gay and lesbian students also reported being verbally and physically harassed.[18]



Protestors during the weeks' long protest of the ROTC's anti-gay policy, ca. 1990. Photo by Michael Mihm, UW–Madison Archives.

While the faculty vote indicated widespread opposition to discrimination, the fight was not over. Despite the faculty vote, on February 2, 1990, the Board of Regents resolved to retain ROTC programs. Instead of cutting ties with the ROTC, the regents, UW System President Kenneth Shaw, and Shalala supported lobbying against the military's policy of discrimination on the federal level.[19] While Shalala was "proud" of the faculty vote, she argued that the university could not change ROTC policy because the military answered to federal guidelines not state law or university policy.[20] In affirming the military's adherence to federal rather than state law, Shalala deflected the blame for the presence of ROTC homophobia at the university.



Protestors demonstrate in front of Bascom Hall during the weeks' long protest of the ROTC's anti-gay policy, ca. 1990. Photo by Michael Mihm, UW–Madison Archives.

The Board of Regents' decision caught the attention of student activists on campus. Following the regents' declaration, students staged protests against the ROTC's homophobic policies and decried the administration's failure to stand up against discrimination. On April 19, 1990, 60 students began a protest outside Shalala's office.[21] Some brought sleeping bags, spending the duration of the protest camping out in Bascom Hall. Tim Longman, a graduate student studying political science, reported that protesters believed Shalala and the university administration had "sold out to the military and big business."[22] Longman was right. Financial considerations were an important factor in the university's insistence on keeping the ROTC. The university received federal funding as a land grant university and ROTC students brought "$2,000,000 in salaries, scholarships, subsistence payments and other assistance" to campus.[23]



Unidentified students hold a sit-in outside Chancellor Donna Shalala's office to protest the ROTC policy on gays and lesbians, April 18, 1990. UW–Madison Archives.

Discussions of the financial considerations involved in terminating ROTC's contract with UW began in the 1980s. University officials believed that the practical and financial burdens of eliminating the ROTC outweighed the importance of banning discrimination on campus. In their arguments in favor of retaining the ROTC, university officials highlighted UW's obligation to offer military training services due to its status as a land grant institution.[24] Despite the university's public claims that it was powerless to change ROTC policy and that terminating UW's affiliation with the military would negatively affect cadets, money was in fact the primary motivating factor. Despite viable alternatives, university officials persisted in supporting ROTC training. Prior to the establishment of the ROTC in 1916, UW had provided military drills as a means of fulfilling its land grant requirements.[25] Furthermore, the Wisconsin State Legislature had indicated its eagerness "to work with the University to devise an alternative, non-discriminatory program to satisfy the [land grant] act."[26]

A letter from the UW System's legal counsellor Patricia Hodulik to the Board of Regents confirms the university's prioritization of financial gain over taking a stand against discrimination. While Hodulik acknowledged that the university was not obligated to offer ROTC programs, she asserted that by terminating its contract, UW could risk losing federal funds, although there was no precedent for this fear.[27] Hodulik presented three options to the regents. First, UW could end ROTC programs on campus and provide alternatives for military training. Second, the university system could eliminate the ROTC on all campuses except UW–Madison, the only land grant campus. Third, the university could keep the ROTC, but lobby the federal government to change its policy. Hodulik advocated the last two options because of the "legal and practical consequences that could follow the elimination of ROTC."[28] Hodulik stated that should the university choose to abolish the ROTC, it would have to "assume the full cost" of establishing an alternative means of providing military training.[29]

Hodulik concluded that "the costs associated with eliminating ROTC programs do not appear to yield corresponding benefits to any

identifiable person or group." She asserted that there was no evidence of discrimination against prospective cadets on the basis of sexual orientation. This lack of evidence was, of course, likely due to the military's obfuscation of its discrimination as well as gay and lesbian students' unwillingness to speak out about their experiences. Even if the UW ROTC did not actively exclude homosexuals, the reality of the military's discriminatory policies meant that the ROTC could not accept openly gay people, thereby forcing students to feign heterosexuality in order to join. Furthermore, the issue at hand was not whether students had faced discrimination in practice, but whether the university should tolerate the presence of a homophobic institution on campus. University officials did not grasp the symbolic weight of refusing abolish the ROTC. The mere presence of such an institution at the university served as a reminder to gay students that they were not fully equal. The decision to retain the ROTC signaled that monetary gain took precedence over taking a stand against homophobia on campus.

In response to the administration's continued refusal to formally oppose discrimination, the Wisconsin Student Association, headed by Jordan Marsh, demanded that a disclaimer accompany ROTC promotional materials on campus. The disclaimer stated that "The University of Wisconsin ROTC units, as a result of federal regulations, are required to maintain a policy of exclusion on the basis of sexual orientation. This policy contradicts university policies which prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, as passed by the UW–Madison Faculty Senate on Monday 7, 1979, and by the UW Board of Regents on April 10, 1987."[30] Shalala opposed the disclaimer. She stated that "The whole point of all of this is that we want to keep ROTC but we want it to be open to every student. I do not see the usefulness in this disclaimer in achieving that goal."[31] Dean of Students Mary Rouse presented alternatives to the disclaimer, which included explaining the ROTC's policy during orientation and sending letters to students and their parents "letting them know where the university and the Department of Defense stand on ROTC."[32]

Unsatisfied with the chancellor's response, on April 23, 1990 students marched to the Board of Regents' office in Van Hise Hall. After a 10 hour sit in, University of Wisconsin–Madison Police (UWPD) and Capitol Police began to arrest students who refused to disperse. They ultimately arrested 40 students, many of whom were dragged from the building. According to a news report, "Scores of students set up human barricades at the various entrances in an attempt to block police from dragging students outside."[33] A crowd of nearly 300 chanted, "in the Dairy State you cannot discriminate."[34] While protesters were released once they

had exited the building, a number of students reported maltreatment at the hands of the police. Students complained of "excess use of force."[35] Neil Willenson experienced convulsions after being "shoved repeatedly" by UWPD officers and was ultimately hospitalized. Gay student leader David Wilcox reported being punched by the police. Others recounted being mocked by officers who "laughed at, insulted, and blew kisses" at them. Students also accused officers of homophobia for wearing rubber gloves, purportedly from fear of contracting AIDS. Madison Alderman Andy Heidt, who arrived at the close of the protest, commented that "it is reprehensive that the university should be so entrenched in their discriminatory policies that their henchmen should lash out with such violence."[36]

After the protest, Jordan Marsh remarked that "we made the assumption that P&S [University Police and Security] are professionals… and they beat the crap out of us."[37] University officials and campus police maintained they had handled the situation with the appropriate amount of force. Assistant Dean of Students Roger Howard stated to the *Daily Cardinal* that "the police have a responsibility and I believe they did make an effort to get people out as safely as possible."[38] Campus Police Chief Ralph Hanson declared: "I believe we handled it quite successfully."[39] University officials' justification of their actions in the face of student complaints of mistreatment evidences a prioritization of maintaining order over the wellbeing of students. Rather than supporting students' activist engagement and taking a stand on discrimination, university officials opted to restore order by using police violence.

Student protests at UW inspired a surge of anti-ROTC activism at campuses across the country. As co-founder of the UW–Madison LGBT Archive Scott Seyforth noted, "there was a flurry of media coverage, which inspired activism on campuses around the country throughout the spring of 1990. In the year following the UW–Madison vote, more than 60 schools across the country engaged in the movement, making these grassroots efforts an ongoing national news story. In 1991, over 125 campus student organizations participated in an April National Day of Coordinated Action against Discriminatory Policies in ROTC."[40] While the faculty vote and protests at UW did not succeed in convincing the university to terminate its contract with the ROTC, the student and faculty movement at UW inspired a national conversation about whether institutions of higher education should allow a fundamentally homophobic institution to remain on campus.

UW's response to student and faculty demands to ban the ROTC from campus remains relevant in the present. This case shows the importance

of scrutinizing the motives underlying university officials' decisions. The discrepancy between an official commitment to creating a safe and inclusive environment and the failure to act accordingly remains a pressing issue on campus. As the case of the campus ROTC shows, hidden financial interests can shape decision making and can ultimately take precedent over affirming the university's intolerance of bigotry. University officials must be held accountable for their actions and should, at the very least, be forthright about the motives behind decisions affecting the rights and safety of students.



The following statement was provided by the Officer Education Program:

> The UW–Madison student-led protest of discrimination against gays and lesbians by the Reserve Officer Training Corp programs successfully raised awareness to the issue. The media coverage helped spread attention to the unfair policies of the US service branches, and it wasn't long after the 1990 protest that policy changed for the better. In 1993, President Bill Clinton issued the "Don't ask, don't tell" policy, Department of Defense Directive 1304.26, that went into effect in early 1994. Although it did not allow service by openly gay and lesbian individuals, it ended the policy of dismissal based on sexual orientation. This act was repealed in 2010 during the Obama Administration to remove the restrictive clause. Policy for the entire US military is now set by DOD Instruction 1350.02, which states that the DOD Military Equal Opportunity Program will: "Ensure that Service members are treated with dignity and respect and are afforded equal opportunity in an environment free from prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, religion, sex (including pregnancy), gender identity, or sexual orientation." The ROTC programs on campus strongly support this policy.
>
> At the time of the protest, the University administration and UW System chose to retain the ROTC programs in favor of lobbying for change at the federal level. Although the Defense Department changes took time, the decision was the right one. Educating future military officers at public institutions like UW–Madison exposes them to a diverse set of viewpoints, and graduates draw from their educational background when implementing and influencing military policy. Conversely, having ROTC officer education on campus gives other students a chance to learn about the US armed services, and it broadens the array of career opportunities. The experiences that students receive through the ROTC programs could not have been replaced at any cost. The active-duty cadre, who are faculty members and instructors in the University's Military Science, Naval Science, and Air Force Aerospace Studies Departments while stationed here, are dedicated and share their valuable service experience. In addition, our cadets and

midshipmen participate in training programs that are conducted with active units in the field and at sea.

In contrast to views expressed in the article, our service branches value having leadership at all levels that makes well-informed, well-reasoned, responsible decisions. UW–Madison is one of the top public institutions in the nation, and the education that serves Badger graduates so well in the civilian sector also serves those who serve the nation as commissioned officers.

The protest movement at UW–Madison is part of the rich history of the University. Its contribution to ending discrimination in the US service branches based on sexual orientation was a success. The military training heritage, which dates to the University's earliest days, is also an important part of Badger history and of the education that we offer today.

Individuals are not often taught to think of themselves as sources of historical knowledge, but they are. Individuals hold intimate knowledge of their campus, their neighborhoods, and their communities. That is why we want to hear from you. We believe that this project will be the most successful when it deeply engages all of those in our community. If you have a story to share, an event you think should be researched, or a person you think has been overlooked, please contact us. publichistoryproject@wisc.edu

[1] The ban on gays and lesbians in the military began during World War II. While before this time, men could be prosecuted for the "crime" of sodomy, military policy did not specifically exclude women or men from service for *being* homosexual. During World War II, the military began barring homosexuals from on the basis that they were psychologically unfit for service. During the psychological exam required of all recruits, military doctors asked a number of questions intended to identify homosexuals.[l] This homophobic policy continued to be enforced throughout the twentieth century, provoking activist responses at the local and national level. See Allan Berube, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II.* Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

[2] Protests and Social Action at UW–Madison During the 20th Century, University of Wisconsin, Madison, accessed September 29, 2020.

[3] "Brothers Tell of Fatal Bombing," AP News, May 18, 1986.

[4] "Ad Hoc Committee on Relationship between the University of Wisconsin–Madison and ROTC Programs in regard to University Non-discrimination policies." *Out! Wisconsin's Gay and Lesbian Newspaper* Vol. 5, No. 10, August 1987.

[5] "UW–Madison and ROTC: A Summary of Recent History," ROTC

Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives.

[6] Timeline. The Faculty Senate had already condemned discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in 1979. See Faculty Senate minutes.

[7] Oral History Interview with James Steakley. Interviewed by Troy Reeves. August 17, 2010.

[8] Oral History Interview with Joseph Elder. Interviewed by Robert Lange, 2005.

[9] Joe Elder, qtd. in Richard P. Jones, article on Joe Elder. Newspaper Clipping. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives.

[10] Joe Elder, qtd. in Richard P. Jones, article on Joe Elder. Newspaper Clipping. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives.

[11] Letter from Joe Elder to Department Chairs, October 26, 1989. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives.

[12] Oral History Interview with Joe Elder. Interviewed by Troy Reeves.

[13] Oral History Interview with Joe Elder. Interviewed by Troy Reeves.

[14] "Reaction," *The Daily Cardinal,* December 5, 1989, 3.

[15] David Anger, "U. Madison to ROTC: Shape Up or Ship Out," *Out Takes*, Newspaper Clipping.

[16] Letter from Bill to Joe, December 5, 1989. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives. See also Theodore Wright (State University of New York at Albany) to Joe Elder, December 12, 1989.

[17] Letter from Mr. and Mrs. Robert Schumacher to Joe Elder, February 28, 1990. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives. Folder 1. See also Charles Schuster to Joe Elder, January 10, 1990. See also Christopher Rissetto to Joe Elder, January 31, 1990. Folder 1.

[18] Letter to UW Students, February 7, 1990. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives. Folder 1.

[19] Steve Schultze, "Colleges May Sue Over ROTC Rules." Newspaper Clipping. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives. Folder 1.

[20] "UW Faculty Opposes ROTC," *Wisconsin State Journal*, December 5, 1989.

[21] Associated Press, "Wisconsin Students Stage Sit in to Protest ROTC Ban on Gays," April 19, 1990.

[22] The Journal Times, "ROTC Protest moves to Shaw," April 24, 1990.

[23] Annual Report of the Officer Education Committee, 1988–1989. ROTC Board of Regents.

[24] Joseph Elder, Oral History Interview.

[25] ROTC History, badgerrotc.wisc.edu/history/. Accessed October 2, 2020.

[26] "THE UW–MADISON CAMPUS AND ROTC-DISCRIMINATION A SUMMARY OF RECENT HISTORY," 6. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation Collection.

[27] Letter from Patricia H. to the Board of Regents, 1987.

[28] Patricia Hodulik, Letter to Faculty, April 17, 1989, 6. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives.

[29] Hodulik, Letter to Faculty, April 17, 1989. ROTC Discrimination on the Basis of Sexual Orientation, Folder 2. Accession 2004/081 50F3 University Archives.

[30] Sarah Wise, "Marsh Introduces ROTC Disclaimer," *The Badger Herald,* February 26, 1990.

[31] Associated Press, "Wisconsin Students Stage Sit-In," April 19, 1990.

[32] Associated Press, "Wisconsin Students Stage Sit-In," April 19, 1990.

[33] Jean Christensen, "Police Use Force to End ROTC Sit-in," *The Daily Cardinal,* April 24, 1990, 1.

[34]Jean Christensen, "Police Use Force to End ROTC Sit-in," *The Daily Cardinal,* April 24, 1990, 1.

[35] Peter Kafka, "Students Ask for UW Investigation of Police Tactics," *The Daily Cardinal*, April 25, 1990, *5*.

[36] Peter Kafka, "Students Ask for UW Investigation of Police Tactics," *The Daily Cardinal*, April 25, 1990, *5*.

[37] Peter Kafka, "Students Ask for UW Investigation of Police Tactics," *The Daily Cardinal*, April 25, 1990, *5*.

[38] Peter Kafka, "Students Ask for UW Investigation of Police Tactics," *The Daily Cardinal*, April 25, 1990, *5*.

[39] Peter Kafka, "Students Ask for UW Investigation of Police Tactics," *The Daily Cardinal*, April 25, 1990, *5*.

[40] Scott Seyforth, "In People's Faces," 95.

On Badger Belonging: The Complexity of Shared Identity at UW–Madison by Taylor L. Bailey

Originally Posted on November 13, 2023. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW-Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*

The University of Wisconsin–Madison has stood as the flagship university of the state since Wisconsin was founded in 1848. For nearly two centuries, there have been thousands of people who have attended or worked at this institution — some carrying on a family tradition and others simply excited to embark on a new educational journey. Through its history, UW–Madison has marketed itself not only as a school, but also as a community that is invested in the cultivation of well-rounded scholars, cutting-edge researchers, and strong leaders. The

marketing tactics change, but are always implemented with the same goal: to foster a sense of belonging at UW. Whether or not people at UW–Madison feel as if they belong within the bounds of this institution, though, is another thing completely.

To "belong," in its most simple definition, is to be welcomed or fit into a group. As many recent national and global issues moved institutions to think more deeply about diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI), belonging became a new way to approach issues of exclusion. Universities like UW–Madison quickly adopted belonging as a core value, expanding DEI work into DEIB (DEI with the addition of belonging). But what does it mean to belong in or to an institution, and how does belonging move us toward equity in workplaces and places of learning?



Visitors to the *Sifting and Reckoning* exhibition at the Chazen Museum of Art participated in an interactive activity, answering the question 'Do you call yourself a Badger? Why or why not?' and hung their responses for others to read. Photo by Bryce Richter / UW–Madison

There are various places where belonging is asserted as central to our university's mission and values. Our Student Affairs; Division of Diversity, Equity, and Educational Achievement; Admissions, and various other offices all publicly promote the importance of belonging on their websites and in the resources they offer.[1] Belonging is the topic of many symposia and hosted discussions across campus. Chancellor Jennifer Mnookin has even stated publicly that she plans to center belonging in her values and priorities as the leader of UW.[2] With DEIB as the new norm in academia, belonging seems to have

become the most enticing method to address equity issues at UW. Yet, what belonging means — how it fits into UW's mission and values— varies based on where you look or who you ask. As the Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History (formerly the UW–Madison Public History Project) staff prepared for the *Sifting & Reckoning: UW–Madison's History of Exclusion and Resistance* exhibition we wanted to understand what belonging meant to our campus community.

In the literal sense of the definition, being admitted to or hired at UW–Madison means you belong here. But the more abstract idea of belonging — the one that universities concern themselves with — was much more difficult to understand. We asked ourselves these key questions to help us think through this abstract yet seemingly critical piece of being a part of the UW–Madison community:

1. What does it mean to "belong" at a university as a student, staff, or faculty member? What does it mean at UW specifically? Why does it matter?
2. How does UW–Madison foster belonging in their community? What strategies, initiatives, or tools do they use to promote belonging?
3. Who feels as though they can or do belong to this community? What leads to that feeling? How does the rest of the university community — especially university leadership — respond to others feeling as if they *don't* belong?

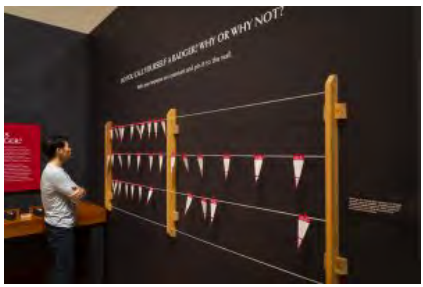
With these questions in mind, we thought through all the ways belonging showed up throughout UW's history.



Visitors to the *Sifting and Reckoning* exhibition at the Chazen Museum of Art leave written notes as part of an interactive activity. Photo by Colton Mansavage / UW–Madison

On a large scale, university administration as well as marketing and communication efforts have invested a lot of energy into creating a shared identity for all community members, especially students. Doing this effectively for thousands of people from varying backgrounds is difficult. One longstanding approach has been the use of symbols and traditions to unite students, alumni, faculty, and staff alike. Chief among them is the Badger. More than just a mascot, being a "Badger" has become an identity. The success and rise in

popularity of UW–Madison's athletics in the 1900s and the establishment of UW as a world-renowned educational institution only aided in the label becoming larger-than-life. The badger mascot gaining its current proper name "Buckingham" or "Bucky" in 1950 allowed the "Badger" to transform from just a label into an entire identity that could be passed on throughout generations. Calling yourself a Badger meant you belonged at UW and was supposed to carry a sense of pride. Even now, Bucky Badger's image can be found all over the campus and is closely associated with the name University of Wisconsin–Madison.[3] The word "Badger" appears in nearly every piece of correspondence sent to current and past community members and even to prospective students. Countless emails to students addressed "Hey Badgers!" and fundraising initiatives like "Day of the Badger" only scratch the surface of the amount of times the Badger identity is used in university-wide communications. For a cost, Bucky Badger can even make appearances at celebrations. The mascot is often photographed at weddings and birthday parties where his presence connects these special occasions with pride in UW–Madison.



As part of an interactive activity, pennants with written notes from visitors to the *Sifting and Reckoning* exhibition hang at the Chazen Museum of Art. Photo by Colton Mansavage / UW–Madison

It seems this shared identity is key to promoting belonging — that being a Badger means you belong here, there is a place for you here, and that place is something of which to be proud. But, knowing this, we questioned what it meant to actually *believe* you belonged? Was the assumption of a shared identity enough? As our team furthered our research on marginalized people and their experiences with discrimination and resistance at UW–Madison, some of the answers to these questions became clearer. It was evident that belonging often depended heavily upon whether someone considered an "outsider" (based on race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and/or ability) was welcomed by a group. It was also clear that many marginalized people at UW were not welcomed by the majority due to the discrimination they faced and resisted throughout time. Belonging in the literal sense may have been achieved, but the abstract idea still left more to be desired.

But why does belonging matter? This is the question that we were left grappling with as we prepared to ask our UW community if they felt

comfortable calling themselves Badgers. What is the significance of something like belonging in a higher education institution? It was clear as we uncovered more research on the university that belonging — or the lack thereof — was integral to marginalized people shaping their own communities where they felt safe and respected. On the other hand, some stories revealed that belonging was exploited as a buzzword that created tension between the university and the people it served. The ambiguity of the word and its metrics of success made it hard to determine the impact of belonging at our university. We crafted our first exhibition interactive for the physical *Sifting & Reckoning* exhibition to unpack this complexity, to ask our community directly for their thoughts on belonging at UW–Madison. The question was simple:

Do you call yourself a Badger? Why or why not?

This question allowed us to think about belonging and shared identity through a local, UW–Madison lens. Evoking the image of the flagship's mascot here connects this identity to something that is specific to UW–Madison, to Madison, to Wisconsin. It is an image that has been crafted to be a symbol of pride. Under the surface lie more questions: *Do you feel empowered by that label? Do you feel as if you have the right to leverage that label? Does being a Badger mean something to you? Do you feel like you belong at UW–Madison?*

Data Analysis

Responses to this interactive activity were nuanced. Many responses addressed our initial question regarding the shared Badger identity as well as the underlying questions about identity and belonging on campus. We collected each response while the physical exhibition was on view at the Chazen Museum of Art from September 12, 2022 – December 23, 2022 and recorded each response. We received 1,016 anonymous responses to this question while the exhibition was on view.

As we analyzed the data, we categorized the responses by the type of answer given. The categories were:

1. 'Yes,' I call myself a Badger.
2. 'No,' I do not call myself a Badger.
3. Something we labeled 'other;' typically an answer with more complexity than yes or no, or a response where no clear answer could be determined.

From there, we analyzed each individual response to discover trends within those categories. This process displayed the deep range of our

community's thoughts on the Badger identity and belonging at UW–Madison.

See the full dataset of responses here.

Yes

Of the 1,016 who participated in this interactive activity, 424 answered that yes, they do call themselves Badgers. These answers made up 42% of all responses we received, which meant the majority of those who participated felt comfortable calling themselves Badgers. The reasons why community members answered this way, though, varied by person and experience. Analyzing the "yes" category revealed a few similar themes within the responses. After surveying the most common themes, we created the following themed subcategories: [4]

- Pride in UW–Madison/Feel like they belong/Embrace identity
- Despite hardship/as resistance
- With concessions
- Family or state legacy/pride
- Desire to be a leader/change narratives about Badger identity or UW–Madison
- UW brand/networking opportunities

While all responses had their own nuances, the commonalities found between participants who call themselves Badgers revealed insights into the culture of identity and belonging at UW–Madison that had often only been assumed before.

Yes – Pride in UW–Madison/Feel as though they belong/Embrace identity:

The most frequent, recurring theme in this category was people in the UW community feeling as though they belong here or have a sense of pride in the institution, its people, and/or its mission and purpose. These responses often acknowledged the opportunities UW has afforded them as well as the communities they were able to find here that made it feel welcoming to call this place home. UW–Madison was often referred to as a place of which to be proud, whether that pride stemmed from the social action folks witnessed here or the morals people have come to associate with the Badger identity. This subcategory made up a large portion of the "yes" category, which reinforces the notion UW–Madison

— whether intentionally or coincidentally — has succeeded in fostering belonging and pride in a subsect of the community.

Quotes:

"Yes, because this school is a part of why I am the way I am. I wouldn't be myself without going here"

"Of course. In my opinion, every single person at the UW–Madison is a Badger. Being a badger is related to moral values rather than athletics or ethnicity."

"Being a badger to me is a sense of identity. It makes me feel like I belong here and deserve to thrive during this period of my life. It makes me feel like I have a community, so yes."

"Proudly yes. I grew up in MSN and was aware of what was going on- on campus –> protests/ tear gas I witnessed as a child. 1st in my family to graduate from college. I've worked all over the US and some parts of the world. The UW is respected and I love all advances the faculty and students are making YET can always be better."

Yes – Despite hardship/as resistance:

This subcategory was particularly interesting to our team because it added nuance to the conversation around what it meant to be Badgers. Participants with these answers used the identity label as an act of resistance or a way to reclaim something they felt was not originally made for them. This subcategory also included those who mentioned that they chose to claim/reclaim the Badger identity even after experiencing immense hardship either at or at the hands of the institution. These participants often recognized that the Badger label meant something to the larger community and public and chose to identify with it despite how others would define them. This subcategory was one of the largest in the "yes" category. Understanding the subversive nature of these participants' views on being Badgers and belonging to this community allows us to understand the stakes of establishing a shared identity for our community at all.

Quotes:

"I call myself a badger to utilize the resources and influence the institution possess[es] to elevate the voices of underrepresented and marginalized students. This claim also allows me to enter spaces that may not be accessible to our student leaders."

"Yes, because I'll do as I please, regardless of whether I am wanted here or not. I am worthy [of] taking up space."

"I call myself a badger because no one will give me that title besides myself. Like a lot of things on this campus, I constantly advocate for myself as a person of color with a disability. It's a lonely journey but I'm proud of myself."

"Yes, I am a Badger. As a queer woman occupying space at a university where I once would not have been welcome, it is my responsibility to call myself a badger for the people before me who were not allowed into this space in the past."

Yes – With concessions

There were a number of participants who mentioned that they did call themselves Badgers, but they had reservations about the term and what it represented in the greater UW and Madison communities. Respondents in this subcategory often expressed feelings of shame toward UW–Madison's actions regarding socioeconomic inequities, history of and ongoing issues with discrimination and exclusion, and exclusive nature of the social and professional culture at UW. This subcategory indicated that though folks claim to be in the Badger community, they do not always feel *of* the Badger community.

Quotes:

"After earning both a BS and MS degree here, I do call myself a Badger. However, learning more about the history (and on-going) discrimination on this campus makes me less proud. We must do better."

"Yes. I'm from Madison and an alum (2007). I love being a Badger. At the same time, it's critical that we continue to examine our institutional inequities. Everyone who wants to should be able to celebrate their identity and belong as a Badger. We can do better and I hope (as all alum) we continue to push for a more equitable system."

"I call myself a badger. However, not [because] of anything the school directly has done, but [because] of the friends I have made. UW and its leaders can do better."

"Yes but with hesitation and some reluctance. My experience has been tainted by disability discrimination and … inadequate McBurney support. These ruin what positive experience I have had and make me feel less welcome."

Yes – Family or state legacy/pride

As the flagship university of Wisconsin, UW has a long history of multi-generational families who attend and graduate from the university. This status has also framed UW itself as a source of pride not only for the city of Madison more generally, but for the entire state of Wisconsin. With things like the Wisconsin Idea — a core tenet of UW–Madison — connecting the success of the university to the success of the state and the world, it is not a surprise that many people feel connected to UW without ever stepping foot in a classroom or an administrative office. It is also why you see so many UW stickers littering back windshields and flags waving Badger pride outside of bars and grills across the state. Many participants in this subcategory mentioned the strength of their familial ties to the university or their pride in the state as their reason for calling themselves Badgers. This subcategory showed how nostalgia and legacy plays a significant role in how people connect to UW and feel as if this is a place to which they belong.

Quotes:

"My grandma, my great grandma and great great grandparents were born and raised in Madison. I have badger blood 100%."

"Yes, because of the ferocity I live with to make my city proud. Love Madison and I love the Badger! Go Bucky."

"Yes, I call myself a badger as a first-gen low-income student because it signified my parents' dreams – their American dream for me. Yet on a day-day it's hard to say."

Yes – Desire to be a leader/change narratives about Badger identity or UW–Madison

UW–Madison is a leader in its field as an R1 research institution, and maintains that status by pushing its students, staff, and faculty to uphold the prestige that comes with the name and subsequent brand. Though this subcategory accounted for a small percentage of "yes" responses, this idea of a Badger being synonymous with being a leader was present in quite a few responses. Participants in this subcategory felt as if it was their responsibility as Badgers to be changemakers and that it was a core tenet of being a part of this community. Ushering the university toward positive change and impacting the lives of others made them feel as though they belonged here.

Quotes:

"Yes. A badger uses their education to better the lives of others, follows the Wisconsin idea. This is why I am here, that's why I study, and that's why I'm a badger."

"Yes, because being a badger means being a part of a community whose goals are to create a new generation on a united front."

"Yes, because I am a small part of the change and diversity on this campus. I work everyday to shift the ignorant nature of this school and while it's not a big change, even my presence disrupts bigotry."

"Yes! I am an active student on campus dedicated to making the UW a better place. That's what a badger is to me."

Yes – UW brand/networking purposes

The university's branding plays a large role in how it is perceived across the nation and the world. As an R1 research institution and also a member of the Big Ten conference, UW has a unique brand that ties its global status to both academics and athletics. This subcategory noted how many people use the university's brand to their advantage and adopt the Badger identity because of it. Whether it is because they were avid Badger sports fans or used the Badger identity label to network with alumni for resources and opportunities, those who fell in this subcategory mentioned they felt comfortable calling themselves Badgers because of the work UW has done to securely establish its brand throughout the years so that it means something in the world and to the community.

Quotes:

"Yes, because I love to cheer on the Badgers and watch their sporting events."

"Yes, I feel as though the Madison community emphasizes being an alumni and the support of the alumni network is definitely felt as a student, on Wisconsin!"

"Yes, when it's convenient to identify myself as one – people from Wisconsin are friendly if you do so."

No

The "no" category had the second greatest number of responses with 389 of 1,016 total. This category accounted for 38% of total responses

received and revealed that a significant portion of the participants in this interactive did not feel comfortable with the shared Badger label for some reason. Like its positive counterpart, the "no" category varied in reasons why participants answered this particular way. After analysis, the responses in this category were sorted into the following subcategories based on common themes to glean more nuanced information about belonging at UW: [5]

- Do not feel like they belong/feel safe at/connected to UW–Madison
- Reject label as act of resistance/due to discrimination/not proud of UW–Madison
- Issue with the Badger brand/party culture/association with athletics
- Faculty and staff feel outside of the community
- Hope to one day change their mind/the narrative of being a Badger
- More than a Badger/problem with the shared identity

Each response was unique, yet the stark similarities in this category particularly allowed us to understand what it is that prevents our community from feeling the sense of belonging that UW tries to facilitate across campus.

No – Do not feel like they belong/feel safe at/connected to UW–Madison

This subcategory was the most popular of the "no" responses. Many participants put it quite simply— they do not feel as though they belong at this university. Some felt as though their belonging was not prioritized in the scope of the university's initiatives, while others noted specific policies in place or members of the UW community made them feel as though this was not a label they were worthy of adopting for themselves. This subcategory generated conversation around the ways being a Badger is fashioned to be or feel exclusionary in some way. It also brought up an important question for us: how many is too many when we discuss people who feel as if they *don't* belong?

Quotes:

"No, it feels like you have to ascribe to a certain culture, and that culture was not made for people like me."

"I don't. To be a badger often times means to take pride in an institution founded and still active in the exclusion of others. As a minority, it's easy to feel alone in a sea of thousands here."

"No. It can be hard to align yourself with an institution that disenfranchises me along multiple identities. Walking around campus I'm reminded of how most of these spaces aren't meant for me."

No – Reject label as act of resistance/due to discrimination/not proud of UW–Madison

Many of the participants that answered no to this question mentioned their reason was because UW had considerable work to do in making people here feel safe and as though they belonged. This subcategory often included those who refused to call themselves Badgers while they viewed the institution as doing little to nothing to address problems with discrimination, diversity, exclusion, and safety concerns for vulnerable UW community members. To them, adopting that identity meant showing support for UW–Madison's shortcomings in areas that did not align with their values and beliefs. The responses in this subcategory expressed ideas of the Badger label being a marker of shame or embarrassment— an identity label that felt wrong to adopt while many community members still felt institutionally marginalized. These responses helped us better understand what some community members think of when they hear the term Badger and how exclusion and discrimination play a key role in whether or not folks feel as though they belong here.

Quotes:

"I study at the home of the Badgers until I see true recognition of systematic hate/abuse and active change. I am NOT a badger."

"No. Only in rare moments of equality and compassion do I feel compelled to call myself a badger. Most of the time, I wonder what the hell the ethnic studies requirement is actually teaching students."

"I've been a graduate researcher here since 2017, and as I prepare to leave, my answer is still no. I can't in good conscience lend support to an institution that takes credit for DEI efforts by students while removing safe spaces/ housing."

No – Issue with the Badger brand/party culture/association with athletics

Many participants felt alienated from the label Badger because of the reputation it carries in social settings. Responses in this subcategory often explained their skepticism with the shared identity marker was largely due to its association with its heavy party and drinking culture, or the Badger identity being too closely tied to UW–Madison's Big Ten athletics brand. As some community members feel removed from athletics at UW, many mentioned it felt inappropriate to don the Badger label with something they associated strictly with sports and Big Ten culture. Many others mentioned feeling as though the social scenes at the university relied heavily on partying, drinking, and sexual harassment and violence and would not accept the label with the negative connotations connected to it. This subcategory problematized the idea of the UW–Madison "brand" within our community.

Quotes:

"I never have, despite graduating from here. Being a badger felt very much reserved for fans of drinking and sports of which I am neither."

"No, I'm not proud of the culture that revolves around drinking and partying."

"No. Athletics season ticket holders with no affiliation to UW are more badgers than those who paid thousands for a degree like myself. Wisconsin residents reap more than students."

"F*ck no, I've been to Langdon St. and if that's what Badgers are like I'm sure not one."

No – Faculty and staff feel outside of the community

This small subcategory represented a tension we also noticed in our research. Faculty and staff community members don't feel comfortable calling themselves Badgers because they see the label as something that only applies to the student body. Participants in this subcategory expressed apprehension toward the shared identity and what it meant for those who were getting paid to work for the university. Many felt as if they were not even a part of the close-knit community the university attempts to create with this shared identity. This subcategory raised questions like 'Who is in the Badger community?', 'How does faculty/staff isolation from that community contribute to the overall issues with belonging on campus?', and 'How is the university specifically facilitating

belonging for those who are not studying at the university, but are a part of the campus community all the same?'

Quotes:

"NO, I'm a professor. Badgers are students and maybe football from which I'm neither. But I want my students to belong."

"I work here but I don't call myself a badger. It's hard to see how people like me and are treated on campus. I want to tear my hair out seeing the cruelty."

"No. I work on campus but didn't attend school here. I associate it with students and athletics."

No – Hope to one day change their mind/the narrative of being a Badger

For folks in this subcategory, the Badger identity label was one that they did not feel comfortable with at the moment. Whether it was because of what they perceived the university stood for or because they did not yet feel as though they belonged, this group of responses mentioned that maybe if something changed they would eventually call themselves Badgers. Some even mentioned wanting to be an active part of changing the narrative of what being a Badger meant, yet still felt discomfort with the label until work was put in to make the label fitting for more demographics. This subcategory showed the potential for more people in the community to feel as if they belong here, if only certain efforts are made to make it so.

Quotes:

"Never. I care deeply about this institution and who it serves but I don't see it as a place to be proud of yet, and I want to work to change it so it is."

"I could call myself a badger but I don't exactly feel like one yet. Finding a community takes time and I'm willing to wait."

"I do not yet call myself a badger because I believe I am not yet making a positive impact to push this university forward."

No – More than a Badger/problem with the shared identity

Some participants rejected the identity label altogether, stating that their personal identity was more than what was summed up in the Badger label. This subcategory questioned the need for a shared identity within

an institution in the first place and complicated the tenet that a shared identity makes people feel as though they belong at all.

Quotes:

"No imposed labels function to oppress, confine, and limit. You are more than a badger, you're you. Labels can never do justice to who we are as people."

"No, I don't like the idea of excessively identifying with a group. Can't we just be the complex and conflicted individuals that we are? Why call yourself another name just for the sake of feeling included?"

"No, because the time I am here will only last so long. I am much more than a badger."

Other

The "other"[6] category, though the smallest of the three with 203 of 1,016 responses recorded this way, was particularly intriguing because of its liminality. It revealed that many of our participants think of the Badger label as complex and regard their relationship to that identity as dependent on certain things. Twenty percent of all of our responses were an answer other than "yes" or "no" and were divided into the following subcategories: [7]

- At times/contingent upon feeling of belonging/not sure if label is for them
- Did not use label, but hope or positive change is grounds for reconsideration
- Felt like Badgers in a specific scenario
- Did feel like Badgers, but something negative changed perception
- Indifference to label/doesn't always fit their identity
- Sometimes, due to Badger brand (positive or negative connotation)

This set of subcategories solidifies our thoughts on how belonging is a multifaceted thing that changes shape based on circumstance.

Other – At times/contingent upon feeling of belonging/not sure if label is

for them

Many of our community members in this category felt unsure about their place at the university and whether they felt like Badgers. These participants expressed that at times they felt like this identity label was one for them, yet at others they felt as if they did not belong here. There were many who were confused about whether the label was even for them or what it stood for, which made it difficult for them to either commit to the Badger label or to reject it.

Quotes:

"On and off... I feel like I'm finding my space on campus, but I wish I did not have to go out of my way to find those spaces. Being a badger should equate with pride but I am reluctant to be proud."

"Yes and no. I'm an international student and trying to fit into the white culture is tough. But I have also put a lot of effort to be here and trying to learn more about the culture. I am a badger because why not? I made it here."

"Yes and no being a white woman I fit in easily but seeing my friends struggle makes me worried about what being a badger means"

Other – Did not use label, but hope or positive change is grounds for reconsideration

Much like those who dismissed the Badger identity because of the negative connotation it often carries, those responses in this category felt similarly. However, they mentioned that some work toward change has led them to regard the label in a more positive light. Many participants mentioned specific organizations or policies enacted by people at the university made them feel hopeful in the future of what being a Badger could mean.

Quotes:

"As an undergrad I did not, but as an alumna I have been able to reclaim my badger pride in supporting other POC Badgers in their journey of belonging. I see you."

"I'm making my way toward being a badger. Finding communities to support our success as a bipoc student helps ground myself in the feeling of being a Badger. It's something I'm still exploring."

"I go back and forth on my sense of identity as a Badger. As a queer Latine woman on campus, there are limited spaces in which I can find a true sense of community, but I work to be a part of the progress toward the inclusiveness on campus"

Other – Felt like Badgers in a specific scenario

This subcategory was composed of those who mentioned feeling like a Badger in a specific moment in time. Working with a specific professor, hanging out with a group of friends that felt like family, or feeling camaraderie while on an athletic team— these are some examples of moments mentioned when participants felt like Badgers. Otherwise, though, they were unclear of how much the label suited them. This subcategory showed the power of our personal communities and the weight that they carry. The microcosms of campus that folks curate for themselves continue to be the spaces where many people feel as though they belong the most, while larger environments allow for more room for people to feel on the margins of university culture.

Quotes:

"I am proud of my school ONLY because of the efforts and strengths of the activities and minority groups who have fought against institutional racism and classism. These people are the only source of pride"

"Only because I got my graduate degree here. I see too much unequal treatment and faculty entitlement to be more than that."

Other – Did feel like Badgers, but something negative changed perception

Participants who landed in this subcategory were conflicted with their status as a Badger. Similar to the "hope to one day change their mind/ the narrative of being a Badger" subcategory in the "no" category, these participants felt as if they did belong at the university but the outstanding change that needed to happen to make UW more equitable was preventing them from feeling completely comfortable with the Badger label. Their perception of the identity marker had been skewed by something that put the university and its brand in a negative light and left them with apprehension toward calling themselves Badgers. This subcategory again reified the idea that the Badger identity is fragile and community members see the work the university needs to do as integral to whether they feel as though they belong or even want to belong.

Quotes:

"Yes and no as a queer disabled student, I struggle to feel like I belong when so many don't care about my safety (wear a mask) but at the same time I want

to honor how hard marginalized people fight to have a place here and not give up on calling myself a badger"

"In some ways I do and in some ways I don't. I pride myself on my jobs and academics which, gained here. but when I see how UW is viewed and its history, I struggle."

"As an undergrad, I feel an immense sense of pride to be a Badger. As a grad student, I have learned more, and am no longer proud. I recognize that my background and identity places me as a "Badger", I am still working through this."

Other – Indifference to label/doesn't always fit their identity

There were a few participants whose responses could only be labeled as an indifference to the Badger label. To them, calling themselves Badgers did not have high stakes or felt the label was not something that always captured the entirety of their identities. This contributed to the overall complication of the shared identity marker and its necessity in higher education. Like those who answered *no, I'm more than a Badger*, these responses furthered the conversation of whether a shared identity even facilitates more belonging across the campus community.

Quotes:

"I think it matters less of the title and more of who you surround yourself with here. Not defined by the university, but by my peers."

"Being a badger sometimes feels like [a] forced community. I don't want to identify with a term. I want to feel the community but my community seems to be growing"

"Yes and no. It's clearly situational. In Wisconsin I may feel like one, but overseas (where I live) I'm much more than a Badger. 13 years and 3 degrees."

Other – Sometimes, due to Badger brand (positive or negative connotation)

In this subcategory many participants felt connected to the Badger label occasionally, but it depended on where their pride and/or shame and discomfort lied in relation to the Badger brand. Some people really enjoyed Badger athletics and felt comfortable calling themselves Badgers within the confines of an arena or stadium, others felt like Badgers until negative party culture increased violence across campus, and some called themselves Badgers only in networking spaces to

benefit from UW's global reach. Whether for positive or negative reasons, folks in this subcategory felt their belonging at UW was contingent upon the Badger brand and the reputation it held.

Quotes:

"I honestly don't know. I've grown up here, and I take a class @ UW despite being in high school, but I feel very out of place. As a woman, the male and frat culture here makes me uncomfortable…."

"Sometimes. I feel as though the culture of UW can be hard to keep up with and always fit in."

"Only when we do well in sports. Something to brag about."

After analyzing all of the data it became clear to our team that the majority of the participants in this interactive did not answer "yes." In fact, of all the visitors who participated in this interactive activity, 58% answered something other than "yes." This indicates different views on belonging across campus than what is often assumed. Whether it was a no, a maybe, or something more complicated that lay in between, our community demonstrated the tension that exists when things as complex and ambiguous as belonging are operationalized and used as institutional markers of success.

What would it look like for *all* students, staff, and faculty to feel as though they belong at this institution? How do we get there? We asked the community a similar question in the exhibition that helped us understand actions tied to belonging: ***How will we reckon with the truths in our past to create a better future?***

Is it enough to tout increased diversity initiatives, create a shared identity, or even provide communal spaces for marginalized communities? What this interactive activity showed us is that belonging is much, much more complicated than that, and our community sees it as such. With the diversity of our community on the rise, facilitating true belonging would require a personal, empathetic approach. What could that look like within this institution?

It could look like the university putting stakes in the physical, emotional, and professional wellbeing of the community it serves. Or it could look like taking the time, effort, and resources to provide community members with their needs, attending to those most vulnerable with urgent needs first. It could also look like upholding its core values and protecting those within the community who have been

unjustly exposed to violence, hate, and discrimination. Regardless of what path is chosen, belonging requires trust, resources, and safety. It requires being open, honest, and receptive to the ever-changing and distinctive needs of those who struggle to feel comfortable and safe here. The abstract "belonging" of higher education institutions is not something that can be achieved with blanket initiatives and a shared identity label. It requires more from us.

When we asked, "*How do we reckon with the truths in our past to move toward a shared future?*" in the concluding interactive activity, we gave our participants the option of answering three prompts. The first prompt, "I'm inspired by…" was crafted to serve our visitors as a space of reflection; we wanted to know what moved them and how it inspired hope to carry the work forward. The second was "I commit to…" which we hoped would allow people to look inward and decide how they personally would dedicate their time, effort, or resources to eradicating the systemic injustices they had just read about on the walls of the gallery. We wanted people to know that this was only the first step and that things won't happen if everyday people don't commit to being even a small part of the change. The last prompt, though, was the most intriguing in regard to our question of belonging: "The university needs to…." It was clear in our research of the university's history of discrimination and resistance that our campus community— our students especially— were often the ones to advocate relentlessly for equity and wellbeing. They were the ones constantly on the front lines of change at UW. University leadership, though, played and continues to play a pivotal role in what policies get passed, where funding is allocated, who is afforded space, and many other things on campus that could influence belonging. We used this prompt as a space where the UW community could express their needs to university leaders and urge them to commit to actions they thought would move us as a collective toward positive change.

Sifting through the 1,136 responses to this question made some things clear: strong community and access to resources were vital to people at UW–Madison. Having space to form community, feeling safe enough to find community, having easy access to financial and social resources, and feeling as though those resources were equitably distributed across the campus were some of the biggest things that contributed to belonging. Our community was calling for both structural changes as well as these more intricate things that would lead to a shift in culture, create more empathy and promote wellbeing across campus. As we thought of material and conceptual ways to reckon with our history, we looked

toward these answers from our community for inspiration. Participants called on the university to do things like:

"give Mecha and the AISCC new houses"

"fly the Ho-Chunk flag all the time"

"promote sustainable living and working for the lower class, to further promote equity"

"pay grad students more"

"stop collecting international student fees"

"offer free tuition and housing to all native students"

"properly prioritize spaces for people of color in terms of both money and space"

"relocate sport funding to lower tuition"

"spend time in the communities of the 12 native nations"

"hire more black profs"

"divest from fossil fuels"

"improve their response to sexual assault on campus"

"do deep and fearless self assessment and work towards being anti-racist in faculty, sports, classes, housing, and community policies and practices"

"address the mental health crisis"

"put more funding into McBurney to reduce the wait time to get accommodations"

"spend less time virtue signaling and more time doing"

How do we reckon with belonging across campus? What *would* it look like to implement things that lead to increased feelings of belonging? What kinds of things does our community want to see from an institutional level in order to feel as if they have reckoned with the very complex, sometimes negative, and often notable history of the university?

This— listening to the wants and needs of the community— is how we can truly begin to foster and facilitate something as fragile, elusive, and intimate as belonging. These are only a few of the ideas, but the important thing to note is that our community already has an idea of

how to address belonging and help foster it across campus, as well as ideas for both the university and specific individuals to address equity across campus. The question is, are we ready to listen to them?

---

[1] See the following links for examples: https://students.wisc.edu/who-we-are/strategic-plan/sense-of-belonging/; https://students.wisc.edu/make-a-gift/belonging/ ; https://apps.admissions.wisc.edu/youbelong/ ; https://diversity.wisc.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/Sense-of-Belonging-Resources.pdf; https://students.wisc.edu/badger-dialogues/ ; https://www.supportuw.org/how-to-give/the-raimey-noland-campaign/a-community-of-true-belonging/

[2] Chappell, Robert. "Incoming UW Chancellor Places Premium on 'Belonging.'" Madison365, May 18, 2022.

[3] This summary does not include the complicated origins of the Badger mascot itself. It is tied closely with the history of early colonization of Wisconsin when white settlers in the early 1800s came to the region to work in lead mines. Miners would create small holes that resembled badger holes during their work, thus creating the relationship between Wisconsin and badgers. Badgers are often depicted and discussed during this period as being mischievous animals that steal things and burrow them into their badger holes. As the badger relationship to Wisconsin grew with the years, many Wisconsinites began to take pride in the badger. Others have thought of it as a symbol of settler colonialism and theft of resources and land. These origins were important as we thought through what it meant to be a Badger and were included in the *Sifting & Reckoning* exhibition.

[4] The listed subcategories do not include those that were divided into an "other" category, which was composed of funny, irrelevant, and inappropriate responses in the "yes" category as well as those that answered "yes" with no further explanation.

[5] The listed subcategories do not include those that were divided into an "other" category, which was composed of funny, irrelevant, and inappropriate responses in the "no" category as well as those that answered "no" with no further explanation.

[6] It is important to note that this category also included all responses to the interactive activity that were wholly unrelated to the question or inappropriate. These included various drawings, jokes, expletives, etc.

[7] The listed subcategories do not include those that were divided into an "other" category, which was composed of funny, irrelevant, and inappropriate responses in the "other" category as well as those that answered "sometimes" or "maybe" with no further explanation.

“The Policy of Secrecy:" Parents, Administrators, and Spies Investigating Sexual Violence Before UWPD By Kyle Miron

Originally Posted on March 18, 2024. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW–Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*

There was snow on the ground when a Madison police officer and a Pinkerton agent arrived on campus in February 1911 to investigate the rape of a sorority house mother. Agents kept arriving over the coming months as more reports of sorority break-ins and sexual harassment of students rolled in. It was the dead of summer by the time the investigation wrapped up and the (at least) eight private detectives called
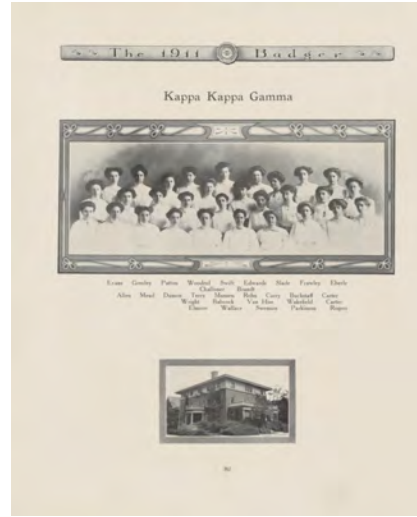
in from The Pinkerton National Detective Agency and their rival, the William J. Burns International Detective Agency, returned to Chicago.

The five-month investigation into this attack and the attacks and harassment that followed involved coordination from the two private detective agencies, University of Wisconsin President Charles Van Hise, Wisconsin Governor Francis McGovern, the Dane County sheriff, the University Board of Regents, a cadre of night watchmen, and one student's wealthy father. This father and the governor funded the investigation, and the group kept it "strictly a confidential matter," hiding all evidence of the agents' presence and keeping the investigation a secret from students, staff, faculty, parents, and the public. [1]

Long before it had its own police force, the university found other ways to police students and the Madison community. Administrators hired night watchmen to patrol campus and nearby areas and employed private police to investigate on and off campus. These security forces overstepped their mission to keep students safe and intruded into students' lives. Because this early security apparatus was ad hoc and outsourced, it was able to operate in the shadows, without any public accountability. The patterns of secrecy, policing morality, and operating outside of university control persisted as an official police force took shape in the years that followed. [2]

Out of respect for the wishes they expressed during their lives to not have people know about their assaults, I have given all of the victims pseudonyms. The names Mary Nelson, Ida, Catherine, and Alice are fake, but the details of their stories are real. I have chosen to leave everyone else's name unchanged, including the likely perpetrator, because their identities and connections are crucial for understanding the power networks involved in what unfolded that semester and how the university's early policing apparatus worked.

The Initial Search



The Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority page from the 1911 Badger Yearbook. UW Archives

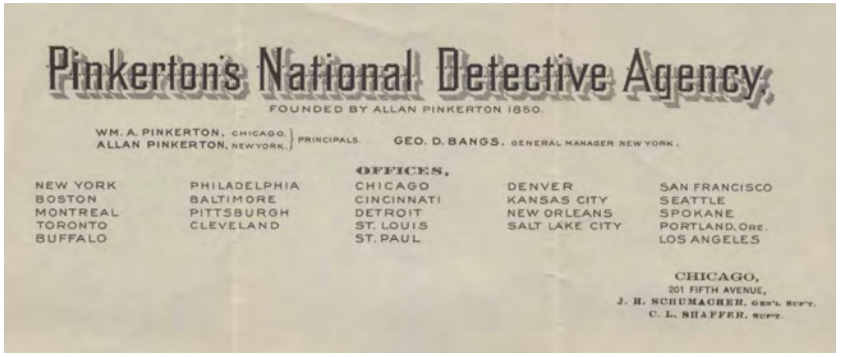
On a Friday night in February 1911 someone broke into the Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority house for the second time in two weeks. Two Mondays earlier, a short man with a hat but no beard brandished matches when he forced his way into the room of house mother Mrs. Mary Nelson. Mrs. Nelson, the 58-year-old mother of a university public speaking professor, had lived in the Kappa Kappa Gamma house on the corner of Langdon and Henry Streets since the death of her husband two years earlier. [3] At the first break in, she awoke to a man in her doorway, and tore through the house, screaming and ringing bells as she went. The man bolted as the 20 women students living in the house woke up and flooded into the halls. When he came back to Mrs. Nelson's room two weeks later, he had a flashlight and a gun. [4]

The day after the man raped Mrs. Nelson, the Madison Police Department was ready to dismiss the event as an older woman's confusion. A doctor examined Mrs. Nelson multiple times and confirmed that she had "experienced sexual intercourse." [5] Even so, the Madison chief of police "did not believe there was anything to it" and instead suspected "that the woman became so frightened when she saw the man standing in her bedroom door, that she did not know what happened." [6] This dismissal isn't surprising, given that police routinely disbelieved women's accusations of sexual violence. During this period, arrests or prosecutions for rape were rare. When they did occur, they usually targeted Black men who were accused of assaulting white women. Police officers were often reluctant to get involved in cases that did not fit this model. [7]

Despite the city police's incredulity, the university had hired the Pinkerton agents to investigate, giving them greater incentive to believe that a crime had occurred. One agent highlighted Mrs. Nelson's reputation and family as reasons to believe her accusations. He noted

that "Mrs. [Nelson] is a woman of good education and family connections," and that her late husband had been a minister. Taking this into account, the agent argued there was "no reason to doubt…that the assault was committed as stated." [8] These details solidified Mrs. Nelson as the kind of victim that they thought deserved protection.

The detectives, or "operatives," of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency and the William J. Burns International Detective Agency were not best known for their presence on college campuses. The Pinkerton Agency, founded in 1850, created the blueprint for American private policing and detective work. In the 19th century they overwhelmingly functioned as private police for banks, railroads, and occasionally, state governments. These groups usually asked the Pinkertons to guard property from theft, especially theft by employees. The agency is best remembered for its extensive efforts to undermine labor unions on behalf of industrial employers like Andrew Carnegie. [9] In 1909, former Secret Service agent William J. Burns created his own private detective agency and quickly garnered a reputation as "America's Sherlock Holmes" for the investigative acumen of his group. His agency conducted similar investigations to the Pinkertons and sometimes competed with them for the same clients. [10]



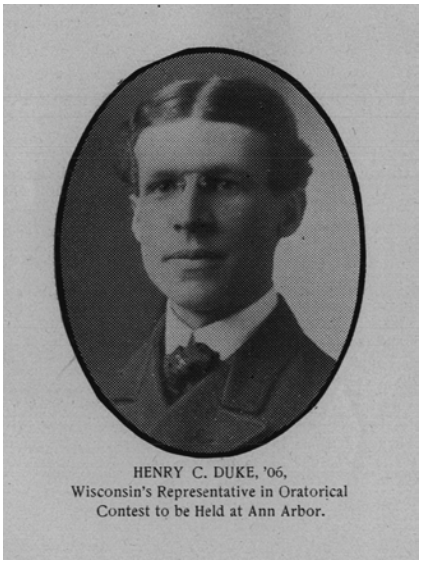
Official letterhead from the Pinkerton Agency in 1911. UW Archives.

Operating without any public oversight, these agencies wrote their own rules of conduct. Agents followed targets across various local and state jurisdictional boundaries and kidnapped people across state lines. [11] Their escapades on the UW campus are visible now because they left meticulous records of their time at the university. The university's business manager kept the daily reports from each visiting agent and letters from an agitated father. These play-by-play accounts from agents reveal a campus surveillance infrastructure involving the Sheriff's Office,

private detectives, the university, and students' parents decades before the university created its official police department.

Just as Mrs. Nelson was the kind of victim agents were willing to take seriously, the assailant she described was the kind of perpetrator that agents were likely to punish. One agent noted that "Mrs. [Nelson] thinks, from the slight brogue of the man, that he was an Italian, or foreigner of some sort." [12] This period was characterized by an anti-immigrant fervor that especially targeted immigrant men as sexually predatory to white women. [13] Mrs. Nelson may have reported this man's race as Italian because she really believed he was Italian, or she may have said that because she thought it would increase the chances of the police taking her claim seriously.

The search for this man kicked off with a tip from Mrs. Nelson's son. Mrs. Nelson told her son the next day that someone had broken into her room, and that "she was nearly frightened to death." [14] The son sprang into action to protect his mother. She didn't reveal to him that the intruder had sexually assaulted her, but even without this piece of the story, Mrs. Nelson's son suspected a local man named Henry Duke who had a history of sexual misconduct. Duke was not Italian — he, like the Nelsons, had German ancestry and family in the U.S. dating back several generations. [15] Although Duke did not match Mrs. Nelson's description of the perpetrator's ethnicity, he seemed the most likely suspect anyway. Mrs. Nelson's son shared that six years prior, when Duke was a student at the university, he "was arrested for getting a girl in a family way," a euphemism for impregnating someone. Mrs. Nelson's son went on that since then, Duke had been "mixed up with University girls upon whom he forced his attention, and was ordered by the girls' parents to quit coming to see them." Learning of these accusations in 1905, Mrs. Nelson's son, a university professor, had been instrumental in getting Duke expelled from UW. He believed that Duke "was just the sort of man… who would do an act of that kind of revenge" on his mother in retaliation for that expulsion. [16] His theory animated the early hunt for a perpetrator.



A portrait of Henry Duke in the April 1904 edition of the Wisconsin Alumni Magazine. UW Archives

Duke was an enigmatic choice for lead suspect. Before and after this event, he had an exemplary record in public and a reputation for predatory sexual behavior in private. He first entered the university in 1896 and, after taking time off to work, was set to graduate in 1906 at 29 years old. [17] As a student, he was an accomplished public speaker, winning oration contests on campus and across the country. [18] He later founded a public speaking school in Madison operating out of the same office above the Commerical National Bank building in which he had sexually assaulted at least one woman 20 years earlier. [19] The office served as a place for him to advertise his growing business during the day and bring women back to assault at night. Afraid to speak to an agent in public, one woman had confided in private that the word on the street in 1911 was that "all [Duke] kept his office for [was] to get young girls up there so he could seduce them." [20] Evidently, Duke's pattern of sexual predation was well known. In 1911, Duke even confessed to an agent that he had a habit of watching women students undress through the windows of their dorms. [21] Despite this reputation and confession, Duke did not suffer additional professional setbacks. In 1930 the university even celebrated Duke becoming "nationally known as an instructor of public speaking." [22] Neither his sexual misconduct in 1905 nor his pattern of sexually predatory behavior later ever seemed to impact his professional reputation.

Following Mrs. Nelson's son's claims, agents and administrators focused on finding proof of Duke's guilt, and in the process blew past other stories of sexual harassment and assault. They decided they needed to catch Duke in the act of another break-in or find someone willing to testify about Duke's misconduct to secure a conviction. On his first day investigating, one Pinkerton agent heard from multiple house chaperones that women students had seen men lurking around their houses, breaking into their houses, or peering into dorm windows. He followed this tip only as far as it pointed him to Duke and disregarded

stories about other perpetrators. He learned of a male student who kept sexually assaulting women landlords when they showed him apartments. After looking into this student, the agent noted that "his description does not in the slightest answer description of the man wanted" and stopped investigating him. [23] He focused on finding Mrs. Nelson's attacker and in the process disregarded other sexual crimes on campus.

The investigators were so determined to find other women who would accuse Duke because Mrs. Nelson adamantly refused to testify against her attacker. She told one agent that "she would rather be killed than to testify in court to anything of that nature." She continued that she would "absolutely refuse to do it, no matter what happened." [24] Mrs. Nelson also instructed her lawyer to keep any reports of the assault out of the newspapers. It's unclear if this arrangement included a payout to the newspapers, but it is very possible that it did. She continued to keep the assault a secret from her son, telling him only about the break-in. [25]

It's not surprising that Mrs. Nelson wanted as much anonymity as possible. When prosecutions of rape did occur in the early 20th century, they frequently directed as much (if not more) scrutiny and shame onto female victims as male perpetrators. Historian Brian Donovan describes the courtroom during rape trials as a "theater of respectability" in which victims had to prove their virtue as well as their adherence to gendered norms of honorable behavior. [26] Donovan notes that amid conflicting ideas about women's proper behavior, "women were simultaneously encouraged to assert their independence but punished if they did." [27] When it came to matters of sex, police danced back and forth across the line between protecting and policing women. [28] Beyond being wary of the judicial scrutiny that she would likely face, Mrs. Nelson was also presumably anxious about the impact to her reputation. The public, as well as the court, frequently smeared women as immoral and wicked for sexual encounters outside of marriage, even when those encounters were not consensual. [29]

Without Mrs. Nelson's testimony, convicting Duke would require a confession or catching him in the act. Van Hise and the university Board of Regents hired an additional Pinkerton agent to surveil Duke. The university also hired their own night watchmen to protect students who lived in the 11 campus sororities. [30] It was not uncommon for universities' janitorial services to hire campus watchmen like these to safeguard the grounds, often directing them to prioritize protecting school property. [31]
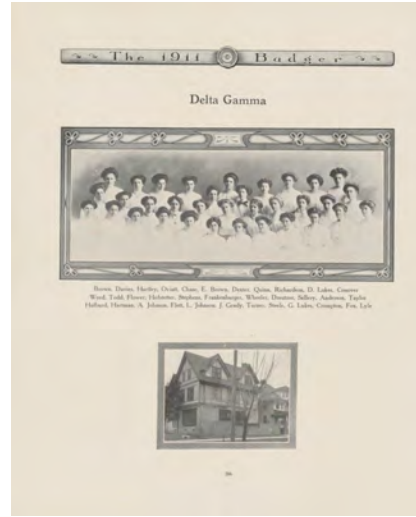
A Pinkerton agent diligently followed Duke for two weeks, cataloging

his daily movements, finding background information on him, and trying to set up times for Mrs. Nelson's son to see Duke and confirm his identity. By March 4, 1911 the agent had not secured a confession or witnessed Duke breaking in anywhere, so he turned in the police star lent to him by the sheriff and returned to Chicago. [32] The investigation went quiet.

Another Incident

One month after the Pinkerton agents ended their investigation, the case came back to life with renewed fervor. On April 12, 1911, a man matching the description of Mrs. Nelson's rapist broke into the Delta Gamma sorority house on Langdon Street. Brandishing his gun in a student's room in the middle of the night, he forced sorority sisters Ida and Catherine to dance for him. [33]

Ida's father, milling magnate Frank Blodgett, learned about the break-in the next day and used his considerable wealth and influence to demand university action. Furious that the university was not planning to investigate, Blodgett wrote heated letters and demanded meetings with university President Charles Van Hise, Governor Francis McGovern, and the Board of Regents. The Regents initially deflected any responsibility for the kind of security or investigation that Blodgett wanted. Blodgett noted that they told him that they had "absolutely no authority to expend any amount whatever for the protection of the students living outside of the University grounds." He was even more incensed that they claimed not to have any authority "to expend any sum whatever in investigating offenses of this character." [34] The university balked at paying for an investigation of off-campus crimes or sexual crimes. While the governor had stepped in to pay for the investigation of Mrs. Nelson's rape, it was clear that investigating other predatory behavior was less of a priority.


The 1911 Badger
Delta Gamma

The Delta Gamma sorority page from the 1911 Badger Yearbook. UW Archives

Indignant that the school would not use its considerable resources to safeguard women students, Blodgett threatened legal and extra-legal action. He had heard about Mrs. Nelson's attack from another house chaperone and suspected that the same perpetrator had broken into his daughter's room. He lambasted university and state officials for failing to secure a conviction against Duke in March and for refusing to investigate him again in April. He wrote, "The State of Wisconsin should have exhausted its resources in locating the offender in that case and convicting him." He went on to propose a vigilante solution to this problem if the state did not find more money to finance an investigation, blustering, "if the evidence secured is not sufficient to secure a legal conviction there are other ways of securing the same result. If a mad dog was at large in the University section I have no doubt but that it would be killed within a short time, and yet a mad dog as compared with this degenerate is a trivial affair." [35] This violent threat went ignored.

With little action from the school, Blodgett took matters into his own wallet. Furious that "the only protection that parents can expect for their daughters is by individually or collectively contributing to the necessary expenses of a proper investigation," he hired the Burns agency himself. [36] The Burns detectives initially reported to the university's business manager, but as he grew more desperate to secure a conviction, Blodgett told the agents that they should only take orders from him. Blodgett and Catherine's father refused to let their daughters testify, so they reinvigorated the plan to lure Duke into breaking in or confessing. [37]

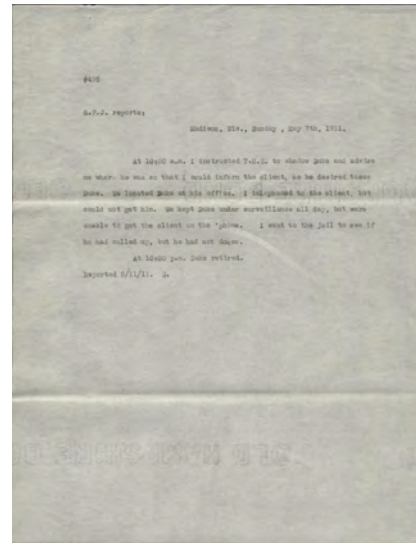
Burns agents arrived in Madison to surveil Duke and the sorority houses in the days following the break-in to Ida and Catherine's room. The agent in charge stayed in the parlor of a women students' boarding house on Frances Street that had been broken into as well. He hoped that his presence there would let him coordinate the search from the center of the concern and give the six women residents extra protection. Another agent came to stay in this house days later to surveil the

residents. These agents' presence in women's homes did not prevent more break-ins or make it easier to locate intruders after the fact. They invaded these women's lives but did not insulate them from harm.

Spying Inside

Just a few days into the Burns agent's stay at the Frances Street boarding house, someone broke in again. Alice, one of the women students living in the house, screamed out when she "thought she saw a man in her room" at midnight. [38] The intruder had already run away by the time the Burns agent ran into the night looking for him. The Burns agent returned to his parlor, went back to sleep, and then moved out later that week. He was gone when someone broke into Alice's room again a few nights later. Alice awoke to a man tripping over her trunk and shining a flashlight in her eyes. As she screamed, the house chaperone blew a whistle to alert another student in the house to call the police. [39] Again, the intruder was gone by the time help arrived–this time, it was a university-employed night watchman who came, running over from his post outside the sororities several blocks away.

Whereas agents and the university believed Mrs. Nelson, Ida, and Catherine, they immediately doubted Alice's story. The Burns agent reported that when he arrived on the scene, Alice was "trying to cover it up" and make sure that "the affair" did not "get in the papers." The agent believed that her desire for privacy was suspicious. He suspected that she was actually to blame for the break in. He noted that she was "rather 'loose' about pulling down her shades when undressing" and "was inclined to be a little fast." [40] To the agents and the school, this meant that Alice was untrustworthy and most likely involved in sexually immodest behavior. Her perceived lack of sexual propriety made them believe she could not be a victim and must in fact be a co-conspirator. The Burns agent suspected that the intruder was Alice's sweetheart and that Alice, in a sleepy confusion, didn't recognize him and screamed. [41] He then directed surveillance onto Alice herself.



An update written by a Burns agent investigating Henry Duke in Madison, dated May 7, 2011. UW Archives

A woman Burns agent then came to Madison to spy on Alice. She posed as Alice's new roommate, moving into her bedroom and acting as her friend. The two went shopping together and spent evenings sitting in their room sewing and talking about boys and family. Far from actually being Alice's friend, however, the agent worked from the assumption that Alice was involved in the break-in to her room and tried to earn Alice's trust to discover evidence of her collusion. The agent described how she "was instructed to go thru [Alice's] things, which I am doing and am mailing a copy of a letter which I found, also a pamphlet or book." [42] With the cooperation of the house mother and the regents, this operative gained Alice's trust when she was there and rifled through her things when she was away. She mailed copies of some of Alice's letters to and from her grandmother back to the Burns agency. [43] The letters from the grandmother had nothing to do with the break-in but had everything to do with insinuating that Alice was irresponsible with money. If Alice was untrustworthy in one aspect of her life, then the agents and the school assumed she must be irresponsible in every aspect of her life, and couldn't be the victim of a crime, only an associate of the perpetrator.

The woman operative worked to become Alice's confidante but held her in contempt. She reported that one day Alice "was expecting a girl friend…This young lady met Miss [Alice]; I also met her, and she seems to be a perfect lady, entirely different from Miss [Alice]." [44] The operative's opinion of Alice as promiscuous and unladylike made the school and the operatives doubt her allegations. To them, Alice didn't measure up to this friend, and she didn't measure up to the previous victims either. Alice did not have the weight of an important and monied man behind her like Ida had, and rumors of her sexual past made authorities distrust that she had sexual modesty to violate. In an investigation to ostensibly protect women students, Alice's privacy was invaded and her character questioned.

Spying Outside

Surveillance also escalated outside of student housing. An unsigned letter indicates that someone, most likely from the Pinkerton Agency but possibly from the university, "Ordered revolvers. Ordered guard placed in telephone room. Gave patrolmen orders to battle." [45] A Burns agent then "called and arranged with the Chief of Police for the men to carry guns and make arrests." [46] These private agents who had not been vetted by the city or the state had now been deputized and outfitted with police powers.

The Burns agents escalated surveillance of Henry Duke and even brought in another woman agent to try to entice Duke into breaking into her room. This plan did not lead to any results, but more evidence piled up against Duke anyway. One agent took a report from a woman in town who Duke had assaulted. She detailed the assault and shared that Madison women widely knew Duke was predatory. She explained, "The women would not have anything to do with Duke, on account of his dirty habits, and what he wanted them to do." [47] This woman also refused to go to court, or even to have the conversation about Duke in a place where someone might see her. She was married and was mortified about what would happen to her reputation if news broke of an extra-marital sexual encounter — even a nonconsensual one.

The agents, Frank Blodgett, the university, and local law enforcement were certain that Duke was guilty. According to a Burns agent, "The Sheriff seems satisfied that Duke is the guilty party, and said that he would donate $25.00 of his own money to see this man behind the bars." [48] Duke himself grew nervous. He panicked about newspaper articles describing a Madison "Peeking Tom" and confessed to a Burns agent that he had watched women students undress through their windows before, wondering if the article was describing him. He stressed over and over that "it would not pay for him to get mixed up on account of his business." [49] The agent did not arrest Duke even after this apparent confession. Despite widespread certainty that he was the perpetrator of multiple crimes, Duke never faced any legal repercussions. The Dane County Sheriff's office has no record of any charges ever filed against him.

One of the very last papers in the file on this ordeal is a note from the lead night watchman to the university's business manager in late June, 1911. The Pinkerton and Burns agents were all back in Chicago, but some university night watchmen continued to patrol around the sororities at night. One of them wrote, "These are the names of the two girls at the Delta Gamma House 250 Langdon which I found not in very good

company at twenty past two o'clock in the morning." [50] He had seen two women students out with men and alerted the business manager of the university to pursue disciplinary action against them. While he and the other night watchmen had been hired to patrol the area to keep women students safe in the wake of a shocking rape, their continued presence created a new apparatus for scrutinizing their behavior, especially their sexual behavior. He did not protect these students by reporting that they were out late at night, but he did contribute to the university's growing interest in policing sexual conduct.

Not a Fluke

This investigation was not a one-off case of parental power run amok or of a few rogue agents. The five-month investigation was sanctioned by the highest levels of university and state governance. Van Hise actively participated in concealing the surveillance and giving Pinkertons and Burns agents authority on and off campus. Blodgett secured Van Hise and Governor McGovern's approval and cooperation by threatening to publicize the story. He told McGovern that he would bring the story to the Legislature if necessary because "I believe that it is only necessary for proper publicity to these facts to arouse a popular clamor that will secure the desired result." [51] He stressed to Van Hise, too, that he would make the story public if Van Hise and McGovern did not finance and approve a security plan, arguing, "the policy of secrecy can only result in safeguarding the offender." [52] The governor conferred with Van Hise after these letters and gave Van Hise the funding and approval to comply with Blodgett's demand. [53]

As he granted Blodgett's requests under threat of publicity, Van Hise pleaded for secrecy. He wrote to Blodgett, "Publicity would be the worst possible remedy." [54] In another letter later the same day he stressed, "Publicity, in my opinion would be an almost certain bar to success in the matter." [55] It may never be clear if Van Hise wanted this secrecy because he thought it would protect victims or if he wanted to protect the university's reputation. The effects on the university's image would likely have been disastrous. During this period the university was legally empowered to act "in loco parentis," or as parental figures for students, both in terms of punishment and protection. [56] Women at the university in 1911 were all white and predominantly wealthy. [57] A scandal involving the assaults and harassment of these women within university-affiliated housing would most likely have sparked wider outrage among their parents at the failure of the university to protect their daughters. There likely would have been more wealthy and

influential fathers like Blodgett demanding action or refusing to send their daughters to the university.

Van Hise would have been particularly aware of this pressure given that his daughter had just graduated from one of the sororities in question. In her time at the university, Van Hise's daughter was a member of Kappa Kappa Gamma and was cared for by Mrs. Nelson herself. [58] Less than a year after her graduation, her father spearheaded the efforts to keep news about assaults on campus secret, including assaults that took place in her former home away from home. The secrecy that Van Hise worked to create not only protected the university's image and parents' trust in the school but also fueled the growth of a policing apparatus. The imperative for secrecy allowed the investigation and surveillance of students to continue without public accountability.

Conclusion

In June, 1911, one of the last Pinkerton agents on campus told the university's business manager that he had "nothing particularly new" to report about the ongoing investigations. He was told to turn in his police star and his flashlight and to expect payment soon from the governor. He went home to Chicago. [59] While he and his colleagues left, the atmosphere of secrecy and surveillance outlasted their time on campus and became central to the operation of the university's own police department a generation later. [60]

This early security apparatus did not meet its stated goal of protecting women students. Instead, it policed student behavior away from public accountability. Security forces identified the likely perpetrator in Mrs. Nelson's assault as Henry Duke and later identified the same man in a series of other harassment and assault incidents on and off campus. Neither the private agents nor the city police ever arrested Duke, however. They failed to do so because they couldn't secure the trust of the victims who refused to testify or make their stories public out of fear of the social consequences they would endure. Women students who were seen as less respectable than these other victims ended up enduring some of these social consequences anyway. While the detectives and night watchmen scrutinized the sexual and social affairs of these supposedly less respectable women students, Duke built a prolific career in Madison and garnered national recognition for his professional accomplishments. Despite a mandate to protect women, this early policing apparatus punished women for participating in consensual sexual encounters while failing to safeguard them from forced ones.

The university's policing structure and policies about sexual violence have changed in the last hundred years, but many of the fundamental problems remain. Sexual violence is still a widespread problem on campus and there is not adequate recourse for survivors or accountability for perpetrators. More than 27 percent of undergraduate women at UW–Madison describe having experienced sexual assault while enrolled, exceeding the national collegiate average. [61] About half of all UW–Madison students describe having experienced sexual harassment while enrolled. [62] According to data compiled from colleges' and universities' self-reports to the federal government, sexual assault is the most common crime on university campuses, surpassing burglaries, car theft, and other kinds of assaults. [63] Victims across the country continue to express trepidation about reporting these assaults — often for the same reasons that made Mrs. Nelson, Catherine, Ida, and Alice want secrecy over a century ago. Victims overwhelmingly express fear of negative social consequences, including being "slut-shamed" or being ostracized from communities that also include their attackers. Additionally, they express fear of the police disbelieving them or dragging them through invasive and shaming proceedings that fail to protect survivors. [64] A hesitation towards campus police is compounded by growing awareness of police behavior that students characterize as overly punitive and racially discriminatory. [65]

The events on campus during the spring of 1911 also call into question the efficacy of any police response to sexual violence. Even at moments over that semester when the university, agents, and the sheriff believed victims and worked to hold perpetrators accountable, they did not make women safer. Alice's story feels familiar in a post-#MeToo world: after revelations of her sexual harassment surfaced, authorities challenged her account of the events, questioned her character, violated her privacy, and suggested that either she had lied or invited the invasion. The story of Madison police officers initially dismissing Mrs. Nelson's allegations despite medical evidence also feels familiar. In recent years, police departments across the country have come under fire for failing to analyze sexual assault forensic exam evidence (also known as "rape kits"). [66] In addition to these familiar moments of dismissal and victim-blaming, the university did also eventually capitulate to demands to mount a costly and extensive campaign to investigate sexual predation and to try to protect women on campus. The agents they hired represented some of the finest private detectives in the country. These agents believed the victims and went to great lengths to catch one perpetrator. It still did not work. The primary perpetrator — and

numerous other sexual predators identified during the investigation — remained in university communities.

In April, 1911, Frank Blodgett grew frustrated trying to ensure recourse for the sexual harassment of his daughter Ida. He wrote to the governor, "it would seem to me that it is primarily the duty of the State to guarantee protection to its students." [67] Ensuring this protection for all students is an unfinished project. Doing so will require that the university grapple with the times in which it has abandoned survivors or compounded the harm they have experienced.

---

[1] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "JBH reports," Madison, Tues Feb 21, 1911, "Bumpus, H.C. Rape Case Investigation Files," 1911, Locked Cabinet Drawer 3, item 4, University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison, WI. The name and organization of this collection has changed since I had access to it. It is now called "Kappa Kappa Gamma House Assault Investigation records, February through June of 1911." It is still located at Locked Cabinet Drawer 3, item 4, University of Wisconsin Archives, Madison, WI. Future references from this folder will be referred to as BRC Files in order to shorten the name and to reflect the collection name at the time I used it.

[2] The Center for Campus History, "The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department," *Siftings*, March 8, 2021.

[3] All victims have been given pseudonyms to protect the privacy that they asked for when they were alive

[4] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS reports," Madison, February 11, 1911, BRC Files.

[5] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS reports," Madison, February 13, 1911, BRC Files.

[6] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS Reports," Chicago Sat Feb 11, 1911, "Bumpus, H.C. Rape Case Investigation Files," 1911, BRC Files.

[7] Estelle Freedman, *Redefining Rape : Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation*. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2013)

[8] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS Reports," Chicago Sat Feb 11, 1911, BRC Files

[9] Frank Morn, *'The Eye That Never Sleeps': The History of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982).

[10] William R. Hunt, *America's Sherlock Holmes: The Legacy of William Burns*, (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2019)

[11] Frank Morn, *'The Eye That Never Sleeps': The History of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982).

[12] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS Reports," Chicago Sat Feb 11, 1911, BRC Files

[13] Estelle Freedman, *Redefining Rape : Sexual Violence in the Era of Suffrage and Segregation*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2013), 10.

[14] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS reports" Madison, February 12, 1911, page 2, BRC Files.

[15] 1910 U.S. Census, Madison Ward *5*, Dane, Wisconsin; Roll: T624_1708; Page: 2b; Enumeration District: 0062, Henry Duke, FHL microfilm: 1375721.

[16] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS Reports," Chicago Sat Feb 12, 1911, BRC Files

[17] "Wisconsin's Oratorical Representative," The Wisconsin alumni magazine Volume *5*, Number 7 April 1904, 240

[18] "Wisconsin's Oratorical Representative," The Wisconsin alumni magazine Volume *5*, Number 7 April 1904, 240

[19] Details of his assault on a woman in that building are found in William J. Burns International Detective Agency,"GFJ reports," May 8, 1911, BRC Files. His founding a public speaking school there found in "In the Alumni World: Class of 1906," The Wisconsin alumni magazine Volume 33, Number III Dec. 1931, p. 87.

[20] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports," May 8, 1911, BRC Files.

[21] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports ," May 4, 1911, BRC Files.

[22] "In The Alumni World: Class of '06," The Wisconsin alumni magazine Volume 32, Number III Dec. 1930, 119.

[23] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS Reports," Chicago, February 14, 1911, BRC Files

[24] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS reports" Madison, February14, 1911, page 2, BRC Files.

[25] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS reports" Madison, February 12, 1911, page 2, BRC Files.

[26] Brian Donovan, *Respectability on Trial: Sex Crimes in New York City, 1900-1918*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), 2.

[27] Brian Donovan, Respectability on Trial: Sex Crimes in New York City, 1900-1918, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), 17.

[28] Jessica Pliley, *Policing Sexuality: The Mann Act and the Making of the FBI.* (Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press, 2014), 6

[29] Gordon, Linda. *Heroes of Their Own Lives: the Politics and History of Family Violence: Boston, 1880-1960.* New York, N.Y., U.S.A.: Viking, 1988.

[30] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "PS reports"", Madison, February 14, 1911, BRC Files.

[31] Grace Watkins, "'Cops Are Cops': American Campus Police and the Global Carceral Apparatus," Comparative American studies, 2020, Vol.17 (3-4), 245.

[32] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "JBH reports," March 4, 1911, BRC Files.

[33] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "JBH reports," May 5, 1911, BRC Files.

[34] Frank Blodgett, "Letter to Governor F.E. McGovern," April 15, 1911. BRC Files.

[35] Frank Blodgett, "Letter to Mr. John Frederickson," April 15, 1911. BRC Files.

[36] Frank Blodgett, "Letter to Governor F.E. McGovern," April 15, 1911. BRC Files.

[37] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports," May 8, 1911, BRC Files.

[38] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports" tues april 15, 1911, BRC Files.

[39] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports," April 21, 1911, BRC Files.

[40] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports," April 21, 1911, BRC Files.

[41] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports," April 21, 1911, BRC Files.

[42] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "#22 Reports" April 22, 1911, BRC Files.

[43] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "#22 Reports" April 22, 1911, BRC Files.

[44] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "#22 Reports" April 22, 1911, BRC Files.

[45] Author unknown, "Unsigned letter," April 17, 1911, BRC Files.

[46] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ Reports" April 23, 1911, BRC Files.

[47] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports ," May 8, 1911, BRC Files.

[48] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "THS reports," May 6, 1911, BRC Files.

[49] William J. Burns International Detective Agency, "GFJ reports ," May 4, 1911, BRC Files.

[50] C.H. Batty, "Note on scrap paper," June 22, 1911, BRC Files.

[51] Frank Blodgett, "Letter to Governor F.E. McGovern," April 15, 1911. BRC Files.

[52] Frank Blodgett, "Letter to UW President Charles Van Hise," April 15, 1911, University Presidents President Charles Van Hise General Correspondence Files, Series 4/10/1, Box 23, Folder 324, Univeristy of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, WI.

[53] Charles Van Hise, "Letter to Frank Blodgett," April 21, 1911, University Presidents President Charles Van Hise General Correspondence Files, Series 4/10/1, Box 23, Folder 324, Univeristy of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, WI.

[54] Charles Van Hise, "Second letter to Frank Blodgett that day," April 21, 1911, University Presidents President Charles Van Hise General Correspondence Files, Series 4/10/1, Box 23, Folder 324, Univeristy of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, WI.

[55] Charles Van Hise, "Letter to Frank Blodgett," April 21, 1911, University Presidents President Charles Van Hise General Correspondence Files, Series 4/10/1, Box 23, Folder 324, Univeristy of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, WI.

[56] Philip Lee, "The curious life of in loco parentis in American universities," *Higher Education in Review*, 2011, 8, 65-90.

[57] Knutson, Käri. "UW Women at 150: Celebrating 150 years since first women got undergraduates degrees." UW–Madison News (blog), September 27, 2018.

[58] The Badger Yearbook, Vol. XXIV 1910, p. 326

[59] Pinkerton National Detective Agency, "JBH reports," Chicago Fri June 9, 1911, BRC Files

[60] The Center for Campus History, "The Hammersley Method: The History of Mistrust between the UW–Madison Community and the UW–Madison Police Department," *Siftings*, March 8, 2021.

[61] Karen Herzog, " UW-Madison touts an all-of-the-above strategy on sexual assault," Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, February 14, 2016.

[62] Chancellor Blank and Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs Lori Reesor, "April is Sexual Assault Awareness Month – It Takes All of Us," UW-Madison Office of the Chancellor, April 6, 2022, https://chancellor.wisc.edu/blog/it-takes-all-of-us/.

[63] National Center for Education Statistics. (2023). "*Criminal Incidents at Postsecondary Institutions*," Condition of Education.,U.S. Department

of Education, Institute of Education Sciences. Retrieved September 13, 2023, as cited in National Center for Education Statistics, "Fast Facts: College Crime."

[64] Spencer, Chelsea & Mallory, Allen & Toews, Michelle & Stith, Sandra & Wood, Leila. (2017). "Why Sexual Assault Survivors Do Not Report to Universities: A Feminist Analysis: Reporting Sexual Assault." Family Relations. 66. 166-179. 10.1111/fare.12241.; Eliza Gray, "Why Victims of Rape in College Don't Report to the Police," TIME Magazine, June 23, 2014; David Cantor, Bonnie Fisher, Susan Chibnall, Reanna Townsend, et. al. Association of American Universities (AAU), "Report on the AAU Campus Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct," January 17, 2020.

[65] Mary Magnuson, "Records reveal UWPD spent over $6,000 on pepper spray, smoke grenades during George Floyd BLM protests," The Badger Herald, October 16, 2020

[66] RAINN, "Addressing the Rape Kit Backlog," https://www.rainn.org/articles/addressing-rape-kit-backlog, 2023.

[67] Frank Blodgett "Letter to President Charles Van Hise" April 22, 1911, University Presidents President Charles Van Hise General Correspondence Files, Series 4/10/1, Box 23, Folder 324, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, WI.

Building the Southeast Dormitories: How UW's Postwar Building Program Unleashed Relentless University Expansion in Madison By Siobhan Ryan

Originally Posted on February 2, 2025. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW–Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*



Louis "Buzz" Topp working in his barbershop. *UW Archives*

On January 1, 1959, Louis H. "Buzz" Topp and Ella Boorman Topp moved into their new home at 711 Clymer Place in Madison, Wisconsin. The couple, then in their mid-50s, had just finished construction on the house in 1958. After their youngest daughter was married in 1951, the Topps decided to leave the family home in Monona Bay and move downtown, closer to Louis's work at the University of Wisconsin–Madison. [1] For more than 30 years, Louis had run a barbershop at the Memorial Union catering mostly to students, staff and faculty of the university. (And he would remain a campus fixture for three more decades, finally retiring in the 1990s in his late 80s or early 90s.) [2]

The Topps' new home on Clymer Place was a plain, two-story structure in classic mid-century style, with a short white picket fence enclosing a small garden bed at the front. The Topps lived on the the first floor. There were two apartments upstairs, which the couple likely planned to rent to students. [3] Clymer Place was just two blocks south of the campus, making it and the surrounding neighborhood popular among UW–Madison students and staff in the 1950s. Many homeowners leased single rooms, apartments or even operated rooming houses in the area. [4]



Associated With Prominent Madison Families

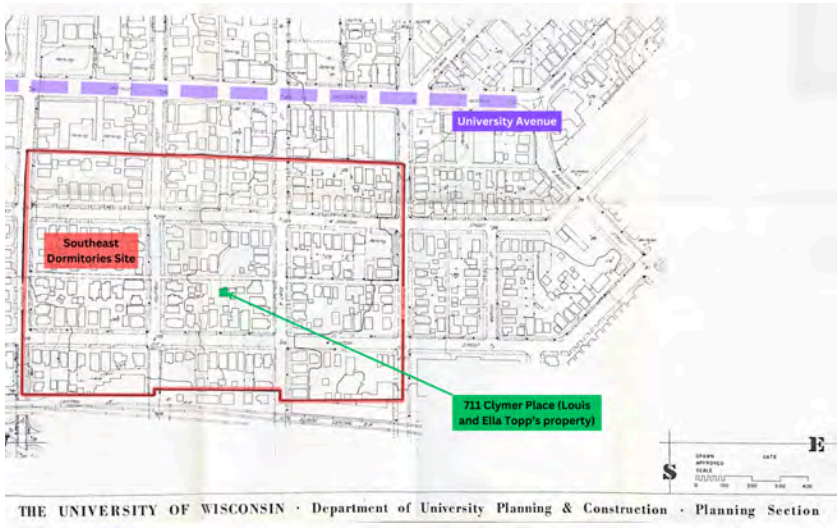
Many Houses, 60 to 70 Years Old. Face Razing to Make Room for U. W.

A September 13, 1960 *Cap Times* article shows the Topps' newly built home, left. *UW Archives*

But in September 1960, less than two years after moving into their newly built home, the Topps learned that the university would soon acquire and demolish the property to make way for high-rise student dormitories. [5] The UW Regents had just approved the $28 million Southeast Dormitories construction plan, authorizing the university's first major encroachment into the

predominantly privately-owned residential area south of University Avenue. Over the next 10 years, UW-Madison planned to purchase 16 acres of land from private owners, raze nearly 400 buildings, and construct four towering dormitories to house 4,000 students. [6]

It's hard to imagine single family homes once lining the streets where university landmarks like the Nick, Union South, and Vilas Hall now stand. The landscape has transformed completely in the past six decades, now bearing the features of a typical postwar university campus — brutalist, high-rise academic and residential buildings; pedestrian malls; green space for students to relax and play cornhole or spikeball. But before UW–Madison built the Southeast Dormitories, University Avenue essentially constituted the school's southern border; aside from Camp Randall, the campus barely crossed this major thoroughfare. In 1960, when the Regents announced the Southeast Dormitories, students comprised only half of the area's 1,800 residents. Another 900 people, including 135 university staff and faculty, were displaced to make way for student housing. [7]



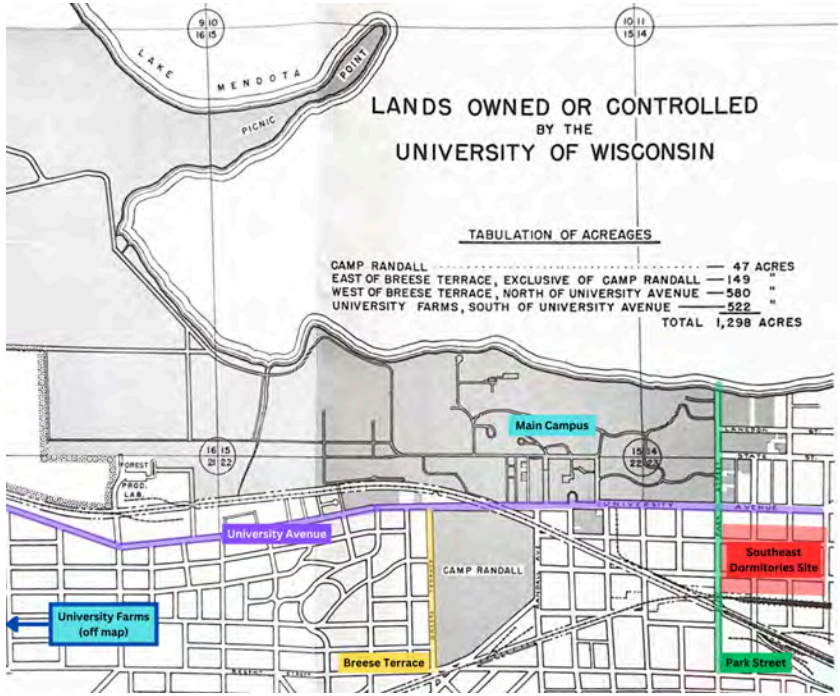
Proposed Southeast Dormitories site in January 1961. *UW Archives*

The Topps were among them. Perhaps they should not have moved into the area. UW–Madison had been eyeing the land south of University Avenue since at least 1946, when the Regents sent letters to property owners sharing their wish to purchase land in the area. [8] But, under pressure from the Wisconsin Legislature, the Regents halted acquisitions in the early 1950s and there was no public indication that the university planned to proceed with its expansion south of University Avenue from

then until the Southeast Dormitories announcement in 1960. How could the Topps have known what was to come? Nevertheless, Ella Topp was remarkably evenhanded when she expressed her disappointment to *The Capital Times*: "I like the neighborhood; it is handy to everything. My husband has the barbershop at the Union and it is convenient for him. I suppose if it is for betterment of student housing, it's the best thing."[9]

The Pre-1960s "South Campus"

A land grab on the scale of UW–Madison's expansion across University Avenue in the 1960s was unthinkable just two decades earlier. In November 1940, the UW president had commissioned a new campus development plan from the Wisconsin State Planning Board. Most notably among their several recommendations, the board urged the Regents against expanding south. The land south of University Avenue was already privately owned and fully developed with houses, apartments, and commercial and industrial properties — acquiring it would be expensive. And the University already owned vast tracts of land north of University Avenue and west of the main campus buildings, which were then only sparsely developed. Expansion south of University Avenue, then, would not only be too costly but was unnecessary for the university's growth. The Planning Board recommended concentrating new development on the west side of campus while adding some new buildings to the main campus area to accommodate future expansion. [10] The Regents adopted this plan in April 1942. [11]



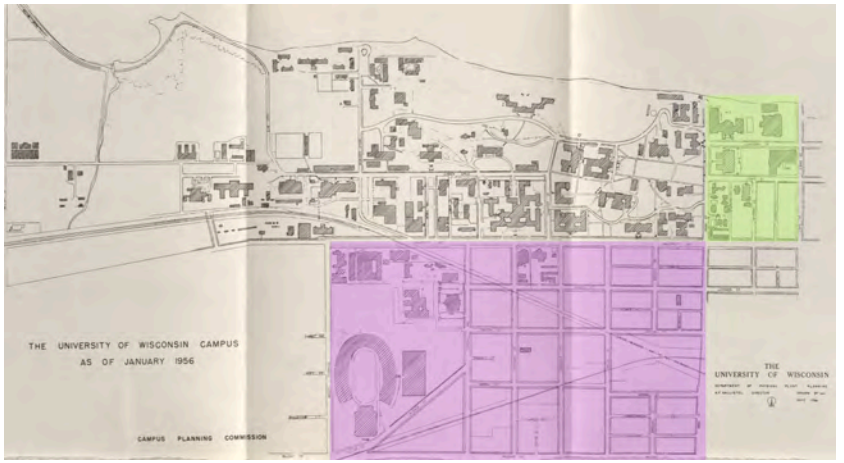
Lands owned or controlled by the University of Wisconsin in 1941. *UW Archives*

Despite its proximity to the university, the neighborhood south of University Avenue was largely independent from the school in the 1940s. Primarily residential, the area housed a mix of renters and homeowners. Most residents worked locally, in manufacturing firms in central Madison, in businesses on Regent Street, or on the railway. The neighborhood provided for most people's daily needs, with grocery stores, a gas station, a drug store, restaurants, and other essential businesses all within walking distance. [12] Camel's Tavern at 619 University Avenue was a popular meeting place for railway employees after work. [13] People also gathered at each other's homes, and at Luther Memorial Church and St. Francis House for ward meetings and civic gatherings. [14] The neighborhood bordered UW but had its own identity. [15] The 1940s development plan, had the Regents stuck with it, could have preserved this independent community.

But by 1945, when the Regents next considered the future UW campus, World War II had drastically changed the planning context. [16] Increased high school attainment rates and the postwar GI Bill, which covered tuition for returning soldiers, created unprecedented access to postsecondary education. Universities across the United States were overwhelmed with enrolments and scrambled to accommodate hordes

of new students as the war drew to a close. [17] The federal government, observing the speed of this growth and recognizing universities as key institutions in its Cold War arsenal, provided substantial funds to support the expansion of higher education. [18] Wisconsin's flagship university was no different. Enrollment and research demand surged at UW-Madison after World War II, compounding the university's existing space constraints. [19]

So, in 1945, the Regents appointed a Campus Planning Commission and asked them to reconsider the 1941 development plan. [20] Unlike the State Planning Board, which had discouraged property acquisitions, the university's commission recommended a major expansion. The Regents met in May 1946 and agreed to incorporate several city blocks east of Park Street and south of University Avenue into the postwar campus boundary (see below), thus reversing their resolution from 1942. [21] They justified their decision on the basis that postwar enrollments and research demand had far exceeded the 1941 plan's projections and would likely continue to grow. They also argued the university's existing land — a long, narrow area bordered by Lake Mendota to the north — could not be redeveloped while maintaining a walkable campus, thus southern expansion was the only viable solution. [22]

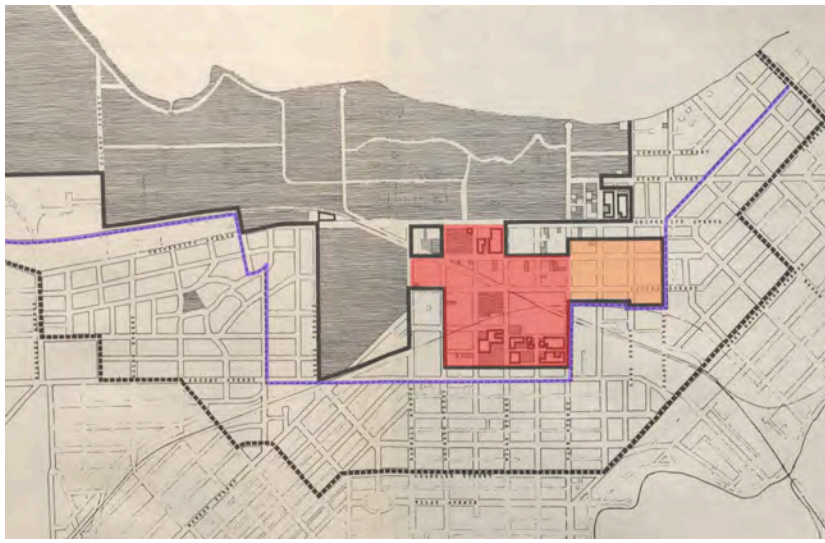


Map showing the areas designated in May 1946 by the Board of Regents for future UW-Madison expansion east of Park Street (yellow) and south of University Avenue (purple). *UW Archives*

The Regents published their decision and asked property owners in the affected areas to consult with UW staff before selling their properties or starting new construction or renovations. [23] University officials moved quickly, purchasing 43 lots in the acquisition areas in the 1946–47 fiscal year, 11 in 1947–48, and six in 1948–49. [24] But the Regents had failed

to secure state government support for the expansion. In January 1950, university representatives were hauled before the Fiscal Planning Subcommittee of the Subcommittee on the State Budget of the Legislative Council (try saying that five times fast) to explain, among other things, their reasons for expanding, the property acquisitions process, and whether state appropriations would be used to fund the purchases. UW all but ceased purchasing land in the expansion area during the 1950s in response.

In the meantime, university planners focused on producing a comprehensive campus development plan to secure state government support for expansion. [25] The Regents adopted their suggestions in the form of "The Sketch Plan for the University of Wisconsin at Madison" in 1959. The Sketch Plan identified three key planning areas beyond the existing campus — including, most significantly, around 24 blocks south of University Avenue (equivalent to around one and a half Camp Randalls) that it planned to acquire, raze, and redevelop completely. Within the expansion area, the plan designated around four blocks for UW-owned student housing, which became the Southeast Dormitories. [26] The Sketch Plan was not supposed to be final; it was intended as the first of three planning stages, culminating in a final General Plan for the campus. [27] But as far as I can tell, this was never completed, and the university treated the Sketch Plan as its master plan until 1970, when a new one was produced. [28]



"The Sketch Plan for the University of Wisconsin at Madison", December 1958. The solid black line indicates the proposed new campus boundary. The Southeast Dormitories site is shaded in orange and the rest of the Expansion Area is shaded in red. The purple line represents the wider University Planning Area. The dotted black line indicates the Joint City-University Planning Area. *UW Archives*

Universities and Urban Renewal in Postwar America

How did UW-Madison's modest 1940s campus development plan give way to such an ambitious expansion program by 1959? The post-WWII urban planning context provides some explanation.

The Sketch Plan was conceived and adopted during a period of enormous upheaval in American cities, due in large part to fears over the so-called "urban crisis." [29] The urban crisis refers to the real physical and perceived social decline of American cities in the late 1940s and 1950s. As Black southerners migrated en masse to northern, Midwestern, and western cities, middle-class white residents moved from cities to the suburbs. Owing to the entrenched racism of the period, this population shift alone was considered evidence of an "urban crisis". But adding to this, disinvestment, job losses, property devaluation, and commercial decline caused significant economic hardship. Cities became widely associated with poverty, social alienation, blight, and crime, spurring urban planners and policymakers to pursue slum clearance and urban renewal as the solution. [30] In practice, these "remedies" simply exacerbated racial and economic stratification.

With postwar higher education enrollments soaring nationwide, university administrators leveraged fears of the urban crisis to fund

their campus expansions and drive out Black and brown residents under the guise of rehabilitating inner-city neighborhoods. The University of Chicago, through its "South East Chicago Commission," successfully lobbied the federal government to fund urban renewal projects on or near college campuses in 1959. [31] As a result, writes urbanist and historian Davarian Baldwin, "universities became the friendly face of urban renewal, masking ruthless policies that bolstered racial segregation." [32] In one famous example, Columbia University administrators displaced so many Black and Puerto Rican residents from Morningside Heights between the late 1950s and 1960s that they "reversed the population trend of the 1960s, thus engineering the racial anatomy of the neighborhood," according to historian Stefan Bradley. [33]

It's important to note that UW-Madison's expansion south of University Avenue differed from the model established by other universities; the neighborhood UW displaced was almost entirely white. [34] Madison's "non-white" population — a category that at the time encompassed Black and Jewish residents and immigrants from southern European countries including Italy and Greece — predominantly lived in Greenbush, the neighborhood immediately south of the university's expansion area. [35] The city of Madison targeted Greenbush for urban renewal in the early 1960s, razing the neighborhood and displacing the predominantly Black and immigrant population and constructing a hospital and apartment buildings in their place. [36]

But the widespread acceptance of university-led redevelopment projects in this period was crucial in laying the foundation for the Southeast Dormitories and UW's larger southern expansion. As universities bulldozed entire neighborhoods with federal and municipal government support, they normalized an urban planning model that prioritized university expansion over the preservation of urban homes and communities. And, as was almost always the case in these urban university redevelopment projects, weak renter protections meant the most economically vulnerable people were worst affected.

Building the Southeast Dormitories

For a Monday night in the depths of a frigid Wisconsin winter, the State Building Commission's February 6, 1961 hearing drew quite the crowd. This was its second hearing on UW–Madison's Southeast Dormitories construction plan. The university sought to acquire and raze 388 buildings on the 16-acre site — including rooming houses, private homes, apartments, shops, bars, and warehouses. [37] In doing so, it

would displace 1,800 residents, only half of whom were students who could eventually return once construction was completed.



Capital Times newspaper photo from the February 7, 1961 meeting of the Wisconsin State Building Commission. *UW Archives*

In the days following the university's announcement, local homeowners shared their distress with *The Capital Times*. Architect Hubert Schneider of 216 N. Murray Street said, "I've lived here 25 years, and my six sons all graduated from the University of Wisconsin while we've lived here. [...] My wife and I are approaching retirement age; why should we give it [our home] up?" Gertrude Dooley, who lived and ran a student rooming house at 822 Clymer Place, said, "If the University takes over our house, we have no home. We've been here since 1938, and what we earn from renting rooms goes back into the house." [38]

In January 1961, several more homeowners attended the State Building Commission's first hearing. With support from Eighth Ward Supervisor Frank Gugel, the group "urged the University to build elsewhere," or at least provide more time for them to relocate their properties.[39] Gugel suggested the university could construct dormitories on the intramural fields west of the main campus rather than taking over a residential area — as the 1940 Development Plan had proposed. The Commission decided to postpone its decision for a month.

When the Commission met again in February, more than 60 local homeowners attended and voiced "frantic opposition" to the proposal, as a *Capital Times* reporter described it.[40] The atmosphere was tense. In the course of the hearing, Gugel accused UW President Conrad Elvehjem of calling one of the blocks in the proposed dormitories site a "slum area" in conversation with a real estate agent. (*The Wisconsin State Journal* reported that Elvehjem "bolted to his feet" and told Gugel, "Prove that, Sir!" in response. Gugel later apologized. [41]) Homeowners implored the commission to reject the proposal or at least give them more time to move. One resident, O.B. Porter, said "There is no place to go. [...] It is not our fault the university has exceeded the capacity of its students and it is a problem we shouldn't be burdened with." [42] Another resident, Mrs. Schott, had lived at 206 N. Lake Street for 20 years and raised her children there. She said, "My house is old but it's well built. [...] I don't intend to go out and live in a crackerbox on the fringe of the city." [43]

After 90 minutes of discussion, the commission voted unanimously to approve construction on the first of the four Southeast Dormitories, prioritizing student housing over the preservation of existing residents' homes. [44] After the meeting, *The Capitol Times* reported, "About 65 persons […] left the executive office hearing room and stood around in groups afterwards, reluctant to go home. For many, it meant that their homes and rental property would be bought by the U.W. or taken by eminent domain if they refused to co-operate." [45]

These 65 homeowners represented just a fraction of residents now facing relocation so the university could expand its student housing availability. Most people living in the Southeast Dormitories site by 1960 were not homeowners or long-term residents. After the Regents announced their intention to expand south of University Avenue in 1946, long-term residents and owner-occupiers had begun to leave, because "Nobody wanted to live on a 'powder keg.'" [46] Renters, around half of them students, replaced them. Using data from the 1950 Census, a 1961 report found 80 percent of homes in the Southeast Dormitories site and nearby blocks were renter-occupied — a significant increase from the pre-war population. [47] The threat of institutional expansion had gutted the neighborhood long before any new buildings arrived. Fewer and fewer people with an enduring stake in the community remained, leaving the area even more vulnerable to takeover by the university.

This is not to suggest renters had less to lose from the university's expansion. In May 1961, G. F. Winch wrote from their home at 814 W. Dayton Street, Madison, to *The Capital Times*. [48] The 800 block of West Dayton Street was scheduled for demolition within the next 18 months to make way for the Southeast Dormitories, so the Winch family would soon be forced to vacate. Winch spoke to the university official in charge of property acquisitions in the area, who said, "the University is very willing to pay the people whose property they are going to utilize, and even to attempt to compensate them for troubles caused." [49]

But the university only planned to offer this assistance to property owners. The Winch family, like most living in the area, rented their home. The university official told Winch that renters would not receive compensation for the expense and inconvenience of moving even though, as Winch wrote, "It will cost us a terrific amount of trouble and money, too, to move." [50] The family had intended to stay there for another three years at least. Winch wrote to *The Capital Times* to express their frustration:

> Any community that enjoys the label of "forward-looking" ought at least to relocate, and pay for the relocation of people (even non-

> property owners) whose rights it otherwise wantonly usurps. The City of Madison will relocate people who will have to move because of urban renewal.
>
> Trying to win a point from the University, or the all-powerful state which handles the University's business is a good way to learn what it is like to "go fight City Hall." If there are more renters in our position, I wish you would make yourselves and your complaints heard at the University. Perhaps there is strength in numbers. [51]

Regrettably, Winch's letter to the newspaper is the only renter's perspective on the Southeast Dormitories project I found while researching UW–Madison's expansion. Yet it paints a vivid picture of the situation facing the majority of the nearly 2,000 people who stood in the dormitories' path. Like the Winches, they would receive no compensation from the university for the acquisition of their houses despite facing significant moving costs, not to mention the distressing prospect of being displaced from their homes. As in the vast majority of midcentury urban redevelopment schemes, the city's poorest residents were most vulnerable to major redevelopment projects undertaken at the behest — and for the benefit — of vastly wealthier and more powerful institutions. They stood to lose the most and gain the least.

The university moved quickly after securing the State Building Commission's approval. By May 14, UW–Madison had acquired 21 of the 38 parcels of land that comprised the Southeast Dormitories site and was in talks to purchase nine more. But the owners of the eight remaining parcels were holding out. The Regents, undeterred, authorized condemnation proceedings against the properties standing in their way, giving the owners until June 1 to sell voluntarily.[52] UW–Madison may not have followed the exact model of expansion through urban renewal employed at Columbia or the University of Chicago, but the Regents were evidently willing to use some of the same coercive tactics to secure the land they required for expansion.

UW–Madison opened the last of the four Southeast Dormitories in 1965, five years ahead of schedule. [53] The towering halls represented just a fraction of the university's postwar expansion in Madison. Between 1960 and 1973, the school constructed 60 new buildings, 24 of which were in the South Campus area. [54] It was "a veritable new golden age" of growth for the university that left its mark on Madison in blonde brick and concrete. [55]

The construction of the Southeast Dormitories and broader South

Campus expansion pitted urban homes and a community against the ideal of expanding access to higher education. It was a struggle replicated at universities nationwide, and within a postwar planning context that equated demolition with progress and facilitated universities' involvement in massive urban renewal projects, the university won. By 1979, South Campus was essentially an institutional neighborhood. The area was 96 percent renter-occupied, with three quarters of residents between 18 and 24 years old, when the 1970 Census was taken. [56] It was a dramatic transformation from the mixed population of renters, owner-occupiers, workers, families, and students who occupied the area in the 1940s and gave the community a sense of identity independent of the institution. [57] The predominantly student population of the 1970s found community within the university, not the neighborhood. [58]The transformation the Regents had set in motion in 1946 was complete.

♦♦♦

Building the Southeast Dormitories blurred the boundaries between UW–Madison and the city of Madison, and the university has tested this boundary in various ways ever since. The dust had barely settled on construction in South Campus when, in February 1980, *The Wisconsin State Journal* reported, "UW looks south for more housing." [59] On its surface, the announcement mirrored the Southeast Dormitories proposal. The university was pursuing expansion "to relieve a critical housing shortage near the UW campus." [60] The Campus Planning Committee proposed redeveloping six city blocks into student housing as part of a wider cooperative development plan between the university and the city for the area south of campus between University Avenue and Regent Street. But there was one key difference: the new apartment-style housing would most likely be "financed by private developers," not owned by the university. [61]



University of Wisconsin–Madison "Campus-Institutional District Master Plan", 2019. *City of Madison*

Officially, UW–Madison's southern campus border hasn't expanded significantly from the boundaries established in the 1959 Sketch Plan, but university-oriented development is relentless. While the city faces a critical housing shortage, private developers race to erect luxury student apartments that many students can't afford. [62] Block by block, these private developments extend the university's reach into downtown Madison, transforming more neighborhoods into extensions of the campus without the university physically acquiring more land.

Urban universities are driving similar transformations all over the country. Historian Davarian Baldwin calls it "the rise of UniverCities," i.e., the emergence of universities as key institutions in urban governance, with an increasingly disproportionate influence over life in American cities. [63] Land is not all that's at stake. As Baldwin writes, "Schools have become the dominant employers, real estate holders, health-care providers, and even policing agents in major cities across the country," which has "solidifie[d] their political authority over housing costs, labor conditions, and policing practices for everyone living in urban America." [64] As UW–Madison grows — as it demolishes a student housing cooperative to construct a brand new humanities building, or as it realizes its ambitious West Campus District Plan — we must consider the consequences of expansion alongside the benefits.

And we must decide when we've had enough endless expansion, because although the mechanics have changed, one variable has remained constant between 1960, 1980, and 2025: the university on Bascom Hill has an insatiable appetite for land.

---

[1] For clarity, I refer to the University of Wisconsin campus at Madison as UW–Madison throughout this article. However, Louis, Ella and their contemporaries would have called it the University of Wisconsin until around the mid-1960s, because UW–Madison was the original University of Wisconsin campus. The second UW campus (UW–Milwaukee) was founded in the mid-1950s, so sources from before this period, including most of those referenced in this article, generally refer to UW–Madison as *the* "University of Wisconsin" or UW. (And, just to add to researchers' confusion, some call UW–Milwaukee "UW–M.") E. David Cronon and John W. Jenkins, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, Volume IV — Renewal to Revolution, 1945–1971* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 175, https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/BYSCPJVI6VT5C9C.

[2] I have constructed this narrative based on available sources, with some speculation to fill the gaps. *The Capital Times* included the Topps' house in their coverage of buildings in the site of the Southeast Dormitories. The articles quote Ella as "Mrs Louis H. Topp." As the Memorial Union barber, Louis left traces in the archives. A Channel 3000 news package about the barbershop provided helpful details about his business and working life. I found Ella's full name and other family details in obituaries for the couple's three daughters. Per the 1950 Census, Louis and Ella lived with their youngest daughter Mary Ellen at 950 W. Shore St. on Monona Bay. Mary Ellen's obituary reveals she was married in 1951, so I believe the Topps moved to Clymer Place in the late 1950s as "empty nesters."

"U. Dorm Project Will Take $70,000 from City in Taxes," *Capital Times*, September 12, 1960, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin; "Many Houses, 60 to 70 Years Old, Face Razing to Make Room for U.W.," *Capital Times*, September 13, 1960, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin. US Census Bureau, "1950 Census, Wisconsin, Madison, Dane, Enumeration District 72-71," 1950, 36, https://1950census.archives.gov/. "Throwback Thursday: The Barber in UW–Madison's Memorial Union [Originally Aired 1988]," *News 3 Now* (Channel 3000, May 27, 2022),

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XBE7XIgxEM4; Jeff Iseminger, "Shave and a Haircut," *Wisconsin Week, University of Wisconsin–Madison*, August 10, 1988, http://www.jeffiseminger.com/profiles-of-uw-madison/shave-and-a-haircut/; "Mary Ellen Lobb [Obituary]," Dignity Memorial, July 30, 2017, https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/kansas-city-mo/mary-lobb-7506660; "Jeanne L. Koch [Obituary]," Cress Funeral and Cremation Service, January 9, 2019, http://funeralinnovations.com/obituary/294777/Jeanne-Koch/; "Elizabeth Ann Kaltenberg [Obituary]," *The Arizona Republic*, January 28, 2005, https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/azcentral/name/elizabeth-kaltenberg-obituary?id=27096381.

[3] "Many Houses, 60 to 70 Years Old, Face Razing to Make Room for U.W."

[4] US Census Bureau, "1950 Census, Wisconsin, Madison, Dane, Enumeration District 72-33," 1950, 24, https://1950census.archives.gov/. Lucy Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study* (Madison, WI: Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1979), https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/999517040902121.

[5] "Many Houses, 60 to 70 Years Old, Face Razing to Make Room for U.W."; "U. Dorm Project Will Take $70,000 from City in Taxes."

[6] "U.W.'s New Dorm Site Now Has 388 Buildings," *Wisconsin State Journal*, September 12, 1960; "U. Dorm Project Will Take $70,000 from City in Taxes."

[7] "U. Dorm Project Will Take $70,000 from City in Taxes."

[8] "A Summary of Campus Planning: The University of Wisconsin, 1850 to 1954," n.d., Historical Maps Relating to Campus Development maps, 1850-1956, UA2023/017, Box 5, Folder 1, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin; Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*, 2.

[9] "U. Dorm Project Will Take $70,000 from City in Taxes."

[10] Wisconsin State Planning Board, *A Campus Development Plan for the University of Wisconsin [1941]*, Bulletin (Wisconsin State Planning Board) (Madison, WI: Wisconsin State Planning Board, 1941).

[11] Interestingly, a document from the University Archives titled "A Summary of Campus Planning: The University of Wisconsin 1850 to 1954," said the 1941 plan "was revolutionary and was never adopted by the Board of Regents, but a suggestion that a University Planning Commission be established bore fruit a few years later." However, the minutes from the Regents' April 1942 meeting confirm that it was "accepted and adopted as a general plan for campus development, subject to corrections from time to time." University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, "Minutes of the Adjourned Meeting of the Board of Regents

of the University of Wisconsin: April 18, 1942," April 18, 1942, 6, Record of the meetings of the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, 1848-1971, Series 1/1/1 447-7D1-7, UW Archives, https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/NYITTKATNEHKR8H; "A Summary of Campus Planning: The University of Wisconsin, 1850 to 1954."

[12] Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*, 9.

[13] William C. Black, "Camel's Tavern, 619 University, Full View of Bar [Image 15177]," April 11, 1937, Wisconsin Historical Society Library, https://wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM15177.

[14] I wanted to provide more information about these meetings, but found little in my search of local newspapers and finding aids. With more time, this could be a good path to find more information about the neighborhood before UW's expansion.

[15] Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*, 9–11.

[16] University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, "Memorandum: The Reasons for the Decision to Expand the University Campus [January 16, 1950]," *Minutes of the Postponed Regular Meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin*, October 25, 1952, 1, Record of the meetings of the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, 1848-1971, Series 1/1/1 447-7D1-7, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin, https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/ZAOLYFQ6AKUOX87.

[17] Steven J. Diner, *Universities and Their Cities: Urban Higher Education in America* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017); John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education*, 2nd ed (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

[18] LaDale C. Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Universities and Metropolitan Development in the Twentieth Century*, Politics and Culture in Modern America (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2018).

[19] Cronon and Jenkins, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, Volume IV — Renewal to Revolution, 1945–1971*, 7–55.

[20] University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, "Memorandum: The Reasons for the Decision to Expand the University Campus [January 16, 1950]."

[21] University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, "Memorandum: The Reasons for the Decision to Expand the University Campus [January 16, 1950]."

[22] University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, "Memorandum: The Reasons for the Decision to Expand the University Campus [January 16, 1950]."

[23] University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, "Memorandum: The Reasons for the Decision to Expand the University Campus [January 16, 1950]," 2; Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*.

[24] Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*.

[25] University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, "Memorandum by the Regents of the University of Wisconsin Relating to the Final Report to the Legislative Council on the University of Wisconsin Expansion Program Submitted by the State Budget Committee [September, 1952]," *Minutes of the Postponed Regular Meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin*, October 25, 1952, Record of the meetings of the Regents of the University of Wisconsin, 1848-1971, Series 1/1/1 447-7D1-7, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin, https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/ZAOLYFQ6AKUOX87.

[26] Department of University Planning and Construction, "The Sketch Plan for the University of Wisconsin at Madison: A First Progress Report on the Development of a General Campus Plan," December 1958, Board of Regents' meeting records, 1850–1971, Series 1/1/3, Box 85, Regular Board February 7, 1959, Document 1365, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[27] Department of University Planning and Construction, "The Sketch Plan for the University of Wisconsin at Madison," 1.

[28] Campus Planning & Landscape Management, "Campus Framework (Master) Plan," University of Wisconsin–Madison UW–Madison Campus Planning & Landscape Management, accessed April 25, 2024, https://cpla.fpm.wisc.edu/planning/campus-master-plans/.

[29] Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, First Princeton classics edition, Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[30] Francesca Russello Ammon, *Bulldozer. Demolition and Clearance of the Postwar Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 5.

[31] Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, 30.

[32] Davarian L. Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower: How Universities Are Plundering Our Cities*, First edition (New York, NY: Bold Type Books, 2021), 30.

[33] Bradley, *Harlem vs. Columbia University*, 28.

[34] Jack Meltzer Associates, "Report to the University of Wisconsin: Urban Renewal as Related to Campus Expansion Requirements" (March 15, 1961., March 15, 1961), 11, Pamphlet Collection, 23- 453, Wisconsin Historical Society Library, https://search.library.wisc.edu/catalog/9913605545902121.

[35] Stuart D. Levitan, *Madison in the Sixties* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2018), 9.

[36] Levitan, *Madison in the Sixties*; Kacie Lucchini Butcher, "Madison,

Wisconsin," in *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America* (Robert K. Nelson and LaDale Winling, Digital Scholarship Lab, n.d.), https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/map/WI/Madison/context#loc=13/43.0709/-89.3886.

[37] "U.W.'s New Dorm Site Now Has 388 Buildings."

[38] "U. Dorm Project Will Take $70,000 from City in Taxes."

[39] Aldric Revell, "Owners Fight UW Spread," *Capital Times*, January 6, 1961, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[40] Aldric Revell, "Owners' Protests Ignored," *Capital Times*, February 7, 1961, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[41] "Dormitory Plan Approved," *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 7, 1961, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[42] "Dormitory Plan Approved."

[43] "Dormitory Plan Approved."

[44] "Dormitory Plan Approved."

[45] Revell, "Owners' Protests Ignored."

[46] Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*, 11.

[47] Jack Meltzer Associates, "Report to the University of Wisconsin: Urban Renewal as Related to Campus Expansion Requirements," 11.

[48] G.F. Winch, "U.W. Area Resident Complains About Property Acquisition," *Capital Times*, May 23, 1961, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[49] Winch, "U.W. Area Resident Complains About Property Acquisition."

[50] Winch, "U.W. Area Resident Complains About Property Acquisition."

[51] Winch, "U.W. Area Resident Complains About Property Acquisition."

[52] "Law Suits Approved for Site of New Dorms," *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 14, 1961, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 12, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[53] Jim Feldman, "The Buildings of the University of Wisconsin" (1997), 362–65, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin, https://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HR5KYLU44F7DU85.

[54] Feldman, "The Buildings of the University of Wisconsin," 501–6.

[55] Cronon and Jenkins, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, Volume IV — Renewal to Revolution, 1945–1971*, 210.

[56] Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*, 13.

[57] Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*, 12.

[58] Baker et al., *South Campus Neighborhood Study*, 1–2.

[59] Allen Mundth, "UW Looks South for More Housing," *Wisconsin State Journal*, February 11, 1980, UW-Madison Subject Files, uac69, Box 106, Folder 7, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Madison, Wisconsin.

[60] Mundth, "UW Looks South for More Housing."

[61] Mundth, "UW Looks South for More Housing."

[62] For more information, see: Kate Reuscher, "Is affordable student housing a myth?," *The Daily Cardinal*, 29 February 2024, https://www.dailycardinal.com/article/2024/02/is-affordable-student-housing-a-myth?ct=content_open&cv=cbox_latest; Ella Hanley, "New study reveals students struggle with rent costs and housing close to campus," *The Daily Cardinal*, 11 September 2024, https://www.dailycardinal.com/article/2024/09/new-study-reveals-students-struggle-with-rent-costs-and-housing-close-to-campus; Francesca Pica, "'No choice:' Madison council flips to yes on 'luxury' student housing," *The Cap Times*, 13 July 2023, https://captimes.com/news/no-choice-madison-council-flips-to-yes-on-luxury-student-housing/article_77725993-956f-534a-ac93-d117b19430fb.html.

[63] Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, 6.

[64] Baldwin, *In the Shadow of the Ivory Tower*, 5–6.

Driving Change: The Legacy of the Women's Transit Authority

Originally Posted on March 18, 2025. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW–Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*

"Some of us have cars, so let's share those resources with other women who don't and give each other rides." [1] That was the basic idea behind the Women's Transit Authority (WTA) — a service that became a symbol of safety and empowerment for women in Madison. Created in 1973, the WTA's purpose was to help prevent sexual assaults and harassment while promoting women's nighttime mobility and independence. The organization stood as a safe and free transportation alternative for women. What started as a volunteer-driven nonprofit organization run entirely by women evolved from a desire among women to create their own safety and empowerment by supporting each other. Throughout

its existence, the Women's Transit Authority reached thousands of individuals, whether through volunteering, using the service, or simply supporting its mission. As time went on, the WTA's impact extended far beyond its initial scope, by meeting the community's diverse transportation and safety needs. Despite various challenges, including funding cuts and complaints, the WTA persevered for 33 years with unwavering support from UW-Madison students and the larger Madison community. Although not in existence anymore, the Women's Transit Authority's legacy lives on as a powerful example of women's solidarity in supporting and empowering one another.

Beginnings and Growth of the WTA

The plan to create the Women's Transit Authority came out of an increase in sexual assaults in 1972. The November 15, 1972, issue of *The Daily Cardinal* reported that in the first nine months of that year, 46 rapes were reported in Madison, compared to 34 rapes reported in all of 1971. Not to mention, the article said, how many rapes are typically not reported, meaning the reality of these numbers could have been much higher. [2] These alarming statistics and the growing concern over women's safety prompted women to begin seeking change.



A volunteer driving in a WTA car. *Wisconsin Historical Society*

Soon, over 30 women's groups in Madison came together to create the Women's Coalition on Rape Prevention in early 1973. Representatives

from the women's groups that made up the coalition had several meetings with the Madison Police Department, the District Attorney's Office and the Sheriff's Department to investigate possible measures to combat the increase in assaults. Women proposed ideas related to safe transportation such as developing a better bus service and increasing street lighting. After what many members of the coalition deemed ineffective meetings with Madison city officials, the coalition divided itself into a set of subgroups to become their own agents of change. One of those groups was focused on providing safe transportation for women, and in spring 1973, the Women's Transit Authority. [3]

At first, the WTA operated exclusively at night, providing services within a limited area surrounding the State Capitol, including the UW-Madison campus. It was made up of seven women volunteers who drove their own cars, only charging riders enough to cover gas. [4] This grassroots approach allowed the WTA to begin operations quickly and efficiently. At the time, only women were allowed to volunteer, and this decision was rooted in safety concerns. The organizers believed that there was no reliable way to screen male volunteers for potential threats, reflecting the heightened awareness of sexual assault risks that had prompted the WTA's creation. [5] Despite only having one car operating the service each night, they averaged about 15 to 25 passengers per night. [6] This demonstrates the high demand for safe transportation options for women in Madison. A single driver handled pickups and drop offs, while other volunteers were at the "main base," taking phone calls from women looking for transportation. With limited resources, drivers had to frequently stop to use payphones to contact the main base to see where the next ride pickup was. [7] Working within their limited means, the Women's Transit Authority was beginning to quickly establish itself as a vital service in Madison, addressing safety concerns while empowering women to create a safer environment for themselves and their peers.

The WTA operated smoothly until June 1973, when local taxi companies became aware of their services. Taxi companies soon issued a complaint that described the vehicles as "unlicensed gypsy cabs" and invoked a city ordinance that prohibits charging for rides by unauthorized vehicles due to insurance concerns. As a result, the Women's Transit Authority halted operations. It was not until the UW's Police and Security Department, who was in support of the WTA's mission, stepped in. They soon provided the group with two fleet cars, two-way radios, office space, a telephone, and furniture. Additionally, UW-Madison offered the WTA some work-study positions, which

allowed them to have paid coordinators for the first time. With this, the Women's Transit Authority was back in service by the fall. [8]

As time went on, the WTA grew and expanded their services. By the organization's 10th anniversary in 1983, the WTA operated four vehicles, had over 150 volunteers and four full-time paid coordinators. Their operational area also expanded to cover some of Madison's more distant low-income neighborhoods. Additionally, their operating budget increased, and they even received some funding from the City of Madison.

By 1993, to sustain their services after budget cuts implemented by UW-Madison, the Women's Transit Authority offered expanded services. Daytime transportation services began being offered for trips to local health and human service agencies, as well as for educational purposes. In 1999, they started offering food assistance rides, and in 2000 they offered free rides to the polls for the fall election. [9] What started as a nighttime service, expanded its impact on their community. This, however, could not have been done without the growing number of dedicated volunteers.

Volunteers and Users

While the Women's Transit Authority eventually allocated a few paid staff positions, much of the work of this nonprofit was done by volunteers. Throughout the WTA's 30-plus years of operation, thousands of individuals volunteered in different roles and capacities. The WTA started with about 20 volunteers in 1973, grew to over 150 by 1981, and expanded more with over 60 new volunteers by 1991, as the number of volunteers greatly increased over time. [10] With the majority of the Women's Transit Authority volunteers being UW students, there was a large turnover. Despite this, the WTA was able to recruit and sustain the number of volunteers needed to continue running the organization.



Volunteers and users of the Women's Transit Authority in 2001. *UW Archives*

When the Women's Transit Authority first started operating in 1973, only women were allowed to volunteer. These women drove the cars, answered phones, and assisted with office operations. Although it is unclear why, by 1983 men started to be allowed to volunteer in limited capacities. While they had no direct contact with the users of the nighttime service, due to access to confidential information about riders, they worked behind the scenes to ensure the nonprofit was running efficiently and smoothly. Several advertisements issued by the Women's Transit Authority in the early to mid-1980s "encouraged men to volunteer their skills on the Women's Transit Authority's committees and at special events." [11] In a 1983 letter to the editor for the *Isthmus* newspaper, Women's Transit Authority volunteer Jesse Kaysen described a few ways men participated, detailing how the WTA's "statistical record keeping system" and "computerized boundary directory exist as the result of hard work by male Women's Transit Authority volunteers." [12] Over the years, the role of male volunteers expanded. When the Women's Transit Authority began offering daytime rides for individuals to medical appointments in the late 1990s, men were allowed to drive and have direct contact with the riders. [13] Although there was a gradual expansion of the role of men who volunteered with the Women's Transit Authority, there were still restrictions. Throughout the organization's existence, these restrictions became the source of several controversies that put WTA's funding in

jeopardy. Despite this, the male volunteers of WTA continued to be a vital part of the organization.

Over the years, many WTA volunteers provided testimonials about their experiences participating with the organization. While often providing insight into what being a volunteer looked like, these testimonials give a sense of the purpose and impact of WTA. Sue Goldwomon, one of the earliest volunteers, remembers how in the early 1970s "everybody was using their own cars." Goldwomon volunteered with WTA for three years and noted that she met a lot of really wonderful women through the organization. [14] Another volunteer from the early days of WTA, Jenny Hobbins, returned to volunteering after spending years away from Madison. She noted that it was "one way I can become involved in the women's community." In a similar manner, Cathy Springer, a WTA dispatch volunteer in 1983, who was just 17 years old at the time, decided to volunteer to "take a more active position in women's rights." Many other volunteers conveyed their reason for volunteering as looking to do something to support other women. Another WTA volunteer from the 1980s, Donna Rounds, discussed that "sometimes I would wonder why I got myself into it, then I thought of those who were assaulted and I felt if my efforts spared even one woman that, it was well worth it." [15] Many volunteers expressed similar testimonials, describing how even though there were no tangible rewards to volunteering, coming together to alleviate the fear of sexual assault was rewarding in itself.

Some other women decided to volunteer with WTA after using the service themselves. Annette Breedlove, a volunteer in the early 1980s, began volunteering after using WTA services for over five years. Similarly, after using WTA almost daily for years, Geree Ware decided to volunteer some of her time to "do something in return." [16] Each volunteer may have had a slightly different reason for their participation in WTA, but collectively, their efforts and work allowed WTA to help and support women for over three decades.

Beyond the staff and volunteers, consistent user demand sustained the Women's Transit Authority. Many WTA users expressed their gratitude for having the nighttime ride service. In the early 1980s, Alicia Lyons said that "it's nice to know you can get a safe ride home at night, it's scary taking buses at night." Similarly, in the early 1980s, Nancy Meuer described using WTA as she got done working late at night and felt nervous walking home. [17] Other users described feeling a sense of relief knowing that even when feeling vulnerable at night and not having much money, they could always call WTA.

The Women's Transit Authority often conducted ridership surveys

to better understand the use of the service and community they were serving. In the 1989 ridership survey results they recorded a total of just over 20,000 rides, about 60-90 rides per night. This amounted to a total of 73,000 miles, and over 45,000 phone calls. Looking at the user statistics more closely, 53% of survey respondents were students, of which 39% were UW-Madison students. Additionally, nearly 74% of survey respondents used WTA to reach a place safely, and 38% of women would not have made their intended trip without the ride service. These statistics provide insight into the use of WTA and the community they served. [18]

Up until 1989, when this ridership survey was conducted, WTA increased their amount of completed rides. In 1986 they had 26,600 rides, while in 1987 they had 28,600 rides. In 1989, these numbers declined. After the ridership survey was conducted, WTA continued to see a slow decline in the number of rides they were completing each year. In 2001, WTA recorded just over 10,000 rides. [19] Although it is unclear what caused this decline, several factors including changing societal attitudes could have contributed.

Complaints and Funding Challenges

Throughout the existence of the Women's Transit Authority, multiple funding scares and gender-based discrimination complaints put the organization in jeopardy. Despite this, the WTA gathered the necessary support from the community to continue their operations.

In April 1988, a formal complaint was filed with the UW-Madison Wisconsin Student Association (WSA) against the Women's Transit Authority by UW Madison student Peter Deignan. Deignan claimed that WTA practiced gender discrimination against men, and since WTA received funding from the WSA, who's constitution forbids discrimination on the basis of gender, that WTA should no longer receive funding from the WSA. [20] The WSA court soon determined that the gender based volunteer and user policies of WTA were justifiable, which dismissed the complaint. [21] Although this case was dismissed, this was the first time that the primarily women-run service was the source of a gender discrimination based complaint.

Later that same year, WTA faced a $20,000 funding cut from the City of Madison. The city was concerned that WTA was not doing enough to produce their own funding. They described how they thought WTA was not fundraising enough, that they had too high of administrative costs, and that they should be charging each rider 75 cents to offset other costs. WTA fought back and cited the gradual increase in fundraising

amounts, the decreased administrative costs by cutting back on staff, and the founding beliefs that women in dangerous situations should not be concerned about money. [22] After the friends and supporters of WTA made calls to local officials and wrote countless letters to the editors, the City of Madison decided to decrease their proposed cut to $10,000. Although this caused a large decrease in WTA's funding, the community support they received ultimately helped sustain a portion of that funding. [23]

Just a few years later, in 1992, WTA faced a major funding cut from UW-Madison. In late 1991, WTA received notice from the UW-Madison Dean of Students Office that their funding, about 40% of WTA's budget, in addition to other resources, such as vehicles and office space, were in jeopardy. The university asserted that WTA did not meet the essential requirements for use of university fleet vehicles and raised concerns about discrimination against men. Mary Rouse, the dean of students in 1992, described how over time WTA had evolved to become more of a community group based on their funding sources, making their use of university fleet vehicles a substantial insurance concern. Additionally, according to Rouse, university attorneys advised suspending funding for WTA because they feared prohibiting men from using the service or participating in providing it was a clear violation of Title IX. [24] For the next few months WTA and the university tried to reach an agreement to move forward, however, this was not successful as WTA stood firm in limiting the role of men in their operations. This prompted the creation of a UW-Madison Students for WTA group, letters to the editors in support of WTA, and even a few protests. Despite this, in May, Rouse stated that she was "unable to recommend that any University funds support WTA after June 30, 1992" as she believed that WTA's structure and program would not meet the standards put forth by university rules and policies. [25] Rouse went on to explain that the university was working on plans for an alternative nighttime transportation system. By the end of June 1992, WTA no longer received funding and resources from UW-Madison.

The final gender-based discrimination complaints that were filed against WTA occurred in 1996 and 2001. Both cases were brought forth by men and targeted WTA's funding sources and gender-based policies. One of the cases was eventually remanded, while the other was dismissed. Despite these complaints, WTA continued operating.

The WTA's Lasting Impact

After 33 years of supporting women in the Madison and UW

community, the Women's Transit Authority shut down on January 20, 2006. [26] The decision was made because the WTA owed more than $100,000 in back taxes. Looking for assistance from their supporters and the community, WTA put out a call for donations in hopes of keeping them in business. But the organization was unable to gather enough donations to keep them afloat.

Recognizing the large void that the Women's Transit Authority left with their closing, the YWCA of Madison decided to step in. [27] In April 2007, just over a year after WTA closed, YW Transit began operating. Offering both free rides at night and rides during the day to medical appointments, they closely mirrored the WTA. Although they had closed, the WTA's decades-long impact and purpose left a continuing need in the community that was soon filled by the YWCA.

Throughout their 33-year existence, the Women's Transit Authority impacted the lives of thousands of individuals. Initially beginning as a means for women to assert their strength through mutual support and safety, WTA evolved to address broader community needs and adapt to challenges as they arose. With this, the Women's Transit Authority relied on the dedication of their volunteers and consistent user demand. The WTA faced various challenges in their time, such as complaints and funding scares, yet the support they received from UW students and the Madison community helped them push through for decades.

In doing so, the Women's Transit Authority fostered a sense of community among women, encouraging them to take charge of their own security and mobility. This solidarity allowed women to support and empower each other to create meaningful and impactful change.

---

[1] Mary Decker Kilgore, "They Drive by Night," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 82(4), May 4 1981, UW Digital Collections, pg 5.

[2] "Rape All-American Crime," *The Daily Cardinal,* Nov. 15, 1972, UW Digital Collections.

[3] Charlotte Feldman, "Women's Groups Demand Protection Against Rape," *The Daily Cardinal,* Jan. 23, 1973, UW Digital Collections.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Susan Podebradsky, "WTA: A History of Strengthening Through Safety," 1991, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[6] Ann Lamboley, "On the Road With Women's Transit," December 31, 1982, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/

003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[7] Susan Podebradsky, "WTA: A History of Strengthening Through Safety," 1991, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[8] Ibid.

[9] "Free Rides to the Polls on Election Day," 2000, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[10] "WTA Achievements and Accomplishments," 1991, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Ride Program Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[11] "Women's Transit Authority Facts," Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[12] Jesse Kaysen, "WTA Policy Explained," January 7, 1983, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[13] "Things you can do as a Women's Transit Authority Volunteer," Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, General Information Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[14] "Sue Goldwomon (1105)," transcript of an oral history conducted by Abbie Hill in 2010, University of Wisconsin-Madison Oral History Program, University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, pg 15.

[15] Mary Decker Kilgore, "They Drive by Night," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 82(4), May 4, 1981, UW Digital Collections, pg 5.

[16] "Women's Transit Authority Celebrates 10th Anniversary," 1983, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[17] Ann Lamboley, "On the Road With Women's Transit," December 31, 1982, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[18] "Ridership Survey," March 1989, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, General Information Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[19] "From the Director," December 2001, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[20] Peter Deignan, "Formal Complaint Against Women's Transit

Authority," April 15, 1988, Dean of Students records 1968-2010, Accession 1999/024-41C3, Box 2, Women's Transit Authority Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[21] Susan Podebradsky, "WTA: A History of Strengthening Through Safety," 1991, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Newsletters Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[22] "Help WTA Stop City Funding Cuts," August 9, 1988, Dean of Students records 1968-2010, Accession 1999/024-41C3, Box 2, Women's Transit Authority Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[23] Jan Lathrop, "WTA Funding Restored," December 1989, Dean of Students records 1968-2010, Accession 1999/024-41C3, Box 2, Women's Transit Authority Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[24] Mary Rouse, "Statement on safe nighttime transportation," April 2, 1992, Dean of Students records 1968-2010, Accession 1999/024-41C3, Box 2, Women's Transit Authority Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[25] Mary Rouse, "My response to your April 1992 report," May 6, 1992, Women's Transit Authority records 1974-2005, Accession 2006/003, Box 3, Ride Program Folder, University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

[26] Pat Schneider, "End of the Road for Women's Transit Authority," *Madison Capital Times*, Jan 14, 2006, p. 1A, *Proquest*.

[27] Patricia Simms, "YWCA To Fill Women's Transit Role" *Wisconsin State Journal,* Jan 30, 2007, p. B2, *ProQuest.*

Remembering Rice Paper: The Artifact After the Obituary By T. Ngọc Phan Kim

Originally Posted on April 25, 2025. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW–Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*

Introduction to the Project

In April 1974 the first Midwest Asian American Conference was held in Chicago. Among the delegates attending were Madison Asian Union members — students of UW-Madison from various years. The second Midwest Asian American Conference would be held in Madison that September. [1] Between these two dates, the first volume of the Asian American UW student magazine *Rice Paper* would be published. By the time of the magazine's final issue in August 1977, *Rice Paper* had

succeeded in holding a published space for Asian American artists and writers, while simultaneously acting as a regional resource for Asian Americans in need of contacts, support and cultural centers, and various economic and career opportunities.

Rice Paper's first edition begins with a letter from the "Rice Paper Collective," the magazine's editors and organizers. The first sentence of the letter credits the attitudes and environment of that first Midwest Asian American Conference with inspiring the Collective to form the magazine. *Rice Paper,* from its very first sentence, asserted and maintained that interconnectedness and community building would be its focus.

Moreover, the *Rice Paper* Collective claimed that Asian Americans in the Midwest needed a voice, as they experienced a great "geographic and spiritual isolation" [2] being situated between the two coasts. In the span of three years, *Rice Paper* printed current events, essays, poetry, visual art, Midwest Asian American contacts, and community resources. The Midwestern United States is often characterized by its plains; in 1974, the political group of Midwest Asian Americans existed on a great, barren plain with a dead back road cut through it, one that experienced no traffic. *Rice Paper* aimed to transport previously unheard voices across that plain. In their first letter from the editors, the Collective proclaims "the Midwest needs a voice!! *Rice Paper* is one of the vehicles to give such a voice." [3]



The cover of the first edition of *Rice Paper*. UW Archives

The *Rice Paper* Collective, in a short amount of time, created a cultural artifact whose reach was socially and geographically sprawling, boasting readers and contributors from Missouri to Michigan. Their reach, from my vantage point, has proved to be more than social and geographic, however. It is temporally sprawling as well—the magazine, though only in print for three years, connects the affective labor of Midwest Asian Americans from 1974 to those of us in the Midwest in 2025.

I chose to work with *Rice Paper* for multiple reasons, two of which are more pertinent to my project. First, *Rice Paper*'s aims and contents are very closely related to aspects of my identity that are important to me. As an Asian American who was born and raised in the Midwest, the *Rice Paper* Collective's attempt at community organizing and movement raising while dealing with different types of isolation resonated with me. Second, as an artist, I was emotionally moved by the contents of the magazine in different, dissonant ways that compelled me to engage further with the magazine. I felt pride; student leaders who lived on this campus decades ago were able to build communities and implement changes that I benefit from today. Without their efforts, how much longer would it have taken for universities to stop counting Asian Americans in demographic statistics as Orientals? And I experienced sadness simultaneously with pride. *Rice Paper*, for a few years, provided Midwest Asian Americans with an avenue through which they could be heard. But only for a few years. *Rice Paper* has a very small physical footprint—there is one full editions copy of the magazine housed at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library—and almost no internet footprint. I believe that *Rice Paper* deserves more attention.

Using different pages in *Rice Paper*, I translated chunks of article text into three different found poems. I chose to create found poems instead of completely original compositions because I wanted to preserve the work of the *Rice Paper* Collective as much as possible, and moreover, I wanted to bring *Rice Paper* faithfully into 2025. Poems that I might have written in response to *Rice Paper* would be less important to read than the magazine itself—these found poems are exercises in community building that exist on a scale that eclipses individual commentary. I have one voice. *Rice Paper* supported many voices, creating a communal voice.


RICE PAPER

The inaugural letter from the editors in the summer 1974 issue of *Rice Paper*. UW Archives.

Though my project consists of poems, in this context I am no poet. Instead, I am a translator, converting the contents of *Rice Paper* into new

vehicles, in the hope that these needed Asian American voices, past and present, continue echoing.

Statement for "Delegations"

In this piece, I wanted to show the ways the delegations communicated within their own groups and with groups from other areas all in relation to each other. They spoke earnestly about collaboration, as all the delegations expressed needing community. It is evident in the way all the delegations' positions were written that lived experiences of marginalization underpinned their organizations; invisibility, isolation, and societal and institutional racism clarified their need for community and self-determination. Students formed the communities they needed for support and safety and insisted that institutions use the names they had given themselves ("Asian Americans" opposed to "Orientals"). [4]



A page from the winter 1975 edition of *Rice Paper* showing attendees to the Asian American Midwest Conference in Madison. UW Archives

Collectivity exists tangibly, is physically real. *Rice Paper* is an example of that, and the found poem "Delegations" aims to honor and preserve that realness. A found poem is a poem that sources all its words from an original text or texts. I used the form here for a two main reasons. First, there was a strong emotional current underneath the source article that I wanted to communicate in 2025. I recognized it as an Asian American today and wanted to show that the energy of those in 1974 is not lost on us now. Second, the found poem illustrates that engaging with our histories yields fruits that have the capacity to heal and inspire. The found poem itself is an exercise in community.

There are unusual punctuations in the piece "Delegations," which I would like to briefly address here. Self-determination of marginalized groups means that multiplicity must be considered. How do multiple, sometimes very different groups, band together and choose the same political name? The people who identify with the term Asian American are varied and diverse—they experience many, simultaneous lived experiences. Truths. The presence of the backslash as the main form

of punctuation in this piece encourages the reader to take multiple meanings from the same word groupings.

—

Delegations

Union South / Madison WI / 1974 //
September 27 / Friday dinner
together / Vivian Chen coordinator /
our focus / 'Perspectives
on the Asian American movement
in the Midwest' / over 70 Asian American /
students / professional / people / attend
September 28 / Saturday organize / workshops
/ present delegations / positions / workshops/
break / vote
Urbana-Champaign delegation / position //
little success / concerned
Asians / lack direction /
our impression / average Asian
on campus / unaware / of being /
conscious / lack / commitment
to seriousness / answer is more /
Ethnic Studies / A program / programs /
obvious obstacles / white / not principal
problem / no lack / lack of concern
/ ed Asians: the thread / we've found our group /
over and over / a slim thread / drawn
attention to / the Midwest / Orient /
they count us as Orientals at the University
/ we are not /
we've found our group / need
/ to declare Asian American
Detroit delegation / position //
thread cut / through nationality we /
hold on / sense cold / community exists
/ threads needles through solid hands
/ friction / members of this union need
True / solid friendships / equal / all
speaking strong / voices /
how to define community /
how to become more than just words

Oberlin delegation / position //
no strength without unification
/ on principles / the Asian American
identity / exists / this / the basis
of social movement / beginning
identity / is collective / assembling
discovery / experience our activity
/ engage what / is the activity we
/ are engaged / student demonstrations
/ here / former waves / U.S. Third World
student movements faint / fleeting
this movement emanates / from
the campus / fading pulse /
interested in Asian American / programming
/ uninterested in spectacle / farsightedness /
this regional movement / potential
to be more /
in need of community / need
community raising / self-determination
/ our prime goal / Ohio is not so different
from Wisconsin from Illinois from Michigan /
we hold / common problems / we hold /
community we hold / a thin thread /
many hands / reaching together / reaching
the people / continuous exhausting
effort / pull / pull / the college fails
/ to be practical / fails / to offer
training in usable skills / community
work / stresses / of ethnic survival
not on campus / lived daily in the community /
this community will go unserved /
our present impetus / ideology /
this must change / expand into engagement
/ there is no strength without unification
Ann Arbor delegation / position //
forced psychological / physical
assimilation / into white culture / racist
/ diversity of people / the advantage / we
/ must integrate /
our politics / our personal lifestyles
Union South / Madison WI /
1974 / two days / here

Statement for "These Yellow Pages"

Originally, I had planned on piecing together a found poem based on the resources that *Rice Paper* provided at the end of each edition. These resources were varied, covered many communities, and were closely related to the politics of the magazine (for example, *Rice Paper* published an article on unethical wine production from Gallo in California in their fall of 1975 issue. They urged readers not to purchase Gallo wine because of their inhumane treatment towards workers).[5]

Instead, I opted to make a found/blackout poem out of the sections of the resources pages dedicated to Midwestern contacts. After reading *Rice Paper* through several times, I wanted to emphasize the specific people that helped make collective organizing possible. To name them is to preserve the energy and labor they put into organizing community. To name them is to prove ourselves capable of continuously building and maintaining communities in which we support and sustain each other.



The cover of the summer 1976 edition of *Rice Paper*. UW Archives

To name them completely, however, would have been a breach of privacy, and a possible safety issue. This is why "These Yellow Pages" also incorporates blacked-out versions of text originally containing sensitive information. As the poem progresses, less and less information is offered.

There is also a linear narrative in the Midwest Contacts sections of *Rice Paper* that seemed important for readers to confront. The first Contacts page is full of names, addresses and phone numbers. As the reader moves from one edition to the next, less contact information is provided, less people are present on the page. This poem aims to straddle the dichotomy between communicating love and care while

being physically distant and fatigued. I wanted to show that not only is this communicated care possible, it is also viewable, holdable. This is a joyful thing. That joy and love, however, is opposed by attrition. The contacts, the people who acted as points of support, dwindle in numbers until you reach the summer of 1977, the last issue of *Rice Paper*. There is no Midwest Contacts page in the last issue. [6]

—

These Yellow Pages

SUMMER 1974
Contact people. A comprehensive contact list.
Active Asian Americans in the Midwest. Please send
us more names, whatever's not represented here.
Ann Arbor
M[redacted] Chang,
[redacted] Baylis Dr,
313-971-[redacted]5
T[redacted] Liu,
[redacted] Pebble Cr Rd,
313-971-[redacted]2
Champaign
S[redacted] Lee,
[redacted] Brummel,
Evanston 60201
Chicago
J[redacted] Suzuki,
[redacted] Sheridan #[redacted],
312-334-[redacted]2
U. of Ill.—Circle Campus
B[redacted] Nishiura,
[redacted] 71st Pl,
312-324-[redacted]5
New Youth Center
A[redacted] Sung,
[redacted] 24th St,
312-791-[redacted]0
East Lansing
J[redacted] Shimoura,
[redacted] McDonel Hall,
517-353-[redacted]2
Chesterton

P[redacted] Katayama,
[redacted] Second St,
219-926-[redacted]7
Saint Louis
L[redacted] Sueoka,
12681 Tallow,
314-434-[redacted]2
Evanston
S[redacted] Hohri,
[redacted] Orrington #208,
312-492-[redacted]6
Madison
J[redacted] Tchen,
[redacted] N Butler,
608-255-[redacted]3
Minneapolis
A[redacted] Takekawa,
[redacted] Hennepin Ave,
612-824-[redacted]5
Northfield
D[redacted] Aki,
Carleton College,
55057
Bowling Green
E[redacted] Lam,
Bowling Green State U. Library,
43403
Oberlin
P[redacted] Uyehara,
please call 216-774-[redacted]1 ext. #2205

‘ ‘ ‘

FALL 1975
A contact list. Please reach out.
Some more responsive than others.
Ann Arbor
[redacted] Wu,
[redacted] Woo,
[redacted] Lee House
Chicago
[redacted] Liu
312-791-[redacted],

[redacted] Chang,
[redacted] S Wells
Antioch
[redacted] Ng,
[redacted] Dayton
Madison
[redacted] Hwang,
[redacted] W Washington Ave [redacted],
608-251-[redacted],
[redacted] Chin,
[redacted] S Brooks,
608-255-[redacted],
[redacted] Yeh,
[redacted] W Mifflin St,
608-255-[redacted],
[redacted] Nakasato,
[redacted] W Wilson [redacted],
608-255-[redacted]
Minnesota
[redacted] Chin,
Sanford Hall- UM,
[redacted] Somekawa,
[redacted] E Ridgeview Dr,
[redacted] Takekawa
[redacted] Hennepin Ave [redacted],
Northfield
[redacted] Okahara,
[redacted]

‘ ‘ ‘

WINTER 1975

Please send us more names,
whatever is not represented here.

Ann Arbor
[redacted] Chu,
[redacted] First St #[redacted]
University of Illinois
[redacted] Lee,
[redacted] Brummel
Chicago
[redacted] Suzuki,
312-324-[redacted]
[redacted] Liu,

[redacted] Addison, 60613
[redacted] Moy,
312-539-[redacted]
Colorado
[redacted] Endo,
University of Colorado,
[redacted]
Chesterton, Indiana
[redacted] Katayama,
219-92[redacted]
Saint Louis
[redacted] Sueoka,
[redacted] Tallows
Madison
[redacted] Tchen,
[redacted] N Butler,
608-25[redacted]
‘ ‘ ‘
SUMMER 1976
Contacts in the Midwest.
Ann Arbor
The East Wind,
[redacted] Michigan Union
Office of Community Services,
313[redacted]
Commission for Minority Affairs,
313[redacted]
Chicago
Chinatown Center,
[redacted]
Columbus
[redacted] Liu,
Asian American Association,
[redacted]
Madison
[redacted] Chin,
608[redacted]
[redacted] Nakasato,
608[redacted]
Oberlin
[redacted] Hayashida,
216[redacted]

‘ ‘ ‘
SUMMER 1977

Statement for “Obituary”

This is the farewell letter from the editors of *Rice Paper*, appearing in its last issue. The *Rice Paper* Collective titled this goodbye “Obituary.” [7] The language of the letter communicates a tired frustration that takes a good deal of energy to read.

The first draft of this poem was longer and incorporated words and phrases from the whole of the text. I took issue with the tone in parts of the letter from the editors, as it becomes accusatory in some places. Instead of displaying that energy, I chose to create a brief blackout poem using only the first paragraph of the letter as source material. A blackout is similar to a found poem, in that it employs the use of a source text(s). It differs from a found poem by employing the use of strikeouts, which makes omission something physical that appears on the page.



The Obituary page from the last issue or *Rice Paper* in 1977. UW Archives

Making a blackout poem out of the first part of the letter allowed me to focus on part of what made *Rice Paper* so captivating for me: it proved that community raising efforts are timeless. Even if those communities mostly dissolve after a few years, like *Rice Paper* did, the energy that was fostered and expended in order to build them remains real. What is also timeless are the factors that lead to dissolving collectives: “unforeseen circumstances… outlived usefulness.” [8] The editors, through all three years of the magazine’s existence, wanted people to write to them. I love that they still encourage people to try to find a way to communicate with them in the end. In my opinion, “write to us… find out what happens” [9] is the most fitting way that *Rice Paper* could have gone out. This very brief poem is to communicate and honor that.

—

Obituary

Dear Folks [redacted] unforeseen circumstances emerge. [redacted] unusual; [redacted] outlived [redacted] usefulness. [redacted] write to us [redacted] find out what happens [redacted]

---

[1] Lee, Sharon. *(Un)Seen and (Un)Heard: The Struggle for Asian American "Minority" Recognition at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1968-1997*. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, PhD dissertation, 2010, https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/items/15594/bitstreams/102815/data.pdf.

[2] *Rice Paper* Collective, "Rice Paper," *Rice Paper*, 1974, 3.

[3] *Rice Paper* Collective, "Rice Paper," *Rice Paper*, 1974, 3.

[4] *Rice Paper* Collective, "2nd Midwest Asian American Conference, 'Perspectives of the Asian American Movement': Union South – University of Wisconsin, 227 North Randall Ave, Madison, WI, September 27-29, 1974," *Rice Paper*, 1975, 8.

[5] *Rice Paper* Collective, "Don't Buy Grapes or Gallo Wine," *Rice Paper*, Fall 1975, 4.

[6] *Rice Paper* Collective, "Yellow Pages," *Rice Paper*, Summer 1977, 46, 47.

[7] Dong, Al, "Obituary," *Rice Paper*, August 1977, 3.

[8] Dong, "Obituary," 3.

[9] Dong, "Obituary," 3.

Badgers Go Green: A Story of Environmental Practices and Ecological Culture at UW-Madison By Nicolás Felipe Rueda Rey

Originally Posted on October 28, 2025. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW–Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*

The rise of environmental awareness on the University of Wisconsin -Madison campus can be traced back to the broader societal movements of the 1960s, including the civil rights movement and anti-war protests, which fostered a climate of activism and social change. [1] This form of environmentalism was grounded in the urban areas, with a deep concern in in human health and natural ecosystems. [2] The movement

emerge in multiple fronts, responding to both local and global socio-cultural and environmental impacts caused by the *Great Acceleration* — an unprecedented and unequal post-World War II growth in socioeconomic and earth systems trends. [3] It was a moment in which the interconnectedness of urbanization, the perception on population growth, and the practices of production and consumption on a planetary scale caught the attention of the local UW campus ecological groups. As a result, students, faculty and Madison's communities increasingly engaged with issues like pollution, conservation and public health: a complex environmental consciousness began to take root, influencing both campus culture, policy and its institutions.

In 1974, Mark Koppelkman, a UW-Madison student and chairperson from the Hoofer Ecology Club, wrote a letter to Chancellor Edwin Young highlighting the necessity of a "permanent environmental student-faculty committee' that would help to "simplify and solve past and current environmental problems". [4] In the letter, Koppelkman aimed to summarize the recommendations put forward by the students of the defunct Ecology Students Association and the Teaching Assistants Association (TAA), who since 1969 had advocated on issues such as 'motor vehicles, buses, power plant emissions, land use planning, waste disposal, runoff, pesticide use,' among others. Koppelkman felt it was necessary to reinforce campus environmental responsibilities through the consolidation of a campus environmental committee that would rectify the situation. This committee should include students, faculty, administration, and university staff. Koppelkman's letter echoed the growing sense of urgency surrounding environmental concerns and the need for collaborative action to address them. The proposal highlighted how student-led initiatives had already shaped the conversation on campus, positioning them as key players in the future of environmental policy and action at the university.

Koppelkman's understanding of the problem was collective, student-oriented, multidimensional and interdisciplinary. The urgency he identified was informed by various knowledge sets, and his reflections were shaped by a growing campus culture advocating for a modern environmentalism. How did this campus culture emerge? What factors contributed to its development? How did this campus culture take shape during the 1960s and the 1970s?

The 60s: Local and Collective Health Visions on the Environment

On campus, the practices and representations in relation to the environment underwent slow and progressive transformation until their

institutionalization at the end of the 1960s. These moments were not isolated, but rather part of a broader, growing awareness that linked academic, social and political spheres, gradually shaping the campus's environmental consciousness. From grassroots activism to institutional support and communitarian movements, these early efforts laid the foundation for the environmental movement on campus and programs and initiatives that would follow in the years to come.

In American postwar suburbanization and consumer-centered narratives and landscapes, 'weeds' and 'bugs' became the new target of chemical corporations. Beginning in 1942, DDT



A helicopter treating elm trees with DDT to kill beetles that carry Dutch Elm Disease. April 1968. William J. Lizdas/Wisconsin Historical Society

(Dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane) was used against mosquitos that spread malaria among U.S. troops in the South Pacific. At the conclusion of WWII, DDT's prestige was settled and it was widely used all over the urban and rural landscapes in the U.S. [5] In the late 1960s, the Wisconsin Plant Industry Division used helicopters to spray DDT over trees and kill beetles that carried Dutch Elm Disease. The widespread use of DDT in agriculture, for public health, and pest control during this time went largely unquestioned until the mounting concerns about its environmental impact began to be discussed in popular culture. The chemical's pervasive presence in ecosystems and its accumulation in the food chain sparked a growing public alarm, leading to a broader reckoning about its long-term effects on wildlife and human health.

Today, we know that the environmental hazards were widespread, but at the beginning of the 1960s, the debate gained national visibility with Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. In her book, as well as in her public appearances on radio and TV, Carson advocated for raising conscience about the interconnectedness of ecosystems:

> The earth's vegetation is part of a web of life in which there are intimate and essential relations between plants and the earth, between plants and other plants, between plants and animals. Sometimes we have no choice but to disturb these relationships, but we should do so thoughtfully, with

> full awareness that what we do may have consequences remote in time and place. [6]

The importance of an ethical interconnectedness between nature and human became a guiding reflection in Carson's *Silent Spring*, where she highlighted the far-reaching consequences of human actions on the environment and through the generations. Silent Spring had a profound impact on public awareness regarding the dangers of chemical pesticides, sparking widespread controversy and debate. Despite aggressive campaigns from chemical manufacturers to discredit the book, Carson's work led to government action, with President Kennedy ordering a study on chemical effects on production and numerous state bills introduced to regulate their use.

Carson's work represents a cultural shift in the public's understanding of ecology and modern environmentalism. [7] The suburban audience received her book with enthusiasm and felt a strong identification with her thesis about the excessive and irresponsible use of pesticides and their impact on human and environmental health. With deep, well-thought-out observations and analytical, ecological reflections, Carson adapted and applied the teachings of previous ecological science, understanding suburban ecosystems as interconnected and interdependent systems. Carson emphasizes humans' ability to drastically alter ecosystems beyond their capacity to recover. As a result, DDT became a symbol of the dangerous consequences of unchecked chemical use, fueling the environmental movement's calls for greater regulation and awareness. This period marked the beginning of a larger societal shift towards environmental responsibility and the reevaluation of humanity's relationship with nature.

The case of pesticides like DDT highlighted the chemical industrial complex, and the impacts of different types of pollution on all beings and ecosystems. At UW-Madison, 1967 represent a turning point in campus advocacy for civil rights and against the recruitment of student by military contractors, most notably the Dow Chemical Company, which manufactured napalm used in the Vietnam War. [8] On the morning of October 18, hundreds of students gathered outside the Commerce Building (now Ingraham Hall), where Dow Chemical recruiters were interviewing students for prospective jobs. Tensions escalated in the afternoon as police attempted to remove protesters blocking access to the building, leading to violent clashes between students and police. Riot sticks were used, and tear gas was deployed, resulting in numerous injuries and chaos throughout the campus. By the end of the day, more than 3,000 students had assembled for a rally,

demanding that the administration take a stand against the use of city police on campus and showing their solidarity with protesters. [9] This event marked a defining moment in the university's history, solidifying UW-Madison as a space for the culture of antiwar sentiment and student activism.



Madison Police officers hold a student demonstrator to the ground during the 1967 Dow Chemical protest. Wisconsin Historical Society

David Lipsky, a biochemistry major from 1965 to the early 1970s, participated as one of the officers of the antiwar movement on campus who pushed for the vote against the war in Wisconsin. [10] In this broader campus culture of advocacy, Lipsky also recalled how scientific and artistic groups created the Science Student Union (SSU) to get involved in raising awareness about environmental issues they faced at the time. This interdisciplinary group of students organized regular workshops with scholars like Paul R. Ehrlich, on topics such as the "Population Bomb", but also on anarchism and ecology with Murray Bookchin, and other critical ideas on the energy crisis, control of pollution reports, and monopolization of oil business. They were also involved in a 'Guerilla Theater' group that performed during a hearing at the Wisconsin State Capitol, with Lipsky recalling how they dressed in

military camouflage and marched into the Capitol carrying water guns. [11]

One of the group's main achievements came in 1968 with their involvement in the first lawsuit against the use of DDT in Wisconsin. Organized by local and national environmental groups, the lawsuit was supported by the SSU. The main arguments emphasized DDT's toxic effects on wildlife, particularly birds, and the long-term consequences of pesticide accumulation in ecosystems. This legal action aimed to hold chemical manufacturers accountable for the environmental damage caused by their products and to push for more regulations on pesticide manufacture and use. The SSU played a crucial role in building the case and fighting against arguments defending the use of DDT. Lipsky remembers going to the library to read, investigate, and analyze every source quoted by the Chemical Manufacturers Association, an influential U.S. trade organization that represented the interests of major chemical corporations and actively defended the production and use of DDT. This effort exemplified the growing activism on campus, as students took a clearer agency in shaping environmental policy. It also marked a pivotal moment in the broader environmental movement, one where student-driven initiatives began to challenge powerful industries and influence local legislation. Through their persistence and determination, these students laid the groundwork for future environmental advocacy at both the state and national levels. [12]



DDT hearings in Madison, May 14, 1969. Wisconsin Historical Society

However, the early environmental movement in this era was still taking shape and was primarily represented by suburban, white communities. The recognition of how environmental hazards intersect with issues of race and gender was still emerging on campus, and in the early stages in the rest of the United States. At UW-Madison, for example, Black the student community developed numerous protests addressing concerns over racial and educational inequality, while advocating for the establishment of a Black Studies department and significant changes to university policies and practices. [13] Nevertheless, some intellectuals such as Nathan Hare, were already cognizant of the emerging environmentalist movement's significance for marginalized communities. He highlighted the importance of Black ecology once "the black and white environments not only differ in degree but in nature as well [...] the causes and solutions to ecological problems are fundamentally different in the suburbs and ghetto [...] the solutions set forth the 'ecological crisis' are reformist and evasive of the social and political revolution which black environmental correction demands". [14] All over the country, the environmental crisis in Black urban communities was deeply intertwined with systemic economic and racialized sociocultural inequalities: overcrowded and polluted living conditions, with hazardous occupations and inadequate housing. For some sectors at the end of the 1960s it was clear that true environmental reforms were complex and required more than superficial solutions; it demanded a fundamental shift in economic and political structures to empower marginalized communities and address the root causes the longstanding environmental injustice.

The Institute for Environmental Studies: Collective efforts and the Institutionalization of Interdisciplinary Practice

These individual and collective practices of modern environmentalism resonate with the institutionalization of an environmentally driven entity at the University of Wisconsin-Madison at the end of the 1960s. The emergence of the Institute for Environmental Studies (IES) as aneducational center was part of a broader campus mindset incorporating contemporary discussion and the most relevant societal debates around the environment. IES became central not only for addressing pressing ecological challenges, but also for influencing the broader environmental movement, fostering collaboration across disciplines and integrating environmental concerns into academic and public policy.

Since the early 1960s, interdisciplinary groups of faculty and students

at UW-Madison were actively engaged in addressing contemporary environmental issues. In 1962, The Interdisciplinary Studies Committee and The Hougas Committee, for example, were concerned with the contemporary problems that transcend disciplinary boundaries, demanding a more integrated approach to better attend to problems such as war and peace, land use, and environmental degradation, among others. [15] These groups pushed to spread awareness on campus about the necessity of putting more effort in the study of environmental situations from an interdisciplinary approach. All these early efforts were not just academic exercises; they reflected a growing recognition that environmental problems could not be solved within the confines of traditional disciplines. By advocating for interdisciplinary collaboration, these groups laid the groundwork for the institutionalization of environmental studies, which would later become a model for other universities and a key driver of the environmental movement.

In 1965, the Special Committee on Environmental Studies was created to review environmental research proposals, recommend strategic administrative measures, and strengthen environmental studies on campus. [16] With a representative appointed by each one of the deans, the committee presented a 1966 report in which they recommended that the university should establish a budget unit for interdisciplinary environmental studies, be led by a director reporting to the chancellor, and include the participation through the transference of existing environmental studies groups and research processes. [17] However, these efforts didn't gain immediate traction at the time. Looking back, these early efforts reflect a pivotal moment in the university's commitment to addressing the pressing issues of the time. The foundation laid by these interdisciplinary groups not only developed a deeper engagement with environmental challenges but also set the stage for the establishment of more structured environmental studies programs that would continue to evolve in the years that followed.



Campus Report, October 17, 1970, from the Institute for Environmental Studies. UW Archives

In May 1969, a report titled "The Purpose and Function of the University" was prepared and presented by the Interdisciplinary Studies Committee on the Future of Man, to the Special Regents Committee on The University of Wisconsin of the Future, highlighting the urgent need for interdisciplinary approaches to foster creativity in students and addressing contemporary societal challenges. This formal proposal pointed out the urgency for "interdisciplinary groups in which competence is not defined solely in terms of disciplines that have been in existence for 50 or 100 years. We should recognize scholarship that is individual and ... is built from components of several older disciplines. We could find satisfactory ways to recognize such scholarship for the future just as we have found ways to recognize scholarship in the past." [18]

By pushing for the recognition of interdisciplinary scholarship, the report laid the groundwork for a new kind of academic framework, one that would encourage innovation and adaptability in both students and faculty. The proposal called for more than an academic shift, but a response to the pressing socio-environmental challenges that were beginning to demand more holistic and collaborative solutions. However, in its response, the university emphasized the need for a deeper analysis and study of the current situation. The proposal, while insightful, did not receive immediate approval by the Board of Regents and instead led to calls for more revisions and refinements. This hesitation reflected the tensions of integrating such an approach into the existing academic structure and highlighted the difficulty in reconciling traditional disciplinary boundaries with the growing relevance and awareness of interdisciplinary cooperation for environmental topics.

In December of the same year, the committee, now popularly known as the "Wilson Committee", [19] presented a new proposal to Chancellor Edwin Young regarding the function and organization of the IES. Emphasizing concern about the future, they reaffirmed that the goal of the university was "to provide society with objective information and

imaginative approaches to the solution of problems, which can serve as the basis for sound decision-making in all areas". [20] However, they were also concerned about the lack of attention given to the 'future viability of society' within the university's structure. The new argument of the committee emphasized the role of the university as an institution that creates an environment in which "faculty and students can discover, examine critically, preserve, and transmit knowledge, wisdom, and values that will help ensure the survival of the present and future generations". [21] Scholars advocating for the institutionalization of the IES based their arguments on the need for structural changes at the university. They emphasized the responsibility of future generations to confront the passivity (or complicity) of their contemporaries toward various environmental hazards.



One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this version of the text. You can view them online here: https://wisc.pb.unizin.org/siftingspost/?p=105#oembed-1

In 1970, the IES was announced, and a director was appointed by the chancellor. The Marine Studies Center, the Center for Climatic Research, and the Lake Wingra Study of the Eastern Deciduous Biome from the International Biological Program all incorporated their research into the IES. [22] Enthusiasm grew as the IES expanded the scope of interest by winning a general grant from the National Science Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Graduate School. With the support of the Research Applied to National Needs Program (RANN) of the National Science Foundation, IES developed "several reports on a broad range of subjects, from cultural sensitivity to environmental change and quality of life in a western Wisconsin river valley to a mathematical model for outdoor recreation management and an in-depth look at glass recycling and reuse". [23] At the same time, this funding helped IES strengthen the establishment of five research centers and two research groups: the Marine Studies Center, Center for Biotic Systems, Center for Climate Research, Center for Geographic Analysis, and Center for Human Systems; and the Quantitative Ecosystem Modeling Group and the Environmental Monitoring and Data Acquisition Group.

In a very local way — by emphasizing the Wisconsin Idea — the IES was part of an intense dynamic surrounding ethics, knowledge, and the

construction of environmental justice. With the consolidation of the IES as a formal entity with specific goals and a solid agenda, the collective consciousness of environmental problems and their complexities began to flow through local, regional, and national cultural battlegrounds, driven by the ecological and political movements all over the country, and supported by prominent like U.S. Sen. Gaylord Nelson. As the 1970s approached, these growing environmental concerns and the momentum generated began to take shape in widespread societal movements, culminating in the first Earth Day.

The Badgers Go Green: Earth Day, Collective Efforts and the Consolidation of Modern Environmentalism on Campus

With the institutionalization of environmentalism within the university's structures, and what seemed like a clear course of action, the campus — and the community beyond — became a stage for research, debate and reflection on environmental issues. The spring months of 1970 were intense as UW students turned out to create cultural spaces to discuss and explore the ideas around environmentalism, push for institutional changes, and figure out the logistics for the first Earth Day.

On January 3, 1970, UW-Madison student Judy Royster published an article in *The Daily Cardinal* reviewing the preparation of a report that the Ecology Students Association (ESA) would present to Vice Chancellor Robert Atwell. The report outlined recommendations to address pressing environmental issues including pollution, resource exploitation and overpopulation. They argued that pollution, particularly from the internal combustion engines in vehicles and the university's steam plant, severely degraded the environment, urging the university to adopt more sustainable practices, even if it meant higher costs in the long term. The ESA also suggested measures to control the silting of Lake Mendota, cease the use of high-phosphate detergents, restrict pesticide use (including ending field testing on university property), and manage current noise levels. [24]

At the same time, the students' culture was deeply embedded in complex forms of Malthusian ideas on overpopulation and supported population control policies that today might seem authoritarian. This practice of environmentalism was rooted in natural science and a Malthusian utilitarian perspective that links human health and survival with environmental conditions. [25] The ESA report recommended that the "most pressing single problem facing the world today is the population explosion. The principle of the two-child family must be established as the American norm and ideal." [26] For this purpose,

ESA concluded, the university should provide birth control information, contraceptive devices or prescriptions, and an abortion referral service. These recommendations can seem paradoxical today. On one side, the Malthusian idea of population growth, while problematic and based on bad understanding of ecological damage and causality, was grounded in concern over a real, urgent global environmental crisis. On the other hand, even as ESA advocated for free education and access to family planning care, the suggestion that governments should intervene in reproductive rights with the policy of the "two-child family" reproduces paternalistic and authoritarian perspectives, undermining individual and collective reproductive rights and freedom. Today, we know that this type of environmentalism fosters the consolidation of "oligarchic practices", limiting the participation of citizens and the democratization of environmental advocacy. [27]

In a January 29, 1970, newsletter, Tom Smith, Earth Day staff director at UW-Madison, explained that Earth Day was a national and local rallying effort to raise awareness of the environmental crisis, initiating action to educate the community, campus, and schools in restoring the balance between humans and nature. The focus on educating the community implied something more than a day of celebration. Instead the program from the Earth Day committee envisioned a broader cultural strategy that involved students, collectives, and institutions into the environmental reflection and experimentation. These efforts also found support from local churches in the southern Wisconsin area. For example, each Tuesday in April that year, clergy members delivered seminars with "Man's Environment: God's Creation" as a central theme. [28]

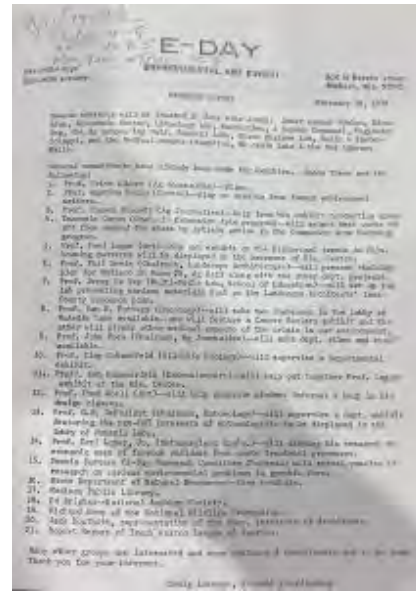


A pamphlet explaining the ecology symbol from the first Earth Day in 1970. UW Archives

Education activities in the runup to Earth Day also included art and culture presentations. Throughout February of that year the Hoofers' Ecology Group ran a film festival to showcase a series of films about ecological hazards, contemporary environmental issues, and the importance of collective awareness and action. [29] They promoted books like *Ecotactics: The Sierra Club Handbook for Environment Activists*,

and *The Environmental Handbook: Prepared for the First National Environmental Teach-In*. The goal was to empower and foster a sense of collective and shared responsibility for the planet's future. [30]

By March, students and faculty converged in collaborative efforts to organize activities, manage political action, and host cultural and educational events open to the entire Madison public. Campus saw an explosion of student-led environmental action and advocacy groups concerned with ecological discussion, reflection and activities. These included the Ecology Action Center, the Ecology Student Association, Engineers & Scientists for social responsibility, and the Society to End Pollution, among others. Each group contributed to fostering awareness and promoting sustainable practices on campus. [31] Additionally, various public lectures were organized to address critical environmental issues. Professor Arthur Hasler, director of the UW Limnology Lab, gave a public lecture on lake pollution; Professor Rosemary Flemming spoke about the Arboretum and the relevance of local natural environments; and Professor Joseph Hickey discussed the vanishing of wildlife in the area. These lectures were held every Thursday. [32] This movement also inspired a wave of hands-on initiatives that brought the campus community even closer. Students and faculty organized workshops and recycling projects, turning everyday waste into useful items. Arts expositions were made from recycled materials, blending creativity with environmental messages.


E-DAY

UW Archives



Earth Day march participants walk on State Street in Madison, April 22, 1970. Wisconsin Historical Society

From April 19 to 25, Wisconsin witnessed the first Environmental Action Week, with the first Earth Day as the main event. In the image above, a group of students engaged in environmental activism march on the intersection of Lake and State Streets, right at the heart of the campus. They're rallying for the upcoming Earth Day celebration, waving flags and fueling fiery chants that carried all the way to the Capitol, long after they arrived. The march was more than a display of passion, it was a call for action, a statement in a long chain of warnings about the urgency of addressing environmental issues in a changing world. Students from different backgrounds and disciplines were united by a common cause. [33] Their chants echoed throughout the streets, energizing others and drawing attention to 1970 citizens of Wisconsin and the world. The event was part of a bigger wave that had been building up on campus for weeks. Students, faculty, and local environmental groups all came together, vibing on the same mission—pushing for real, impactful change. The energy was vibrant, and the message very clear: The fight for the environment was just starting.

One or more interactive elements has been excluded from this

version of the text. You can view them online here:
https://wisc.pb.unizin.org/siftingspost/?p=105#oembed-2

On April 22, 1970, Earth Day itself took place in Wisconsin, as well as all over the country. The grassroots student and campus movement experienced a great realization and Madison emerged as center for environmental protest in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The day was full of memorable events. At Picnic Point there was an attempt to create a "spiritual atmosphere for viewing the natural environment" through music, poetry reading, and critical analysis of authors like Rachel Carson, Aldo Leopold and Henry Thoreau. [34] Building on the creative energy and spirit of the time, the city of Madison witnessed a massive parade that brought together students, faculty, and the community in an environmental celebration. Starting at 2 p.m. at the UW Library Mall, the parade swept eastward on State Street, then circled around the Square before making its way back to Langdon Street. [35]

Finally, "Environmental Affair" event marked the closing of E-Week at 4 pm on April 25. [36] This event embodied the joy and unity around environmental concerns, as well as the spirit of change and transformation. With dancing, live music, booths, electric cars, and displays, the festivities were complemented by street clean-up campaigns that took place before and after the event. The entire community participated, making it a true celebration of collective action and environmental awareness on the UW campus, and the whole city of Madison. Beyond that, it helped to create, enhance, and consolidate an imagined community connected by shared environmental concerns across the country, and later, the world.

Conclusion

Environmental concerns are deeply connected with the Wisconsin community, shaping the local identity and driving collective action toward ecological sustainability and conservation. Key actors at the beginning of the century plant the seed for the emergence of the movement. Its materialization took place in the 1960s with the institutionalization of IES and its research agenda, the interdisciplinary academic programs, and classroom curricula focused on sustainability, conservation, and ecological stewardship. This embodied the Wisconsinite spirit that articulated the grassroot movement and took

form in the Earth Day celebrations at UW-Madison and all over the country.

Earth Day would become a vibrant commemoration of ecological concerns, with local, regional, national and international resonance. In the Midwest, many institutions would engage with cultural initiatives to continue raising awareness on environmental issues. "Earthwatch," for example, a radio show aired for the first time on September 11, 1972, played significant role in bringing attention on environmental issues, especially in the Wisconsin area, but also in Michigan, Ilinois, and Minnesota. It was transmitted daily and highlighted local concerns and connected them to broader ecological themes, helping to educate the public on the importance of environmental responsibility. This radio show was part of a larger cultural mass movement during the whole decade that started with Earth Day. As environmental awareness was gaining momentum, it led to critical legislation and initiatives aimed at protecting natural resources.

At UW-Madison, celebrating the first decade of Earth Day, Gaylord Nelson participated in a forum sponsored by the IES, where he reflected on the early years of the environmental movement. In evaluating the progress made, he highlighted the significance and reach of the environmental political agenda. For Nelson, the positive changes were evident across many areas:

> Great rivers such as the Hudson, Potomac, Detroit, and Mississippi, once choked with pollution, are beginning to sparkle again. Our air, a serious health threat in some cities, is growing cleaner. We have been alerted to threats from hazardous products and wastes that we didn't know about before. Recycling, energy conservation, and the use of renewable resources are becoming more popular. Growth policies seek greater balance between development and preservation. And the environmental movement has produced jobs and stimulated new economic activity. [37]

Nelson's reflection emphasizes both the progress achieved and the continuing momentum of the environmental movement, showing its lasting impact on policy, public awareness, and the economy.

The story of environmental practices and ecological culture at UW-Madison shows the power of collective action, interdisciplinary collaboration, and institutional commitment to addressing pressing environmental challenges. The campus became a microcosm of broader societal shifts, where faculty and the Madison community united to confront issues like pollution, conservation, and public health. The IES emerged, not as a triumph, but as a necessity – a place where disciplines converged to overcome the sociocultural and environmental hazards threatening local and global communities. Earth Day came like a storm,

sweeping through campus, the city, the country. A day of action and motion, flags and chants, hope and refusal. It was the beginning. A flicker in the dark. Decades later, the fight continues; some rivers are cleaner, the air on campus is less toxic, but the cracks remain, the work unfinished, the world still broken. Yet, in the quiet corners of UW-Madison, the spirit endures – in labs, classrooms, streets – where those who refuse to look away work in silence, in shadows, in the spaces between hope and despair, guardians of the fragile balance, keepers of the flame, relentless and unyielding, like the Earth itself.

---

[1] In October 1967, antiwar protests took place on campus with between 2000 and 5000 people participating in the crowd. Police used violence to suppress the protest, using tear gas for the first time at UW-Madison. University of Wisconsin-Madison. "A Turning Point: Six Stories From the Dow Chemical Protests on Campus." 1967: The Year That Changed a Campus. Office of Strategic Communication. Accessed 03,12,2025. https://1967.wisc.edu/.

[2] Robert J. Brulle, "Reform Environmentalism: Public Health and Ecology," in *Agency, Democracy, and Nature: The U.S. Environmental Movement from a Critical Theory Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 181.

[3] Will Steffen et al., "The Trajectory of the Anthropocene: The Great Acceleration," *The Anthropocene Review* 2, no. 1 (2015): 1-18

[4] Mark Koppelkman, "Earth Week," Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, Box 5, Steenbock Library, B105-67A4, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1974.

[5] Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 222.

[6] Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962),41.

[7] Robert J. Brulle, *Agency, Democracy, and Nature: The U.S. Environmental Movement from a Critical Theory Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

[8] University of Wisconsin-Madison. "A Turning Point: Six Stories From the Dow Chemical Protests on Campus." *1967: The Year That Changed a Campus.* Office of Strategic Communication. Accessed 03,12,2025. https://1967.wisc.edu/.

[9] University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, "Protests & Social Action at UW-Madison during the 20th Century," *Campus History Projects*, accessed 03,12,2025,https://www.library.wisc.edu/archives/exhibits/

campus-history-projects/protests-social-action-at-uw-madison-during-the-20th-century/; UW-Madison, "A Turning Point."

[10] David Lipsky, interview by Maij Xyooj, June 14, 2018, Madison Reunion Oral History Project (#1811), University of Wisconsin-Madison, https://ohms.library.wisc.edu/viewer.php?cachefile=Lipsky.D.1811.xml.

[11] Lipsky interview (2018).

[12] Lipsky interview (2018).

[13] University of Wisconsin-Madison, "The Black Student Strike of 1969," University Communications and University Marketing, in partnership with the Black Cultural Center and *The Black Voice*, 2019, accessed 03, 10, 2025, https://news.wisc.edu/black-student-strike/; University of Wisconsin-Madison, Center for Campus History, "Black Student Strike and Black Power Movement on Campus: Teaching Guide," accessed 03, 10, 2025, https://campushistory.wisc.edu/education/teaching-guides/black-student-strike-and-black-power-movement-on-campus.

[14] Nathan Hare, "Black Ecology," in *The Environmental Moment: 1968-1972*, ed. David Stradling (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 87.

[15] Irving Shain, "A Report to the Faculty on the Origins and Organization of the Institute for Environmental Studies," January 1972, Institute for Environmental Studies Records, Box B105-67A10, Folder: "Bryson: The Institute for Environmental Studies: Seven Years in Retrospect," Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison. 2.

[16] Environmental Studies Advisory Committee, December 19, 1969, Institute for Environmental Studies Records, Box B105-67A10, Folder: "Wilson Committee Proposal for IES," Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Appendix A. 6.

[17] Environmental Studies Advisory Committee, December 19, 1969. Appendix A. 6.

[18] Environmental Studies Advisory Committee, December 19, 1969. p. 6.

[19] The committee was called by Joe B. Wilson, Chairman and Professor of Bacteriology who led the report on December 19, 1969. https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/AZM7OTFRCTPQ4C8W

[20] Environmental Studies Advisory Committee, December 19, 1969. p. 1.

[21] Environmental Studies Advisory Committee, December 19, 1969. p. 2.

[22] Reid A. Bryson, "The Institute for Environmental Studies: Seven Years in Retrospect," January 1972, p. 3, Institute for Environmental Studies Records, Box B105-67A10, Folder: "Bryson: The Institute for

Environmental Studies: Seven Years in Retrospect," Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

[23] IES, "What Is IES?," 4.

[24] Judy Royster, "Environment Students to Meet With Administrators," *The Daily Cardinal*, January 7, 1970, 3

[25] Brulle, "Reform Environmentalism," 175.

[26] Royster, "Environment Students to Meet With Administrators," 3.

[27] Brulle, "Reform Environmentalism," 191.

[28] Tom Smith, "E-Day," newsletter, January 29, 1970, folder "E-Day April 22, 1970," box 5, shelf location B105-67A4, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

[29] E-Day Office, February 16, 1970, folder "E-Day April 22, 1970," box 5, shelf location B105-67A4, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Steenbock Memorial Library.

[30] E-Day Office, February 27, 1970, folder "E-Day April 22, 1970," box 5, shelf location B105-67A4, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, Steenbock Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

[31] E-Day Office, March 25, 1970, folder "E-Day April 22, 1970," box 5, shelf location B105-67A4, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Steenbock Memorial Library.; E-Day Office, March 25, 1970, folder "E-Day April 22, 1970," box 5, shelf location B105-67A4, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Steenbock Memorial Library.

[32] E-Day Office, February 27, 1970

[33] E-Day Office, April 7, 1970, folder "E-Day April 22, 1970," box 5, shelf location B105-67A4, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Steenbock Memorial Library; E-Day Office, April 14, 1970, folder "E-Day April 22, 1970," box 5, shelf location B105-67A4, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Steenbock Memorial Library.

[34] E-Day Office, April 7, 1970.

[35] E-Day Office, March 25, 1970.

[36] E-Day Office, April 14, 1970.

[37] Nelson, Gaylord. "An Earth Day Seminar with Gaylord Nelson." April 19, 1980. Folder: "Earthwatching." Box 5, Shelf Location B105-67A4. box 5, Gaylord Nelson Institute for Environmental Studies Records, Steenbock Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The UW International Club: Storying Assimilation and Belonging of International Students in the 1900s

Originally Posted on February 16, 2026. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW–Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*

"If the International Club has accomplished anything since its inception in 1903, it is, perhaps, that a set of features, or a single feature, or a skin color, or a manner of speaking or gesturing, are no longer a subject of amazement on the University of Wisconsin campus". [1]

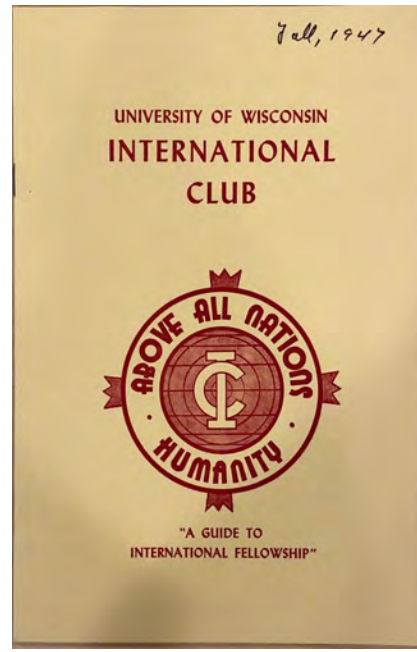
"The allure and mystery of the East, the romance of the Latin American countries, and the charm of the European nations are captured each month as

the International Club Social committee plans a large dance at which a national or topical theme is featured." [2]

"... It is interesting to note that half the club members are Americans." [3]

Described as one of the "most interesting clubs" on UW's campus by the *Daily Cardinal*, the International Club was a prominent part of the university's history and its many traditions in the 1900s. [4] As the above quotes suggest, this includes the university's historical claim that it is a space of inclusion and belonging for Black, brown, and Indigenous communities, despite its persistent legacy of white supremacy. By exploring the International Club's social events, administrative policies, and organization structure, I highlight the ambiguities and contradictions that manifested within the club.

The International Club of UW–Madison was established on March 14, 1903, by 16 international students representing 11 nationalities at the apartment of Kiyoshi Karl Kawakami, a Japanese international student.[5] The Club's initial purpose was to provide students with a space for "formal intellectual discussions of contemporary international problems."[6] This objective widened after 1905 to promote "ties of affection and esteem" amongst students of all nationalities by providing a space for free social and intellectual discussions.[7] Aiming to "work for a world community" against the "barriers of nationalism," [8] the club sought to encourage mutual empathy among international and American-born students.



The front page of an International Club booklet from 1947. UW Archives

Keeping with their goal, the club members officially pledged to "foster the spirit of the International Club of the University of Wisconsin in promoting Brotherhood, Peace, and Human Justice among all People, irrespective of race, color, cast or creed." [9] Their motto, "Above All Nations is Humanity," [10] was credited to Goldwin Smith and contributed by the Cornell Chapter of the International Club to the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs (ACC.), a collective of international

clubs throughout the US and Europe formed in January 1906 of which UW–Madison's International Club was one of the eight founding universities. Referring to themselves as Wisconsin's International Fellowship Program or World Fellowship in Miniature, UW's International Club organized trips to different parts of Europe during the late 1900s and early 1910s to integrate more universities into the organization. [11] As the club's reach expanded beyond Madison, so did its membership policies. While initially restricting active memberships held by American-born individuals to no more than one-third of the entire membership of the Club, this provision was removed after 1910, even though there were "mixed feelings" about "American participation." [12] Additionally, all people connected with the university were eligible for active membership as long as it was approved by the club Council, and they paid the club dues. [13]



A club membership card from 1941. UW Archives / Dorothy Marion Swenson scrapbook

Reportedly inactive during World War I, the International Club remained a member of the ACC until 1926, when the participation of other universities started waning in the aftermath of the war. The club officially became a part of the Wisconsin Union in 1933, which gave the president of the club voting privileges as a member of the Union Directorate. In addition to the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer of the club, active members elected directors who would chair committees that were responsible for organizing social events and funding, managing media, outreach, networking, and wellbeing of the students. Leadership was determined by yearly elections. The club decreed that no more than two individuals representing one nation could hold a director position, and only people with active membership in the club could vote and hold office. The active membership was restricted to students only in the 1947 constitution. The constitution further stipulated that the president of the club could not be a US citizen. This latter provision, however, lasted merely two years and was removed in the Constitution revision of 1949. [14]

These shifting financial and membership conditions on the basis of one's citizenship and their position at the university likely shaped the power dynamics in the club by influencing who had the dominant decision-making power. Similarly, for a significant majority of their

existence, the club repeatedly advertised in their newsletters and the *Daily Cardinal* to request more women to participate in their weekly "Dancetime" social events because men were the overwhelming majority of international students on campus. [15] This further indicates the dominant presence of men in the club and their social events. In addition, the fact that men were predominantly featured in the photographs of the International Club Board suggests the presence of sexist prejudices about who could hold various leadership positions. [16] These gendered and racialized disparities within the club were significant because they likely shaped the club's social events and the ways different peoples and nations were represented in them.



International Club board members meeting in 1957-58. The group photo highlights racial and gendered disparities in the club leadership. UW Archives

The International Club prided itself on being the students' "Home away from Home." [17] The club's Welfare Committee was responsible for sending information to foreign students interested in coming to UW–Madison, including temporary accommodation services if desired. The Overseas Benefit Suppers Committee provided home-cooked dishes that represented different cultural cuisines "prepared and served by native cooks." [18] The proceeds from these events went towards the World Student Service Fund Overseas Feeding Program to "feed needy students overseas." [19] Reports further indicated that, when possible, the club sometimes used available funds to provide financial assistance to international students in need.[20] In addition, the Tours Committee of the club organized domestic and local informative trips to Milwaukee and Chicago, polling places on election days, and state organizations, including police courts to help familiarize students with their new environment. [21] In partnership with Madison Friends of International Students, the club helped students with transportation, securing permanent housing after they arrived, and provided them with temporary housing until they were able to do so." [22] The club also helped establish the Wisconsin International House in the Summer of 1951 which housed both American and foreign students to demonstrate that "international living" was possible. [23] The house was, however, shut down in 1958 because of poor living conditions. [24] Seeking to use the funds allocated

to them to meet the needs of international students, the International Club started sponsoring a reception center from 1962 until mid-1970. [25]

Largely funded by the Wisconsin Union for the majority of its existence, the club started reporting management issues with the Union in the early 1970s. The club became a non-voting member of the Wisconsin Union Council in December 1970, and despite multiple attempts during the next year, the Union repeatedly rejected their proposal to become a voting member. [26] This, combined with significant restructuring of the Union Directorate in 1972, meant that instead of having a direct say in how the Union allocated their funding, the club was now dependent upon a general "Foreign Interest Area" chairperson to represent and articulate the club's needs to the Directorate. [27]

This increasing lack of power translated to a scarcity of funding during the final years of the club and little control over what programs they could offer. [28] For instance, in a fall 1971 issue of the *Cardinal*, the club critiqued the Union over cuts in funding. [29] The Union increased its budget in December claiming that the cuts were an accident where "someone subtracted when there should have been an addition." [30] However, the problem of funding seemed to have persisted at least until the mid-70s as the Union requested sponsorship and financing of the International Club in The Wisconsin Union quarterly April and May 1975. [31] It is still unclear what circumstances led to the dissolution of the club, but according to a source in the Wisconsin Alumni Magazine, it happened following their supposed involvement in campus protests during the 1970s at UW-Madison. [32]

International Students and the American Empire

According to International Student Services, international students have been a part of UW–Madison since the late 1800s. [33] This "internationality" is an "old tradition" of the university which, akin to many traditions in the US, finds its roots in the country's history of imperialism and colonization. [34] Following the Spanish-American War in 1898, the US advanced its military and economic interests through invasions of "Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, and Guam, eastern Sāmoa, Hawai'i, and the Philippines in the Pacific" as part of its empire-building project.[35] US officials in these territories quickly attempted to engrain American ideologies, notably by establishing social, economic, racial, and political hierarchies within different colonies. This restructuring of societies dramatically reshaped the lived experiences

of local communities in different ways. For instance, in the Philippines, Filipino elites were perceived as "civilized" people by American colonizers, which resulted in them occupying more positions of power and privilege, while exacerbating the oppression that other local communities endured. [36]



International Club members on a club field trip pose for a group shot next to the bus. ca. 1950-1959. UW Archives

The presence of many nonwhite international students at UW–Madison was a product of the US empire-building project. During the early 1900s, the American government sought to demonstrate its (supposed) benevolence and bolster its perceived sense of superiority by assimilating colonized peoples through government-funded higher education in the US. [37] One such "empire-building educational program" was the Pensionado program, which started in 1903 and sent approximately 300 Filipino students to the US for higher education. [38] As people from colonized nations started migrating to the US for higher education and other opportunities, many international students were subjected to alienation and discrimination by Americans who were anxious about maintaining their "racial integrity" and the "corrosion of the national character." [39]

The changing political dynamics in the colonies also affected how international students of color were represented in various social events organized by the UW-Madison International Club. Many social events at the club tended to homogenize and exoticize students of color, which ultimately reinforced "Orientalist" perceptions of international students. Orientalism is a theory in which imperial and colonial nations, the "Occident," construct a misleading and false image of the people they colonize, the "Orient," as "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively" inferior. [40] This label of the "Orient" has historically included communities from Asia and Africa who are lumped under the "East," "Far East," and "Middle East" umbrella, while "Occident" historically includes countries such as the US and Britain. Orientalist narratives making a distinction between the "West" from the "Far" and "Middle" East were pervasive within the club and were a prominent and persistent theme in their social events on campus.

In perpetuating Orientalist and racist stereotypes of Black and brown

international students, the club reflected and was likely influenced by the culture of white supremacy at UW–Madison. [41] The club originated at a time when racism was explicitly condoned by university officials. For instance, in the 1920s, two student organizations at UW-Madison named themselves after the Ku Klux Klan, a white supremacist organization that, since its establishment in 1866, has been actively involved in racially motivated terrorism against Black and indigenous people. The presence of these clubs was not only largely acceptable on campus, but their members occupied multiple leadership roles at UW-Madison, ranging from the student senate, Student Union Board, and *Badger* Yearbook to the *Daily Cardinal* and Memorial Union fund drive committee.[42] The presence of nonwhite students on campus was rarely a welcome sight for many of their white peers, who treated them with hostility. Spaces such as the International Club that allowed for the participation of nonwhite students to some extent still often promoted stereotypical representations of their cultures. And instances like a 1911 *Badger* yearbook's depiction of the International Club with a "racist cartoon of an aboriginal man by a fire" suggests how even the limited inclusion of international students of color in campus life offered by the club was an unwelcome sight for many white.[43]

Differential Inclusion Through Assimilation Into Whiteness

Assimilation Through Exceptionalizing Differences

Organizers of social events by the International Club often relied upon Orientalist narratives to assimilate international students of color within the white middle-class culture of the campus. [44] They did so by portraying these students and their cultures as alien, "out of place," and a site of fascination. In many ways, their sense of belonging on campus was dependent on white people learning oversimplified and stereotypical accounts of their culture and then learning to "tolerate" them. The club's very popular semi-annual National Nights exemplify this. These events featured a particular country or colony aimed to capture "the allure and mystery of the East, the romance of the Latin American countries, and the charm of the European nations." [45] The club claimed that this was to "help transport one to another land" and promote understanding of their "problems, aspirations, viewpoints, and peculiarities." [46] In doing so, the club promoted stereotypical representations of brown communities, whether intentionally or not, in the name of fostering intercultural empathy.



A poster advertising the International Club's Philippine Night, held on Nov. 22, 1940. UW Archives / Dorothy Marion Swenson scrapbook

News reports by the *Daily Cardinal* about the "Cosmopolitan Carnival Party" and the "Cosmopolitan Revue" organized by the club in 1921 further demonstrate the role of these social events in promoting the perception of Black people as exotic. [47] On both occasions, the club depicted hunting animals as characteristic of communities from South Africa. For instance, the Cosmopolitan Revue featured "Lion Hunting in South Africa" which included "weird hunting songs of the blacks." [48] The use of the word "weird" in the reporting further perpetuates negative and exoticized viewpoints of non-Western traditions and customs by presenting them as a deviation from what's considered "normal." This promoted hostility and aversion towards Black people. Even if the club did not choose how the *Cardinal* article framed the various acts, as organizers of the event, it was still responsible for ensuring appropriate reporting. So, either the club favored these inaccurate and racist characterizations of Africa, or they chose to ignore them. Either way, the club remained silent as the *Cardinal* promoted racist ideas about Africans and their members.

The International Club sought to promote mutual understanding between students on campus and educate them about the different cultural practices of white and non-white international students. They aimed to help create the "beautiful world" in which humanity is united and "raises its gaze towards perfection" by seeking to "embody in his personality the richness of the best contributed by the different races." [49] Recognizing the existence of differences between white students and students of color, members of the club were urged to "wear off the rough edges of our natures which make us so provincial or touchy about 'curious mannerisms.'" [50] These quotes illustrated how the club's social events explicitly promoted the perception of the world as being divided into the global north, "Western world," and global south non-Western world. In this worldview, the Occident determines and knows

what is the "best" that can be offered by each race. The excerpt embodies a common element of interwar America: the differences of immigrants were attempted to be subsumed within a "melting pot" ideology. This melting pot aimed to erode the values, cultures, languages, and experiences of different ethnic groups to form a singular American identity. For liberals, this melting pot ideology sought to incorporate immigrants within American society, but on American terms. And for racist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, which had a known presence on UW's campus, their experiences were perceived as a direct threat to American society. Black and brown international students faced a double-edged sword. On one hand, they were considered otherworldly, exotic, and a sight of allurement. Yet, any sense of pride and belonging to their nation was characterized as being "provincial," something they should aim to polish away or overcome for the sake of assimilating into the club. The "perfection" that the club strived for was a white-Anglo identity where racism and xenophobia subsumed pluralism under the guise of unity.

Assimilation Through Containing Differences

One way in which the International Club undermined the differences amongst their members was through its official language policy. Seven years after its establishment, they specified English in their constitution of 1910 as the club's official language. [51] Language is a crucial aspect of identity, and spaces that undermine its value reinforce the idea that belonging is contingent upon one's willingness to assimilate, i.e. speak English only. Standardizing an official language is a political act that serves to homogenize communities by erasing linguistic differences. The English-only policy highlights important questions about the nature of the club: Why was there a need to implement such a policy? How was it enacted? What did its formalization in the club's constitution indicate to students who were multilingual? Why did the club remove the provision from the 1931 constitution? [52]

The club also likely reinforced assimilation during their Friendship Hour events. These were typically an "informal cultural program" held weekly at the Wisconsin Union and open to all students at UW. The events sought to facilitate relationships and mutual understanding amongst international students and their American peers. While it was usually a common get-to-know-each-other type of gathering, many Friendship Hours were organized to discuss particular political topics of contention and/or interest amongst students, which came up during regular friendship because "heated discussions… seemed out of place in

the friendly atmosphere there." [53] Enabling active participation from the audience, these events typically took the form of a live debate or lecture by a professor at the university, followed by a Q&A. For instance, one of their debate forums held in November 1921 considered "Is the question of the limitation of armaments practicable?" [54] Later that month, the club wired a resolution to the "Disarmament conference" in Washington and to Warren G. Harding, the then president of the United States, indicating their support for arm restrictions. They believed that doing so would help them fully realize their motto of "Above all nations is humanity." [55]



Chemistry professor Farrington Daniels speaks on atomic energy at an International Club friendship hour in March 1950. UW Archives

Disregarding their role in perpetuating orientalism and racism, the club sought to create its ideal version of the world. This attitude appears to have shifted a little after the 1950s when they became (more) actively involved in the different anti-colonial and independence movements. Club members organized talks about Apartheid in South Africa and collaborated with the African Union to sponsor a party to celebrate the eve of the independence of Nigeria from British colonial rule. The club helped curate a celebration that featured a lecture about the independence, followed by an "African drum music and dancing by a group from Chicago" floorshow. [56] This awareness surrounding the movement for Nigerian independence, however, did not stop the club from continuing to use racist language to describe some of their social events. At the same time, they tried to address issues of racial injustice, as highlighted in their March 15, 1954, issue of *FOCUS*, the club's newsletter:

American: We are not proud of the practice of discrimination, but we are sure that eventually the problem will solve itself.

Asian: Eventually we are all dead. In the meantime the cancer of racism is "acute and widespread" in the U.S. It is a danger to social progress in America and threatens to "undermine the value of democratic civilization as a force in world affairs"...

American: Aren't you exaggerating?

Asian: No. I am merely quoting Professor Louis Wirth, the chief of the Univ. of Chicago's race relations study. He and his group of scholars hope to find some solution.

Russian: I don't think they will... The American political-economic system is obsolete and incapable of solving its problem. [57]

The excerpt is a reprinted version of a dialogue from the *PMNewspaper*, August 18, 1947, written by Saul K. Padover. It enacts a conversation between an American, Asian, and Russian student about the prevalence of racism in the US. The dialogue foregrounds the typical dismissal of the prevalence of racism by calling it an exaggeration of the problem that will just "solve itself" over time, and so isn't a large enough concern to require proactive efforts on the part of individuals and groups to address it. In a post-script to the dialogue, the International Club stated that they were "doing its share" to "solve the problem of race prejudice," and prompted the reader to question their steps to address racism "individually or as an organization." Simultaneously, the club emphasized their purpose for reprinting was to prompt these questions, and not because they supported the characters or their arguments. This refusal to "take a side" created distance between themselves and both the people perpetuating racism as well as communities who are actively harmed by it. This showed a lack of reflection by the club on the ways the organization perpetuated issues of race and racism. Racism is framed as something that people should be talking about, but whether the readers should be taking any actions to address it was rendered a matter of debate.

Racialized Communities of Conditional Belonging

Although it was not the sole organization for international students on campus, the social events organized by the International Club drew significant attention, receiving first-page coverage in the *Daily Cardinal* in many instances. In addition, the participation of international students was not just limited to the university. The club maintained relationships with communities and organizations outside of campus, which provided its members with multiple outreach opportunities. For instance, the club's Speakers Bureau committee maintained a list of international students interested in speaking about and representing their country who could be "booked for speeches to American audiences in and around Madison" when requested. [58] In many ways, the club served as a visible marker of the presence of international students at the university and as active members of the community.

Visibility, however, is a double-edged sword for racialized peoples. An offer of invitation does not always translate to inclusion and belonging. A notable example of this was the "International Week-end" event in March 1929 which was organized by the local YMCA and YWCA.

International students in the club were falsely charged with being "too aggressive in their attitude of obtaining campus recognition" by using the slogan "Get that Cosmopolitan Feeling" even though the club merely co-operated with the event directors and had no say in the creation of the slogan. [59] It is telling that Manuel Escarrilla, the then-president of the International Club, had to respond by emphasizing that students of color (referred to as students from the "Far East" in a *Daily Cardinal* article about the controversy) only participate in events in which they are invited, and do not just force their presence in any social events of the university. [60]

Simultaneously, the social spaces created by the club were likely quite far from perfect for international students. It is likely that the unchecked power dynamics of the club affected what forms of political expression were allowed, who was silenced, and who was allowed to dominate. The administrative policies and design of the social events indicated the dominant role that racialized prejudices played in the club. This could have been partly because in being dependent upon the Wisconsin Union and other external sources such as the YMCA for funding, these organizations were influencing the decision-making in the club. The leadership of both organizations included members from the student clubs on campus in the 1920s named after the KKK. The *Cardinal* also reported on how the Wisconsin Union exercised its executive power to hinder international students' fight for "self-determination and meaningful programs" by vetoing certain proposals put forth by the International Club. [61] Moreover, it is also likely that allowing the participation of American-born students further privileged white people's stereotypical perceptions of communities of color in the club. That said, it is still unclear to what extent this policy enabled the participation of Black and brown Americans, and Indigenous students, including students of color from Pacific Island nations.

The International Club at UW Madison is not just a relic of the past. It is a part of the university's historical exclusion of Black and brown people. Their presence is authorized, even celebrated, only to the extent that it does not really disrupt or even threaten white supremacy. A desire to promote justice and peace amongst all people led 16 international students to establish the International Club in 1903, "irrespective of race." [62] Yet, time and time again, they failed to realize how racism prevented the realization of that goal, even just within the organization, because of their unwillingness to deal with its prevalence and centrality in the very foundation of the US. They drew attention to many political issues of their time through various programs like the debate forums, but because of their ignorance or callousness, these events ended up

being quite problematic. The club's existence finally became a problem for the university as well in the late 60s and early 70s when the broader student movements throughout the world pushed the club to start encouraging conversations in racial justice and anti-colonial policies.

This period was rife with student protests and activism across US campuses in resistance to violence funded or initiated by the US government. As the university's official representative of foreign students on campus, the International Club responded to the moment by deciding to take a "moderate approach" to geopolitical issues. [63] This refusal to "take a side" and remain "apolitical" as such significantly shaped the contradictions in the club which, while claiming to represent all international students, disregarded the fact that for many of these students, their ability to survive was a political issue itself.

Universities as institutions often suppress resistance, and intimidating international students has recently been a favorite tool in their arsenal. It shows how easily and willingly the university can and will cause irreparable harm to dissenters who are more at risk of police violence and deportation if the protest continues. International students of color are already aware of this risk of being deported in resisting the university and showing their solidarity with other oppressed communities within and outside of the US. This threat is much more heightened in the current political climate because of the new social media screening policies which require visa applicants to list every single one of their social media accounts used in the past five years and make them "public" for review. Subject to constant surveillance within and outside the US, international students know all too well that even speaking out against carpet bombing of a people on one's private social media account can end up being your one-way ticket out of the US or prevent you from being able to enter the country in the first place. After all, they've witnessed it happen over and over again.

What would a present-day community of international students mean in the face of these very real risks? What would it mean to show up for each other and for other marginalized people when UW Immigration and Customs Enforcement is at your doorstep or your neighbor's doorstep? What do we do when they detain one of us for posting or liking something on social media? Can we be empowered to find each other, build coalitions while remaining mindful of our differences, and take action to sustain our broader communities? Or do we just (continue to) keep our heads down and "mind our own business" if ICE stops one of us? Is a community of international students even possible, or an unrealizable and hollow concept given our varied perceptions of what is at stake for each of us?

---

[1] N.A., "International Club." September 1950. International Club of the University of Wisconsin. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[2] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 16

[3] N.A., "International Club." September 1950. International Club of the University of Wisconsin. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[4] N.A., "Board or Room," *The Daily Cardinal*, February 10, 1925, UW Digital Collections.

[5] On p. 8 of the "50 Years of World Fellowship" booklet (1953), it says 16 foreign and two American students. But on p.7 of the "A Guide To International Fellowship" (1947), and booklet from September, 1950, it only mentions 16 students.

[6] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 8

[7] N.A., "International Club Wisconsin Union." 1941. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[8] Nestingen, Donald, *University of Wisconsin International Club: A Guide To International Fellowship.* (University of Wisconsin, 1947), page 5; N.A., "International Club Wisconsin Union." 1941. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[9] N.A., "International Club Wisconsin Union." 1941. In *International*

Club Collection, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[10] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 8

[11] Ibid., page 5, 6

[12] Ibid., page 18

[13] Ibid., page 18, 19

[14] Ibid., page 18

[15] Padover, Saul K. quoted in "Brotherhood, The Year Round." *Focus*, Vol III, no. 3, March 1954. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024; N.A., "AW. C'MON.," *The Daily Cardinal*, Nov 15, 1960, UW Digital Collections.

[16] In *International Club Collection*, "International Club Photographs, Group Photographs 1945-1951," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on February 2, 2025.

[17] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 10

[18] Ibid., page 14

[19] N.A., "International Club." September 1950. International Club of the University of Wisconsin. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[20] N.A., "Club House Fund Loaned to Needy Foreign Students," *The Daily Cardinal*, October 4, 1921, UW Digital Collections.

[21] Nestingen, Donald, *University of Wisconsin International Club: A Guide To International Fellowship.* (University of Wisconsin, 1947). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 9.

[22] N.A., “An Invitation To The New Foreign Students.” 1963. In *International Club Collection*, “International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963,” Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[23] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, “International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963,” Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 20.

[24] Betty Willoughby, “Letter to Dean James H. Herriott,” April 14, 1958. In *International House records, 1951-1958*, Series 19/2/6/13, Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 16, 2024.

[25] Walter Ezell, “International Club Expanding in Scope,” *The Daily Cardinal*, July 10, 1970, UW Digital Collections.

[26] Daniel Schwartz, “Union Structure: Hard Barrier to Move,” *The Daily Cardinal*, December 16, 1970, UW Digital Collections; Diane Carman, “Union denies a vote to International Club,” *The Daily Cardinal*, November 12, 1971, UW Digital Collections.

[27] Sandra Ozols, “Internat’l Club Victim of Union Council,” *The Daily Cardinal*, October 24, 1972, UW Digital Collections.

[28] Susan Moseley, “Campus Life is Frustrating, Isolated for Students,” *The Daily Cardinal*, November 11, 1970, UW Digital Collections; ” N.A., “Plight of Foreign Students,” *The Daily Cardinal*, November 17, 1970, UW Digital Collections.

[29] David Weisbrod, “In a World by Themselves,” *The Daily Cardinal*, Fall Registration, 1971, UW Digital Collections.

[30] N.A., “International Club Gets More Money,” *The Daily Cardinal*, December 2, 1971, UW Digital Collections.

[31] The Wisconsin Union Quarterly, April-May, 1975, UW Digital Collections

[32] Wisconsin Alumnus, Volume 86, Number 2, 1985, 7, UW Digital Collections

[33] International Student Services. n.d. “The History Of ISS.” Accessed December 12, 2024. https://iss.wisc.edu/about/the-history-of-iss/

[34] N.A., “An Invitation to the New Foreign Students.” 1963. In *International Club Collection*, “International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963,” Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.

[35] Camacho, Keith L., and Setsu Shigematsu, eds. 2010. *Militarized*

Currents: Toward a Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific. University of Minnesota Press, page xx

[36] Kramer, Paul A. 2006. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. University of North Carolina Press.

[37] Ibid., page 177, 296

[38] Ibid., page 178

[39] Ibid., 101; Stratton, Clif. 2016. *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship*. University of California press, page 101

[40] Said, Edward W. 1995. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. Reprinted with a new afterword. Penguin History. Penguin Books, page 3

[41] Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History (CCH). n.d. "Student Life." Sifting and Reckoning. Accessed October 11, 2025. https://reckoning.wisc.edu/student-life/.

[42] Ad-Hoc Study Group. 2018. *Report to the Chancellor on the Ku Klux Klan at the University of Wisconsin-Madison*. https://news.wisc.edu/content/uploads/2018/04/Study-Group-final-for-print-April-18.pdf.

[43] Badger Yearbook, 1911, page 422

[44] N.A., "Board or Room," *The Daily Cardinal*, February 10, 1925, UW Digital Collections.

[45] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 16

[46] Ibid., 6; Nestingen, Donald, *University of Wisconsin International Club: A Guide To International Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1947). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 11.

[47] N.A., "Boor Hunt Feature of Novel Carnival," *The Daily Cardinal*, April 27, 1921, UW Digital Collections; N.A., "Ten Nations To Be Depicted In Club's 'Revue'," *The Daily Cardinal*, July 29, 1921, UW Digital Collections.

[48] N.A., "Ten Nations to be Depicted in Club's 'Revue'," *The Daily Cardinal*, July 29, 1921, UW Digital Collections.

[49] N.A., "Foreign Students Meet Tomorrow," *The Daily Cardinal*, October 25, 1928, UW Digital Collections.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 19.

[52 Ibid., page 19

[53] Ibid., page 15

[54] Ibid., page 15

[55] N.A., "International Club Wires Resolution to Arms Parley," *The Daily Cardinal*, November 12, 1921, UW Digital Collections.

[56] N.A., "Nigerian Freedom to be Heralded in Union Tonight," *The Daily Cardina*l, September 30, 1960, UW Digital Collections.

[57] Padover, Saul K. quoted in "Brotherhood, The Year Round." *Focus*, Vol III, no. 3, March 1954. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 4

[58] Kent, Howard, *International Club of the University of Wisconsin: 50 Years of World Fellowship*. (University of Wisconsin, 1953). In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024, page 16

[59] N.A., "Foreign Student Denies Charges," *The Daily Cardinal*, March 29, 1929, UW Digital Collections.

[60] Ibid.

[61] N.A., "Plight of Foreign Students," *The Daily Cardinal*, November 17, 1970, UW Digital Collections.

[62] N.A., "International Club Wisconsin Union." 1941. In *International Club Collection*, "International Club publications, programs, and correspondence 1908-1963," Box 1, Accessed at the University of Wisconsin–Madison Archives, Steenbock Library, on October 2, 2024.
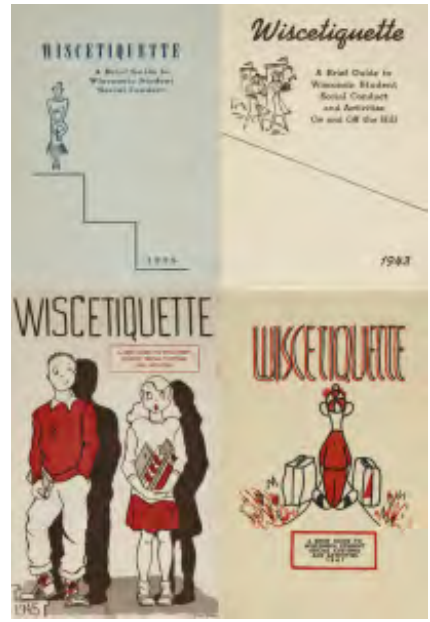
[63] Walter Ezell, "International Club Expanding in Scope," *The Daily Cardinal*, July 10, 1970, UW Digital Collections.

Wiscetiquette: A Women's Guide to UW-Madison By Arielle Raymos

Originally Posted on March 19, 2026. To download or print this chapter, click here.

The research in this publication was completed as a part of the University of Wisconsin–Madison's Rebecca M. Blank Center for Campus History. The Center seeks to expand and enrich UW–Madison's historical narrative by centering the voices, experiences, and struggles of marginalized groups. The Center grew out of the Public History Project which culminated in the Sifting & Reckoning *physical and digital exhibition in the fall of 2022, curricular tools, an event and lecture series, and a final report. By sharing research, we hope to continue conversations about the history of UW–Madison and discuss how we can all work towards building a more equitable campus community. The nature of historical research is that it will always be incomplete. It is impossible for us to know everything that happened in the past. Therefore, the research in this post is imperfect, as all history is. Our researchers have completed the research below with all of the historical documents available to them at the time of publication.*

"Emily Post, the girls felt, was all right in her place, but her place was quite evidently not a roadhouse bar or the Picnic Point road." [1]



Various Wiscetiquette covers, showcasing the distinctive, line-drawn art style. UW Archives

At a time when women on UW–Madison's campus lived under strict rules about dress, behavior, and curfews, (a nighttime curfew for women students was not lifted until 1970) [2] a fascinating "etiquette" handbook was born. Conceived, written, edited, and published by women students at UW–Madison from approximately 1936-1960, *Wiscetiquette* contained a wealth of inside information on academics, social life, and traditions on campus. As the subtitles of each edition indicate, *Wiscetiquette* offered: "the hows and whys of student social life" (1936); "a pipe course in Wisconsin student social conduct" (1938); "a brief brief on etiquette" (1947).

More than just an etiquette book, *Wiscetiquette* serves as a primer for issues important to women on campus in the midcentury. The booklet is also part of a larger history of women students at UW–Madison. The women students who spearheaded this project sensed a gap in preparatory materials for incoming freshmen and sought to fill it. They were preceded by a tumultuous time for the general population of college students as well as the broader American public, and those larger events impacted the relations between men and women students at UW–Madison.

Octy Origins

Wiscetiquette began in May 1936 as a feature in the campus humor magazine, the *Octopus* (affectionally known as the "*Octy*"). This special issue of the *Octy,* the "Co-Ed Number," was created entirely by women students: the main editor, editorial board and staff, business board and staff listed were all women. [3] In the preceding issue, editor Charles L. Fleming previewed the "Co-Ed Number," teasing "the long-awaited WSGA etiquette book, which will tell you when to send flowers (if you're a guy) and when to tip the date off that you do not want to park on Observatory (if you're guy or gal) and many other vital point". [4] The editor also noted the "Co-Ed Number" would be "what we expect to be the best *Octy* in years". [5] The "Co-Ed Number" highlighted women's issues on campus, led by editor Catherine Ann Kelley, the *Daily Cardinal*'s society editor and University Theater lead actress; Carolyn McKay, a writer for the *Octopus* and candidate for Badger Beauty; and Helen Savage, who supervised "WSGA's version of Emily Post brought up to date." [6]



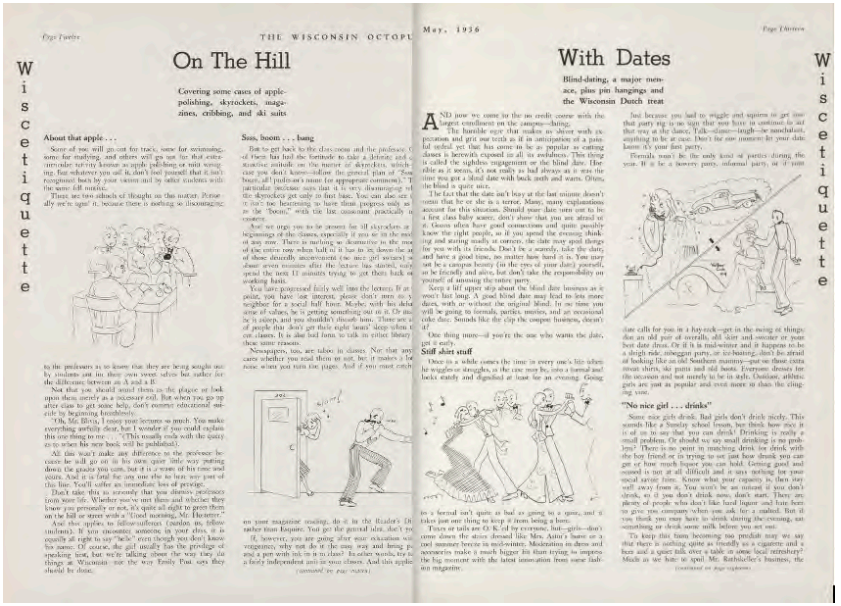
The cover of the April 1963 Octy introducing the all-women staff for the next month's "Co-ed Number". UW Archives

Fleming, the regular male editor introduced "Wiscetiquette" in the May 1936 issue with a wry column subtitled "in which the editor leans back and watches women work"[7]:

> "I was talking with Helen Savage, the other day, about this *Wiscetiquette*, which is in the magazine someplace. She told me all about it — where the idea came from, who's been working on it, what it's all about.
>
> It seems that the Women's Affairs committee has long wanted to publish an etiquette booklet which would be informal enough to be read and still tell how things are done here at Wisconsin. Emily Post, the girls felt, was all right in her place, but her place was quite evidently not a roadhouse bar or the Picnic Point road.

> *Octy* welcomed the idea with open arms, and *Wiscetiquette* is in this month's magazine. The type and pictures will be lifted out and reprinted in booklet form, about the size of *Reader's Digest*, for publication next fall. Helen Savage has been chairman, working under LaVergne Cooke's WAC, which is under Carol Wagner's WSGA, which gets complicated as hell all of a sudden. With Helen have labored Ruth Lynott, Marge Jacobson, Betty Steffen, and Paul Godfrey. Ruth Ricker did the drawings, and we all think they're pretty darn cute, in spite of the impossible jackets she draws on the men. We like the whole idea, and we who inhabit this squirrel-house known as The Brown Study all intend to quote it on every possible occasion.
>
> We have also learned to tip our hats to ladies and WSGA officers."[8]

Both the informal tone and the portable, *Reader's Digest*-sized format made *Wiscetiquette* unique amongst student guides and handbooks. Additionally, the all-female production team gave the content, as Fleming described it, a "feminine angle on the campus as we could never do it". [9] The "we" Fleming refers to was undoubtedly male students — who occupied most of the highest editorial positions in campus publications as well as representing a larger portion of the UW student body than women. Whether conscious, subconscious, or tongue-in-cheek, Fleming acknowledged that the perspective of male students — the default for campus publications — was not representative of the entire student body; for that, UW needed the "feminine angle". [10]



Page Twelve THE WISCONSIN OCTOPUS May, 1936 Page Thirteen

Wisc etiquette

On The Hill

Covering some cases of apple-polishing, skyrockets, magazines, cribbing, and ski suits

About that apple . . .

Some of you will go out for track, some for swimming, some for marbles, and others will go out for that extra-curricular activity known as apple polishing or mid-semesting. But whatever you call it, don't feel yourself that it isn't recognized here by your cronies and by other students with the same felt motive.

There are two schools of thought on this matter. Personally we're right in between there is nothing so discouraging as the "boosts," with the like consonant practically in essence.

And we urge you to be present for all skyrockets at beginnings of the classes, especially if you sit in the rear of any row. There is nothing so destructive to the rest of the entire row when half of it has its ire down the air of those directly in front (no nice girl swears) is about seven minutes after the lecture has started, and spend the next 15 minutes trying to get them back on working basis.

You have progressed fairly well into the lecture. If at point, you have lost interest, please don't turn to your neighbor for a social half hour. Maybe, with his delicate sense of values, he's getting something out of it. Or maybe he is asleep, and you shouldn't disturb him. There are a lot of people that don't get their eight hours' sleep when they can classes. It is also bad form to talk in either library those same reasons.

Newspapers, too, are taboo in classes. Not that anyone cares whether you read them or not, but it matters a lot to some when you turn the pages. And if you must catch up on your magazine reading, do it in the Reader's Digest rather than Esquire. You get the general idea, don't you?

If, however, you are going after some education with a vengeance, why not do it the easy way and bring pop and a pen with ink in it to class? In other words, try to be a fairly independent unit in your classes. And this applies

(continued on page eleven)

With Dates

Blind-dating, a major menace, plus pin hangings and the Wisconsin Dutch treat

And because you had to wiggle and squirm to get your date party rig to see him that you have to continue to act that way at the dance. Talk—dance—laugh—be nonchalant, anything to be at ease. Don't be too insistent for your date. Leave it's your first party.

Formals won't be the only kind of parties during the year. If it be a brawny party, informal party, or if your date calls for you in a hay-rack—get in the swing of things. But are old pair of overalls, old skirt and sweater or your best date dress. Or if it is mid-winter and it happens to be a sleigh ride, stag-get party, or ice-boating—don't be afraid of looking like an old Southern mammy—put on those extra sweat shirts, ski pants and old boots. Everyone dresses for the occasion and not merely to be in style. Outdoor, athletic girls are just as popular and even more so than the cling-ing vine.

"No nice girl . . . drinks"

Some nice girls drink. Bad girls don't drink nicely. This sounds like a Sunday school lesson, but think how nice it is of us to say that you can drink! Drinking is really a small problem. Or should we say small drinking is no problem? There is no point in munching drink for drink with the boy friend or in trying to see just how drunk you can get or how much liquor you can hold. Getting good and soused is not at all difficult and it says nothing for your social savoir faire. Know what your capacity is, then stay well away from it. You won't be as relaxed if you don't drink, so if you don't drink now, don't start. There are plenty of people who don't like hard liquor and hate them to give you company when you ask for a cocktail. But if you think you must have to drink during the evening, ask something or drink some milk before you set out.

To keep this from becoming too prudish may we say that there is nothing quite as friendly as a cigarette and a beer and a quiet talk over a table in some local rathskeller? Made as we have to spoil Mr. Barbicheir's business, the

(continued on page eighteen)

Wisc etiquette

Stiff shirt stuff

Once in a while comes the time in every one's life when he wiggles or struggles, as the case may be, into a formal and looks stately and dignified at least for an evening. Going to a formal isn't quite as bad as going to a game, and it takes just one thing to keep it from being a bore.

Ties or tails are O. K. of by everyone, but—girls—don't come down the stairs dressed like Mrs. Astor's horse in a cool summer breeze in mid-winter. Moderation in dress and accessories make a much bigger hit than trying to impress the big moment with the latest innovation from some fashion magazine.

An interior spread from the "Co-Ed Number" edition of the Octy, May 1936. UW Archives

Initially, *Wiscetiquette*'s layout was notably bare bones. Line drawings were one color without shading or much detail. By the mid-1940s, red ink was introduced—a color combo that complements UW–Madison's official colors nicely — and the drawings and cover art became more detailed, adding shading and dimension. Finally, in the mid 1950s-1960 as *Wiscetiquette* began to resemble university produced student handbooks with glossy photos of the chancellors, deans, and other administrative figures, as well as professional photos of the campus and notable landmarks. [11]

While *Wiscetiquette* offered advice to both women students and male students, the attention given to the perspective of women students is striking. The subject of "co-eds," as women students were commonly known, had been a popular topic of discussion on campus since women were first allowed to enroll alongside male students in 1871, (although UW-Madison had gender-segregated colleges and courses since 1863.) [12] In order to understand the need women students had for a publication of their own — both to communicate social preferences and habits to other women, but also to communicate these things to men students — we must understand the general ratio of men to women on campus throughout UW-Madison's history.

The number of women students on campus, while not documented officially at the time of *Wiscetiquette*'s publication, was a hot topic

amongst students. It set the tone of the campus dating scene. The "ratio" was a popular term, referring to the ratio of men versus women on campus in any given year; the ratio was discussed most often during and post-World War I and II, as the dearth of male students led to a higher number of women students. The 1948 *Badger* yearbook, in a list of significant moments throughout the senior class of 1948's time at UW–Madison, reminisces on the "surplus women, three to one…" [13] in 1944, the year the class of '48 entered as freshmen (also the middle of America's direct involvement in WWII). A line in an *Octopus* story one year after WWII described this when they quipped, "with the ratio being what it is on the campus, dating is always a rather hectic business." [14] Three years later, the 1948 *Badger* yearbook laments that there was "1-3 of a girl now for every guy…" [15]

While there are no statistics on the number of women students at UW–Madison in these years, looking at the senior classes in the *Badger* yearbooks throughout a selection of years offers a rough estimate of the population of women on campus. Obviously, these statistics are not representative of the student population as a whole — class makeups could change significantly from freshmen to senior year, but as all the *Badger* yearbooks are readily available, with names and photos for every senior class, these statistics help us envision the percent of women at UW–Madison for a given year. Of note are 1923 and 1936 — the first due to the creation of a student organization decrying the number of women on campus, and the latter being the first year *Wiscetiquette* was published.

Additionally, the years chosen here take into account these major events that impacted student populations: Civil War (1861-1865); World War I (1914-1918); 19th Amendment (ratified August 18, 1920); World War II (1939-1945).



The percentage of women students at UW-Madison, 1863-1948.

In 1923, discussions over women's presence on campus reached a fever point. The *Daily Cardinal* documents an uproar over a newly proposed student organization: the "Society for the Welfare of Male Students." The headline — published on Valentine's Day — reads, "MEN'S WELFARE BODY STIRS IRE OF MANY CO-EDS: Indignance Expressed in Interviews." [16]The *Cardinal* alternatively refers to the organization as the "Anti-Coed Marrying Society"; the "co-ed haters club"; and the "Protective Society against Co-ed Wives." [17] One woman student opined: "Don't you think that male

students make as poor husbands as women students make wives…We will have to put up with the men; why shouldn't they be expected to do the same?" [18]

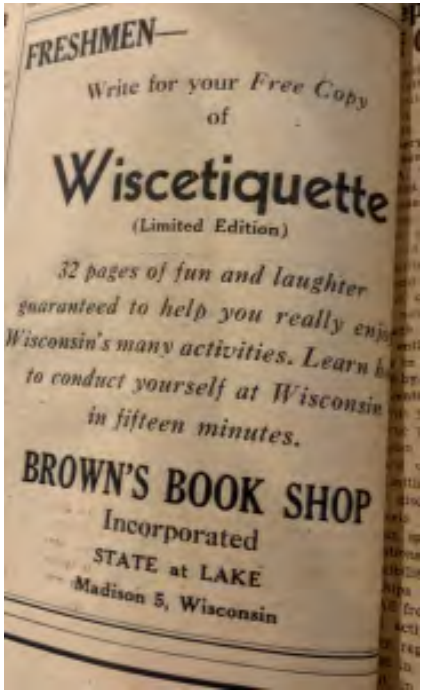
The *Cardinal*'s initial article sparked such outrage that a piece published two days later meticulously outlined the difficulties that female students faced at UW–Madison, mainly when it came to renting rooms from private landladies around campus. They wrote that "the landladies concerned know that women students cannot be as independent as are men and take advantage of the fact." [19] They conclude the piece by pointing out that "the co-eds have reason for some of their critical and 'queer' tendencies and characteristics," and that they ultimately "deserve more sympathy than criticism." [20] Addressing the Society for Men's Welfare directly, they suggest that "the activity of the new formed co-ed haters club might well be directed toward removing some of the injustices which co-eds face rather than criticizing them unheard." [21] Interestingly, one of the *Cardinal*'s headlines for this issue was, "CO-EDS DEBATE FORENSIC TITLE AND WIN DEBATE," in which the question was "Which of the sex is superior?" [22]

This discussion continued into the next month with a letter to the editor written by a "Nebraska Co-ed" enumerating the many challenges women students faced on and off campus that men did not. In a "Student Forum" section titled "HE-MAN SKEPTICISM," [23] the "Nebraska Co-ed" sarcastically lambasted the organization, beginning by exclaiming, "What an infinite relief such an action must be for the fair femininity at Wisconsin!" She concludes that "…methinks that when the balmy days of May cast their bright skies over our heads and the Wisconsin campus, the usual number of masculine fraternity pins will be peacefully resting over the palpitating hearts of the denounced and repulsed co-eds." [24]

Three years prior to the formation of the Society for Men's Welfare, the 19th Amendment to the US Constitution was ratified, giving white women the right to vote. [25] Thus, we might imagine that the men on campus were still harboring resentment towards the increased presence of women in politics as well as on campus, as there was a significant spike from 1919 to 1920 from *55%* to 68% women students in the graduating class. Undoubtedly, WWI also played a large role in the increase in women on campus. While the numbers evened out by 1923, we can see the lasting impact of these events on the number of women students, as the percentages on average increase from previous years.

This environment — one with a consistent rise in the population of women on campus paired with male backlash to their increased presence — prefaced the creation of *Wiscetiquette* in 1936. The Society for Men's Welfare preceded the first issue by a little over 10 years. While

the female students reacting to the "Society" in the *Cardinal* highlighted the lack of discussion surrounding the challenges women faced on campus, a decade later, *Wiscetiquette* still saw that dearth and created a sort of answer to this incident by prioritizing women's voices and perspectives.



A 1948 ad in the Daily Cardinal for Wiscetiquette. UW Archives

The WSGA felt a pressing need for a casual, but informative, handbook that told students about campus social etiquette and provided dating and relationship advice. Students were not getting that information from university distributed student handbooks. And a possible side effect of disseminating this advice may have been to ease tensions between men and women students by facilitating more positive interactions between them.

With a better idea of the market that *Wiscetiquette* served — debuting in 1936, when women made up 48% of the senior class and ending in 1960, when women made up 39% of the senior class— we can explore what subjects women students were interested in reading about in preparation for the school year.

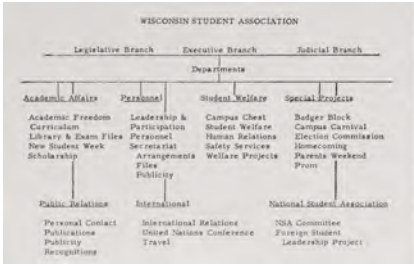
Wiscetiquette's content reflects the WSGA's desire to create a casual yet informative etiquette handbook for the campus community, with an eye towards the "co-ed" perspective and experience on campus. WSGA partnered with the Wisconsin Union's Women's Affairs Committee and *Wiscetiquette* was printed by Brown's Book Shop on State Street at Lake Street: practically on-campus but *not* produced by the university directly. The various subtitles over the years indicate its priorities: to introduce freshmen to the social life of campus, in a short, easily digestible form.

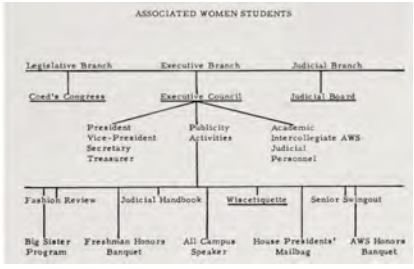
What more could a new student want: a free book, available at a popular bookstore near campus, that tells you what's going on around campus, *and* how to avoid embarrassing fashion and social faux pas,

in just 15 minutes?! Nervous freshmen in colleges around the country would likely jump at the chance to purchase a booklet of this type, let alone pick it up for free while grabbing their books for the semester. The formats that *Wiscetiquette* used to communicate all these crucial pieces of advice in their publication varied. Much like today's students are likely to be wary of reading excessively — especially outside of a class — the ladies in charge of *Wiscetiquette* knew that they had to convey quite a bit of information in a brief, interesting way, so that students would actually read their publication.

An important element within *Wiscetiquette* was the many charts and diagrams that covered a number of issues from student government to Union committees, to a dress calendar (for women and men!), and, of course, sports schedules. The academic calendar, however, was left to the university-issued student handbook.

Student government at UW–Madison is complex, and new students practically need a map to figure out the ins and outs — especially if they want to participate in any of the boards, councils, and/or elected positions. Luckily for those students politically inclined, *Wiscetiquette* included a branch chart outlining the Wisconsin Student Association and the Wisconsin Memorial Union, as well as detailed descriptions following the chart. The pride that Badgers take in the unique form of student government at UW–Madison is obvious in the detail put into explaining the different organizations and branches to incoming freshmen — it encouraged the newcomers to jump right in and get involved.





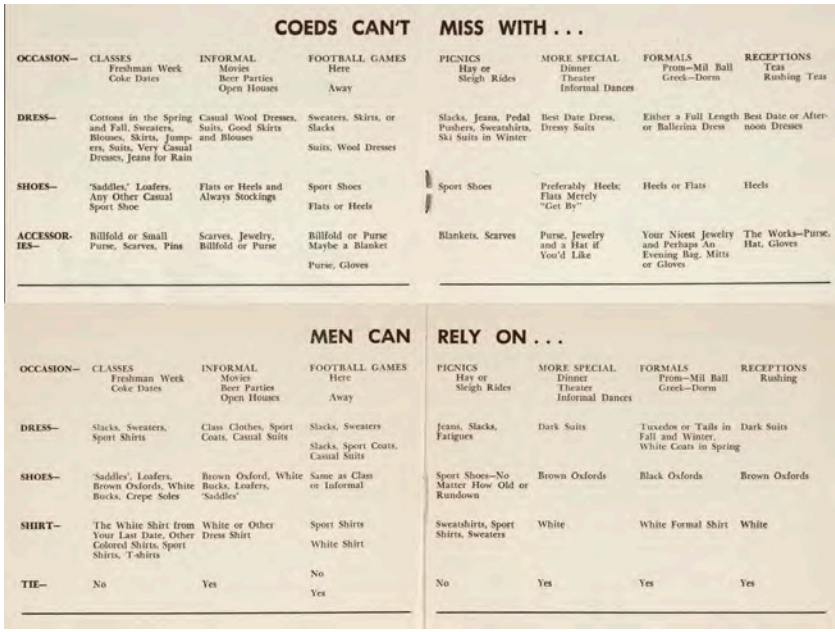
Wisconsin Student Association and Associated Women Students charts from Wiscetiquette in 1959. UW Archives

Additionally, as *Wiscetiquette* was the brainchild of Associated Women Students (AWS),[26] they also provided an overview of their organization — including the executive, legislative, and judicial branches, a chart of their structure, an event list, and a form for women students to sign up for the AWS "Big Sister" program.

Perhaps most important for aspiring socialite Badgers, along with

event calendars and sports schedules, some issues of *Wiscetiquette* included dress charts for the school year — one for men and one for women. Additionally, each chart was accompanied by tips and suggestions for men and women regarding dress and style. These charts pair well with *Wiscetiquette*'s sections on dating and socializing at UW–Madison.

Overall, the charts encouraged students to get involved both in the social scene at UW–Madison as well as the student political scene. Easy to understand charts covered both committees and clothes. This dichotomy defined the interesting balance of *Wiscetiquette*: well-rounded academic advice paired with frank observations and information on social trends on campus.



COEDS CAN'T MISS WITH . . .

OCCASION—	CLASSES Freshman Week Coke Dates	INFORMAL Movies Beer Parties Open Houses	FOOTBALL GAMES Here Away	PICNICS Hay or Sleigh Rides	MORE SPECIAL Dinner Theater Informal Dances	FORMALS Prom—Mil Ball Greek—Dorm	RECEPTIONS Teas Rushing Teas
DRESS—	Cottons in the Spring and Fall, Sweaters, Blouses, Skirts, Jumpers, Suits, Very Casual Dresses, Jeans for Rain	Casual Wool Dresses, Suits, Good Skirts and Blouses	Sweaters, Skirts, or Slacks Suits, Wool Dresses	Slacks, Jeans, Pedal Pushers, Sweatshirts, Ski Suits in Winter	Best Date Dress, Dressy Suits	Either a Full Length or Ballerina Dress	Best Date or Afternoon Dresses
SHOES—	'Saddles,' Loafers, Any Other Casual Sport Shoe	Flats or Heels and Always Stockings	Sport Shoes Flats or Heels	Sport Shoes	Preferably Heels; Flats Merely "Get By"	Heels or Flats	Heels
ACCESSORIES—	Billfold or Small Purse, Scarves, Pins	Scarves, Jewelry, Billfold or Purse	Billfold or Purse Maybe a Blanket Purse, Gloves	Blankets, Scarves	Purse, Jewelry and a Hat if You'd Like	Your Nicest Jewelry and Perhaps An Evening Bag, Mitts or Gloves	The Works—Purse, Hat, Gloves

MEN CAN RELY ON . . .

OCCASION—	CLASSES Freshman Week Coke Dates	INFORMAL Movies Beer Parties Open Houses	FOOTBALL GAMES Here Away	PICNICS Hay or Sleigh Rides	MORE SPECIAL Dinner Theater Informal Dances	FORMALS Prom—Mil Ball Greek—Dorm	RECEPTIONS Rushing
DRESS—	Slacks, Sweaters, Sport Shirts	Class Clothes, Sport Coats, Casual Suits	Slacks, Sweaters Slacks, Sport Coats, Casual Suits	Jeans, Slacks, Fatigues	Dark Suits	Tuxedos or Tails in Fall and Winter, White Coats in Spring	Dark Suits
SHOES—	'Saddles', Loafers, Brown Oxfords, White Bucks, Crepe Soles	Brown Oxford, White Bucks, Loafers, 'Saddles'	Same as Class or Informal	Sport Shoes—No Matter How Old or Rundown	Brown Oxfords	Black Oxfords	Brown Oxfords
SHIRT—	The White Shirt from Your Last Date, Other Colored Shirts, Sport Shirts, T-shirts	White or Other Dress Shirt	Sport Shirts White Shirt	Sweatshirts, Sport Shirts, Sweaters	White	White Formal Shirt	White
TIE—	No	Yes	No Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

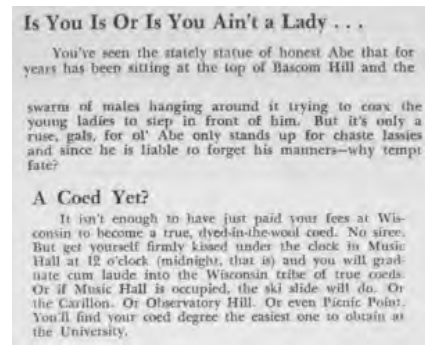
A dress chart for women and men students in the 1952 Wiscetiquette edition. UW Archives.

Wiscetiquette was well-known around campus as a repository of campus traditions. In an issue of the *Octy* in 1949, Jack Stillman writes that "another tradition, according to a 1908 *Wiscetiquette* which was found when they cleaned out the W.S.G.A. office recently, allows any member of the sophomore class to spit in the eye of a freshman at high noon on Columbus day."[27] While Stillman was obviously joking — it was a piece in the *Octy* — the mention of *Wiscetiquette* in an article discussing some of the "great number of hoary old traditions and institutions"[28]

establishes *Wiscetiquette* both as a tradition and an institution on campus.[29]

Most issues of *Wiscetiquette* included a list of campus traditions, or as the 1952 edition lists, popular "events" on campus (which sometimes double as traditions). This section is a great way to track the consistency of traditions over the years. While some are clearly lesser-known activities that students attempted to codify as traditions, the lists share several of the same heavy hitters throughout *Wiscetiquette*'s run from 1936-1960. Two traditions specifically related to women's behavior stuck around throughout the decades. One was related to the Abraham Lincoln statue at the top of Bascom Hill: as the legend goes, when a co-ed walked in front of the statue, Abe would stand if she was a "lady". As bronze statues are not generally known to move on their own, women students were cautioned to avoid walking in front of him at all if they did not want to risk their reputations. While it was never said explicitly in *Wiscetiquette*, the clear implication was that a "lady" was a virgin. That one of the university's longest running traditions revolved around women's sexuality is no coincidence: women students were upheld to strict standards regarding their behavior, dress, and socialization on and off campus, with this "tradition" being one of the more informal (and arbitrary) ways of policing women's sexuality on campus.

The second longstanding tradition purported to be the definitive marker of what maked a woman student a "real" co-ed at UW–Madison. The answer? Being kissed under the clock at Music Hall at midnight. ...or Observatory Hill, or Picnic Point—basically, any landmark on campus.



Is You Is Or Is You Ain't a Lady . . .

You've seen the stately statue of honest Abe that for years has been sitting at the top of Bascom Hill and the swarm of males hanging around it trying to coax the young ladies to step in front of him. But it's only a ruse, gals, for ol' Abe only stands up for chaste lassies and since he is liable to forget his manners—why tempt fate?

A Coed Yet?

It isn't enough to have just paid your fees at Wisconsin to become a true, dyed-in-the-wool coed. No siree. But get yourself firmly kissed under the clock in Music Hall at 12 o'clock (midnight, that is) and you will graduate cum laude into the Wisconsin tribe of true coeds. Or if Music Hall is occupied, the ski slide will do. Or the Carillon. Or Observatory Hill. Or even Picnic Point. You'll find your coed degree the easiest one to obtain at the University.

Two sections from Wiscetiquette detailing two persistent campus traditions. UW Archives

Despite not being on campus until 1863, two of the longest-lasting traditions involve women students. Those traditions revolve around definitions of femininity: was she a "lady?" Was she a "real co-ed?" Exploring the deeper meaning of these two traditions fits within the larger history of women's presence at UW–Madison: existing as college students was not enough; being tolerated on campus was contingent upon proving they conformed to certain idealized conceptions of "real" ladies or "real" co-eds.

As *Wiscetiquette* became increasingly filled out with university sponsored photographs and "welcomes" from chancellors, deans, and

other administrators in the late 1950s-1960, the traditions also got a bit more "university sponsored" overall. The tradition lists, rather than including more esoteric traditions, instead featured more "official" university sponsored items/activities: "numen lumen," the university seal, Bucky Badger, "On Wisconsin;" and highlighted student organizations offering entertainment on campus, such as Wiskits and the Haresfoot Club. However, even as the university's presence increased, *Wiscetiquette* still included more antiquated traditions like "Honest Abe" and "A Coed Yet?"

It is difficult to gauge how the campus received *Wiscetiquette*, although its run from 1936-1960 suggests the "brief brief" had a steady audience. However, a 1949 letter to the editor of *The Daily Cardinal* indicates not everyone on campus was charmed by the little booklet:

> '**WISCETIQUETTE DISHONEST**' [30]
>
> "Maybe I'm a hardened, cynical senior. I can't help it. But a little booklet entitled "*Wiscetiquette*" has me feeling ill.
>
> Among the gems of advise proferred [sic] to the innocent frosh are such as: "**At Wisconsin, we shake our heads at people who cut classes.**"
>
> (Really – My advice to freshmen is to find out how many cuts are allowed, take 'em, and if the course is dull, take twice as many. In many introductory courses the profs merely parrot their texts anyway, and the lectures are meaningless.)
>
> "**Cribbing doesn't go on our campus. It's the easiest way (out of school, that is.) It's not worth taking the chance.**"
>
> What incredible naivete and idealism! Apparently the authors are not familiar with the mores of a great many students. Not only that, but it is only fair to inform the freshman about the complete exam files kept by fraternities and dorms.
>
> The booklet is substantially a good idea. But in the attempt to be cute, it falls on its face. And as far as honesty, it could use a little more.
>
> **An old sourpuss—**
> (name on file)"

Our "old sourpuss" [31] here takes offense because of the delicate line that *Wiscetiquette* toed in giving its advice in an informal tone. The creators wanted the advice to be realistic and helpful to students, but, of course, a booklet published by the WSGA (later AWS) and the Wisconsin

Union Women's Affairs Committee could not endorse things like cheating or playing hooky.

A key reason that *Wiscetiquette* could give more informal advice about things like dating and fashion was due to its off-campus publication by Brown's Book Shop. It was not overseen or produced by the university, but rather women students who sought to be on the editorial and writing team. The WSGA ran ads for those interested in joining in the *Daily Cardinal*.



I would control everything. No stone

Today

Your Date Book
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1949
University Events

WISCETIQUETTE
WSGA interviews for editing Wiscetiquette will be held from 3:30 to 5 this afternoon in 303 of the Union.

ELECTIONS COMMITTEE
Interviews for spring elections committee posts will be held this afternoon and Monday from 3:30 to 5:30 in student board office of the Union.

DANCE TIME
Dance Time, an informal record dance, will be held tonight in the Old Madison room from 7:30 to 11 p.m. The special feature for tonight will be an instruction period from 8 to 8:30 p. m., in the rhumba.

SENIOR WEEK INTERVIEWS
Interviews for Senior week chairmanship and committees will be held by the Senior council in the student board office from 3:30 until 5. Senior Ball and Senior Picnic positions are also open. Seniors who applied for senior council and left their briefs are urged to apply.

HOOFERS
A Hoofer skating party combined with a treasure hunt will be held tonight beginning at 7:30. Dancing, refreshments and games will occur after the treasure hunt. Members interested are urged to sign at Hoofer's quarters before noon.

A 1949 WSGA ad in the Daily Cardinal for interviewing Wiscetiquette editorial staff. UW Archives

It is easy to understand why the AWS and the Wisconsin Union Women's Affairs Committee would not want to speak freely about the rate at which students played hooky and cheated on exams, but it is interesting that the "old sourpuss" does not pick on any of the social, dating, clothing, or other slightly unconventional advice given in *Wiscetiquette* — just the unrealistic presentation of academics. This response communicates that *Wiscetiquette*'s social advice was accurate to the experiences of actual students.

In terms of a more general read on women students at UW–Madison well into *Wiscetiquette*'s run, reporting in the *Cardinal* demonstrates that they were making their presence and opinions known around campus. One 1949 headline declares that "Co-eds know best: Fair sex excels in grade average," [32] while another discusses the "Male female ratio." [33] Another topic of debate during this time was so-called "co-ed hours": curfews for women students. Rosemary Witko penned an opinion column to "speak out on co-ed hours: 'adults until proven children!" [34] Witko's primary demand was that "the "no-hours" policy now in effect for men should be extended to women students as well.":

> "It is invalid because the university is saying in effect that men are by definition more mature, responsible, and capable than women students; that the latter are by nature weak and dependent and because they are incapable of assuming responsibility for their own actions, the university must do so.
>
> [...] A "no-hours" policy for women would give them equal opportunity with men to develop mature

> judgement, a sense of responsibility, and independent thinking — all of which our society badly needs today. As it stands now, the unnecessary and hampering restrictions which hours place on the woman student prevents her from realizing this fuller growth and development. Instead, the university takes up where most parents leave off, and the mollycoddling and babying of the students continue into adulthood." [35]

A few weeks later, Dick John addressed the "Fascist! but nice—those co-ed hours." [36] He pointed out — correctly — that "the people who make the rules are campus women": the AWS did vote on and determine women's hours. More tongue-in-cheek, John explained that "the only campus women who have time to go to meetings at which the rules are adopted are those who do not have dates," and that it "becomes apparent that those who make the rules are actually jealous of the other co-ed's success…and naturally wish to curtail this success as much as they can without appearing to do so." [37] John concluded, "But if this be fascism, let us make the most of it. We know that we speak for many harried campus males when we say— "we get so darn tired." [38]

While John was obviously writing in jest, he did point out some legitimate aspects of women's hours, which, in 1949, were 10:30 p.m. on weeknights and 12:30 a.m. on weekends. Rita Torgerson responded to John in "ASSUMPTIONS RESENTED! Co-ed debate – from a woman." [39] Torgerson pointed out that, in class, she is "apparently thought mature and intelligent enough to examine and come to a conclusion on all manner of problems" while "out of class, in [her] social life, [she] must be incarcerated in [her] dormitory," and concludes that "obviously either [her] intelligence or morals are found lacking." [40]

This exchange over women's hours in 1949 resembles that of the "Society for Men's Welfare" debate in 1923. In both, men expressed an opinion on women students' lives on campus. However, in each case, women students responded, voicing their own experiences on campus to refute the male point of view. While Dick John's "opine" was satirical, Torgerson's response acknowledged this while pointing out that this issue that John joked about represents a "fallacy of a double standard" which "exist[s] under a system of supposed equality for men and women." [41] In other words, the assumption that women's hours operate under — that women were not capable of responsibly managing their own lives — was not a joke to Rita Torgerson.

Both these exchanges and *Wiscetiquette* speak to a larger tradition of women students speaking out at UW–Madison. From 1923 to 1949, to plenty of contemporary examples, UW–Madison's women students

make their voices heard. In the mid to late 1950s into 1960, *Wiscetiquette* shifted from a grassroots publication from women students to something more along the lines of a university-sponsored student handbook. UW-Madison's women students still made their voices heard on campus, but not in the form of a social etiquette book.

Wiscetiquette Wanes

Wiscetiquette's delicate dance with its content also foreshadowed the university's increased presence in the final issues of *Wiscetiquett*e. Whether due to the university's involvement or not, the AWS ceased publication of *Wiscetiquette* in favor of a more formal "student handbook," titled *On Wisconsin* (not related to the current magazine of the same name).

While the AWS may have simply decided to move in another direction with their goals —as the 1959-1960 issues do resemble student handbooks more than the original, quirky design and its informal approach — it was no coincidence that, as *Wiscetiquette* began to feature glossy photos of the university campus and personal welcomes from deans and chancellors, it signaled the beginning of the end for the publication that started as a quirky, line-drawn booklet that gave genuine, experience-based advice to incoming students.

Wiscetiquette is a charming booklet at first glance, and its charm only increases as one reads the content itself, which offers a unique glance into what life was like for UW–Madison students in the midcentury. What really makes *Wiscetiquette* stand out, however, is the all-women editorial staff, writers, and illustrators: their perspective is obvious in the curation of the content, and their lived experience as campus "co-eds" gives weight to the almost shockingly liberal advice given at times, such as drinking, dating, etc.

The creation of the "Society for Men's Welfare" in 1923 led to women students publicizing the difficulties they had navigating both campus and the surrounding community in the *Daily Cardinal*. A decade later, the creators of *Wiscetiquette* still saw a gap in the information provided to women students. When viewed in context with the history of women on campus, a women-led publication that spoke in such frank tones about their day-to-day lives is an extremely valuable starting point to explore women's presence at UW–Madison. A look at the population of women students on campus throughout the early- to mid-20th century highlights the massive fluctuation in the population of women on campus during and after the World Wars, as well as the impact of the 19th Amendment. These events led to large spikes in the population of

women but evened out into general increases in the following years. Through these statistics, we can see what preceded the male backlash to women on campus: women gaining a larger presence. And this larger presence created the gap that *Wiscetiquette* sought to fill: many of the same issues that women students in 1923 pointed out. It appears women students had to work against those issues themselves. One strategy was through *Wiscetiquette*.

---

[1] "Editor's Brown Chair." *The Wisconsin Octopus*, vol. 15, no. 9, May 1936, p. 36.

[2] Even then, freshmen women's parents could still request a curfew for their child, according to an article from Sept. 12, 1970 (University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives, Subject File Collection, Box 124, Folder 6).

[3] Except for Paul Godfrey, listed under the *Wiscetiquette* staff and mentioned in the May 1936 *Octopus* – I would guess he might have been the illustrator, but Fleming mentions that Ruth Ricker did all the illustrations.

[4] *The Wisconsin Octopus,* vol. 15, no. 8, April 1936, p. 24.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid, p. 9.

[7] *Wisconsin Octopus*, May 1936, p. 26.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *Wisconsin Octopus,* April 1936, p. 24.

[10] Ibid.

[11] *Wiscetiquette's* distinct line drawings are representative of the technologies available for periodical publishing in its time. Much like lesbian and gay periodicals that began in the 1940s and lasted into the 1960s and beyond, the trajectory of *Wiscetiquette's* visual design illustrates the printing technology available during its run. The cover art and illustrations in the lesbian periodicals *Vice Versa* (1947-1948) and the *Ladder* (1st issue in 1956) as well as the gay periodical *ONE magazine* (1st issue in 1955) follow the same trajectory in terms of visuals: simple line drawings become printed photographs. Most lesbian/gay periodicals in the 1950s-1970s were first typed on a typewriter, with the typewritten copy being used to make copies with a mimeograph. Due to the grassroots nature of these publications and the volunteer labor that produced them, the mimeograph was the preferred printing method, as it was cheap, easy to use, and widely available. The mimeograph stayed in use long after printing technology advanced, still used by student groups and small organizations well into the 1990s. As *Wiscetiquette* was distributed for free and printed by the WSGA/AWS with women

students serving as the editors, writers, and artists, one can imagine an ascetic working environment much like that of early lesbian/gay periodicals, in terms of technology.

[12] Hathaway, Wisconsin Alumni Association, "Pioneers in Education," March 15, 2011.

[13] 1948 *Badger*, p. 108.

[14] Omholt, Art. "Gregory," *The Wisconsin Octopus*, vol. 25, no. 4, Dec. 1949, p. 31.

[15] 1948 *Badger*, p. 148.

[16] *Daily Cardinal*, February 14, 1923, front page.

[17] *Daily Cardinal*, February 14, 1923, front page; February 16, 1923, p. 4.

[18] *Daily Cardinal,* February 14, 1923, front page.

[19] *Daily Cardinal*, February 16, 1923, p. 4.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid, front page.

[23] *Daily Cardinal*, March 3, 1923, p. 4.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Black women were not fully guaranteed the right to vote in America until the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

[26] AWS was known as the Women's Self-Government Association (WSGA) until 1953.

[27] Stillman, Jack, "Advisors, Inc." *The Wisconsin Octopus*, vol. 28, no. 1, Sept. 1949, "Advisors, Inc.," p. 2.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid. Stillman also snarks that "*The Daily Cardinal* is neither an institution nor a tradition."

[30] *Daily Cardinal*, Sept. 21, 1949, "Comment," p. 4.

[31] At some point in 1948-1949, amidst a Red Scare invoked "naming scandal" involving then-Dean Paul Trump requiring (progressive) student organizations to submit complete membership lists to the Student Personnel Office— and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) visiting campus—a reader wrote to *The Daily Cardinal* lamenting the habit readers had of signing off with an amusing moniker related to their letters—such as our "old sourpuss" in this letter; "Beer Lover" in another—and admonished the paper for not requiring full names when publishing reader letters. The *Cardinal,* with good humor, remedied this "issue" by adding "(name on file)" after every letter signed with a silly moniker for a long period.

[32] *Daily Cardinal*, April 28, 1949, front page.

[33] *Daily Cardinal*, September 20, 1949, front page.

[34] *Daily Cardinal*, April 8, 1949, p. 4.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *Daily Cardinal*, April 27, 1949, p.4.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] *Daily Cardinal*, April 30, 1949, p. 5.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

Bibliography

Alumni Park Exhibits, alumnipark.com/exhibits/featured/wiscetiquette.

Daily Cardinal, The. New Daily Cardinal Corporation, 1948-1950, *UW-Madison Archives*.

Daily Cardinal, The. New Daily Cardinal Corporation, 1894-, *UW-Madison Digital Collections*.

Hathaway, Wendy Krause. "Pioneers in Education." Wisconsin Alumni Association, March 15, 2011, uwalumni.com/news/pioneers-in-education/.

Rademacher, Chelsea. "Dress to Impress," Wisconsin Alumni Association, March 1, 2016, uwalumni.com/news/dress-to-impress.

Seidlitz, Esther. "Good and Bad Advice from UW's Past," On Wisconsin, onwisconsin.uwalumni.com/good-and-bad-advice-from-uws-past.

Wiscetiquette, 1936-1959, UWDC, digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/7PG3MYRSW33RI8Z.

Wiscetiquette, 1948, Arielle Raymos, personal collection.

Wisconsin Badger (UW Yearbooks), 1885-2012, University of Wisconsin, *UW-Madison Digital Collections*, digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/NBVOYDIJSV65G8L.

Wisconsin Octopus, vol. 15, no. 8, April 1936, *UW-Madison Digital Collections*, digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/7IHSJX3NHK3WF9E.

Wisconsin Octopus, "The Co-ed Number," vol. 15, no. 9, May 1936, *UW-Madison Digital Collections*, digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/VDJ7OXEFVYGMF8L.