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Who Shaped Madison and the World

Journals

The Journal of Historic Madison, Inc.
Volumes I through XI

The Journal of the Four Lakes Region
Volumes XII through XXI
Stephen Vaughn Shipman’s Civil War

When Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, was shelled in mid-April 1861 to start the Civil War, Stephen Vaughn Shipman was 36 years old and a resident of Madison, Wisconsin. He had moved to Madison from Pennsylvania in the mid-1850s with his wife, Cornelia, and two daughters, Annie and Rose, and started an architectural business that by 1861 had produced two buildings on State Street, a church in Stoughton, and other structures. He became involved in city and state politics, and was appointed architect for the State Hospital for the Insane on the north shore of Lake Mendota, for which he drew a good salary. Three more children were born – Charlie in 1856, William in 1858 and Cornelia (Minnie) in 1860. Despite this comfortable life, and pressing professional obligations, duty and honor compelled him to join the Army of the Republic, First Wisconsin Cavalry, and fight to save the Union. Letters to and from Stephen and his wife and children describe the following four years of his life.¹

Training for the army occurred at Ripon and Kenosha. In March of 1862, the regiment left Kenosha for St. Louis. From a letter from Cornelia, dated March 14:

At your request I write this evening – I think I see you busy, as busy can be, packing and getting ready to march – or move from Kenosha. How I wish I could be there with you tonight, that I might get a look at you all before starting on so uncertain a journey. Will you ever come back, is constantly in my mind – And I see nothing in the future to cheer, or encourage me. Still, I hope – if I did not, I would give up in despair.

Stephen wrote back from St. Louis, dated March 22:

This has been a very busy week for us, and tonight I am very tired, but before going to sleep I will write you a few lines just to let you know that you are not forgotten during all the turmoil and confusion of Camp life. My thoughts are constantly on home matters.

Today the 17th (Irish) Regiment from Madison has arrived here, or a part of it, and we are sorry to see such a sorry set of whelps. They are not credit to the State, and I wish they had been sent to some other Camp....

How are you all at home – and how getting along there alone? You are a brave good woman and I honor your courage, as well as love you very much for all your good qualities and womanly virtues. When writing tell me all about yourself. Have you heard any news from JO’? Have you written to Seth van Bergen² or Mr. Bryant yet?

Our pay rolls are now made out again and we hope to get pay during the week – hope we may not again be disappointed. I am going to the City tomorrow on business, and shall have something to say of our friends there when I get back.

The lack of pay, or pecuniary difficulties at home, was a constant refrain in the letters to and from husband and wife. A letter from March 28, 1862, from Cornelia:
You must have got my letters before this – I received your letter containing the 20 dollars, and I was more than ever convinced of your love – for I think I can realize how hard it must have been for you to get it....

I have not time tonight to write as I would like to – I am sick too – can hardly sit up – have such a back ache. Good news from JO' Will write soon. I send Brother’s letter – you can imagine my feelings, to be so situated that I cannot go to see Father [Cornelia’s father was dying]. Write often, for your letters are all the consolation I have. Accept my best love and think of me often.

Some of the most detailed letters of camp life from Stephen were written to his son Charlie, such as this one from April 1862:

My dear Charles

I have been thinking of you all day, and tonight your Mother’s letter of last Sunday evening has come to hand, in which it is stated that Charley is better. You do not know how glad I am to hear that my dear boy is getting better. You must take good care of yourself and not take cold again, for then it will go very bad with you, as you have been sick so long.
Well, Charley, shall I tell you something about what we are doing and what is going on here at Camp Benton?

There are a great many soldiers here – nearly twenty thousand, drilling several times every day; and about eleven o’clock in the forenoon you can see a very fine display of Cavalry, Artillery, Infantry, Mounted Riflemen and Lancers. You would be pleased to watch the various costumes of each different corps, which are all different from each other.

Yesterday nearly five thousand men left for Island No. 10, and today some eight Batteries of Artillery and two other Regiments, one of Cavalry and the other Infantry have left for the same place. Those who are left behind congratulate and cheer those on their way to go. We hope to go soon, to fight the rebels who are trying to destroy our Government.

I should like very much to come and see you all before going farther south but do not expect to be able to do so. The weather is very warm during the day time and chilly during the night, and as a natural consequence I have a severe cold and a very sore throat and cough. Still, I am working hard every day.

Tell Mother Col. Davies has compelled me to act as Regimental Adjutant and for a while at least I am taken entirely away from our Company and placed in the Adjutant’s Office. I hope it will only be temporary, as Col. Davies has promised it should be.

Today I met Dr. Brisbane and his two sons, and he tells me that Mrs. Brisbane is keeping house for him in quarters only a few steps from my office. I meet Majs. Miller of Madison and Sterling of Mineral Point, many times every day and assist many others that I know but you would not be interested in hearing about.

Charley Miller is near my office but I have not yet met him. You must write me as soon as you can, and have Mother write very often for you and the other children. Kisses for you all – Be kind to each other and love Mother and all your sisters and brother. You must all be good children. From your affectionate father S. V. Shipman

The lilac and willow trees and many other trees are leafing out very fast, and the flowers are coming up rapidly. The grass is quite good full for the cows and mules.

A few days ago I was downtown on horseback and in coming through some back streets there were quite a number of children from 8 to 13 years old who hooted at me and remarked for “Jeff Davis and freedom.” They kept shouting until I was too far away to hear them.

There is a great deal of secession feeling here yet and many times it is manifest openly through the streets. The picture of St. Louis represents it as seen from the opposite side of the river.

The water we have to drink is river water, and so muddy that you cannot see through it any more than very milky water. It looks bad and tastes muddy but our men drink it very nicely.

Tell Mother I request she should go and have photographs of all the children and herself taken, and send them to me. God bless you all Good Night. S. V. S.

Army life was hazardous. Rumors of Shipman’s death occasionally circulated through Madison (figure 1). Thus, when bad things did happen, a letter usually arrived, as this one from May 3, 1862:

Having been told, a few hours since, by Chaplain Dunmore, that he had written to the “Chicago Tribune” that I was in a slightly damaged condition, and knowing that all such things will be likely to get into the Wisconsin Papers, I have concluded to write you all about it in advance of the published statement.

The lameness I spoke about, in yesterday’s letter, is caused by a broken leg – my right leg – about half way between the knee and ankle. This happened on the 1st day of May about Noon while coming from Camp to Post and Regimental Head Quarters. I was galloping along briskly, and within some twelve or fifteen rods of my destination, when I encountered one of the most vicious and dangerous horses I ever saw. He has already nearly killed several of our men, and the Col. had ordered him out of the Regiment. All of our boys are determined
Lieut. Shipman heard from.—Mrs. Shipman received a letter from her husband dated the 18th of August, which states that he was then very well, and that Col. Daniels was very ill with spotted fever, at South Pass, Illinois. This reliable information effectually disposes of the distressing rumor brought by Lieut. Burrows. If the Colonel’s Orderly said at Helena as the Lieutenant says he did, that Lieut. Shipman was dead and buried, he must have been practicing to fit himself for the position of a special war correspondent to a New York or Chicago paper.—Patriot.

Perhaps you may want to know about the circumstances and I will say that I discovered the horse, being led by his owner Mr. Stillman, formerly of Rock County, and concluded to give him a wide berth, and therefore kept off ten or twelve feet; but he commenced squealing and running back so that when I got opposite to him, although my horse shied rapidly off, he was about six feet from me, still backing up. The first kick broke my leg, the second hit and still more mangled it higher up, and the third just grazed my side— one of his feet hitting my horse’s hip. By that time I was beyond his reach, and he ceased paying his respects to me.

With the mangled limb I rode about 15 rods to Head Quarters, was helped off my horse and up into the Office. The Post Surgeon Dr. Matthews was immediately summoned — came and had me removed to a very pleasant room in the St. Charles Hotel where he set my leg in a very skillful manner, and where I am now, getting along as nicely as possible.

Because of the broken leg, Shipman returned temporarily to Madison. By August 1862, however, he had returned to his regiment. A letter to Annie, his oldest daughter, contained news of skirmishes as well as instructions to his children:

At a place near Memphis, or perhaps nearer Helena, our men had a very desperate fight with a large body of the rebels, our force was completely cut up and our whole train was captured consisting of 19 wagons, with 6 mules on each, and all the baggage belonging to our Regt.

This is the worst thing that has ever happened to our Reg’t, and we shall be a long time in recovering from it. A great many of our men were killed, and many others taken prisoner. Our Chaplain Mr. Dunmore was killed in his bed. He had charge of about 500 negro contrabands who scattered and ran like frightened sheep. Col. Daniels is very sick and it is feared he will never recover. He is at South Pass Isle, but I have not seen him since my return from Madison.

My broken leg is getting along very well, but is still very sensitive and I limp around just about as when I left home. It is stronger however.

How are you all getting along at home and what are you doing? I hope you and Rose go to school regularly and will learn fast — you are getting old.
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enough to learn very fast. Tell Rose she must try hard to get her lessons so well that Miss Cavanaugh will put her in a higher class.

I send to Charley some Masonic books which he will put away carefully for me. Mother will tell him where they will be safe.

I wish you and Rose would write me a letter and tell me about yourselves. What does Mrs. Tappan say about your taking one lesson a week instead of two? You must not neglect your school for music. I want you to be a good scholar and a good musician, but it is most important for you to have a good education.

It would be a great pleasure for me to come in and hear you play some of your pretty pieces, but this cannot be. I must be content to stay here where it is so hot nearly all the time that my clothes are wet through and through with sweat.

My whole time is occupied in the office so that I have not time to call on one of the ladies who were so kind to me when my leg was first broken.

Nearly every night, I have been engaged in sending off expeditions, and am now very much worn down. On Saturday night I sent a large force to capture some rebel officers who we heard were about 15 miles from here, and on Sunday the expedition returned with one of the worst men that has ever cursed this section of the State. When we put the irons on his hands and feet and were marching him to the prison the crowd of persons, about 400, tried to rescue him for the purpose of hanging him on the spot. I was marching beside him and came near being killed by a rock thrown by the crowd at McGuise the criminal, which just grazed my head. The crowd was checked and driven back by a detachment of soldiers from Company A which I had sent for. Give much love to your mother and your little brothers and sisters and kisses for all. Good bye from your affectionate Father S. V. Shipman

Sometimes, husband heard alarming things in the letters from home. A letter from September 1862:

My Dear Wife

Your letters are received and I assure you they were welcome. It seems strange but true that I had forebodings of evil, and your letters confirm my fears.

Your escape was a very narrow one and now let me caution you again about getting into a buggy behind that horse of Mr. Carpenter’s – he is a dangerous creature and the accidents which have happened to Mrs. Carpenter, Mrs. Hyer, Mrs. Stevens and others while riding after that old fool of a horse should teach you a lesson, not to feel safe a moment while riding after him. He is an unreliable horse and hence keep away from him.

Of course you know I will want to hear often and all particulars about your condition now you are an invalid. It is a good pleasure and one I am constantly looking forward to the receipt of a letter from you.

A letter from Cornelia in September 1862 contained information about schooling:

Annie and Rose go to school every day – the term just commenced a week or more. They like their new teacher very much (in 4th ward). Annie goes to Miss Annie Clark – a sister of the Clark that was in the PO. Rosa goes to Miss Turner. Annie practices but has not commenced another term of music, for I have not been able to go see Mrs. Tappan, and I do not want her to leave school to take her lesson, but if Mrs. T will give her a lesson every Saturday, I should like to have her continue with her....

It is now eleven – just struck – I am tired but I could not go to bed without scribbling a few words to you. I have so much I want to say to you, so many questions to ask. Don’t get out of all patience with my scrawls. I try to tell you what we are doing at home and I assure you I try to do my best, but it is hard to get along with a family of children without their father. It is hard for a wife to live without her husband – many many things are changed, but you know all this. And with a good night and a kiss I stop. Write often – I am so lonely.

After a year in the army, Shipman extols his wife in a letter written in October 1862 to have her friends send their husbands to fight!
You must say to Mrs. Dr. Hoyt that now the President has established a policy to suit her, she must send her husband to help fight it out. Also the Brights – that they should immediately get husbands and – after the honeymoon – send them to fight, so as to give efficiency to the Proclamation. As to Mr. Griffin, I do not think he would like to fight, and hence words would be wasted on him. He had better remain at home, and blow against McClellan, and others who are fighting.

Some of his letters also include opinions on military men (see the discussion about General McClellan in figure 2). By late 1862, money matters were again coming to the fore in the letters. From a November 1862 letter to Cornelia:

You will doubtless be glad to see the small sum of money which I herewith enclose; it is all I can send you at this time – is some I loaned and which was today returned to me. Use it sparingly, as we now hear that the reason why we have not seen the Paymaster is that the Government has not furnished the money to this Department with which to pay the troops. This is rather discouraging but we will hope it will come along very soon.

I can see no way to pay my Life Insurance Note, but to rely upon Mr. Miller’s generosity for a loan until the Govt pays.

Write me immediately what arrangements if any you will be able to make about it, with Mr. Miller of Benedict.

Has Captain Conatty sent you the money to pay that Note of his to Mr. Kohner; or what success Mr. Kohner had in collecting it at Kenosha. I trust he made an arrangement for its payment if he went there so that I may not be holder for it. Call on him and inquire.

Figure 2: Letter excerpt containing Shipman’s laudatory opinion of General McClellan
This letter also speaks of the loneliness of army life:

Well, must I close this without a word from you? Or even a kiss from any of the dear ones at home? Come and get in between my blankets with me. I am all alone in the Adjutant’s tent. Will you? I will keep you warm.

A letter from December 1862 condemns a colleague and soldier for suggesting that Shipman might come home:

I am surprised that Col. Daniels should state what you heard about my coming home – he has no reason for saying so. He is bound to be scooped out clean, as he ought to be after his most damnable course. It is a wonder how he ever succeeded in getting command of the Regiment, and still more how he ever left it alive. He richly deserved shooting.

This letter also mentioned a hope for a visit from the paymaster. However, by mid-December, when bills are coming due in Madison:

The Pay Master has not yet come and I am almost in despair about his coming before the 1st of January. The Government is hard up for money and I suppose we must be patient, but it is hard to wait so long. Try to arrange with Mr. Benedict the Life Insurance premiums due the 18th and 25th – say I will pay as soon as Government pays. The interest on that mortgage will be due to Mr. Hayes about the 20th – say to him the same thing. It is the best I can do, but it troubles me exceedingly. I have sent the trunk home. It may be some time before it reaches you, but will come by way of Milwaukee in good time. Has Mr. Mix of Milwaukee sent you any money? I expected him to do so.

Still no pay by mid-January 1863, and Stephen is complimenting his wife:

I am informed that this Train was to have left the Knob today; so it will not reach this place for three or four days – possibly a week. This I do not like, as I had rather be with the advance than the rear of the Army, which I learn is marching towards Batesville, Ark. to meet the Gun Boats which will doubtless soon ascend the River to that point. This cuts off all hope of seeing the Paymaster very soon. Too bad is it not. I am not surprised to hear you speak of Mr. Miller as you do. In all his kindness to me he has left the same unpleasant impression on my mind: – but tell me – what has he done to make you say what you do? Will you not tell me about it? Why do you speak so?

Although I have not time now to answer in detail all of your letter, I may say what you mention as having done in business matters meets my most hearty approval. You deserve much credit for having done so well. You are a noble little wife and I wish I could put my arms around you and imprint one approving kiss on your lips. May I do so now? Here it is. You do not know how much I would love to see you tonight.

You are a noble and brave little wife, and I hope you will always remain as good and pure as I imagine you are at this time. You must be very discreet and careful, so that your character and reputation, which is above all price to me, may never be tarnished by the shriveled demons of scandal, who lurk [sic] about the path of us all. This, let me ever hope, you will do. I do not believe you will in the least transgress the rules of right and wrong; but then, it is also our duty to avoid the appearance of evil. We cannot be too careful to give nobody a chance to surmise evil, much less speak it of us.

By March, pay matters had apparently been resolved, and Stephen is advising his wife on goings-on in Madison:

I am glad that your name does not appear in the list of women who have issued the call for the purpose of forming a “Union League.” Gammon! Fudge! Bosh! Some one wants to see their name in print probably, and hence starts such a ridiculous idea. I am heartily surprised to see Mrs. Dixon’s name among the rest! What nonsense for women to make fools of themselves in that way! Don’t go into any such foolish enterprise as that.

From early April 1863:

The paymaster is now here and today has paid the men and some of the old officers, but none of the new. We are promised it tomorrow when I will
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immediately send to you every Dollar I can possibly spare, which will be a good round sum – enough I hope to make you all right and then I shall have to draw on you for some to pay the balance I owe to Mr. Culver for that black horse – He has never presented the note preferring to keep my Note to the money.

On April 24, 1863, Stephen Vaughn Shipman made his name as a soldier. He was in command of 50 cavalry guarding a bridge over the Whitewater River in southeastern Missouri. Coming to the bridge, his company encountered 600 of Confederate General Marmaduke’s troops. Shipman drew saber and gave the order to charge, surprising the ground forces as his troops charged as a wedge into the rebels. Once the cavalry’s forward progress stopped, the scene was a maelstrom of crazed horses and shouting, frenzied men. During this skirmish, his reins were broken and he was then shot in the hip, shattering the bone. Crippled, he fell to the ground and was quickly captured. Curiously, he immediately received the attention of the Confederate surgeon. A Confederate lieutenant demanded and received Shipman’s sword, but when General Marmaduke subsequently arrived, the lieutenant was arrested and Shipman’s sword was returned to him. Both the surgeon and General Marmaduke had noticed a small Masonic emblem that Shipman wore. Shipman talked with Marmaduke, and they discovered they had been at the same Masonic gathering before the war. Marmaduke paroled all the Union men captured in this battle because of that connection. This battle was front-page news in the Wisconsin State Journal, on May 1 quoting a report from the St. Louis Democrat and on May 4 describing a private letter home to the family after the battle that reported he never expected to regain the use of his hip (figures 3 and 4).

Figures 3 and 4: Front-page of the Wisconsin State Journal, Friday, May 1, and Monday, May 4, 1863.
Entries from Stephen Vaughn Shipman’s diary:

April 25, 1863:
Reached post hospital at Cape Girardeau at 3 o’clock A.M. under a flag of Truce. – A Paroled Prisoner. My wound pronounced “Mortal” by Surgeon in charge. Nothing done for me, except Morphine.

April 26:
At Hospital, with no assurance of anything being done for my relief.

April 29:
Dr. Brainerd of Chicago, and my Wife arrived at the Hospital. Dr. B. performed operation of re-section on the bones of thigh. Gives no hope of recovery. Sad day for wife (figure 5).

The wound shortened Shipman’s leg by three inches, and it troubled him occasionally for the next 42 years. Two months after being wounded, in July 1863, the pain was still debilitating (figure 6). Two years later, in July 1865, his diary describes a quart of pus emanating from the wound.

In December, Shipman, now a captain, was exchanged as a prisoner of war. From then through November 1864 he was stationed in Madison as a recruiting officer. His recruitment duties carried him through most of southern Wisconsin, from Janesville to Ripon and the Fox River Valley (figure 7). Captain Shipman also was responsible for determining who was and was not fit to be a soldier. But in mid-November 1864, Shipman returned to the service, to his wife’s apparent consternation. Do come home – what is the reason you can’t take the advice of your friends is how she closed one letter in December 1864. But as he explained in a letter to his friend Lyman Draper:

It is true I have surprised my friends and disappointed my family by returning to the field, but I have done only what seemed duty. I could not

Figure 5: Stephen Vaughn Shipman’s diary entry from April 29, 1863, the day a surgeon attended to his wound
Fort H. I. Dept P. July 15 1863

My Dear Wife,

Dear Davidson is here and has granted me leave of absence to go to Wisconsin. Meade will come with me. We intend starting day after tomorrow but the most formidable abuses I have yet had is now culminating and the Dr. is Believing the whole back part of my leg, thinking it is break and discharge on that side and probably develop the boil.

I have no idea when I can start. The weather is hot and the pain is too great to write. I would keep you money in hand. Have you money on hand. Yours of 7th Gust came yesterday. Very glad to hear of your safe journey home and that all were well. Can't write more affectionately. S. A. F.
remain contentedly at home while this war is going on, and the Govt. needing men.

Stephen Shipman’s diary from 1865 was preserved, and it records his movements from Bowling Green, Kentucky, on January 1, to Waterloo, in extreme northwest Alabama, on January 23, where his regiment camped for the winter. During the two months he spent there Shipman sat on a court martial. Letters to his wife at this time complained of the lack of news from home, and also of money matters. From a letter dated March 12, 1865:

It may be several days before the Corps moves out from Chickasaw and we may be paid there but this, at the present time seems doubtful. Heaven only knows what our families are to do for money in our absence, unless we do get paid. It is too bad, but we must take what comes. For myself I can get along without any money, but am tormented with apprehensions of want and suffering at home. God protect you and the little ones while I am unable to send you any money.

Tell Mr. Benedict he must write the Life Insurance Co. how I am situated and they must give me credit on my policy.

You need not try to pay the Taxes on our house and lots, but I would like you to go and see Mr. Lansing W. Hoyt, Co. Treasurer and ask him to do you the favor to bid in the lots for you and hold the Certificates for you until you receive the money, when you will take them, provided the Tax sale comes off before you receive any. I do not want you to forget this. You may write to J. W. Bouton, Antiquarian Bookseller, 87 Walker St., N. Y. City, (see his letter about those books I sent him, and perhaps you will find he has removed to Broadway) and ask him to remit to you the money he may have realized from any sales he may have made. He is a gentleman and will answer your letter promptly. You can say, you write because of the long delay on the part of the Govt in paying the Army. Say I requested you to write, when you do so.

If the lots should be sold for Taxes we shall have three years to pay the taxes and interest before any Deed can be made on the lots, so it is not so bad as it might be if they are sold.

I have not heard a word from you since the 15th of February And you can imagine my feelings. What is the matter?

A week later, he writes:

For the first time since leaving Louisville Ky we are getting mail every day, and I have the pain of daily disappointment in seeing every body else getting letters and myself none. It makes me feel very despondent. Is it true that every other one, in the Regiment, has friends and myself none? I cannot account for it and hence it is all the more depressing. When no mail is received I can wait patiently, but not so when I see the others glad and cheerful over news from home, and not a word for me.

In late March, his regiment started on a march that was part of General Wilson’s raid from Chickasaw, Mississippi, to Macon, Georgia. His diary describes plenty of foraging, occasional battles, and laments on pillaging (the path is shown in figure 8).

From an entry on March 25, 1865:

I have blushed to see our men allowed to pillage the premises of the few citizens we have passed. Every other man has Turkeys, Geese or chickens. Oh! The horrors of war. Men are on short rations of meat, is the excuse.

From March 27:

At this place [Jasper, Alabama] we found all sorts of books and papers scattered about the Streets, showing that our men [4th Division] had been playing the vandal. Gen. Wilson is by no means strict about foraging and plundering. It is a most dangerous practice and ought not to be tolerated. I am grieved to see it but one man’s voice is not heard in such a mass of roughness. One of our men got a thousand dollar Confederate Bond.

As before, some of the most detailed letters were to his son Charlie:

Shall I tell you of one little fight that my command alone was engaged in. On the 1st day of April at Montevallo Ala where our forces had a very sharp fight capturing four pieces of the enemies Artillery. I
Volunteer Enlistment.

State of Wisconsin

City of Madison

I, Henry Eugene Rogers, born in Jefferson, Dane County, Wisconsin, aged twenty-one years, and by occupation a farmer, do hereby acknowledge to have volunteered this 14th day of June, 1864, to serve as a Soldier in the Army of the United States of America, for the period of THREE YEARS, unless sooner discharged by proper authority. Do also agree to accept such bounty, pay, rations, and clothing, as are, or may be, established by law for volunteers. I, Henry Eugene Rogers, do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and that I will serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies or opposers whomever; and that I will observe and obey the orders of the President of the United States, and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to the Rules and Articles of War.

Signed and subscribed to, this 14th day of June, 1864.

Henry Eugene Rogers

I certify, on honor, that I have carefully examined the above-named Volunteer, agreeably to the General Regulations of the Army, and that, in my opinion, he is free from all bodily defects and mental infirmity, which would in any way disqualify him from performing the duties of a soldier.

Examining Surgeon.

I certify, on honor, that I have minutely inspected the Volunteer, previously to his enlistment, and that he was entirely sober when enlisted; that, to the best of my judgment and belief, he is of lawful age; and that, in accepting him as duly qualified to perform the duties of an able-bodied soldier, I have strictly observed the Regulations which govern the recruiting service. This soldier has a fair complexion, fair hair, fair eye, freckles, is of medium height.

Signed and sealed.

Recruiting Officer.

Figure 7 (this page and facing page): Enlistment papers of Henry Eugene Rogers from the town of Perry, Dane County
DECLARATION OF RECRUIT.

I, Henry Eugene Rogers, desiring to volunteer as a soldier in the Army of the United States, for the term of three years do declare, That I am twenty-one years and one month of age; that I have never been discharged from the United States' service on account of disability or by sentence of a court martial, or by order before the expiration of a term of enlistment; and I know of no impediment to my serving honestly and faithfully as a soldier for three years.

Given at Madison, Wisconsin, the 15th day of June 1864.

Witness:

W. N. Shipman
Henry Eugene Rogers

CONSENT IN CASE OF MINOR.

I, do certify, That I am the of the said years of age; and I hereby freely give my consent to his volunteering as a soldier in the Army of the United States for the period of three years.

Given at

the day of

Witness:

(A. G. O. No. 74 & 76.)
was ordered to take two hundred and forty men, and when the command reached Randolph, to push on to Centerville distant fifteen miles with all possible dispatch dislodge the enemy capture and hold the bridge across the Cahawba. There was a force at least equal to mine already in that town; and one Division of Infantry under the rebel Gen’l Chalmers (who your Mother can tell you, murdered so many prisoners at Fort Pillow last year) numbering some four thousand making forced marches to also get possession of the Bridge, to prevent our forces crossing that River, and which would arrive there by the middle of the afternoon of that day.

To do this I was obliged to move my command at the gallop nearly all the way and was ordered to do so if I killed every horse in the command. Well we started and after going three miles struck the enemy and skirmished with them, on the gallop, for twelve miles. Coming to the town we found the rebels in line of battle, but not steady, in consequence of the haste with which they formed for we had pushed those on the road so rapidly that their most fleet horses could reach the town to give warning of our approach only a few minutes before our arrival. I immediately ordered the charge and we went pell-mell in among them scattering them in all directions and capturing two officers and twenty two men. We gained the bridge and immediately threw up hasty breast works so that we could have held the bridge against vastly superior numbers. The fleeing rebels met the enemy a few miles distant and they supposing a large force coming to meet them, took position for a battle which of course delayed their march until the 2nd Brigade of our Division came up, when not desiring to risk a battle they retreated leaving our forces to march on towards Tuscaloosa with only slight skirmishing. The General commanding complimented me very highly and as I had killed one fine horse in doing it he made me a present of a splendid Stallion which we captured and which had only a few weeks before been sold for $7,000. That you will say was a very fine compliment and so it was. Well our loss was one man killed and two wounded, but we lost nearly ninety horses. This loss was nearly made up by those we captured from the rebels and what we impressed from the farmers around Centreville where my command remained two days, expecting every hour to be attacked.

Like several letters he wrote, Shipman appended to this letter that its contents must not find their way into the paper. The fine horse replaced one killed under him in battle, the third time in the war that his horse died beneath him.

On April 12, 1865, while Shipman was officer of the day, the regiment took Montgomery, Alabama, from a contingent of locals including the mayor, who surrendered the city.

From his diary:

I was... ordered forward with one hundred picked men to guard property of citizens, and all was strictly enjoined not to allow plundering and pillaging.... There was nothing allowed to be destroyed by me, and while all had an opportunity of seeing all the rooms, the property and furniture were undisturbed. The citizens expected all would be burned and were happily disappointed when I told them my orders in regard to its preservation. The citizens loaded with us bouquets as we marched through the City.... All seemed very anxious that we should keep an army here.

After Montgomery, they marched through Tuskegee (“one of the finest towns I have ever met with in the South”), to Columbus, then Greenville, Georgia, before stopping the march in Macon, Georgia. There Shipman found people ready for peace on any terms. Mrs. Jefferson Davis passed through Macon while Shipman was there. Additionally, rumors of President Andrew Johnson’s (“the accidental President”) assassination were reported. Also in Macon, Shipman was again judge advocate for the court martial, which was mostly concerned with soldiers who marauded, defrauded, or pillaged. For example, Major John F. Weston, 4th Kentucky Cavalry, was tried after he was found in possession of $339.50 fraudulently obtained by selling government property. Private James Riley, 4th Kentucky Cavalry, was convicted of marauding and pillaging. Similar cases continued until the court was dissolved in early June. At that point, General Wilson ordered Shipman to collect all
plans for the public buildings in Macon, Augusta, and Atlanta, and to report on their present condition. Many of the papers were found in disarray ("These books and Drawings were a good deal scattered as they seemed to have been open to any and every body"). By late June, he was finishing up the report ("Cannot say the Genl. Sherman’s command will feel very much indebted to me for my report of their operations at Greensboro, Ga. They were guilty of whole-sale plundering of Government Stores at that place"). While in Macon, he continued writing letters home, nearly always lamenting the dearth of correspondence coming from Madison. He also commented on topics of the day.

From a letter of June 6, 1865:

*The President’s last amnesty Proclamation is a terrible one and I fear cannot be carried out. It is in my opinion too broad – too severe for the times and will by no means be sustained by the Army. There is no such cry for blood among the soldiers as that proclamation calls for; and they know to some extent at least, by actual observation, how much the people of the South have and are suffering. Many who opposed the secession movement at first with undaunted courage and perseverance and were possessed of from half to one million Dollars are today not worth $25,000 and yet their property is to be confiscated because some beloved son has been conscripted and placed in the army, or perhaps may been forced there by public opinion. The people*
should not be punished, but the leaders, who are the guilty parties. I wish the President would have known more of the Southern people before making this Proclamation. I hate New England for her bloodthirsty and blistering disposition. She ought to have all these negroes on her hands instead of the South, not that I think the negroes would be better off; far from it. The suffering among the black will be very great for they have got the idea that freedom means plenty to eat and nothing to do. They are now wandering about in herds with no more idea of working for a living than Willie or Minnie. While in almost any family there are only one man and his wife to work there are from 6 to 11 children who can do little or nothing but must be fed. Planters will not feed them and they must suffer. The Planters will pay for the labor they receive but the children and infirm old negro must clear out and it is next to impossible for those who can work to support themselves and aid the others for a long time to come.

He also received a letter stating his wife was ill, and he left Atlanta for Nashville, where he secured transportation for the gathered documents to Washington, D.C. From Nashville, the train took Shipman to Louisville (from which city he wired $700 home to Madison – several months’ pay, as many letters from Macon included mention of no paymaster and acknowledgment of Cornelia’s money troubles), to Indianapolis (from which city the rebel archives were to be shipped to Washington, D.C.), to Chicago, and then to Madison, arriving at midnight on July 4th. Cornelia was able to sit up, but he reported in his diary that she has been a great sufferer and is quite unwilling for him to return. Nevertheless, he left Madison on the 5th, arriving in Indianapolis on the 6th to find his reports still in the railway station. He and his archives arrived in Washington late on July 8. By late August, he had left Washington, D.C., and in early December he was discharged from the army. He then returned to Madison, rejoining his family and resuming a civilian life.9

Notes

1 All letters and photographs are from the collection of the author.

2 Seth van Bergen (1814-1900) was a farmer and real estate developer. He came to Madison in 1842; his house at 302 South Mills Street is a Madison landmark.

3 General John Pope and Commodore Andrew Foote captured Island No. 10 on April 7 after a 23-day siege. Twelve hundred Confederate prisoners were sent to Camp Randall in Madison, a Union training ground ill-equipped to serve as a prison. By the end of May 140 prisoners had died of disease and were buried in Madison’s Forest Hill Cemetery in what is now known as Confederate Rest.

4 Rachel Bromby Staines Tappan, the “mother of musical education in Madison,” opened a boarding and day school for young ladies on May 1, 1861.

5 Anna Russell Clark (1843–1907), later the wife of Sheldon Shepard, started a private school in 1882.

6 Mary Eliza Dixon (1827-1893) was the wife of Wisconsin Supreme Court justice Luther Dixon, who held the post from 1859 to 1874.

7 Lyman Copeland Draper (1815–1891) was the first corresponding secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, serving from 1854 to 1887.

8 Lansing Hoyt (1817–1892) was a business partner of John A. Johnson and Morris Fuller, and served as Dane County treasurer.

9 Shipman was elected city treasurer after the Civil War. He designed the rotunda and dome of the second Capitol building and was appointed architect of the building. He designed the post office, Dane County courthouse, Park Hotel, and First National Bank. After moving to Chicago in 1870 he received many commissions after the famous fire of 1871. Born in 1825, he died in 1905. Cornelia’s health broke down during the war “under the cares of family,” and she suffered until her death in 1870.
A Soldier Stays Connected

Stephen Vaughn Shipman carried these photographs throughout the war.

Top row, left to right: Acsah Cornelia Goodrich Shipman; Colonel Bazel F. Lazear, 1st Missouri state military cavalry; Oliver North Worden, Pennsylvania printer and genealogist

Bottom row, left to right: “Your devoted friend P. J. B. Marion, Lt. A. D. C.;” Major Albert J. Morley, 4th Indiana Cavalry; Lt. Col. W. W. Bradley, 7th Kentucky Cavalry
Top row, left to right: Unknown soldier photographed in Kenosha, Wisconsin; Mrs. W. W. Bowers; Capt. L. M. B. Smith, 4th Kentucky Infantry

Bottom row, left to right: Unknown woman, Curtiss photography studio, Madison; Captain B. F. Smith, 6th U. S. Infantry; unknown woman, Curtiss studio
Major General Winfield Scott Hancock

“Hancock the Superb” (1824-1886) commanded the II Corps of the Army of the Potomac with distinction, particularly at the Battle of Gettysburg. Nominated as the Democratic presidential candidate in 1880, he lost to James Garfield in the closest popular vote in U. S. history.

Top: Captain Charles Robinson, Company G, First Wisconsin Cavalry

Bottom: Unknown woman, Bodtker photography studio, Madison, Wisconsin
Madison is not musical, strictly speaking,” so claimed the author who reviewed Madison’s Choral Union for the magazine Music in 1897. The author further concluded that “Madison can hardly be called a musical center.” We cannot tell today whether this evaluation was accurate or misinformed. Despite such harsh criticism, Madisonians enjoyed a very active musical life from the city’s earliest days. Perhaps Madison was not a musical center in the 1890s, but only a few years earlier the city could boast that the acclaimed violinist Ole Bull called Madison home. From the 1850s on, many American and European musicians visited and presented concerts here. If Madison’s musicians were not as accomplished as those in other cities, at least the local folks had an opportunity to hear and appreciate many of the greatest musicians of their time.

This article will look at three of the nineteenth and early twentieth century concert venues in Madison and highlight some of the many musicians who performed in them. There has been no attempt to make this a comprehensive catalog of all local performing venues nor has there been any attempt to list all the important musicians who performed here. Rather, the article is offered as an introduction to the types of musical entertainment and performance locations that existed in historic Madison.

The Baptist Church

Built in 1853, the Baptist Church was situated on the Capitol Square on South Carroll Street. Later the Park Hotel was built adjacent to it. This red brick structure served the Baptist congregation until 1898 when a new church was constructed on the corner of North Carroll and West Dayton streets. At that time the original building was sold to the Wisconsin Telephone Company and remodeled for their purposes. By 1951 the building had been demolished and replaced by a parking lot.

With a dearth of suitable places to host concerts and recitals, the Baptist Church quickly became a popular venue for musical and other public events in the 1850s. Local musical groups such as the Madison Musical Society and the Männerchor held concerts there. The Musical Society consisted of “accomplished amateurs” who provided “entertainment well worth attending” according to the Evening Argus and Democrat. The Society had enough forces to mount an orchestra capable of performing Mozart as well as Auber and other composers whose names mean little to us now. Other local musicians who performed at the Baptist Church included Andrew Pickarts, a graduate of the University of Bonn and a highly respected teacher in the city. Pickarts’ musical activities in Madison included serving as the organist at St. Raphael’s Church and later at Holy Redeemer Church; he was the conductor of the Männerchor for a time. In 1860 the Madison Philharmonic Society performed at the church, and the Baptist Church Choir also presented concerts there.

Of the numerous touring musicians who performed at the church, Anna Bishop (1810-1884) was foremost among them. She was born in
London (née Riviere) and studied singing at the Royal Academy of Music with Henry Bishop, her future husband. They married in 1831 and toured in England and Ireland along with harpist Nicholas Bochsa. In 1839, abandoning her husband and three children, Anna eloped with Bochsa. She survived the resulting scandal and continued to perform under the name Madame Anna Bishop. She toured almost constantly for the remainder of her life, even after Bochsa’s death in 1856, presenting recitals in Europe, North America, South America, and across the Pacific in Hong Kong, Singapore and Australia.5

Bishop’s repertoire ranged from opera to ballads, as this review of her first Madison performance illustrates:

The concert of this distinguished lady at the Baptist Church last evening was attended by a select and highly appreciative audience, all of whom were abundantly and highly gratified. We do not profess to be an amateur in musical matter, but were delighted beyond expression at the melodious

fee was 50¢ for each performance.6 On the day of her first performance, the Wisconsin State Journal wrote: “Madame Anna Bishop’s concert at the Baptist Church will undoubtedly call out the entire elite of the place as well as all who delight in song. An opportunity to hear so distinguished a singer as Mrs. B. is not often presented and will be duly appreciated by the citizens of Madison.”7
voice of Madam [sic] B. and the performances of herself and associates.

The rendering of “Veni la mia Vendetta” from Lucretia Borgia though unintelligible in language was most graceful in manner and charming in sound, and her “Sweet Home,” “Robin Redbreast” and “Oft in the Stilly Night” and other familiar pieces were uttered with charming effect and received with the most unbounded satisfaction.8

“Anna Bishop was one of the most popular English singers of her generation. Her voice was brilliant.”9

Mr. and Mrs. L. V. H. Crosby were New York-based musicians who toured extensively. An advertisement in the Madison paper proudly announced that the Crosbys had presented their “3,100th Ballad Concert” on January 1, 1856, which, if true, was a remarkable achievement. In June of that year “having returned from a successful tour thro’ the Canadas and Eastern British Provinces,” they journeyed to Madison to give two of their “Social Evenings” at the Baptist Church. Their program consisted of “Songs, Ballads, Melodies, Irish Ballads, Recitations, etc., embracing Sentimental, Mirthful and Comic [sic].”10

The Crosbys are representative of many touring vocal ensembles that crisscrossed the nation in the 1840s and 1850s presenting concerts of popular songs. L. V. H. Crosby also composed sentimental songs with titles like The Grave of Washington, She Sleeps in the Valley, Dearest Mae, The Emigrant’s
Daughter, and Ephraim’s Lament. His compositions were widely published and performed by such groups as the Melodeons, of which he was a member, Campbell’s Minstrels, the Washington Euterpeans, and even the famous Christy Minstrels.

**Madison City Hall**

Constructed in 1858 and razed in 1954, Madison’s original City Hall sat on the Capitol Square at the corner of Wisconsin Avenue and West Mifflin Street. David Mollenhoff, author of *Madison, A History of the Formative Years*, noted:

> At the grand opening, newspapers paid particular attention to the “spacious and splendid” third floor auditorium capable of seating 900 persons. Over one hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, the room featured twenty-four foot ceilings, huge windows with more than 400 panes of glass, 150 gas burners, and two large twelve-burner chandeliers for illuminations.

While sometimes functioning as a concert hall, the auditorium served numerous other purposes as well: Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured in it, dancers glided across its floor during the many balls that were held there, and military units drilled on its planks in preparation for war.

Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869), the colorful American pianist and composer, was born in New Orleans where his musical talent was evident at
The Journal of the Four Lakes Region

Gottschalk performed at the Madison City Hall Auditorium on December 26, 1862, with singer Carlotta Patti (1835-1889), older sister of the more famous Adelina Patti (1843-1919) who had previously performed with Ole Bull in Madison. The Wisconsin State Journal reported:

The City Hall was filled last evening with a large and fashionable audience to hear Gottschalk and Patti. The first of American pianists, and among the first in the world, we shall attempt no criticism upon the marvelous sounds which the magic touch of Gottschalk elicits from his favorite instrument. Carlotta Patti’s singing was universally admired, though many who heard her sister Adilina [sic] when she sang here several years since, gave her [Adelina] the preference.14

Gottschalk kept a journal of his travels and wrote the following during his Madison visit: “The town is hardly more than twelve years old, and nevertheless is already remarkable. The cathedral (Catholic) [St. Raphael’s] and the marble capitol are superb.”15

Ole Bull (1810-1880), the internationally known Norwegian violinist, performed in Madison many times over a twenty year span. Much has been written about him, including his years spent in Madison, so there is little need to go into any depth about him here. However, it must be said that his relationship with the city was more than as a touring musician. He lived here intermittently through much of the 1870s with his wife, Sara Thorp, the daughter of a wealthy Wisconsin lumber baron, and their home still stands at 130 East Gilman Street.16 Naturally, the area’s large Norwegian community embraced Bull and he was particularly close to Rasmus Bjorn Anderson, a professor of Scandinavian literature at the University.

Bull’s first local recital took place on July 1, 1856, at the Baptist Church with the young Adelina Patti, and in subsequent years he played elsewhere in Madison including the Congregational Church, in 1877, when it was located on West Washington Avenue. In 1872, under Rasmus Anderson’s influence, Bull presented a benefit concert in the Capitol’s Assembly chamber so that Norwegian books could be purchased for the university library. However, it was his recital scheduled for Monday evening January 20, 1868, at the City Hall Auditorium that created a sensation.

Bull arrived in Madison by train late on Saturday, January 18, after playing for a large crowd in Janesville earlier in the evening. Waiting to greet him at the station were “about 100 torch bearers, exclusively Norwegians, and including some of our most respected citizens.” The Wisconsin State Journal went on to explain that their plan was to escort Bull to his hotel by sleigh. But when the appropriate sleigh had not arrived at the station as scheduled, the violinist preferred to “march with his countrymen... up [West] Washington Avenue to the music of the city band, roman candles and other fire works being frequently discharged by the way.” The group paraded clockwise around the Capitol Square until it reached the Vilas House at the corner of East Main Street and Monona Avenue [Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard] where Bull addressed his fellow Norwegians in their native language.17

The fervor created for Bull’s concert was extraordinary. Ticket sales were so brisk that “speculators” were buying up as many as they could and were selling the $1.00 ticket for $3.00 to $10.00 apiece. When Bull got word of what was happening, he quickly came up with a plan to foil the ticket scalpers. The press reported on January 20:
Funeral march dedicated to Ole Bull
Courtesy Mills Music Library
Ole Bull hopes that his countrymen will not purchase their tickets from such sources, and thus be obliged to pay extra; and to accommodate people from the country, ladies and children who would prefer to attend his concerts in the daytime, he proposes to give a matinee on Monday afternoon when there will be no reserved seats, and all the public have an equal chance to hear him.\textsuperscript{18}

Wisely, Bull scheduled additional concerts to meet the demands of his audience, offering a different program for each performance.

The \textit{Wisconsin State Journal} reported that the “excitement and enthusiasm caused by Ole Bull’s visit and performance here is beyond all precedent.”\textsuperscript{19}

\textit{In the evening the City Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity and with such an audience as never before attended a concert of similar character in the city. All classes were represented, citizens and legislators, American, German, Irish and Norwegian, the later in large numbers; some in broadcloth, silks and laces, some in corduroy, homespun and calico; the Governor sitting in the gallery, and very private citizens, who had engaged seats early, occupying the best places on the floor. The “elite” were there and the masses.}\textsuperscript{20}

Because of the stir that the presence of Ole Bull had created in the city, even the “police were in attendance to preserve order and keep out the crowd who had no tickets.”\textsuperscript{21}

The impact that Ole Bull had on his audience cannot be overstated. An eyewitness account of an 1872 Madison performance attended by a girl who was just 15 at the time was remembered by her nearly 60 years later:

I have heard violin music since then, but I have never been thrilled as I was when I heard Ole Bull. His last encore was Home Sweet Home. All his love and longing for his home were expressed in his music. Many wept and a tear glistened in every eye. As the last sound died away an intense stillness pervaded the chamber, the greatest mark of appreciation any performer can receive, to be followed by rapturous applause. Nearly everyone wanted to speak to him and he kindly remained to meet his friends.

Young people are hero worshipers. I was only 15 years old and how I longed to have him speak to me. I knew that I did not stand any chance for this, but I left my mother and edged in from behind and put my arm through between two men and touched his coat. I returned to my mother and told her that I had touched him and was satisfied now to go home.\textsuperscript{22}

As ornate as the auditorium of the City Hall may have been in its day, there were problems that occasionally made it a less than desirable location for a concert. When the Original Peak Family (“Vocalists, Harpists, and Swiss Bell Ringers!”)\textsuperscript{23} were to perform in Madison in 1860, the \textit{Wisconsin Daily Patriot} made the following comment:

See the announcement of the Peak Family’s concert in this issue. It will be given in the Baptist Church, and this elegant place was chosen chiefly on account of the greater quiet to be enjoyed there in comparison to the disturbing noises that are heard every ten minutes when attending an entertainment in the City Hall.\textsuperscript{24}

On another occasion, the local press gushed over the vocal and instrumental performances of the Continentals, a touring ensemble, but they had only contempt for the conditions in the City Hall in late November 1858:

We are sorry that this talented and gentlemanly company should have had so little attention paid to their own and their hearers’ comfort by those having charge of the City Hall. There were but a few nearly burnt-out embers in the single stove. Such inattention is likely to give the City a “one-horse” name by the respectable strangers who occasionally visit us. But to-night the Continentals will see to the warming of the Hall themselves, and so that all can be inspired by their melody in comfort.\textsuperscript{25}

Beginning in 1871, the Hooley Opera House located at the corner of South Pinckney and Clymer [now East Doty] streets offered both dramatic and musical events. When Hooley (later known
Historic Madison

as Burrows Opera House) closed in 1884 because of structural problems, similar events were held at Turner Hall on South Butler Street. But no auditorium or concert hall in Madison could compare with the dazzling Fuller Opera House when it opened in 1890.

The Fuller Opera House

For more than thirty years, the Fuller Opera House was the most significant concert and theatrical venue in Madison. David Mollenhoff noted: “The Fuller launched a new era for Madison’s cultural history and provided a rich spectrum of entertainment ranging from vaudeville to symphony orchestras.”

It was located on West Mifflin Street, on the Capitol Square, adjacent to the City Hall.

The Fuller Opera House was stunning both inside and out. The exterior “was finished in gray pressed brick, trimmed in putty-colored Bedford stone, and featured oiled oak doors and stained glass windows.” Inside, the building was adorned

Although some of its original luster had vanished by the time this photograph was taken, the Fuller Opera House remained an imposing structure in 1920.

Courtesy Madison Public Library
with “parquet floors, 500 gas and electric lights, gold gilt and amber walls, and frescoed ceilings.”

With seating for 1,200 people, the Fuller had two balconies, a gallery and ten private boxes.

Plays, comic operas, band concerts, symphony orchestras, and recitals with performances by both local and touring musicians resonated nearly non-stop at the Fuller. For example, on successive days in March 1894, the Deshon Opera Company performed seven different comic operas from which Madisonians could select: Boccaccio, The Chimes of Normandy, Said Pasha, La Mascotte, Olivette, H. M. S. Pinafore, and Girola.

The university students were as much a presence at the Fuller as the town folks. University musical and theatrical performances were held there including productions of the Haresfoot Club, a group that featured all male casts in musical farce. One former student reminiscing about the 1890s recalled the Fuller:

The Fuller opera house... was in its glory, and was almost as much a student center as the gym... with the students taking charge there and acting almost as though the place belonged to them.

The students would hitch their belts or neckties together and let them down from the balcony to “snitch” programs from the first floor patrons because they didn’t give programs to gallery customers.

The students absolutely would NOT let any show begin at the Fuller until the orchestra had played “There’s a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight.”

Comedian and singer De Wolf Hopper (1858-1935) appeared at the Fuller many times, notably in the comic operas Panjandrum in 1894, Dr. Syntax in 1895, Wang in 1904, Happy Land in 1906, and in Gilbert and Sullivan’s Mikado in 1915. When not on stage, Hopper acted in several silent films beginning in 1915, and he was also widely recognized for his recitation of the baseball classic, Casey at the Bat, which he recorded for Victor Records and reputedly declaimed thousands of time on the stage.

Another frequent visitor to the Fuller was composer and “March King” John Philip Sousa (1854-1932), who brought his band to town in 1901, 1907 (at the University Armory), 1912, 1920 and 1922. In conjunction with his 1922 concert, Sousa also addressed the local Kiwanians and seemed to slide naturally into the role of comedian:

“There was a time in my life when I suffered tortures from insomnia,” said Lieut. Com. John Philip Sousa, conductor of the world famous band, before the Kiwanis club this noon. “I was then living in Washington,” he said. “There was only one way in which I could gain relief. I used to go to the senate galleries in the Capitol, curl up in a chair, and inside five minutes I’d be asleep.

Mr. Sousa’s address called forth gales of laughter: Before the address, members led by Prof. Dykema of the school of music, whistled Stars and Stripes, America’s national march, of which Mr. Sousa is the composer.

Theodore Thomas (1835-1905) was a singularly prominent American conductor in the nineteenth century. Beginning in 1869 he instigated regular tours of his New York-based orchestra across the United States and Canada, and the orchestra he formed in Chicago in 1891 became the foundation of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.

The Theodore Thomas Orchestra first came to Madison in May 1895 when it appeared at the University Armory (Red Gym). The performance was near the conclusion of a grueling eight week tour through the Midwest. The 59 year-old conductor wrote to his wife during the tour: “This is as hard a trip as I ever made. I don’t see how I can do this any more.” The number of performances was arduous to be sure. But the accumulated effect of constant travel, frequent bad food, and exhaustion due to inferior accommodations (he even made music with bed bugs in Omaha) nearly drove Thomas to despair.

Thomas returned to Madison in 1900 and performed at the Fuller on November 13. Upon the death of Thomas in 1905, Frederick Stock assumed the leadership of the orchestra. Stock
brought the ensemble back to the Fuller and performed there on January 18 and November 30, 1909. During the 1912-1913 season, the Madison Orchestral Association sponsored a series of three performances by the Thomas Orchestra at the Armory. Although the local press advertised their coming as the “Theodore Thomas Orchestra,” the name formally changed to the Chicago Symphony Orchestra in 1912.

At the close of the nineteenth century, Richard Strauss (1864-1949) was the most prominent living German composer. Today he is recognized as the creator of brilliantly orchestrated symphonic tone poems including Don Juan (1888), Tod und Verklärung (1889), Till Eulenspiegels lustige Streiche (1895), Ein Heldenleben (1898), and Also sprach Zarathustra (1895), the theme of which was popularized in the 1968 film 2001: A Space Odyssey. In addition, Strauss composed such well known operas as Salome, Elektra, and Der Rosenkavalier. However, it was his role as a composer of art songs that brought him to Madison on December 8, 1921, when he served as the piano accompanist to operatic soprano Elizabeth Schumann (1888-1952).

The delight of a whole evening of German songs was proved by the repeated applause given Richard Strauss, world famous composer, and Elisabeth Schumann, soprano, in their concert at the Parkway Theatre last evening. The unaffected air and gracious manner of the artists completely won over the audience. The entire performance was delightful.

Richard Strauss at the piano played his own compositions with perfect ease and expression. The cooperation and understanding between the composer and the singer made for remarkable interpretation of the numbers.

While billed as a “Strauss Evening,” the performers were forced to substitute a few Schubert songs when some of the Strauss music was lost prior to the recital. Their performance included his Schlechtes Wetter and Wiegenlied, the latter piece sung three times, perhaps in part because the “audience, at the close of the concert, was not satisfied with the short program presented. Applause called the artists back and the listeners would not leave the hall until several songs were repeated.”

Strauss and Schumann performed in Madison shortly after the Fuller had undergone a major remodeling and a name change to the Parkway Theatre. As the decade wore on, the Parkway increasingly became a venue for movies. The building was torn down in 1954.

Madison’s musical venues during the 1850s to the 1920s ranged from the sturdiness of a red brick church to the relative opulence of the Fuller Opera House, and the music performed in those years was as rich as it was diverse. During the same period, music and theatrical events were held at other locations around town including Fairchild Hall (at the corner of South Pinckney and East Main streets) and at both the Armory and Music Hall on the university campus. In 1858, there was even a “concert every night” at the “Concert Garden” located on East Washington Avenue at Canal Street [now Hancock], although there were “no Ladies admitted without Gentlemen.”

Perhaps there is evidence to suggest that Madison was very musical prior to and after 1897, and that the author who claimed the contrary just got it wrong.
Notes


2 Such public events included the Madison Institute, an organization that sponsored lectures by visiting intellectuals including Horace Greeley (who spoke at the Baptist Church) and Ralph Waldo Emerson (who spoke at the City Hall). For further information see George H. Bresnick, “The Madison Institute: Intellectual Life and the Lyceum Movement,” *Journal of Historic Madison* XI (1993), p. 37-52.

3 “Concert,” *Evening Argus and Democrat*, April 1, 1856, p. 3.


9 Temperley.

10 Mr. & Mrs. L. V. H. Crosby Concert, advertisement, *Evening Argus and Democrat*, June 3, 1856, p. 3.

11 The well-known and enduring Christy Minstrels appeared in Madison on June 16-18, 1856, at Fairchild Hall which was located at the corner of South Pinckney and East Main streets.


19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.


24 “See the announcement of the Peak Family Concert in this issue,” *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, August 9, 1860, p. 3.

25 “Concluding Concert of the Continentals in this City,” *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*, November 22, 1858, p. 3.


27 Mollenhoff, p. 226.

28 Mollenhoff, p. 225.


30 Betty Cass, “Remember the Days,” *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 36, no. 2 (November 1934), p. 43. The original text includes question marks at the end of each sentence, playing off the title of the article.

31 “Senate Lulls Sousa to Sleep,” *The Capital Times*, October 17, 1922, p. 4.


33 “German Songs Charm Strauss Audience Here,” *The Capital Times*, December 9, 1921, p. 6.
34 Ibid.

35 Concert Garden, advertisement, *Wisconsin Daily Patriot*,
August 13, 1858, p. 3.

*1885 woodcuts, depicting churches and other venues used for concerts in Madison*

**Top: Madison from University Hill**

**Bottom: State Street and Bascom Hill from the Capitol**
In the 1870s, restaurants closed by 8 p.m. Night-shift workers and college students studying late had nowhere to go to get a quick “lunch” or snack late at night. Seeing an opportunity, men with small hand carts or horse-drawn wagons began visiting factory gates or street corners. They peddled sandwiches, boiled eggs, small pies and coffee, which had been made by their wives. One of the first with this idea was Walter Scott of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1872. He sat in his cart and sold the food items through a window. Customers stood around the cart and ate the food.

Ruel B. Jones, another Providence resident, also sold food from a cart when, in 1883, he commissioned the first vehicle to be specifically built as a “lunch wagon.” In late 1884 Samuel M. Jones, a cousin of Ruel Jones, moved from Providence to Worcester, Massachusetts, and became the first person to build a lunch wagon that customers could enter. The wagon had a kitchen, standing room for the customers, intricate woodwork, and stained-glass windows. He called it “The Owl.” He began to build and sell lunch wagons under the name Pioneer Lunch Wagons. They cost $1,400 in 1894.

On September 1, 1891, Charles H. Palmer received the first patent given for a lunch wagon design. The patent described what was to become the standard configuration for nearly 25 years: the wagon had an enclosed body with the forward portion extending over a set of small front wheels; the rear was narrower to stand between the high back wheels. In the rear of the wagon was the “kitchen-apartment” with a counter separating it from the “dining-room space” where stools or chairs could be installed. Over one of the high rear wheels was a window for passing food to people standing on the curb. The other side had a carriage window, through which people could drive up and place an order.

Thomas H. Buckley of Worcester, Massachusetts, began building lunch wagons in 1888. He also dealt in lunch wagon supplies, including dishes and urns, knives, linoleum and fire pails. Buckley’s innovation was adding cooking stoves to lunch wagons; this expanded the menu considerably from sandwiches, frankfurters, and pies to include hamburgers, baked beans, clam chowder, poached eggs and waffles.

Buckley’s most famous series of lunch wagons, the “White House Cafes,” was first introduced on September 4, 1890. The cafes were generally 16 feet long, 6 to 7 feet wide, and 10 feet high. Buckley was granted two patents on his lunch wagon designs, which were original in that they featured windows encircling the entire wagon. The first patent, dated January 10, 1893, was one-half assigned to Ephraim L. Hamel of Lynn, Massachusetts. He was a native of Canada who moved to Lynn as a young boy. In 1891 he sold a night lunch from his house at 49 Wheeler Street. The following year he entered into business with Buckley to manufacture “White House Night Lunch Wagons” in Lynn until 1910.

The White House Cafes were unique. As one contemporary remarked, “These wagons are...
perfect little palaces and are admired by all who see them.” Each wagon was ringed with windows of frosted glass and red-and-blue flash glass. Using this combination of “the national colors” produced a very pleasing light inside the wagon. In the plainer models, the window glass was etched with scroll designs. More elaborate wagons had “pictured lights” as the stained-glass windows were called, some with four goddesses representing music, flowers, day and night. Others were etched with portraits of presidents Washington, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Harrison and Cleveland. Some had contemporary fighters or boxers. The wagons were painted brilliant white on the outside and often had hunting scenes, landscapes, ships or historical tableaus added to them for additional color.

**Lunch Wagons come to Madison**

“An Observer” wrote a letter to the editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal* on December 12, 1902:

“Madison has one feature which probably is the only one of its kind in the west. This is the lunch wagon. Built like a circus van, they are used in nearly all of the eastern college towns and the students would be lost without the quick lunch. The use of the wagons in this city was first started last year when R. L. Richardson brought one from the east and set it up at 2 East Main Street. Mr. Richardson is a Spanish-American War veteran, having served in the Cuban campaign, during which he was wounded at the battle of Santiago. He came west hoping to regain his lost health and having seen the college lunch wagons of the eastern cities, he at once thought of bringing one to Madison. The wagon quickly proved an attraction to the students,
In 1902 there were 80 saloons and just 11 restaurants in Madison. The only other option for students was to eat at the boarding houses where they lived.

Ralph L. Richardson came to Madison about 1898 from Watertown, New York. He opened his first lunch wagon on June 21, 1902, on the Capitol Square (2 East Main Street) after he obtained the $50 yearly license required by law. It was 16 feet long, 6 feet wide and 10 feet high. The interior was beautifully decorated and finished in oak. He opened his second one at 415 State Street in October 1902. When the license was challenged he was supported by Alderman Kroncke who thought that the wagons were no more an obstruction to

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1915 view of the 400 block of State Street between West Gorham and West Gilman. Richardson’s Lunch Wagon is visible just beyond the horse-drawn sleigh at 415 State Street. Wisconsin Historical Society image 25145
Historic Madison

Richardson brought a total of five lunch wagons to Madison. The wagons were made by Ephraim Hamel in Lynn, Massachusetts, and cost $1,000 each. He employed Levi B. Moyer to manage several of the wagons.

Richardson is credited with introducing the hamburger to Madison. He died during the national influenza epidemic in 1918 at the age of 47. His wife, Mae F. Peltier Richardson, sister of another lunch wagon entrepreneur, Albert M. Peltier, continued to manage the lunch wagons for a short time and still had an interest, with T. Lawrence Tuttle, in the lunch wagon at 605 East Wilson Street, when she died on February 3, 1947.

In 1911, the Madison City Directory lists the following five locations for the “Lunch Wagons”: 415 State Street, 601 East Wilson Street, 627 West Washington Avenue, 230 King Street, and 820 University Avenue.

The 1914 Madison City Directory lists the following five locations: 415 State Street, 605 East Wilson Street, 101 East Mifflin Street, and 824 and 1301 University Avenue.

Albert M. Peltier was born in Manchester, New Hampshire, and came to Madison about 1913. His sister, Mae, was married to Ralph Richardson. He bought the Bismarck Restaurant at 110 King Street, one of the most popular restaurants and taverns in the city. After the nation went dry, Mr. Peltier bought one of his sister-in-law’s lunch wagons located at 117 Monona Avenue (now Martin Luther King, Jr., Boulevard) and moved it to a vacant lot at 26 East Doty Street. Mr. Peltier closed his lunch wagon in 1934 when he was unable to get a new license because of the city’s restaurant
requirements. Among his lunch wagon’s patrons was U. S. Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr. An old-timer once said that in his opinion, more legislating was done at Al’s lunch wagon by members of the legislature than in the Capitol. From 1933 until his death in 1948 he owned a tavern at 106 King Street. The old lunch wagon was moved by Herman Schimming and became a “shack” on land next to the Nine Springs Sewage Treatment Plant.

**T. Lawrence “Larry” Tuttle** operated the 11 by 22-foot Columbian Café lunch wagon at 605 East Wilson Street, across from the Chicago and North Western Railroad Station, for 49 years. By the time it was torn down in 1953, it was one of Madison’s last early-day lunch wagons. By then it was drab red, smoke-grimed and a little insecure on its underpinnings, but the Columbian originally was a thing of beauty. It had stained-glass windows, with insert outlines of U. S. presidents, and was painted a bright yellow. There were 11 stools for counter customers. For 38 years the Columbian Café was operated around the clock, but by 1953 the hours were 5:00 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. In an interview in *The Capital Times* on February 23, 1953, Tuttle said: “Over the years, I’ve had to replace the steel foot railing in front of the counter three times, as it became worn through. Most of my..."
Historic Madison

Exterior view of the Columbian Cafe, 605 East Wilson Street
The Capital Times, February 23, 1953

The Cracker Box, operated by Earl Anderson and Victor Crabtree beginning in 1946
The Capital Times, June 30, 1946
customers over the years have been railroad men, farmers, mechanics, truckers and taxi drivers. There have been a lot of transients, too, and I’ve served governors, legislators and senators. The first year I was here, we used gasoline in the open burners, and soon changed to gas. I’ll miss the old place – it has been my life, you know.”

Veterans returning from World War II were looking for ways to earn a living. Earl Anderson was stationed at Truax Field during the war. He was familiar with lunch wagons in his home town of Worcester, Massachusetts, but didn’t see any on the streets in Madison. While pondering the possibility of operating a mobile lunch wagon, he met Victor Crabtree, local milkman and entrepreneur. In 1946 the two of them converted a 1934 model Madison bus into a red and white roving lunch wagon they called The Cracker Box. They transformed the interior into a vest-pocket kitchen complete with ice box, grill, sandwich board, coffee urn, steam table, pie racks, ice cream cooler, and a cold drinks barrel. It served the hungry in the university area, at swimming beaches and at factories during the late 1940s.

**Food Carts Today**

By the time the State Street Mall was completed in 1981, many vendors of all types had taken up “residence” each day during the spring, summer
and fall. So many, in fact, that the city council, on April 6, 1982, created an ordinance (Ch. 9.13), and the State Street Mall-Capitol Concourse Operating Committee, under the leadership of Mikele Stillman, created additional regulations to regulate them. In addition to craft vendors, there could be as many as 26 daily food vendors, 17 on the 700 and 800 blocks of the State Street Mall near the University Bookstore and nine around the Capitol Square. Potential food vendors must fill out an application and be screened by the Vending Oversight Committee each year. They are judged on the uniqueness of the food sold and the attractiveness of the carts. Additional food and craft vendors are allowed during the Saturday Farmers’ Markets and other special events downtown.

There is also a Late Night Food Vending ordinance which regulates food vendors who want to sell between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. They are only allowed in the 700 block of State Street, the 400 blocks of North Frances and North Broom streets and the 100 and 300 blocks of West Johnson Street.

Diners

John B. Hanson and his wife, whose name really was Bird, owned a street car restaurant that boasted it could “feed 10,000 people, 10 at a time.” He was a cook in Madison for 50 years, beginning his career at Egan & Kelly’s Restaurant on North

Mrs. Fischer’s Steam Cooked Meals in the 200 block of King Street, next to the sign painting shop Wisconsin Historical Society image 17130
Fairchild Street in the mid 1920s. He worked at another downtown restaurant, Cop’s Cafe, before opening his own diner, called the Spot Lunch, at 610 Williamson Street, in 1937. He was inspired by his mother-in-law, Bessie Vale, who operated Vale’s Street Car Grocery, at 412 North Fair Oaks Avenue, for many years. She had been a painter at the Madison Streetcar Company until she lost her job when the streetcars stopped running in 1935. She bought one of the old yellow streetcars and converted it into a grocery store. The slogan and novel atmosphere of Hanson’s Spot Lunch brought attention from the national press. One of his Depression era inventions for the restaurant was an “air conditioner” which was comprised of painting the roof with aluminum paint, running a water pipe down the middle of the roof, and putting eave troughs on the sides of the car. During hot weather he would turn on the “rain” and the temperature in the restaurant would drop 10 degrees or more. Mr. Hanson operated the restaurant until retiring in 1954, after which he ran a concession stand in the Masonic Temple. He died in 1972.

Mrs. Fischer’s Steam Cooked Meals were served from a diner in the 200 block of King Street from c. 1925 to 1940. Mrs. Fischer was Edward “Ace” Fischer’s mother. He owned a sign painting shop next door and was the Dane County coroner for four terms and sheriff for three terms. In spite of the ownership sign on the diner, Madison city directories list only men as owning or managing the diner.

The Auto Inn or Dixie Diner was located on the corner of East Washington Avenue and North Blount Street from about 1930 to 1973. For the first ten years it was owned by Earl C. Flatman and called the Auto Inn because it catered to the automobile dealership salesman working along East Washington Avenue.

The Auto Inn was a specially built railroad dining car that cost a total of $23,000 when it was fully furnished. The interior decoration scheme of baked porcelain enamel in green and white was so attractive that when officials of the J. G. Brill Company of Philadelphia, who made the dining cars in Cleveland and Springfield, Massachusetts, saw it, they adopted the same scheme for all their cars. Neatness, modernity, sanitation, and attractiveness were its keynotes. Fittings were of polished steel. The floor was white tile. The ventilation system was so perfected as to provide 25 complete changes of air in one hour. A staff of six assisted Mr. Flatman at all times.

On its first anniversary in 1931, regular customers received free tickets entitling them to two Sunday dinners for 25 cents apiece, rather than the usual 75 cent price for the meal.

Earl Flatman was a gardener and decorated the outside of the Auto Inn with window flower boxes, a rock garden a few feet away, and a flower garden around the base of the car. Vases of flowers were on each table. Counter, curb and table service were available. A special waitress was detailed for curb
service from 7 p.m. to 1 a.m. The specialty of the house in 1931 was the “Chicky Bun,” a ground chicken patty grilled to a golden-brown and served in a soft bun.

When Earl Flatman suffered a heart attack in 1941, he retired and moved to a farm. Then the diner was briefly owned by Charles Fields and called Charlie’s Dining Car. From about 1946 until 1973 it was called the Dixie Diner. The ownership, which changed hands frequently, included Pat and Phil Sporle from 1960 to 1962, and then Robert Harlan until 1971.

The Sporles used their house as collateral to buy the diner but couldn’t make a go of it because the car salesmen would take up the seats, drink coffee, and not order any food.

**Diners Today**

In the summer of 1990 Bob Page and Monty Schiro opened Bob’s Blue Plate Diner in the old Havey Brothers filling station on Atwood Avenue. They had found a “real diner” in New Jersey and wanted to move it to the empty triangular lot at the corner of King and South Butler streets. But the lot was too contaminated from having been a gas station. Several other restaurants in the Madison area are called diners, such as the Fair Oaks Diner, the Hubbard Avenue Diner in Middleton, and the Market Street Diner in Sun Prairie.
Sources


American Diner Museum, at <http://www.americandinermuseum.org>

Madison Street Vending, at <http://www.cityofmadison.com/business/streetvending>

Matchbook from the Auto Inn
Paul Soglin arrived in Madison in 1962 after graduating from Highland Park High School near Chicago. He graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1966. In 1967, he joined the largely student protest against the Dow Chemical Company, a manufacturer of chemicals such as napalm and Agent Orange, used against Viet Cong soldiers and noncombatant Vietnamese people, which was on campus recruiting engineering students.

While a graduate student in the UW history department, Soglin was first elected to the Madison City Council in 1968. He was re-elected in 1970 and 1972. The following year, he ran for mayor and was elected. In May 1969, while a council member, Soglin was twice arrested at the first infamous Mifflin Street Block Party. He was found guilty for “failing to obey the lawful order of a police officer.” Then he was arrested for “unlawful assembly,” but the charge was thrown out by a federal district court. The following fall he enrolled in law school.

Soglin served as mayor of Madison from 1973 to 1979. In 1975, he became the first U.S. mayor and only the fourth U.S. politician to meet with Cuba’s Fidel Castro. In 1979 he became a fellow at the Harvard University Kennedy School of Government. This oral interview was recorded in 1984 while he practiced law in Madison.

Returned to office in 1989, Soglin served additional terms as mayor until 1997. He made an unsuccessful run for the United States House of Representatives in 1996. In 2003, he sought election once again as mayor of Madison, but was narrowly defeated by Dave Cieslewicz. Ironically, in this final campaign for mayor, Soglin was commonly perceived as the conservative candidate.

The following interview with Paul Soglin was conducted on June 28, 1984, by Ruth Doyle for the Historic Madison, Inc. Oral History Project, covering a career which started when he arrived here in Madison as a freshman student in September 1962. The questions posed by Mrs. Doyle are italicized.
I was in high school in the Chicago suburbs [Highland Park] and, like all high school students looking for a place to go to school, I had a number of criteria for what was important, one of which was being in the Midwest. Family wanted me to be close enough to home so that I could get back and forth quickly. Another thing was a school that was excellent academically and was in a city. I didn’t want to be in a place that was isolated, where it was a campus in a small town and the campus completely dominated the city. The other thing was political activity: I wanted to be at a school where things were happening. Madison certainly had that history. Another factor was I did not want to be in a ROTC [Reserve Officers Training Corps] program, and the University of Wisconsin was probably the only state university in the whole United States at that time that did not have compulsory ROTC for its students. At the UW, students were required to go to a five-hour introduction to ROTC but were not required to take one or two years of ROTC as a regular course. That was partially a reflection of the faculty, having debated the issue back in, I guess, the 1950s.

You came with many North Shore Chicago students.

From my high school alone there were 16 of us and there were probably as many from other North Shore schools. That number was to substantially grow. I remember that by about 1965 our high school sent over 40 just in one year. A lot of us didn’t want to go to school in Illinois. It was viewed as being a very drab, boring place where the engineering and technical campuses dominated to the point where culturally, politically and socially there just was not a lot going on. For a liberal arts education, the UW was a far superior place.

When you came, did you go into the dorms like all the other freshmen kids?

I lasted in the dorms [Kronshage Hall] for two weeks. I didn’t like it. In the meantime, friends were living in a rooming house on [North] Henry Street and there was a vacancy. The dorms were overcrowded that year so I had no trouble getting out of my dorm contract and I made the switch. I really don’t know if that was a good idea, in retrospect, because the next year I did not do particularly well academically. My parents thought if I had stayed in the dorms with more supervision, I would have done better. But there really wasn’t that much supervision in the dorms. [Chuckles]. Part of the problem also was that [in the dorms] I was also so far from everything. All of my classes were on Bascom Hill. I spent a lot of time at the [Memorial] Union. All my friends lived somewhere in the Langdon and Gilman Street areas, and I was out in the Lakeshore dorms. That’s why I made the switch. If my child was living in a rooming house under those circumstances, I’d be concerned about how much time they were spending studying or sleeping. We were not a particularly good group of students. And we were not good influences on one another. It was all male. We had houseparents. They were graduate students who were too preoccupied with their own studies to worry about us.
Were you all freshmen?

That was another part of the problem. Except for two out of the some 25 living in the rooming house, we were all freshmen. Somehow I made it through that first year. I was probably the only one in that group that really had any political interests. Everybody had a lot of social interests. A lot of the fellows were interested in fraternities, or were members of fraternities. The stereotype that comes out of the movie Animal House (we’d go to school long enough or study long enough to pass our exams, and the rest of the time was one big party) pretty much held.

My political activity was really rather limited. I went to a Friends of SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee] meeting a few times. I began to meet some people who were involved in politics, mostly from spending time at the student union. But I really wasn’t doing all that much. The following year I moved to another rooming house up on [North] Frances [Street], next to the Brathaus. There we had a better balance. My roommate was a medical student. But he wasn’t the greatest influence in the world either. He ended up flunking out of medical school. He worked hard at it. [Laughs]. My parents, of course, thought this was wonderful. Here I am a sophomore and I’ve got a roommate who’s a medical student. Now we’re going to

*Kronshage Hall, summer of 2008
Photo by Lyle Anderson*
seriously get down to business. Unfortunately the week of registration I got mononucleosis and ended up in the hospital for about the first two or three weeks of the semester, and then spent the rest of the semester sleeping. What I should have done was drop out of school. But I dropped one or two courses and somehow I made it through. It was the second semester of my sophomore year that I began to really see the campus and see the city. Feeling better, I had more time.

I also got a job that second semester. I had a number of jobs. I was a potato tester at the Home Economics Department. They had advertised that they needed students to sample mashed potatoes. They gave us a lot of different ones but not a lot in terms of quantity. We didn’t know what they were doing. It turned out that what we were eating, all those two or three months, was mashed potatoes out of the box. They were experimenting with pre-mixed, dehydrated mashed potatoes. We must have tasted 30 or 40 different formulas and mixtures. Then through my junior year I became the evening switchboard operator for the university. At that time the university central information number was staffed by three or four people during the day up in Bascom Hall. In the evening they had only one student doing it. I would work from five until ten during the week and until midnight on the weekends, three or four nights a week. I felt that I was at the command center of the university!

You really learned the social patterns of the university with that job. I could set my clock, if I wanted to, by how the phones rang. If I was working on a Friday or Saturday, things would start picking up about 4:30 or 5:00, with mostly men calling and they’d be wanting the numbers for their dates. Things would be quiet over the dinner hour and then around 6:30 or 7:30 they would start picking up again. Then it would be very quiet through the evening until about 11:00 or 12:00 when fellows at bars were looking for girls and would start calling, trying to get telephone numbers and find out what happened to so-and-so. It would stay pretty active then until close to bar time, and then it would drop off again.

During the week there would hardly be any calls. You could tell when people were studying. As the week went on, each night would get busier and busier. Students are less likely to study on Wednesday than they did on Monday or Tuesday, or less likely to study on Thursday. I learned a pattern of the frequency of the calls during the week and also during the time of day.

I held that job most of my junior year. But by that time I had gotten active with SNCC and had also finally decided what I wanted to do, having dropped the sciences and the mathematics. At that time I was taking a lot of courses in history and political science. I remember my first real venture was at the time of the [civil rights] march in Selma, when a number of us went out into Madison doing door-to-door canvassing and trying to raise money. I didn’t know it at the time, but I ended up in what was the Jenifer-Spaight Street area. Like most students, the real boundaries of the city were the boundaries of the immediate streets around the university, and then the main streets out of town, to get to Chicago or to get to Milwaukee.

For example, at the time, the whole Hilldale shopping center was under development. There were constantly articles in the paper about the development (and the controversies involved). I had never been to Hilldale, I didn’t know where Hilldale was, and I really didn’t care! I had no knowledge of the city other than the fact that the airport and Oscar Mayer’s were on the east side, a lot of the university faculty lived on the west side, and that was about it.

_Did you go to Selma?_  

No. I remember that the busses from Madison never made it to Selma. State troopers in the southern states north of Alabama were not letting busses from the North through. A lot of those busses, I remember, ended up going to Washington. One or two busses did leave Memorial Union [on August 28, 1963]. The rest of us did canvassing, and there were some demonstrations here in Madison.

That was probably my first real opportunity to see the city. One thing which became more important
and really had a profound influence on me later on was the relationship between what was going on on campus and the rest of the city. I remember in October of 1963 (a month before President Kennedy was assassinated) there was a demonstration against American participation in Vietnam on the steps of Memorial Union. I remember there was a telegram from Congressman Kastenmeier, who was already a hero for me. He had been one of the five members of Congress who had fought to stop the House Un-American Activities Committee. There were just five of them at the time. It would take another 12 years until they were successful [in 1975].

I didn’t even know who the people were in the civil rights activities. It stayed that way really until the draft demonstrations in 1965 and 1966. In the meantime, there were some profound changes on the campus, changes which nobody really understood in terms of the changing relationship with the city and the university, and not the least of which was the change in the university housing policies, that students no longer were required to live in the dormitories, the approved university rooming houses, or sorority and fraternity houses. At that time only graduate students or students who were over 21 could live in their own apartment.

With that change were different effects – the effect of the students moving out into residential areas had land use planning consequences. It also brought students and non-students closer on the kind of political issues that were going to dominate during the late 1960s.

When I first decided to run for city council in 1968, people were saying, “Why do that? What does that have to do with war in Vietnam?” Two years earlier those of us who were involved in student government at the university had formed a new campus political party. It was called University Community Action. The premise behind the party that made it different from all the other student political groups was that it was not just a campus organization. We realized that things we were concerned about were city-wide issues. And that if we were going to see changes, the discussion had to go beyond the campus.

When did the 18-year-old vote come?

The 18-year-old vote was not until 1971, so many of us could not vote. [Amendment XVI to the U. S. Constitution lowered the voting age from 21 to 18. It was ratified on July 1, 1971.] When it became 18, the issues that meant a lot to us could be pushed by students living in the dorms. Then the registration rules changed even more. For me it goes back to the Dow demonstration in 1967.

That changed your life very considerably?

That had a very profound change. But more than the demonstration was the aftermath. A church on Madison’s northeast side [Sherman Avenue Methodist Church at 3705 North Sherman Avenue] wanted to have a discussion about what had happened. They invited a number of people to come out and participate. We had a panel. I really didn’t understand the significance of all the people on the panel at the time (this was in late October or early November of 1967). On that panel was Dean of Students Paul Ginzberg; Police Inspector Herman Thomas, who I had no idea who he was; and a conservative Madison attorney [Bill Dyke], who I didn’t know. Folks had told me he had run for mayor in 1966, and did not make it through the primary. So we were on this panel.

Were you the only student?

There might have been one other student. What struck me about that panel discussion and the questions was the tremendous gulf of information between the members of that congregation and those of us on campus. They had absolutely no idea as to the intensity we felt about the war in Vietnam and what the war meant. They had no more understanding of what was going on on the university campus than if it happened on a campus in Mexico or India. There were all these meetings all the time, the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, but we were really very self-contained, as it turned out. [This experience] just reinforced my own feelings that it was real important that there be a dialogue. I saw the city council and my being an alderman as a way of accomplishing so many things at once.
Had nobody ever thought about the city council in those terms before?

Well, actually there had been one other person who had planted the idea a year or two earlier. I think his interest was a little different, where he just wanted to be on the city council. But I suddenly thought, “That’s a great idea!” We’ve got issues in Madison that are not just university issues. Housing was a perfect example. The city was in the position, not the university, with dealing with housing problems in apartments, the quality of housing, and that was a major concern. The police department was certainly under the control of the city and, if you assume that the leaders of the city are on the city council, by definition, what an excellent group to have a dialogue with so they’ll get a better understanding of what’s really going on.

But in those days was it a new idea to think that the city council was in charge of the city?

Well, there were a lot of surprises. [Laughs]. There were an awful lot of surprises. There were surprises that the other members of the council had when they found out that myself, and later Gene Parks and Dennis McGilligan, had interests that dealt with the city, and we weren’t there just to talk about Vietnam.

I was surprised at the extremes at which some people were: those who just totally dismissed and ignore me and Gene, and those people who wanted to listen. The perfect example of that was the difference between aldermen Harold “Babe” Rohr [who represented the 14th ward 1956-1970 and was president of Madison Federation of Labor for 25 years] and Leo Cooper [Milwaukee Road switchman for 40 years and alderman from 9th ward 1963-1971; also ran for mayor in 1971 and 1973]. Here were two fellows of the same generation [Rohr was born in 1918, Cooper in 1919], very common experiences, coming out of organized labor. Rohr just really had nothing to do with us, didn’t want to have anything to do with us, and didn’t want to listen to us. Leo [on the other hand] was always asking questions. Leo didn’t say, “Well, just because it’s coming from their mouths, it’s not to be listened to.” We had real city concerns and Leo was ready to work with us.

Of course, the same thing was true of Alicia Ashman. In those instances it wasn’t so startling to me, because I expected that. Knowing who she was, knowing the district she represented, the interests she had before she came on the council, it wasn’t surprising, as it was with Leo Cooper.

There were even some conservative members of the council, like Bill Dries [UW professor of mechanical engineering, born 1930], who represented the 21st district at that time. Bill and I got along on very little. I remember when we had a council resolution supporting the grape boycott, he brought his own picket sign to the council meeting which said, “Eat grapes.” Yet in 1970 and 1971, when we were redistricting the council, Bill and I sat down and worked it out. Nobody else wanted to do it. It turned out, despite our political difference, there was something we were both committed to, which was following the one-person, one-vote mandate of the U. S. Supreme Court and at the same time preserving the integrity, as best we could, of 22 neighborhood districts.

Could you back up just a second? You were elected to the council the first time you ran.

The first time I ran and was elected was 1968. It was a 21-year-old vote at the time, but what made the difference was that we had on the ballot the anti-war referendum: “Should it be a policy of the City of Madison, etc.” That brought out a lot of students to vote. I had nothing to do with [getting the referendum on the ballot], but Professor Maurice Zeitlin [UW department of sociology] was actively involved. He and his supporters circulated a petition and met the legal requirements which got it on the ballot. That brought out a lot of students to register and vote for the first time. But the voter turnout was still very low. Relative to past years, it was very high. But compared to a city-wide basis, it was still low, and it really wouldn’t start growing until 1970 or 1971.

Did the students in the dorms vote in that?

Some did. It was very hard, though. It was like
(Above)
Student protesters
1968 Badger yearbook

(Top right)
Percy L. Julian, Jr., obituary photograph
Wisconsin State Journal, February 27, 2008

(Bottom right)
Joseph E. Kauffman
1968 Badger yearbook
finding a needle in a haystack, to find students in the dorms who were 21. The only dorms that were in the district at that time were the southeast dorms. I remember there were a couple of floors set aside for graduate students at the time so I concentrated there. But most of the students who were over 21 were living in the apartments in the district, which included the whole West Washington Avenue, West Mifflin Street, West Johnson Street area, and then crossing State Street, the whole Gilman Street, North Henry Street, and Langdon Street areas.

*Was your first election to the council after the Dow demonstration?*

Yes. Dow was October 1967 and the election was the following spring.

*And was it the Dow that catapulted you into the leadership position?*

The funny part about it is I had virtually nothing to do with what happened until after the demonstration. When the demonstration took place, I was just one more student. I had been active in student things, like the Wisconsin Student Association and student government. I was in my second year of graduate school at that time. After the Dow demonstration, I think more by default than anything else, I ended up in some position of responsibility.

The university in the spring of 1967 had adopted rules on demonstrating that provided “if students do any of these things, they will be immediately expelled or suspended,” and so on. Our initial belief was that this was going to be a peaceful demonstration. Virtually everybody thought that those university rules were a violation of the rights of free speech, that they had a chilling effect. We felt that if, for example, a student were to participate in civil disobedience, which is really what we expected (that maybe there would be a sit-down and then people would be passively moved away), that for the university to take summary action against the student in expelling or suspending him was a violation of the First Amendment. About seven or eight of us thought that we ought to do something about that.

*You knew about the rule before the demonstration ever occurred?*

Exactly. Maybe people would be arrested for disorderly conduct, for civil disobedience, but that certainly didn’t seem to me to be something that warranted the university throwing somebody out of school without a hearing. So we went to Attorney Percy Julian. There were ten plaintiffs. This was before the [Dow] demonstrations. He agreed to represent us and file an action. The only reason my name was at the beginning of the lawsuit was that I was able to scrape together the first 50 dollars that we raised toward our attorney’s fees. Because I was the one who came up with the money first, he put my name at the beginning of the suit [Soglin v. Kauffman in U.S. District Court in Madison, 286 F.Supp. 851]. [Laughs].

*Even if there had been no Dow demonstration, that lawsuit would have...*

It would have gone off anyway, yes. Our principal concern was the rules.

*That’s interesting. I always assumed nobody ever read those rules. We had no idea there was a little group of students poring over them.*

[Laughs]. Yes. That was principally, really, where my concern came from (the involvement through student government) and that’s probably why I was aware of those things. But I think at that point everybody was aware of the rules. I’m sure *The Daily Cardinal* had been saying, “Here’s the new University rules on demonstrations,” and so on. I can’t even remember how long that matter was litigated. Eventually we prevailed [on October 24, 1969]. It was an interesting experience and was my first real experience with the law. You see, what had happened... this is backtracking. In 1966, when I graduated, I had been accepted for graduate school in history and to law school. In September of 1966, on registration day, I had two packets: one for graduate school and one for law school. It was when I got those two packets that I made my mind up to go to graduate school in history which, in retrospect, was the best thing I could have done. I am sure that if I had gone to law school at that time I would have
ended up flunking out. I just would not have been applying myself the way it was necessary in law school. From that experience in 1967 and through 1968 with that lawsuit, and then later on when I was arrested in 1969, I said, “Wait a second. It may not have been time to go to law school in 1966, but it’s time to go to law school now.” [Chuckles].

Concerning the lawsuit, in 1965 through early 1967, there had been a number of court cases dealing with the question of the chilling effect by government officials regarding people’s free speech. The basic thrust of those cases had been that, if people had planned to do something that was legal and a constitutionally protected right, such as peacefully demonstrating or expressing themselves in another peaceful way, and someone in authority had threatened them with reprisal if they carried out this activity, the courts had been issuing orders before the event saying, “We will not allow these threats to have a chilling effect on people’s right of free speech and expression.”

Several weeks prior to the Dow demonstration, Dean [of Student Affairs, Joseph] Kauffman warned that if students were to participate in the demonstration
and do certain other activities, they would be subject to discipline and suspension, possible expulsion, and in some instances the discipline would go into effect without a hearing and the student would have a right to appeal. 

*Were you aware that demonstrations were in the works? Had the announcement been made that Dow was coming to the campus?*

Yes. Everyone knew that Dow was coming in October 1967 and that there were going to be demonstrations. That had been known, I think, at least since late August. It was first known generally by students when the registration issue of *The Daily Cardinal* came out, because that issue contained a list of all the campus recruiters who were scheduled for the coming semester and Dow was listed as coming in mid-October. 

**Had Dow been subject to demonstrations elsewhere?**

Yes, and here in Madison the previous spring. That demonstration [in February 1967], except for two or three small incidents involving two or three people, had been a demonstration that was within the law. Students picketed, students did things that were within the First Amendment. There had been an instance or two where some students had lain down behind a police vehicle, at the site of one of the demonstrations, and there had also been an instance or two where students had picket signs inside the campus buildings. One of the university rules was
that you couldn’t have a sign inside a building. We were concerned about these kinds of things. For example, did free speech mean you could have a picket sign inside a building? And what if somebody did have such a sign and was automatically disciplined? That’s where we thought there would be a chilling effect, given what Dean Kauffman had said. The same thing is true in terms of a peaceful sit-in, where perhaps the student might be subject to some kind of a civil action in terms of a disorderly conduct charge, a misdemeanor, or a small fine. But that didn’t necessarily mean that the University was in a position to add additional penalties.

So, keeping all this in mind is what led us to go seek out Attorney Percy Julian and ask him to file an action which said, “Dean Kauffman’s statements have a chilling effect” and to, in effect, get the university restrained from taking any actions to discipline students or even to threaten them for any constitutionally protected rights. Then, once the suit was filed [Soglin v. Kauffman, 286 F.Supp. 851], came the demonstrations. Following the demonstrations the suit was amended, because at that point some students were subject to discipline.

_Had they actually expelled some students?_

I don’t remember that anyone was expelled, because by that time we had gotten a temporary order. I really have little recollection of the court decisions and other orders that were issued during that whole period, other than the final opinion [Soglin v. Kauffman, 418 F.2d 163], which I had to read several times for law school classes. [Chuckles]. We were quite pleased with the results. From the beginning when the action was first filed, through the various hearings and through the various appeals, the courts consistently said, “You can’t have a chilling effect on people’s rights to express themselves.”

There was a lot of talk about double jeopardy, that if you were arrested by the Madison police, they called the UW police.

One thing that got clarified was that if a student was arrested off campus in something not related to campus activity, the university generally was not in a position to discipline the student. Part of the problem was that university regulations in the state _Administrative Code_ have the force of law. So if a student was doing something on campus, they could be arrested, for example, for disorderly conduct or unlawful assembly. And at the same time [the student] might be in violation of a half dozen different university rules and regulations.

During that period following October 1967, I don’t think that became a problem the way it was prior to October 1967. Most students who got in trouble were not subject to double jeopardy. Usually the matter was simply left to be handled in courts. Only in the most extreme instances did the university take action against students.

_Actually, university expulsion was a much more serious deprivation for a student than a 50 dollar fine or a few days in jail._

Exactly. I think the university might have taken action against a handful of students, perhaps suspending them, if students were involved in destruction of university property. Even then it was only when it was a threat to academic property as opposed to non-academic property. Pushing over a wastebasket or pushing over a police car was not
as serious as disrupting classrooms or disrupting research notes.

When Sterling Hall [which housed the Army Mathematics Research Center] was bombed [on August 24, 1970], Robert Fassnacht [a graduate student in physics] lost his life, a building was destroyed, and for three or four researchers five to ten years of research was lost. I think to this day, a greater loss was felt for the loss of the researchers’ work than for the destruction of the bricks and the mortar, which could be replaced. That’s in terms of those two losses. I don’t think there’s any comparison at all in terms of the loss of life.

It seemed to me that the [Sterling Hall] bombing has gotten the reputation, I think unwarranted, of being the end [of peaceful demonstrations], that because of the bombing, everybody turned it off. It seems to me that the movement was in a major state of change before that bombing ever occurred.

I completely agree with that. My feeling is that at the time of the bombing, the roots of the change were already in motion since the summer of 1968.

What started happening in 1968 and certainly by 1969 was the anti-war movement. Several things were happening. One, the movement was growing by leaps and bounds. It was geometrically increasing in size and the anti-war movement didn’t know how to deal with that. Those who had gotten involved in 1963, 1964, 1965, up through about 1966 and 1967, were subject to a very long, drawn-out educational process, a lot of meetings. I remember meetings that would go on for three or four hours over how to word a paragraph in a statement, or one sentence, and a great deal of discussion took place. There was a very high level of discussion about the issues and the process. When more people became involved, starting in 1968 and 1969, that educational component was lost. It was simply too difficult and too cumbersome to have a meeting with three or four thousand students. It was hard enough when it was a hundred.

And you’d have to include congressmen and senators and other people to be aware of it.

Yes. As the size increased, the depth began to diminish. New people joining were really not as patient. They were ready to move now. The movement became one dimensional. The only way it could express itself was in demonstrations. All the aspects of discussion and education were lost. There were no teach-ins. The educational component had long since disappeared. For just a few individuals, there was that ultimate step which involved violence.
VAN’S BLAST AT UW KILLS ONE AND HURTS

Sealed Off Site of Main Blast Area, Marked With X, Where Explosion Was Set

‘Conspiracy of a Small Minority’
It’s Part of Plot, Knowles Says

Truck Thief Sought in Campus Explosion

Wisconsin State Journal, August 25, 1970
IN MEMORIAM

This is the site of the Sterling Hall bombing, which occurred at 3:40 AM on August 24, 1970. An outstanding research scientist, Dr. Robert Fassnacht, was killed in the bombing while working during the night in his laboratory on a physics experiment studying a basic mechanism for superconductivity in metals. Three others were injured. Dr. Fassnacht was 33 years old, married, and had three young children.

(Above) Sterling Hall in 2008

(Below) Sterling Hall memorial plaque

Both photos by Lyle Anderson
Many people had never dreamed in their wildest dreams that they would be doing the things they did.

Yes. I remember talking with Reva Steinzor right after the bombing (she was editor of The Daily Cardinal at the time). I remember her saying, “All of us at some point or another have talked about things like this and our imaginations have run wild.” She said she had to ask herself what did she think of the bombing. She said when she asked herself the question as to whether or not she could have done it, she said, no, that was beyond her limits, that her morals and sense of values said no, that’s a wrong thing to do.

I think that process had already been taking place. What I think of is a pot that’s boiling. You turn the flame off, but for a while it’s still going to be boiling. And, in effect, the flame had either... I don’t know if it was completely turned off, but the source of energy had been lowered considerably by 1970. I completely agree that the bombing does not mark a turning point as much as it’s actually a period at the end of what had already been happening.

You maintained that you never were expelled or disciplined by the university, and yet you had the reputation of being a leader of a violent movement. Were you subject to any physical violence yourself?

Yes. In the [October] Dow demonstration I was one of the students who was sitting-in in the corridor and I got beaten pretty handily when the police came in. We were trapped. The corridor was probably about 12 or 14 feet wide, stuffed with students, and the back door was just a regular two and a half foot wide door. The police were coming down the front of the corridor and you just couldn’t get out all the students. What was so amazing to me was that I was well back in the corridor and in just the shortest period of time it seems I was in the front.
row. Everybody in front of me had disappeared. I wanted to know how I found myself in the front so quickly. [Laughs].

Other than that, I was arrested for failure to obey a lawful order of a police officer, which was a traffic offense. That was for being in my car and trying to drive through a street that police contended was open to traffic but wouldn’t let me drive through.

The other time I was arrested was when I had talked to the police, a captain, and he had said, “You stay right here on this corner and don’t move and everything will be all right.” He said, “You can just stand here and observe.” I said, “Okay.” Well, he got called away for something and another officer came along. I tried to explain to him what the captain said, and he didn’t seem to want to listen. The next thing I knew I was arrested for unlawful assembly. That was eventually dismissed.

You were assembling with just yourself?

Yes, that was the interesting part about it. I was standing all by myself. [Laughs]. So, those are the kinds of things that got me in trouble.

Of course, the police learned a great deal.

The change in the police department is extraordinary.

I remember when Karl Armstrong was brought back from Canada [on March 8, 1973]. The crowd gathered in the street and [Police Chief David Couper] stood in the door with his full uniform on, all alone and unarmed, and let the people in, whereas ten years before the police would have been there with their billy clubs and their masks and their tear gas canisters and it would have fomented more trouble than they prevented.

Since the time I became mayor, I eventually became friends with some of these officers. With some of them we’ve never said a word about what happened in the 1960s and early 1970s, but even in the silence there was kind of an understanding of one another. Some of the other officers and I have directly talked about it. I think it was truly a situation where, on both sides, for the vast majority of people everyone was a victim of a system that didn’t work.

And had never been tested in this way.

Yes. If the political process had been responsive, none of this would have happened. On the one side, you had people who saw the political process failing
them and the president going outside of the law and finding themselves with little recourse but to do the same. On the other side, you had the officers who, in terms of really substantial numbers of them, were put in a position of defending law and order in a situation which was not their making, which they didn’t want to be in, in which their sympathies, in many instances, lay with the demonstrators. But they certainly weren’t in a position to say no to their careers. Instead they were trying to find alternatives to some of the methods that were being used, which oftentimes created more violence or led to violence itself. There were, of course, some officers who actively relished and enjoyed the role they played, whether it was using force in the streets or it was doing undercover work or, in some instances, were trying to encourage students to do violent things, to set them up. Those officers, I think, were at a minimum. But the ramifications of that activity were considerable.

Yes. It got exaggerated. But it is like a different world now. I was thinking about these concerts on the Capitol Square. Beautiful evenings. And the police chief lying on the grass with his wife and his bicycle, in perfect relaxation. Not a uniform in sight anywhere. Everybody seeming to have a very good time. Ten thousand of them.

It’s a big change. Ten, twelve years ago, if ten thousand people would have been on the Square, one would just assume that there was a problem. [Chuckles].

That’s right. And that they would have to call in not only our own cops but those from all the neighboring towns. And the National Guard. Tell me how you got into law school.

I applied in the spring of 1969 and got in for the fall semester of 1969. After I took my exams, Dean [George W.] Foster called me in and said, “I suppose you want to know whether or not you’ve been admitted.” He said, “Now, you know, your record is not the best. After all, we admitted you once before and you turned us down. And now you’re active all these years on the campus politically and you’re on the city council. We really think you’re a gamble. In fact, we think you’re going to end up like another graduate of this law school who never really practiced law. That’s Gaylord Nelson.” [Laughs]. I figured that wasn’t too bad company.

To make a long story short, I was admitted. Law school was another experience altogether! By that point, with what was going on with the city council, what was going on with a lot of things involving the anti-war movement, I was at least personally, for the first time, experiencing a lot of contacts with people off the university campus: people either who were not involved in city government but were involved in social and political issues or were involved in the city (I think they get lumped into different categories).

It was 1967 through 1969, just before going on the council that first year, that I met people like Helen Vukelich. Toby Reynolds I had already met when he had run for mayor. Actually I met some of them earlier. It was the summer of 1967. I got a job through the Community Action Commission as an outreach worker in South Madison. I didn’t even know that much about South Madison. I knew it existed. I was just another graduate student who had applied for a work study job and was offered this position in South Madison as an outreach worker. I was totally unsupervised. I was supposed to hang out in Penn Park and try to provide young people in that area with an alternative to hanging out in the park all day. It really was difficult. The neighborhood center had its facility, but it was closed most of the time.

I met some people through St. Martin House [a Catholic outreach ministry at 1862 Beld Street, begun in 1947 and named for Martin de Porres (1579-1639), a mixed-race Dominican brother who lived in Lima, Peru]. And after about a week or so... it was interesting. I was working with kids who were 12 or 13 years old. I see some of them around Madison today. They’re in their late twenties or early thirties. We did different things. I just said, “Okay. We’re going to do this as unstructured as my job assignment is.” There were about a dozen kids. The biggest thing we ever did was somehow I managed to raise some money and get a yellow school bus and we went down to Wrigley Field for a
(Above) Penn Park in the summer of 2008

(Right) Plaque at Penn Park, mounted on the rock in the photo

Both photos by Lyle Anderson
Cubs game. And we did other things. We hung out on the campus. I had a little red sports car and I think about five of us could fit into it. I don’t know how the other kids even managed to get down there. They might have biked down there. We didn’t have any kind of vehicles. I’d say, “All right. We’ll check out the campus today.” We’d head down to campus and check out the student union. And we just spent a lot of time talking.

Were these all black kids?

I think every single one of them was. One kid had to go visit his sister. That became a project. She lived in the Williamson Street area. Somehow he managed to get there. I knew a lot of time was just spent going down to State Street, checking out the campus. Really, what I was trying to do was say, “All right. You live in Madison and you live in South Madison. Let’s see the rest of the city.” At the same time we did a lot of talking. I don’t know how much I got people to read. (The techniques I had learned were not for a situation like that, to bring books around that you’re reading and see whether you get any questions). At the time I was reading The Autobiography of Malcolm X, amongst other things. I never pushed, they never asked questions.

Did any of these kids go to college?

I don’t know. I never really kept track of them. But without knowing it, I did start meeting these kids and then their parents. I was later on to have a lot more contact with them.

Has Penn Park changed?

Penn Park was nothing more than a ball diamond [Clifford L. Penn of Penn Electric opened it as a ball park on June 9, 1948, and brought the Kansas City Monarchs and the House of David baseball teams to play there; in 1953 he donated the land to the city when he retired to Arizona]. The only real contact they had (outside of maybe a structured school situation) with adult whites were the white softball teams that played at Penn Park. It was a year or two summers ago, I attended a ceremony at Penn Park for a dedication [May 21, 1983]. I remember during that ceremony the whole history of the Penn family, the relationship of the black and white families, and the role of softball was heavily emphasized. Yet for these kids, it was not seen as a link between the white and the black communities. It was seen as an intrusion into their neighborhood.

Has the Hispanic population in that area grown?

The Hispanic population was just beginning to make inroads at that point. There might have been one or two Spanish families there. I remember beating my head against the wall, in terms of the neighborhood center. Here’s this neighborhood center and there’s no functions and no activities. The kids can get in a few hours a week to play basketball and shoot pool, but there’s not enough money to keep the place open. That was the first time I met Gene Parks, because Gene was on the staff at the center. It just struck me that it was unfortunate that it couldn’t be utilized the way it might have been.

Was it during your time as mayor that the city council began appropriating funds for that sort of activity?

Yes. That’s something I picked up out of Chicago. It just seemed a natural thing that in every city there should be a neighborhood facility which should get some kind of city support. It seemed to me that was the way it was supposed to be. [Chuckles].

That’s interesting, because now it’s taken for granted. There’s a struggle over how much money.

Yes. Not just how much or which project, but there’s an assumption that there will be some public support. That certainly wasn’t true at the time. Actually, what I was getting at was later on these people and these faces, the contacts will start coming home. I remember when I was first campaigning for mayor, I met Helen Vukelich, who got me into families and arranged speaking activities in South Madison. Sophie Zermuehlen [German teacher, Madison Metropolitan School District, 1973-1983] was another good example and to me really represented what I had seen in Madison and that link we were trying to establish. Sophie lived in the Crestwood area. That was one of the few non-downtown areas where I was doing well on running for mayor.
When it came time to appoint a citizen to the planning commission, it usually was a banker, insurance man, or a developer who would be appointed. There was one thing I was adamant about, which was appointing Sophie Zermuehlen to the planning commission. Her attitude was, “Gee, Paul. I don’t know what this is about.” I said, “Look, exactly what we’re trying to do is break down that aura of expertise. We’ve got city staff people in the planning department. They’ll do all the technical work. I’m just trying to prove a point as to why I ran for mayor, which is that if the ordinary citizen is given the technical information, they can digest it and make choices.” I think she was very highly regarded. She enjoyed it and did a tremendous job. She was a reflection of so many who had always felt that their role was to go out and work for candidates or work on a political or social issue, and not to make decisions.

One of the things that I said was wrong with us was this feeling that maybe we knew what we wanted but we didn’t have the skills to implement it, to make it work. That’s one thing we ended up trying, I think successfully, to prove: you can do it!

Before you ran for mayor, did you serve two terms on the council?


What made you think you could run for mayor? I remember hearing some east-siders talk about Leo Cooper. They said, “He’s not any better than us. What makes him think he can be mayor?” [Paul ran for mayor in 1971 and came in third in the primary behind Bill Dyke and Leo Cooper with 4,251 votes.]

It was sort of my attitude. I think what had happened was that by the time 1972, 1973 rolled around, there was a vacuum. There was no longer an old boy network running the city of Madison.

Why not? It must be more than just the fact that the students moved out all over the city.

I do know why and I don’t. I don’t know why Madison is different. The reason is I think because by that time – just as we were talking about Sophie Zermuehlen on the planning commission – people were feeling that they were as qualified as anybody else, that you didn’t have to be a lawyer, or whatever. Now if you were on the school board, in one sense that’s different, because it was always felt it was all right to have a woman or two on the school board.

On the city council what was happening was the man who traditionally was a principal candidate for an aldermanic district used it as a stepping stone to be mayor or something else. But those seats on the council were no longer going to them automatically.

There had been reapportionment for one thing. All the lines have shifted. Nobody knew who was in what district.

The complexion of the council was changing. If you looked at it in terms of the occupational background, you didn’t have those large numbers to draw from on the council who came out of traditional occupations that eventually produce mayors. And so when I looked around, I said, “You know, given the make-up of the council and everything else, if you take the experience and you take the desire to want to be mayor, there’s not a whole lot of people here.”

Now, with Leo Cooper, I had some serious difficulties about his running, because I didn’t feel that Leo could win – and not for that reason that you mentioned, which is “Well, Leo is the same as us and I’m not qualified to be mayor, so certainly he’s not.” But nobody else on the council really wanted to run.

I thought, “What’s the worst thing that can happen? Either I’ll be defeated, and that’s happened to plenty of other people before, and we’ll just go on as things are going on. And the other possibility is I’ll win and I’ll be a disastrous mayor.” Well, other people have ruined cities. [Chuckles]. The cities survived. I’ll just be a failure as mayor. By that time I had become very active in a lot of planning issues and I felt I really knew the city quite well. And so, given the vacuum, I thought, “I’ll do it. I want to do it.”

I knew it was a tremendous responsibility in one other sense. So many people wanted to beat Bill Dyke. I knew there was this fear that if I got
the nomination because of the split in the vote between Dave Stewart [former president of Capital Community Citizens and program coordinator for academic affairs at UW] and Leo Cooper and myself, and then I lost to Dyke, I would never be forgiven. They would say, “Jeez, if Paul hadn’t run and, for example, Dave Stewart would have gotten the nomination and everybody would have gotten behind him, Dyke would have been defeated.” So I knew there was a responsibility.

How do you account for his defeat?

Well, everybody points to the West High School debate as sort of a turning point, that what he said changed people’s minds. I’m not sure that what he said did anything more than crystallize what was already there. That’s when he made the infamous “decent people” remark, saying that he hoped that there were enough decent people left in the city that he would be reelected. My biggest problem was people’s uneasiness and fear of me. What we did was schedule just an insufferable number of coffees.

I got together with 15, 20 or 25 people in somebody’s living room to sit and talk. When I was doing it, the feedback I was getting from the people who were hosting these things was that the comments that would come later was, “He knows so much about city hall.” I said, “Well, you know, I’ve been on the city council for five years. I ought to know something.” [Laughs]. But it was a side of me that people had never seen. Actually probably the dichotomy of what they expected and what they got was so great that it was a tremendous plus. When they found out I actually knew what the planning department was and I knew what the Board of Estimates did... of course, I just treated it all as being very natural that somebody who spends five years in the city ought to know! [Chuckles].

A lot of people would say, “Well, if you didn’t get the endorsement of The Capital Times, you couldn’t have won it.” That’s certainly true. And if there wasn’t that base of ten or twelve thousand students to work from, I couldn’t have won. That’s certainly true. But the votes that were needed to get that last three or four thousand, the tough votes, those were the votes that came out of those coffees.

The neighbors came with open minds. When you were elected mayor, you had been five years on the council. It wasn’t just this young hippie that came in and took over the city. You had paid your dues for a long time beforehand. I think a lot of people forget that, forget the time sequences and how much you had spent on the city.

When I was first elected, I decided that my role was to implement the programs I wanted to see in the city and to be the best administrator. That was going to be the real test for my critics: they just couldn’t imagine how I could run city government. So the first thing I wanted to do was to get everyone’s confidence. It meant, in terms of my supporters, having them, in effect, hold off for a year. So for the first year we made very few changes and I did very little to change the direction of city government. I just wanted to prove to people that I could run the city.

Then in the second year... it was with my second budget that we started implementing a lot of the programs and making the changes. By that time I had got the confidence of enough of the public and the political center, of the council that they were willing to say, “Okay. We’ll vote for these changes in the budget and let you get a chance.” Well, one of the things that I wanted to do was at least show the business community that, while I wasn’t going to roll over and play dead and drop some of the things that we had talked about – there was still going to be tough environmental standards in the city – that there was still going to be a planning process which said that a developer couldn’t just walk in the door, plunk down their five dollars for a permit and then build without looking at the ramifications of the cost to the city. I wanted to make it clear that in talking about problems and dealing with problems, my door was open.

So while Bob Brennan and I never got along too well (Bob became head of the Greater Madison Chamber of Commerce), we embarked on a little program of about once a month getting together and
visiting a Madison business. I remember we had
gone out to Rayovac [the French Battery Company
was founded in 1906, changed its name to Ray-O-
Vac in 1934, and then to Rayovac in 1981] and there
was a major problem because two sides of the plant
are on residential streets. One side is off towards
Kohl’s [formerly at 2525 East Washington Avenue]
and had poor access and the third was on the end of
Winnebago Street as it went into East Washington
Avenue. It was a terrible problem for their trucks
and it was creating problems for the neighbors, and
the Rayovac people weren’t happy. We sat down
and met with them. As a result of that, we ended
up improving this little side street, helping Rayovac
redesign its parking lot, and everybody was happy.
We got the trucks off the residential streets, we
provided Rayovac with a way into its plant and a
way to better use its parking lot.

Rayovac had had the problem for years and they
hadn’t been thinking about it. The whole thing was
really prompted by the fact that some of the residen-
tial neighbors had complained. Rayovac was living
with the situation and if they drove over some of
the residential lawns, they weren’t particularly
concerned. And they thought it was a big deal to get
the street fixed up. It cost probably about $75,000
or $100,000 to fix it up. But that’s what city govern-
ment does.

This was followed with a meeting at Oscar Mayer.
After a tour of the plant we just sat down. We had
had some very substantial disagreements with Oscar
Mayer – when I say “we,” I mean the city as a whole
– mostly dealing with sewage waste and the odor
and the city trying to deal with regulating what was
going on in the plant as it affected the surrounding
area and the tremendous impact that the waste at

Union Corners area, where Rayovac was located, c. 1955
John Newhouse photo, Wisconsin Historical Society image 41356
Oscar Mayer was having on the Madison Metropolitan Sewage District. That had really brought the whole of the city head-to-head with Oscar Mayer.

As we were finishing our meeting, I said, “You know, we’re aware of our constant disagreements about how the sewage should be handled, how it should be treated, and what the costs and charges should be.” But I said, “Is there anything else relative to the city? Are there things that we can work on?” The Oscar Mayer official we were meeting with said, “Well, yes. There are maybe one or two things.” He pointed out that kitty-corner from Oscar Mayer was Demetral Field. There were a couple of tennis courts there and they were not particularly well maintained. Some of the employees liked to go over there, either on their lunch hour or after work, and play a little tennis.

The other thing that he noted was that their parking lot’s driveway was about 100 to 200 feet from the intersection of Packers Avenue and Commercial Avenue, near Highway
113, and that their driveway was real close to the lights at the intersection. What happened is that there would be a long string of cars bottled up in the parking lot. Maybe two or three of them would get out into the street and the light would change to red for them but nobody else could get out, because they were now backed up past the beginning of the driveway. Then the light would turn green and they would move. But at the same time traffic would come across as people were still stuck in the driveway.

It wasn’t good for the city, it wasn’t good for Oscar Mayer. I was not aware of any of this. So I said, “Okay, we’ll take a look at it.” I went back to the office and talked to our transportation people. I was convinced that since those lights were controlled by computers there was something that could be done to ease that flow of traffic, at least at the time that the shifts were changing, change the sequence of the lights, and eventually that was done.

The thing that kind of amazed me was that here’s Oscar Mayer, the single corporate giant in Madison, and they had made this one request and it had gone ignored or unanswered. The same thing with the tennis courts – they had never mentioned that to anyone. I called up the parks people and said, “Look, just take a little bit of care of that tennis court over by Oscar Mayer at Demetral Field.” I saw some humor in it, in a way. I thought of all these people, I mean, literally hundreds if not thousands of Madisonians, the everyday people that make up this city who, if they want a stop sign at the corner near their house or if they want a swing fixed in the neighborhood park, will mount a massive campaign, keep the pressure on, go to committee meetings, yell and scream at their alderman, go to the city council meeting, write letters to the mayor, go to the newspapers, launch this mammoth, gigantic assault on city hall until they get their stop sign. And here’s Oscar Mayer, like a little bunny rabbit, being timid, making a humble request, and then not following through on it.

I suppose they were assuming if they became a complaining constituent that the city would say, “We’ll hear you after your smell disappears?” This is something that I was to learn in discussing this with people, Oscar Mayer was very concerned: they did not want to become an issue in the city. They already were concerned enough about this issue of the odor and sewage treatment facility. They wanted to keep a low profile and not be involved in city politics. There are always people who are going around and saying, “We are the little people. We have no influence. It’s all appropriations and the big businesses that control government.” There’s certainly some truth to that. But at least in this one instance, they had a problem but didn’t want “trouble.” So we took care of it.

I don’t know until later on what that was to do in terms of Oscar Mayer’s participation in the Civic Center. When Oscar Mayer did get involved with the Civic Center and the private fund drive, it’s really the first time they ever became involved in any kind of major way with civic activities here in Madison. Most of their philanthropic and foundation-related activities have usually been in the area of health and children. This was the first time that they had done anything of really any size directly here in Madison.

Well, that was a reflection of part of the problem with business here in Madison. There’s a situation of extremes, where either business felt that there was no role for it and just sat on the sidelines and “don’t get in anybody’s way and that way you won’t get trampled either,” or the other extreme, which was to go in there and fight on everything. Over the years one of the things that we tried to do was provide certainty. That was very important to me. Maybe we had rules and standards that people didn’t like. Reports had to be filled out, applications had to be filled out. But at least if it was done, people knew what would happen next, how the process worked.

Would you talk for a minute about the Civic Center? That was a big fight that had been long going on.

I knew what I wanted to do. I didn’t know whether or not I’d be able to meet the commitment, but I was bent on being the mayor who ended the controversy on locating the Civic Center. The controversy was old before I was born. [Chuckles]. My choice was
Monona Terrace as the site. I also was relatively skeptical about the possibility of it being built. There were a lot of people who were pushing for a new site over on State Street.

*Where did that impetus come from?*

It partially came from the *Wisconsin State Journal*, partially from the Central Madison Council of the Chamber of Commerce, some people in the business community, and some arts groups. Once this had been put forward, there were some arts groups who wanted it simply because they felt that the Lake Monona Wright design would never be built. My thought on it was I preferred the Lake Monona site. I was skeptical but I figured the controversy over one site was bad, but if we got into a controversy on two sites, it was going to be a disaster. I figured we had to deal with the Monona site.

What I wanted to do was get a commitment from everybody to put the location to a public test and the supporters of each site would agree to support whatever was successful. I told the people who supported the State Street site that I wanted them to give the Lake Monona site one more chance; if there was public support for it, I expected them to help us develop that site. I told them at the same time that if the Monona site failed that test, I would be the first person to support the State Street site.

One thing was clear on the Monona site: we needed lots of money – more than we had. We decided to deal with this very simply. Let’s talk about raising money in a public referendum and, if we get a favorable vote, we not only get confirmation that there’s sufficient support for Monona but also we got the money to do it. So we launched a referendum campaign in the spring of 1974. The Lake Monona site failed [by a 2-1 margin].

So I said, “Okay, let’s go do State Street.” Then I went to work on State Street. The owners of the Capitol Theater, RKO [Radio-Keith-Orpheum, chain of theaters first established in 1928], indicated an interest in selling. The university, through the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, had already purchased the old Montgomery Ward building [next to the Capitol Theater]. The thing we

*State Street at night, with Capitol Theater on the left
McVicar photo*
needed to do was something decisive, if I could get the support for it. I wasn’t going to be sticking my neck too far into the noose. I got the city council to agree to buy the old Ward’s building. Now we’ve got the empty Ward’s building. Nothing else. We don’t have any plans, we don’t have any architects, we don’t have the Capitol Theater or anything. Next I got the city council to agree to authorize about $600,000 for the purchase of the Capitol Theater. This was very hard doing business because when the seller knows how much money you’ve got, he says, “Well, if that’s how much you’ve got, then that’s what I’ll take.” That was a very interesting negotiation session.

So we went out to see the president of RKO. Two years earlier two Madison business people [Michael Duffey and George Nelson] had talked to him on their own. He hadn’t been too pleased because, as he said, “All I heard from them was talk. There wasn’t any money. Nothing happened. Don’t come to see me unless you’ve got a check.”

So in the summer of 1974 I went down to the city treasurer’s office and said, “I’ve got authorization here for $600,000. Give me a check for $50,000.” So we went out to see Matthew Polon in his New York office. It was Michael Duffey [executive director of the Central Madison Committee, a local business group] and George Nelson [vice-chair of the Central Madison Committee and executive vice-president of First National Bank] and myself (we sent George out sight-seeing, because he had been one of the original visitors and Mr. Polon wasn’t too pleased with him). We got into his office and we just talked. We talked politely. He was just about ready to throw us out because all we were doing was talking. He said that he had to have money and “you guys are just talk. I’ve been waiting around for two or three years now.” At that point I pulled out of my pocket the check made out for $50,000 payable to RKO. I said, “Here’s our money. Here’s our down payment.” And with that, the sparkle came into his eyes and he knew he was on the verge of striking a deal.

Now the problem was how much money. He knew we had $600,000 and I knew that I would get lyncched in Madison, that if I paid $600,000 people would say, “Ah! He gave him the most.” I had been left in this terrible position. So I explained to him. I said, “Look. I don’t care what the city council has authorized; I don’t care about any of that. The point is I’ve got to strike a deal here with you and I’m not going to do it for $600,000. Now I’ve got $50,000 here and I’m willing to give you $450,000 more – $500,000, and that’s it.” He kept holding out for more.

To make a long story short, finally he ended up proposing that we pay $550,000 and that RKO would buy two tickets to the opening of the Civic Center at $25,000 apiece, so in the long run our net cost was $500,000. So he got $550,000 for the property and then, of course, had a tax deductible donation to the city of $50,000, which came a couple of years later. I think it was a good deal.

Now we had two buildings and that was it. [Laughs]. Then we started the process and it took a couple of years until we actually started construction, as I was about to leave office. We got the architect and we started work. The opening was on February 23, 1980.

It’s not the project that was my first choice or a lot of people’s first choice. But I believe to this day that we never would have gotten the Lake Monona project built and that if we hadn’t done what we did at the time, we probably wouldn’t have it now. Prices would have gone up while the amount of money we had in the fund for the Civic Center wouldn’t have gone up that much.

Probably the two most satisfying things I did while in office was the bike path around Lake Monona and getting the railroad crossing repaired at West Washington Avenue. Those are the things that just seemed to be impossible to get done.

What were the major changes that took place while you were mayor?

I think there were a lot of things that physically happened. But all were part of the theme of instilling a belief that economically the city could work and at its heart there had to be a functioning, active
downtown, that public transit could work, we didn’t have to clog up our streets with cars, expanding our bus system, and the work on the State Street mall. It’s going to take a long time, but I really believe that we will slowly begin to increase our housing supply downtown. When that starts, it’s going to make businesses downtown more viable. It’s also going to make us more family-oriented than we’ve been in the last eight or ten years. Madison’s population is getting older. Families with children have been living in greater proportions out in the county than in the city. I don’t think we’ll ever see the number of families in Madison that we had in the post World War II era, but it will at least get to the point where it’s stable. It means our school enrollments will hopefully stop declining. In fact, I just saw some projections the other day that said that in another three or four years we’re going to have an increase in school population.

*Considering the necessity of opening Lapham School?*

I think that is so exciting! The other thing is the recreational activities. Something like one out of
every eight adults in this city plays softball. It’s just
incredible how that program has developed in the
last 10 or 15 years. Here’s an activity that virtually
everyone can participate in and the expense, for
what people get out of it, is relatively small. On
some of those softball diamonds they’re running
three games a night, six nights a week.

You no longer need a lot of stores downtown to have
an active downtown. People will come if there’s
activity of other kinds.

I don’t think we’ll ever see another Sears or a Ward’s
or a Manchester’s back downtown. Downtown
stores are going to be the smaller ones. But there
will be major events downtown. The Art Fair on the
Square has grown. And now this new program of the
Concerts [on the Square]. And there’s the farmers’
market, which runs from May through October. It’s
just incredible! It’s not going to be the downtown
of the 1940s and 1950s, but it’s certainly not going
to be the downtown we had in the 60s. Everything
went wrong for downtown in the late 1960s.

I can remember one evening when we were unexpect-
edly downtown, my husband and I. He had a jury
out and I came down to have dinner. We walked all
around the Square and there was just one restaurant
open. The Top of the Park was the only place where
we could eat. Now there are any number of places
where you can get a good meal; they’re all busy. Do
you think any of this has to do with Madison itself?
The character?

Yes, I do. What’s interesting to me is that we’ve got
a lot of people from big cities living in Madison –
mostly attracted here somewhat through the univer-
sity, people from Chicago, New York, Milwaukee.
They come to Madison and they want very rural and
very pastoral settings for their lives. Then we’ve got
a lot of people from rural Wisconsin who want to
see Madison as sophisticated and urbane.

I don’t know if we’re a big little city or a little big
city. On the one hand, for a city as small as we are,
we have an awful lot going on in terms of recreation,
leisure, culture, and so on. We’ve got activities here
that a lot of cities with a million people or more
don’t have. At the same time, there are very few
cities as large as Madison where, from downtown
in most directions, you can drive and in only 20
minutes be in the middle of pastures and corn fields.
As long as we’ve got these two forces tugging at
one another, I think it’s real healthy. That’s what
makes Madison special.
Advertising Stamps

Several years ago these metal stamps, used to print advertisements for businesses, were donated to Historic Madison. The actual stamps are mirror images of these pictures.

(Top left) Burdick and Murray Company  
(Top right) Exide  
(Left) Frautschí's Furniture  
(Center, left) Karstens  
(Center, right) Manchester's
(Clockwise, from top left)

Simpson’s  
Society Brand Clothes  
Speth’s  
The Photoart House
About the Authors

Scott Lindstrom works at the Space Science and Engineering Center at the UW-Madison. He is married, has a PhD in meteorology and is one of five direct descendents of Stephen Vaughn Shipman who live in Madison.

Steve Sundell served as a reference librarian at the Mills Music Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, for 21 years. His interest in the state’s music history prompted him to initiate and develop the Wisconsin Music Archives, a library resource which embraces paper documents and media materials in all state musical traditions.

Ann Waidelich is a long-time Madison historian, former president of Historic Madison, Inc. and current board member of Historic Blooming Grove. A retired librarian, she has contributed numerous articles to the Journal of the Four Lakes Region, is an avid collector of Madison post cards, conducts numerous historical presentations, and continues to be active in Madison’s historical community.
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