DRAFT

City of Madison, Wisconsin

Underrepresented Communities Historic Resource Survey Report

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The contents and opinions contained in this report do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the city, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the City of Madison.

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Abstract

This report documents a historical survey of resources related to underrepresented groups located within the boundaries of the City of Madison, Wisconsin, as of 2019. A reconnaissance survey of resources associated with underrepresented groups was conducted by the principal and assistant investigators as the first part of the survey. After which, a research effort was conducted to ascertain the historical significance of the resources identified during the reconnaissance survey. The resulting products of the project were produced according to standards set by the Wisconsin Historical Society's Division of Historic Preservation and include the following:

Survey Report

The survey report includes a summary of the research and a brief history of the community. It provides a historical context for the evaluation of historic resources and serves as a means for identifying significant properties eligible for designation as Madison Landmarks or listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. It also contains recommendations for future survey and research needs, priorities for Landmark designations and State and National Register listings, and strategies for historic preservation.

Survey and Key Maps

Survey and key maps indicate all surveyed properties as well as properties already designated as Madison Landmarks or listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. These maps are included in the Survey Results Chapter in this report.

Electronic Documents

The Wisconsin Historical Society's website contains an electronic database, called the Architecture and Historic Inventory (AHI), for all inventoried properties. Also, an electronic copy of this report is saved and held by the City of Madison Department of Planning & Community & Economic Development and at the Wisconsin Historical Society.

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Introduction

The purpose of this survey report was not to write a definitive history of the City of Madison, but rather to provide an overview of the history of the city with specific emphasis on six underrepresented communities including African American, First Nations, Hmong, Latino, LGBTQ, and Women.

The survey was executed during the period from May 2018 to June 2019 by principal investigators Rowan Davidson of Legacy Architecture, Inc. and Jason Tish of Archetype Historic Property Consultants with editorial assistance by Jennifer L. Lehrke and Robert Short and clerical assistance by Gail Biederwolf, all of Legacy Architecture, Inc. It consisted of several major work elements: completing a reconnaissance survey, conducting research and collecting historic resources foundation data, evaluating resources and prioritizing foundation data, facilitating public meetings, updating and developing historic contexts, and preparing a written historic resources survey report, which can be used in future planning decisions and increasing public awareness of the history of the community.

The boundaries of the survey were delineated as shown on the Survey Boundaries and Key Map in the Survey Results Chapter and are generally bounded by the extents of the City of Madison at the time of the survey. The survey identified approximately 132 resources of historical interest.

This historical report and the associated work elements mentioned above are kept at the City of Madison Department of Planning & Community & Economic Development and the Historic Preservation Division of the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison.



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Survey Methodology

Introduction

The survey was conducted in the City of Madison over a period of a year, beginning in May 2018 and concluding in June 2019. The architectural and historic preservation consulting firm of Legacy Architecture, Inc. of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, executed the survey with assistance from Archetype Historic Property Consultants of Madison, Wisconsin. The principal investigators, Rowan Davidson of Legacy Architecture and Jason Tish of Archetype Historic Property Consultants conducted the reconnaissance survey fieldwork, performed historical research, authored the report, and prepared survey maps. Jennifer L. Lehrke of Legacy Architecture generally oversaw the survey and edited the report with editorial assistance by Robert Short and clerical support by Gail Biederwolf, both of Legacy Architecture. City of Madison Underrepresented Communities Historic Resource Survey Report consisted of four major work tasks: (1) reconnaissance survey, (2) historical research, (3) evaluation of significant resources for inclusion in the survey report, and (4) preparation and presentation of the survey report.

Reconnaissance Survey

From May 2018 to June 2019, a survey of the City of Madison was conducted that resulted in the identification of approximately 132 resources of historical interest with specific emphasis on six underrepresented communities, including African American, First Nations, Hmong, Latino, LGBTQ, and Women.

For properties that were previously designated or listed, information contained in the Wisconsin Historical Society's online Architecture and Historic Inventory (AHI) or the Wisconsin Historic Preservation Database (WHPD), particularly the address, was confirmed and corrected if needed, and field observations were recorded if any alterations, additions, or demolition work had been done to the structure since last surveyed. A new digital photograph of each property was taken and added to the AHI/WHPD. New historic context related to an underrepresented community was added if not previously known. During the survey approximately 74 previously recorded resources were updated.

In addition to updating the previously designated or listed resources, 58 new resources of interest were observed and documented. Information such as address, name, and architectural style was noted, field observations were recorded, and a digital photograph of each property was taken and later entered into the AHI/WHPD. Addresses and photographs of living people have been redacted from this document for their privacy at the City of Madison's request.

Historical Research

Historical research of the City of Madison was conducted by the principal investigators throughout the course of the project to provide a historical context to evaluate resources. Of great importance were items located at the City of Madison Department of Planning & Community & Economic Development, including, but not limited to, their extensive collection of research on local history. Arguably the most extensive history of the City of Madison that is not focused on an underrepresented group is David Mollenhoff's *Madison: A History of the Formative Years* published in 1982 with a second edition completed in 2004, which covers the city's history from before its establishment to the early twentieth century. Secondary information was also found at the Wisconsin Historical Society Library and Archives, the City of Madison Assessor, Madison periodicals, and from personal interviews.

A wealth of information on the history of underrepresented groups exists outside of this survey report and address these subjects more comprehensively including Muriel Simms' recently published *Settlin': Stories of Madison's Early African American Families* and Richard Harris' *Growing Up Black in South Madison*. Both of these texts draw on interviews and recollections of the black community's experience in Madison from the late nineteenth century to the present day. Likewise, Barbara Robinson Shade's series of articles on black history, published in the *Capital Times* during the Spring and Summer of 1979 and the bi-monthly newspaper *Capital City Hues* have provided lengthy articles on the history of underrepresented groups in Madison.

While there is no complete history of First Nation people in the Madison area, there are broader histories such as Patty Lowe's *Indian Nations of Wisconsin: Histories of Endurance and Renewal* and Robert Birmingham and Katherine Rankin's *Native American Mounds in Madison and Dane County* that address more general histories of native peoples and the effigy mounds found around the four lakes region of Madison.

Likewise, there is no complete source for the history of the Hmong in Madison. However, there are excellent histories of the people and their experience in the United States more broadly including Khong Meng Her's A History of Hmong Men: PEB LEEJ TXIV LUB NEEJ (Our Fathers' Lives) and The Hmong in Wisconsin – On the Road to Self-Sufficiency published by Wisconsin Policy Research Institute, in addition to the work of the Minnesota Historical Society on the subject of Hmong history in the United States.

Latino history in Madison is a largely recent subject and many of the best sources are not specifically about the City of Madison. However, two prominent and useful histories of Latinos in Wisconsin are Maggie Ginsberg's article "Out of the Shadows" in *Madison Magazine* and Sergio M. Gonzalez's *Mexicans in Wisconsin*. Tess Arenas and Eloisa Gomez's book *Somos Latinas: Voices of Wisconsin Latina Activists*, while not a history, is an excellent work that deals with the Latina experience in Madison.

The work of E. Richard Wagner, including a *Timeline of Wisconsin LGBTQ History – A Sampling* and his recently released *We've Been Here All Along, Vol.1* is invaluable in recording the history of LGBTQ people in Madison. A series of selected oral history interviews narrated

by Scott Seyforth for the University of Wisconsin-Madison *Campus Voice* is also a good source for local Madison LGBTQ experiences.

The history of Madison Women can be found in sources such as Genevieve McBride's collection *Women's Wisconsin*, the chapter "Social Change and the American Woman, 1940-1970" in William Chafe's *A History of Our Time*, and the article "Married Women's Property Rights in Wisconsin, 1846-1872" included in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* in the winter of 1994-1995 and written by Catherine B. Cleary.

While this report covers the history of underrepresented groups in the City of Madison, it is not a definitive history of these groups nor does it cover all underrepresented groups that exist in city. A summary of the city's history is included in this report and arranged in themes according to guidelines set forth by the Historic Preservation Division of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Areas of research for each of the underrepresented groups include government, architecture, education, social and political movements, religion, art and literature, commerce, planning and landscape architecture, recreation and entertainment, and notable people. Resources deemed eligible for designating as Madison Landmarks or listing in the State and National Registers were evaluated based on their association with these themes.

Evaluation of Significant Resources

After the reconnaissance survey and research were completed, the data was analyzed to determine which individual properties were potentially eligible for designating as Landmarks or Historic Districts by the City of Madison and listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. The National Register evaluation of historic resources was reviewed with the Historic Preservation Division of the Wisconsin Historical Society prior to inclusion in this report.

City of Madison Landmark evaluation was performed according to Subsection (2) Standards of Section 41.07 - Designating Landmarks of the City of Madison's Historic Preservation Ordinance. Standards for designation as a Landmark are described in the ordinance as follows:

- A. It is associated with broad patterns of cultural, political, economic or social history of the nation, state or community.
- B. It is associated with the lives of important persons or with important event(s) in national, state or local history.
- C. It has important archaeological or anthropological significance.
- D. It embodies the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type inherently valuable as representative of a period, style, or method of construction, or of indigenous materials or craftsmanship.
- E. It is representative of the work of a master builder, designer or architect.

State and National Register evaluations were performed according to the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation and Criteria Considerations which are used to assist local, state, and federal agencies in evaluating nominations to the State and National Registers of Historic Places. The Criteria for Evaluation are described in several National Register publications as follows:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- D. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

The Criteria Considerations are described as follows:

Ordinarily, cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions, or used for religious purposes, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- A. a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- B. a building or structure removed from its original location, but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic period or event; or
- C. a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life; or
- D. a cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or
- E. a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- F. a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or
- G. a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

As noted above, a historic district is placed in the National Register of Historic Places in a manner similar to individual properties; using essentially the same criteria. A historic district is comprised of resources; that is, buildings, structures, sites, or objects located in a geographically definable area. The historic district is united by historical factors and a sense of cohesive architectural integrity. District resources are individually classified as contributing or non-contributing.

- A. A contributing building, site, structure, or object adds to the historic architectural qualities, historic associations, or archeological values for which a property is significant because:
 - a. it was presented during the period of significance and possesses historic integrity reflecting its character at that time or is capable of yielding important information about the period, or
 - b. it independently or individually meets the National Register criteria.
- B. A non-contributing building, site, structure, or object does not add to the historic architectural qualities, historic associations, or archeological values for which a property or district is significant because:
 - a. it was not present during the period of significance [less than 50 years old or moved to the site].
 - b. due to alterations, disturbances, addition, or other changes, it no longer possesses historic integrity reflecting its character at that time or is incapable of yielding important information about the period, or

c. it does not independently meet the National Register criteria.

The Wisconsin Historical Society's Survey Manual recommends surveys include properties that are more than forty years old, rather than fifty years old, so the report does not become quickly out of date. In addition, the histories of some of the underrepresented groups studied in Madison are rather recent. This is not to say that these groups did not exist or lacked histories worthy of consideration, only that resources associated with those histories are more modern. With this in mind, the evaluation of significant resources eligible for designation as City of Madison Landmarks included significant people and places up to thirty years old, so the end result was inclusive and useful for decades to come. Some resources less than thirty years old that may achieve significance in the future were also identified during the course of the survey and were mentioned in the Context Chapters but were not evaluated. Evaluation for the State and National Registers of Historic Places held to the fifty-year Criteria Consideration; these resources shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in the future.

Eligibility

This report contains several designations or classification of properties in accordance with their eligibility for designation as City of Madison Landmarks and listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. Resources may have multiple eligibility designations or classifications. The City of Madison's Historic Preservation Ordinance uses the term "designation," while the State Register of Historic Places, administered by the Wisconsin Historical Society, and National Register of Historic Places, administered by the National Park Service, typically use the term "classification" when discussing eligibility of historic resources. This terminology is used throughout the report. In addition, the following is a list of possible eligibility designations or classifications for resources discussed in this report:

- CoM Eligible Landmark: potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark
- CoM Landmark: designated as a City of Madison Landmark
- CoM HD-o/s POS: designated as a resource built outside of the period of significance in a City of Madison Historic District
- CoM HD-w/i POS: designated as a resource built within of the period of significance in a City of Madison Historic District
- SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible: potentially eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places
- SRHP Individually Listed: individually listed in the State Register of Historic Places
- SRHP Listed HD–NC: listed as a non-contributing resource in a State Register of Historic Places Historic District
- SRHP Listed HD–C: listed as a contributing resource in a State Register of Historic Places Historic District
- NRHP Individually Listed: individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places
- NRHP Listed HD–NC: listed as a non-contributing resource in a National Register of Historic Places Historic District
- NRHP Listed HD–C: listed as a contributing resource in a National Register of Historic Places Historic District
- NHL: designated as a National Historic Landmark

Resources may have multiple eligibility designations or classifications.

Preparation and Presentation of the Survey Report

This survey report describes the project and survey methodology, gives an overview of the history of the City of Madison, summarizes the thematic research and survey results, and gives recommendations for the Madison Landmarks Commission. This report does not include a definitive history of the city; rather, it provides a broad historical overview of many themes and underrepresented communities in one publication. It is intended to be a work in progress, a living document, which can lead to future research and can be updated over time as new information is collected.

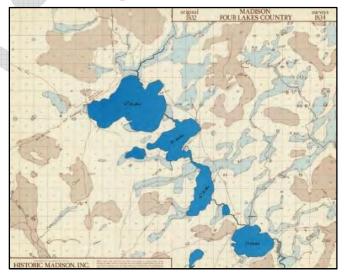


Historical Overview

Origins

The City of Madison is located at the center of Dane County in south-central Wisconsin and has a total area of approximately 80 square miles, excluding lakes. Madison is surrounded by smaller communities in the county, which have become suburban over the course of their history, including the Town of Madison; the cities of Monona, Sun Prairie, Fitchburg, Middleton, Verona; and the villages of Shorewood Hills, Maple Bluff, and McFarland. Other communities within Dane County, such as the villages of DeForest, Waunakee, and Cottage Grove, are nearby. The site of the city is closely tied to the existence of the four lakes along the flowage of the Yahara River, which leads to the Rock River and then the Mississippi: Lake Mendota, Lake Monona, Lake Waubesa, and Lake Kegonsa. A fifth smaller lake, Lake Wingra, is also present. Much of the city was originally established along the isthmus between Lake Mendota and Lake Monona. This geography, including low hills and wetlands in what was originally an oak savannah, drew native peoples to the area because of the plentiful fish, game, fresh water, and good cropland.¹

The region was physically formed by glaciers as they retreated around 13,000 years ago, leaving a network of lakes, marshes, and streams. Native Paleo-Indians likely arrived in this part of Wisconsin shortly after with a huntergather culture. Around 2,000 years ago, the Woodland Tradition of Native American culture was introduced to the region with widespread pottery, farming, villages, metal tools, and earthen burial mounds. This culture developed a distinct regional pattern of effigy mound building approximately 1,000 years ago. Clustered near the water and at high elevations, these mounds resemble animal and abstract shapes and were likely religious in nature,



Madison Four Lakes Country, 1834 Original Survey. Map reproduction 1974. WHS# 97637

depicting levels of the Woodland Culture universe such as water, earth, and sky. These mounds were especially common around the four lakes, and there may have been thousands of them, though only dozens remain.²

Europeans began to arrive in the area in the mid-seventeenth century. Mostly French fur-traders, missionaries, and explorers, the influx of European setters further east had the effect of displacing native tribes causing them to move further west, displacing other tribes and so on. Frictions arose as the Sauk, Fox, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, and Ojibwe settled in Wisconsin during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The area around Madison was controlled by the Ho-Chunk tribe, which likely had occupied the area for centuries and may have been directly descended from the mound-builders that preceded them. Competition over the area between the French and English and later Americans brought further friction to the region. This conflict was primarily concerned with the fur trade, as beaver pelts were in demand for over two centuries among Europeans.³

Unlike the French and English, Americans came to south-central Wisconsin as permanent settlers in the early nineteenth century. As fur traders moved further west, the region began to be occupied on a large scale in the 1830s. In 1832, Black Hawk of the Sauk Tribe and his followers re-entered Illinois and Wisconsin from across the Mississippi River to the west in retaliation for the forced treaty and relocation of their tribe by the United States government. This conflict between settlers and the native people began the Black Hawk War. After the end of the war, the federal government demanded that the local Ho-Chunk tribe cede their lands between the Wisconsin and Rock Rivers in a treaty that can be formally understood as the beginning of permanent white settlement in the Madison area. Many other tribes followed and were forced to move further west. However, some returned to the area that was their home.⁴

James Duane Doty, a territorial Judge, speculatively purchased over 1,200 acres along the isthmus with plans for further development. A fur trading operation was set up and platted by American settlers on the north shore of Lake Mendota in 1830. This settlement was moved to the eastern shore of what is now Monona a few years later. The land of Madison itself, around what is now the Capitol Square and the isthmus, was surveyed and platted in 1834. The lakes themselves, described by the Ho-Chunk as a part of their creation story as the spilled water from an overflowing pot, were initially surveyed and named First Lake, Second Lake, Third Lake, and Fourth Lake, from the south to north, by surveyors in 1832. The numbered names were kept until 1854 when they were given their false native-sounding names by Madisonians. By 1836, Wisconsin had become a territory of the United States and roads crisscrossed the southern edge of the state, including one that passed by the center of the settlement of Madison.⁵

Early Years

Judge James Doty convinced the territorial legislature to designate Madison, which did yet exist, as the site for the new territorial capital in 1836. The site was chosen partly because of Doty's aggressive lobbying in favor of his property and also because of the central and iconic location of the four lakes region. The capital was named after President James Madison, who had died the same year. The settlement was platted, and the streets of the planned city were named after signers of the United States Constitution. In 1837, the first settlers arrived along the isthmus, constructing a few log cabins and inns for the workers who would come to build the non-extant capitol building and operate the legislature. Madison grew slowly at first, isolated from the more populated parts of the territory, and most of the newcomers built their homes and businesses to

the east and northeast of the Capitol Square. The small community soon had a meeting hall, theater, church, a few inns, general stores, and the territorial capitol, still under construction as the legislature met for the first time in 1838.⁶

Most of the first settlers were Yankees from New England and New York, though they were soon followed by German, Norwegian, and Irish immigrants in the following decades. At least some people that belong to the underrepresented groups were present in Madison at this time. Ho-Chunk, who had either remained or returned, also lived in the area around Madison, usually along the shores of the four lakes. The small Madison community had only 172 inhabitants by 1840. Madison incorporated as a village in 1846 with a population of 626 people, and Wisconsin became a state in 1848, with Madison as the capital. The following year it became the site of the University of Wisconsin. Lacking a large population or access to good transportation routes, Madison was constantly under threats to move the territorial, and later state, capital elsewhere, usually to Milwaukee.⁷

Nineteenth Century Growth

The arrival of the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad, later known as the Milwaukee Road, to Madison in 1854 had a profound economic impact. The 1850s also saw the drainage of marshes, the straightening of the Yahara River between Lake Mendota and Lake Monona, and the first plank roads. The university also grew, constructing its first buildings, North Hall, South Hall, and Main Hall (later known as Bascom Hall) on the hill west of the city. The city's population finally began to grow rapidly, reaching a population of 6,864 inhabitants in 1856, the same year Madison became a city. The railroad, agricultural growth in the surrounding region, some industry, and the importance of the state capital became a draw for settlers. The city recorded that twenty-five businesses opened in 1856 alone. However, this boom did not last as a national economic depression, led by bank failures, greatly affected the frontier. The growing city, with its large debts, suffered as property values and revenues dried up and jobs moved away.⁸

During the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865, Madison was a center for the Union Army with Camp Randall, an army barracks, hospital, prison, and training ground introduced as a central military location in the state. After the war, the camp was integrated into the University of Wisconsin and later became the stadium and athletic facilities. Madison returned quickly to prosperity after the war and became a center for the manufacture of farm implements to serve the growing agricultural land around it. The city also relied on resorts and tourism and ice harvesting.⁹



Madison, Bird's Eye View. Albert Rudger & Chicago Lithographing Co., 1867. WHS# 60224

Some larger industries also developed in the late nineteenth century, such as Oscar Mayer, French Battery Co. (Ray-o-Vac), L.L. Olds Seed Co., Gisholt Machine Tool Co., and the Fauerbach Brewery. However, the city remained largely a center of government and education.

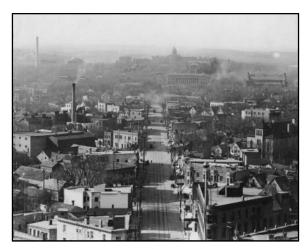
Madison's population reached 10,324 people in 1880, certainly a city at the time, but by no means one of the larger ones in Wisconsin. ¹⁰

The University of Wisconsin grew rapidly in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The student body and the institutions permeated city life. The student population expanded from approximately 400 to 2,000 by 1900, and the university enlisted specialists and faculty in law, economics, the burgeoning social sciences, and natural sciences and became one of the largest and most influential public universities in the Midwest. The rise in expertise combined with the state government and informed public policy. This link between academia and government became known as "the Wisconsin Idea" and served to further define the character of Madison. ¹¹

A Model City

The early twentieth century saw Madison develop into what is recognizably a modern city in the present. Madison, with 19,164 residents in 1900, began construction on a new extant capitol building in 1907, following the destruction of the previous one by fire in 1904. The Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association, followed by the Madison Improvement Association, introduced new parks and lakeshore beautification projects during the 1900s. This encouraged the city to hire John Nolen, a city planner, to produce a far-reaching and ambitious vision for the city based on the city beautiful movement. Nolen published his work, Madison: A Model City, in 1911 suggesting ways to make the city a more humane, efficient, and beautiful place. The influence of these ideas persisted, and the city created the Madison City Plan Commission in 1920. The university expanded by 500 acres during the 1910s, tripling its size, and building codes, sanitation, and inspection were introduced by the city government in 1913, some the first in Wisconsin. The advent of streetcars, buses, and automobiles made the outlying areas of the city more appealing, and the city began annexing over 1,000 acres of land specifically for residential development from 1902 to 1918, bringing extensive city services, such as paved street, electricity, and sewers, to these areas. Suburbs, such as Wingra Park and University Heights, developed. Madison became known for its progressive politics and policy. 12

The population of Madison reached 38,378 people in 1920, and the city became increasingly diverse during the twentieth century. Italians, Greeks, Jews, and African Americans tended to settle in close communities in Madison during the first two decades, often in dense urban neighborhoods such as the Greenbush. They were followed by a small Chinese community and later Hmong in the 1970s. Likewise, Latinos, specifically Cubans and Puerto Ricans, made Madison their home during the 1960s and 1970s, and Mexicans followed, settling in Madison often from families that had previously migrated for decades to Wisconsin to work in agriculture. Their numbers grew considerably in the 1980s and 1990s. 13



View of State Street from the capitol, 1915. WHS# 35710

Twentieth Century Madison

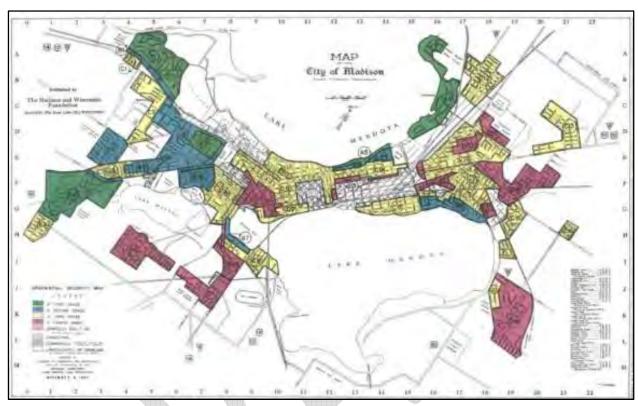
The 1920s in Madison were prosperous, as its store-lined downtown streets, including State Street, became a regional shopping hub and entertainment district, and large government buildings and hotels were constructed around the Capitol Square. Industries, such as Ray-o-Vac and Oscar Mayer, constructed large production plants on the east side of the city, giving Madison the industrial base that it had long sought. This development also gave the east side of the city a distinct character in contrast to the west side, which relied economically on the university and state government. The city, along with private organizations, made attempts at social reform to address inequalities and the rising threat of radicalism, especially among immigrant groups. Settlement House, introduced to Madison on a large scale during this period, was an attempt to encourage Americanization. The prohibition of the sale of alcohol, introduced in 1920, led to a rise in speakeasies and organized crime, especially in the poorer and denser parts of the city. Likewise, a dislike and distrust of difference increased, and the Ku Klux Klan became popular, arranging a large parade in Madison 1924 and harassing Black and Italian residents of the Greenbush. 14



City of Madison Engineer's Office Map, 1943. Showing extents of the city. WHS# 99927

Madison fared better than much of country when the Great Depression came in 1929, as the city's economy was not reliant on industrial production or finance and instead relied on government, the university, and a service-based economy. Unemployment in the city reached around 16% at its peak in 1931, half that of the rest of Wisconsin. However, New Deal programs, intended to aid recovery through the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, did affect the city and were responsible for the construction of much of Madison's parks, sewers, the restoration of Indian mounds, and public buildings in addition to funding public art, maps, guidebooks, historical investigations, and university programs and research. The population of Madison reached 67,447 people in 1940, a year before World War II began, effectively ending the Great Depression. During World War II, women's role in the workforce and their independence increased dramatically. Local industries, as well as the university, relied on women during this period. After the end of the war, Madison continued to

grow rapidly in terms of its economy and population. Suburban growth and annexation continued on the east and west sides of the city, and the University of Wisconsin began a two-decade expansion and building program as its student body swelled. ¹⁵



Map of the City of Madison, Residential Security Maps authored by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, 1937. Coded to indicate grades of desirability and safety and arguably the basis for discriminatory neighborhood redlining. Taken from: Mapping Inequality website, https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=4/36.71/-96.93&opacity=0.8

Post-War Developments

In 1954, the University of Wisconsin took on the role of a real estate developer with the decision to develop its experimental farm on the western edge of the city. After that, the city grew extensively along suburban lines. The Beltline Highway, spanning the south and west sides of the city, and the interstate to the east, were constructed in the 1950s, and Madison became a city of ranch houses. The small population of the city and an even smaller population of minority groups made it seem like Madison did not have racial problems and discrimination. ¹⁶

Families of a variety of backgrounds lived together at mid-century and more than half of the Madisonians owned their own homes and businesses. Despite this, discrimination in housing existed in Madison. Redlining, defining certain parts of the city as undesirable, and restrictive neighborhood covenants made it nearly impossible for African Americans to purchase a home in much of the city until the late 1950s, and discrimination persisted beyond then. Likewise, good jobs and services were often effectively restricted to white people. ¹⁷

Initially, little happened in Madison, a small affluent northern city, in terms of Civil Rights during the 1950s; however, this did not continue to be the case in the 1960s as a variety of groups in addition to African Americans made their voices heard including Latinos, women, Native Americans, and the LGBTQ community. State Street, linking the Capitol Square with the university campus and already the site of dense commercial activity, became the site of student organization, socialization, and protest. Madison gained a reputation in the 1960s and 1970s of outspoken and active reformers and students; initially organized in opposition to the Vietnam War, many continued in other directions in favor of social justice. The population of Madison reached 171,809 people in 1970. 18

The city's economy continues to be dominated by the state government and the University of Wisconsin joined by related health, technology, advertising, and insurance industries from the 1980s to the present. The City of Madison continued to annex surrounding areas, especially from the Town of Madison, leaving the latter as a collection of small discontinuous areas. The remainder of the town is planned to be incorporated into Madison by 2022. The population of Madison reached 208,054 people by 2000, 255,214 residents in 2017, and continues to grow. The city presently has over 120 officially recognized neighborhood associations, each one expressing its local identity. ¹⁹





African American Context

While not as large as other northern industrial cities, Madison's African American community has left an indelible mark on the city's modern history. While there are some records of African Americans involved in the eighteenth-century fur trade in Wisconsin, there is no evidence to suggest that any inhabited the area around what would become the City of Madison. However, some of the earliest inhabitants of Madison during the nineteenth century were African American.²⁰

The first record of an African American in Madison dates from 1839, a few years after the settlement was established, when an unidentified black woman served James Morrison, the owner of the American House Hotel, until 1845. Two years later, the census listed the first African American resident of Madison by name, Darky Butch. He lived alone with no obvious profession and was one of six African Americans identified in the city of 632 inhabitants. While the majority of African Americans in the nation before the Civil War were slaves in southern states, black residents of Wisconsin and Madison were free, though they were often limited to service employment and low-skilled labor. The underground railway, following the federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, brought African Americans to Wisconsin, considering Wisconsin was an abolitionist state that resisted compliance with the law. Jobs such as domestic servants, street cleaners, porters, cooks, and barbers were most common. One such example is J. Anderson, a black barber who moved with his family to Madison from Ohio in 1848 and purchased two lots in the city and established a successful barbershop. He and his wife Elizabeth left Madison in 1860 to open a new barber business in Janesville. 21

In advance of statehood, residents of the Wisconsin Territory considered a constitution in 1847 that rejected voting rights for African Americans. However, a following 1849 referendum approved the suffrage of African American men. This result was largely ignored until 1866, when Ezekiel Gillespie, a black man from Milwaukee, successfully sued for the right to vote in a case before the Wisconsin Supreme Court in the wake of the Civil War. The term "white" was removed from the state's constitution articles on suffrage later in the 1880s. The population of African Americans in Wisconsin numbered only 200 in 1840 and grew to nearly 1,200 people by the 1860s. A number immigrated to Wisconsin from southern states after the Civil War, a few of whom settled in Madison, drawn to the opportunities in education and employment that the state capital offered. Black families were few in Madison during the period and often lived in apartments and rooming houses scattered throughout the city.²²

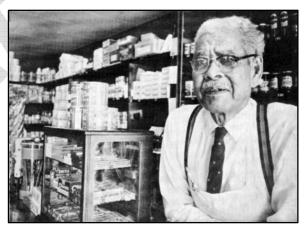
A notable African American resident of Madison from the period is Eston Hemmings, the son of President Thomas Jefferson and slave Sally Hemmings. Freed from Jefferson's estate as a part of Jefferson's will in 1829, he moved to Madison from Ohio in 1852. In Madison, he changed

his name to E.H. Jefferson and identified as white due to his family name and complexion. Genetically, he was approximately 1/8th African American in his decent, which made him legally white in the United States at the time.²³ Eston Hemmings lived with his family in a non-extant building located at 121 North Webster Street, and he died in 1856. His sons, Beverly and John, became successful Madison hoteliers and entrepreneurs, owning the American Hotel on the Capitol Square, after serving in the Union Army during the Civil War. The Hemming brothers later opened the Rasdall House Hotel on King Street.²⁴

Another early example is that of William H. Noland, an African American who moved from New York and settled in Madison with his family in 1850. During his time in Madison, Noland held several positions including as a legal clerk, cloth dyer, barber, cleaner, veterinarian, and musician and entertainer. He was a recognized figure among Madisonians and was known as "the professor." Many of his business ventures were in a non-extant building at the corner of Main Street and Fairchild Street. The Noland family home was in a non-extant apartment at 7 South Carroll Street. In 1857, Noland was nominated for the state government position of notary public. While Governor Coles Bashford accepted his nomination, it was rejected by the Secretary of State David Jones because of his race. In 1866, following the affirmation that blacks could vote and hold government positions in Wisconsin, Noland was again nominated for a public office, but this time not of his own volition. The Democratic Party nominated Noland for Mayor of Madison against the incumbent and powerful Republican Elisha Keyes. Noland was also a loyal Republican and voted for his opponent during the election, which he lost by a vote of 692 to 306. William H. Noland died in 1880.

Turn of the Century Community

African Americans living in Madison throughout the nineteenth century were not geographically concentrated in any distinct area of the city. In 1900, Madison's black population was 69 people, divided into only 19 households. Most of them were transplanted from Milwaukee or migrated from southern states. However, things changed in the early twentieth century, and this small group formed a distinct community centered around a couple of institutions: the St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Douglass Beneficial Society, located East Dayton Street not far from the Capitol Square and downtown Madison in a neighborhood often known as the Old Market. Both were established



John Hill at the counter of Hill's Grocery, 1915. WHS# 37661

by John and Martha Turner, who had moved from Kentucky to Madison in 1898. The non-extant church, which was located at 631 East Dayton Street, provided economic and social support to other African Americans who moved to the growing city.²⁷

A few houses and other buildings, such as the Hill Grocery, the Weaver Grocery, and the homes of the Miller, Butts, Carmichael, Shepard, Bates, and Henderson families, were purchased and moved to their locations in the Old Market neighborhood as the first African American community grew. The small area along East Dayton Street became a predominately black neighborhood during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In a sense, this close-knit community paralleled immigrant groups with the establishment of supporting institutions, religious organizations, and businesses. This small community was actively welcoming to other African Americans who moved to Madison during the period as hotels and most landlords would not take black people. Likewise, the small Dayton Street community would rent to black students who came to the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The community along East Dayton Street persisted up to the 1960s. In the 1910 census, Madison's African American population is listed as 143, twice what it was ten years earlier and 0.5% of the city's total. Nearly all lived along or near East Dayton Street and most were employed in the service industry.²⁸

Notable African American leaders during the period included Reverend Joseph Washington of the Mount Zion Baptist Church, the second black church in Madison, Samuel Pierce of the Wisconsin Governor's Office, and J. Anthony Josey who was the publisher of the black newspaper the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*.²⁹ The Colored Women's Ideal Club, which existed as early as 1893 but evolved into a club especially for African American women by 1902, sponsored events to showcase African American culture and promote discussion of inter-racial problems during the late 1920s and early 1930s.³⁰

Struggle and Expansion

During the 1920s, African Americans moved outside of the small community along East Dayton Street and settled in other neighborhoods such as the Greenbush and South Madison. While the population of blacks in Madison during the 1920s and 1930s did grow, it did not match the national trends of interwar migration from the south, likely because Madison and the surrounding region lacked the large-scale skilled manufacturing jobs and agricultural labor employment found elsewhere in and around northern cities. Threats to the African American community became more overt as the Ku Klux Klan organized a march of 1,300 members in Madison in 1924. The Klan also took part in raids and assaults in the Greenbush



Mt. Zion Church Baptism in Lake Monona Bay. Rev. Joseph Washington and unknown participants, 1936. WHS# 17285

neighborhood, that was occupied by several African Americans in addition to Italian and Jewish immigrants.

Widespread prejudice and segregation in housing also contributed to making Madison an unattractive destination. African American had to also contend with systematic exclusion from

much of the housing market during the Great Depression. The federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), established in 1933 to assist families in attaining and maintaining home mortgages, developed exclusionary policies and subjective neighborhood appraisals that all but prevented them from buying homes and establishing businesses in many areas of Madison. HOLC "area descriptions" of various Madison neighborhoods included data on the "infiltration" of "foreign-born," "negro," and "relief" (people accepting economic or employment assistance) residents, as well as whether those groups were "static" or "decreasing" in that area. The presence of residents in these categories usually resulted in a lower grade for those areas, prejudicially devaluing properties, preventing fair access to home loans, and resulting in the common practice of implementing deed restrictions and lending policies that excluded people who met those criteria. During this time, residents of Madison neighborhoods, especially the affluent and predominately white ones such as Nakoma and University Heights, introduced restrictive covenants that explicitly excluded home ownership and residence based on race. Both leaders in state and city government, as well as presidents of the University of Wisconsin, approved of these local laws during the period.

During the depression years, the African American community suffered economically as unemployment levels rose to thirty percent, nearly twice that of the city as a whole, which accompanied segregation, limited housing options, and discrimination towards the community that numbered 348 people in 1930.³³

According to the 1940 census, eighty percent of the black population of the city lived in only three of Madison's twenty wards: the near east side along East Dayton Street, the Greenbush neighborhood, and further south along Park Street. The housing stock in these areas was considered relatively poor and rents were higher than comparable white neighborhoods. Despite this segregation, Madison was reported to be the "congenial" city in the state for blacks.³⁴

Large-scale migration of African Americans to Wisconsin, and Madison specifically, really began after World War II. The availability of good industrial jobs in northern cities drew many blacks from southern states who stayed to raise their families. In the case of Wisconsin and Madison, most of these new residents came from Tennessee and Mississippi. A further influx of blacks to the city came with the military airfield at Truax on the east side of the city, which housed several African American servicemen and students at the University of Wisconsin who integrated into the existing community. Madison's African American community grew to 648 people by 1950. Madison was only welcoming to a certain degree, as extensive redlining, marking certain neighborhoods and desirable and undesirable, was actively supported by the National Association of Real Estate Brokers during the 1950s and 1960s. Considering that real estate agents and many white homeowners in Madison believed that property values would decline if African Americans moved to a specific area, only specific parts of the city were open to black people owning property, specifically on the near east side along Dayton Street, West Washington Avenue in the Greenbush neighborhood, and south of the city.³⁵

Further institutional growth also occurred with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter being reorganized in 1943, along with the establishment of the Capital City Masonic Lodge, a predominately black Masonic order. The NAACP was first organized in Madison earlier in in 1921 as the Madison Negro Civic League. However, the

national organization remained dormant locally until the 1940s and 1950s, when it became active under the leadership of Velma Hamilton.³⁶

Richard Harris wrote a biographical book, *Growing Up Black in South Madison*, that describes the African American community from the 1940s through the 1960s and beyond in detail. His experiences and recollections serve the history of the community well. He grew up on Bram Street in the Bram's Addition neighborhood before it was annexed into the City of Madison. His family members were active in the Mount Zion Baptist Church and the NAACP. His mother, Willie Lou Harris, was instrumental in organizing the South Madison Neighborhood Center. Harris recalled life in the neighborhood and some examples of prejudice outside of it. He attended the University of Wisconsin and pursued a career in social work.³⁷

Several African Americans were closely involved with the University of Wisconsin including notable students who would go on to pioneering and successful legal careers, such as Mabel Watson Raimey and Vel Phillips; professors such as Cornelius Golightly; and even nationally recognized cooks like Carson Gulley who oversaw the university's kitchen, wrote notable cookbooks, and had his own syndicated television show. Likewise, the Athletic Department of the university had already been featuring black student-athletes for decades, including the Olympic sprinter George Coleman Poage and the Wisconsin Badgers football team had continuously benefited from African American players since 1945. Nationally recognized college athletes during the 1950s, such as Edward Withers, Jr. and Sidney Williams, increased the visibility of African American athletes on the national stage. The university canceled contracts to play against Louisiana State University in 1957 and 1958 in protest of the State of Louisiana's law outlawing integrated sporting events. The first black fraternity on campus, the Beta Omicron Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi, was introduced in 1946 with the leadership of Professor Golightly.³⁸

The Civil Rights movement had begun in earnest during the mid-1950s, and it was assumed that a small northern city with an economy based on education and government with a reputation for progressive politics would be sympathetic. While this was certainly true for much of the population, discrimination and segregation remained rampant. A 1954 State Commission on Human Rights and a 1959 NAACP publication on *Negro Housing in Madison* both pointed to existing discrimination, especially in housing. African Americans lived in 13 of the 21 wards in the city in the 1950s; however, 76% of black households were limited to the 9th and 14th Wards that covered South Madison and the Greenbush neighborhoods. In these areas, African Americans were the majority. Realtors and their code of ethics actively encouraged discrimination and would turn African Americans away from predominately white neighborhoods. Exclusionary redlining based on race, ethnicity, religion, and class indicated the desirability of neighborhoods tied to identity for securing bank loans. These practices were common through the 1950s and did not completely disappear until the 1970s.³⁹

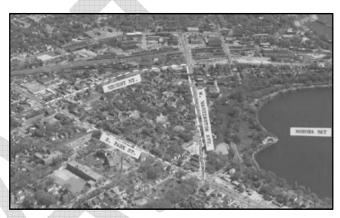
Urban Renewal and Civil Rights

In response to national trends, the City of Madison created a Commission on Human Rights to improve race relations in 1954. There was a hope in Madison, within the city government and

the African American community, that the issues could be resolved locally through studies and public policy rather than protest and conflict. Leaders of the African American community, such as James Wright, Velma Hamilton, and Marshall Colston, wanted to address obvious prejudice and inequalities, the concentration of African Americans in unskilled, low-paying employment, and limited and segregated housing.⁴⁰

A section of the Greenbush neighborhood also known as the Triangle was bounded by South Park Street, West Washington Avenue, and Regent Street and was home to immigrants and working poor of Madison during the first half of the twentieth century. Besides a large African American population, the area was also home to Jews and Italians. The neighborhood was crowded, active, and contained many so-called blighted houses. Almost all of which were rental properties.⁴¹

The Federal Housing Act of 1949 and the modified Housing Act of 1954 were intended to identify blighted areas for removal and redevelopment, usually near the core of large American cities. In 1958, the Madison Redevelopment Authority, using federal urban renewal funds, planned to clear the Triangle to remove an area of poor housing and unsanitary streets and replace it. Two projects, the Brittingham and Triangle projects, were instituted by the City of Madison. Residents were forced out and given sixty days to relocate. The two-year



Triangle area of the Greenbush neighborhood identified for urban renewal. Wisconsin State Journal rendering, 1958.

plan, begun in 1962, demolished much of the neighborhood and slowly replaced it with parks, office buildings, a hospital expansion, and ironically low-income housing. Notable black businesses such as the Chicken Shack restaurant and the Tuxedo Tavern, located in the Triangle area of the Greenbush neighborhood, were demolished along with institutions such as the Neighborhood House Community Center, which was forced to move. While some relocated, usually further south, others never reopened. The residents of the neighborhood followed suit.

As most landlords in the city would not rent to black people, they moved further south along Park Street. Similarly, very few homes were for sale to African Americans as other Madison neighborhoods had formal restrictions, and white residents did not want African American neighbors or perceived associated lower property values. By 1960, Madison's African American population reached 1,489, about one percent of the city's total.⁴²

In 1961, a group of NAACP protestors visited the state capitol in favor in civil rights for African



NAACP Protest in the Capitol Rotunda, 1961. WHS# 84375

Americans followed by a series of nonviolent sit-ins to force action on a legislation prohibiting housing discrimination. Two years later Madison's equal housing law was passed. The ordinance, which prohibited housing discrimination based on race, was ahead of its time and provided for open accommodations and fair employment, though it was passed on a close and contentious vote. It was the first ordinance of its kind in the state and appeared to have immediate and lasting effects as landlords and realtors were no longer able to discriminate in Madison. It was followed by the creation of the Madison Equal Opportunities Commission in 1964. The federal Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964.

Housing remained a central concern related to civil rights, and the Wisconsin legislature approved of an open housing law in 1965, which was significantly strengthened a couple of years later. Likewise, Madison became the first city in the state to approve of its own nondiscriminatory housing ordinance in 1967, which expanded on the 1963 effort following civil rights legislation at the federal level. In 1968, when the Urban League applied for an affiliate in Madison, funding was initially rejected by the United Way because "discrimination, as it exists in other communities, does not exist in Madison." However, problems persisted, and in 1969 when black students at the University of Wisconsin organized a strike of classes to encourage the creation of education reform, a Black Studies Department, and more African American faculty, the demonstration grew to the point that the National Guard was called out at the request of the university. After marches and demonstrations that included thousands of students, most of their demands were met. In the wake of this experience, African Americans in Madison sought, often successfully, local political representation, including figures such as Eugene Parks and later Frances Huntley-Cooper. In 1970, Madison's African American community grew to 2,607 inhabitants or about one and one-half percent of the city. 44

South Madison and Diffusion

Following the twin experiences of the Civil Rights Movement and the urban renewal projects of the Greenbush neighborhood, the African American community in Madison became increasingly organized and involved in the political and cultural life of Madison. Both the Bram's Addition and Burr Oaks neighborhoods, annexed by the City of Madison in 1944 and 1959 respectively, had been places where African Americans settled in the Madison area dating back to the 1930s. The land was largely unimproved and affordable at the time. Following the development of Park Street south and the beginnings of the Beltline Highway in 1950, the area's population grew rapidly. In the wake of urban renewal and changes in the Greenbush neighborhood in the early 1960s, many of its residents moved to the South Madison neighborhoods, which became the center of the African American community, featuring institutions, businesses, and gathering places such as Mount Zion Baptist Church, the South Madison Neighborhood Center, the Style and Grace Barber Shop, and Penn Park.⁴⁵

The 1970s and 1980s saw many firsts in the City of Madison, including John Winston, Sr. as the first black police officer in Madison, Charlene Harris-Hodge as the first black woman television anchor, Pia Kenney James as the first black women police officer in Madison, John Odom became the first black Affirmative Action Officer for the Madison Metropolitan School District, and Milton McPike became the principal at East High School. The Southside Raiders, a youth

football team, was established in the early 1970s and has been active ever since. Other influential black Madisonians of the period include the musician Clyde Stubblefield, educators Muriel Simms and Ed Holmes, professor Nellie McKay, and institutional leaders such as Kwame Salter and Barbara Nichols. More recently, from the 1990s to the present, Paul Higginbotham was appointed Madison's first municipal court judge and elected Dane County's first African American judge, Napoleon Smith became the first black president of the Madison Common Council, Gloria Ladson-Billings was the first African American woman to earn tenure in the University of Wisconsin School of Education, Milele Chikasa Anana founded UMOJA magazine 1990, covering many aspects of the black experience in Madison, and Fabu Phillis Carter was named Madison's first black Poet Laureate. 46

In 1990, a fire at Sommerset Circle in South Madison killed five African American children. It is reported that the city's Police Department and Fire Department were intentionally slow and heartless in their response to the tragedy contributing to an occasional distrust between the community and the Police Department in particular. Richard K. Williams was hired as Madison's first African American police chief in 1993, a position he held until 2004. In an era where racial profiling has been a common concern in relation to law enforcement, Williams was careful to avoid such methods and attempted to maintain a dialogue between the Madison Police and underrepresented groups. The Race to Equity report was released in 2013, indicating that racial economic, social, and educational disparities in Dane County and Madison were greater than elsewhere in the State of Wisconsin and the nation. The 2015 police shooting and subsequent death of an unarmed black teenager, Tony Robinson, created friction between the Madison Police Department and the African American community. The same year, a group of African American leaders led by the Pastor Alexander Gee, Jr. of Fountain of Life Church created a plan called *Justified Anger* to address the racial achievement disparities in Madison and the wider region.⁴⁷

In 2010, the African American population of Madison reached 16,507 people or approximately 7% of the city's total. During the twenty-first century, the concentration of the African American community in South Madison has dispersed as many have moved to other neighborhoods on the west and east sides of the city. This has perhaps been encouraged by the influx of recent immigrant groups, such as Latinos, who have also occupied South Madison. However, many of the African American community's institutions, physical and otherwise, persist in the area, which is a part of its history in Madison, specifically around the Capitol Square and even more so in South Madison. Many of the identified resources related to African American's reflect the importance of individuals and the struggle against exclusion in the form of segregation in addition to communal dignity and aspirations.⁴⁸



First Nations Context

Movement and displacement have defined the Native American experience in and around the City of Madison since its establishment. Wisconsin contains the most Native American nations of any state east of the Mississippi River with twelve tribes total. Among these, three language families are represented including Algonquian (Menominee, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Munsee), Siouan (Ho-Chunk), and Iroquoian (Oneida). All of these tribes are represented in the City of Madison. The Ho-Chunk, whose ancestral land included the four lakes area around Madison. were forcibly displaced beginning in 1832 so that the area could be settled and developed by white settlers, leading to the establishment of the territorial capital of Madison. Since that time, many Ho-Chunk returned to the area and lived on the periphery of the accepted and legal arrangements of white society. They were joined by other tribes, especially from Wisconsin, who came to Madison for opportunities and work. Often, Native Americans have had multiple homes besides Madison and commonly traveling from one to another, based on the pattern of seasons and work. Ho-Chunk specifically called the four lakes region home in addition to other parts of the state, especially the areas around Black River Falls and Tomah, where many Ho-Chunk settled. A rich cultural history and oral tradition have maintained that the Madison area serves as a collecting place and civic center for many Native Americans. This has also made it somewhat difficult to trace their history, as it is often an insular one, reliant on oral traditions and hesitant to assimilate with the white narrative and history of Madison.⁴⁹

Pre-Madison History

Archeological evidence suggests that native peoples arrived in southern Wisconsin roughly 10,000 years ago. The early Paleo-Indian stages developed into the Archaic stage from 8,000 to 2,000 years ago, when the area around the four lakes became a popular location for settlement. The Woodland Tradition that followed saw the development of advanced tools, farming, permanent settlements and building, pottery, and the construction of burial mounds. Approximately 1,000 years ago this culture began building complex effigy mounds. These large earthen mounds took on abstract geometric shapes and more common shapes that represent animals. ⁵⁰



Turtle Effigy Mound along Observatory Hill, c.1910. WHS# 34547

Likely the expression of their religious beliefs, the effigy mounds vary considerably and cover several phases of development in the wider region. Most effigy mounds are located at high points adjacent to deep water, spanning the distance that covers the three distinct realms of the Woodland culture universe: the lower world, middle world, and the upper world. Certain animals are symbolically associated with this tripartite division. As many as 4,000 such mounds have existed in Wisconsin, with 1,500 of them located in the four lakes area. The Ho-Chunk tribe assert that they are the direct descendants of the Woodland society native to Wisconsin that built the mounds and that the four lakes area around Madison is a former cultural center of their historical society. As many as 80% of the mounds have been destroyed during the last 200 years by agricultural practices and urban expansion. In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act was enacted at the federal level, and this was followed locally by the establishment of the Madison Landmarks Commission in 1970. During the following two decades, most of the remaining local effigy mounds were identified and protected. In 1985, a Wisconsin state law was passed that prohibits the disturbance of burial sites. Effigy Mounds, deeply important to the native peoples of the region, and the Ho-Chunk in particular who understand the mound builders as their direct ancestors, are not covered in detail in this report as they pre-date any conception of the City of Madison as a community. Among many good resources on the subject, Robert Birmingham and Katherine Rankin's Native American Mounds in Madison and Dane County documents the local mounds, their variety, and history.⁵¹

The Woodland culture was replaced by the Mississippian Tradition of approximately 1,000 years ago, shortly after the effigy mounds were constructed. There is evidence of extensive conflict as arrowhead technology and palisaded settlements developed rapidly. It is likely distinct tribes and intensive agriculture also developed during this period. Eventually, the two cultures combined in what is known as the Oneota people, who, at the time of European contact in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are described similarly to the Ho-Chunk tribe. Partly due to European settlement and conflict, new tribes moved into Wisconsin from the east. This pressure brought conflict and disease, and the Oneota population declined considerably. The Ho-Chunk tribe, who occupied western and south-central Wisconsin including what is now Madison, recovered as the center of a regional trade network in the late eighteenth century.⁵²

Displacement and Return

The Ho-Chunk, initially known as the Winnebago, a name given to them by the Potawatomi tribe and Europeans, refer to themselves as Hoocaak, which means "sacred voice." By the early nineteenth century, the Ho-Chunk tribe's population had reached nearly 3,000, and they occupied much of southern and western Wisconsin. Following a series of treaties, before, during, and after the Blackhawk War, the Ho-Chunk, led by chiefs White Crow and Whirling Thunder, were required to relocate west of the Mississippi River. When Madison and Dane County were established in 1836 within the Wisconsin Territory, there were Ho-Chunk settlements around the four lakes. The federal government attempted to remove them several times throughout the nineteenth century unsuccessfully. Many were forcibly moved in 1865 to a reservation established in what is now Nebraska. Others simply ignored the treaties and stayed or returned to Wisconsin as refugees. The Ho-Chunk are presently divided into two federally

recognized tribal groups: The Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin and the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska.⁵⁴

Ho-Chunk people were routinely mentioned by some of the first white inhabitants of Madison from the mid-nineteenth century on. Though they were certainly present, their story was not well documented by others. The following decades in the nineteenth century saw the Ho-Chunk living in and around Madison, but not being recognized by existing socio-economic structure and government. Many of the effigy mounds were leveled and destroyed, and native peoples generally experienced discrimination or outright hostility. A policy of assimilation was adopted by the federal government in the late nineteenth century. The General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887 changed the ownership of tribal lands to individual owners of 80-acre parcels, selling many to white settlers in an attempt to expose native people to mainstream culture. Schools were introduced with the explicit purpose of removing the cultural traditions of Native Americans.⁵⁵

A few Ho-Chunk returned to the City of Madison for work or an education, but inevitably remained tied to their homes further north and west in the state in places such as Black River Falls, Tomah, Wittenberg, and Nekoosa. Several Ho-Chunk camps persisted in and around Madison in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Settlement camps existed at sites in Madison such as the present University Bay, the University of Wisconsin Arboretum, Vilas Park, Tenney Park, the Cherokee Marsh, and along Winnequah Road in Monona, among others. However, little evidence of these settlements remains. While there are certainly other tribal members from across the country who have lived in Madison, the Ho-Chunk claim the land of Madison as a part of their ancestral home and likely have the greatest numbers who have lived in Madison and the surrounding area. Presently, the Ho-Chunk tribe number approximately 8,000 people, half of whom live in the state, and owns 4,602 acres scattered across Wisconsin and is working on a process of reconciliation with the University of Wisconsin and a local heritage center. Set 100 people in the state in places are such as Black River and Blac

The early twentieth century witnessed the development of interest in Native American peoples on an academic and cultural level. Working on behalf of the Wisconsin Archeological Society and the State Historical Society, archeologist, professor, and museum director Charles E. Brown led efforts to identify, map, and protect effigy mound sites in Madison and the rest of the state and educate the public as to their importance. He worked to interact with native peoples and the local Ho-Chunk in the Madison area specifically.

Effigy Mounds and mound groups can be found in Madison and the surrounding area in Burrows



Charles E. Brown and others on an Effigy Mound on Fox Bluff, Lake Mendota, 1908. WHS# 3519

Park, Elm Side Park, Hudson Park, the Edna Taylor Conservancy, the Mendota State Hospital grounds, Cherokee Park, Vilas Circle Park, Vilas Park, Forest Hill Cemetery, the Edgewood

College Campus, Observatory Hill, Picnic Point, the Arboretum, the Spring Harbor school grounds, Governor Nelson State Park, Yahara Heights County Park, Indian Mound Park, Goodland County Park, and Siggelkow Park. While many of the existing and identified mound-groups are located in city and county parks, the existence of the parks does not necessarily have anything to do with the presence of the mounds. The location of effigy mounds in Madison, contained in this report, is deliberately vague to protect their integrity as burial sites in keeping with archeological practice.⁵⁷

Twentieth Century Identity and Resistance

The Society of American Indians met at the University of Wisconsin in 1914 for their fourth annual conference after being encouraged by professor Charles E. Brown. The first recognized native rights organization composed of native Americans, the Society of American Indians, lobbied for equal rights during the first half of the twentieth century, often in terms of legal assimilation rather than sovereignty. In 1934, the effects of the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) were reversed with the passage of the federal Indian Reorganization Act, which encouraged tribes to form tribal governments and provide political bodies to govern themselves. Critics of the act were successful in passing a resolution in 1953 that created the goal of terminating Indian reservations and relocating their inhabitants to urban areas equipped with housing assistance and job training programs. Many Native Americans in Wisconsin opted for this opportunity, some of whom ended up in Madison; however, it effectively destroyed fifty tribes, including the Menominee, who underwent termination.⁵⁸

Native peoples frequently experienced discrimination in treatment, employment, and housing. The 1960s and 1970s experienced an increase in Native American activism and an interest in cultural preservation that accompanied a national trend in favor of civil rights. The rise of Red Power and self-determination during this period encouraged the development of organizations such as Wunk Sheek and artistic work that clearly expressed native culture and identity, which can be seen the work of local artists such as Truman Lowe and Harry Whitehorse.⁵⁹

In 1975, documents were signed that restored tribal status to the Menominee Tribe in the Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders following the work of Ada Deer, Senator Gaylord Nelson, and many others, and served to clearly define all tribes' legal status in Wisconsin and affirm their traditional treaty rights to a degree of sovereignty. This tribal self-determination was bolstered by the introduction of gambling. In 1987, Wisconsin passed a referendum that approved of the creation of a state lottery and gave tribes the right to establish casinos on their land. Many tribes such as the Ho-Chunk, Ojibwe, Mohican, and



Formal Signing of the Tribal Restoration Bill, Madison, 1975. WHS# 45437

Potawatomi subsequently opened casinos, such as the Ho-Chunk Gaming facility on the eastern

edge of Madison, which provide economic benefits to their members. Accompanying increased political representation and economic strength, local Native Americans have gained political and legal influence including examples such as alderperson Arvina Martin, elected in 2017 the first Native American member of the Madison City Council ⁶⁰, and lawyer Richard Monette. Monette has served on the Environmental Protection Agency's National Environmental Justice Advisory Council's Indigenous Peoples' Subcommittee, taught at the University of Wisconsin law school, and was the president of the National Native American Bar Association. Movement is still a theme in the Native American experience in Madison as many of them travel frequently between the economic and political draw of Madison and other places called home. Many live and work just outside the boundaries of the city itself in the surrounding communities in the four lakes region. Likewise, students at the assorted educational institutions of Madison and the university are often transitory. ⁶¹

The Ho-Chunk tribe remains regionally dispersed, though the recent significant work of the Madison Community Foundation Grant and the Teejop Community History Project have supported interviews, museums, signage, businesses, and sites that record the history of native peoples and begin to address the communal sense of being systematically ignored that has persisted. In the twenty-first century, the Ho-Chunk tribe has developed and operates six casinos in Wisconsin including Ho-Chunk Gaming–Madison, established in 1999 on the far southeast side of the city.⁶²

Gambling has proven to be very lucrative in recent decades and has greatly contributed to the welfare of the Ho-Chunk Nation. Casinos have also become one of the most visible forms of modern Native American community in Madison and throughout the state. During the period from the 1980s to the present, the Ho-Chunk and other tribes, have radically changed due to the influx of large sums of money, employment, and re-investment in their community. There is internal debate over the effects, positive and negative, of the casino economy on First Nations peoples today. ⁶³

Recent census data indicates that besides Ho-Chunk there are several other prominent tribes presently represented in Madison including Cherokee, Chippewa, Choctaw, Creek, Ojibwe, Dakota, Navajo, Menominee, Iroquois, Blackfeet, Apache, and South, and Central American Indians. The Ho-Chunk tribe is the largest locally, with 295 registered members of the tribe living in Dane County, of which approximately half live in the City of Madison. There are also nearly 700 Native American students at the University of Wisconsin presently. Native Americans make up approximately 1% of the total population of Madison and the surrounding region and have not, during the city's history, lived in specific neighborhoods or areas in dense homogenous communities. Instead, native people have lived throughout the city and the surrounding communities in a dispersed fashion. Generally, there is an emphasis among the Native American community in the Madison area, and elsewhere, on recognition and the value of the natural landscape. Physical constructed resources may not always be the appropriate subject of historic preservation in the context of this community. 64





Hmong Context

Hmong people in Madison share a cultural heritage that has been traced to the first century in the hilly region that is now southern China. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Hmong people, fleeing conflict and oppression in China, migrated south to Laos, northern Vietnam, and Thailand. Hmong people in Madison commonly identify modern-day Laos as their ancestral home.

In the twentieth century, Western Christian denominations proselytizing in Laos developed relationships in the region. Some Hmong communities cultivated a particularly close relationship with missionaries from the Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) Church, and missionaries cooperated to build church buildings and at least one school. CMA missionaries also helped develop the written Hmong language in the 1950s from a language that was previously only spoken. ⁶⁸

In the 1960s, the American military recruited men of ethnic minorities in Laos, including Hmong, to join in battles against Communist rule in the region. Between 30,000 and 40,000 Hmong soldiers and civilians were killed in battles and assaults that continued until 1973. To comply with the 1973 Paris Peace Accords, the United States military withdrew from the Laotian Civil War, also called the Secret War, which coincided with the more widely known Vietnam War. In the wake of the war, the communist Pathet Lao regime took control in the region and launched a campaign to capture or kill Hmong people who fought with American troops. While many Hmong men stayed in Laos to fight for their own land, most Hmong people fled Laos led by General Vang Pao. Most of the Hmong diaspora fled to neighboring Thailand where they were concentrated in refugee camps.

Beginning in 1975 the United States honored the Hmong people's war-time alliance by adopting policies that offered the opportunity to immigrate to the United States. American policies regarding resettlement of Hmong immigrants were designed to favor settlement in locations that offered high potential for successful adjustment to a new and different culture. Although Wisconsin was not initially designated as a receiving state for Hmong immigrants, a relatively small number arrived in the state in 1975 and 1976 and settled in cities other than Madison.

In anticipation of the potential need for resettlement of more Hmong refugees in Wisconsin, the Division of Emergency Government created a new Resettlement Assistance Office to anticipate the assistance they may need.⁷⁰ By 1979, the federal settlement strategy had resulted in significant concentrations of Hmong people in nine states, including 2,000 to 2,500 who had settled in Wisconsin. Around 500 of those had settled in the Madison area, most of them in the Bayview Apartments (later Bayview Town Houses) and Wexford Ridge Apartments.⁷¹

Under federal policy changes in 1979, Wisconsin was added as a major receiving state for Hmong refugees. State agencies and relief workers affiliated with Christian religious denominations began preparing for a dramatic increase in immigrant refugees. Leaving Laos, and then Thailand, to move to the United States was a harrowing and deeply emotional journey for many Hmong people. He would travel a great physical distance, but also a staggering cultural distance to settle in Wisconsin. It was expected that the new residents would need assistance in making the transition. At a national conference of Lutheran denominations at the St. Benedict Center in Middleton (now Holy Wisdom Monastery) in 1978, the chairman of the International Rescue Committee asked attendees to respond to the expected urgent needs of refugees in the wake of fighting in Vietnam and Laos. At a similar conference one year later at the same venue, state representatives and officials involved in resettlement planning outlined policies that the state was implementing in preparation for a wave of new residents settling in Wisconsin.

The first dramatic increase in Hmong immigration happened during a three-year period from 1979 through 1981 when an estimated 43,000 Hmong people resettled in the U.S.⁷⁸ That wave, plus secondary migration to Wisconsin from other states, brought about 10,300 Hmong people to the state.⁷⁹ It is unclear how many settled in Madison during that period. A second wave of Hmong immigration to the U.S. happened from 1988 through 1990. This period brought more Hmong people to Madison. By 1988, 660 lived in Madison, and by 1990, 750.⁸⁰

Hmong immigrants to Madison had to overcome significant language and cultural differences in order to integrate into a foreign society and economic system, while coping with a traumatic departure from their home. ⁸¹ Faith-based humanitarian service organizations and government agencies played significant roles in the resettlement of new Hmong residents in Madison. Catholic Social Service, Lutheran Social Services, and Dane County Department of Social Services were among the earliest agencies to offer resettlement services to Hmong immigrants, hiring Hmong staff to bridge the cultural gap as early as 1979. In 1980, Madison Metropolitan School District officials noticed an increase in students using their Hmong bilingual program ⁸² and appropriated funding to hire their first Hmong-language teacher. ⁸³ Community Centers welcomed Hmong residents and offered assistance with overcoming common difficulties of resettlement: housing, transportation, health care, income, and opportunities to practice cultural traditions. ⁸⁴

Having been displaced from their cultural homeland, it was important for new Hmong residents in Madison to maintain connections to their cultural heritage through traditional practices, foods, arts, and language. Hmong people collaborated with public museums, schools, libraries, and community centers to share their traditional arts and crafts.⁸⁵ They showcased Hmong food, art, and cultural traditions at neighborhood festivals and street fairs in the 1980s and 1990s.

The late 1980s and early 1990s was a period when new Hmong residents in Madison demonstrated their resilience in overcoming the dramatic cultural differences of their new home. A Hmong public school counselor characterized the trend as "learning to live in two cultures and succeed in both." Education had become an important force in the development of the Hmong community. Hmong women were enrolling in colleges and universities and obtaining advanced degrees. Hmong immigrants in nearby cities (St. Paul, MN and La Crosse, WI)

broke barriers by getting elected to public offices. The first Hmong Madisonian to win public office was elected in 2001. Shwaw Vang's election to the school board was called a "breakthrough step for the Hmong community." He was elected to a second three-year term in 2004.⁸⁹ In another sign that they were integrating well with a foreign economic system, Hmong immigrants purchased homes at a dramatically increased rate in the 1990s.⁹⁰

Immigration of Hmong families to Wisconsin continued through the 1990s and into the twenty-first century. In 2000, Madison was home to 1,842 Hmong residents (of 2,235 in Dane County). In 2004, Thailand closed a large temporary shelter with about 15,000 remaining Hmong refugees. ⁹¹ This brought another wave of Hmong immigrants to Madison. By 2010, 2,637 Hmong residents had settled in Madison (of 4,016 in Dane County). ⁹² A large proportion of new Hmong residents during these decades settled with the long-established Hmong community at Bayview Town Houses.

As the number Hmong resident increased, so did manifestations of their cultural traditions. Horticulture is an important component of Hmong culture in Laos. Hmong immigrants brought cultural food traditions to Madison and converted their gardening proficiency to economic value. Many Hmong families who settled in Madison took advantage of public garden plots after 1985 when the Community Action Commission established a program to allow gardening on designated areas of public land. Some Hmong families bought land in rural Dane County to grow produce to sell at the Dane County Farmer's Market, sometimes renting land to other gardeners. By the early twenty-first century, Hmong farmers were a significant component of the market.

Submitting to western medical practices was particularly challenging for Hmong people accustomed to treating illness with traditional herbal remedies and shaman healers. Hmong immigrants who studied western medicine became translators for Hmong people who needed medical attention in Madison. In the early twenty-first century, small Hmong-run businesses emerged to offer medical care to an increasing number of elderly Hmong residents. There was also a unique need for culturally relevant care for Hmong immigrants suffering from mental health issues related to traumatic evacuation from a violent homeland. Leaders in Madison's Hmong community emerged who established places and practices to address these needs.

Traditional Hmong culture includes complex funerary rituals that take place over several days. Hmong residents of Madison have mostly held funeral rituals in private homes. A few professional funeral homes have made regular accommodations for the ceremonies, but the desire for a venue to consistently accommodate traditional Hmong funeral ceremonies has not been realized. A section of Forest Hill cemetery has been designated for permanent interment of deceased Hmong residents, where relatives continue to carry out traditions to honor their ancestors.

Traditional Hmong culture includes an annual harvest celebration around the end of November when Hmong people celebrate the end of a growing season and look forward to the beginning of another. ⁹⁸ For Hmong people in Madison, as in many other American cities, the Hmong New Year celebration has evolved into a community-wide event to share and celebrate Hmong cultural traditions and history. Activities associated with some of the early Hmong New Year

celebration have been held at various public places in Madison including Reindahl Park, Brittingham Park, and West High School.⁹⁹ In the twenty-first century, the event has been held in Exhibition Hall at Alliant Energy Center.

Hmong people have traditionally had animistic spiritual beliefs. ¹⁰⁰ In the twentieth century, many Hmong people adopted Christian religious practices in response to relationships with Western missionaries. ¹⁰¹ Hmong converts to Christianity established congregations in Madison, often meeting in existing church buildings. About one-third of Hmong people in the United States practice Christianity, though the proportion is higher in some states. Hmong Christians belong to many denominations, but the largest number are members of the Christian Missionary Alliance Church. ¹⁰²

New Beginnings Alliance Church and Victory Hmong Alliance were both affiliated with the Christian and Missionary Alliance, an organization that evangelized the Hmong people in Laos in the 1950s and 1960s and developed the written Hmong language. In 2018, both congregations use the Victory Hmong Alliance Church, located at 602 Acewood Boulevard, for gatherings and worship services ¹⁰³

7

Latino Context

The term Latino is a broad one, encompassing people belonging to multiple cultures, nations, and races across multiple continents. However, in the United States, the term has come to refer to those whose ancestry originates in the Spanish-speaking parts of the western hemisphere. Latinos have lived in and migrated to the United States for centuries. Their experience in Wisconsin and Madison, in particular, has largely been as immigrant groups whose identity and experience has been marked by their relative cultural and political inconspicuousness as an underrepresented group to others and their diversity. There significant numbers have not been reflected in political or cultural terms until recent history. Latino's diversity includes significant populations of people from backgrounds such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Columbian, and many more. In terms of numbers, the Latino population of Madison has grown exponentially in the last three decades making them one of the largest groups in the city, yet still underrepresented, especially in terms of their voice in the wider society and the recording of their history. 104

Many, though not all, Latinos have come to the Madison area as a result of migration for employment and opportunities for their families. Some of the earliest known Latinos in the State of Wisconsin came to the area to take part in the fur trade. Some stayed and supported the American Revolution in the late eighteenth century, taking part in a raid on the British fort at Prairie Du Chien on behalf of the Spanish government. Some Mexicans immigrated to the state in the late nineteenth century, and the construction and maintenance of railroads continued to draw Mexicans in particular to the area. The first Spanish-speaking communities in Wisconsin appeared in the 1910s in Milwaukee, establishing institutions and religious organizations. Farm labor and manufacturing industries brought migrants from Mexico during the following decades. Often doing low wage work that local businesses had difficulty finding employees for, as European immigration and cheap labor became scarce after the end of World War I. These migrants typically returned to Mexico, though some settled in the state, often in rural communities, continuing to work on dairy and vegetable farms. However, many of these migrants came into conflict with striking workers and generally experienced discrimination. Many were deported in the 1930s during the depression years.

Mexican Migration

The labor shortages of World War II and the following economic boom brought Mexican migrant workers back to Wisconsin. The federal Bracero Treaty of 1943 allowed for the temporary employment of migrants, mostly from Latin American countries. The program continued until 1964, and many of the migrants eventually brought their families and settled in

Wisconsin. By 1950, census records indicate approximately 1,000 Latinos living in the entire state; however, this is misleading since seasonal and temporary workers were not counted. Wisconsin, though it had plenty of jobs during the period, was not a favorable place for migrant Mexicans in particular, and Mexico sanctioned the entire state as a warning to its citizens that Wisconsin had poor working conditions and hostile relations. ¹⁰⁶

Unlike Milwaukee and the small cities of southeast Wisconsin, the Mexican community was very small in Madison by the 1960s. Many of the arrivals to the city were college students with the exception of small Cuban and Puerto Rican communities. In addition to students, migrant farm workers of Mexican origin became common during this period in the rural areas around Madison. These workers organized the National Farm Workers Association and the Obreros Unidos as a part of a national movement of mostly Latino farm workers. They petitioned and marched to hold the food industry



Migrant Workers march from Wautoma to Madison, 1966. WHS# 92499

accountable for better working conditions for migrants. In 1966, a number of farm workers marched from Wautoma to Madison over five days in support of their goals. ¹⁰⁷

Other Latinos

The diversity of Latinos is often overlooked. While many of the immigrants to Madison of Spanish-speaking origin are Mexican, other groups have also had an impact on the city's history. These communities often have different stories to tell. The first known groups of Puerto Ricans came to Wisconsin in the 1940s, often in a migratory pattern intending to return to their home. However, many stayed and settled, usually in the larger cities of Milwaukee and Madison. During the post-war era, Puerto Ricans were often employed in unionized industrial jobs and integrated more seamlessly into the community. Cubans came to the area in the wake of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and settled in Madison. This first wave of refugees, including notable local businessman and political leader Ricardo Gonzalez, was often well-educated and professional and fit in easily while maintaining their Cuban identity. A subsequent wave of Cuban refugees in the early 1980s was expelled from the Caribbean nation, and they had a more difficult time settling in Madison, usually belonging to the low classes of Cuban society, and had a more difficult time finding employment and services. 108

Post-War Growth and Invisibility

The Latino population of Madison began to grow in the early 1970s, though only slowly at first. More and more Mexicans began to settle out of migrant agriculture and find homes in the city. Many were American born and of Mexican descent, often referred to as Chicanos. Some became students at the University of Wisconsin and formed organizations like La Academia de la Raza

and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlán (MEChA) to facilitate their cultural identity as an underrepresented group. These student organizations also took part in protests in support of civil rights causes carried over from the experiences of many groups during the 1960s. A lack of bilingual education in Madison schools appeared to significantly dampen outcomes for Latino students, and the community applied pressure to encourage bilingual staff throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s with some success. Latinos also began to be involved in local government with Rosa Escamilla serving as alderperson, and Juan Jose Lopez serving as the president of the Madison School Board. ¹⁰⁹

By the 1980s, a host of social service and community organizations existed to serve the growing Latino community of Madison. Organization de Hispano-Americanos, funded by the federal government, was one of the first agencies in the city to provide English language programming and aid through local community colleges. The local Catholic Archdiocese established an office specifically for Spanish-speakers, and the United Migrant Opportunity Services (UMOS) worked with immigrants and migrants to provide financial assistance and guidance. The University of Wisconsin-Madison also developed a new Chicano and Latino Studies Department, coursework, student organizations, and newsletters addressing issued faced by the Latino community. ¹¹⁰

As the Latino population of Madison grew, cultural support in the form of churches, and community centers and businesses such as grocery stores and restaurants appeared in the city. The 1980s saw the development of local Latino institutions, often directly related to Latino culture and the process of adaptation for recent immigrants including religious organization through the Catholic Church such as the Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, St. Joseph Catholic Church, and Centro Guadalupano, as well as the radio station La Movida and the community center Centro Hispano. Originally opened in 1983 with funding provided by the United Way of Dane County, Centro Hispano was established to serve incoming Cuban refugees and has since provided services to all Latinos in the city, and a series of Supermercados, including Mercado Marimar on S Park Street, appeared across the city catering to the culinary needs of Latino groups. Many of these resources have existed on the south and east sides of Madison, especially at the periphery, nearest to where Latinos settled. [111]

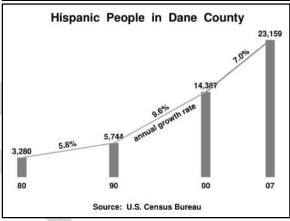
Legal immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries has become, by many accounts, nearly impossible since the 1960s if one does not belong to the high end of the socioeconomic class. Many immigrants from Mexico, specifically, have arrived in the United States undocumented. The total present number is estimated at about 11 million, half of whom arrived from Mexico. For many of these immigrants, coming to Madison for better opportunities for themselves and their families has not been easy, especially with the constant threat of deportation and having to exist in a semi-invisible legal state. During the 1980s and 1990s, approximately 63,000 Latinos lived in Wisconsin, 65% of which were Mexican. Indeed, Mexicans are certainly the largest nationality among Latinos, and their population and culture can often seem dominant. 112

Continued Development

Among the 15,948 Latinos currently living in Madison, nearly 7% of the total population, 10,558 are identified as Mexican, 1,165 are Puerto Rican, 299 are Cuban, and there are significant number of Dominicans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Argentineans, Chileans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, and Venezuelans. Nearly every Spanish-speaking country of the western hemisphere has a small community in Madison. Presently, Latinos are the second largest and the fastest growing minority racial and ethnic population in the state and in Madison. The Latino population has grown nearly 50% since 2000, and yet there is a prevailing sense that this community is largely invisible to mainstream culture and political power in Madison. 113

Poverty and discrimination still affect the Latino community, and many, especially those who are first-generation immigrants, struggle with limited employment and educational opportunities. In 2006, a march to the state capitol commemorating Cinco De Mayo, the Mexican holiday, drew approximately 100,000 people voicing their presence. Issues concerning undocumented immigration also still affect the Latino community in Madison greatly, and nearly 14,000 people marched at the state capitol in 2016 to protest bills that fined so-called sanctuary cities and also in support of "A Day Without Latinos," organized by Voces de la Frontera, which has a Madison-based chapter.

Hispanic People by Heritage			
Heritage	1990	2000	2007
Mexican	2,992	9,040	14,278
Puerto Rican	585	1,088	1,556
Other	2,167	4,259	7,325
Total	5,744	14,387	23,159



Dane County Hispanic Population Growth and Demographics, 2011.



Day without Latinos Rally, 2016. Wisconsin State Journal, Feb 19, 2016.

Oscar Mireles moved to Madison in 1994 and has been a popular fixture in the city and the Latino community since. Oscar Mireles moved to Madison in 1994 to become the Executive Director of Omega School, a school that provides adult education and GED preparation in Madison and serves many Latinos. Mireles was later selected as the Poet Laureate of the City of Madison for 2016-17, and again for 2018-2020. 114

Activists, such as Gladis Benavides and Fabiola Hamden, and professors at the university, such as Tess Arenas and Alfonso Morales, have worked to draw attention to the interests and cultures of Latinos in Madison. In 2005 through her position as director of the College of Letters and Science's new Service Learning and Community-Based Research Initiative, Arenas developed a

course for community-based learning students to document Latinas in Wisconsin, distinct in its focus on Latina women, which led to the Somos Latinas History Project and book in 2015. The *Somos Latinas* book is based on a series of oral history interviews with longtime residents of Madison including Rosa Aguilu, Yolanda Salazar, Ramona Natera, Romelia Schlueter and Eva Perez, which address the Latina experience and history in the city. ¹¹⁵

Alfonso Morales became a professor in the Urban and Regional Planning Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2006, and his work and teaching emphasized cultural studies and food-systems. He has pioneered the study of food street markets and farmer's markets and their social-cultural and economic value. He also initiated the Kaufman Lab for the Study and Design of Food Systems and Marketplaces in 2014. Morales has published several articles and books including the recent *Cities of Farmers: Urban Agricultural Practices and Processes*. ¹¹⁶

Approximately one-third of Madison's Latino community are immigrants and many of them came to the city before the year 2000, meaning that the community is well established in the city. The population is growing rapidly too, with over 20% of the student body in Madison schools identified as Latino. Latinos, already diverse in their origin and status, are not limited geographically to a specific part of Madison, but instead live in every neighborhood. The diffusion and diversity of the Latino community is one of its primary features in its history in Madison. However, many of the recent immigrants of the Latino community have generally settled along the periphery of the city on the south and east sides of the city. Physical resources that reflect Latino history in Madison are often manifested in cultural institutions such as churches and community groups that reflect a shared social history. 117





LGBTQ Context

There is no doubt that queer people have lived in Madison since the city's formative years. A prominent historian of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer or questioning (LGBTQ) history in Wisconsin has documented queer relationships in the state in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 118 Few, if any, of those early Madison residents, however, lived in open recognition of their relationships or their identity. Doing so meant facing substantial social and economic risks. Under a series of statutes from 1836, when the laws of the Wisconsin Territory were inherited from the Michigan Territory from which it was cleaved, through 1983, any person in Wisconsin could be arrested, fined, or imprisoned for engaging in or being suspected of engaging in in "unnatural" sex acts, even in the privacy of their own homes. 120 These state statutes were known as sodomy laws because they specifically targeted only sex acts defined as sodomy. The statutes were silent on similar non-procreative sex acts involving female sex organs until 1955 when they, too, were explicitly outlawed. 121 Even in their inequality, Wisconsin's sodomy laws were prejudiced in their recognition of sexual orientation as a binary. By targeting homosexual cisgender men, the law was ostensibly partial to heteronormative sexual behavior. In short, Wisconsin law from statehood through the late-twentieth century outlawed private, consensual, sexual behavior as a proxy for its prejudice against people of sexual and gender minorities.

During the same period, but ending in 1975 in the City of Madison and 1980 in Dane County, it was also legal to deny a person employment, housing, education, and service at businesses serving the public simply based on their sexual orientation or gender identity, whether or not they had been charged or convicted under state sodomy laws.

This unequal treatment under the law forced LGBTQ people to choose between living in open recognition of their identity and living with full access to the law, economy, and society. During this period, most LGBTQ people chose to conceal their true identities from employers, schools, religious communities, business associates, friends, and, in many cases, families in order to avoid social marginalization or a debilitating criminal record that often allowed public scrutiny of their lives against their will.

The legal jeopardy faced by sexually active queer people intensified in the 1920s. The Supreme Court of Wisconsin, in a 1926 case, upheld a conviction of a couple caught in an act of sodomy after the warrantless entrance of their home by police. ¹²² In a 1928 case, the court affirmed a conviction for sodomy based on uncorroborated testimony of a sexual partner.

Gaining Visibility

In the 1940s police in Madison were enforcing the state's sodomy laws by arresting men suspected of engaging in sexual activity with other men. In the fall of 1944, police in Madison arrested a ring of gay men on morals charges. ¹²³ Cause for the arrests was cited as "obscene literature and other evidence indicating unnatural sexual activities." At their arraignment, the charge was reduced, and the men were allowed to pay fines rather than go to jail. The judge told the men that their conduct was reprehensible and that further offenses would be punished more fully. ¹²⁴

In the summer of 1948, municipal and University of Wisconsin-Madison police raided a home at 1514 Adams Street after questioning a 19-year-old man who produced an invitation to a party at that address. Police entered and searched the apartment and then arrested the two residents on morals charges under Wisconsin's sodomy law. ¹²⁵ An account of the episode in the Wisconsin State Journal the following day quoted police officers' prejudicial tone. The paper reported that police found a lavishly furnished home they believed to be a den for lewd activities by a ring of homosexual men. Cited as evidence was "obscene literature and other evidence indicating unnatural sexual activities." ¹²⁶ Follow-up investigations resulted in charges against twelve other men. ¹²⁷ Private gatherings at houses such as this were a common method of socializing, networking, and organizing in the LGBTQ community at a time when living one's identity openly posed significant risks. Incidents like this one, and the newspaper accounts that often followed, had the effect of slandering LGBTQ people by defining them in terms of sexual behavior and tarnishing their relationships as shameful, deviant, and even predatory. ¹²⁸

Wartime and sexology research in the late 1940s combined to raise academic and popular interest in sexual minorities that began to challenge these characterizations. Historians credit the social upheaval of World War II with making LGBTQ people more visible to each other and other Americans. Dr. Bonnie J. Morris, historian and professor of women's studies, wrote:

"The disruptions of World War II allowed formerly isolated gay men and women to meet as soldiers and war workers. Other volunteers were uprooted from small towns and posted worldwide. Many minds were opened by wartime, during which LGBT people were both tolerated in military service and officially sentenced to death camps in the Holocaust. This increasing awareness of an existing and vulnerable population coupled with Sen. Joseph McCarthy's investigation of homosexuals holding government jobs during the early 1950s outraged writers and federal employees whose own lives were shown to be second-class under the law. Awareness of a burgeoning civil rights movement led to the first American-based political demands for fair treatment of gays and lesbians in mental health, public policy and employment."

Then in 1948, just three years after the end of the war, Alfred Kinsey and his team of sex researchers at Indiana University published the first of two reports on their ground-breaking studies of human sexuality. The 1948 report on male sexual behavior (a similar report on female sexual behavior was published in 1953) suggested that homosexuality is within the range of normal human sexual behavior and, thus, not a pathology or a deviation. ¹³⁰ Initially, Kinsey's

research was controversial among the psychiatry profession, and homosexuality continued to be widely defined as a mental disorder.

Wisconsin lawmakers were not persuaded by Kinsey's research. In the late 1940s, sodomy laws in Wisconsin shifted from criminalizing sex acts to targeting LGBTQ people more overtly by defining people with non-heteronormative sexual orientation as psychopaths and deviants. In 1947, the state legislature enacted a Psychopathic Offender Law that permitted the institutionalization for treatment of any sexual psychopath, whether or not the person had committed a crime. It was replaced a few years later by the Sexual Deviate Act that focused on punishing acts of sodomy, but more overtly defined perpetrators as sexually deviant. Characterizations of LGBTQ people as deviant and psychopathic were generally supported by the psychiatric profession who largely embraced theories of pathology and emotional immaturity to explain homosexuality. ¹³¹ These theories presumed that homosexuality could be cured through psychotherapy or behavioral treatments. Homosexuality was included in the first edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1953. Its inclusion as a pathology continued to reinforce broad connotations of LGBTQ people as deficient and inferior.

At a time when simply being known as a lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender person was perilous, private social groups like the one that gathered at 1514 Adams Street provided mutual support for self-liberation. These groups were not formal organizations for purposes of activism, but informal social circles that offered a safe social space where members were insulated from the hazards of living openly. Such groups existed in Madison in the 1940s and later. The house at 739 Jenifer Street was another center of cloistered gay society. In the 1950s and 1960s, as the home of Keith McCutcheon and Joe Koberstein, 739 Jenifer Street was a gathering place for an active gay social circle. These informal social groups used networking and organizing skills from which formalized LGBTQ organizations would later draw wisdom.

Homophile Movement

The 1950s saw the emergence of a period of progress toward LGBTQ civil rights known as the Homophile Movement, when awareness of LGBTQ people and the injustice they faced continued to grow. It was a period of increasing visibility of queer people, compassionate writing about queer issues and relationships, and research-informed debate about the nature of human sexuality. The first formalized organizations were founded to advocate for civil rights and to deliberately challenge laws that discriminated against queer people.

The Homophile Movement was fueled nationally by frank and empathetic writings about queer people and relationships. Books like the American edition of Andre Gide's Corydon (1950) and Donald Webster Cory's The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach (1951) added historical and emotional depth to Kinsey's research. Gay and lesbian groups, like the Mattachine Society in Los Angeles in 1950 and the Daughters of Bilitis in San Francisco in 1955, organized to directly challenge unequal protection under the law and influence public opinion. Affiliated organizations were established in other cities and were effective in stimulating a national debate and persuading some Americans to question long-held assumptions about homosexual people. ¹³⁴ There were no formalized organizations in Madison during this period, but Madisonians were

exposed to the national conversation in the local newspapers. The Wisconsin State Journal ran a regular column by Dr. George W. Crane from 1941 to 1955. Crane consistently employed the theory of emotional immaturity when answering questions from readers about homosexual issues, asserting to Madison readers that homosexuals could be re-educated. The Journal began running a similar advice column by Ann Landers in 1958. Landers' advice about homosexuality acknowledged disagreements among psychologists, sociologists, and criminologists, but stopped short of siding with professionals who argued that homosexuality is within the bounds of normal. Homosexuality was removed from the DSM in 1973, when a majority of the psychiatric profession tilted against the theory embraced by Crane.

Wisconsin's sodomy laws continued to affect the lives of queer people in the 1960s, and policing on gay matters was still occurring during the tenure of Chief Wilbur Emery, Madison's police chief from 1959 through 1972. Gay historian and long-time Madison resident, R. Richard (Dick) Wagner, having witnessed anti-war actions of Madison police in the 1960s, described police in Emery's department as "not enlightened." Gay people were not safe even on the Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin. In 1962, the university's Dean of Men felt that graduating gay men would reflect poorly on the school. He employed the resources of the university's Police Department to identify and question male students suspected of being gay. Many gay students were expelled, threatened with expulsion, or withdrew voluntarily during a period labelled the Gay Purge. 137

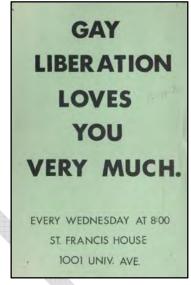
In the 1960s, perhaps encouraged by civil rights activism organized by groups in other American cities, LGBTQ people in Madison asserted rights that had long been denied them. Simply being who they were in public was one of those rights. Like anyone, LGBTQ people needed to cultivate communities and personal relationships in which they could live genuinely, and they needed to find public spaces that could facilitate those relationships. In Madison, bars and cafés were a ubiquitous and convenient type of social space, but in the 1960s there were no public accommodations that openly invited LGBTQ communities. Some establishments offered tolerance and discretion, particularly to gay men, but did not advertise it lest they attract unwanted attention from police or homophobic customers. There were few bars in Madison that would allow lesbians to gather. 138 Travel guides published for gay travelers in the 1960s relied on advice from their readers about bars and restaurants where gay travelers might find a community. In particular, The Lavender Baedeker and International Guild Guide listed several Madison bars in the early and mid-1960s where gay travelers might be welcome. Some were located in buildings that are no longer extant: The Fireside Lounge at 1229 Regent Street, The Three Bells at 763 University Avenue, the Stop Lite tavern at 302 East Wilson Street, and the Kollege Klub bar in its original iteration at 714 State Street. Others were located in buildings that still exist: Lombardo's Piano Lounge at 119 East Main Street, the Uptown Grill (aka Uptown Cafe) at 320 State Street, the 602 Club at 602 University Avenue, the Belmont Hotel bar at 31 North Pinckney Street, the Velvet Swing lounge at 317 West Gorham Street, and Marty's Restaurant at 506 East Wilson Street. These gay-friendly spaces were confirmed by interviews with longtime gay Madison residents. 139

Gay Liberation Movement

Acts of resistance to oppression of LGBTQ people had occurred in larger American cities throughout the 1960s, but it was the Stonewall uprising in New York City in late June of 1969 that sparked a nationwide wave of organization and activism known as the Gay Liberation Movement that continued into the 1970s and 1980s and had clear manifestations in Madison. It was a movement of young, "new homosexuals who were out, active, and seeking reforms." The movement was fully embraced by Madison's LGBTQ community who, almost immediately, began organizing, publishing, coming out, and lobbying for legal reforms. Beginning just a few months after Stonewall, activists established clubs, groups, social spaces, and specialized counseling and medical services to meet needs that, prior to 1969, had to be met with as little public disclosure as possible.

From the early days of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison, gay men and lesbian women crafted separate, but overlapping, agendas. They established separate organizations, programs, and spaces to meet different sets of needs. Women, in the early 1970s, were cultivating a liberation movement of their own, which overlapped in many ways with the Gay Liberation Movement. Bisexual, transgender, and other queer folks tended to find community in the spaces and organizations established by gay and lesbian groups. ¹⁴¹ Different factions of the LGBTQ community did work together when goals intersected, which they often did.

Within a few months of Stonewall, organization of Madison's LGBTQ community shifted from informal gatherings in private homes to formalized organizations and public advocacy for equal rights. Besides the palpable need for legal reforms, there was a pent-up need in the early 1970s for organization, information sharing, community building, and socializing without the risks of harassment. A flurry of groups came together in the early 1970s to meet those needs. Organizers of these early groups used existing spaces, often in upper floors or basements, that were either offered freely, or affordable on nonprofit budgets funded largely by "pass-the-hat" fundraisers and small donations. 142 This meant moving often.



Gay Liberation poster, 1970 Wisconsin Historical Society Image ID: 59049



Madison Gay Sisters poster, 1971 Wisconsin Historical Society Image ID: 59053

The Madison Alliance for Homosexual Equality (MAHE), founded in October 1969, was the first group to organize and publicly advocate for LGBTQ civil rights in Wisconsin. ¹⁴³ In Madison, it was followed by Madison Gay Sisters, Gay Liberation Front (GLF), Crossroads of Madison, and Renaissance of Madison. These groundbreaking groups set an agenda for LGBTQ civil rights activism in the 1970s and 1980s that included information sharing, political action,

community building, artistic expression, self-help, and self-publishing. Crossroads of Madison established the Madison Gay Center in 1973, the first gay community center in Wisconsin. 144

Beginning in 1972, gay bars increasingly took on the role of providing safe and welcoming social spaces for LGBTQ people – a role previously served by gay and lesbian organizations. Gay bars in the early 1970s quickly became important social spaces where queer people could find a welcoming community and let their guard down with minimal risk of incurring the social hazards they faced for being out at traditional venues. Some were truly gay bars in that they were established by gay people and catered explicitly to the needs and customs of LGBTQ communities, like the Back-Door bar that opened in 1972 or the Cardinal Bar that opened in 1974. Others made no special accommodations for queer patrons and were operated with no such intentions but had owners and a clientele who tolerated or even welcomed queer patrons, like the Pirate Ship, the Velvet Swing, and the 602 Club.



Women's Center poster 1972 WHS Image ID:59052

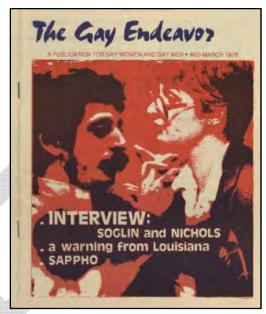
On the political front of the movement, LGBTQ political candidates entered public service in the 1970s through the door that Judy Greenspan opened in 1973. Jim Yeadon was appointed to an open seat on Common Council in 1976, and David Clarenbach was elected to Dane County Board of Supervisors in 1973 and to the Wisconsin State Assembly in 1974, although he was not open about his sexuality at that time. LGBTQ groups in Madison gained legal ground in 1975 when the Common Council adopted amendments to the city's 1963 Equal Opportunities Ordinance that added sexual orientation to the classes of people against whom discrimination was prohibited. It was the first such municipal ordinance in Wisconsin and one of the earliest in the nation.

The availability of counseling was an important component of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison. In the early 1970s, homosexuality was still listed as a mental illness in the DSM; it was removed in 1973. Psychological professionals commonly defended the theory that homosexuality is caused by arrested emotional development, and writers and filmmakers regularly portrayed homosexuals as deviant in popular media. Facing these trends, while also living in a society where discrimination was legal and routine, presented a unique set of emotional burdens for queer people living out their identity. The need for counseling, with peers and professionals, was clear from the beginning of the movement. During the first few years of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison, the response to this need was informal, consisting of peer-group volunteer counseling services offered by the Gay Center, Lesbian Switchboard, and other similar groups. In the late 1970s, progressive professional counseling collectives began offering services that recognized the issues commonly faced by LGBTQ people.

In 1977, a nationwide campaign to repeal municipal gay civil rights laws reached into Madison in an attempt to repeal the 1975 amendments to the Equal Opportunities Ordinance that offered protections for LGBTQ people. The campaign failed, but two consequential groups formed in response to the effort, Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) and The United, who

was later joined by the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center to form OutReach LGBT Community Center. 146

Publishing self-funded and self-produced media allowed LGBTQ groups to share news and information throughout the community during the early years of the movement when it was particularly important to gain and retain control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues. These publications also helped organize efforts at advocacy, legislative action, education, visibility, and community building. In the early years of the movement, marketing of events and organizations often took the form of brief mentions in local newspapers or printed, single-use notifications posted in public. Examples include Gay Coordinator's Newsletter / Gay Renaissance / The Gay Endeavor from 1974 to 1978 and Gay Madison / OUT! from 1978 to 1987. The United returned to publishing with Unity which ran from 1991 to 1997. The University of Wisconsin LGBTQ student group, Ten Percent Society, published We're Everywhere from 1993 through 1995. It consisted of "News of the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual community at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Dean of Students Office." A bisexual-interest



Cover of The Gay Endeavor, 1978 Published by Renaissance of Madison. LGBTQ Archives at University of Wisconsin-Madison

organization called Bi?Shy?Why? published Bi-Lines from 1993 to 1995. Since 2007, Our Lives magazine has become the leading print forum for news and information about the LGBTQ community.

By 1980, the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison had made significant progress in establishing places to support LGBTO community and culture. In the 1970s, most were segregated as gay or lesbian spaces, but in the 1980s the broader Madison community began to open doors to the LGBTQ community and to embrace LGBTQ culture. Listener-supported community radio, like WORT in 1975, and public access cable television outlets, like the Community Access Center's WYOU from 1975 to 2001, provided access to a broader audience through their broadcasting capabilities. David Runyon's Nothing to Hide which ran for over twenty years was one of the longest-running LGBTQ television programs in history. Community-supported theaters staged performances with queer themes by LGBTQ performers, like the Broom Street Theater from 1977 to today, the Madison Gay Theater Project from 1983 to 1986, Proud Theater youth program from 1999 to today, or Stage Q at the Bartell Theater from 2001 to today. Community centers and other venues offered space for meetings, classes, support groups, and performances, like Wil-Mar Neighborhood Center in 1984 and 1985, Kanopy Movement Center in 1985 and 1986, and the Barrymore Theater in 1987. Even parochial student centers and religious congregations near the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus, like the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center in 1969, the former University Methodist Episcopal Church in the early 1980s, and Luther Memorial Church in the mid-1980s,

opened their doors to LGBTQ organizations, offering space for meetings, events, and counseling sessions.

The LGBTQ community gained visibility and political power in the 1980s as more gay and lesbian candidates from Madison were elected to public offices at the local, county, and state levels. Jim Yeadon was appointed to a partial term of an open seat on Common Council in 1976; he shared publicly about his sexuality the following day. He was then elected to the Council in 1977, becoming the first openly gay man to be elected to a common council in the country. Dick Wagner became the first gay man elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors in 1980. Wagner, along with Kathleen Nichols, were appointed by Governor Tony Earl to the Governor's Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues. Ricardo Gonzalez, owner of the Cardinal Bar, became the first openly gay Latino person elected to public office in the United States when he was elected to the Common Council in 1989. Tammy Baldwin was elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors in 1986 and became the first lesbian and first openly LGBTQ member elected to Wisconsin State Assembly in 1992. Baldwin's political career continued when she became the first lesbian elected to United States House of Representatives in 1998, and the first to be elected to United States Senate in 2012.

The queer community found earnest support from many organizations and venues located on the isthmus and near-east-side neighborhoods. The Williamson-Marquette neighborhood in particular gained a reputation for hosting LGBTQ groups and events and having a relatively high concentration of LGBTQ residents. The Schenk-Atwood (now known as Schenk-Atwood-Starkweather-Yahara or SASY) neighborhood developed a similar reputation, earning the moniker "Dyke Heights." ¹⁴⁷

One of the most important goals of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison was to increase the visibility of LGBTQ people. Visibility, it was argued, would help counteract negative portrayals and perceptions of queer people. Coming out would help break down stereotypes, challenge prejudice and discrimination, and normalize queerness. At a time when the AIDS crisis was forcing visibility on the LGBTQ community by striking gay men disproportionately, positive visibility meant increased empathy for and attention to the crisis from the public, government agencies, and



MAGIC Picnic, 1986 Brittingham Park InStep, vol. 3, no. 16, Aug. 1986

medical profession. Madison's LGBTQ community increased their visibility dramatically in the 1970s through the late 1980s when the MAGIC Picnic at Brittingham Park started in 1973, GALVAnize's LGBTQ Pride event started in 1989.

The 1990s had a decentralizing effect on Madison's LGBTQ community. The community was also enjoying wider tolerance and integration than in previous decades. By 1998, there was a wider variety of clubs catering to specialized interests like motorcycling, gardening, sports, dancing, and music.

In the early twenty-first century, LGBTQ people have made significant progress toward the goals of visibility and acceptance in the broader Madison community. LGBTQ people routinely run for and are elected to local public office. The annual LGBTQ Pride parade has continued to attract large crowds of queer people and friends. OutReach LGBTQ Community Center has become the leading organization supporting and connecting LGBTQ people in the community. LGBTQ bars and dance clubs have continued to come and go and are advertised widely without ambiguity. Madison's public school district has invited gender and sexuality alliance groups into the schools. Many teams, clubs, and groups continue to serve the wide range of interests of the LGBTQ community at all age, income, and ability levels.

The community has made significant advancements in equality but has continued to struggle for equity in all areas of the law. In February 1982, Governor Dreyfus signed the "Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill" Chapter 112 of Wisconsin Law, prohibiting discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation, becoming the first state in the country to enact such a law at the state level. 148 One of the most important civil rights advancements for LGBTO people in Madison came in 2014 when United States District Court Judge Barbara Crabb struck down the state's constitutional ban on same-sex marriage. It was upheld on appeal. Then, in 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States decided Obergefell v. Hodges, a case that granted marriage equality to LGBTQ people nationwide. The first, and many of the earliest, legal same-sex weddings in the



Nancy Smider and Denise King were married on the steps of the City-County Building on June 6, 2014 after obtaining a marriage license inside at the County Clerk's office. Many same-sex couples were married here after the 2014 Wisconsin Supreme Court ruling that equalized marriage rights for same-sex partners. Photo courtesy of Nancy Smider.

state took place at the top of the stairs of the main entrance of the City-County Building after couples obtained their marriage licenses in the Dane County Clerk's Office. Advocacy groups like ACLU Wisconsin, Human Rights Campaign, and Fair Wisconsin Inc. continue to lobby policymakers for legal equality for the LGBTQ community. While there are no state laws against discrimination based on gender identity, in January 2019, Governor Tony Evers issued an executive order prohibiting gender identity discrimination in government employment. ¹⁴⁹

In its seventh annual Municipal Equality Index report in 2018, a nationwide evaluation of how inclusive municipal laws, policies, and services are of LGBTQ people who live and work there, the Human Rights Campaign rated the City of Madison a maximum score of 100 based on its non-discrimination laws, the municipality as an employer, municipal services, law enforcement, and the city leadership's public position on equality. ¹⁵⁰ In 2019, Satya Rhodes-Conway was elected the first openly LGBTQ mayor of the City of Madison; ¹⁵¹ she is also believed to be the first openly LGBTQ mayor elected in the State of Wisconsin.



9

Women Context

Conducting a survey of historic properties in Madison that are associated with women posed a challenge. To consider every woman in Madison who has ever made progress as an innovator, a pioneer, or an influencer in any field of human endeavor, and then to identify the places that convey their stories, would be a massive task, beyond the scope of this plan. Instead, resources associated with the advancement of women as a group toward a state of legal, economic, and social equality with others were evaluated. These tend to be associated with identifiable waves of feminist fervor: The Abolitionist period through the Progressive era, beginning circa 1830 and fading around 1920, and also the Women's Liberation period, triggered in the early 1960s and fading in the early-1980s. The resources that are included here are the most articulate places in Madison for conveying the journey of women toward equality.

Women have been in the four-lakes region since Paleo-Indian cultures first settled here thousands of years ago. 152 Archaeological records suggest that women in southern Wisconsin were miners, traders, farmers, civic leaders, and partners in domestic routines. 153 During Wisconsin's territorial era 1787-1848, women arrived with the migration of European fur-traders and settlers moving west of the Great Lakes. 154 Rosaline Peck was one of the first European women to settle in Madison. She and her husband Eben Peck arrived in Madison in 1837 to open a tayern and boarding house on the hill where the state capitol was later built. ¹⁵⁵ Some settlers arrived in Wisconsin with slaves, often escorting them to freedom. 156 Some slaves, however, arrived with southerners who migrated north to settle in southwestern Wisconsin. 157 Though women often shared the physical burdens of frontier settlement, they were outnumbered by men and did not have the same rights as men under the law or under traditional cultural gender roles. 158 Without the right to vote, Wisconsin women sometimes boldly exercised their only means of direct participation in political policy-making, that of petitioning. While Wisconsin was still a territory, women exercised that right to ask Congress to reform land speculation laws, abolish slavery, and require better working conditions for women laborers. ¹⁵⁹ Most African American women who had come to Wisconsin, either on their own or with white families, had migrated to southeastern cities and towns by the mid-1840s where anti-slavery sentiment was the strongest. 160

When Wisconsin became a state in 1848, women remained second-class citizens, while men gained all the rights of American citizens. Married women had no legal right to their property or to custody of their children. The law did not protect women from spousal abuse, and women did not have the voting power to change leadership and legal protections. Debate over the drafting of Wisconsin's constitution in 1846 and again in 1848 had included discussion, without input from Wisconsin women, of a provision granting women legal right to their own personal property and wages they earned. The provision was eventually excluded from the constitution

that passed in 1848, making Wisconsin a state and granting Wisconsin men all the legal rights under federal law. The same year, the nation's first convention on women's rights took place in Seneca Falls, New York. The event catalyzed the national women's rights movement and significantly shaped the first wave of feminism in the United States. Two years later, in 1850, the Wisconsin legislature passed a constitutional amendment granting women legal possession of their own property, and Governor Dewey signed it. The provision was severely curtailed, however, by subsequent rulings in Wisconsin courts that interpreted the provision narrowly, maintaining second-class economic status for married women.

Women in Wisconsin gained limited access to education in the 1840s and 1850s. The earliest schools to which women were admitted were privately run and only admitted women. While girls were allowed to attend the earliest public primary schools, college education was largely unavailable to women. The state's earliest college campuses - Carroll College (later Beloit College), University of Wisconsin, and Lawrence College (Appleton) – did not initially admit women. Lawrence was the first to change this policy in 1849. The University of Wisconsin first admitted women in 1860, to a ten-week course in the Normal Department. In 1867, the Regents of the university abolished the Normal Department and established the Female



Several women were among the class of 1876 at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. *WHS Image ID:* 27194

College with separate courses for female students and in a separate building. Six women were the first to be granted bachelor's degrees from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1869. ¹⁶⁷

Following the Civil War, political and economic changes opened doors for some Wisconsin women to work beyond domestic service. Many Wisconsin women found employment in industry, retail, and business in the 1870s and 1880s. Homen also began to organize and advocate for equal rights and protections under law. Groups coalesced to focused primarily on temperance and suffrage. Home is a suffrage.

The temperance movement in Wisconsin sought policy changes that would limit the consumption of alcohol and in turn reduce instances of violence against women that often resulted from excessive alcohol use. Wisconsin already had a law, passed in 1859, prohibiting alcohol consumption on Sundays, but it was seldom enforced in Madison. In the early 1870s, temperance groups lobbied for new legislation and new local ordinances to limit alcohol consumption, but the city's large and influential German population lobbied against their efforts, and prevailed. ¹⁷⁰ By the end of 1873, thirty cities in Wisconsin, including Madison, had organized temperance campaigns. ¹⁷¹

The Wisconsin Women's Suffrage Association was founded in 1869 in Milwaukee, boosted by a visit from leaders of the young national movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Mary Livermore, who also visited Madison to address a session of the state legislature. ¹⁷²

After more than a decade of organizing women state-wide, the group persuaded the state legislature to pass legislation in 1885 allowing women to vote on school matters. ¹⁷³ The provision suffered setbacks in Wisconsin courts, but it was an important step in a long struggle for equality for Wisconsin women that would last well into the twentieth century.

Organizing and Progressive Era Victories

Education, small victories, and the momentum of the suffrage movement fostered a comradery among women nationally and in Wisconsin in the 1880s and 1890s. In increasing numbers, women recognized that, without the vote, their power to affect social and political change lay in their ability to consolidate their influence. The concept of social clubs exclusively for women had emerged in the late 1860s in eastern states as a mechanism for mutual learning and working toward common goals. ¹⁷⁴ The trend manifested in Madison in the early 1890s with the founding the Woman's Club of Madison in 1893. A clubhouse for the Woman's Club of Madison was completed at 240 W. Gilman Street in 1906. There were other signs of organization efforts in the 1890s, but clubs and organizations for women truly proliferated in Madison between 1900 and 1930. It was a period of fervent organization around a variety of common bonds: ethnic, artistic, religious, professional, political, and even geographical. Women in Madison undertook agendas of equal rights, self-improvement, political action, public service, philanthropy, artistic expression, and civic boosterism. There were clubs in Madison formed by Norwegian women, African American women, German women, Jewish women, and Catholic women. ¹⁷⁵ Professional women formed the Business and Professional Women's Club. East-side professional women formed a Progressive Club. ¹⁷⁶ Clubs served a variety of purposes for members. For some, social networking was a driving motivation for joining. For others, it was self-improvement or a sense of civic duty. Prior to 1920, clubs became a way to influence public policy and achieve social reform in the absence of the vote. All the while, achieving equal voting rights continued to be a common cause for women's groups. In a sign that other injustices were taking on increasing importance, the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs took the lead during the Progressive Era on advocating for women's issues from the Wisconsin Women's Suffrage Association.¹⁷⁷

Club membership, and the influence that came with it, was not available to all women. Unmarried women and women with low incomes typically did not have the leisure time for club activities. Clubs were also segregated along racial lines. Membership of African American women in clubs not exclusively organized for African American women was rare in 1900, but it was an issue that was discussed among coalitions of women's clubs. ¹⁷⁸ The *Wisconsin State Journal* reported that club women were divided on whether women's clubs should be racially integrated. ¹⁷⁹ The 1902 national convention of General Federation of Women's Clubs wrestled with the question, and then recommended that "an effectual barrier be raised against the admission of colored women's clubs" to the Federation. ¹⁸⁰ African American women did not wait to be invited. During World War I, the "Ever Ready Red Cross Club of Colored Women" met at the Neighborhood House in the Greenbush neighborhood to make comfort items for American soldiers. ¹⁸¹ The Ideal Club, which existed in Madison as early as 1893, evolved into a club for African American women by 1902 and eventually became known as the Colored Women's Ideal Club and sponsored events to showcase African American culture and promote discussion of inter-racial problems. ¹⁸²

In the later years of the Progressive Era, Wisconsin women finally won major victories for which they had been fighting for decades. Their advocacy for the prohibition of alcohol culminated in the adoption in 1919 of the eighteenth amendment to the United States Constitution. It prohibited the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors. In 1920, after more than a half-century of activism, suffragists won full voting rights nationwide for all women in the form of the nineteenth amendment. Wisconsin was the first state to ratify it. ¹⁸³ In 1921, Wisconsin became the first



Mabel Raef Putnam thanks Governor John J. Blaine on the steps of the state capitol after he signed the Wisconsin Women's Rights Bill, 1921. Wisconsin Historical Society, Image ID: 118142

state to adopt an equal rights law. It granted women "the same rights and privileges under the law as men in the exercise of suffrage, freedom of contract, choice of residence for voting purposes, jury service, holding office, holding and conveying property, care and custody of children, and in all other respects." 184

In the wake of major Progressive-Era advancements, women rushed into politics and the job market in the 1920s. It was a decade of population growth and economic prosperity in Wisconsin, especially in cities. Madison's population increased by over 50% to a 1930 count of 57,899. ¹⁸⁵ Centers of political and civic influence shifted from the Wisconsin Women's Suffrage Association to the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, ¹⁸⁶ and the League of Women Voters. ¹⁸⁷

In 1920, more Wisconsinites still lived in rural villages and on farms than in urban areas. ¹⁸⁸ However, the balance would reverse within the decade. Population growth in Wisconsin came mostly from migration from other states, and most new residents settled in urban areas. ¹⁸⁹ It was the first decade of the Great Migration of African American families to northern cities from southern states, but the pace of African American settlement in Wisconsin was relatively slow. Women were also among the relatively few Mexican immigrants to Wisconsin, most of whom settled in Milwaukee. ¹⁹⁰

Progressive-Era advancements in labor laws requiring a minimum wage for women and limiting the number of hours they could be required to work made it attractive for more women to enter the workforce. Many women who had filled job vacancies left by men during World War I stayed in the job market after the war was over. In 1920, more than 32% of Madison women over the age of sixteen worked outside the home. ¹⁹¹ Some of Madison's large industrial companies like the French Battery and Carbon Company (later Ray-O-Vac) the P. Lorillard tobacco company employed a relatively high percentage of women in the 1920s. ¹⁹²

It was a decade of firsts in Wisconsin and Madison, as women broke barriers to arenas traditionally populated only by men. Almost immediately after gaining the constitutional right to vote at the federal level in 1920 (the Wisconsin Constitution was not amended to allow women to vote until 1934), women encouraged each other to seek leadership roles in civic affairs. ¹⁹³ Wisconsin women responded, seeking and obtaining leadership positions in local government,

business, civic, and even religious affairs. Women ran in municipal elections in several Wisconsin counties in 1920. 194 The first woman to run for public office in Dane County was nominated for the county treasurer in 1920. 195 The first woman was elected as a curator of Wisconsin Historical Society in 1920. 196 The first woman to sit on a jury in a Dane County court was seated in January of 1922. 197 By March of that year, fifteen women held positions on state boards and commissions. 198 The first woman to serve as District Attorney in Wisconsin was elected in Columbia County in 1922. 199 The first woman to run for a seat on Madison's Common Council was a member of the Switchmen's Women's Club and the League of Women Voters. Emma A. Ledwith of 509 W. Dayton Street, filed her nomination papers in March 1922²⁰⁰ However, Madison did not elect a woman to the Council until in 1951.²⁰¹ The first woman appointed to be the Director of Madison Playgrounds took the position in May 1922.²⁰² First woman to run for Wisconsin Senate announced her candidacy in September 1922.²⁰³ The first woman to lead a city board in Madison was elected president of the Board of Health in 1923. Three women were the first to be elected to the Wisconsin Legislature in the November election of 1924.²⁰⁴ The first woman to run for an elected Dane County office ran for County Clerk in 1926 (she was not elected). ²⁰⁵ The first woman to serve as Wisconsin's Assistant Attorney General was appointed in 1928.²⁰⁶

By 1923, there were enough Madison women working in business that the Altrusa Club, a national organization of business and professional women, established a chapter here.²⁰⁷

Amid professional and legal progress for women in Madison and statewide in the 1920s, an amendment to the United States Constitution (then known as the Lucretia Mott Amendment in honor of the pioneering suffragist) was drafted and proposed in 1923. The amendment proposed, in brief and simple language, that men and women throughout the United States and its territories have equal legal rights. Congress did not take up the measure.

By 1930, the demographic balance in Wisconsin had tipped, and more residents lived in urban areas than in rural. Women comprised around 20% of the urban workforce. Women continued to break barriers to traditionally male professions like law and medicine. During the Great Depression in the 1930s, many women lost their jobs, and new employment opportunities were scarce. However, by 1940, Wisconsin women recovered their one-fifth share of the job market. ²⁰⁸

The Great Depression

Many working women in Madison lost jobs during the Great Depression. Employment opportunities for everyone of working age were scarce in a shrinking state economy, but women were especially vulnerable. They had to overcome cultural expectations that men be the breadwinners for families and are better equipped handle the rigors of the labor market. Work programs coordinated by the federal government and state work-relief agencies primarily targeted men based on these assumptions. Such entrenched biases against women holding jobs left many unmarried women, divorced or separated women, and unskilled female heads of household at risk of economic hardship.

Married women also had to work against discrimination. In the early years of the Depression, amid widespread anxiety over rising joblessness in Wisconsin, a debate raged in Madison over whether married women who worked were taking jobs from men who were expected to provide for families. The debate was stoked by a 1931 proposal by a state legislator to terminate married women employed by state agencies, hundreds of whom lived in Madison, in order to free up jobs for men.²¹⁰ The debate over married women holding jobs continued through the remainder of the Great Depression, and in 1939, a member of the Dane County Board of Supervisors sought a similar measure for women employees of the County.²¹¹ The Madison Board of Education also had a policy in the late 1930s of refusing to renew contracts of married women teachers who did not have tenure.²¹² The Wisconsin Attorney General's office determined the policy to be unconstitutional in 1939.²¹³ Toward the end of the 1930s, although there was a common recognition of the increase in the number of women working in business and industry, most people felt that women should not work if their husbands were able to provide for their families.²¹⁴ Wisconsin Governor Julius Heil revived the policy again in 1940, but this time faced public ridicule in *The Capital Times* for suggesting it. ²¹⁵ Despite the sentiment against the practice, the Madison Board of Education continued its policy until 1942.²¹⁶

In Madison, unemployed women benefitted from a robust network of women's organizations and work-relief programs, formal and informal, working on their behalf.²¹⁷ In 1934, a coalition of organizations: the Dane County League of Women Voters' Committee on Women in Industry, the YWCA's national Public Welfare Committee, the Wisconsin Federation of Business and Professional Women, and the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs came together to call for the establishment of a division within the state unemployment relief administration to focus attention on the unique problems of unemployed women.²¹⁸ Civic organizations like the Madison Business and Professional Women's Club and American Legion pitched in to find and create work for unemployed Madison women.²¹⁹

In 1934, Wisconsin women achieved a significant, albeit hollow, political victory. The Wisconsin Legislature aligned the Wisconsin Constitution with the United States Constitution by amending it to guarantee right of women to vote in state elections.²²⁰ Madison was somewhat insulated from the economic difficulties of the Great Depression. The state university and the seats of state and county governments offered a relatively high number of employment opportunities for professional women. Educated and professional women continued to make advancements during the 1930s, and privileged clubwomen continued to influence public policy, increasingly in the area of environmental conservation.²²¹

By 1940, as the economy in Wisconsin and Madison showed strong signs of recovery, women comprised about 20% of the Wisconsin labor force. By 1941, the worst economic troubles of the Great Depression were past, and Madison women with leisure time returned to club activities that now included more charity, service, and philanthropy. Professional women were common enough in Madison that Zonta International, a service club for businesswomen founded in 1919 in Buffalo, NY, organized a chapter here. However, the hope of better times for women, augmented by access to more professions and advancements toward equality, at least in the law, were again put on hold as the United State entered World War II.

The World War II efforts brought more Madison women out of traditional domestic roles and into the workplace than ever before. Many men left jobs to enlist, leaving business and industry seeking more women to fill vacant positions, and they made significant contributions to the economy and the war effort. They were, however, typically excluded from management and decision-making positions. Hundreds of Madison women were hired to work at the Badger Ordnance Works northwest of Madison near Prairie Du Sac. In Madison, manufacturers that provided critical products for American war efforts hired women as well. Ray-O-Vac boomed with defense contracts. RMR Corporation, a subsidiary of Ray-O-Vac, made batteries for military use. Page 1227 Oscar Mayer & Co. provided the pack meats for United States military. Madison-Kipp Corporation stayed busy with defense contracts. All of these Madison industries hired many women to maintain their production capacity during the war.

Women, however, still did not have full control of their professional destinies. The War Manpower Commission, which was given federal war-time power to coordinate production of the nation's war-critical industries, issued an order in 1945 that applied to all Wisconsin workers. Under the order, women (men were already subject to the rule) were not allowed to change jobs without registering with the United States Employment Service, during which they would be solicited for work in "top priority" defense industries. ²²⁹

As the war came to an end, working women were widely expected to step aside and let returning veterans, predominantly men, return to the work force. Most Americans believed women should return to traditional domestic responsibilities and family roles. Initially, the number of employed women declined nationwide, but employment figures show a sharp increase nationwide in the number of women working after 1947. By 1950, the percentage of employed women had returned to wartime peaks. Madison reflected that trend. By 1950, there were numerous clubs, seminars, and conferences in Madison aimed at helping women prepare for and succeed in professional careers. East High School had a Girls' Career Club. The Altrusa Club held panel discussions on careers for women. Many Madison women joined PTAs, mother's clubs, auxiliaries, business clubs, religious clubs, and the established women's clubs of the pre-suffrage era which were reinventing themselves to meet the needs of the modern woman.

The advancements toward self-determination that the women's movement achieved in the 1910s and 1920s were put on hold during the Great Depression and World War II. A zealous revival of the movement might have been expected during the jubilant years following the end of the war, especially after women had been such a significant component of the workforce during the war. A revival did not happen, at least not immediately. The women's movement between 1945 and the 1963 was characterized by one historian as having taken on the character of an "underground fire - important in the long run, but for the moment beneath the surface." Even in Madison with a relatively high concentration of college-educated women and tolerance for progressive social movements, there was no crystallization of a woman's movement in the postwar years. However, there was much public discussion of the role of women in a society that was very different than it was when the United States entered the war in 1941. The concept of the modern woman was often defined in Madison newspapers in terms of new approaches to traditional female roles. Rather than reinforcing what was actually happening, women were inventing new roles for themselves outside of traditional expectations. Women's pages and advice columns

frequently included suggestions on how the modern woman should properly dress, sit, speak, date, budget, raise children, and interact with male colleagues.²³⁵ There was also much speculation and misunderstanding of what the new idea of feminism was all about. Advice columns and reader letters in local newspapers commonly included comments about feminists being frantic, hysterical, chattering, and man-hating.²³⁶ Feminism was the butt of routine jokes in Madison newspapers in the 1940s and 1950s. One anonymous commentator, typical of the time, called "Milady Militant" and her campaign for women's rights a comic spectacle.²³⁷

Second Wave of Feminism

The emergence of the second wave of feminism in the 1960s coincided with the American civil rights and anti-war movements and gained some energy from the civil rights movement that was happening in the African American community at the same time. ²³⁸

Three things happened in the early 1960s that began to coalesce a renewal of the women's movement nationally and in Madison. A pervasive phenomenon of fatigue was identified in the lives of American women, the birth control pill was approved for use by the Food and Drug Administration, and Civil Rights Act adopted in 1964.

Fatigue, coupled with dissatisfaction, was becoming a significant factor in the lives of women who were expected to assume the traditional duties of housewife and mother and maintain expectations of femininity whether they had a professional career or not. Dr. Marion Hilliard called out the experience in her 1960 book Women and Fatigue, which helped elevate the concept to the level of cultural phenomenon.²³⁹ Popular culture glorified the image of the gleeful housewife with all the modern conveniences of a middle-class suburban life. In fact, more women than ever before were working outside of the home. ²⁴⁰ A 1961 survey by the University of Wisconsin-Madison Dean of Women's office confirmed the phenomenon in Madison-area women and revealed a groundswell of local women pursuing higher education and new job opportunities. The university responded by establishing an Office of University Education of Women in 1962.²⁴¹ Madison educator and activist Dr. Kathryn Clarenbach was selected as the office's first director. Betty Friedan's 1963 book The Feminine Mystique identified a phenomenon of a coercive domesticity that was fostering fatigue and constricting growth for American women. This oppressive trend, she argued, included the view that bearing children was the highest achievement of a woman. Friedan's book is often credited with releasing the underground fire and igniting a second wave of feminism known as the Women's Liberation movement in America. Women in Madison were exposed to Friedan's book through book group discussions. Freidan herself presented her thoughts at Memorial Union in July 1964.²⁴²

The approval of the oral contraceptive pill in 1960 offered women a radical new level of control over their own bodies and offered significant opportunities to change their own economic status.²⁴³ Full control of fertility allowed women to decide whether and when they got pregnant, when they married, and how many children they would raise. This power significantly decreased the economic risk of remaining unmarried while they pursued personal, educational, or professional opportunities.

The Civil Rights Act enacted on July 2, 1964 prohibited discrimination based on, among other things, sex. It codified a new level of access to employment for American women. Women responded by getting into the job market in increasing numbers. The percentage of American women participating in the labor force increased by four points in the 1950s, six points in the 1960s, and eight points in the 1970s. The number of American women enrolled in some college-level education program increased by a factor of ten between 1950 and 1990. Astute political leaders who saw the emerging cultural shift leaned into it by convening panels to identify the issues of inequity and advise them on



Governor John Reynolds (in glasses) authorized the state Commission on the Status of Women in 1963. Kathryn F. Clarenbach (center) was appointed the first chair of the Commission. *University of Wisconsin Archives S16566*

how to address the issues. President John F. Kennedy created a Commission on the Status of Women in 1961. The federal Commission's final report in 1963 influenced Wisconsin Governor John Reynolds to establish a state-level Commission on the Status of Women in 1964. The state commission coordinated conferences in Madison and other Wisconsin cities where they discussed issues of inequity and how they may be corrected. In the late 1960s, they lobbied state legislators to correct inequities in state laws and compiled lists of women qualified for appointed seats on state boards and commissions. They formed committees to address labor laws, health and welfare, social services and taxes, and family law and policy and issued biennial reports with findings and recommendations.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) was on the leading edge. NOW was co-founded in 1966 by Betty Friedan with 49 co-founders during two conferences held in Washington, D.C. that year: with 28 women and men, including Madison educator and activist Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, at the June 1966 Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women and another 21 women and men at the October 1966 NOW Organizing Conference. 248 Dr. Clarenbach was installed as its first chairperson. 249 The term 'women's liberation' had been used in other cities as shorthand for the movement and eventually became the label of the entire American movement. NOW struck a nerve with American women and quickly became the leading women's rights organization in the country. Less than a year after the organization was founded, membership had reached about 900. Wisconsin, along with California and New York, was one of the organization's early centers of gravity in 1967 when the Madison chapter was officially formed. 250

Another early public call to organize women in Madison came from Naomi Puro, a University of Wisconsin-Madison student from New York, in the fall of 1968. At an unrelated anti-ROTC demonstration on Library Mall, the female student urged a group of protesters to form a women's liberation movement. She even articulated an expedient agenda: "work to legalize abortion, make birth control pills more readily available, and investigate discrimination against women in employment in the Madison area." After the protest, she signed up women who were interested. ²⁵¹

In its early years, the local NOW chapter held regular meetings at the Wisconsin Center (now Pyle Center, 702 Langdon Street) and the University YWCA (306 N. Brooks Street). The YWCA was a catalyst and host, along with NOW, of a series of discussions on women's liberation in early 1969. ²⁵² They also coordinated a women's liberation conference in December of that year. ²⁵³

In a show of political activism in 1969 that boosted the cause of women's empowerment, low-income mothers who were economically dependent on the state's welfare system staged demonstrations at the state capitol to protest cuts proposed to the state budget that would affect the program. The effort culminated in a September march of mothers from Milwaukee to Madison to protest the cuts. Hundreds of welfare-dependent women and thousands of supporters interrupted a legislative session and occupied the Assembly chamber for 11 hours.²⁵⁴

The women's movement in Madison began to manifest on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus in 1969 as well. A number of women's groups formed on campus to address a variety of concerns including "the causes and effects of gender roles stereotypes, the need for child care centers on campus, the struggle for women's rights to control their own bodies." The campusoriented Women's Research Group formed that year and began studying the status of women on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus, and publish findings. The movement on campus crystallized rapidly in 1970. The Teaching Assistants Association (TAA) formed a women's caucus early that year to draw attention to inequities faced by women teaching assistants. The Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) filed a charge of sex discrimination against University of Wisconsin that summer based on research done by the Women's Research Group. In November, the Association of Faculty Women (AFW), convened by a small group of faculty women earlier in the year, was formally established. These groups had some successes on the early 1970s, gaining some recognition within the University of Wisconsin-Madison administration of unequal treatment of female faculty, staff, and students.

By 1970, the Brooks Street YWCA was the gravitational center of the women's liberation movement in Madison. A group of movement leaders established a center for women there that year where women could come together to discuss concerns in family planning, job and wage discrimination, and health issues. ²⁵⁸

The women's liberation movement was never monolithic. Even in 1968, the movement nationally was splintering. NOW was the first new national feminist organization in nearly fifty years. They opened the floodgates of a powerful second wave of American feminism by advancing earnest consideration of the issues preventing women's self-determination. NOW had persuaded a critical mass of Americans that women did not have rights or opportunities equal to men. Women, however, were hardly united in their methods for achieving reforms. A younger cohort of feminists took shape in the late-1960s who regarded the leaders of the movement as too conservative. They took a more revolutionary approach to the movement, and adopted a radical feminism that called for a new social order in which women would be liberated from unjust, sexist norms. They were also eager to join forces with lesbian feminists in the gay liberation movement, a partnership that NOW did not embrace. By 1970 the movement was being described as having two branches: one older and more conservative and the other young, college-educated, and protesting. Sexist norms. The protection of the movement was being described as having two branches: one older and more conservative and the other young, college-educated, and protesting.

The reluctance of the conservative branch of the movement (led by NOW) to embrace lesbian feminists manifested in Madison as well.²⁶³ It was a clear point of division between the YWCA and the United Way of Dane County over funding in 1972.²⁶⁴ In an emblematic move, the Women's Center, established under the banner of the women's liberation movement by NOW and the University YWCA at their N. Brooks Street building in 1970,²⁶⁵ was reorganized and relocated by lesbian feminist leaders in 1972.

Although commonalities were obvious, the two branches of the women's movement had an uneasy alliance through the 1970s. The local chapter of NOW focused their efforts on political and legal reforms and changing societal attitudes, while other women's organizations took a more direct approach, attempting to address more immediate, practical needs. The state Commission on the Status of Women was remarkably adaptable during the 1970s, adding more practical issues like day care and maternity, diversity within the movement, and abortion to their traditional public policy agenda. NOW organized demonstrations, panel discussions, lectures, conferences, and lobbying efforts. They showed consciousness-raising films, 266 publicly called out sexism in the legislature, courts, and the media, ²⁶⁷ and lobbied for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. 268 NOW did not have a permanent home. The group continued to meet at various locations: St. Francis House, the downtown YWCA at 101 East Mifflin Street, a medical office building at 1020 Regent Street, Calvary Lutheran Chapel at 701 State Street, Lysistrata Restaurant at 325 W. Gorham Street (not extant), and the Central Public Library at 201 W. Mifflin Street. Groups associated with the more radical branch of the movement established resources, services, and spaces designed specifically to empower women. Feminist and lesbian activists continued to run the Women's Center which morphed into the Lesbian Switchboard and established the Women's Transit Authority in 1973, a ride-hailing service for women aimed at preventing rape. Feminist activists organized a women's peer-run counseling and health service at St. Francis House at 1001 University Avenue in 1973.²⁶⁹ In 1975, four feminist business women opened a feminist bookstore conceived as a women's resource center called A Room of One's Own at 317 W. Johnson Street (not extant).²⁷⁰ A feminist restaurant and bar called Lysistrata, also conceived as a resource for women's groups, opened in 1977 at 325 W. Gorham Street (not extant).²⁷¹ Feminist groups drafted women to run for public office and encouraged artistic explorations of female gender identity.

The University of Wisconsin's institutional response to the women's liberation movement was initially peripheral. For example, in 1970, a University of Wisconsin Extension specialist in women's education developed a four-session course on the movement itself and how women might relate to it. The course was offered at Midvale Community Lutheran Church in Madison and simultaneously by phone in other locations around the state.²⁷² In the mid-1970s, when it was clear that movement was making significant progress in shifting American culture, the University of Wisconsin system's response was more direct. University regents made it a system-wide policy in 1974 that all University of Wisconsin institutions initiate a Women's Studies program.²⁷³ The following year, University of Wisconsin-Madison hired the first director of the Women's Studies program.²⁷⁴ Six years later, in 1981, the campus established a graduate program in women's history.²⁷⁵

African American women had an uneasy relationship with the women's liberation movement. They did not play a prominent role in the early years of the movement. Black feminists Maxine

Williams and Pamela Newman explained that black women had not yet developed a feminist consciousness in 1970, and that they were wary that the movement's anti-male sentiments could divide black women and men at a time when they need to work together against their own issues of racial oppression.²⁷⁶ Williams and Newman accused the women's liberation movement of being led by middle-class white women who were largely ignorant of the needs of black women and poor women. In 1976, the Wisconsin Union Cultural Affairs Committee recognized that many women of color had needs and goals that were not being recognized by the contemporary women's movement. The committee coordinated a conference that year at Union South (not extant) called "Women of Color Now: Ethnic Women's Conference '76." Sessions at the conference attempted to articulate and address issues of sexism and racism experienced by Latina, Black, and Asian attendees.²⁷⁸

By the late 1970s, the women's movement and the issues it engaged had become multifaceted and complicated. In the assessment of one of its founders, NOW had become bureaucratic, with groups of women splitting off to address an increasing number of special-interest issues.²⁷⁹

In 1979, a new model emerged for addressing an increasingly complex agenda. That year, Governor Lee Dreyfus disbanded the state's 30-member Commission on the Status of Women and replaced it with a single staff person, accusing the Commission of not representing the breadth of women's ideas in the state.²⁸⁰ In response, Wisconsin leaders in the feminist movement, including Kathryn F. Clarenbach of Madison, established a framework for a new state-wide network of women's organizations.²⁸¹ The Wisconsin Women's Network (WWN) set up a small office at 625 W. Washington Avenue in Madison.²⁸² The WWN took an innovative approach to advocating for women's issues. Rather than coordinating a new group and a new strategy for each new issue, the WWN acted as a state-wide coalition of women's organizations that could prioritize issues, bring together a group of member organizations willing to act on the issue, and, from that group, build a task force to confront the unique aspects of the issue.²⁸³

Special-interest women's groups proliferated in Madison and around the state in the 1970s. Older organizations promoting equality and rights for women, like Planned Parenthood (founded in 1916) and the League of Women Voters (1920) enjoyed new relevance. New organizations like the National Abortion Rights Action League (1969), the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus (1971) and the Rape Crisis Center (1973) emerged to focus on specific issues. By 1981, WWN had 58 member organizations, and task forces on issues such as domestic abuse and Wisconsin's marital property laws. The WWN set up a task force to study women in the criminal justice system and advocate for recognition of the unique needs of female offenders. The network also had task forces on health and social services, media, reproductive rights, and child care. The organization held events at Memorial Union²⁸⁶ and the Madison Senior Center at 330 W. Mifflin Street. By 1990, the WWN had moved to a fourth-floor office at 122 State Street where the organization was located until 2007.

By the early 1980s, NOW was still the dominant organization for women's rights and equality. It was characterized as the nation's largest and richest feminist organization, with 950 chapters, 220,000 members, and an annual budget of \$13 million. The group had expanded their political strategy to include "sex discrimination, uses of nuclear power, abortion [rights], Reagan budget cuts, gay rights, and military spending." NOW led the effort to persuade states to ratify the

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the United States Constitution. The Madison chapter followed suit, often holding monthly meetings at Lysistrata and the University Presbyterian Church and Student Center "Pres House" at 731 State Street. In 1982, the states failed to ratify the ERA. After the demoralizing loss, the Madison chapter continued to stage consciousness-raising and recruitment events and lobby for progressive legislation. In 1984 the chapter secured their first permanent office location. They moved into a shared space on the second floor of 625 W. Washington Avenue with the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus and the Wisconsin Women's Network who had been located there since their founding in 1979. ²⁸⁸ The NOW chapter appears to have been located there for about two years. In 1989, they had an office at 8 W. Mifflin Street (not extant).

Having made considerable progress toward equal rights and opportunities for women in the 1960s and 1970s, NOW and other women's organizations in Madison continued to draw attention in the 1980s to sexist public policies, pay equity for women, gender equity in the workplace, and to defending women's right to abortion against growing attempts by states to limit it. The downtown YWCA, Memorial Union, Pres House, and Lysistrata restaurant and bar (until it burned in 1983) continued to be heavily used venues for meetings, conferences, lectures, and demonstrations.

A third wave of feminism emerged in the mid-1990s as concepts such as heteronormativity, gender, and sexuality were challenged and became unstable and as women repossessed and redefined ideas of feminine beauty and power. Some scholars define a "fourth wave" of feminism beginning in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Organizations, such as Apple Island, were formed in the 1990s as incubators of feminist and lesbian women's arts, such as musical and dramatic performances, dances, art exhibitions, lectures, readings, classes, craft sales, food-production, and events in support of lesbians of color.²⁸⁹



10

Government

African American

State Government

Samuel S. Pierce

In 1922, Samuel Pierce took on the job of the Wisconsin Governor's office messenger. Pierce's calming manners, intelligence, and good looks made him a popular and influential figure at the capitol, serving as the personal messenger and correspondent for governors Blaine, Zimmerman, Kohler, Philip LaFollette, and Schmedeman. When Robert M. LaFollette was in the United States Senate, he passed legislation for the Pierce's so that they could access funds they deposited in a bank in Washington, D.C. fifty years earlier. LaFollette gave a signed copy of the bill to the family after its passage.²⁹⁰ Samuel Pierce died in 1936. The flag of the capitol flew at half-staff to honor his passing, and he was described as "one of the best diplomats in



Samuel Pierce at the Executive Offices of the Governor, c.1930. WHS# 37461

the state capitol" by a local newspaper. For more information on the life of Samuel S. Pierce, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Samuel Pierce is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1922 to 1936. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street (115 East Capitol #1) and his 1910-1936 house at 1442 Williamson Street. The primary resource associated with the life of Samuel Pierce and his significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, was listed in the National



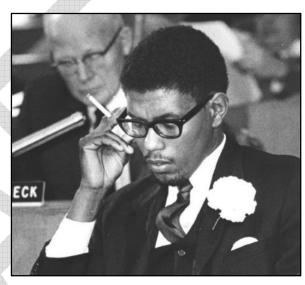
Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House 1442 Williamson Street

Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the African American community. The Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House at 1442 Williamson Street was originally constructed in 1898 as the D.D. Daniher House. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Third Lake Ridge Historic District. However, consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community. This resource is also associated with Samuel Pierce's nephew, Theodore Pierce.

Local Government

Eugene Parks

In 1969, Parks became the first black alderperson for the Madison Common Council at the age of 22. He was the first person of color to be elected to public office in Madison and Dane County. He represented the 14th Ward in South Madison and was known as someone who challenged the system and fought for social justice. In 1973, the Madison Metropolitan School District adopted an affirmative action policy, and Alderman Parks spoke extensively before the school board, arguing that minority candidates were often overlooked and unaware of job openings. ²⁹² In 1985, he became the director of the City of Madison's Affirmative Action Department. ²⁹³



Alderman Eugene Parks, 1973. WHS# 122528

In 1988, Parks was reprimanded and suspended for calling an MATC board member a "racist, liar and coward" at a meeting. Parks filed a racial discrimination claim and was fired. In 1989, Parks filed a circuit court action to regain his position and was given a job as a sign shop supervisor in the Traffic Engineering Department of the city. In 1995, a court of appeals ruled that Parks was illegally fired in 1988, and the city settled with him for \$441,000.²⁹⁴ For more information on the life of Eugene Parks, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Eugene Parks was locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government, specifically Local Government, from 1969 to 1995. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with him: The City-County building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard and his 1971 to 1988 residence at 6608 Berkshire Road in the Orchard Ridge neighborhood. The primary resource associated with the life of Eugene Parks and his significance in Government is the City-County building. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of Underrepresented Communities.

A secondary resource includes his 1971-1988 home at 6608 Berkshire Road. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark and individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2021.

First Nations

Federal Government

Ada Deer

Ada Deer's work for the Menominee played a large role in the Menominee Restoration Act signed by U.S. President Richard Nixon on December 22, 1973, which returned the Menominee Reservation to federally recognized status. From 1974 to 1976, Deer became the first woman to chair the Menominee Tribe and headed the Menominee Restoration Committee that successfully lobbied for the restoration of tribal status to the Menominee.²⁹⁵

She ran unsuccessfully for the position of Wisconsin Secretary of State in 1978 and again in 1982. In 1984, she was vice chair of the Mondale-Ferraro Presidential Campaign, and in 1992, Deer ran unsuccessfully for United States Congress in Wisconsin's second district. While these attempts at elected office were not fruitful, they got her noticed.

Under the Clinton administration in 1993, Ada Deer was appointed as the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs in the United States Department of the Interior and was the first Native American woman to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During her 4-year tenure, the department oversaw a large increase in the number of recognized tribes as she set federal policy for more than 550 recognized tribes through the federal government.²⁹⁶

Ada Deer is nationally significant in the Native American community in the area of Government, particularly Federal Government, from 1972 to 1997. During this time period, it is believed that she lived outside of the City of Madison, so there are no resources associated with her significance in the Native American community in the area of Government. However, she is also significant in the Native American community in the area of Education, particularly at the University of Wisconsin System, from 1977 to 2007. For more information on the life of Ada Deer, please see the Notable People Chapter.

LGBTQ

State Government

David Clarenbach

David Clarenbach was born in St. Louis, Missouri in 1953. The son of Kathryn F. Clarenbach, co-founder of the National Organization for Women, he came to Madison with his family at a young age. He studied politics at University of Wisconsin-Madison in the early 1970s, while at the same time beginning his political career. In 1972, at the age of 18, he was elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors. In 1974, he served for a brief period as an interim alderperson on the City of Madison Common Council.

In the fall of 1974, he was elected to the Wisconsin State Assembly representing the 78th District, a seat he would hold for nine terms, until 1993. Clarenbach helped craft, advance, and ultimately pass two pieces of state legislation that dramatically improved the civil liberties of LGBTQ people in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill, signed into law in February of 1982, prohibited discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation. It was the first such state legislation in the country. Clarenbach also undertook the majority of the legislative work that culminated in the passage of the Wisconsin Consenting Adults Bill in May of 1983. That legislation decriminalized cohabitation, fornication (sex outside of marriage), and homosexual behavior between consenting adults in Wisconsin. That same year, he was elected the Assembly's Speaker pro tempore, a position he held for a decade. During his time in the assembly, he also authored an AIDS bill of rights and HIV confidentiality law. For more information on the life of David Clarenbach, please see the Notable People Chapter.

David Clarenbach is significant in the LGBTQ community at a statewide level in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1974 to 1993. During this time period, there were a several resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street, his 1974-1976 home at 130 East Gorham Street, his 1976-1977 home at 26 North Franklin Street, his 1978-1983 home at 123 West Gilman Street, his 1984-1985 home at 1035 Sherman Avenue, and his 1986-1993 home at 454 Sidney Street. The primary resource associated with the life of David Clarenbach and his significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the LGBTQ community.

A secondary resource includes his 1978-1983 home at 123 West Gilman Street, where he lived during the development, introduction, and passage of his two biggest legal milestones.²⁹⁷ Clarenbach purchased the house in 1977, lived there from 1978 until 1982, and sold it in 1987.²⁹⁸ The house's associations with the LGBTQ civil rights movement are not limited to the residency of David Clarenbach, though. From 1973 until 1987, 123 West Gilman Street was the center of a network of young people, self-identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, working for the advancement of civil liberties for gays and lesbians and involved in politics and community

activism.²⁹⁹ Jim Yeadon lived at 123 West Gilman Street in 1977 and presumably at the time he was elected as the first openly gay man to be to a common council in the country that year.³⁰⁰ For more information on Jim Yeadon, please see the subsequent section of this chapter. 123 West Gilman Street is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Mansion Hill Historic District and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark and individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2027.

Wisconsin State Capitol

Attempts to pass a bill in the Wisconsin legislature to protect the rights of members of the LGBTQ community began as early as 1967 and 1971, when Representative Lloyd Barabee of Milwaukee first introduced bills to the Wisconsin State Assembly that would decriminalize homosexuality and protect gays and lesbians from job discrimination, respectively. After his election in 1974, David Clarenbach of Madison advocated for LGBTQ rights in the State Assembly. Clarenbach helped craft, advance, and ultimately pass two pieces of state legislation that dramatically improved the civil liberties of LGBTQ people in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill, Chapter 112 of 1981 Wisconsin Law, was introduced as Assembly Bill 70 by Representatives Clarenbach, Leopold, Coggs, Ulichny, and Becker in 1981 and signed into law in February of 1982 by Governor Lee S. Dreyfus prohibited discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation. It was the first such state legislation in the country. 301 Clarenbach also undertook the majority of the legislative work that culminated in the passage of the Wisconsin Consenting Adults Bill in May of 1983. That legislation decriminalized cohabitation, fornication (sex outside of marriage), and homosexual behavior between consenting adults in Wisconsin. For more information on David Clarenbach, please see previous section of this chapter.

Since that time, additional state policies and judicial decisions have enacted to protect the rights of members of the LGBTQ community. In 2014, United States District Court Judge Barbara Crabb struck down the state's constitutional ban on same-sex marriage. It was upheld on appeal. Then, in 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States decided Obergefell v. Hodges, a case that granted marriage equality to LGBTQ people nationwide. While there are no state laws against discrimination based on gender identity, in January 2019, Governor Tony Evers issued an executive order prohibiting gender identity discrimination in government employment.³⁰²

The Wisconsin State Capitol is significant in the LGBTQ community at the statewide and national levels in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1967 to present. The Wisconsin State Capitol, located at 2 East Main Street, is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the LGBTQ community.

County Government

R. Richard (Dick) Wagner

R. Richard (Dick) Wagner moved to Madison in 1965 and has been as a community leader, neighborhood pioneer, and LGBTQ historian since the early 1970s. He was credited with advancing the passage of Madison's Landmarks Ordinance in 1971. ³⁰³ Then he served on and chaired the Madison commission that the ordinance created. He pioneered reinvestment in the deteriorated Marquette neighborhood by buying and restoring several houses in the neighborhood beginning in 1974. ³⁰⁴ While he was investing in the neighborhood, he also served on its Neighborhood Association and advocated for a community-directed revitalization of the Williamson Street corridor. ³⁰⁵

In 1980, Wagner was the first openly gay member elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors, which he served on for fourteen years, chairing four of them. In his first year, the Dane County Board of Supervisors adopted a county-wide non-discrimination ordinance which offered protections to the LGBTQ community. During his time on the county board, he also played a major role in the advancement of Monona Terrace and Olbrich Gardens. ³⁰⁶ In 1983, when he was one of about only twenty-five openly gay elected officials in the country, he was appointed to Governor Tony Earl's Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues. ³⁰⁷ He has served on many boards, committees, and commissions, including Madison's Community Development Authority, Plan Commission, Urban Design Commission, and the Dane County Regional Transit Authority. For more information on the life of Dick Wagner, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Dick Wagner is locally significant to the LGBTQ community from 1980 to the present. The resource that is most closely associated with his significance is his house at This resource is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and is within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Third Lake Ridge Historic District. Consideration should be given to amending the designation to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The resource is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Jenifer-Spaight Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2030.

Local Government

City-County Building

The City-County Building was the location of administrative offices, meeting, and jail space shared by the City of Madison and Dane County throughout the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison. The council chamber on the second floor was the location of the passage of ground-breaking municipal LGBTQ civil rights legislation. LGBTQ groups in Madison gained legal ground in 1975 when the Common Council adopted amendments to the city's 1963 Equal Opportunities Ordinance. The amendments added sexual orientation to the classes of people against whom discrimination was prohibited. The



City-County Building 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard

newly adopted language defined sexual orientation to include "homosexuality, heterosexuality, and bisexuality by preference or practice." ³⁰⁸ It was the first such municipal ordinance in Wisconsin and one of the earliest in the nation. In 1980, the Dane County Board of Supervisors adopted similar county-wide legislation while meeting in the same room.

Jim Yeadon, who was appointed to the city's Equal Opportunities Commission in the early 1970s and was instrumental in revising the city's Equal Opportunity Ordinance in 1975, was appointed to a partial term of an open seat on Common Council in 1976; he shared publicly about his sexuality the following day. He was then elected to a full term of the Council in 1977, becoming the first openly gay man to be elected to a common council in the country. 309

In the twenty-first century, the LGBTQ community has made significant progress toward the goals of visibility and acceptance in the broader Madison community. However, there was still a struggle for equity in all areas of the law. One of the most important civil rights advancements for LGBTQ people in Madison came in 2014 when United States District Court Judge Barbara Crabb struck down Wisconsin's constitutional ban on same-sex marriage. It was upheld on appeal. Then on June 26, 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States decided Obergefell v. Hodges, a case that granted marriage equality to LGBTQ people nationwide. The first, and many of the earliest, legal same-sex weddings in the state took place at the top of the stairs of the main entrance of the City-County Building after couples obtained their marriage licenses in the Dane County Clerk's Office, which is also located in this building. 310

The City-County Building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government, specifically Local Government, from 1975 to 2015. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of Underrepresented Communities.

Jim Yeadon

Jim Yeadon was born in Ontonagon, Michigan in 1949. He studied Indian Studies and later law at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He was present at the founding of the Madison Alliance for Homosexual Equality (MAHE) in 1969 and was a co-founder of the Gay Law Students Association around 1972.

He began his political career with an appointment to the city's Equal Opportunities Commission in the early 1970s. Yeadon was instrumental in revising the city's Equal Opportunity Ordinance in 1975, which granted housing and employment protections to the LGBTQ community. It was the first such municipal ordinance in Wisconsin and one of the earliest in the nation. Through his work, Yeadon became an expert on municipal gay rights ordinances.

He began practicing law in 1975 and was subsequently appointed to a partial term of an open seat on Common Council in 1976. He shared publicly about his sexuality the following day. He was then elected to a full term on the council in 1977, becoming the first openly gay man to be elected to a common council in the country. ³¹¹ During his time on council, he worked on finishing the State Street Mall, expanding bar hours to 2:00 a.m., and improving the Health Department. While concurrently receiving letters of support, Yeadon also received death threats from across the country during his term on council which ended in 1980, after which time Yeadon went on to focus on real estate law.

Jim Yeadon is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government, particularly Local Government, from 1976 to 1980. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: the City-County Building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, his non-extant 1975 home at 350 West Wilson Street (unknown at this time if this was his residence at the time of his first election and public announcement in 1976), his 1977 home at 123 West Gilman Street, his 1978-1979 home at 444 Hawthorne Court (believed to now be 440 Hawthorne Court), and his 1980 home at 725 Jenifer Street. The primary resource associated with the life of Jim Yeadon and his significance in Government is the City-County Building; this resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of Underrepresented Communities.

A secondary resource includes his 1977 home at 123 West Gilman Street, believed to be his residence at the time of his election to the City of Madison common council that year as the first openly LGBTQ common council member in the country. The house's associations with the LGBTQ civil rights movement are not limited to the residency of Jim Yeadon, though. David Clarenbach purchased the house in 1977 and lived there from 1978 until 1982, selling it in 1987. Clarenbach lived here during the development, introduction, and passage of his two biggest legal milestones: the Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill of 1982 and Wisconsin Consenting Adults Bill of 1983. For more information on David Clarenbach, please see prior sections of this chapter. From 1973 until 1987, 123 West Gilman Street was the center of a network of young people, self-identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, working for the advancement of civil liberties for gays and lesbians and involved in politics and community activism. 123 West Gilman Street is

already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Mansion Hill Historic District and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark and individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2027. The apartment building at 440 Hawthorne Court is listed as a contributing resource in the State Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1997 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time. The house at 725 Jenifer Street is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Third Lake Ridge Historic District and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Jenifer-Spaight Historic District.

Women

State Government

Marjorie (Midge) Miller

Midge Miller was sensitive to women's issues as early as 1966 when she was involved in Women's Day activities on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus.³¹⁴ She began her career in politics as a volunteer for the 1968 presidential campaign of Eugene McCarthy.

In 1970, she decided to run for an elected office herself.³¹⁵ She ran with an anti-war position and was elected to her first of seven terms to represent the 77th Assembly District which included the west side of Madison. During her time in state government, she successfully advocated for improvements in rights and opportunities for women in Wisconsin. In 1972, Miller shepherded the federal Equal Rights Amendment through the ratification process in the Wisconsin legislature.³¹⁶ She was a founder of the National Women's Political Caucus the same year ³¹⁷ and was honored as Woman of the Year by the Business and



Marjorie (Midge) Miller House 1937 Arlington Place

Professional Women's Club of Madison.³¹⁸ Before 1972 was over, Miller headed an effort to craft an omnibus equal rights bill that would remove gender-discriminatory language from state laws.³¹⁹ Her bill required an amendment to the state constitution and failed in a statewide referendum in 1973.

Miller continued to act for reform of state laws regarding women. In 1973, she sponsored a successful bill that prohibited discrimination based on sex in the granting of loans or credit. The same year, Miller headed a committee that studied all Wisconsin statutes. The committee found preferential treatment of men in many state laws. The study resulted in the introduction of a bill that would equalize the language relative to sex throughout Wisconsin statues. Miller articulated her mission in August of 1973 while promoting declarations by the city and the state on Women's Rights Day. She said, "We honor [those courageous women who attained for American women the right to vote] only if we work for the new laws and customs that make equality a reality." Early in 1974, Miller sponsored legislation to allow pregnant women to receive unemployment compensation during maternity leave from a job. March, her state equal rights bill was defeated, and the backlash by women voters was cited as a deciding factor in a statewide election a month later. Miller based her 1974 re-election campaign partly on the advancement of women's rights. After being re-elected, Miller reintroduced her equal rights bill. This time it was passed.

As a member of the Wisconsin Assembly, Miller was also active in the National Women's Political Caucus. In 1976, she fought for a change in the rules of the national Democratic party that would have required that half of the delegates to the 1980 Democratic National Convention be women.³²⁶ In the late 1970s, she advocated for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. ³²⁷

Miller regularly took opportunities during her tenure on the Assembly to speak publicly about sexism, equality, and opportunities for women and reporting on state legislation related to women's equality, rights and obligations. She continued to serve in the Wisconsin Assembly for seven terms, until 1984. She went on to establish the Madison Institute and continue to advocate for issues of women's rights. She died in 2009.

Midge Miller is significant within the community of Women at a statewide level in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1970 to 1984. During this time period, there were several resources associated with her: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street, her 1970-1978 house at 1937 Arlington Place, and her 1978 to 1984 house at 213 Du Rose Terrace. The primary resource associated with the life of Midge Miller and her significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark and was listed as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of Women.

A secondary resource includes her home, at 1937 Arlington Place, when she was most active in the Wisconsin Assembly. It is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's University Heights Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of Women. The house is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the University Heights Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of Women. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National

Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2020.

Historic Resources Associated with Government Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
1937 Arlington Place	(Balthasar H. Meyer House) Marjorie and Edward Miller House	1902	American Foursquare	CoM HD-w/i POS, NRHP Listed HD-C & CoM Eligible Landmark
6608 Berkshire Road	Eugene and Marilyn Parks Duplex	1971	Ranch	CoM Eligible Landmark
213 Du Rose Terrace	(Roy E. & Rose McCormick House) Marjorie and Edward Miller House	1965	Contemporary	Surveyed
26 N. Franklin Street	David Clarenbach Duplex	1889	Queen Anne	Surveyed
123 W. Gilman Street	Jim Yeadon House / David Clarenbach House	1886	Queen Anne	CoM HD-w/i POS, NRHP Listed HD-C & CoM Eligible Landmark
130-134 E. Gorham Street	(Frank G. & Minnie Brown Residence and Carriage House) David Clarenbach Apartment	1885	Queen Anne	CoM HD-w/i POS & NRHP Listed HD-C
440 Hawthorne Court	(Florence Nelson Apartments) Jim Yeadon Apartment	1909	Gabled Ell	Surveyed
725 Jenifer Street	Jim Yeadon House	c.1865	Gabled Ell	CoM HD–w/i POS & NRHP Listed HD–C
2 E. Main Street	Wisconsin State Capitol	1906	Beaux Arts	CoM Landmark, NRHP Individually Listed & NHL
210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard	City-County Building	1955	International	CoM Eligible Landmark
1035 Sherman Avenue	(Beulah & Mildred Smith House) David Clarenbach House	1937	Colonial Revival	NRHP Listed HD-C
454 Sidney Street	(William & Martha Van Deusen House) David Clarenbach House	1912	Bungalow	Surveyed
1442 Williamson Street	Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House / Theodore Pierce House	1898	Front Gabled	CoM HD-w/i POS & SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible



11

Architecture

Women

Architects

Cora Tuttle

Cora Tuttle was born Cora Cadwallader in 1864 near Evansville, Wisconsin. 328 She married Charles M. Tuttle in 1890, and by 1900 was living in the town of Brooklyn, Wisconsin. 329 In 1904 Cora, Charles, their nephew Eugene Cadwallader Smith moved to Ganado, Texas. 330 Charles died there in 1906. By that time, Cora had three sons, and her nephew Eugene had moved to Prescott, Arizona. After Charles died, Cora moved to Prescott, Arizona with her sons to live with Eugene's family. 331 By 1908, Cora and her sons Ray, Clifton, and Fordyce moved to Madison, so Ray could attend engineering school at the University of Wisconsin.³³² Tuttle, with no formal architectural training, designed a Bungalow for her own family. In 1909, she assembled craftspeople to build a house for herself at 1206 Grant Street.³³³ The house was unique in Madison and drew on Tuttle's understanding of the Bungalow style as refined by architects in California, a style she had likely been exposed to while living in the southwest. The house introduced the



Cora Tuttle, 1924

Bungalow style to Madison. Tuttle was the first known woman architectural designer in Wisconsin, and the only known woman to be designing buildings in Madison prior to the 1930s. The first licensed woman architect in the state was Lillian Leenhouts of Milwaukee, who began practicing in her family's office in 1942.

Tuttle gained a reputation for designing bungalows at a time when the style was becoming widely popular nationwide and in Madison. Over the next twenty years, Cora Tuttle designed about fifteen more homes that were built in the city, often in collaboration with her son Ray, who had studied structural engineering, and her nephew Eugene, who had returned to Madison in 1911 to care for his aging parents. ³³⁴ Cora Tuttle lived in the house at 1206 Grant Street until she left Madison around 1931 and moved to Rochester, New York. She died in 1948. Cora Tuttle is locally significant in the area of Architecture from 1909 to 1931. During this time period, she lived in the house at 1206 Grant Street. This resource is potentially eligible for

designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Wingra Park Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of Women. Likewise, the other homes designed by Tuttle in Madison are also included in the list below as potential landmarks.

Historic Resources Associated with Architecture Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
1819 Adams Avenue	Arthur and Ethelyn Koehler House	1916	Craftsman	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
4010 Drexel Avenue	Thompson House	1918	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark
1202 Grant Street	Edgar W. and Marie Smith House	1913	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
1206 Grant Street	Cora Tuttle House	1909	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
4014 Major Avenue	House	1913	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark
2105 Monroe Street	George and Edna Joachim House	1915	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
1645 Norman Way	John R. Commons House	1913	Bungalow	CoM Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed
841 Prospect Place	A. & M. Zell Pardee House	1912	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
416 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	1912	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
418 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	1912	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
420 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	1912	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
1811 Vilas Avenue	Eugene and Alice C. Smith House	1912	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
1813 Vilas Avenue	Samuel P. and Grace Barbell House	1911	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
1821 Vilas Avenue	Eugene C. Smith Rental House	1912	Bungalow	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C

Education

African American

Primary Education

Hamilton Middle School

Charles R. Van Hise Junior High School was constructed at 4801 Waukesha Street in 1961. In 1993, the Madison Metropolitan School District renamed the school Velma Hamilton Middle School after the first African American teacher in Madison hired as an English teacher at the Madison Vocational School in 1950, the predecessor to Madison College. She also worked with the Ford Foundation's Institute of International Education during the 1950s. In 1970, she served as the chair of the General Studies Department of MATC and became the Dean of Liberal Studies before retiring in 1975. Velma Hamilton had worked for education, civil rights, and fair housing throughout her time in Madison. For more information on the life of Velma F. Hamilton, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Other than the name, the school holds no direct connection to or association with Velma Hamilton's contribution in education, civil rights, and fair housing and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Criteria Considerations discuss properties primarily commemorative in intent, which shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless their design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

South Madison Day Care Center

The South Madison Day Care Center was established by Child Development, Inc. as an extension of the South Madison Neighborhood Center next door. The building was constructed at 2012 Fisher Street in the Bram's Addition neighborhood in South Madison in 1968. The building was designed by Japanese-American architect Henry Kanazawa and built by the Attic Angel Association of Madison and the Foundation for Friendship. The day care center was intended to serve the neighborhood and the African American community in particular.



South Madison Day Care Center 2012 Fisher Street

Child Development, Inc., was founded by Betty Walker Smith in 1968. As president of Child Development, Inc., she led the effort to build the new day care center. During the early 1970s, she was especially interested in increasing the number of day care centers to make it easier for women to choose employment. In 1971, she became the second woman ever to run for a seat in the Wisconsin Senate. One of her campaign issues was the expansion of day care facilities as a way of liberating women to join the workforce. For more on the life of Betty Walker Smith, please see the Notable People Chapter.

The South Madison Neighborhood Center merged or became affiliated with the Boys and Girls Club of Dane County in 1999. In 2014, Child Development, Inc. succumbed to financial difficulties, and the center was purchased by One City School Early Learning Center, a pre-kindergarten charter school, in 2015 in conjunction with the Urban League.³³⁵

The South Madison Day Care Center, located at 2012 Fisher Street, is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education, particularly Primary Education, from 1968 to 1999. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Wright Middle School

James C. Wright Middle School is a charter school that was constructed on the south side of Madison at 1717 Fish Hatchery Road in 1997. The school is the most racially diverse public school in the City of Madison and was named after Reverend James C. Wright. Wright was a long-standing activist and leader within the African American community, serving as minister at Mt. Zion Baptist Church, a founding member of the Madison Urban League, the director of the Neighborhood House Community Center, and the executive director of Madison's Equal Opportunities Commission. 336

Other than the name, the school holds no direct connection to or association with James C. Wright's contribution in education, civil rights, and the African American community and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Criteria Considerations discuss properties primarily commemorative in intent, which shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless their design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Vocational and Extension Education

Madison Vocational School / Madison Area Technical College

Madison Continuation School was established in 1912, providing vocational training to the city. The school changed its name in 1921 to Madison Vocational School, when it moved into a new building at 211 North Carroll Street, and again in 1966 to Madison Area Technical College. The primary campus moved to a larger facility at 1701 Wright Street in 1987. In 2010, it began to refer to itself as simply Madison College, to avoid confusion with Milwaukee Area Technical College, also known as "MATC". Still operating from both two campuses, the college has an enrollment of nearly 34,000 students today. The institution has always maintained a diverse

student body and has employed many instructors from underrepresented backgrounds since 1950.³³⁷

One such teacher was Velma Fern Hamilton. In 1950, Velma was hired as the first African American teacher in Madison as an English teacher at the Madison Vocational School, the predecessor to Madison College. She also worked with the Ford Foundation's Institute of International Education during the 1950s. In 1970, she served as the chair of the General Studies Department of MATC and became the Dean of Liberal Studies before retiring in 1975. Velma Hamilton had worked for education, civil rights, and fair housing throughout her time in Madison.³³⁸ For more information on the life of Velma Hamilton, please see the Notable People Chapter.

The Madison Vocational School, located at 211 North Carroll Street, is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education, particularly Vocational and Extension Education, from 1950 to 1975 This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building was individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 2019 for its significance in the area of Education for its general association with the vocational school movement and the site of vocational education in the city of Madison. Consideration should be given to updating its nomination to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community.

Unviersity of Wisconsin System

Department of Afro-American Studies at Helen C. White Hall

The Department of Afro-American studies was established in 1970 following a series of successful student strikes demanding the creation of programs about African Americans and the hiring of African American faculty. The department has always focused on black history, culture, and literature, but became increasingly popular and influential after the 1978 arrival of Nellie McKay who took a faculty position at the University of Wisconsin specializing in African American literature. She was tenured in 1984 and worked throughout the 1980s expanding and popularizing the fields of African American literature, women's studies, and multicultural women's writing. Much of these disciplines owe their formation and identity to the seminal texts of her work. McKay's work aided in expanding and popularizing the Department of Afro-American Studies. Though she also taught in Women's Studies and the English Department, her work on African American literature was influential. Nellie McKay, who received many academic honors, taught until the time of her death in 2006. An annual lection series at the university was established in her name. For more information on the life of Nellie McKay, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

Nellie McKay was nationally significant in the African American community in the area of Education, specifically in the University of Wisconsin System, from 1978 to 2006. During this time period, there were several resources associated with her: The Department of Afro-American Studies located in Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park Street and her 1988-2006 residence at 2114 West Lawn Avenue. The primary resource associated with the life of Nellie McKay and her significance in the area of Education is Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park

Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Helen C. White Hall is listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Bascom Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of underrepresented communities. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2028.

Department of Philosophy

In 1949, Golightly was hired to the join the Philosophy Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as an assistant professor. He was the first African American tenured professor in the university's history and the first African American professor of philosophy at a state university in the country. Golightly's first scholarly article, entitled "Inquiry and Whitehead's Schematic Method," was published during his time at the university in a leading journal, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*. He was later published widely in the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*. While in Madison, Golightly took on a mentoring lead with the Beta Omicron Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, the first Black Greek-letter organization at the university which was established in 1946. 342

Cornelius Golightly was locally significant in the African American community in the areas of Education from 1949 to 1955. The exact location of the Philosophy Department on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus during the 1940s and 1950s is unknown at this time. Therefore, the primary resource associated with the life of Cornelius Golightly and his significance in Education during this time period is his Georgian Revival style university-owned apartment at 31 University Homes. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

First Nations

Primary Education

Whitehorse Middle School

Herbert Schenk Junior High School was constructed at 218 Schenk Street on the east side of Madison around 1963. In 1993, the school was renamed the Annie Greencrow Whitehorse Middle School in honor of her life and local commitment to the environment, Native American culture, and education.³⁴³ Annie Greencrow Whitehorse was a frequent guest lecturer at the University of Wisconsin regarding Ho-Chunk folklore, culture, language, and art. She also insisted that all of her children finish high school in the 1930s and 1940s, and many attended colleges too. For more information on the life of Annie Greencrow Whitehorse, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Other than the name, the school holds no direct association to Annie Greencrow Whitehorse's contributions in Education and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Criteria Considerations discuss properties primarily commemorative in intent, which shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless their design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Unviersity of Wisconsin System

American Indian Studies Program at Educational Science Buildling

The American Indian Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison was introduced in 1972 with purpose of creating a Native American studies curriculum and recruiting American Indian faculty. The program was moved from the University of Wisconsin Law School to the School of Education in 1976.

In 1977, Ada Deer worked as a senior lecturer in the School of Social Work and the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She was known nationally for her groundbreaking classes on Native American issues and for pioneering social work training for Native American reservations. Ada Deer was one of fifty-one accomplished educators and practitioners featured in the 2003 book *Celebrating Social Work: Faces and Voices in the Formative Years* published by the Council on Social Work Education. From 1993 to 1997, Ada Deer was appointed as the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs in the United States Department of the Interior and was the first Native American woman to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She returned to teaching at the University of Wisconsin-Madison School of Social Work in 1997, and from 2000 to 2007 she was the director of the American Indian Studies Program at the university. She is currently a distinguished lecturer emerita at the university. For more information on the life of Ada Deer, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Ada Deer is locally significant in the Native American community in the area of Education, particularly with the University of Wisconsin System, from 1977 to 2007. During this time period, it is believed that she lived outside of the City of Madison, so the Educational Science Building is the only resource in the City of Madison associated with her significance in the Native American community. The Educational Science Building, located at 1025 W. Johnson Street on the University of Wisconsin campus, has been the site of Ada Deer's, and others, work in the field of American Indian Studies. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2027.

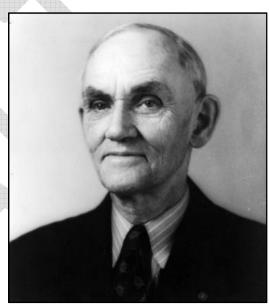
Museums

Charles E. Brown

Charles Brown was born in Milwaukee in 1872. In 1900, he became an assistant at the Milwaukee Public Museum, where he reorganized the Wisconsin Natural History Society. In 1903, he helped found the Wisconsin Archeological Society, and in 1904, he was the curator of the United States Philippine Exposition at the St. Louis World Fair.³⁴⁵

Charles E. Brown was appointed the Director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Museum in 1908, serving as its first fulltime curator, and moved to Madison. In 1915, Brown was also named to the faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.³⁴⁶

Charles E. Brown, an American of Anglo-German heritage, devoted much of his professional life to the study and preservation of Indian culture and artifacts as an archeologist. He published numerous pamphlets and booklets on a wide range of related subjects and organized surveys of native resources across Wisconsin. Brown was instrumental in identifying, studying, and cataloging the effigy mounds around the lakes of Mendota, Monona, Wingra, Waubesa, and Kegonsa and the associated Native American culture associated with them. He estimated that there were at least 887 earthen mounds in the region. He led an effort, from 1908 to 1946, to preserve the mounds, which are sacred to the Ho-Chunk and other native peoples. About 65 percent of the mounds in Dane County, he estimated, have been destroyed during the last two centuries. From 1935 to 1938, Brown served as director of the Wisconsin Federal Writers Project. 347



Charles E. Brown, c.1940. WHS# 80962

During his life, he was the recipient of many academic awards in his field including the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Medal in 1904, the Lapham Medal for anthropological research in 1926, an honorary master's degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1931, and a medal from the Illinois Academy of Science for archaeological research in 1941.

He held the position of director of the State Historical Society until 1945. When he took on the position, the museum had about 25,000 specimens and artifacts in its collection; when he retired the count was over 200,000 items. Charles



Charles E. & Bertha Brown House 1126 Waban Hill

retired the count was over 200,000 items. Charles Brown died in 1946.³⁴⁸

Brown was significant at the state level in the Native American community in the area of Education, specifically Museums, from 1908 to 1945. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with him: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin at 816 State Street and his 1915 to 1945 Prairie style residence at 1126 Waban Hill. The State Historical Society is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as well as a contributing resource in the Bascom Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to updating its individual nomination to reflect its significance in the history of the Native American community. The Charles E. and Bertha Brown House at 1126 Waban Hill is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Nakoma Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the Native American community.

Latino

Secondary Education

Omega School

The Omega School is an alternative school founded in 1972 focused on providing a course to learn English and complete the GED and HSED high school equivalency exams for adult students. The school has also served as a bridge for non-English speaking and particularly Latino immigrants to the wider Madison community. Today, the Omega School is managed by the Executive Director, Oscar Mireles, a notable poet and educator in the Madison Latino community who has been with the school since 1994. Today

The Omega School is locally significant in the Latino community in the area of Education, specifically Secondary Education, from 1972 to the present. During this time period, two resources have been associated with it: The 1988 to 1995 school at 949 East Washington Avenue and the 1995 to present day school at 835 West Badger Road, a small contemporary style building constructed in 1988 for Centro Hispano of Dane County. For more information on Centro Hispano of Dane County, please see the Social & Political Movements chapter. Properties that have achieved significance recently may not be considered eligible for designating as City of Madison Landmarks. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. These properties should be reevaluated for local landmarking in the future.

Women

Unviersity of Wisconsin System

Anderson House

The house at 228 North Charter Street was the Anderson House women's cooperative from 1928 until 1964.³⁵¹ It was built in 1914 for Samuel and Ida Oakey. In 1928, the university purchased the house from Ida Oakey and remodeled it for use as a women's co-operative housing facility. It was renamed the Anderson House after Mary D. Anderson, one of the women who negotiated the purchase. The facility was owned by the University Women's Building Corporation under the supervision of the Dean of Women. The Anderson House was one of several cooperative housing options that were organized by the



Anderson House 228 N. Charter Street

university during a trend in cooperative housing and purchasing in Wisconsin.³⁵² Cooperatives offered low-cost housing for undergraduate students in exchange for the students' time in managing the house.³⁵³ The Anderson House cooperative was preceded by other pioneering facilities in the women's housing co-op movement and operated concurrently with the Tabard Inn women's cooperative for some years. It provided housing for women university students until 1964.³⁵⁴

Anderson House is locally significant to Women in the area of Education from 1928 to 1964. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups. The building is also eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Barnard Residence Hall

In 1910, "agitation began for the construction of new dormitory space [for women]." After some debate about a suitable location, university regents decided to build a new dormitory between Lathrop Hall and the non-extant old Chadbourne Hall to "carry out the plan of a woman's quadrangle on University Avenue." Barnard Residence Hall, located at 970 University Avenue, was completed in 1912 as a dormitory hall for female university students. The building was not initially included in the 1908 master plan, 56 likely because the old Chadbourne Hall was already serving the need and



Barnard Residence Hall 970 University Avenue

was located near Lathrop Hall. Barnard Hall was designed to house 150 students and to be connected by covered passageways with both Lathrop Hall and old Chadbourne Hall.³⁵⁷ Barnard Hall served as a dormitory for undergraduate and (for a period in the late-1950s) graduate women until 2001 when it was opened to male residents.³⁵⁸

Barnard Residence Hall is locally significant to Women in the area of Education from 1912 to 2001. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups. The building is also eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Lathrop Hall

The University of Wisconsin responded to the surge of women seeking professional and educational opportunities in the Progressive Era by including a women's gymnasium in the 1908 university master plan.³⁵⁹ Lathrop Hall, a massive Neoclassical building clad with Madison sandstone, was completed in 1909, and was uniquely designed to meet the needs of campus women that were not being met by existing facilities. The building had meeting rooms, kitchens, a swimming pool, a gymnasium, bowling lanes, a laundry, a cafeteria, reading rooms, and home economics laboratories. It was



Lathrop Hall 1050 University Avenue

intended to be the first of a quadrangle of women's buildings and served as a social hall akin to the male-only student union before Memorial Union was built. ³⁶⁰

In the 1910s, it hosted offices of the Women's Self-Government Association and the Women's Court that adjudicated on-campus disciplinary matters. Academic, social, and athletic clubs for campus women convened in Lathrop Hall. In the early part of the twentieth century, Lathrop Hall was the epicenter of women's activities on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus. It was seen as a meaningful investment in co-education after decades of discussion by regents on how to make provisions on the campus for the education of women. According to the 1985 National Register Nomination for Lathrop Hall, the hall "is of national significance in the areas of physical education and dance. Built for the Department of Physical Training for Women, Lathrop Hall was the site of the founding of the Athletic Conference of American College Women [in 1917], today the premier organization in the nation governing intramural sports for college women." 363

According to the 1985 National Register Nomination, Lathrop Hall was also the location classes were held for the first dance major established in the United States. "In 1915, assistant professor Margaret H'Doubler [was sent] to New York to survey the current trends in dance in order to bring back a form of sufficient educational merit for inclusion in the -university curriculum. At the time a reaction against formal dance was underway, resulting in a movement favoring dance based on the laws of natural motion and rhythm, as exemplified by such innovators as Isadora

Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, and Ted Shawn. In 1917, H'Doubler returned to Wisconsin to undertake a new kind of dance instruction which was to some extent based on the natural and creative dance movement, but was mostly her own concept. Breaking with former techniques, she developed "fundamentals" of dancing as basic teaching forms. H'Doubler's dance philosophy viewed the body as the instrument of dance, and movement the artistic medium of dance with which to express the inner state. H'Doubler's form of dance gradually blended into modern dance. Her work won wide acclaim and her philosophy was nationally influential, determining the direction of dance education through to the present day. Born Margaret Newell Hougen-Doubler in Kansas, she graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1910, and upon graduation was offered an assistant professorship in the Department of Physical Training for Women. In 1918, she founded "Orchesis," a university dance performance group, the first of its kind in the United States. H'Doubler established the first comprehensive dance curriculum at an American university at the University of Wisconsin in 1921, and in 1926 her proposal for the organization of a major.in dance at the University of Wisconsin was accepted, the first such major in the nation. The recipient of numerous awards and honors, the author of many books and articles, Margaret H'Doubler was to dance education what Maratha Graham was to dance performance. H'Doubler's students went on to form dance departments at colleges and universities all over the country. Her writings, spanning over half-a-century, were always timely, exerting a major influence on dance education over many decades, and facilitating the acceptance of dance in the curriculum of higher education. H'Doubler retired from the university in 1954, but continued to write and teach up until the time of her death. Her most popular works were The Dance and Its Place in Education (1925) and Dance: A Creative Art Experience (1940). H'Doubler's teaching theories, techniques, and philosophy of dance resulted in a blend of aesthetics and science which have successfully withstood the passage of time. Although formulated in the early decades of the twentieth century, many of her fundamentals can be found in the techniques taught in college dance departments all over the country today." 364

Lathrop Hall is nationally significant to Women in the area of Education from 1909 to circa 1940. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups. The building was individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 1985 for its architectural significance and historical significance in the history of women's higher education and dance.

Women's Studies Program

The University of Wisconsin's institutional response to the women's liberation movement was initially peripheral. In 1970, a University of Wisconsin Extension specialist in women's education developed a four-session course on the movement itself and how women might relate to it. The course was offered at Midvale Community Lutheran Church in Madison and simultaneously by phone in other locations around the state.³⁶⁵

In the mid-1970s, when it was clear that movement was making significant progress in shifting American culture, the University of Wisconsin system's response was more direct. University regents made it a system-wide policy in 1974 that all University of Wisconsin institutions initiate a Women's Studies program.³⁶⁶

The University of Wisconsin-Madison established a Women's Studies program in 1975, 367 The former house at 209 North Brooks Street was home of the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Women's Studies Program from its founding until 1997.368 The house at 209 North Brooks Street was built in 1902 for James and Rosa Bitney, who owned it until 1947 when it was purchased by the Wisconsin University Building Corporation. It was rented as a residence for University of Wisconsin-Madison faculty and students through the 1950s. In 1962, the corporation transferred the title to University



Women's Studies House 209 N. Brooks Street

of Wisconsin-Madison. It was converted in the mid-1960s for use as academic program and office space. ³⁶⁹

The new Women's Studies program was shaped in this house as the program's faculty and Executive Committee debated the issues of sexual orientation, the development of courses in lesbian studies, the needs of women of color, and whether male faculty should be allowed to teach in the program.³⁷⁰ In 1981, the University of Wisconsin-Madison established a graduate program in women's history.³⁷¹ The house was the site of intense discussions of feminist issues that drew crowds in the 1980s.³⁷² By 1988, the program was called "probably the best women's studies program in the US" by the woman who pioneered the academic field.³⁷³ By 1996, the program had outgrown the house ³⁷⁴ and was relocated the following year to Ingraham Hall, located at 1155 Observatory Drive.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison Women's Studies Program is locally significant to Women in the area of Education from 1975 to present day. During this time period, two resources have been associated with it: its 1975-1997 home at 209 North Brooks Street and its 1997 to present day home at Ingraham Hall. The primary resource associated with the Women's Studies Program and its significance in Education is 209 North Brooks Street due to founding and longevity at this location. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2025.

Historic Resources Associated with Education Included in the Survey

	Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
	835 W. Badger Avenue	Centro Hispano / Omega School	1988	Post-Modern	Surveyed
	209 N. Brooks Street	Women's Studies House	1902	Queen Anne	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible

	211 N. Carroll Street	Madison Vocational School / Madison Area Technical College	1921	Collegiate Gothic	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed
	228 N. Charter Street	Anderson House	1914	Craftsman	CoM Eligible Landmark
	2012 Fisher Street	South Madison Day Care Center	1968	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
	1717 Fish Hatchery Road	James C. Wright Middle School	1997	Contemporary	Surveyed
	1025 W. Johnson Street	Educational Science Building	1971	Brutalist	CoM Eligible Landmark
	1155 Observatory Drive	Ingraham Hall	1956	Art Moderne	Surveyed
	600 N. Park Street	Helen C. White Hall	1968	Brutalist	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
	218 Schenk Street	Annie Greencrow Whitehorse Middle School	1963	Contemporary	Surveyed
	816 State Street	State Historical Society of Wisconsin	1900	Neoclassical	CoM Eligible Landmark, NRHP Individually Listed & NRHP Listed HD-C
	970 University Avenue	Barnard Residence Hall	1912	Neoclassical	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible
	1050 University Avenue	Lathrop Hall	1909	Neoclassical	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed
	31 University Homes	Cornelius Golightly Apartment	1946	Georgian Revival	CoM Eligible Landmark
	1126 Waban Hill	Charles E. & Bertha Brown House	1915	Prairie	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
	949 E. Washington Avenue	Omega School	1919	Industrial Loft	Surveyed
	4801 Waukesha Street	Velma Hamilton Middle School	1961	Contemporary	Surveyed
	1925 Winnebago Street	Freedom House School	1931	Astylistic Utilitarian	CoM Eligible Landmark
	Annual V				

13

Social & Political Movements

African American

Fraternal Organizatoins

Capital City Masonic Lodge #2

The Capital City Masonic Lodge #2 of the Prince Hall Free and Accepted Masons, an exclusively African American lodge, was established along with a women's auxiliary in Madison in 1906. The organization had a small membership at the time and likely congregated at the extant Douglass Beneficial Society Hall at 649-653 East Dayton Street or the non-extant old St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church on East Dayton Street. The Madison lodge officially chartered in 1925.³⁷⁵

The Capital City Masonic Lodge #2 eventually congregated at 100 North Blair Street by the 1960s. The Colonial Revival style building was designed by architect A. H. Beckman for the Free Methodist Church in 1940. The lodge continues to use the building to this day.

Capital City Masonic Lodge #2 is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social & Political Movements from 1906 to the present. During this time period, two resources have been associated with it: its 1906 to c.1960 meeting place in the Douglass Beneficial



Capital City Masonic Lodge #2 100 North Blair Street

Society Hall at 649-653 E. Dayton Street and its c.1960 to present day lodge at Ingraham Hall. The primary resource associated with the Women's Studies Program and its significance in Education is 209 North Brooks Street due to founding and longevity at 100 North Blair Street. The primary resource associated with the lodge and its significance in Social & Political Movements is 209 North Brooks Street due to its longevity at this location. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Service and Social Groups

Neighborhood House Community Center

The growing number of immigrant families settling in the Greenbush neighborhood, Italian immigrants especially, encouraged the proposal of a settlement house to address their needs. Helen Dexter and Associated Charities, a social work organization, founded a community house there in 1916. Established along the traditional lines of a settlement house, Neighborhood House was intended as a gateway for those immigrating to the area or those who need support along the way to becoming a part of the local society and economy. The 1916 location, supported by influential and wealthy Madisonians, was located in a non-extant building at 807 Mound Street.

The organization moved to a non-extant building at 25 South Park Street the following year and was officially named the Neighborhood House. It offered a variety of clubs and classes to the community and quickly became a popular location. Well over two hundred people a month used its services.

In 1920, the Neighborhood House moved again to a non-extant storefront at 768 West Washington Avenue across from Brittingham Park. The institution continued to be supported by local Madison clubs. The Neighborhood House expanded with a large in addition in 1926 and continued to grow in the scale of its mission.³⁷⁶

During the depression years, the focus of the institution shifted from language and citizen courses to providing services to all community members including soup kitchens, social work, jobs postings, and the better homes and gardens club. During the 1950s, the Neighborhood House was put under the auspices of the Madison Neighborhood Centers group through the City of Madison, which also included the South Madison Neighborhood Center. Urban Renewal efforts in the late 1950s targeted the Triangle area east of Park Street and south of Regent Street for demolition and redevelopment. The 1958 Triangle Plan, which would come to fruition two years later, included the demolition of the Neighborhood House Community Center and its surrounding neighborhood.³⁷⁷

The community center raised funds to build a new home one block west of its previous location in 1965. The new International style building at 29 South Mills Street cost \$200,000 to construct and is organized with a gymnasium in the center and offices and classrooms around the periphery of the one-story building. A new wave of immigration in the 1960s gave the Neighborhood House new purpose and it began to provide English courses and job training again. The Neighborhood House Community Center has continued with its mission to the present. The Neighborhood House Community Center has



Neighborhood House Community Center 29 S. Mills Street

served a wide variety of groups since its establishment including, but not limited to, African

Americans, Italians, Jews, Latinos, and Hmong. For more information on the center's significance to Madison's Hmong community, please see the Hmong section of this chapter. It serves the Greenbush neighborhood specifically, and the wider Madison area generally.

The Neighborhood House Community Center is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social & Political Movements from 1916 to the present. The only extant resource associated with center is 29 South Mills Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark and is individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

South Madison Neighborhood Center

The South Madison Neighborhood Center established on the south side of Madison in 1949 by Willie Lou Harris, Kenneth Newville, and George Gerrard with the assistance of the surrounding community and the local carpentry and plumbers' unions. For more information on Willie Lou Harris, please see the Notable People chapter. The first building for the neighborhood center were United States Air Force barracks that were moved from Truax Field on the east side of Madison down Park and Beld Streets to a lot at 2001 Taft Street in the Bram's Addition neighborhood. 380



South Madison Neighborhood Center 2001 Taft Street

The social welfare organization provided school programs for young children, neighborhood activities, and social programs and a meeting space for adults. The South Madison Neighborhood Center soon came under the control of the Madison Neighborhood Centers organization, which also included the Atwood Community Center and the Neighborhood House. ³⁸¹

In 1973, the organization changed its name to the United Neighborhood Centers of Dane County (UNC) and expanded to include the East Madison Community Center, Wil-Mar Neighborhood Center, Broadway/Simpson/Waunona Neighborhood Center, Deerfield Community Center, Vera Court Neighborhood Center, and the Atwood Community Center. Richard Harris, son of the center's founder Willie Lou Harris, became the administrator of the neighborhood center in 1980.³⁸²

In 1983, the South Madison Neighborhood Center successfully filed a complaint with the Office of Civil Rights claiming racial discrimination by the Madison Metropolitan School District. Plans to close Hoyt, Longfellow, and Sherman elementary schools and Lincoln and Sherman middle schools undermined equal educational opportunities in South Madison.³⁸³

The UNC dissolved in 1997. In 1999, the South Madison Neighborhood Center became a chartered affiliate of the Boys and Girls Clubs of America that served over 600 young people.

The community center experienced a series of large additions and alterations over the course if its history. In 2001, a major expansion for educational purposes by the Boys and Girls Club expanded the facility by 8,000 square feet.³⁸⁴

The South Madison Neighborhood Center is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1949 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Health Services

Barbara Nichols

Barbara Nichols was born in Maine in 1939. She graduated from the Massachusetts Memorial Hospital School of Nursing in Boston in 1959 and became a nurse, working at the Boston Children's Hospital. She then attended Case Western Reserve University in Ohio, earning a Bachelor of Science degree in Nursing Administration from 1964 to 1966. Barbara joined the Navy Nurse Corps and served as the head nurse at St. Albans United States Naval Hospital in Queens New York.

After a few years, she moved to Madison to work at St. Mary's Hospital. In 1970, Barbara Nichols was elected president of the Wisconsin Nursing Association, the first African American to hold the position. She earned a master's degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, has been a visiting lecturer at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee School of Nursing, and has published numerous articles on health care delivery and diversity in her field.³⁸⁵ In 1979, Barbara Nichols was elected as the first African American president of the national American Nurses Association (ANA).

In 1983, Barbara Nichols was named the secretary of the Wisconsin Department of Regulation and Licensing and is believed to be the first black woman to hold a State of Wisconsin Cabinet role.

From the late 1990s to her retirement in 2011, Nichols served as the CEO of CGFS International, an organization that evaluates the credentials of foreign nursing schools.³⁸⁶ Barbara and her husband Larry have lived in house at

Barbara Nichols is locally significant to the African American Community in the area of Social and Political Movements, specifically Health Services, from 1970 to 2011. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Twentieth Century Political Movements

NAACP-Madison Chapter

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a large national organization established in 1909 to advance the cause of justice for African Americans, established a branch in Madison in 1920. However, it remained relatively inactive until 1943, when Harry and Velma Hamilton revitalized the organization locally in a successful effort against segregation in the USO at the Truax Air Force Base on the east side of Madison. The NAACP remained active in Madison through the Civil Rights era of the 1950s and 1960s. In 2014, an additional Dane County NAACP Branch was organized. 387

The NAACP has had many office locations throughout Madison since the 1940s. However, the longest serving location has been in the Tenney Building, located at 110 East Main Street. The Tenney Building, designed by Law, Law, and Potter was completed in 1930.

The NAACP-Madison Chapter is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social & Political Movements from 1920 to the present. The primary resource associated with the NAACP-Madison Chapter and its significance in Social & Political Movements is the Tenney Building at 110 East Main Street due its longevity at this location. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building was individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 2017 for its architectural significance. Consideration should be given to updating its nomination to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community.

First Nations

Twentieth Century Political Movements

Wunk Sheek

Wunk Sheek is a student organization that serves and represents students of indigenous identity that are members of the University of Wisconsin. Established in 1968, the organization has held seasonal Powwows that have been popular draws for the local Native American community and demonstrate the groups' mission of outreach, education, and inclusion.³⁸⁸

Wunk Sheek's mission as a student organization is to serve students of indigenous identity and members of the wider community interested in Native American issues, culture, and history. It



Wunk Sheek 215-217 N. Brooks Street

has been used as a safe social space, a way to represent indigenous communities to the wider

university community, and as a source for knowledge and experience of the Native American community. The group, since it is composed of students from a wide variety of backgrounds, is not strictly aligned with any one tribe or indigenous group.³⁸⁹

Wunk Sheek, along with the American Indian Student Cultural Center, is located at 215-217 North Brooks Street. The building was originally constructed as a duplex in 1931 and was acquired by the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1966.³⁹⁰

Wunk Sheek is locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1968 to the present. The building at 215-217 N. Brooks Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Hmong

Service and Social Groups

Bayview Foundation Apartments and Community Center

Bayview Foundation was established in 1966 by a group of fifteen Madison residents with the goal developing affordable housing on the Triangle in the Greenbush neighborhood. ³⁹¹ The Bayview Foundation Apartments, with a total of 102 units of Section 8 Project Based housing in five buildings, were completed in 1971 at 601 Bay View on land where a significant portion of the Greenbush neighborhood was demolished under the federal Urban Renewal program. ³⁹² Bayview attracted some of the first Hmong refugee families to settle in Madison in the mid-1970s. ³⁹³ The complex offered low-cost housing that was



Bayview Foundation Apartments & Community Center 601 Bay View

affordable for new residents. The Bayview Foundation, the non-profit organization that built, owned, and operated the complex sponsored programs and events that supported the concentration of recently arrived residents who lived there. The proximity of the Neighborhood House Community Center and its resettlement service just a few blocks away contributed to the attractiveness of Bayview for Hmong refugees arriving in Madison. In the early 1970's, the administrative offices and a small number of social and educational programs and services were housed in one of the apartment units. By the mid-1980s, the diversity of cultures represented at Bayview included Hmong, Nigerian, Colombian, African-American, Mexican, Cambodian, and Native-American residents.³⁹⁴

In the early 1970s, Bayview gained a reputation for having a high rate of crime, low standards for maintenance, and poor overall management. In 1978, the Bayview Foundation hired a new manager who made dramatic changes, built a new sense of community, and turned Bayview's reputation around in just a few years. ³⁹⁵

In 1985, the Bayview Foundation built a Community Center building at the center of the housing complex to serve Bayview and other neighborhood residents. The community center became a venue showcasing arts and crafts traditions of the ethnic groups represented at Bayview. In 1990, the Bayview Triangle Mural Project was commissioned to honor the Greenbush Neighborhood's history. In 1991, the foundation became a member of the Community Shares of Wisconsin and hosted the first drum and dance circle at Bayview with the Call for Peace Drum & Dance Company. In 1996, the community center was expanded with a second-floor addition and was renamed the Bayview International Center for Education and the Arts. A major renovation of the property was completed in 2017, including the construction of a new playground, pocket park, gathering space near the east entry to the community center, and installation of a 19 foot mosaic mural designed and constructed by Bayview residents under the guidance of artist Marcia Yapp titled "La Mariposa de la Vida" (The Butterfly of Life).

The foundation hosted the Triangle Ethic Festival at Bayview from 1985 through 2014. The festival was an annual showcase for Hmong and other cultural traditions.³⁹⁷ In 2002, Madison artist Harry Whitehorse dedicated his sculpture "One Child Spinning Through Mother Sky" at Bayview at the 18th Annual Triangle Ethnic Fest. ³⁹⁸ For more information on Harry Whitehorse, please see the Arts & Literature chapter.

For later waves of Hmong immigrants to Madison, Bayview was a place where they could find an established Hmong community who could ease the transition to their new home and help them navigate a culture that was foreign in almost every way. In 1995, nearly half of Bayview's 102 residential units were occupied by Hmong families.³⁹⁹ In 2017 and 2018, Hmong Madisonians reported that when they want to meet Hmong people, they go to Bayview.⁴⁰⁰

The Bayview Foundation Apartments and Community Center are locally significant to the Hmong community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1971 to the present. The complex, comprised of five apartment buildings and a community center, is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Neighborhood House Community Center

For information on the early history of the Neighborhood House Community Center, please refer to the African American section of this chapter.

Beginning in the 1970s, with the earliest Hmong refugees arriving in Madison, the Neighborhood House Community Center helped find housing, employment, and child-care, as well as provide after-school programs for new Hmong residents and families. The center also provided opportunities for Hmong immigrants to practice and share cultural traditions, art, and food. Its



Neighborhood House Community Center 29 S. Mills Street

location was particularly convenient for the relatively large number of Hmong residents at the nearby Bayview Foundation Apartments.

The Neighborhood House Community Center is locally significant to the Hmong community in the area of Social & Political Movements from 1965 to the present. Its building at 29 South Mills Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark and is individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Latino

Service and Social Groups

Centro Guadalupano

The Blessed Martin House was a local Catholic organization founded in 1942 to promote interracial unity between blacks and whites. Renamed St. Martin House after the canonization of its namesake Martin de Porres in 1963, the organization offered an array of activities including sewing classes, summer children's programs, a Golden Gloves boxing club, and by the 1980s, food assistance and and help with finding employment from its location on West Washington Avenue. For a brief time, the St. Martin House also served as an orphanage. In 1952, the St. Martin House moved to a new, non-extant facility on Beld Street constructed entirely by volunteers, including local seminarians. 401

The arrival of more Spanish-speaking immigrants to Madison and Dane County during the 1970s encouraged the Catholic Diocese of Madison to address their needs, and the Spanish-speaking ministry Centro Guadalupano was formed by the newly created Diocese Office of Hispanic Ministry, as no local parishes had bi-lingual clergy or staff. Centro Guadalupano was established in 1977, with the leadership of Dolores Ann Silha, to aid the Latino population alongside the St. Martin House at their facility. Centro Guadalupano provided bilingual spiritual services including Spanish mass, children's catechism classes, and sacramental preparation as well as English classes, a clothing program, and food pantry. 402 However, the its spaces and the small chapel within the St. Martin House proved inadequate as the local Spanish-speaking population increased rapidly through the 1980s and 1990s. 403

In 2002, the Centro Guadalupano and St. Martin House officially combined to become the Catholic Multicultural Center. That same year, the St. Martin House was demolished, and a new Contemporary style building was constructed in its place at 1862 Beld Street. The Catholic Multicultural Center continues to provide legal and spiritual services, technology classes, English and Spanish classes, meals and food pantry, clothing exchanges, and job placement services to this day. 404



Catholic Multicultural Center 1862 Beld Street

Centro Guadalupano was locally significant to the Latino community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Service and Social Groups, from 1977 to 2002. Properties that have achieved significance recently may not be considered eligible for designating as City of Madison Landmarks. This property should be re-evaluated for local landmarking in the future.

Centro Hispano of Dane County

Centro Hispano of Dane County was established in 1983. Ilda Thomas founded the organization along with a host of community volunteers to meet the needs of recent Cuban refugees who had settled in and around Madison during the early 1980s. The center was initially located in the non-extant St. Martin House on Beld Street. The organization grew as the Latino community grew and diversified.

In 1988, a new building was constructed for the Centro Hispano at 835 West Badger Road. Today the building is occupied by the Omega School. For more information on the Omega School, please see the Education chapter.

In 2006, Centro Hispano moved to an 18,000-square-foot facility at 810 West Badger Road on the south side of Madison. ⁴⁰⁵ Centro Hispano continues to provide social services, activities, festivals, and educational services to an average of 2,500 families and 6,000 individuals annually and is one of the central resources for Latinos in Madison to this day. ⁴⁰⁶

Centro Hispano of Dane County is locally significant to the Latino community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Service and Social Groups, from 1983 to the present. The primary resource associated with Centro Hispano of Dane County is the 835 West Badger Road. Properties that have achieved significance recently may not be considered eligible for designating as City of Madison Landmarks. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. These properties should be re-evaluated for local landmarking in the future.

Twentieth Century Political Movements

MEChA

The Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) was established in 1969 during a series of conferences of the National Chicano Liberation Youth Conference on university campuses across the country. As a national student organization focused on social and economic justice issues facing the Chicano community and later the entire Latino community, it grew during the 1970s. MEChA was established at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1970 in direct correlation with the development of the national student organization and the civil rights movement.⁴⁰⁷

MEChA grew during the 1970s and 1980s, often as a political organization and encouraged the implementation of Chicano and Latino studies in higher education. By the 1990s, MEChA chapters were established on most university campuses across the United States. MEChA is

intended to promote higher education and Latino culture and history. The organization claims to be grounded in a philosophy, not a nationality, and encourages political and educational involvement. To this day, the University of Wisconsin-Madison chapter continues to hold a variety of different activities including El Mes Xicano, a month-long educational program held annually in October. In 2011, the annual MEChA National Conference was held in Madison and sponsored by the University of Wisconsin-Madison MEChA organization. The MEChA office on the University of Wisconsin-Madison



Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) 206 Bernard Court

campus is currently located in a Front Gabled style house at 206 Bernard Court. The building was originally constructed as a home in 1911.⁴⁰⁹

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) is locally significant to the Latino community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Twentieth Century Political Movements, from 1970 to the present. The This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

United Migrant Opportunity Services (UMOS)

United Migrant Opportunity Services (UMOS) was organized in Waukesha, Wisconsin in 1965 to arrange educational programs and day care services to families of predominately Mexican migrant workers in rural Wisconsin. In 1966, UMOS assisted in organizing a migrant worker march from Wautoma to Madison to demand access to washrooms, better housing, a minimum wage, and compensation laws. The organization moved to Milwaukee in 1968. 410

In 1976, UMOS opened a branch office in Madison at 7 N. Pinckney Street, which it continues to operate to this day. Involved with UMOS since he was a college student in the late 1970s, Juan Jose Lopez served as the chairman of the Board of Directors for UMOS from 1983 to 2012. 411 UMOS remains one of the oldest active migrant farmworker advocacy organizations in the United States to this day and continues to provide programs in child development, workforce development, and social services with its corporate offices in Milwaukee, 20 locations throughout Wisconsin, and branches in Florida, Minnesota, Missouri, and Texas. 412

The United Migrant Opportunity Services is locally significant to the Latino community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Twentieth Century Political Movements, from 1976 to present. The building at 7-11 N. Pickney Street is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. However, consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the Latino community.

LGBTQ

Health Services

Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy

Adding to the breadth of professional counseling services sensitive to the unique challenges of the LGBTQ community, Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy opened in 1981 at 406 N. Pinckney Street. Harmonia offered professional "sexual identity counseling and sex therapy" in addition to counseling for "women's issues, spirituality, eating disorders, relationship counseling, alcohol and drug abuse." In the mid-1980s and into the 1990s, Harmonia offered group therapy for drug and alcohol abuse prevention, specifically for gay and lesbian people.



Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy 406 N. Pinckney Street

Harmonia currently occupies the entire building at 406 N. Pinckney Street. The Queen Anne style house was built in 1857 for Orasmus Cole.

The Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy, at 406 N. Pinckney Street, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Health Services, from 1981 to the present. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The building is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2031.

Lesbian Switchboard

The availability of counseling was an important component of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison. In the early 1970s, homosexuality was still listed as a mental illness in the DSM; however, it was removed in 1973. Psychological professionals commonly defended the theory that homosexuality was caused by arrested emotional development, and writers and filmmakers regularly portrayed homosexuals as deviant in popular media. Facing these trends, while also living in a society where discrimination was legal and routine, presented a unique set of emotional burdens for queer people living out their identity. The need for counseling, with peers and professionals, was clear from the beginning of the movement.

During the first few years of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison, the response to this need was informal, consisting of volunteer, peer-run counseling offered by LGBTQ groups. The 1972 Women's Center disbanded or evolved into the Lesbian Switchboard in 1973 or 1974.

In November 1974, the Lesbian Switchboard opened at the University YMCA at 306 N. Brooks Street, a hive of LGBTQ activity in the 1970s and into the 1990s, hosting a variety of social, organizational, therapeutic, and publishing activities by LGBTQ groups with several LGBTQ organizations maintaining office space and publishing newsletters in the building during this time. The Lesbian Switchboard was a collective of para-professional counselors offering connectivity and emotional and social



University YMCA 306 N. Brooks Street

support to lesbian women. The Lesbian Switchboard operated a counseling service as a collective with no hierarchy and offered a library of lesbian resources, including information on alternative services in Madison, feminist groups across the country, and other lesbian and gay organizations in the United States. They presented "panel discussions on lesbianism," and sponsored "lesbian coffee houses, women's dances, a lesbian newsletter, concerts by women for women, and protests against oppressive groups in the Madison areas." The Lesbian Switchboard appears to have merged with another LGBTQ organization or disbanded around 1979, when progressive professionals began offering counseling services that recognized the issues commonly faced by LGBTQ people

The Lesbian Switchboard is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Social and Political Movements, specifically Health Services, from 1974 to 1979. For its association with the Lesbian Switchboard, the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2024.

Moontree Psychotheraphy Center

Moontree was established in 1975 by six women offering professional counseling services to other women. Their first office was on the second floor of 2203 Regent Street, a mixed-use commercial office building built in 1928. 413 Moontree focused on general mental health, stress management, and body work. 414 In 1977 they were calling themselves a feminist therapy collective. 415 The group offered female-centric therapy based on the assumption that women have unique needs and that the rapid and dramatic cultural shifts of the time were uncovering new stressors. Moontree also specialized in counseling for the unique situations experienced by lesbian clients.

The first male counselor, Will Handy, joined the collective in 1978. Moontree moved to 401 Wisconsin Avenue in 1983 while Will Handy was still active with the organization. Handy

advocated for teaching students about HIV and AIDS in Madison public schools during the depth of the developing health crisis in the mid-1980s. In 1985, Moontree was awarded a grant from the New Harvest foundation for training AIDS support volunteers. Moontree advertised extensively in LGBTQ publications in the 1980s and 90s. Moontree currently occupies the entire building at 401 Wisconsin Avenue. The Craftsman style building was built in 1907 for A'delbert L. Averill.



Moontree Psychotherapy Center 401 Wisconsin Avenue

The Moontree Psychotherapy Center is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Health Services, from 1975 to the present. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with Moontree: 2203 Regent Street from 1975 to 1983 and 401 Wisconsin Avenue from 1983 to the present. The primary resource associated with Moontree and its significance in Commerce is 401 Wisconsin Avenue due to their longevity at this location. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The building is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2033.

Twentieh Century Political Movements

Madison Gay Center

Within a few months of the Stonewall uprising in New York City in late June of 1969 that sparked a nationwide wave of organization and activism known as the Gay Liberation Movement, organization of Madison's LGBTQ community shifted from informal gatherings in private homes to formalized organizations and public advocacy for equal rights. Besides the palpable need for legal reforms, there was a pent-up need in the early 1970s for organization, information sharing, community building, and socializing without the risks of harassment. A flurry of groups came together in the early 1970s to meet those needs.



St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center 1011 University Avenue

Organizers of these early groups used existing spaces, often in upper floors or basements, that

were either offered freely or affordably on a nonprofit budget funded largely by "pass-the-hat" fundraisers and small donations. ⁴¹⁶ Unfortunately, this meant that these groups were often short lived and moved frequently. In Madison, it appears that the work of these groups had a cumulative effect, culminating in the formation of OutReach, Inc.

The Madison Alliance for Homosexual Equality (MAHE), founded in October 1969, was the first group to organize and publicly advocate for LGBTQ civil rights in the State of Wisconsin.⁴¹⁷ The first gathering of MAHE took place in the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue). St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center set the precedent in 1969 by hosting the founding of MAHE. MAHE was dedicated to "legal reforms and public education" and established a center in the basement of St. Francis House to facilitate their mission. MAHE coordinated a "day-long teach-in" in the University of Wisconsin-Madison Memorial Union in May of 1970, just 7 months after the organization was founded and less than a year after Stonewall. The event featured sales of books and screening of films with gay and lesbian themes and concluded with the MAHE Day Dance. ⁴¹⁸

The Tudor Revival style St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center was designed by the Milwaukee architecture firm of Eschweiler and Eschweiler for the University Congregation of the Episcopal Church. It was built in 1925 at the corner of University Avenue and N. Brooks Street with an address of 1001 University Avenue. In 1964, a Contemporary style addition was built that extended from the western side of the original building. The addition featured a modern protestant Christian sanctuary. In 2012, the 1964 addition was demolished, and the 1925 building was moved immediately to the west of its original location and restored. A new 8-story residential building was built in its original location and was assigned the St. Francis House's former address 1001 University Avenue. Correspondingly, the relocated St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center was assigned the new address 1101 University Avenue. Many, but not all, of the meetings and events held by LGBTQ organizations were held in the basement of the building. Both the 1925 building and the 1964 addition had lower levels, and it is unclear which section hosted the meeting and office spaces for LGBTQ organizations.

In the fall of 1970, MAHE changed their name to the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), in solidarity with GLF groups in other cities. Their stated mission was to "promote interaction and solidarity within the gay community and to raise the consciousness of the straight world to the problems of sexist oppression." ⁴²⁰

Madison Gay Sisters was a similar group organized around 1970 to address issues of inequality faced by lesbian women. ⁴²¹ Madison Gay Sisters also held meetings at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center. ⁴²²

Gay Liberation Front and Madison Gay Sisters had common goals of alleviating fear of LGBTQ people, breaking down stereotypes, and shifting societal attitudes by increasing visibility and dispelling connotations of pathology and delinquency. ⁴²³ Around 1972, the two organizations found office space together at 10 Langdon Street, and the Madison Gay Sisters held some of the earliest publicized dances in Madison exclusively for women. ⁴²⁴ It appears that both of these groups ceased to exist or joined forces with other organizations by the end of 1974.

Crossroads of Madison incorporated in 1972 425 and established the Gay Center at 301½ N. Hamilton Street the following year, the first gay community center in Wisconsin. 426 The Gay Center would be one of Madison's primary LGBTQ groups for the next twenty-five years.

In 1973, the Gay Center was relocated to a second-floor space at 550 State Street. 427 During the following year, the Gay Center was relocated once again to St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue). 428 Back at the location where Madison's Gay Liberation Movement formally began, the Gay Center finally found stability in a more permanent home where they remained for the next nine years.

Possibly due to their inability to obtain nonprofit status from the IRS, Crossroads morphed into Renaissance of Madison which was incorporated in 1974. 429 Almost immediately, Renaissance began publishing the Gay Coordinator's Newsletter, a newsletter with high journalistic standards that discussed LGBTQ issues. The newsletter became Gay Renaissance 1976 and ultimately The Gay Endeavor before it ceased publication in 1978. Publishing allowed LGBTQ groups to share news and information throughout the community during the early years of the movement when it was particularly important to gain and retain control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues. The group continued to run the Gay Center. 430



301 N. Hamilton St.



548-550 State Street



University United Methodist Church 1127 University Ave.

Continuing the trend started by the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center, other parochial student centers and religious congregations near the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus began opening their doors to LGBTQ organizations in the 1980s. In 1983, the Gay Center moved to 1127 University Avenue, where they continued to hold meetings and events and house their administrative offices, which they began sharing with the prominent LGBTQ political action organization, The United, the following year. The building was originally constructed for the University Methodist Episcopal Church but has been known at various times as Wesley Foundation Chapel, University United Methodist Church, Campus Christian Center, Madison Campus Ministry, and The Crossing: A Campus Christian Center. 431 Luther Memorial Church, at 1021 University Avenue, also provided space for "Gay Al-Anon" and Madison AIDS Support Network meetings.

In 1985, the Gay Center was incorporated as the Madison Gay Resource Center. ⁴³² Later that year, they changed their name to the Madison Gay and Lesbian Resource Center. ⁴³³ Madison Gay and Lesbian Resource Center and The United remained at the former University Methodist Episcopal Church until 1989, and then at 310 E. Wilson Street from 1989 to 1993, and 14 W. Mifflin Street from 1993 to 1998.

In 1997, the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center officially merged with The United to form OutReach, Inc. and continued operating from 14 W. Mifflin Street as the OutReach LGBT Community Center. OutReach was located in the Gateway Mall at 600 Williamson Street from 1999 until 2016. In 2013, OutReach got involved with several other local groups in planning the annual PRIDE parade which has been called the OutReach PRIDE Parade since 2014. OutReach moved in June 2016 to their current location at 2701 International Lane and continues to serve the LGBTQ community. ⁴³⁴ Through a long lineage of groups dating back to 1969, OutReach has become the leading organization supporting and connecting people in the LGBTQ community.

The Madison Gay Center was locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Twentieth Century Political Movements, from 1972 to 1997. During this time period, there were several resources associated with the organization: 301 N. Hamilton Street from 1972 to 1973, 548-550 State Street from 1973 to 1974, St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1011 University Avenue from 1974 to 1983, the former University Methodist Episcopal Church at 1127 University Avenue from 1983 to 1989, 310 E. Wilson Street from 1989 to 1993, and 14 W. Mifflin Street from 1993 to 1998. The primary resource associated with the Madison Gay Center and its significance in Social and Political Movements is the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue). This is the location where Madison's Gay Liberation Movement formally began and where the center found stability in a permanent home for nine years from 1974 to 1983. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2024.

The United

The Gay Liberation Movement continued in Madison in the late 1970s. In 1978, a nationwide campaign against municipal gay civil rights laws reached into Madison in an attempt to repeal the city's 1975 Non-Discrimination Ordinance, which offered protections for LGBTQ people. The campaign, led nationally by singer Anita Bryant and locally by an evangelical minister, failed, but two consequential groups formed in response to the effort: Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) and The United.

The Madison Gay Men and Lesbians United, sometimes called the Madison Community United, but more commonly referred to simply as The United, was a political action organization formed in 1977 or 1978. To organize opposition to the nationwide campaign, The United brought together a coalition of existing LGBTQ groups, individuals, and allies who came together at St.

Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) in May 1978.

By December 1978, The United located to the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street. After the initial threat passed, The United identified new battles and issues and continued their efforts. The YMCA was a hive of LGBTQ activity from the 1970s into the 1990s, hosting a variety of social, organizational, therapeutic, and publishing activities by LGBTQ groups. Several LGBTQ organizations maintained office space and published newsletters in the building during this time.



University YMCA 306 N. Brooks Street

The United also began publishing *Gay Madison* in 1978. Publishing allowed LGBTQ groups to gain and retain control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues and helped organize efforts at advocacy, legislative action, and public education. The United's *Gay Madison* evolved into *OUT!* in 1982, which covered statewide LGBTQ issues through 1987. The United returned to publishing again in 1991 with *Unity*, which ran until 1997.

By 1980s, The United and the Madison Gay Center were the two most prominent organizations serving the LGBTQ community. The United and the Madison Gay Center started working together around 1983 and began sharing space at 1127 University Avenue in 1984. The building was originally constructed for the University Methodist Episcopal Church but has been known at various times as Wesley Foundation Chapel, University United Methodist Church, Campus Christian Center, Madison Campus Ministry, and The Crossing: A Campus Christian Center. From 1989 to 1993, The United and the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center, formerly the Madison Gay Center, were located at 310 E. Wilson Street and then at 14 W. Mifflin Street from 1993 to 1998.

In 1997, The United and the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center officially merged to form OutReach, Inc. and OutReach LGBT Community Center. OutReach was located in the Gateway Mall at 600 Williamson Street from 1999 until 2016. In 2013, OutReach got involved with several other local groups in planning the annual PRIDE parade which has been called the OutReach PRIDE Parade since 2014. OutReach moved in June 2016 to their current location at 2701 International Lane and continues to serve the LGBTQ community. ⁴³⁵ Through a long lineage of groups dating back to 1969, OutReach has become the leading organization supporting and connecting people in the LGBTQ community.

The United was locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Twentieth Century Political Movements, from 1978 to 1997. During this time period, there were a several resources associated with the organization: St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) in 1978, University YMCA at 306 N. Brooks Street from 1978 to 1984, former University Methodist Episcopal Church from 1984 to 1989, 310 E. Wilson Street from 1989 to 1993, and 14

W. Mifflin Street from 1993 to 1998. The primary resource associated with The United and its significance in Social and Political Movements is the University YMCA at 306 N. Brooks Street. This is the location where The United found stability in their early years and a home for the first six years of their existence from 1978 to 1984. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. Therefore, this property shall be re-evaluated in 2028.

Women

Women's Organizations

East Side Women's Progressive Club

The East Side Women's Progressive Club shared the building at 2425 Atwood Avenue as a clubhouse with the East Side Businessmen's Association from 1925 until 1954. The building was originally built in 1917 as the Hudson Hotel, with the address of 720 Atwood Avenue. A small addition was built in 1981, and a larger addition was built sometime later to house an elevator. The Hudson Hotel was advertised for sale in 1920.⁴³⁶ The building appears to have had long-term residents and even a dance studio in



East Side Women's Progressive Club 2425 Atwood Avenue

the interim. The East Side Businessmen's Association was formed in 1923 and purchased the building that same year for use as their clubhouse.⁴³⁷ The east side, and particularly the Atwood Avenue area was experiencing a renaissance.⁴³⁸

In 1925, the East Side Women's Progressive Club was organized in the building.⁴³⁹ Membership in the women's club grew rapidly, and the club became the premier social club for women on the east side of Madison.⁴⁴⁰ The club followed the lead of the older Women's Club of Madison headquartered downtown, and advocated for civic improvements and civic pride in east side neighborhoods. They promoted a good-quality playground at Lowell School, and donated money to make it happen.⁴⁴¹ They worked to foster a community spirit and engaged in philanthropic activities.⁴⁴² In the 1940 and 1950s, the club regularly sponsored charity events and public health screenings for east-side kids. The club's annual "Woman of the Year" award made role models of community leaders.

In 1954, the East Side Women's Progressive Club moved to the newly constructed East Side Businessmen's Association clubhouse at 3735 Monona Drive.⁴⁴³ By the 1970s, the club's public activities consisted mostly of hosting fund-raising events for local charities. The Club continued to meet through the 1980s.

The East Side Women's Progressive Club is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1925 through the 1980s. During this time period, there were two resources associated with the organization: 2425 Atwood Avenue from 1925 to 1954 and 3735 Monona Drive from 1954 through the 1980s. The primary resource associated with the East Side Women's Progressive Club and its significance in Social and Political Movements is 2425 Atwood Avenue. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Woman's Club of Madison / Woman's Building

Throughout the Progressive Era and the Women's Club movement in Madison, the Woman's Club of Madison was extremely effective at influencing public policy. It was organized in 1893, and joined by mostly white, mostly protestant women whose spouses were wealthy, middle-aged men who typically held powerful positions in the business, civic, or educational arenas. ⁴⁴⁴ During its early years, the club met in the homes and churches of its members. Committees discussed philanthropic opportunities, and shared knowledge of topics in the arts, science, literature, music, and history. Outside performers and lecturers were invited to illuminate their studies with practical context.

By 1900, club women had grown eager to move beyond philanthropy and self-enrichment, and use their collective influence to address the civic problems of their growing city. 445 Members' social and political connections, and the organizational skills they had cultivated while directing club activities, enabled them to address civic causes with stunning success. In 1905, the club hired Chicago architect Jeremiah K. Cady to design the clubhouse for their activities. 446 It was completed in 1906. Over the next twenty years, the Women's Club led campaigns to



Women's Club of Madison / Woman's Building 240 W. Gilman Street

improve public education, housing, and health conditions in the city, and are credited with many of the civic improvements of Progressive-Era Madison.⁴⁴⁷ The building served as the headquarters for the club's programs and public presentations until they sold it in 1973. The building was clad with brick when it was completed. The existing exterior insulation and finish system (EIFS) was applied in the 1986 and covers the original exterior.⁴⁴⁸

The Woman's Club of Madison was locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1906 to 1973. The Woman's Building at 240 West Gilman Street is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark; however, its significance in Women's history may be reassessed.

Twentieth Century Political Movements

National Organization for Women (NOW)

Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* identified a phenomenon of a coercive domesticity that was fostering fatigue and constricting growth for American women. This oppressive trend, she argued, included the view that bearing children was the highest achievement of a woman. Friedan's book is often credited with releasing the underground fire and igniting a second wave of feminism known as the Women's Liberation movement in America. Women in Madison were exposed to Friedan's book through book group discussions. Freidan herself presented her thoughts at Memorial Union in July 1964. 449 Friedan went on to co-found the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 with 49 co-founders during two conferences held in Washington, D.C. that year: with 28 women and men, including Madison educator and activist Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, at the June 1966 Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women and another 21 women and men at the October 1966 NOW Organizing Conference. 450 Dr. Clarenbach was installed as its first chairperson. 451 The term 'women's liberation' had been used in other cities as shorthand for the movement and eventually became the label of the entire American movement. NOW struck a nerve with American women and quickly became the leading women's rights organization in the country. Less than a year after the organization was founded, membership had reached about 900. Wisconsin, along with California and New York, was one of the organization's early centers of gravity in 1967 when the Madison chapter was officially formed. 452

In its early years, the local NOW chapter held regular meetings at the Wisconsin Center (now Pyle Center) at 702 Langdon Street and the University YWCA at 306 North Brooks Street. The YWCA was a catalyst and host, along with NOW, of a series of discussions on women's liberation in early 1969. ⁴⁵³ They also coordinated a women's liberation conference in December of that year. ⁴⁵⁴

The women's liberation movement was never monolithic. Even in 1968, the movement nationally was splintering. NOW was the first new national feminist organization in nearly fifty years. They opened the floodgates of a powerful second wave of American feminism by advancing earnest consideration of the issues preventing women's self-determination. NOW had persuaded a critical mass of Americans that women did not have rights or opportunities equal to men. Women, however, were hardly united in their methods for achieving reforms. A younger cohort of feminists took shape in the late-1960s who regarded the leaders of the movement as too conservative. 455 They took a more revolutionary approach to the movement, and adopted a radical feminism that called for a new social order in which women would be liberated from unjust, sexist norms. 456 They were also eager to join forces with lesbian feminists in the gay liberation movement, a partnership that NOW did not embrace. 457 By 1970, the movement was being described as having two branches: one older and more conservative and the other young, college-educated, and protesting. 458 The reluctance of the conservative branch of the movement (led by NOW) to embrace lesbian feminists manifested in Madison as well. 459 It was a clear point of division between the YWCA and the United Way of Dane County over funding in 1972.460 In an emblematic move, the women's center established under the banner of the

women's liberation movement by NOW and the University YWCA at their North Brooks Street building in 1970⁴⁶¹ was reorganized and relocated by lesbian feminist leaders in 1972.

Although commonalities were obvious, the two branches of the women's movement had an uneasy alliance through the 1970s. The local chapter of NOW focused their efforts on political and legal reforms and changing societal attitudes, while other women's organizations took a more direct approach, attempting to address more immediate, practical needs. The state Commission on the Status of Women was remarkably adaptable during the 1970s, adding more practical issues like day care and maternity, diversity within the movement, and abortion to their traditional public policy agenda. NOW organized demonstrations, panel discussions, lectures, conferences, and lobbying efforts. They showed consciousness-raising films, ⁴⁶² publicly called out sexism in the legislature, courts, and the media, ⁴⁶³ and lobbied for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. ⁴⁶⁴ NOW did not have a permanent home. The group continued to meet at various locations including the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue), the downtown YWCA at 101 East Mifflin Street, a medical office building at 1020 Regent Street, Calvary Lutheran Chapel at 701 State Street, Lysistrata Restaurant at 325 W. Gorham Street (not extant), and the Central Public Library at 201 W. Mifflin Street.

By the late 1970s, the women's movement and the issues it engaged had become multifaceted and complicated. In the assessment of one of its founders, NOW had become bureaucratic, with groups of women splitting off to address an increasing number of special-interest issues.⁴⁶⁵

By the early 1980s, NOW was still the dominant organization for women's rights and equality. It was characterized as the nation's largest and richest feminist organization, with 950 chapters, 220,000 members, and an annual budget of \$13 million. The group had expanded their political strategy to include "sex discrimination, uses of nuclear power, abortion [rights], Reagan budget cuts, gay rights, and military spending." NOW led the effort to persuade states to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the United States Constitution. The Madison chapter followed suit, often holding monthly meetings at the non-extant Lysistrata Restaurant and the University Presbyterian Church and Student Center "Pres House" at 731 State Street. In 1982, the states failed to ratify the ERA. After the demoralizing loss, the Madison chapter continued to stage consciousness-raising and recruitment events and lobby for progressive legislation.

In 1984, the Madison chapter secured their first permanent office location in a shared space on the second floor of 625 W. Washington Avenue with the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus and the Wisconsin Women's Network, who had been located there since their founding in 1979. The NOW Madison chapter appears to have been located there for about two years. By 1989, they moved to an office at 8 W. Mifflin Street (not extant).

Having made considerable progress toward equal rights and opportunities for women in the 1960s and 1970s, NOW and other women's organizations in Madison continued to draw attention in the 1980s to sexist public policies, pay equity for women, gender equity in the workplace, and to defending women's right to abortion against growing attempts by states to limit it. The downtown YWCA, Memorial Union, Pres House, and Lysistrata restaurant and bar

(until it burned in 1983) continued to be heavily used venues for meetings, conferences, lectures, and demonstrations.

Wisconsin Center

The Wisconsin Center, so called from 1957 until 1997, when it became the Pyle Center, was the venue for some of the foundational and exploratory public discussions that Madisonians had about the disadvantages women faced in education and the economy and how they may be remedied.

The University of Wisconsin Foundation began raising money in 1948 for the building that would be called the Wisconsin Center, citing a need for an "adult education building...to accommodate institutes, short courses, clinics and conferences for which suitable facilities are greatly lacking." After much negotiation on the site and evolving building plans, the Wisconsin Center building was completed in 1957.



Wisconsin Center (Pyle Center) 702 Langdon Street

Throughout the women's liberation movement, the Wisconsin Center provided meeting and organizational space for several groups that helped define and advance the movement. In 1962, a conference attended by "nearly 300 area wives of professors, doctors, and lawyers" heard University of Wisconsin-Madison faculty and administrators discuss the untapped potential of women in Madison. Governor Reynolds' Commission on the Status of Women, which functioned from 1963 to 1979, regularly held meetings and events at the Center. The pivotal 1963 conference was called by Wisconsin Governor John Reynolds in direct response to a report by President John F. Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women. A month later, Governor Reynolds called a two-day conference, again held at the Wisconsin Center, intended "to help identify some of the most urgent problems in the lives of women today," and "to consider roles and goals, actual and ideal, individual and collective."

The Madison chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) was founded here in 1967.⁴⁷² The local chapter of NOW, the Wisconsin Women's Network, and university-based women's groups used the building for organizational meetings and public events.

An addition to the Wisconsin Center was built in 1997, and the original 1957 section was modernized at that time. It was renamed the Pyle Center to honor donors. The Wisconsin Center is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1963 to 1997. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Wisconsin Women's Network

In 1979, a new model emerged for addressing an increasingly complex agenda. That year, Governor Lee Dreyfus disbanded the state's 30-member Commission on the Status of Women and replaced it with a single staff person, accusing the Commission of not representing the breadth of women's ideas in the state. In response, Wisconsin leaders in the feminist movement, including Kathryn F. Clarenbach of Madison, established a framework for a new state-wide network of women's organizations. The Wisconsin Women's Network (WWN) set up a small office at 625 W. Washington Avenue in Madison. The WWN took an innovative approach to advocating for women's issues. Rather than coordinating a new group and a new strategy for each new issue, the WWN acted as a state-wide coalition of women's organizations that could prioritize issues, bring together a group of member organizations willing to act on the issue, and, from that group, build a task force to confront the unique aspects of the issue.

Special-interest women's groups proliferated in Madison and around the state in the 1970s. Older organizations promoting equality and rights for women like Planned Parenthood (founded in 1916) and the League of Women Voters (1920) enjoyed new relevance. New organizations like the National Abortion Rights Action League (1969), the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus (1971), and the Rape Crisis Center (1973) emerged to focus on specific issues. By 1981, WWN had 58 member organizations, and task forces on issues such as domestic abuse and Wisconsin's marital property laws. The WWN set up a task force to study women in the criminal justice system and advocate for recognition of the unique needs of female offenders. The network also had task forces on health and social services, media, reproductive rights, and child care.

The Wisconsin Women's Network was instrumental in passing the Marital Property Reform Act which was enacted in 1984 and equally recognized contributions made by both husband and wife throughout a marriage. Within the first decade of WWN's existence, the percentage of women appointed to office increased 29%.

The organization held events at Memorial Union at 800 Langdon Street ⁴⁷⁹ and the Madison Senior Center at 330 W. Mifflin Street. By 1990, the WWN had moved to a fourth-floor office at 122 State Street where the organization was located until 2007. They are currently located at 22 E. Olin Avenue.

Women's Center

A women's center was originally established in 1970 at the University YWCA at 306 North Brooks Street by people associated with the National Organization for Women, and under the banner of the Women's Liberation movement. The center lost funding when the United Way of Dane County declined to provide money to an organization it perceived as "politically leftist." In 1972, lesbian feminist leaders raised money for the Center by holding special events at venues coordinated by gay liberation groups: St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) and the Crossroads Gay Center at 301½ N. Hamilton Street.

The group opened the new Women's Center in the small commercial storefront at 836 E. Johnson Street in the fall of 1972, 484 and immediately began hosting meetings of lesbian groups 485 as well as groups of concerned with general women's issues.⁴⁸⁶ From this location, activists established a strategy for feminist activism in the 1970s and 1980s that included information-sharing, political action, communitybuilding, artistic expression, self-help, and selfpublishing. They established a lending library, a lesbian caucus to "work out lesbian/feminist politics," a regular Thursday-night coffee house, a feminist therapy group, and provided space for a women's poetry group. 487 The Women's Center published Whole Woman from this location in 1973 and 1974.



Women's Center 836 E. Johnson Street

From this location, in 1973, the Women's Center organized the Women's Transit Authority. The WTA was a network of drivers established, at a time of increased reports of rape, to provide safe transportation for women in the campus and downtown area. 488 The WTA operated until 2006.

Two organizations opened women's centers independently of each other in the early 1970s. In 1970, a group associated the National Organization for Women (NOW) opened a women's center at the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street under the banner of the Women's Liberation Movement. 489 Although the center was not named "Women's Center" at the time, it was referred to as a "place where women can come together to discuss concerns in family planning, job and wage discrimination, and health issues." ⁴⁹⁰ The center was funded in part by the United Way of Dane County. ⁴⁹¹ Separate from the center at YMCA, lesbian feminists established a Women's Center in 1972 at 301½ N. Hamilton Street, sharing space with Crossroads of Madison, Inc. As the Gay Liberation Movement evolved in the early 1970s, and lesbian feminists increasingly distanced themselves from NOW and the Women's Liberation Movement, Madison lesbians saw a need for a women's center that offered services that were more inclusive. In 1972, when the United Way decided to stop funding the women's center at the YMCA, ⁴⁹² lesbian feminists associated with Madison Gay Sisters used the opportunity to take the women's center concept, raise money themselves, and open a new Women's Center in a new location (836 E. Johnson Street). Under lesbian leadership, the Women's Center established a platform of services that served as a strategy for the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison for the next twenty years: information-sharing, political action, community-building, artistic expression, self-help, and self-publishing. In 1973, the Women's Center relocated to 550 State Street, sharing space with the Madison Gay Center. The Women's Center appears to have dissolved in 1974 and been replaced by the Lesbian Switchboard which opened in 1974 in the University YMCA building at 306 N. Brooks Street after the Gay Center. 493

The Women's Center is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1972 to circa 1990. The building at 836 E. Johnson Street is potentially

eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Historic Resources Associated with Social & Political Movements Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
2425 Atwood Avenue	East Side Women's Progressive	1917	Vernacular	CoM Eligible
	Club		Commercial	Landmark
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	1971	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	1971	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	1971	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	1971	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	1971	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	1971	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Community Center	1985	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
206 Bernard Court	MEChA	1911	Front-Gabled	CoM Eligible Landmark
100 N. Blair Street	Capital City Masonic Lodge #2	1940	Colonial Revival	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible
215-217 N. Brooks Street	Wunk Sheek	1931	Queen Anne	CoM Eligible Landmark
306 N. Brooks Street	University YMCA	1953	International	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible
649-653 E. Dayton Street	John and Amanda Hill Grocery	1912	Front Gabled	CoM Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
240 W. Gilman Street	Woman's Building	1906	Beaux Arts	CoM Landmark
301 N. Hamilton Street	Gay Center	1893	Queen Anne	CoM Eligible Landmark
953 Jenifer Street	Wil-Mar Neighborhood Center	1877, 1914	Spanish Colonial Rev.	CoM HD-w/i POS & NRHP Listed HD-C
836 E. Johnson Street	Women's Center	c.1960	Commercial Utilitarian	CoM Eligible Landmark
10 N. Langdon Street	Gay Liberation Front	1900	Neoclassical	CoM HD–w/i POS & NRHP Listed HD–C
702 Langdon Street	Wisconsin Center	1957, 1997	International	CoM Eligible Landmark
800 Langdon Street	UW-Madison Memorial Union	1928	Neoclassical	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed
110 E. Main Street	Tenney Building	1930	Art Deco	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed

29 S. Mills Street	Neighborhood House Community Center	1965	International	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible
7-11 N. Pinckney Street	(Olson and Veerhusen Building / Hobbins Block) United Migrant Opportunity Services	1899, 1906	Neoclassical	CoM Landmark
406 N. Pinckney Street	Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy	1857	Queen Anne	CoM HD-w/i POS & NRHP Listed HD-C
State Street	State Street	NA	N/A	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP Listed HD-C
548-550 State Street		1910	Art Deco	CoM Eligible Landmark
2001 Taft Street	South Madison Neighborhood Center	1949	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
1011 University Avenue	St. Francis House	1925	Tudor Revival	CoM Eligible Landmark
401 Wisconsin Avenue	Moontree	1907	Craftsman	CoM HD-w/i POS & NRHP Listed HD-C

14

Religion

African American

Baptist

Mount Zion Baptist Church

Mount Zion Baptist Church was established in 1911 as a Baptist mission and was located on the second floor of a non-extant building at 118 East Washington Avenue. The church was eventually formed and recognized by the National Baptist Convention and purchased property for a new building in 1925. The non-extant church, located at 548 West Johnson Street, was led by Reverend Joseph Washington, who worked closely with Willie Lou Harris and others to establish Mother's Watch, the Madison NAACP chapter, and the South Madison Neighborhood Center. In 1955, Reverend Joe Dawson took on the leadership of the church, which was becoming increasingly involved in the civil rights movement. Mount



Mount Zion Baptist Church Congregation, 1948 Non-extant Johnson Street Location. WHS# 52695

Zion had become one of the leading social and religious organizations for the African American community in Madison.⁴⁹⁴

In 1960, the University of Wisconsin-Madison purchased the site of the church and demolished it. The same year Mount Zion moved to Bram's Addition neighborhood, near where many of the church's parishioners lived. The new contemporary style church is located at 2019 Fisher Street. An adjacent minimal traditional style parsonage house was also constructed in 1960 at 2025 Fisher Street. In 1982, the church established a food pantry and later constructed a small ranch style building at 2029 Fisher Street adjacent to the parsonage and church that also serves as a community center. In 2004, the



Mount Zion Baptist Church 2019 Fisher Street

church constructed a new addition for a 500-seat sanctuary to accommodate a rapidly growing membership. 495

The Mount Zion Baptist Church is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Religion from 1960 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Methodist

St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church

St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church, also known as the Free African Methodist Church, was established by the Douglass Literary Society in 1902. The society incorporated itself as a religious organization and briefly occupied a space at the intersection of Hamilton, Butler, and Johnson Streets. The same year, a non-extant church building, located at 625-631 East Dayton Street, was purchased. The first minister of the congregation was Reverend Charles Thomas, who came from Chicago to tend to the 140 member African American congregation. A nearby house was moved next to the church along East Dayton Street in 1912 and used as a parsonage until it



St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church 402 E. Mifflin Street

was later sold in 1917. The church became a social framework for many of Madison's African American citizens throughout the twentieth century. The church building along East Dayton Street was demolished in 1964. 496

In 1928, the church moved into a new space in the former Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church, located at 402 East Mifflin Street. This Neogothic Revival style church, constructed in 1922, is located near the original site.⁴⁹⁷

In 1997, the church moved again to the former Central Lutheran Church building at 4525 Diamond Drive on the east side of Madison. The church was originally constructed in 1964.⁴⁹⁸

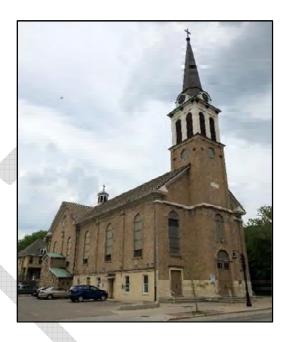
The St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church at 402 East Mifflin Street is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Religion from 1928 to 1997. The building is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. However, consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the African American community. The building is eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Latino

Catholic

Holy Redeemer Catholic Church and School

The Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, located at 128-132 West Johnson Street, was constructed in 1869. The German Catholic congregation replaced a nonextant earlier brick structure, which was completed in 1857, on the same site. The new sandstone church designed by architect John Nader underwent considerable additions, including a steeple, bells, decorations, a rectory, and stained glass in 1885. The adjacent Holy Redeemer Catholic School building, located at 142 West Johnson Street, was constructed in 1892. The school, designed by architects Conover and Porter, is the oldest extant school building in Madison. The church and school were built by and for Germanspeaking immigrants. Sermons and school were conducted in the German language. However, by 1905, when the German immigrant community had existed in Madison for three generations, the first services in English were conducted at Holy Redeemer. The school closed in 1965 on account of a small



Holy Redeemer Parish Catholic Church 128-132 W. Johnson Street

number of children living in the area who would attend despite the rapidly growing population of Madison at the time. 499

In the 1980s, the church became the favored spiritual home of many Spanish-speaking immigrants to Madison. The Centro Guadalupano on the south side of Madison already had the mission of providing for Spanish-speaking Catholics in the city. However, the chapel at Centro Guadalupano was too small for the congregation and the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe was celebrated at Holy Redeemer for the first time in 1989. 500

In 1992, weekly mass in Spanish was introduced at Holy Redeemer and Spanish-speaking Catholics from many different backgrounds became members of the Parish. The school reopened during the 1990s for Latino children and educational programs for adults. In 2008, three historic Catholic parishes were merged, and Holy Redeemer became the principal home of the combined parish, which has a long history of serving Madison's immigrant groups. Presently, the church has equal in number services in English and Spanish and is the largest Catholic Parish in Madison with a majority of its parishioners of a Latino background. ⁵⁰¹

The Holy Redeemer Catholic Church and School are locally significant to the Latino community in the area of Religion from c.1980 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups. Together, the buildings are already designated as a City of Madison

Landmark and are listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District; however, their significance in Latino history may be reassessed. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in circa 2030.

St. Joseph Catholic Church

St. Joseph Catholic Church was originally constructed along the south side of Park Street near Regent Street in the Greenbush neighborhood in the 1900s and served primarily German and Irish Catholics in Madison during the early twentieth century. The non-extant church was demolished in 1963 during the Greenbush/Triangle urban renewal process.

The congregation moved and constructed a new church on the south side of Madison in 1961. The extant contemporary style church is located at 1905 West Beltline Highway and has since welcomed Spanish speaking parishioners and holds daily services in Spanish. The church has become one of the largest for the Latino community in Madison. In 2012, the St. Joseph Parish and St. James Parish, located at 1128 St. James Court in the Greenbush neighborhood, merged to become the Good Shepard Parish.



St. Joseph Catholic Church 1905 W. Beltline Highway

St. Joseph Catholic Church is locally significant to the Latino community in the area of Religion from circa 1980 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Historic Resources Associated with Religion Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
1905 W. Beltline Highway	St. Joseph Catholic Church	1961	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
2019 Fisher Street	Mount Zion Baptist Church	1960	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
128-132 W Johnson Street	Holy Redeemer Catholic Church	1869	Romanesque Revival	CoM Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
142 W Johnson Street	Holy Redeemer Catholic School	1892	Romanesque Revival	CoM Landmark & NRHP Listed HD-C
402 E. Mifflin Street	St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church	1922	Neogothic Revival	CoM Landmark & SRHP/NRHP Individually Eligible
1127 University Avenue	University United Methodist Church	1917	Gothic Revival	CoM Eligible Landmark

15

Art & Literature

African American

Literature

Nellie McKay

Nellie McKay authored nine books in her career and is arguably best known as the co-editor, along with Henry Louis Gates, Jr., of the Norton Anthology of African American Literature, first published in 1996. The book has since become the standard for the field. She is also well known for her edited book Critical Essays on Toni Morrison, published in 1988, which contributed to Morrison winning the Nobel Prize in Literature. McKay, who received many academic honors, also wrote more than sixty articles and essays on figures and writers such as Ida B. Wells, Zora Neale Hurston, and Alice Walker. Nellie McKay wrote until the time of her death in 2006.⁵⁰² An annual lecture series at the university was established in her name. For more information on the life of Nellie McKay, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.



Nellie McKay, c.1984

Nellie McKay was nationally significant in the African American community in the area of Literature from 1978 to 2006. During this time period, there were several resources associated with her: The Department of Afro-American Studies located in Helen C. White Hall at 600 N. Park Street, and her 1988 to 2006 residence at 2114 West Lawn Avenue. The primary resource associated with the life of Nellie McKay and her significance in Literature is Helen C. White Hall at 600 N. Park Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2028.

First Nations

Painting and Sculpture

Truman Lowe

Truman T. Lowe was born in 1951 in Black River Falls, Wisconsin. He was raised, along with six older siblings, speaking Winnebago at home. He worked briefly in the early 1960s as a native performer for tourists at Wisconsin Dells. After graduating from high school, Truman Lowe attended the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, where he studied art education and fine arts. Before graduating he left in 1964 and worked for a time in a factory. In 1966, he married Nancy Knabe. She taught in a high school while he completed his undergraduate degree. Once he graduated the couple moved to Valders, Wisconsin, where he taught art classes while beginning to produce his own sculptures. 503



Truman Lowe, Waterfall '99, 1999.

In 1970, he enrolled in the fine arts graduate program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. After graduating Lowe and his family moved again to Emporia, Kansas where he taught art at Emporia State University for a couple of years. Then they returned to Madison, and he served as the assistant dean of Multicultural Programming at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Within a few years, Truman also took on the position of assistant professor of sculpture at the university. Lowe had become a successful sculptor and artist by this time, and, while exhibiting his work, he became tenured and promoted to associate professor of art in 1984. He was promoted again to a full professorship in 1989 and later elected as chair of the Art Department from 1992 to 1995. 504

In 2000, Lowe was appointed as the curator of contemporary art at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C.; a position which he held until 2008 when he returned to Madison. Truman Lowe died in 2019.⁵⁰⁵

Lowe's work, like other modern Native American artists, is explicitly about the stories and culture of native peoples. His artwork has frequently taken the form of analogies. Folktales, historic events, and personal history are all present in Lowe's art, which has been described as mnemonic devices and symbolic. His work also varies from expansive installations to singular wall-hung pieces with common themes including water, rocks, grids, wood, and canoes expressed through the use of natural materials. However, he is best known for his large-scale, sculptural installations. His work is held in the permanent collections of the Denver Art Museum, the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art in Indianapolis, the Kentucky Museum of Art and Craft in Louisville, and the National Museum of the American

Indian. In addition, his art has also been displayed in large exhibitions throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. 506

It is likely that Lowe has worked in many studios during the course of his career, often on or near the university campuses where he has taught or at his home. In 1978, the Lowe family purchased a ranch house located at 5326 Oak Crest Place in the Glen Oaks neighborhood. The house was originally constructed in 1957.

Truman Lowe House is locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Art and Literature, particularly Painting and Sculpture, from 1978 to 2000. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Harry R. Whitehorse

Harry R. Whitehorse, a native member of the Ho-Chunk tribe, was born near Black River Falls, Wisconsin in 1927. Harry's mother, Annie Greencrow Whitehorse, purchased land in Monona in 1932 and moved the family to the site along a small creek leading to Lake Waubesa. For years, the family lived wigwams and eventually built a small wooden house in the 1940s. The Whitehorse family still owns the same property in addition to family land near Wittenberg and Black River Falls. 507

Harry and his brother attended school in Monona and were the only two Native Americans in the school. Whitehorse's interest in art began at an early age as he worked with his uncle, George Seymour, a silversmith and carver. Harry learned the craft and produced small objects with designs derived from nature, which his family would sell along with baskets and other hand-made goods. 508



Harry Whitehorse, Effigy Tree, 1991 & 2009.

Harry Whitehorse served in the Navy in the Pacific during World War II, which allowed him to visit art museums all around the world. This experience influenced Harry to pursue a career in art after his tour of duty. Whitehorse pursued a diverse education following the war, spending some time studying human and animal anatomy at the University of Wisconsin-Madison during the early 1950s, and graduated from the Arthur Colt School of Fine Art, where studied oil painting and sculpture. Later, Harry also graduated from the local technical college where he studied welding and metal fabrication. Whitehorse would often display his work in art fairs and won awards for the best sculptor and best painter during the first two years of the Madison Art Fair on the Square in 1958 and 1959.

Harry owned and operated Chief Auto Body and Repair from the 1960s on, and he and his family built, repaired, and drove race cars competitively. He treated automobiles much like a work of art, using a stock car as a blank canvas to customize and use as a form of expression in a creative process. The business's garage, constructed in 1960, is located on the Whitehorse family land along the creek in the City of Monona, outside the City of Madison, and served as his art studio. 510

During the 1960s and 1970s, Harry produced a series of metal sculptures that helped him gain national artistic prominence. In the 1980s, he moved towards wood carving and produced a series of carved animal figures for private commissions. The 1990s were a productive time for Whitehorse, producing several of his most well-known public sculptures. Whitehorse worked in a wide variety of media over the course of his long career including wood carving, drawing, painting, metal, bronze, and even snow. His work is publicly on display in Madison and around the world. His work, regardless of material or period, speaks to his Ho-Chunk native heritage and reflects natural subjects in realistic and intricate forms. ⁵¹¹ Harry Whitehorse died in 2017. ⁵¹²

Harry Whitehorse is locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Art and Literature, particularly Painting and Sculpture, from 1958 to 2017. During this time period, Whitehorse had several pieces of public sculpture installed in Madison: *Blackhawk's Journey* (1991) at the Blackhawk Country Club at 3606 Blackhawk Drive, *Effigy Tree* (wood in 1991, recast in bronze in 2009) at Hudson Park at 2919 Lakeland Avenue, *Superior Spirits* (c. 1996) at the Tommy G. Thompson Center at 201 W. Washington Avenue, *Ho Chunk Family Tree* (2001) at Thoreau School at 3870 Nakoma Road, *One Child Spinning Through Mother Sky* (2002) in the Bayview Community Foundation Center at 601 Bayview, *Eagle* (2006) on the Edgewood College Campus at 1000 Edgewood College Drive, and *Tree Sculpture* (c. 2010) at Jerry's Camping Center at 4506 E. Broadway. These objects have achieved significance recently and may not be considered eligible for designating as City of Madison Landmarks. These objects should be re-evaluated for local landmarking in the future.

Historic Resources Associated with Arts & Literature Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
5326 Oak Crest Place	Truman and Nancy Lowe House	1957	Ranch	CoM Eligible
				Landmark
600 N. Park Street	Helen C. White Hall	1969	Brutalist	CoM Eligible
				Landmark & NRHP
				Listed HD-C

Commerce

African American

Goods and Services

John and Amanda Hill Grocery

John Turner, an African American civic leader in Madison, purchased a two-story frame building and moved to the 600 block of Dayton Street in 1912. The Front Gabled style building was originally constructed in 1901 and was used by Turner and others as the Douglass Beneficial Society. The adjacent house was moved the same year by Turner and was initially used as the parsonage for the pastor of the St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church. Both buildings were purchased by Reverend Charles Thomas a few years later. 513

John Hill and his family moved to Madison from Atlanta, Georgia in 1910 to join the African American community growing in the city. In 1917, he purchased the house and attached grocery at the intersection of Dayton and Blount from Reverend Thomas. The Hill family operated the grocery and lived next door for the following fifty years. The grocery store became a local social center for the African American community in Madison. 514



John and Amanda Hill Grocery 649 E. Dayton Street

Located at 649-653 East Dayton Street, both attached buildings of the John and Amanda Hill Grocery are locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce from 1912 to circa 1960. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups. The building is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and it is listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the East Dayton Street Historic District; however, its significance in African American history may be reassessed.

Style and Grace Barber Shop

Style and Grace served as a community social space and as a place to cut and style hair. The shop, the oldest African American barbershop in Madison, was divided in two, one side for women and the other for men and provided a wide range of hair treatments and styles.⁵¹⁵

One of the most prominent barbers at the shop, Smitty, was a fixture in the community who had been working as a barber in Madison since 1954. He has also trained many of the barbers that continue to work in the community. Jeff Patterson, who was mentored by Smitty, established JP Hair Design, located at 584 Grand Canyon Drive on the west side of Madison, that continues in the role of Style and Grace as a social gathering place within the wider Madison community. In 1962, Style and Grace moved into a contemporary style building at 1610 Gilson Street, relocating from the Greenbush neighborhood. 516



Style and Grace Barber Shop 1610 Gilson Street

The Style and Grace Barber Shop building is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce from 1962 to circa 2000. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Tuxedo Tavern

Both Zachery and Maxine Trotter were born in Georgia in 1888. They migrated to Madison in the early twentieth century. In 1928, Zachery Trotter established the first African American owned tavern and nightclub, the Tuxedo Tavern, in a non-extant building at 763 West Washington Avenue in the Triangle portion of the Greenbush neighborhood. The tavern was a popular draw for the racially diverse neighborhood. In 1960, the business was forced to leave, and the building was demolished as a part of the Triangle neighborhood urban renewal efforts. 517



Tuxedo Tavern 1616 Beld Street

The African American community's experience of racial discrimination in real estate applied to commercial properties as well as housing, and the Trotters had difficulty finding a place to relocate their business, obtaining a tavern license, and recovering adequate compensation for relocation from the Madison Redevelopment Authority. A proposed move to 1044 South Park

Street was prevented by a petition of local residents. Finally, the Tuxedo Tavern opened at 1616 Beld Street in the Bram's Addition neighborhood on the south side of Madison in 1964.⁵¹⁸

The Twentieth Century Commercial style building remained the only African American owned bar and nightclub in the city through the 1960s. The Tuxedo Tavern closed in 1970 and space was occupied by Roger Parks, who owned and operated Mr. P's, a popular restaurant at the location from 1971 to 1998. 519

The Tuxedo Tavern building is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce from 1964 to 1970. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

A.L. Weaver Grocery

In 1915, Albert L. Weaver opened a grocery store in the City Market neighborhood immediately northeast of the Capitol Square. In 1919, Weaver moved his business to a new Twentieth Century Commercial style building, located at 516 East Mifflin Street. His family lived on the second floor of the building for the next two decades. Little else is known about Weaver's store at this time, and the building has been significantly altered since. 520



A.L. Weaver Grocery 516 E. Mifflin Street

The Weaver Grocery building is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce from 1919 to circa 1945. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.

Information Services - Publishing

Wisconsin Weekly Blade

In 1916, J. Anthony Josey established the first weekly black newspaper in Madison, the *Wisconsin Weekly Blade*. The newspaper printed national and state news, social notes, church notes, and essays for Madison's black community. The Weekly Blade was located on the second floor of the Peter Hamacher Building, a commercial block at 326 State Street, which was constructed in 1907. 521

Under the guidance of Josey, the paper began a "Black is Beautiful" campaign, encouraging dignity and pride in being black in Madison and



The Wisconsin Weekly Blade 326 State Street

the State of Wisconsin. The paper was nominally affiliated with the Republican Party, not an uncommon condition for an African American paper in the early twentieth century with the memory of the civil war, emancipation, and reconstruction still somewhat fresh in the national conscious. In 1917, the *Blade* spoke out editorially against involvement in World War I and advised against African Americans enlisting to fight in the war. The paper was a part of a larger national campaign among the black press aligned with W.E.B. DuBois and Robert Abbott on political matters. ⁵²²

The Wisconsin Weekly Blade also covered women's political issues and suffrage in addition to expanding its coverage to discuss local news in Beloit, Oshkosh, and Milwaukee. While the paper did address the African American experience in the southern United States, it also consciously focused on the



J. Anthony Josey, c.1920

present and the future in Wisconsin with the guidance of Josey, who organized a meeting called a "Great Gathering of Representative Negroes of the State" in Oshkosh in 1916, and then again in Fond Du Lac the following year.⁵²³

In 1925, Josey moved to Milwaukee and took the newspaper along with them, establishing the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade* the same year. The *Enterprise-Blade* became the most popular black newspaper in Milwaukee from 1925 to 1944. Both the Wisconsin Weekly Blade and later the *Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade* served as the voice of the African American community and consistently advocated against discrimination.⁵²⁴

The Wisconsin Weekly Blade at 326 State Street is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1916 to 1925. The building is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is listed as a contributing resource in the State Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1997 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time. Consideration should be given to individually listing the building in both the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community.

Latino

Goods and Services

Cardinal Bar

The Cardinal Hotel was originally constructed in 1908, and the bar on the first floor was completed in 1912. After moving to Madison the prior year to accept a position as an affirmative action officer, Ricardo Gonzalez took ownership of the struggling Cardinal Bar in 1974. Gonzalez quickly became part of Madison's active and vocal Cuban community. He was also a

gay man, active in Madison's LGBTQ community, and intended to run Cardinal Bar as a gay bar. However, the Cardinal Bar soon became popular with a diverse clientele, including the LGBTQ and Latino communities and others. 525

Gonzalez was politically active in the community, and, therefore, the bar became the informal headquarters of many political actions in Madison during the 1970s and 1980s. 526 It was a venue for campaign fundraisers for gay and lesbian political candidates, as well as fundraisers for LGBTQ organizations and causes. Gonzalez was elected



Cardinal Hotel 416 E. Wilson Street

alderman of the 4th District in 1989, becoming the first gay Latino elected to public office in the United States. For more information on the life of Ricardo Gonzalez, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

In 1981, a series of violent incidents occurred in the bar. Accompanied by damage from fire and flooding, these events nearly took the Cardinal Bar under. The bar closed briefly but re-opened again. The bar was remodeled in 1985 and 1986. After forty-three years in operation, making it the longest running gay bar in Madison's history and likely the longest running Latino-owned enterprise in Madison's history, too, the Cardinal Bar closed in 2017 and was sold. 527

The Cardinal Bar, located in the Cardinal Hotel building at 418 East Wilson Street, is locally significant to the both the Latino and LGBTQ communities in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1974 to 2017. The building is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. However, consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the Latino and LGBTQ communities. The building is also individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. However, consideration should be given to amending the nomination to reflect its significance in the Latino and LGBTQ communities. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. Therefore, this property shall be re-evaluated in 2024.

Information Services - Publishing

La Comunidad News

The Spanish-language newspaper *La Comunidad News* was founded in 1989 by Dante Viscarra and his parents Rafael and Gladys Viscarra as the first Spanish-language paper in the State of Wisconsin. The paper was established as a conscious effort to engage Latinos in the state. The paper had a number of names, including *La Nación*, before settling on *La Comunidad* and has addressed wider national issues facing Latinos in the context of local events in Madison. ⁵²⁸ The paper also caters to all Spanish-speakers in the wider community including, but not limited to native and immigrant Mexicans, Columbians, and Cubans.

La Comunidad News has operated in a converted Minimal Traditional style house located 912 Dane Street in the Town of Madison adjacent to the Burr Oaks neighborhood on the south side of Madison. 529

Though currently located in the Town of Madison this area will be annexed by the City of Madison, La Comunidad News is locally significant to the Latino community in the area of Commerce from 1989 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark for its contribution to the history of underrepresented groups.



La Comunidad News 912 Dane Street

LGBTQ

Goods and Services

The Back Door Bar

The Back Door opened in 1972 as Madison's first gay-owned bar and dance club established intentionally for the LGBTQ community. It was owned and operated by Rodney Scheel. For more information on the life of Rodney Scheel, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

Rodney Scheel started the annual Back Door Picnic at Brittingham Park in 1972, as modest event to thank his patrons. The event advanced the visibility of the LGBTQ community and provided a casual summer scene for making contact and building community. The picnic evolved into an important public gathering of LGBTQ people and friends. 530 In 1978, the Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) assumed stewardship of the annual event and renamed it the MAGIC Picnic. For more information on the picnic, please refer to the Planning and Landscape Architecture Chapter. In 1975 Rodney Scheel purchased the Washington Hotel at 636 W. Washington Avenue. To focus exclusively on the hotel, Scheel closed The Back Door in 1978.



The Back Door, 46 N. Park Street, 1972. LGBTQ Archives at University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Back Door was locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Good and Services, from 1972 to 1978. During this time period, The Back Door was located at 46 N. Park Street. Unfortunately, the building is no longer extant.

Cardinal Bar

The Cardinal Hotel was originally constructed in 1908, and the bar on the first floor was completed in 1912. After moving to Madison the prior year to accept a position as an affirmative action officer, Ricardo Gonzalez took ownership of the struggling Cardinal Bar in 1974. Gonzalez quickly became part of Madison's active and vocal Cuban community. He was also a gay man, active in Madison's LGBTQ community, and intended to run Cardinal Bar as a gay bar. However, the Cardinal Bar soon became popular with a diverse clientele, including the LGBTQ and Latino communities and others. ⁵³¹ For more information on the Cardinal Bar, please refer to the Latino section of this chapter; for more information on the life of Ricardo Gonzalez, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

Emily's / Cheri's Back East

There were numerous gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in Madison in the 1960s and 1970s. However, there were very few that catered specifically to lesbians. Emily's, a lesbian bar, operated at 506 East Wilson Street from 1983 and 1984. It was opened by women who "saw a need for a women's place after Lysistrata [a lesbian/feminist restaurant at 325 W. Gorham Street] burned down." ⁵³²

After Emily's closed, another lesbian bar, Cheri's Back East, operated here from 1984 until 1990. Cheri's hosted drag shows to benefit the Madison AIDS Support Network and the Gay Theater Project.

506 East Wilson Street was built for Herman Kleuter and completed 1871. An addition was added in 1891.

Emily's and Cheri's Back East were locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1983 to 1990. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is already listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the East Wilson Street Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2033.

Going My Way

The building at 111 W. Main Street was built for the Congress Bar and Grill in 1966 after its previous building on the site was destroyed by fire. ⁵³³ The queer bar Going My Way opened

there in 1977 as a "disco and social center." Going My Way catered to both men and women in the LGBTQ community with a lesbian bar on the lower level, a gay bar on the first floor, and a men's and women's disco on the second floor. After Going My Way closed in 1981, another gay bar, One Eleven West operated in the building for one year. 534

Going My Way at 111 W. Main Street is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1977 to 1981. This resource is potentially



Going My Way 111 W. Main Street

eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1999 as a non-contributing resource in the West Main Street Historic District but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time. Consideration should be given to individually listing the building in both the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2027.

Hotel Washington

Leapfrogging off the success of Madison's first gay-owned gay bar, The Back Door, which he had been operating since 1972, Rodney Scheel purchased the Washington Hotel in 1975. The hotel was built in 1906 near a railroad passenger depot and, by the early 1970s, had become a deteriorated rooming house. Rodney Scheel began transforming the building into Hotel Washington, a complex of restaurants, bars, and dance clubs designed to meet a wide range of tastes within the LGBTQ community. For more information on the life of Rodney Scheel, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

To focus exclusively on Hotel Washington, Rodney Scheel closed The Back Door in 1978, and its annual Back Door Picnic was assumed by the Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) the same year and renamed the MAGIC Picnic. For more information on the picnic, please refer to the Planning and Landscape Architecture Chapter.

Hotel Washington became the center of queer social life in Madison from the late 1970s through the mid-1990s. It was so thorough in its offerings that few other queer social spaces opened during the time.

In a shocking loss to the LGBTQ community, the building burned down on February 18, 1996. It had a decentralizing effect on Madison's LGBTQ community, which was also enjoying wider tolerance and integration than in previous decades.

Hotel Washington, located 636 W. Washington Avenue, was locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1975 to 1996. Unfortunately, the building burned down and is no longer extant. If it was still extant, it would likely be one of the most important resources of LGBTQ history in Madison.

Shamrock Bar

The Shamrock Bar opened at 117 W. Main Street in March 1947 and has operated there continuously under changing ownership since then. After ownership changed hands again in 1985, the Shamrock Bar catered to a "mostly straight" crowd during the day, and a gay crowd at night for drinks. 535 While not specifically a gay bar, the Shamrock was advertised as a "mixed bar" by 1988. Still in operation today, it is Madison's longest running gar bar according to the Wisconsin GLBT History Project's list of bars and clubs outside of Milwaukee.



Shamrock Bar 117-119 W. Main Street

The building was designed by Madison architect
David R. Jones and completed in 1885. It was built for Dr. William Jacobs and Patrick Regan.

The Shamrock Bar at 117 W. Main Street is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1985 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1999 as a contributing resource in the West Main Street Historic District but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time. Consideration should be given to individually listing the building in both the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2035.

The 602 Club

In 1951, Dudley Howe bought a tavern at 602 University Avenue and changed the name to the 602 Club. While not specifically a gay bar, the 602 Club was one of the few public places in Madison that welcomed LGBTQ people in the 1950s and 1960s. During those decades, LGBTQ people in Madison had few options for socializing in public with an open and accepting community. Open hostility and enforcement of



602 Club 602 University Avenue

sodomy laws inhibited openly LGBTQ people from socializing in public places. At the 602 Club, "The unpublicized arrangement at the 602 Club was that the tables at the back half of the bar were for straight patrons, while the front half, along the bar, was for gay male patrons." ⁵³⁶

Howe operated the 602 Club until his death in 1992. Howe's daughter Ja-Ja continued to operate the 602 Club until 1994.

The building was built in 1907 by brothers Frank J. and Morgan J. Olwell. The brothers ran a grocery business in the street-level commercial space into the 1930s.

Due to its early acceptance of the LGBTQ community and longevity of operation, the 602 Club is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1951 to 1994. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

WSA Community Pharmacy

The Wisconsin Student Association (WSA) Community Pharmacy was established in 1972 "to provide students and members of the community with a low-cost alternative to existing pharmaceutical goods and services." ⁵³⁷

The pharmacy was a pioneer in sexual health information for the LGBTQ community and has employed many LGBTQ staff. ⁵³⁸ WSA Community Pharmacy took clear political and sexpositive stances in their first year in business. In 1973, the pharmacy distributed a VD Handbook and a Birth Control Handbook and closed on inauguration day 1973 in protest of this country's Vietnam policy. ⁵³⁹

The pharmacy offered free medical information and was a popular source for condoms in the 1980s and 1990s. Pharmacists at Community Pharmacy publicly promoted condom use for the prevention of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. ⁵⁴⁰ During the AIDS crisis, staff would "try to make people feel comfortable" when shopping for condoms. ⁵⁴¹ The store helped people find the right condom by having a display box and by selling a variety pack. ⁵⁴² The pharmacy was among the first retail outlets to offer the new female condom in 1994. ⁵⁴³

Initially, it was located at 511 N. Lake Street (not extant), and then at 666 State Street from 1977 until 1983. 544 In 1983, the pharmacy moved to a newly constructed Post-Modern building at 341 State Street and has been located there since then.

The Wisconsin Student Association Community Pharmacy is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1972 to the present. During this time period, there were several resources associated with it: 511 N. Lake Street



WSA Community Pharmacy 341 State Street

(not extant) from 1972 to 1977, 666 State Street from 1977 to 1983, and 341 State Street from 1983 to the present. The primary resource associated with the Wisconsin Student Association Community Pharmacy and its significance in Commerce is 341 State Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is listed as a non-contributing resource in the State Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1997 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time. Consideration should be given to individually listing the building in both the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be reevaluated for State and National Register listing in 2033.

Information Services - Publishing

Gay Coordinator's Newsletter / Gay Renaissance / The Gay Endeavor

Publishing self-funded and self-produced media allowed LGBTQ groups to share news and information throughout the community during the early years of the Gay Liberation Movement. These periodical publications were particularly important to control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues, organize advocacy for legislative actions, educate the public, increase visibility, and build community.

In 1974, Renaissance of Madison was incorporated. ⁵⁴⁵ That same year, Renaissance began publishing the *Gay Coordinator's Newsletter*, which was the first known LGBTQ periodical in Madison. The newsletter became *Gay Renaissance* in 1976. *Gay Renaissance* was succeeded by *The Gay Endeavor*, which ceased publication after just one issue which was published in March 1978. The newsletter was known for its high journalistic standards and discussions on LGBTQ issues.

During this time, Renaissance of Madison was located at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue), and it is believed that the *Gay Coordinator's Newsletter* and subsequent *Gay Renaissance* and *The Gay Endeavor* were self-published there, the location where Madison's Gay Liberation Movement formally began.

The *Gay Coordinator's Newsletter*, *Gay Renaissance*, and *The Gay Endeavor* were locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1974 to 1978. The primary resource believed to be associated with these publications is the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue). This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2024.

Gay Madison / OUT!

The Madison Gay Men and Lesbians United, sometimes called the Madison Community United, but more commonly referred to simply as The United, was a political action organization founded in 1978 at the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) in response to a nationwide campaign against municipal gay civil rights laws. The United used space at the University United Methodist Church at 1127 University Avenue beginning in the late 1970s. The United began publishing *Gay Madison* in 1978, which became *OUT!* in 1982. *OUT!* presented thorough and articulate reporting with high journalistic standards. In 1984, the United moved to a space in the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street. *OUT!* evolved to cover statewide issues and ran through 1987, making it one of the longest running LGBTQ periodicals in Madison. The United returned to publishing again in 1991 with *Unity*, which ran until 1997. It is believed that *Gay Madison* and subsequently *OUT!* And *Unity* were self-published in The United's offices.

The *Gay Madison* and *OUT!* were locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1978 to 1987. The resources associated with *Gay Madison* and *OUT!* are the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street from 1978 to 1984 and the former University Methodist Episcopal Church from 1984 to 1987. The primary resource associated with *Gay Madison* and *OUT!* and their significance is the University YMCA at 306 N. Brooks Street, where the publications were founded and found stability in their early years and a home for the first six years of their existence from 1978 to 1984. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. Therefore, this property shall be re-evaluated in 2028.

Information Services - Radio

WORT-FM

Local community-supported radio station WORT, run by Back Porch Radio Broadcasting, Inc., became a supportive broadcast outlet for self-produced content from the LGBTQ community when it began transmitting in 1975 from a non-extant building at 2049 Winnebago Street. As a volunteer-run, listener-supported, nonprofit radio station, WORT placed no restrictions on content. ⁵⁴⁶ This policy made WORT airwaves available to LGBTQ organizations. WORT offered access to an audience well beyond what LGBTQ organizations could reach with self-published newsletters.

Within WORT's first year of operation, volunteers were broadcasting In America They Call Us Dykes. ⁵⁴⁷ Ricardo Gonzalez, a well-known gay business owner who had opened the Cardinal Bar two years earlier, was doing a Latin music and commentary show in 1976. Gay Science Fiction was on the air in the late 1970s, and, in the early 1980s, LGBTQ civil rights were a regular discussion topic. ⁵⁴⁸ In 1980 the station purchased and rehabilitated the one-story,

utilitarian, concrete-block building at 118 S. Bedford Street. WORT began broadcasting from the Bedford Street location in 1982 or 1983. 549

WORT is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1975 to the present. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with it: the 1975 to 1980 studio at 2049 Winnebago Street which is not extant and the 1980 to the present studio at 118 S. Bedford Street. Therefore, the primary resource associated with WORT and its significance in Commerce is 118 S. Bedford Street. The resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50



WORT-FM 118 S. Bedford Street

years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2030.

Information Services - Television

WYOU

Local cable access television station WYOU, run by WYOU Community Television, Inc., became a supportive broadcast outlet for self-produced content from the LGBTQ community when it began transmitting in 1974 or 1975. As a nonprofit television station, WYOU was available to anyone who could produce a regular program on any subject. This policy made WYOU broadcasting available to those who could not access mainstream media outlets, like LGBTQ organizations. WYOU provided access to a broader audience well beyond what LGBTQ organizations could reach with self-published newsletters.

In 1979, The United, a political advocacy group, took advantage of the opportunity and started producing *Glad to be Gay* on WYOU with assistance from volunteers Michael Henry and David Runyon. It was one of only a handful of LGBTQ television shows in the country at the time.

In 1981, David Runyon left the show to start the weekly, hour-long *Nothing to Hide* which focused on local and national LGBTQ events and issues. When the Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill which was the first in the country to prohibit discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation was signed into law in February of 1982, the program broadcast Wisconsin Governor Dreyfus's statement and signing. Another program broadcast the signing of the Consenting Adults Bill in May of 1983 that decriminalized cohabitation, fornication (sex outside of marriage), and homosexual behavior between consenting adults in Wisconsin. The program documented civil rights marches held in Madison in 1989, 1991, and 1996 as well as Washington, D.C. in 1979, 1987, and 1993. Guests included locally, nationally, and internationally known activists, politicians, and writers such as Tammy

Baldwin, Angela Davis, Toni Morrison, George Mosse, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Dick Wagner, and Howard Zinn. *Nothing to Hide* ran for a remarkable 20 years on WYOU until David Runyon's death in 2001. It was one of the longest-running LGBTQ television programs in history. Archives of the show are held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives.

The television channel WYOU and its programs *Glad to be Gay* and *Nothing to Hide* were locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1979 to 2001. During this time period, there were numerous resources associated with it: 1024 Regent Street from 1983 to 1985, the Video Center, Inc. at 2822 Index Road in Fitchburg from 1985 to 1987, 1325 Greenway Cross from 1987 to 1990, 1619 Monroe Street from 1990 to 1997, and Madison Gas & Electric at 650 East Main Street from 1997 to 2001. The primary resource associated with WYOU, *Glad to be Gay*, and *Nothing to Hide* and their significance in Commerce is 1024 Regent Street. The resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2029.

Women

Goods and Services

Lysistrata

Lesbian and feminist women saw a need for social spaces operated by and for women. In 1977, a group of women opened a feminist bar and restaurant called Lysistrata. Conceived as a resource for women's groups, Lysistrata was a popular gathering place that featured women artists, hosted events by women's groups, and supported women's initiatives.

Prior to 1984, Madison's chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) did not have a permanent home and met at various locations including Lysistrata. ⁵⁵⁰ In the early 1980s, NOW led the effort to persuade states to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the United States Constitution. The Madison chapter followed suit, often holding monthly meetings at Lysistrata.

Lysistrata operated for about five years until the building burned down in January of 1982. Lysistrata was locally significant for Women in the area of Commerce, particularly Good and Services, from 1977 to 1982. During this time period, the Lysistrata was located at 325 W. Gorham Street. Unfortunately, the building burned down and is no longer extant.

Information Services - Publishing

Feminist Voices

Publishing self-funded and self-produced media allowed Women's groups to share news and information throughout the community during the early years of the Women's Liberation Movement. These periodical publications were particularly important to control of the narrative around equal rights issues, organize advocacy for legislative actions, educate the public, increase visibility, and build community.

Feminist Voices was a Madison area news journal published from October 1987 to November 1998. The University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives collection contains all known volumes of the publication. Unfortunately, details of affiliation, publisher, or location of publication were not printed in the journal. At least during 1991, regular meetings were held at Apple Island. Little else is known about the publication at this time.

Feminist Voices was locally significant for Women in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1987 to 1998. If resources associated with the publication are discovered in the future, they should be evaluated to determine the primary resource associated with the publication during this period. The primary resource should be evaluated for designation as a City of Madison Landmark at that time and evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2037.

Whole Woman

In October 1972, the Women's Center, then at 836 E. Johnson Street, began publishing *Whole Woman*, a photocopied zine assembled from hand-drawn illustrations, typed and hand-written copy, and clip art. Publication of Whole Woman moved to the house at 1628 Winnebago Street by September 1973, presumably when the Women's Center moved to 550 State Street. *Whole Woman* ran through October 1974. While short-lived, Whole Woman was the first known Women's Liberation Movement periodical in Madison. The University of Wisconsin-Madison Archives collection contains all known volumes of the publication.

Whole Woman at 836 E. Johnson Street was locally significant for Women in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1972 to 1974. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2022.

Historic Resources Associated with Commerce Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility	
118 S. Bedford Street	WORT-FM	1980	Astylistic	CoM Eligible	
			Utilitarian	Landmark	

1616 Beld Street	Tuxedo Tavern	1964	20th Century Comm.	CoM Eligible Landmark
912 Dane Street	La Comunidad News	c.1950	Minimal Traditional	CoM Eligible Landmark
649-653 E. Dayton Street	John and Amanda Hill Grocery	1912	Front Gabled	CoM Landmark & NRHP Listed HD-C
1610 Gilson Street	Style and Grace Barber Shop	1962	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark
317 W. Gorham Street	Velvet Swing	1925	Tudor Revival	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP Listed HD–C
111 W. Main Street	Going My Way	1966	Contemporary	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C
117 W. Main Street	Shamrock Bar	1885	Italianate	CoM Landmark & NRHP Listed HD-C
516 E. Mifflin Street	A.L. Weaver Grocery	1919	20th Century Comm.	CoM Eligible Landmark
29 N. Pinckney Street	Belmont Hotel	1923	Georgian Revival	CoM Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed
320 State Street	Uptown Grill	1930	Neoclassical Revival	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP Listed HD–C
326 State Street	Wisconsin Weekly Blade	1907	Commercial Vernacular	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP Listed HD–C
341 State Street	Community Pharmacy	1983	Post-Modern	CoM Eligible Landmark & SRHP Listed HD–NC
602 University Avenue	602 Club	1907	Queen Anne	CoM Eligible Landmark
416 E. Wilson Street	Cardinal Hotel	1908	Georgian Revival	CoM Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed
506 E. Wilson Street	Emily's / Cheri's Back East	1871	Italianate	CoM Eligible Landmark & NRHP Listed HD–C

Planning & Landscape Architecture

African American

Urban Parks and Planning

Penn Park

In 1972, Louis Cooper, Will Smith Jr., Muriel Johnson, and Melva McShan began the South Madison Block Party to serve as a social gathering and celebration for the African American community on the south side of Madison. The South Madison Block Party became closely associated with Juneteenth celebrations during the 1980s. Juneteenth, celebrated in the month of June, commemorates the end of slavery in the United States. It is also a celebration of African American resilience and features a festival, parade, and event that demonstrate the talents and achievements of the community. 551



Penn Park 2101 Fisher Street

The annual block party event, now organized by the African American Council of Churches, the Justified Anger Coalition, and Madison College, continues through the present and has been held in Penn Park in the Bram's Addition neighborhood. Penn Park has served as a focal point for the surrounding neighborhood and community since it was constructed in 1953 as a baseball and football field. Penn Park also features a large concrete Brutalist style pavilion. ⁵⁵²

Penn Park at 2101 Fisher Street is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, particularly Urban Parks and Planning, from 1972 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2022.

First Nations

Urban Parks and Planning

Despite forced removal and resettlement, many Ho-Chunk remained or returned to the area around the four lakes that is now the City of Madison and the surrounding area. Small settlements and camps were maintained from the 1840s to the 1920s without any formal title or deed to the land that the native people settled. The general locations of many of these settlements are known, but not precisely as there are no extant above ground buildings and structures. However, its highly likely that belowground archeological resources remain. To preserve the archeological remains, the exact locations are not publicized. All of these settlements were likely small in scale and located near water and are also often close to effigy mound groups. ⁵⁵³ The archeological potential of these sites remains unassessed.

The following parks contain a few of the well-known Ho-Chunk settlement camp locations. The list of sites is far from exhaustive.

Cherokee Marsh - North Unit

One such Ho-Chunk settlement was located along the south bank of the Yahara River in the Cherokee Marsh on the north side of Madison. This settlement existed during the late nineteenth century. The Cherokee Marsh – North Unit, located at 6098 N. Sherman Avenue, covers nearly 1,000 acres and contains identified Effigy Mounds. The area serves as a waterfowl refuge and spawning ground. The recreation and conservation area were established by the City of Madison in 1962.

Tenney Park

A Ho-Chunk settlement existed in what is now Tenney Park, located at 1440 E. Johnson Street, along the south shore of Lake Mendota near the mouth of the Yahara River. This settlement existed from the 1830s, or likely earlier, to the 1880s. Tenney Park, covering 14 acres, was purchased by the Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association in 1899 for the purpose of a public park. The park is already designated a Madison Landmark and is also listed individually in the National Register of Historic Places. Consideration should be given to updating the



Cherokee Marsh - North Unit 6098 N. Sherman Avenue



Tenney Park 1140 E. Johnson Street

designations to reflect its significance in the history of the First Nations community.

University Bay

A Ho-Chunk settlement existed along University Bay on the south shore of Lake Mendota in Madison. This site, often used as a muskrat trapping and hunting camp, was frequently mentioned by observers since it is relatively close to the campus of the University of Wisconsin and the Picnic Point peninsula. The settlement existed through the 1890s. 556 In the 1890s, the Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association built and maintained a carriage road along the lakeshore leading to Picnic Point covering much of the shore of University Bay.

University of Wisconsin Arboretum

A Ho-Chunk settlement existed on the south shore of Lake Wingra in what is now the University of Wisconsin Arboretum, located at 1207 Seminole Highway, near adjacent to the Wingra Marsh and springs. The settlement existed from the 1880s to the 1920s. ⁵⁵⁷ Covering over 1,200 acres, the University of Wisconsin-Madison Arboretum was established in 1932 on the south shore of Lake Wingra. The arboretum was conceived as a series of horticultural and botanical research stations but has also taken on recreational purposes since its creation. The arboretum has maintained a commitment to ecological restoration and is the site of a number of effigy mounds.

Vilas Park

A Ho-Chunk settlement existed on the north shore of Lake Wingra in what is now Vilas Park, located at 1602 Vilas Park Drive, and the Henry Vilas Zoo, located at 702 S. Randall Avenue. The settlement existed from the 1860s to the 1880s. The land for Vilas Park was donated for that purpose by Senator William Freeman Vilas from 1904 to 1907. Adjacent Lake Wingra was dredged and lagoons were created at the time. The public Vilas Zoo was added in 1911. A group of effigy mounds in Vilas Park are already designated as a City of Madison Landmark.



Vilas Park 1602 Vilas Park Drive

The historic sites of Ho-Chunk settlements around the four lakes are locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, particularly Urban Parks and Planning, from circa 1840 to circa 1920. If not already, these resources are potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmarks.

LGBTQ

Urban Parks and Planning

Brittingham Park

Rodney Scheel started the annual Back Door Picnic at Brittingham Park in 1972, as modest event to thank his patrons from The Back Door bar. The event was usually held on the third weekend of July and provided a casual summer scene for making contact and building community. The picnic evolved into an important public gathering of LGBTQ people and friends. 559



Brittingham Park 829 W. Washington Avenue

In 1977 or 1978, a nationwide campaign against municipal gay civil rights laws reached into Madison in an attempt to repeal the city's 1975 Non-Discrimination Ordinance, which offered protections for LGBTQ people. The campaign, led nationally by singer Anita Bryant and locally by an evangelical minister, failed, but two consequential groups formed in response to the effort: The United, a political advocacy group, and the Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC), a coalition of gay bars. ⁵⁶⁰ In 1978, MAGIC assumed stewardship of the annual Back Door Picnic and renamed it the MAGIC Picnic. ⁵⁶¹

One of the most important goals of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison was to increase the visibility of LGBTQ people. Visibility, it was argued, would help counteract negative portrayals and perceptions of queer people. Coming out would help break down stereotypes, challenge prejudice and discrimination, and normalize queerness. At a time when the AIDS crisis was forcing visibility on the LGBTQ community by striking gay men disproportionately, positive visibility meant increased empathy for and attention to the crisis from the public, government agencies, and medical profession. Madison's LGBTQ community increased their visibility dramatically in the 1970s through the late 1980s, and the MAGIC Picnic at Brittingham Park was one way they did so.

The MAGIC Picnic was a major public LGBTQ social event. It charged an entrance fee and offered drinks, food, games, a volleyball tournament, swimming, dancing, DJs and live music, and the annual Drag Race in which participants would don traditionally female shoes, wigs, and clothing as they ran the course.

As the MAGIC Picnic continued to grow, it attracted people from around the Midwest. In 1982 the event attracted around 800 people, and, by 1983, it was being advertised throughout Wisconsin and in Chicago and Minneapolis. ⁵⁶² Coordinators would shift the regular late-July date in order to avoid conflicting with Pride events in Chicago and Milwaukee. In its heyday in the mid-1990s, the MAGIC Picnic attracted thousands of participants from around Wisconsin and the Midwest.

By the late 1980s, the picnic had become Madison's default LGBTQ Pride event. Through the 1990s, the MAGIC Picnic competed with the official Madison Lesbian and Gay Rights and Pride march/parade event that began in 1989, but the MAGIC event was "a far bigger gathering of gays, lesbians, and friends." ⁵⁶³ From 1972 to 2002, the MAGIC Picnic was a public event at Brittingham Park where queer people found a supportive and welcoming community. ⁵⁶⁴

The MAGIC Picnic and Madison Pride joined forces from 2002 until 2008 to combine their events under the moniker of MAGIC Weekend. In 2009, it was reorganized as the Wisconsin Capital Pride and moved from Brittingham Park. In 2014, the annual event was taken over by OutReach, Inc., renamed the OutReach Pride Parade and Rally, and moved to State Street and Capitol Square. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Stonewall riots, the 2019 event has been named the OutReach MAGIC Festival.

Brittingham Park, the site of The Back Door and MAGIC Picnics, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, specifically Urban Parks and Planning, from 1972 to 2002. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Orton Park

In 1887, Orton Park became Madison's first public park. A century later, it played a role in the visibility of LGBTQ residents in the Williamson-Marquette neighborhood. The park is at the core of the neighborhood, which gained a reputation in the 1980s as a community that embraced the Gay Liberation Movement and had a relatively high concentration of LGBTQ residents. 565

This reputation was cemented by the neighborhood's stewardship of a casting of George Segal's sculpture Gay Liberation from 1986 to 1990. The sculpture portrayed two couples of the same sex casually enjoying the park. The piece was commissioned to commemorate the 1969 Stonewall uprising in New York. Two castings were made; one was to be placed in a park across the street from the historic event and the other was to be installed at Stanford University in California. However, when it came time to install the work, the famously tolerant New York City neighborhood of Greenwich Village would not accept it. Some village residents opposed the installation, and local officials failed to allocate funding for it.



Orton Park 1103 Spaight Street



"Gay Liberation" by George Segal Christopher Park, New York City, NY Taken from: New York City Department of Parks & Recreation website, https://www.nycgovparks.org

The Williamson-Marquette neighborhood agreed to host the sculpture, and, with the support of the city, it was installed in Orton Park until installation at its intended location became feasible. The LGBTQ community saw the sculpture as a tangible public symbol of their presence at a time when the community was trying to cultivate positive visibility.

Orton Park at 1103 Spaight Street, formerly referred to as 1100 Spaight Street, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, particularly Urban Parks and Planning, from 1986 to 1990. The park is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and is within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Third Lake Ridge Historic District. Consideration should be given to updating the designations to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The resource is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Orton Park Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2036.

State Street

The public right-of-way of State Street has been a direct physical connection between the Wisconsin State Capitol and the University of Wisconsin-Madison since the 1850s when the first university buildings opened. It has been the spine of the downtown commercial and entertainment district since the late nineteenth century. As a public thoroughfare connecting the two most influential public institutions in the city, State Street has been the location of innumerable public parades, celebrations, and demonstrations. ⁵⁶⁷ The leaders of Gay Liberation Movement in Madison recognized State Street's utility for their cause as well.



State Street 2018 LGBTQ Pride parade

Madison's first formal LGBTQ organization, the Madison Alliance for Homosexual Equality (MAHE), set up information tables at the city's first Earth Day event, an Environment Fair, on State Street in 1970. In 1979, gay liberation leaders organized a "good-humored, colorful State Street parade" to kick off Gay Awareness Week in Madison. ⁵⁶⁸ Long-time gay leaders in Madison reported that there were numerous other events in the 1970s and 1980s that took advantage of the centrality and prominence of State Street. ⁵⁶⁹

In May 1988, a coalition calling themselves GALVAnize (Gay and Lesbian Visibility Alliance) came together with the single purpose of organizing a large-scale LGBTQ Pride march and rally event in Madison similar to the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay

Rights. ⁵⁷⁰ Up until 1988, many had thought of the Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) Picnic as Madison's Pride event. The GALVAnize coalition argued that "A massive and visible coming out in the Midwest is necessary to affirm the gay and lesbian culture, to celebrate differences, and to prevent erosion of our hard-won rights." ⁵⁷¹ The first Madison Lesbian and Gay Rights and Pride March happened on May 6, 1989 with associated events the two days prior at the Barrymore Theatre, the University of Wisconsin Field House, and the Madison Civic Center (not extant). The 1989 march of 7,500 people gathered on the Capitol Square, marched up State Street to Library Mall, and then up Langdon Street to James Madison Park. The attendance at this inaugural event was similar in scale to the record setting anti-war and civil rights era marches in Madison. It was a huge undertaking to organize, and GALVAnize's second march and rally was held two years later on October 5, 1991 with approximately 5,000 people. A version of the event has taken place nearly every year since.

The Madison Pride and MAGIC Picnic joined forces from 2002 until 2008 to combine their events under the moniker of MAGIC Weekend. In 2009, it was reorganized as the Wisconsin Capital Pride. In 2014, the annual event was taken over by OutReach, Inc. and renamed the OutReach Pride Parade and Rally. To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Stonewall riots, the 2019 event has been named the OutReach MAGIC Festival.

State Street, arguably important for its history as a place of congregation and protest, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, specifically Urban Parks and Planning, from 1970 to 1991. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Much of the street and right-of-way itself is within the boundaries butt was not counted as a contributing or non-contributing resource in the State Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1997 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time. Consideration should be given to individually listing State Street in both the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2020.

Historic Resources Associated with Planning & Landscape Architecture Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Class
2101 Fisher Street	Penn Park	1972- Present	N/A	CoM Eligible Landmark
1440 E. Johnson Street	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	c.1830- c.1880	N/A	CoM Landmark & NRHP Individually Listed
1207 Seminole Highway	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	c.1880- c.1920	N/A	CoM Eligible Landmark
6098 N. Sherman Avenue	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	c.1880	N/A	CoM Eligible Landmark

1103 Spaight Street	Orton Park	1887 N/A	CoM HD-w/i POS & NRHP Listed HD-C
University Bay Drive	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	c.1890 N/A	CoM Eligible Landmark
1602 Vilas Park Drive	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	c.1860- N/A c.1880	CoM Eligible Landmark
829 W. Washington Avenue	Brittingham Park	1978- N/A 2000	CoM Eligible Landmark



Recreation & Entertainment

African American

Athletics

George Poage

George Coleman Poage was born in 1880 in Hannibal, Missouri. His parents were both born in slavery in Missouri and moved to La Crosse, Wisconsin in search of better employment in 1884. Poage's father worked as a popular coachman for the family of the local industrialist Albert Pettibone and later the wealthy La Crosse family of John Easton. After his father died in 1889, his mother continued to work for the city's elite. George was an accomplished student and salutatorian of his graduating class at La Crosse High School. He was also a star athlete in track and field and was considered one of the best sprinters in the state. ⁵⁷²



George Coleman Poage, University of Wisconsin Track and Field, 1902.

Due to his academic and athletic achievement, he enrolled at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1899 with some financial help from the Easton family.⁵⁷³ While a student at the university, George Poage lived with Benjamin and Amy Butts and their three children at the extant side-gabled house located at 633 East Johnson Street. The house was constructed earlier in the early 1870s. In 1901, Poage moved from the Butts household to a non-extant house at 1109 W. Johnson Street, where he lived with a number of other students.⁵⁷⁴

Poage was a very successful sprinter for the University of Wisconsin-Madison, setting a number of records during the period. He routinely had times of approximately 10 second for the 100-yard dash, 21.5 seconds for the 220-yard dash, and 49.5 seconds for the 440-yard dash, all impressive times at the turn-of-the-century. He became one of, if not the most, recognized African Americans in Madison and the state. The site of the track and playing fields for the university at the turn of the twentieth century was a large open space and a series of bleachers arranged along the northern end of what is now Camp Randall Stadium. 575

His attendance at the University of Wisconsin paralleled the rise and popularity of college athletics in the United States. Poage was a recognized star athlete on campus while internal debate went on regarding the emphasis and value of college sports. After his graduation in 1903, there was a small scandal regarding the university's attempt to extend his eligibility to participate and compete in track events for another academic year. Poage became an employee of the Athletic Department and re-enrolled in classes despite already graduating. Other athletes at the university and elsewhere experienced a similar arrangement and sparked a debate over the role of college athletics as an amateur student club or a semi-professional profitable division of college institutions, a debate which has continued to the present. 576

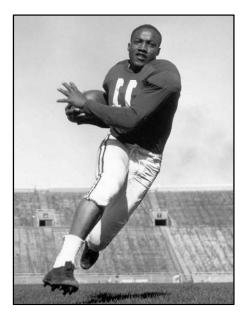
In 1903, he joined the exclusive, all-white Milwaukee Athletic Club who sponsored him in the revived Olympic Games held in St. Louis in 1904. Poage was the first African American to compete in the Olympics. He competed in four events: the 400-meter dash, the 60-meter dash, the 400-meter high-hurdles, in which he finished third and was awarded a bronze medal, and the 200-meter low-hurdle, in which he also finished third and was awarded a bronze medal. After he competed in the Olympic Games, Poage remained in St. Louis and later Chicago. George Poage died in 1962.

George Poage was nationally significant in the African American community in the areas of Recreation and Entertainment, particularly Athletics, from 1899 to 1903. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: the site of Camp Randall Stadium at 1440 Monroe Street, the Benjamin & Amy Butts House at 633 E. Johnson Street where he lived from 1899 to 1901, and the non-extant 1109 W. Johnson Street where he lived from 1901 to 1903. The primary resource associated with the life of George Poage and his significance in Recreation and Entertainment is the site of Camp Randall Stadium. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The site is already listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. Consideration should be given to updating its nomination to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community.

Edward Withers, Jr.

The University of Wisconsin's Athletic Department, and its football team in particular, have been historically willing to integrate their team and were often at the forefront nationally in the process of encouraging diversity. The first black football player with the University of Wisconsin Badgers football team was Leo Butts, who played beginning in 1918. However, the school did not record the race of its students and players until 1940, so it may not be precise. 580

Edward Withers, Jr. was born in Memphis, Tennessee in 1926 and moved to Madison with his family as a young boy. He lived in a non-extant apartment located at 754 West Washington Avenue. Eddie graduated from Madison's old Central High School in 1944. After serving in the United States Army towards the end of World War II, he received



his discharge in 1947 and enrolled at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He started on the Badgers football team his freshmen year in 1947 but was ineligible to play during his second year in college. Withers returned to the field in 1949 as a starting defensive halfback, a position he would keep for the next three years. Withers was considered an integral part of Wisconsin's defense, which outscored their opponents with no offensive help for two years. The team won the Big Ten title in 1952, securing their first trip to the Rose Bowl, where they lost to the University of Southern California. While Withers was not the first black man to participate in University of Wisconsin-Madison athletics, he was arguably the most recognized, being the first to garner national attention as a college football All-American in 1952. 582

Eddie married his wife Alita and had a son in 1951 while still a student, earning him the nickname among his teammates and fans of "Pop" and lived in Madison for a short time in a non-extant apartment located at 5 South Mills Street in the Greenbush neighborhood.

Withers played and practiced along with student athletes of all races and backgrounds in Camp Randall Stadium on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus. The large football stadium, located at 1440 Monroe Street, was constructed in 1916, with significant additions, alterations, and expansions in 1923, 1940, 1950, and 1965. The same site, before the 1920s, was also used as the university's playing fields and athletic track.

Wither's performance in college attracted the attention of the Green Bay Packers, who drafted him in 1952; however, his pro football career was cut short when he was waived towards the end of training camp the following year. Wither's lived the rest of his life in Milwaukee and died in 1975.

After his death, the Madison chapter of the NAACP wrote to The Capital Times urging that Wither's contributions be recognized, and two years later Withers was named to the Madison Sports Hall of Fame in 1977. Withers was added to the University of Wisconsin-Madison Athletics Hall of Fame in 1992. Since then the University of Wisconsin-Madison Athletic Department has made a conscious effort to celebrate the history of African Americans at the university and in college athletics generally.⁵⁸³

Edward Withers, Jr. was nationally significant in the African American community in the areas of Recreation and Entertainment, particularly Athletics, from 1947 to 1952. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: Camp Randall Stadium at 1440 Monroe Street, a non-extant apartment at 754 West Washington Avenue where he lived from 1947 to 1951, and a non-extant apartment at 5 South Mills Street where he lived from 1951 to 1952. The primary resources associated with him was Camp Randall Stadium at 1440 Monroe Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The site is already listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. Consideration should be given to updating its nomination to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community.

Performing Arts and Motion Pictures

Clyde Stubblefield

Clyde Stubblefield was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1943. As a child he was inspired to play the drums and taught himself, often drawing on natural and man-made rhythms as well as musical percussion for inspiration. He began playing professionally as a teenager. During the early 1960s, he worked with guitarist Eddie Kirkland and singer and songwriter Otis Redding. In 1965, he joined James Brown's band and played with Brown for the following six years, performing some of the most recognizable popular music of the period. 584



Clyde Stubblefield, c.2000. WHS# 134793

Stubblefield's drumming during this period is considered the standard-bearing influences for funk drumming, including singles such as "Cold Sweat," "I Got the Feelin'," "Say It Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud," and "Ain't It Funky Now." His drumming during this period has been routinely emulated and sampled in funk, hip-hop, and pop music since. His drumming was marked by a light-touch filled with off-kilter syncopations within a very repetitive 4/4 meter. 585

In 1971, after leaving James Brown's band, he settled in Madison. For three decades he played with his band, The Clyde Stubblefield Band, in downtown Madison along with local musicians including Steve Skaggs, Cris Plata, Randy Sabien, Charlie Brooks, and Karri Daley. Stubblefield released solo records during the 1990s and 2000s and continued to collaborate with former James Brown bandmates including Jabo Starks, Bootsy Collins, and Maceo Parker. He also produced a series of instructional drumming videos and performed regularly on the nationally syndicated and recorded public radio show *Whad'Ya Know?*. He retired from performing in 2011. 586

In 1990, Stubblefield was named Drummer of the Year by *Rolling Stone* magazine. In 2000, he was inducted into the Wisconsin Area Music Industry hall of fame and was awarded a lifetime achievement award at the Madison Area Music Awards in 2004. He also received the Yamaha Legacy Award in 2013 and was named the second-best drummer of the twentieth century by *LA Weekly* in 2014. Clyde Stubblefield died in 2017 following two decades of poor health, during which time many notable musicians paid for many of his healthcare costs. Posthumously, he was awarded an honorary Doctorate in Fine Arts from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. 587

Stubblefield resided at 502 Cedar Street. The extant minimal traditional style house was originally constructed in 1937 and is located in the Bay-Creek neighborhood.

Clyde Stubblefield was nationally significant in the African American community in the areas of Recreation and Entertainment, particularly Performing Arts and Motion Pictures, from 1971 to 2011. The primary resource associated with him was his house at 502 Cedar Street. This is

resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2021.

LGBTQ

Performing Arts and Motion Pictures

Broom Street Theatre

Artistic explorations of queerness helped to promote positive visibility for the LGBTQ community. The Broom Street Theater was founded in 1969 by Stuart Gordon. Their first production was at 152 E. Johnson Street. ⁵⁸⁸ From 1970 through 1975, the group staged performances at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) and had an office at the University YMCA at 306 N. Brooks Street. In 1976 and 1977, the group struggled to find a permanent home, staging shows at Calvary Methodist Church at 633 W. Badger Road, the



Broom Street Theatre
1119 Williamson Street

Hillel Foundation at 611 Langdon Street (not extant), and the Eagles Club at 1236 Jenifer Street (not extant). They purchased 1119 Williamson Street in 1977. Later that year, the group moved into the new building permanently ⁵⁸⁹ and still resides there today. The Broom Street Theater group has been staging plays and experimental works with queer themes since the group purchased the building at 1119 Williamson Street in 1977.

The Broom Street Theatre is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Recreation and Entertainment, particularly Performing Arts and Motion Pictures, from 1977 to the present. While there were numerous resources associated with it from 1969 to 1977, they did not begin staging theatrical productions involving LGBTQ themes until after they moved to 1119 Williamson Street in 1977. Therefore, the primary resource associated with the Broom Street Theatre and its significance in Recreation and Entertainment is 1119 Williamson Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2027.

Historic Resources Associated with Recreation & Entertainment Included in the Survey

Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
1440 Monroe Street	Camp Randall Stadium	1916	Astylistic	CoM Eligible
			Utilitarian	Landmark
1119 Williamson Street	Broom Street Theatre	c.1890	Astylistic	CoM HD-w/i POS
			Utilitarian	



Notable People

Introduction

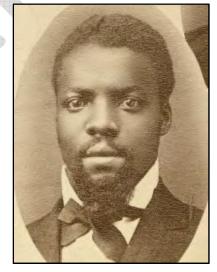
The list of "notable people" includes people who have helped to shape the City of Madison. These people range from entrepreneurs, educators, politicians, entertainers, artists, and professionals. Most of these people can be connected with a historic event or building. Any historic resources associated with these persons are listed after their short biographies. More research may unearth additional resources.

African American

Benjamin Butts

Benjamin Butts was born a slave in Petersburg, Virginia in 1853. When the Fifth Wisconsin Battery occupied the town in 1864, Benjamin joined them and eventually returned to Richland Center, Wisconsin with Major Cyrus Butts. Benjamin took his surname and worked in his household until he was of age to leave. In approximately 1870, Butts moved to Madison. Employment opportunities for African Americans were limited, and often only included manual labor and service jobs. Benjamin worked as a porter, a clerk, and finally a barber. 590

He was successful and opened his own barber shop in 1872 at the non-extant 5 Pickney Street catering to Madison's political elites as clients including Governors Rusk, Washburn, Taylor, Smith, Fairchild and Peck. Through this work, he made extensive social connections and worked as a doorman and butler at official government functions at the state capitol and private parties in the Mansion Hill neighborhood. 591



Benjamin Butts, c. 1880. WHS# 45152

In 1888, Benjamin married Amy Roberts. The couple lived in a non-extant apartment at 86 East Gorham Street and had eight children, while only five survived infancy. In 1892, the family moved to a larger extant house at 633 East Johnson Street, northeast of the Capitol Square, which they rented. At the time, there were approximately 41 African Americans living in the city. Benjamin Butts was influential as a leader of the small African American community as it grew into the twentieth century, particularly around East Johnson, Dayton, and Mifflin Streets. When

the Wisconsin Historical Society opened its large new building in 1900 on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus, Butts was hired as a messenger, doorman, and janitor given his knowledge of Madison and the city's legislators and university faculty.⁵⁹²

In 1907, the Butts family moved again to a non-extant house at 639 East Dayton Street, where they lived until Benjamin and Amy died in 1930. Benjamin's son, Leo, who was born in 1898, became the first black football player on the University of Wisconsin-Madison's college team. He played his first game for the Badgers during



Benjamin & Amy Butts House 633 E. Johnson Street

the second game of the 1918 season against Beloit College. Leo Butts was also the first African American to graduate from the University of Wisconsin School of Pharmacy in 1920. He continued to live in Madison for the rest of his life. ⁵⁹³

Benjamin Butts is locally significant in the African American community from 1872 to 1930. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: the non-extant barbershop at 5 Pickney Street from 1872 to 1900, a non-extant apartment at 86 East Gorham Street from 1888 to 1892, 633 East Johnson Street from 1892 to 1907, the Wisconsin Historical Society at 816 State Street in 1900, and a non-extant house at 639 East Dayton Street from 1907 to 1930. The primary resource associated with Benjamin Butts is his residence at 633 East Johnson Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark and individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Marshall Colston

Marshall Colston was the president of the of the Madison branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1956 through the early 1960s and played a large role in the civil rights movement in Wisconsin during the 1950s and 1960s, coordinating closely with the Milwaukee branch, and the national movement throughout its history. In 1962, Colston was appointed the vice chairman of the Madison Mayor's first Commission on Human Rights, playing and instrumental role in the city's adoption of its Equal Opportunities Ordinance in 1963. Colston was also appointed to the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights in 1966. 594 He moved to California in 1970.

Marshall Colston is locally significant in the African American community from 1956 to 1970. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with him: his 1951 to circa 1965 residence at 413 West Wingra Drive and his circa 1965 to 1970 residence at 609 Constitution Lane. The primary resource associated with Marshall Colston is the Marshall and Eva Colston House at 413 West Wingra Drive, where he lived during his more active years in the African American community. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Cornelius Golightly

Cornelius Golightly was born in Waterford, Mississippi in 1917. He graduated from Talladega College in 1938 and then received a PhD in Philosophy from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1941. He then taught social science and philosophy during the 1942-1943 school year at Howard University and was a Compliance Analyst with the Fair Employment Practices Committee in Washington, D.C. from 1943 until 1945. In 1945, he was hired as a professor of psychology and philosophy at Olivet College in Olivet, Michigan, becoming the first African American philosopher contracted to teach at a white college. ⁵⁹⁵



Professor Cornelius L. Golightly, c.1950

In 1949, Golightly was hired to the join the Philosophy Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as an assistant professor. He was the first African American tenured professor in the university's history and the first African American professor of philosophy at a state university in the country. Golightly's first scholarly article, entitled "Inquiry and Whitehead's Schematic Method," was published during his time at the university in a leading journal, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*. He was later published widely in the *Journal of Philosophy* and the *Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*. While in Madison, Golightly took on a mentoring lead with the Beta Omicron Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, the first Black Greek-letter organization at the university which was established in 1946.

Golightly left the university in 1955 and took on a similar position at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, where he stayed until 1969. This was followed by a faculty position at Wayne State University in Detroit. He also served as the first African American president of the City of Detroit Board of Education. Cornelius Golightly died in Detroit in 1976. 598

Cornelius Golightly was locally significant in the African American community in the areas of Education from 1949 to 1955. The exact location of the Philosophy Department on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus during the 1940s and 1950s is unknown at this time. Therefore, the primary resource associated with the life of Cornelius Golightly and his significance in Education during this time period is his Georgian Revival style university-owned apartment at 31 University Homes. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Carson Gulley

Carson Gulley was born in Zama, Arkansas in 1897. His parents were farming sharecroppers. At the age of 17, Gulley's father apprenticed him to a schoolteacher in order to supply him with an education. In 1920, Carson left home and began working as a dishwasher, then cook, at a restaurant in Eldora, Arkansas. This was followed by a variety of cooking jobs in Kansas,

Florida, and New York. He then worked briefly as a chef at Principia College in St. Louis, followed by a position as head chef at the Essex Lodge Resort in Tomahawk, Wisconsin. During his time at the resort, D.L. Halverson, the director of dormitories and commons at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, visited and was impressed with the quality of food and service and offered Carson Gulley a job at the university. In 1926, Carson Gulley began a 27-year tenure as a head dormitory chef at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. ⁵⁹⁹

Carson and his influential wife Beatrice were married in Madison in 1930, and the couple lived in a non-extant apartment at 42 South Brooks Street. Gulley was active within the African American community during the 1930s and 1940s. He played a role in the organization of the Mount Zion Baptist Church, the Madison Chapter of the NAACP, and the Capital City Masonic Lodge, serving in a leadership role in all of them.

In 1936, Gulley established and taught a popular curriculum for chefs and conducted seminars at the Tuskegee Institute and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The United States Navy established a similar school during World War II at the University of Wisconsin-Madison for service cooks, who were taught by Gulley. Gulley is also credited with developing recipes for a boneless turkey roast and the fudge bottom pie. 601

Gulley was a popular figure with students and became a local celebrity. In 1953, Carson and Beatrice became Madison's first black television personalities. The station WMTV invited the chef and his wife to host a cooking show called What's Cookin'. At the time it was the only known television program in the United States to feature an African American husband and wife team. During the same year, Gulley retired after being passed over for the position of director of dormitory food services at the university, despite being a senior chef for two decades. The position was given to a younger, less experienced, white man. One of the most financially successful and prominent African Americans in Madison from the 1930s to the 1950s, Carson Gulley authored two nationally acclaimed cookbooks: Seasoning Secrets and Favorite Recipes in 1956. 602

The Gulley family, along with many African American residents in the city, were not permitted to purchase a home in Madison because of their race. After purchasing property to build a house, a group of neighborhood residents petitioned the Crestwood Subdivision's board of directors to buy back the land. Gulley appealed to the City Council's Committee on



Carson and Beatrice Gulley at the WMTV Studio, 1953. WHS# 99641



Carson & Beatrice Gulley House 5701 Cedar Place

Human Rights in favor of equal housing rights, influencing the passage of Madison's Fair Housing Ordinance in 1954. The neighborhood co-op voted 64 to 30 against the petition and in favor of the Gulleys, after which the Gulley family built an extant ranch house at 5701 Cedar Place in the Crestwood neighborhood on the west side of Madison in 1954. 603

Carson Gulley died in 1962 and was buried at Forest Hill Cemetery in Madison. Following his death, the University of Wisconsin-Madison renamed the Van Hise Refectory the Carson Gulley Commons in 1966. The extant Italianate style building was the site of much of his work as a chef for the university and is located at 1515 Tripp Circle on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus. The large refectory building was originally constructed in 1926 with major additions and alterations completed in 1943 and 1960. It was the first building on any University of Wisconsin campus named after an African American. The building was renamed the Carson Gulley Center in 2013.604



Carson Gulley Center (Van Hise Refectory) 1515 Tripp Circle

Carson Gulley is locally significant in the African American community in the areas of Education, particularly at the University of Wisconsin System, from 1926 to 1953; Commerce, particularly in Television, in 1953; and Government, particularly Local Government, from 1954 to 1962. During this time period, there were a several resources associated with him. The primary resource associated with his significance in Education from 1926 to 1953 is the Carson Gulley Center (historically Van Hise Refectory) at 1515 Tripp Circle. This resource is potentially eligible for designating as a City of Madison Landmark. The primary resource associated with his significance in Commerce in 1953 is WMTV at 615 Forward Drive, which was demolished 2016, and the primary resource associated with his significance in Government in 1954 to 1962 is the Carson & Beatrice Gulley House at 5701 Cedar Place. This resource is potentially eligible for designating as a City of Madison Landmark and listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Velma F. Hamilton

Velma Fern Hamilton was born in Pontotoc, Mississippi in 1910, and her family moved to Beloit, Wisconsin shortly after. She was valedictorian at Beloit High School and attended Beloit College, where she majored in sociology. After graduating she taught at Bennett College in Gastonia, North Carolina and continued her education, earning a master's degree in sociology from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1933. Velma married Harry Hamilton, a chemist, in 1934. The couple moved to Tougaloo, Mississippi, where Velma was the registrar at Tougaloo College, and Harry was a chemistry professor. 605

The couple moved back to Madison in 1942 so that Harry could work as a supervisor at the Badger Ordinance Works in Baraboo overseeing the wartime manufacture of gunpowder and

munitions. In 1943, Velma Hamilton helped re-establish the Madison chapter of the NAACP along with Mae Mitchell, Demetra Shivers, Hilton Hannah, Odell Taliaferro, Hazel Taliaferro, and Lucille Miller, and Velma's husband Harry, and served as its first president.

In 1950, Velma was hired as the first African American teacher in Madison as an English teacher at the Madison Vocational School, the predecessor to Madison College. She also worked with the Ford Foundation's Institute of International Education during the 1950s. In 1970, she served as the chair of the General Studies Department of MATC and became the Dean of Liberal Studies before retiring in 1975. After her retirement, the Hamiltons moved to a house at 918 Pontiac Trail. Velma Hamilton had worked for education, civil rights, and fair housing throughout her time in Madison. In 1993, the Madison Metropolitan School District renamed Van Hise Middle School, located at 4801 Waukesha Street, Velma Hamilton Middle School in her honor. 606 She died in 2009. 607



Velma Hamilton, 1951. WHS# 72167

Velma Hamilton is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education, particularly Vocational and Extension Education, from 1950 to 1975. During this time period, Hamilton lived outside of the City of Madison, making the Madison Vocational School at 211 N. Carroll Street the only resource associated with Hamilton within the city. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Madison Vocational School was listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 2019. Consideration should be given to updating its listing to include its contribution to the history of the African American community. Other than the name, Velma Hamilton Middle School holds no direct association with Velma Hamilton's contribution in education, civil rights, and fair housing and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a Landmark or listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Willie Lou Harris

Willie Lou Harris was married to George Harris, moved to Madison, and the couple had five children: Calvin, Richard, Donald, Charles, and Georgia. Willie Lou Harris was the first licensed black practical nurse in Madison and worked as a caretaker at the Wisconsin General Hospital. The Harris's bought their house at 405 Bram Street in 1927.

She was also closely involved in the African American community and the Bram's Addition neighborhood. In 1934, the George and Willie purchased eight lots in South Madison, then outside the city limits. The area was annexed in 1944, and the streets paved. The intention from that time on was to develop the lots into homes for their family. During the late 1940s, Willie Lou Harris led an effort to construct several Minimal Traditional style houses along the 400

block of Bram Street. Much of the building material was taken from wrecked military barracks from Truax Field, which were disassembled, moved, and reconstructed in the Bram's Addition neighborhood. Four adjacent buildings in all were completed by the early 1950s. 608

The family was closely involved in Mount Zion Baptist Church, which relocated to the same neighborhood during the same period. George Harris was a deacon with the church, and Willie worked closely with then Reverend Washington on several issues including the establishment of a black women's group of active citizens called the Mothers Watch Group in addition to the establishment of the Madison branch of the NAACP and the South Madison Neighborhood Center in the late 1940s. Willie Lou Harris, along with Kenneth Newville and George Gerard, organized the move of two army barracks from Truax Field in 1949 for use as the South Madison Neighborhood Center. One of her sons, Richard, became the director of the center and later led a successful lawsuit against the discriminatory and segregationist school closings of the Madison Metropolitan School District. Willie Lou Harris died in 1954.⁶⁰⁹



Willie Lou Harris (seated, left) and family. 1950. WHS# 65005

The Willie Lou and George Harris House at 405 Bram Street is locally significant to the African American community from 1927 to 1954. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Edward S. Holmes, Jr.

Edward S. Holmes Jr. was born in Washington, D.C. in 1958 and graduated from the University of Wisconsin with degrees in English and Political Science. He continued to earn a master's degree in Social Work and a PhD from the School of Education's Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis. In 1982, Holmes established the Ebony Expression Cultural Awareness Project to address African American identity in public education. In 1987, he became the director of the Neighborhood House Community Center, previous serving as the youth director. Through the creation of a series of community fundraising efforts, Holmes was able to stabilize the institution's finances and made efforts to reach out to other non-profit community organizations in Madison. 610

He left the position in 1990 when he became the minority services coordinator at Memorial High School. Holmes became the principal of James C. Wright Middle School a few years later. The school is a charter school that was struggling with disciplinary problems at the time, and Holmes is credited with transforming the school, dramatically improving attendance and test scores, and establishing a community learning center. Holmes was awarded the Milken Educator of the Year award for the State of Wisconsin for his work revitalizing Wright Middle School in 2003. He became the Principal of West High School in 2004. While principal he notably adjusted the

curriculum and upgraded the school's considerable facilities and became popular with the student body. Holmes retired from the position in 2014. Ed Holmes was hired as the Overture Center for the Arts' new Director of Diversity and Inclusion.⁶¹¹

There are no resources in Madison that closely relate to the significance of Edward S. Holmes Jr.'s life and work besides the James C. Wright Middle School, discussed in the Education Chapter.

Nellie Stone Lane

Nellie Stone Lane is emblematic of African American club women in Madison in the 1920s. Lane was a professionally trained storyteller and public speaker who came to Madison from Michigan. She first appears in Madison newspapers in 1922. Lane often performed traditional African American stories, poems, and songs for social clubs, religious groups, and school assemblies. Madison newspapers cast Lane as an entertainer - a public performer of Black prose and poetry. She used her talent to convey the culture and history of African Americans to audiences who were often not black.

Lane was also active in organizing African American women in Madison. She was involved for several years as a leader of the Ideal Club. She represented Dane County in 1924 at the national convention of the Lincoln League, an organization advocating for African American interests in the Republican party. She served for several years as the president of the Mount Zion Missionary Society, which was in charge of raising money to fund efforts in 1925 to build a church at 548 W. Johnson Street. She also served as the Sunday School superintendent at St. Paul's Church. In 1928, she was elected president of the Madison Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. In 1929, at a meeting in G.A.R. Hall in Madison (non-extant), Lane was elected president of the Wisconsin State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. At the meeting, the Federation adopted a resolution condemning "any and all bills pertaining to the discriminating and segregating of any people, race, or religion," and specifically a bill in the state legislature "relating to the intermarriage of whites and negroes." The same year, Lane was elected vice president of the local chapter of the NAACP. Lane was involved in the state federation into the 1930s and continued to perform into the late 1940s. She died in 1952 and is buried in Forest Hill Cemetery with no monument.

Nellie McKay

Nellie Yvonne McKay was born in Queens, New York to Jamaican immigrants in 1931. She graduated with a bachelor's degree in English from Queens College in 1969, a master's degree from Harvard in 1971, and a PhD from Harvard in American Literature in 1977. McKay was an assistant professor of American Literature at Simmons College and a visiting professor at MIT between 1973 and 1977.

In 1978, McKay moved to Madison and took a faculty position at the University of Wisconsin specializing in African American literature. She was tenured in 1984 and worked throughout the 1980s expanding and popularizing the fields of African American literature, women's studies,

and multicultural women's writing. Much of these disciplines owe their formation and identity to the seminal texts of her work.⁶²¹

Nellie McKay authored nine books in her career and is arguably best known as the co-editor, along with Henry Louis Gates, Jr., of the *Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, first published in 1996. The book has since become the standard for the field. She is also well known for her edited book *Critical Essays on Toni Morrison*, published in 1988, which contributed to Morrison winning the Nobel Prize in Literature. McKay, who received many academic honors, also wrote more than sixty articles and essays on figures and writers such as Ida B. Wells, Zora Neale Hurston, and Alice Walker. Nellie McKay taught and wrote until the



Nellie McKay, c.1984

time of her death in 2006.622 An annual lecture series at the university was established in her name.

Nellie McKay was nationally significant in the African American community in the areas of Education and Literature from 1978 to 2006. During this time period, there were several resources associated with her: The Department of Afro-American Studies located in Helen C. White Hall at 600 N. Park Street and her 1988 to 2006 residence at 2114 West Lawn Avenue. The primary resource associated with the life of Nellie McKay and her significance in Education and Literature is Helen C. White Hall at 600 N. Park Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2028.

Eugene Parks

Eugene Parks was born in 1947 on the south side of Madison to Roger and Pearlean, who had come to Madison from Georgia in the 1940s and became prominent figures in the city's African American community. He graduated from La Follette High School in 1965 and attended the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He ran unsuccessfully as a candidate for Dane County Sheriff. Parks became the associate editor of the *Madison Sun* and an outspoken proponent of civil rights in Madison. In 1969, Parks became the first black alderperson for the Madison Common Council at the age of 22. He was the first person of color to be elected to public office in Madison and Dane County. He represented the 14th Ward in South Madison. In 1973, the Madison Metropolitan School District adopted an affirmative action policy, and Alderman Parks spoke extensively before the school board, arguing that minority candidates were often overlooked and unaware of job openings. 623

In 1974, Eugene Parks ran unsuccessfully on the Democratic ticket for Secretary of State. From 1975 to 1979, Parks worked as the staff director for State Senator Monroe Swan and as the president of the Madison chapter of the NAACP. In 1979, Parks was appointed administrative assistant to Fire Chief Ed Durkin, and in 1985 he became the director of the City of Madison's Affirmative Action Department. 625

In 1988, Parks was reprimanded and suspended for calling an MATC board member a "racist, liar and coward" at a meeting. Parks filed a racial discrimination claim and was fired. In 1989, Parks filed a circuit court action to regain his position and was given a job as a sign shop



Alderman Eugene Parks, 1973. WHS# 122528

supervisor in the Traffic Engineering Department of the city. In 1995, a court of appeals ruled that Parks was illegally fired in 1988, and the city settled with him for \$441,000. 626

In the 1990s, Eugene took over the family business of Mr. Ps restaurant, located at 1616 Beld Street, from his father. In 1996, Mr. P's closed. In 1999 and again in 2003, he ran unsuccessfully for mayor. Eugene Parks died in 2005. ⁶²⁷ In 2016, Madison 365 began an annual award in his honor: the *Eugene Parks Disruption Award*, for those who challenge the system and fighting for justice.

Eugene Parks was locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government, specifically Local Government, from 1969 to 1995. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: the City-County building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, his 1969 to 1970 residence, and his 1971 to 1995 residence. The primary resource associated with the life of Eugene Parks and his significance in Government is the City-County building. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of the African American community.

Samuel S. Pierce

Samuel S. Pierce was born in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1873. His parents, emancipated slaves from North Carolina, had settled in New Orleans where his father was a legislator and judge. In the 1890s, Samuel began working as a Pullman porter along the Chicago to Los Angeles rail service. In 1908, he was assigned to the Milwaukee to Madison route and settled in Madison along with his wife Mollie, becoming a leading figure in the city's growing African American community. 628

In 1922, Samuel Pierce took on the job of the Wisconsin Governor's office messenger. Pierce's calming manners, intelligence, and good looks made him a popular and influential figure at the capitol, serving as the personal messenger and correspondent for governors Blaine, Zimmerman, Kohler, Philip LaFollette, and Schmedeman. When Robert M. LaFollette was in the United States Senate, he passed legislation for the Pierce's so that they could access funds they deposited in a bank in Washington, D.C. fifty years earlier. LaFollette gave a signed copy of the bill to the family after its passage. 629 Samuel Pierce died in 1936. The flag of the capitol flew at half-staff to honor his passing, and he was described as "one of the best diplomats in the state capitol" by a local newspaper. 630

Samuel Pierce is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1922 to 1936. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street (115 East Capitol #1) and his 1910-1936 house at 1442 Williamson Street. The primary resource associated with the life of Samuel Pierce and his



Samuel S. Pierce at the Executive Offices of the Governor, c.1930. WHS# 37461



Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House 1442 Williamson Street

significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the African American community. The Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House at 1442 Williamson Street was originally constructed in 1898 as the D.D. Daniher House. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Third Lake Ridge Historic District. However, consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community. This resource is also associated with Samuel Pierce's nephew, Theodore Pierce.

Muriel Simms

Muriel Simms's parents moved to Madison from Missouri in 1934, and she was born in 1944. As a child, Muriel Simms's parents purchased a non-extant home at the corner of Lake Street and West Dayton Street, outside of the traditionally black neighborhoods in the city. Neighbors began a petition to stop them, but after a successful legal battle, the Simms family moved in.⁶³¹

Muriel was the only African American in her graduating class at Madison East High School. She enrolled at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and graduated with a degree in English in 1968 and continued to earn a master's degree in curriculum and instruction. In 1970, she interned with the Madison Metropolitan School District. ⁶³²

Simms taught sixth grade from 1971 to 1980 at Lincoln Elementary School in the Burr Oaks neighborhood in South Madison. In 1980, Simms moved to Franklin Elementary School in the Bay Creek neighborhood and taught fifth grade until 1985 and then went on to Cherokee Heights Middle School in the Nakoma neighborhood to work as a learning coordinator from 1983 to 1988. 633

In 1988, Simms was hired as the principal of Lincoln Elementary, a position she held for six years. Simms was awarded the Wisconsin Elementary Principal of the Year in 1992. Her work as principal of Lincoln Elementary School was so instrumental that she became equity coordinator for the entire Madison Metropolitan School District in 1994 and was appointed interim principal at Mendota Elementary on the north side of Madison in 1997 to effect change in that school's culture as well. She then became the assistant principal at Black Hawk Elementary for three years before retiring in 2000.

Simms then enrolled at the university again and graduated with a PhD in educational administration in 2002 and proceeded to teach curriculum and education at Edgewood College in Madison. Simms has recently authored *Settlin*, 'a book detailing the stories of descendants of early African American settlers, and their community in Madison. 635

Muriel Simms was locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education, specifically Primary Education, from 1988 to 1994. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with her: Lincoln Elementary School at 909 Sequoia Trail and her residence at _______. The primary resource associated with her significance in Education is Lincoln Elementary School. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2038.

James C. Wright

James C. Wright was born in Camden, South Carolina in 1926. He attended Virginia Union University, became involved in the civil rights movement, and later studied theology and philosophy at Payne Theological Seminary and Wilberforce University in Ohio. After serving as a pastor in South Carolina and Ohio, Wright and his family moved to Madison, where he completed a degree in psychology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.⁶³⁶

In 1968, Wright was appointed the executive director of Madison's Equal Opportunities Commission after serving as chairman for four years. Reverend Wright also served as an associate minister at Mt. Zion Baptist Church from 1960 to 1984. He was a member of many organizations including serving as president of the National Institute for Employment Equity,

president of the Madison Association of American Baptist Churches of Wisconsin, the National Association of Human Rights Workers, the International Personnel Managers Association, the NAACP, and was a founding member of the Madison Urban League. 637

In 1992, Wright retired from his position with the City of Madison, during which time he led the drafting of the city's first Affirmative Action Ordinance and developed a complaint resolution process for the Equal Opportunities Commission. From 1990 to 1995, Wright served as the Pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist Church. He died in 1995. In 2000, a new school was named James C. Wright Middle School in his honor. 638

James C. Wright was locally significant in the African American community from 1960 to 1995. During this time period, the primary resource associated with him is his house at 848 West Lakeside Street in the Bay Creek neighborhood. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Other than the name, the James C. Wright Middle School holds no direct connection to or association with James C. Wright's contribution to education and civil rights in the African American community and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark or listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

First Nations

Ada Deer

Ada Deer was born in Keshena, on the Menominee Indian Reservation in northeastern Wisconsin, in 1935. She grew up in a log home along the Wolf River and attended Shawano and Milwaukee public schools. She attended college on a tribal scholarship and was the first Menominee to graduate from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1957. She went on to be the first Menomonee to receive a master's degree, which was in social work from Columbia University in 1961. After graduating she held numerous social work positions with New York and Minneapolis public schools and the Peace Corps. 639

She briefly enrolled in the University of Wisconsin Law School in 1971; however, she was drawn to help the Menominee Tribe instead. Her work for the Menominee played a large role in the Menominee Restoration Act of 1972, which returned the Menominee Reservation to federally recognized status. From 1974 to 1976, Deer became the first woman to chair the Menominee Tribe and headed the Menominee Restoration Committee that successfully lobbied for the restoration of tribal status to the Menominee. ⁶⁴⁰

In 1977, Ada Deer returned to Madison and was a senior lecturer in the School of Social Work and the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She was known nationally for her groundbreaking classes on Native American issues and for pioneering social work training for Native American reservations. Ada Deer was one of fifty-one accomplished educators and practitioners featured in the 2003 book *Celebrating Social Work:* Faces and Voices in the Formative Years published by the Council on Social Work Education.

She ran unsuccessfully for the position of Wisconsin Secretary of State in 1978 and again in 1982. In 1984, she was vice chair of the Mondale-Ferraro Presidential Campaign, and in 1992, Deer ran unsuccessfully for United States Congress in Wisconsin's second district. While these attempts at elected office were not fruitful, they got her noticed.

Under the Clinton administration in 1993, Ada Deer was appointed as the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs in the United States Department of the Interior and was the first Native American woman to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During her 4-year tenure, the department oversaw a large increase in the number of recognized tribes as she set federal policy for more than 550 recognized tribes through the federal government.641

Ada Deer continued to teach at the University of Wisconsin-Madison School of Social Work, and from 2000 to 2007 she was the director of the American Indian Studies Program at the university. 642 She is currently a distinguished lecturer emerita at the university.

Ada Deer is nationally significant in the Native American community in the area of Government, particularly Federal Government, from 1972 to 1997. During this time period, it is believed that she lived outside of the City of Madison, so there are no resources associated with her significance in the Native American community in the area of Government. However, she is also significant in the Native American community in the area of Education, particularly at the University of Wisconsin System, from 1977 to 2007. Therefore, the Educational Science Building is the only resource associated with her significance in the Native American community. The Educational Science Building, located at 1025 W. Johnson Street on the University of Wisconsin campus, has been the site of Ada Deer's, and others, work in the field of American Indian Studies. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2027.

Annie Greencrow Whitehorse

Annie Greencrow Whitehorse was born in 1906, and she married Ralph Whitehouse in the 1920s. The mother of eight children, including the notable artist Harry Whitehorse who is discussed in the Art and Literature Chapter, Annie settled with her family in the City of Monona in 1932 along a small creek leading to Lake Waubesa. The Whitehorse family still owns the same property in addition to family land near Wittenberg and Black River Falls. For years, the family lived in wigwams and eventually built a small wooden house in the 1940s.⁶⁴³

Whitehorse was a frequent guest lecturer at the University of Wisconsin regarding Ho-Chunk folklore, Annie Greencrow Whitehorse, c.1970



culture, language, and art. She also insisted that all of her children finish high school in the 1930s and 1940s, and many attended colleges too. Whitehorse died in 1990.

In 1993, Schenk Middle School, located on the east side of Madison, was renamed the Annie Greencrow Whitehorse Middle School in honor of her life and local commitment to the environment, Native American culture, and education.⁶⁴⁴

Annie Whitehorse lived most of her life in the neighboring City of Monona. Other than the name, the school holds no direct association to Annie Greencrow Whitehorse's contributions in Education and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Criteria Considerations discuss properties primarily commemorative in intent, which shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless their design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

Latino

Ricardo Gonzalez

Ricardo Alfredo Gonzalez was born in Camaguey, Cuba in 1946 and immigrated to Miami, Florida in 1960 in the wake of the Cuban Revolution. Ricardo moved to Oklahoma and then Texas in 1963. He attended college and moved to Ripon, Wisconsin in 1968 to work as a manager for the Green Giant canning company. Gonzalez ran, unsuccessfully, for a State Assembly seat in 1972.⁶⁴⁵

After moving to Madison the prior year to accept a position as an affirmative action officer, Ricardo Gonzalez took ownership of the struggling Cardinal Bar in 1974. Gonzalez quickly became part of Madison's active and vocal Cuban community. He was also a gay man, active in Madison's LGBTQ community, and intended to run Cardinal Bar as a gay bar. However, the Cardinal Bar soon became popular with a diverse clientele, including the LGBTQ and Latino communities and others. 646



Cardinal Hotel 416 E. Wilson Street

In 1980, Gonzalez was the director of a local organization that cared for and educated Cuban immigrants who were directed to Fort McCoy and eventually settled in Madison. In 1981, a series of violent incidents occurred in the bar. Accompanied by damage from fire and flooding, these events nearly took the Cardinal Bar under. The bar closed briefly but re-opened again. The bar was remodeled in 1985 and 1986.⁶⁴⁷

Gonzalez was politically active in the community, and, therefore, the bar became the informal headquarters of many political actions in Madison during the 1970s and 1980s. 648 It was a venue

for campaign fundraisers for gay and lesbian political candidates, as well as fundraisers for LGBTQ organizations and causes. Gonzalez was elected alderman of the 4th District in 1989, becoming the first gay Latino elected to public office in the United States. Gonzalez's work as alderman focused on downtown revitalization, and he is credited with the creation of the Monona Terrace Convention Center.⁶⁴⁹

After forty-three years in operation, making it the longest running gay bar in Madison's history and likely the longest running Latino-owned enterprise in Madison's history, too, the Cardinal Bar closed in 2017 and was sold.

Ricardo Gonzalez is locally significant to the both the Latino and LGBTQ communities in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1974 to 2017. During this time period, the primary resource associated with him is the Cardinal Hotel and Bar, discussed in the Commerce Chapter. The building is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. However, consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the Latino and LGBTQ communities. The building is also individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. However, consideration should be given to amending the nomination to reflect its significance in the Latino and LGBTQ communities in the future. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. Therefore, this property shall be re-evaluated in 2024.

LGBTQ

David Clarenbach

David Clarenbach was born in St. Louis, Missouri in 1953 and came to Madison with his family at a young age. He studied politics at University of Wisconsin-Madison in the early 1970s, while at the same time beginning his political career. In 1973, at the age of 18, he was elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors. In 1974, he served for a brief period as an interim alderperson on the Madison Common Council.

In the fall of 1974, he was elected to the Wisconsin Assembly representing the 78th District, a seat he would hold for nine terms, until 1993. Clarenbach helped craft, advance, and ultimately pass two pieces of state legislation that dramatically improved the civil liberties of LGBTQ people in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Gay Rights bill, signed into law in February of 1982, prohibited discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation. It was the first such state legislation in the country. Clarenbach also undertook the majority of the legislative work that culminated in the passage of the Wisconsin Consenting Adults bill in May of 1983. That legislation decriminalized cohabitation, fornication (sex outside of marriage), and homosexual behavior between consenting adults in Wisconsin.

David Clarenbach is significant in the LGBTQ community at a statewide level in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1974 to 1993. During this time period, there were a several resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street,

and his 1977-1982 house at 123 West Gilman Street. The primary resource associated with the life of David Clarenbach and his significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark and was listed as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of the LGBTQ community.

Also of note, Clarenbach lived at 123 W. Gilman Street during the development, introduction, and passage of both legal milestones. 650 Clarenbach purchased 123 W. Gilman Street in 1977, lived in the house from 1977 until 1982, and sold it in 1987. 651 The house's associations with the LGBTQ civil rights movement are not limited to the residency of David Clarenbach, though. From 1973 until 1987, 123 W. Gilman was the center of a network of young people, selfidentified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, working for the advancement of civil liberties for gays and lesbians and involved in politics and community activism. 652 The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The building is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2024.

Theodore Pierce

Theodore Pierce was born in Chicago in 1907 and moved to Madison in 1910 to live with his uncle, Samuel Pierce, ⁶⁵³ who served as the Wisconsin Governor's office messenger from 1922 until his death in 1936. ⁶⁵⁴ Samuel Pierce was a popular and influential figure at the capitol. Theodore took over the position after Samuel died and continued to live in his childhood home at 1442 Williamson Street. ⁶⁵⁵

Theodore was one of the first known gay men in Madison. He was a well-liked figure in the gay community, not only in his Williamson Street



Theodore Pierce House 1442 Williamson Street

neighborhood, but throughout the state and country. While it is unknown how long he worked in the governor's office, he began to acquire certain connections during his time there. He befriended gay dancers, actors, and writers who visited the state and often continued to correspond with them long afterwards and host them in his home whenever they returned to Madison. ⁶⁵⁶ Pierce lived as a gay man in Madison for almost four decades before the Gay Liberation Movement began and later served as a link between the contemporary gay community

and their pre-Stonewall culture and history. 657 He lived at 1442 Williamson Street until his death in 1999. The house was originally constructed in 1898 for D.D. Daniher.

As one of the earliest known gay men in Madison, Theodore Pierce is locally significant to the LGBTQ community from 1936 to 1999. The resource that most closely associated with his life was his house at 1442 Williamson Street. This resource is within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Third Lake Ridge Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. Consideration should also be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. This resource is also associated with Theodore Pierce's uncle, Samuel S. Pierce.

R. Richard (Dick) Wagner

R. Richard (Dick) Wagner moved to Madison in 1965 and has been as a community leader, neighborhood pioneer, and LGBTQ historian since the early 1970s. He was credited with advancing the passage of Madison's Landmarks Ordinance in 1971. ⁶⁵⁸ Then he served on and chaired the Madison commission that the ordinance created. He pioneered reinvestment in the deteriorated Marquette neighborhood by buying and restoring several houses in the neighborhood beginning in 1974. ⁶⁵⁹ While he was investing in the neighborhood, he also served on its Neighborhood Association and advocated for a community-directed revitalization of the Williamson Street corridor. ⁶⁶⁰

In 1980, Wagner was the first openly gay member elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors, which he served on for fourteen years, chairing four of them. In his first year, the Dane County Board of Supervisors adopted a county-wide non-discrimination ordinance which offered protections to the LGBTQ community. During his time on the county board, he also played a major role in the advancement of Monona Terrace and Olbrich Gardens. 661

In 1983, when he was one of about only twenty-five openly gay elected officials in the country, he was appointed to Governor Tony Earl's Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues. ⁶⁶² He has served on many boards, committees, and commissions, including Madison's Community Development Authority, Plan Commission, Urban Design Commission, and the Dane County Regional Transit Authority.

In 1985 Wagner helped create the New Harvest Foundation, a foundation that "channels charitable contributions exclusively to organizations working to promote lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights, services, culture and community development." Founding meetings were held in Wagner's home. ⁶⁶³

Wagner, who earned a PhD in history from University of Wisconsin-Madison, has publicly articulated a culture of the LGBTQ community in Madison and Wisconsin through his writings. Based on his own extensive collection of research, he has done a great deal to cultivate a sense of identity and history for Madison's LGBTQ community. He has written many articles on LGBTQ history for Our Lives magazine since its inception in 2007. Wagner argues, in a soon-

to-be-published book, that most gay history focuses on the movements in east- and west-coast states and has left significant state-level gaps in the history.

Dick Wagner is locally significant to the LGBTQ community from 1980 to the present. The resource that is most closely associated with his life is his house at _______. This resource is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and is within the period of significance of the City of Madison's Third Lake Ridge Historic District. Consideration should be given to amending the designation to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The resource is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Jenifer-Spaight Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. However, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2030.

Women

Ruth Bleier

Ruth Harriet Bleier was born in 1923 in Pennsylvania. She earned degrees from Goucher College and the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania and became a widely respected neurophysicist.

She came to the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1967 to work in the Department of Neurophysiology. In 1970, in response to an investigation by the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bleier helped organize the Association of Faculty Women (AFW). 665 She was elected as one of the first co-



Ruth H. Bleier House 1821 Thorstrand Road

chairs and chaired the organization for about four years. Working with the AFW, Bleier collected data on the status of women and the hiring and compensation practices in the University of Wisconsin System. 666 The AFW used the information to organize women and lobby administrators for changes. Bleier and the AFW organized women in many campus departments and brought together university women from across the state to share data, methods,

and skills for correcting inequities.⁶⁶⁷ Their work fundamentally changed the conditions for women on campuses throughout the University of Wisconsin System.

While working with the AFW, Bleier was also an advocate for and founder of the Women's Studies program at University of Wisconsin-Madison. She worked with other AFW members to lay the groundwork for the program and advocate for its implementation. This led directly to the approval of the Women's Studies Program at University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1975, of which she was chair from 1982 to 1986. 668

Ruth Bleier also had a feminist influence on the biological sciences in general. She was a nationally recognized neurophysicist in the 1980s when she brought her feminist ideas to her profession. She studied gender bias in the biological sciences and published two books in the subject that exposed such bias: *Science and Gender: A Critique of Biology and Its Theories on Women* (1984) and *Feminist Approaches to Science* (1986). Her books have become essential reading in the field of women's studies.⁶⁶⁹

Ruth Bleier lived at 1821 Thorstrand Road from 1970 until 1986. The house was built in 1962 and was designed by Madison architect Herb Fritz. The house is not fully visible from Thorstrand Road, which is a private drive. City of Madison records describe it as a Ranch style home with a flat roof, concrete foundation, and wood exterior cladding. She died in 1988.

Ruth Bleier was nationally significant within the community of Women in the areas of Education and Literature from 1970 to 1986. During this time period, there were several resources associated with her: The Women's Studies Program, now the Department of Gender and Women's Studies, located in Sterling Hall at 475 North Charter Street and her 1970 to 1986 residence at 1821 Thorstrand Road. The primary resource associated with the life of Ruth Bleier and her significance in Education and Literature is Sterling Hall at 475 North Charter Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register listing in 2020.

Kathryn F. Clarenbach

Kathryn Clarenbach was born in 1920 and grew up in Sparta, Wisconsin. She came to Madison in 1937 to study Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. She worked in Washington, D.C. for some time after college, then returned to Madison to pursue a PhD in Political Science, which she received in 1946.⁶⁷⁰ After marrying and spending some time in New York, Clarenbach returned to Madison again in 1960.⁶⁷¹

By 1962, she was working as an assistant in the Dean of Women's office on the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus. In 1962, she co-chaired a pioneering conference at the Wisconsin Center that "explor[ed] educational and employment needs and opportunities for women in the university and Madison area." A year later, she helped plan a similar conference and persuaded Wisconsin Governor John Reynolds to establish a statewide Commission on the Status of Women. Reynolds did, seeing the need to "investigate the role of women in Wisconsin and

suggest ways in which women can become fuller participants in our society."⁶⁷⁴ Clarenbach was chosen to head the Commission (she did so until 1979, with a two-year break). By 1964, she was the director of university education for women.⁶⁷⁵

In 1966, while she was still heading the state commission and working on educational reforms for women at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, she co-founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Washington, D.C. with several other women, including Betty Friedan. ⁶⁷⁶ Clarenbach was chosen as the new organization's chairperson, serving until 1970, and NOW was headquartered for a short time in her Madison home. ⁶⁷⁷

By the time the Women's Liberation movement crystallized in the late 1960s, Kathryn Clarenbach was a veteran feminist and organizer. In the late-1960s and 1970s, she successfully lobbied for reforms in Wisconsin laws regarding marital property, divorce, and sexual assault. In 1970, she was elected president of the Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women. She was a founding member of the Association of Women Faculty (AFW) in 1970 and elected to its governing board in 1971. Clarenbach worked with the AFW in the early 1970s, organizing faculty and staff on the Madison campus and other University of Wisconsin system campuses and laying the groundwork for the Women's Studies Program to be approved in 1975.

In 1977, she served as the Executive Director of the National Commission for the Observance of International Woman's Year, an effort that culminated in the pivotal National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas. That influential conference brought together major feminist leaders including Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and Bella Abzug, alongside Coretta Scott King, Rosalynn Carter, Betty Ford, and Lady Bird Johnson. The national strategy developed at the conference asked for federal involvement in removing barriers to women in twenty-six areas, including childcare, education, and health. 681

After Governor Lee Dreyfus disbanded the state Commission on the Status of Women in 1979, of which she was still the chair, Clarenbach helped create the Wisconsin Women's Network. 682 Clarenbach finished her career as a professor of political science at University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1988 and died in 1994. She lived at 2229 Eton Ridge during her entire career in Madison.

Kathryn F. Clarenbach is nationally significant within the community of Women in the areas of Social and Political Movements from 1962 to 1979. The primary resource associated with the life of Kathryn F. Clarenbach and her significance in Social and Political Movements is her house at 2229 Eton Ridge. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is already listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the West Lawn Heights Historic District.



Kathryn F. and Henry G. Clarenbach House 2229 Eton Ridge

Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of Women.

Betty Walker Smith

Betty Smith came to Madison in the late 1930s. As a young adult in the 1950s, she was active in her church community, Girl Scouts, and local politics. She was exposed to local politics while working closely with her husband, William Bradford Smith, on his campaign for alder in 1961.⁶⁸³ In 1964, she chaired the Dane County Knowles for Governor campaign when Warren P. Knowles was elected Governor of Wisconsin.⁶⁸⁴ In the late 1960s, Smith spoke of political activism in terms of creating a good society for future generations. She thought of politics as an arena for men but recognized positive qualities in herself that she credited to her leadership in local party politics and political campaigns.⁶⁸⁵

Betty Smith taught classes in advertising and consumer behavior at Madison Business College from 1963 to 1981 as her profession. In her spare time, she was active with the Dane County Republican Club, the University League, United Church Women, Dane County Citizens Association for Children and Youth, the Madison Civics Club, the American Association of University Women, and established Child Development, Inc. in 1968. As president of Child Development, Inc. she led the effort to build a day care center on Madison's south side, located at 2012 Fisher Street, in 1969. Each of the control of the contro

Smith cultivated a reputation for being politically astute. She was invited to discuss grassroots organizing with members of the National Professional Society of Women in Journalism in 1968. 688 In 1969, she was elected to chair the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. 689 That position gave Smith a platform to emphasize cooperation and understanding among people of different political perspectives.



Betty Walker Smith House 3 Robin Circle

During the early 1970s, Smith began to advocate more for women's issues. She was especially interested in improving detention centers for women and increasing the number of day-care centers and low-income housing to make it easier for women to choose employment. ⁶⁹⁰ She was a founder of the Wisconsin Women's Political Caucus in 1971. ⁶⁹¹ That year she became the second woman ever to run for a seat in the Wisconsin senate. One of her campaign issues was the expansion of day care facilities as a way of liberating women to join the workforce. She lost that election, but she used her prominence to publicly criticize the underrepresentation of women on the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents ⁶⁹² and in Wisconsin Governor Patrick Lucey's cabinet. ⁶⁹³

In 1973, Smith was elected to the Madison Common Council in the nineteenth district.⁶⁹⁴ She served three terms until 1979. While she was on the council, Smith ran again for a state senate seat in 1976⁶⁹⁵ and served as member the state Commission on the Status of Women. Smith demonstrated her passion for equality in 1974 when she joined a crowd of men and women from

the white and Latino communities in a march to protest unequal hiring practices in local and state government. She also helped overturn state law which prevented giving birth control information to unmarried women. Smith ran for mayor of Madison in 1977, emphasizing cooperation and understanding. Had she won, she would have been the first woman to be elected mayor. She died in 2008.

Betty Walker Smith is locally significant in the history of Women in the area of Education, particularly Primary Education, from 1968 to 1979. During this time period, there were a couple resources associated with her: the South Madison Day Care Center at 2012 Fisher Street and her house at 3 Robin Circle The primary resource associated with the life of Betty Walker Smith and his significance in Education is the South Madison Day Care Center, which is also locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education from 1968 to 1999. Both the day care center and her house are potentially eligible for designation as City of Madison Landmarks.

Historic Resources Associated with Notable People Included in the Survey

A 11	III:-4	D-4	C41-	F1:-:1.:1:4.
Address	Historic Name	Date	Style	Eligibility
405 Bram Street	Willie Lou and George Harris	1950	Minimal	CoM Eligible
	House		Traditional	Landmark
5701 Cedar Place	Carson & Beatrice Gulley House	1954	Ranch	CoM Eligible
				Landmark &
				SRHP/NRHP
				Individually Eligible
502 Cedar Street	Clyde Stubblefield House	1937	Minimal	CoM Eligible
	·		Traditional	Landmark
2229 Eton Ridge	Kathryn F. and Henry G.	1924	Colonial	CoM Eligible
\mathcal{E}	Clarenbach House		Revival	Landmark & NRHP
				Listed HD-C
633 E. Johnson Street	Benjamin & Amy Butts House	c.1870	Side Gabled	CoM Eligible
	y y			Landmark &
				SRHP/NRHP
				Individually Eligible
918 Pontiac Trail	Velma F. and Harry Hamilton	1921	One-Story	Surveyed
7101011111	House		Cube	Sur reyea
3 Robin Circle	Betty Walker Smith House	1963	Ranch	CoM Eligible
o resum chere	Betty Walker Shiftin Frouse	1705	rancii	Landmark
1821 Thorstrand Road	Ruth Bleier House	1962	Ranch	CoM Eligible
1021 Horstrand Road	Ruth Bieler House	1702	Runen	Landmark
1515 Tripp Circle	(Van Hise Refectory)	1926	Italianate	CoM Eligible
1313 Tripp Chele	Carson Gulley Center	1720	пананас	Landmark
31 University Homes	Cornelius Golightly Apartment	1946	Georgian	CoM Eligible
31 Oniversity Homes	Cornelius Gongility Apartment	1740	Revival	Landmark
1442 Williamson Street	Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce	1898	Front Gabled	CoM HD-w/i POS &
1442 Williamson Street	House / Theodore Pierce House	1090	Tiont Gabicu	SRHP/NRHP
	Tiouse / Theodore Fierce House			Individually Eligible
				marviduany Engine



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Survey Results

Introduction

The survey conducted on the historical aspects of underrepresented groups in the City of Madison shows a genuine abundance of valuable historic properties within the survey boundary; however, often the nature of place and the histories of underrepresented groups takes precedence and is not always applicable to the standards of identifying specific physical properties that reflect this history. The examples found in the survey area suggest a community rich with history and respect for the resources that remain. However, a survey is a snapshot in time capturing the readily available information of the moment, and further information can and will come to light. This is especially the case considering the recent historical significance of many of the properties and future work may illuminate more on these subjects and their significance.

The principal investigators surveyed 100 resources of historical interest that are potentially eligible for designation as City of Madison Landmarks. Furthermore, of these 9 are individually eligible for the State and National Registers of Historic Places. 47 included resources are already listed individually in the State and National Registers of Historic Places, or as contributing resources in a State or National Register of Historic Places District (See Chapter 2, Survey Methodology, for an in-depth list of State and National Register criteria). Some these resources are already designated as local landmarks or listed in the National Register of Historic Places; however, such designations are not related to their significance in the history of underrepresented communities in the city. An additional 32 resources were identified during the survey but are not yet Eligible for Designation as Local Landmarks in the City of Madison or lack the criteria for Designation.

This chapter contains lists of the following results of the survey:

- Resources Designated as City of Madison Landmarks
- Resources Designated in City of Madison Historic Districts
- Resources Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks
- Resources Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks in the Future
- Resources Individually Listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places
- Resources Listed in State and National Registers of Historic Places Historic Districts
- Resources Eligible for Listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places
- Surveyed Resources Associated with the History of Underrepresented Communities

In addition to the contents of this chapter, several other types of information were gathered and organized through the course of the survey. From this information, the following documents were created: updated entries to the Wisconsin Historical Society's online Architecture and History Inventory (AHI), photos of every surveyed building, and this report. This historical survey report and the associated work elements mentioned above are kept at the City of Madison Department of Planning & Community & Economic Development and the Historic Preservation Division of the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison.

Resources Designated as City of Madison Landmarks

(Consideration should be given to updating the designations of these resources to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities).

Address	Historic Name	Community	<i>P. of S.</i>	AHI#
649 E. Dayton Street	(Hill Grocery)	African	(1912)	95553
	John and Amanda Hill Grocery	American	1912-c.1960	
240 W. Gilman Street	Woman's Building	Women	(1906) 1906-1973	99204
128-132 W. Johnson Street	Holy Redeemer Catholic Church	Latino	(1850-1930) c.1980-present	38729
142 W. Johnson Street	Holy Redeemer Catholic School	Latino	(1850-1930) c.1980-present	38730
2 E. Main Street	Wisconsin State Capitol	All	(1906-1917) 1906-present	16673
117 W. Main Street	(Philip Schoen Building) Shamrock Bar	LGBTQ	(1875) 1947-present	106831
402 E. Mifflin Street	(Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church) St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church	African American	(1922) 1928-1997	81006
1645 Norman Way	John R. Commons House	Women	(1913-1937) 1913	16847
7-11 N. Pinckney Street	(Hobbins Block / Olson and Veerhusen Building) United Migrant Opportunity Services	Latino	(1899-1906) 1976-present	110533
29 N. Pinckney Street	Belmont Hotel	LGBTQ	(1924) 1960-1968	99322
1440 E. Johnson Street	(Tenney Park) Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	(1899-1910) c.1830- c.1880	-
416 E. Wilson Street	Cardinal Hotel	Latino & LGBTQ	(1908) 1974-2017	17062

Resources Designated in City of Madison Historic Districts

(Consideration should be given to designating these resources as City of Madison Landmarks to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities).

Address	Historic Name	Community	<i>P.</i> of <i>S</i> .	AHI#
1937 Arlington Place	(Prof. Balthuasar H. Meyer House) Marjorie Miller House	Women	(1893-1928) 1970-1984	94772
123 W. Gilman Street	(Benjah Warnes Rental House)	LGBTQ	(1850-1946) 1973-1987	37062
	David Clarenbach House		19/3-198/	

953 Jenifer Street	(Pilgrim Congregational Church)	LGBTQ	(1854-1944)	103133
	Wil-Mar Neighborhood Center		1974-present	
10 N. Langdon Street	(Sophia and Charles E. Morgan House	LGBTQ	(1850-1930)	101625
101W Zunguen Sutte	Gay Liberation Front	20214	1971-1974	101020
406 N. D. 1 . C	•	I CDTO		27126
406 N. Pinckney Street	,	LGBTQ	(1850-1946)	37126
	Harmonia Madison Center for		1981-present	
	Psychotherapy			
1103 Spaight Street	Orton Park	LGBTQ	(1887)	_
			1986-1990	
1 1 1 0 W:11:	(Marile's Arriva Dader Community)	LCDTO		
1119 Williamson	(Meek's Auto Body Company)	LGBTQ	(1850-1929)	-
Street	Broom Street Theatre		1977-present	
1442 Williamson	(D. D. Daniher House)	African American	(1850-1929)	115936
Street	Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House /	& LGBTQ	1922-1936 /	
2.2.2.2	Theodore Pierce House		1936-1999	
401 W.		LCDTO		27120
401 Wisconsin Avenue		LGBTQ	(1850-1946)	37139
	Moontree		1975-present	

Resources Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks

Address	Historic Name	Community	P. of S.	AHI#
1819 Adams Avenue	Arthur and Ethelyn Koehler House	Women	(1891-1940) 1916	37572
2090 Atwood Avenue	(Eastwood Movie Theater) Barrymore Theatre	LGBTQ	(1929) 1986-present	94811
2425 Atwood Avenue	(Hudson Hotel) East Side Women's Progressive Club	Women	(1917) 1925-1954	94856
601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	Hmong	1971-present	-
118 S. Bedford Street	WORT-FM	LGBTQ	1982-present	-
1616 Beld Street	Tuxedo Tavern	African American	1964-1970	-
1905 W. Beltline Highway	St. Joseph Catholic Church	Latino	c.1980-present	-
6608 Berkshire Road	Eugene and Marilyn Parks Duplex	African American	1971-1988	-
206 Bernard Court	MEChA	Latino	(1911) c.1970-present	160472
100 N. Blair Street	(Free Methodist Church) Capital City Masonic Lodge #2	African American	(1940) c.1960-present	108379
405 Bram Street	Willie Lou and George Harris House	African American	1950-1954	-
209 N. Brooks Street	Women's Studies House	Women	(1929) 1975-1997	95208
215-217 N. Brooks Street	Wunk Sheek	First Nations	1968-present	95211
306 N. Brooks Street	University YMCA	LGBTQ & Women	c.1970-present	-
211 N. Carroll Street	Madison Vocational School / Madison Area Technical College	African American	(1921-1968) 1950-present	108279
5701 Cedar Place	Carson & Beatrice Gulley House	African American	1954-1962	-
502 Cedar Street	Clyde Stubblefield House	African American	1971-2011	-

228 N. Charter Street	Anderson House	Women	(1917) 1928-1964	95423
912 Dane Street	La Comunidad News	Latino	1989-2018	-
4010 Drexel Avenue	Thompson House	Women	1918	96569
2229 Eton Ridge	(Edward & M. Helen Sampi House) Kathryn F. and Henry G. Clarenbach House	Women	(1906-1946) 1960-present	35776
2012 Fisher Street	South Madison Day Care Center	African American	1968-1999	108152
2019 Fisher Street	Mount Zion Baptist Church	African American	1960-present	108156
2101 Fisher Street	Penn Park	African American	(1948) 1972-present	-
1610 Gilson Street	Style and Grace Barber Shop	African American	1962-c.2000	-
317 W. Gorham Street	(Madison Motor Car Co.) Velvet Swing	LGBTQ	(1855-1946) 1962-1971	88320
1202 Grant Street	Edgar and Marie Smith House	Women	(1891-1940) 1913	37210
1206 Grant Street	Cora Tuttle House	Women	(1891-1940) 1909-1931	29115
301 N. Hamilton Street	(Christian F. Rinder Grocery) Gay Center / Women's Center	LGBTQ & Women	(1893) 1972-1973	68897
633 E. Johnson Street	Benjamin & Amy Butts House	African American	1892-1907	-
836 E. Johnson Street	Women's Center	Women	1972-c.1990	-
1025 W. Johnson Street	Educational Science Building	First Nations	1976-present	-
3113 Lake Farm Road	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1840- c.1880	-
702 Langdon Street	Wisconsin Center	Women	1963-1997	160671
800 Langdon Street	UW-Madison Memorial Union	All	(1928-1957) 1970-present	106834
110 E. Main Street	(Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter	African American	(1930) 1943-present	107875
111 W. Main Street	(Congress Bar & Grill) Going My Way	LGBTQ	(1845-1936) 1977-1981	38647
4014 Major Avenue	House	Women	1913	108335
210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard	City-County Building	All	1975-2015	-
516 E. Mifflin Street	A.L. Weaver Grocery	African American	1919-c.1945	108378
29 S. Mills Street	Neighborhood House Community Center	African American & Hmong	1965-present	-
1440 Monroe Street	Camp Randall Stadium	African American	1929-present	109646
2105 Monroe Street	George and Edna Joachim House	Women	(1891-1940) 1915	37719
5326 Oak Crest Place	Truman and Nancy Lowe House	First Nations	1978-2000	-
600 N. Park Street	Helen C. White Hall	African American	(1969) 1978-2006	109674
841 Prospect Place	A. & M. Zell Pardee House	Women	(1853-1941) 1912	91791
3 Robin Circle	Betty Walker Smith House	Women	1969-1979	-
416 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women	(1853-1941)	91794

			1911-1914	
418 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women	(1853-1941) 1911-1914	91795
420 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women	(1853-1941) 1911-1914	91796
1207 Seminole Highway	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1880-c.1920	-
6098 N. Sherman Avenue	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1880	-
State Street	State Street	All	c.1860-present	-
320 State Street	(Dr. J. H. Bertrand Building) Uptown Grill	LGBTQ	(1855-1946) 1963-1967	88386
326 State Street	(Peter Hamacher Building) Wisconsin Weekly Blade	African American	(1855-1946) 1916-1925	88387
341 State Street	Community Pharmacy	LGBTQ	1983-present	75764
548-550 State Street	(Central Building Co.)	LGBTQ	(1910) 1973-1974	88421
816 State Street	State Historical Society of Wisconsin	First Nations	1915-1945	16108
2001 Taft Street	South Madison Neighborhood Center	African American	1949-present	-
1821 Thorstrand Road	Ruth Bleier House	Women	1970-1986	-
1515 Tripp Circle	(Van Hise Refectory)	African	1926-1962	160481
(00 II.:	Carson Gulley Center	American	(1007)	112264
•	(Olwell Commercial Building) 602 Club	LGBTQ	(1907) 1951-1994	113364
•	Barnard Residence Hall	Women	(1912) 1912-2001	113937
1050 University Avenue	Lathrop Hall	Women	(1909) 1909-c.1940	16896
1011 University Avenue	St. Francis House	LGBTQ	1969-c.1990	-
1127 University Avenue	University United Methodist Church	LGBTQ	1983-present	113374
University Bay Drive	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1890	-
31 University Houses	Cornelius Golightly Apartment	African American	1949-1955	-
1811 Vilas Avenue	Eugene and Alice C. Smith House	Women	(1891-1940) 1912	38525
1813 Vilas Avenue	Samuel P. and Grace BaRell House	Women	(1891-1940) 1911	37334
1821 Vilas Avenue	Eugene C. Smith Rental House	Women	(1891-1940) 1912	37337
1602 Vilas Park Drive	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1860-c.1880	-
1126 Waban Hill	Charles E. & Bertha Brown House	First Nations	(1915-1946) 1915-1946	36516
829 W. Washington Avenue	Brittingham Park	A. American & Hmong & LGBTQ	(1903) 1978-2000	122079
949 E. Washington Avenue	(M. W. Keeley Wholesale Confectionery) Omega School	Latino	1988-1995	115006
506 E. Wilson Street	(Herman Klueter Building) Emily's / Cheri's Back East	LGBTQ	(1881-1940) 1983-1990	100018
413 W. Wingra Drive	Marshall and Eva Colston House	African American	1956-c.1965	-

1925 Winnebago	(Madison Gospel Tabernacle)	LGBTQ	(1931)	116036
Street	Freedom House School		1974-c.1990	
				1
	·			-

Resources Potentially Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks in the Future

Address	Historic Name	Community	<i>P.</i> of <i>S</i> .	AHI#
602 Acewood Boulevard	Victory Hmong Alliance Church	Hmong	1999-present	-
633 W. Badger Road	Fountain of Life Covenant Church	African American	2012-present	-
810 W. Badger Road	Centro Hispano	Latino	2006-present	-
1862 Beld Street	Catholic Multicultural Center	Latino	2002-present	-
4002 Evan Acres Road	Ho-Chunk Gaming - Madison	First Nations	1999-present	-
1903 Fisher Street	St. Paul United Holy Church of America	African American	c.1950-present	-
2815 Hauk Street	Rodney Scheel House	LGBTQ	1995-present	-
848 W. Lakeside Street	Rev. James C. and Jackie Wright House	African American	1965-1995	-
2919 Lakeland Avenue	Effigy Tree	First Nations	2009-present	-
3518 Memorial Drive	Kajsiab House	Hmong	2000-2018	-
2102 S. Park Street	Mercado Marimar	Latino	1999-present	-
2222 S. Park Street	Umoja Magazine	African American	1990-present	-
918 Pontiac Trail	Velma F. and Harry Hamilton House	African American	1971-present	-
525 Riverside Drive	Tammy Baldwin House	LGBTQ	1996-2000	-
849 E. Washington Avenue	(C. G. McGlashan Wholesale Bakery) Apple Island	Women	(1917) 1991-1996	114982
2114 West Lawn Avenue	Nellie McKay House	African American	1989-2006	-
	Annual An			
				-



Resources Individually Listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places (Consideration should be given to updating these nominations to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities).

Address	Historic Name	Community	<i>P. of S.</i>	AHI#
211 N. Carroll Street	Madison Vocational School / Madison	African	(1921-1968)	108279
	Area Technical College	American	1950-present	
800 Langdon Street	UW-Madison Memorial Union	All	(1928-1957)	106834
			1970-present	
2 E. Main Street	Wisconsin State Capitol	All	(1906-1917)	16673
			1906-present	
110 E. Main Street	Tenney Building	African	(1930)	107875
		American	1943-present	
1645 Norman Way	John R. Commons House	Women	(1913-1937)	16847
			1913	
29 N. Pinckney Street	Belmont Hotel	LGBTQ	(1924)	99322
			1960-1968	
1050 University	Lathrop Hall	Women	(1909)	16896
Avenue			1909-c.1940	
416 E. Wilson Street	Cardinal Hotel	Latino &	(1908)	17062
		LGBTQ	1974-2017	

Resources Listed in State and National Registers of Historic Places Historic Districts (Consideration should be given to individually listing these resources in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities).

Address	Historic Name	Community	<i>P. of S.</i>	AHI#
1819 Adams Avenue	Arthur and Ethelyn Koehler House	Women	(1891-1940) 1916	37572
1937 Arlington Place	(Prof. Balthuasar H. Meyer House) Marjorie Miller House	Women	(1894-1965) 1970-1984	94772
114 N. Blount Street	Ida Carmichael House	African American	1901-1937	95157
649 E. Dayton Street	(Hill Grocery) John and Amanda Hill Grocery	African American	(1901-1937) 1912-c.1960	95553
2229 Eton Ridge	(Edward & M. Helen Samp House) Kathryn F. and Henry G. Clarenbach House	Women	(1906-1946) 1960-present	35776
123 W. Gilman Street	(Benjah Warnes Rental House) David Clarenbach House	LGBTQ	(1850-1946) 1973-1987	37062
317 W. Gorham Street ^A	(Madison Motor Car Co.) Velvet Swing	LGBTQ	(1855-1946) 1962-1971	88320
1202 Grant Street	Edgar and Marie Smith House	Women	(1891-1940) 1913	37210

2016 Grant Street					
10 13 13 13 13 13 13 13	1206 Grant Street	Cora Tuttle House	Women		29115
128-132 W. Johnson Street Holy Redeemer Catholic Church Latino C.1980-present	953 Jenifer Street		LGBTQ	(1854-1944)	103133
142 W. Johnson Street			Latino	(1850-1946)	38729
10 N. Langdon Street		Holy Redeemer Catholic School	Latino	(1850-1946)	38730
No. No.	10 N. Langdon Street	` 1	LGBTQ	(1870-1930)	101625
111 W. Main Street Congress Bar & Grill Going My Way 1977-1981 1771-1981 1797-	800 Langdon Street		All	(1928-1957)	106834
117 W. Main Street Chilip Schoen Building Shamrock Bar 1936 1936 1936 1936 1936 1947-present 1947-present 1947-present 1947-present 1915	111 W. Main Street		LGBTQ	(1845-1936)	38647
2105 Monroe Street George and Edna Joachim House Women (1891-1940) 37719 1915 1906 1915 1906 1915 1906 1915 1906 1916 1916 1916 1917 1918 1	117 W. Main Street	(Philip Schoen Building)	LGBTQ	Mills (1845- 1936)	106831
American 1978-2006	2105 Monroe Street	George and Edna Joachim House	Women	(1891-1940)	37719
Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy 1981-present Psychotherapy 1981-present Psychotherapy 1981-present Psychotherapy 1981-present Psychotherapy 1981-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1982-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1981-present 1982-present 1982-present 1982-present 1982-present 1982-present	600 N. Park Street	Helen C. White Hall			109674
1912 1913 1914 1915 1914 1915 1915 1915 1915 1915 1914 1914 1914 1914 1915 1915 1915 1915 1915 1916 1916	406 N. Pinckney Street	Harmonia Madison Center for	LGBTQ	` /	37126
1911-1914 18 Russell Walk Frank W. Hall Speculative House Women (1853-1941) 91795 1911-1914 1911-1914 1917-1	841 Prospect Place		Women	` /	91791
1911-1914 1917	416 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women		91794
1911-1914 1103 Spaight Street	418 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women	,	91795
1986-1990 320 State Street	420 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women		91796
Uptown Grill 1963-1967 326 State Street	1103 Spaight Street	Orton Park	LGBTQ		-
Wisconsin Weekly Blade	320 State Street ^A		LGBTQ	` /	88386
816 State Street State Historical Society of Wisconsin First Nations (1851-1969) 16108 1811 Vilas Avenue Eugene and Alice C. Smith House Women (1891-1940) 38525 1813 Vilas Avenue Samuel P. and Grace BaRell House Women (1891-1940) 37334 1821 Vilas Avenue Eugene C. Smith Rental House Women (1891-1940) 37337 1912 1126 Waban Hill Charles E. & Bertha Brown House First Nations (1915-1940) 36516 4801 Waukesha Street (Van Hise Middle School) African (1956-1989) 229038 401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018		, <u> </u>		,	88387
816 State Street State Historical Society of Wisconsin First Nations (1851-1969) 16108 1811 Vilas Avenue Eugene and Alice C. Smith House Women (1891-1940) 38525 1813 Vilas Avenue Samuel P. and Grace BaRell House Women (1891-1940) 37334 1821 Vilas Avenue Eugene C. Smith Rental House Women (1891-1940) 37337 1912 1126 Waban Hill Charles E. & Bertha Brown House First Nations (1915-1940) 36516 4801 Waukesha Street (Van Hise Middle School) African (1956-1989) 229038 401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018	341 State Street ^A	Community Pharmacy	LGBTO	1983-present	75764
1811 Vilas Avenue Eugene and Alice C. Smith House Women (1891-1940) 38525 1813 Vilas Avenue Samuel P. and Grace BaRell House Women (1891-1940) 37334 1821 Vilas Avenue Eugene C. Smith Rental House Women (1891-1940) 37337 1912 1126 Waban Hill Charles E. & Bertha Brown House First Nations (1915-1946) 36516 4801 Waukesha Street (Van Hise Middle School) African (1956-1989) 229038 Velma Hamilton Middle School American 1993-present 401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018		777777777	-	(1851-1969)	
1813 Vilas Avenue Samuel P. and Grace BaRell House Women (1891-1940) 37334 1821 Vilas Avenue Eugene C. Smith Rental House Women (1891-1940) 37337 1912 1126 Waban Hill Charles E. & Bertha Brown House First Nations (1915-1946) 36516 4801 Waukesha Street (Van Hise Middle School) African (1956-1989) 229038 401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018	1811 Vilas Avenue	Eugene and Alice C. Smith House	Women	(1891-1940)	38525
1821 Vilas Avenue Eugene C. Smith Rental House Women (1891-1940) 37337 1912 1912 1915-1946 36516 1126 Waban Hill Charles E. & Bertha Brown House First Nations (1915-1946) 36516 4801 Waukesha Street (Van Hise Middle School) African (1956-1989) 229038 Velma Hamilton Middle School American 1993-present 401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018	1813 Vilas Avenue	Samuel P. and Grace BaRell House	Women	(1891-1940)	37334
4801 Waukesha Street (Van Hise Middle School) African (1956-1989) 229038 Velma Hamilton Middle School American 1993-present 401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018	1821 Vilas Avenue	Eugene C. Smith Rental House	Women		37337
Velma Hamilton Middle School American 1993-present 401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018	1126 Waban Hill	Charles E. & Bertha Brown House	First Nations	(1915-1946)	36516
401 Wisconsin Avenue (A'delbert L. Averill House) LGBTQ (1850-1946) 37139 Moontree 1975-present 506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018	4801 Waukesha Street			(1956-1989)	229038
506 E. Wilson Street (Herman Klueter Building) LGBTQ (1881-1940) 100018	401 Wisconsin Avenue	(A'delbert L. Averill House)		(1850-1946)	37139
	506 E. Wilson Street	(Herman Klueter Building)	LGBTQ	(1881-1940)	100018



^A Listed in the State Register of Historic Places only.

Resources Eligible for Listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places

		40000007		
Address	Historic Name	Community	<i>P. of S.</i>	AHI#
100 N. Blair Street	(Free Methodist Church)	African	(1940)	108379
	Capital City Masonic Lodge #2	American	c.1960-	
			present	
209 N. Brooks Street	Women's Studies House	Women	(1929)	95208
			1975-1997	
306 N. Brooks Street	University YMCA	LGBTQ &	c.1970-	-
		Women	present	
5701 Cedar Place	Carson & Beatrice Gulley House	African	1954-1962	-
		American		
633 E. Johnson Street	Benjamin & Amy Butts House	African	1892-1907	-
		American		
402 E. Mifflin Street	(Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church)	African	(1922)	81006
	St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal	American	1928-1997	
	Church			
29 S. Mills Street	Neighborhood House Community Center	African	1965-present	-
		American &		
		Hmong		
970 University Avenue	Barnard Residence Hall	Women	(1912)	113937
			1912-2001	
1442 Williamson	(D. D. Daniher House)	African	(1898)	115936
Street	Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House	American	1922-1936	

Resources Associated with the History of Underrepresented Communities Included in the Survey

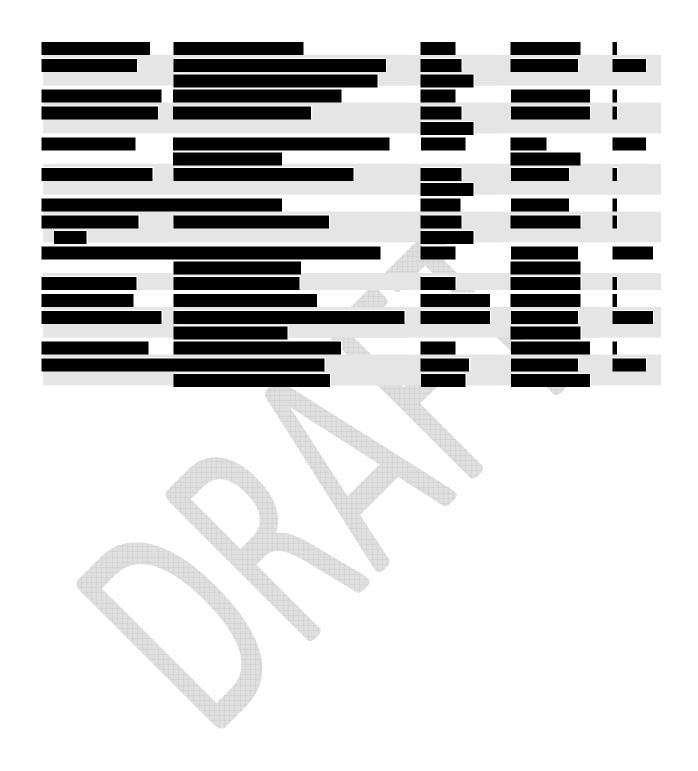
W. Carlotte and Ca				
Address	Historic Name	Community	<i>P. of S.</i>	AHI#
602 Acewood Boulevard	Victory Hmong Alliance Church	Hmong	1999-present	-
1819 Adams Avenue	Arthur and Ethelyn Koehler House	Women	(1891-1940) 1916	37572
1937 Arlington Place	(Prof. Balthuasar H. Meyer House) Marjorie Miller House	Women	(1893-1928) 1970-1984	94772
2090 Atwood Avenue	(Eastwood Movie Theater) Barrymore Theatre	LGBTQ	(1929) 1986-present	94811
2425 Atwood Avenue	(Hudson Hotel) East Side Women's Progressive Club	Women	(1917) 1925-1954	94856
633 W. Badger Road	Fountain of Life Covenant Church	African American	2012-present	-
810 W. Badger Road	Centro Hispano	Latino	2006-present	-

601 Bay View	Bayview Foundation Apartments	Hmong	1971-present	-
118 S. Bedford Street	WORT-FM	LGBTQ	1982-present	-
1616 Beld Street	Tuxedo Tavern	African American	1964-1970	-
1862 Beld Street	Catholic Multicultural Center	Latino	2002-present	-
1905 W. Beltline Highway	St. Joseph Catholic Church	Latino	c.1980-present	-
6608 Berkshire Road	Eugene and Marilyn Parks Duplex	African American	1971-1988	-
206 Bernard Court	MEChA	Latino	(1911) c.1970-present	160472
100 N. Blair Street	(Free Methodist Church) Capital City Masonic Lodge #2	African American	(1940) c.1960-present	108379
114 N. Blount Street	Ida Carmichael House	African American	1901-1937	95157
405 Bram Street	Willie Lou and George Harris House	African American	1950-1954	-
209 N. Brooks Street	Women's Studies House	Women	(1929) 1975-1997	95208
215-217 N. Brooks Street	Wunk Sheek	First Nations	1968-present	95211
306 N. Brooks Street	University YMCA	LGBTQ & Women	c.1970-present	-
211 N. Carroll Street	Madison Vocational School / Madison Area Technical College	African American	(1921-1968) 1950-present	108279
5701 Cedar Place	Carson & Beatrice Gulley House	African American	1954-1962	-
502 Cedar Street	Clyde Stubblefield House	African American	1971-2011	-
228 N. Charter Street	Anderson House Cooperative	Women	(1917) 1928-1964	95423
912 Dane Street	La Comunidad News	Latino	1989-2018	-
649 E. Dayton Street	(Hill Grocery)	African	(1912-1937)	95553
	John and Amanda Hill Grocery	American	1912-c.1960	0.57.50
4010 Drexel Avenue	Thompson House	Women	1918	96569
2229 Eton Ridge	(Edward & M. Helen Samp House) Kathryn F. and Henry G. Clarenbach House	Women	(1906-1946) 1960-present	35776
4002 Evan Acres Road	Ho-Chunk Gaming - Madison	First Nations	1999-present	-
1717 Fish Hatchery Road	James C. Wright Middle School	African American	1997-present	-
1903 Fisher Street	St. Paul United Holy Church of America	African American	c.1950-present	-
2012 Fisher Street	South Madison Day Care Center	African American	1968-1999	108152
2019 Fisher Street	Mount Zion Baptist Church	African American	1960-present	108156
2025 Fisher Street	Mt. Zion Parsonage	African American	1960-present	-
2029 Fisher Street	Mt. Zion Food Pantry	African American	1982-present	-
2101 Fisher Street	Penn Park	African American	(1948) 1972-present	-
133 E. Gilman Street	"Fag Manor"	LGBTQ	1974-1978	-
123 W. Gilman Street	(Benjah Warnes Rental House)	LGBTQ	(1850-1946)	37062

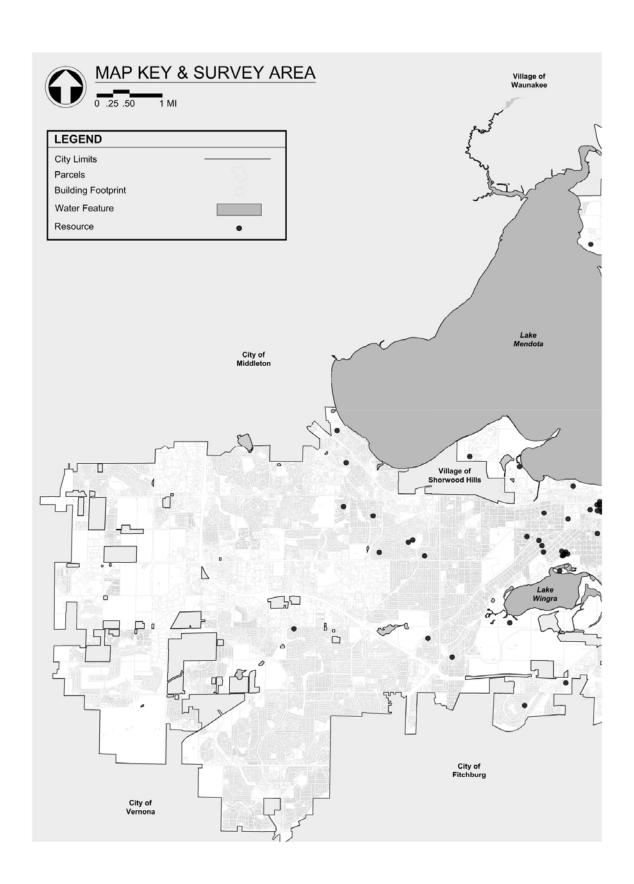
	David Clarenbach House		1973-1987	
240 W. Gilman Street	Woman's Building	Women	(1906) 1906-1973	99204
1610 Gilson Street	Style and Grace Barber Shop	African American	1962-c.2000	-
317 W. Gorham Street	(Madison Motor Car Co.) Velvet Swing	LGBTQ	(1855-1946) 1962-1971	88320
1202 Grant Street	Edgar and Marie Smith House	Women	(1891-1940) 1913	37210
1206 Grant Street	Cora Tuttle House	Women	(1891-1940) 1909-1931	29115
301 N. Hamilton Street	(Christian F. Rinder Grocery) Gay Center	LGBTQ & Women	(1893) 1972-1973	68897
2815 Hauk Street	Rodney Scheel House	LGBTQ	1995-present	-
953 Jenifer Street	(Pilgrim Congregational Church) Wil-Mar Neighborhood Center	LGBTQ	(1854-1944) 1974-present	103133
633 E. Johnson Street	Benjamin & Amy Butts House	African American	1892-1907	-
836 E. Johnson Street	Women's Center	Women	1972-c.1990	-
128-132 W. Johnson Street	Holy Redeemer Catholic Church	Latino	(1850-1930) c.1980-present	38729
142 W. Johnson Street	Holy Redeemer Catholic School	Latino	(1850-1930) c.1980-present	38730
1025 W. Johnson Street	Educational Science Building	First Nations	1976-present	-
2919 Lakeland Avenue	Effigy Tree	First Nations	2009-present	-
3113 Lake Farm Road	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1840- c.1880	-
848 W. Lakeside Street	Rev. James C. and Jackie Wright House	African American	1965-1995	-
10 N. Langdon Street	(Sophia and Charles E. Morgan House)	LGBTQ	(1850-1930)	101625
	Gay Liberation Front		1971-1974	
702 Langdon Street		Women		160671
702 Langdon Street 800 Langdon Street	Gay Liberation Front		1971-1974	
	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center	Women	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957)	160671
800 Langdon Street	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter	Women All	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917)	160671 106834
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building)	Women All All African	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930)	160671 106834 16673
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street 110 E. Main Street	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter (Congress Bar & Grill)	Women All All African American	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930) 1943-present (1845-1936)	160671 106834 16673 107875
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street 110 E. Main Street 111 W. Main Street	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter (Congress Bar & Grill) Going My Way (Philip Schoen Building)	Women All All African American LGBTQ	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930) 1943-present (1845-1936) 1977-1981 (1845-1936)	160671 106834 16673 107875 38647
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street 110 E. Main Street 111 W. Main Street 117 W. Main Street 4014 Major Avenue 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter (Congress Bar & Grill) Going My Way (Philip Schoen Building) Shamrock Bar House City-County Building	Women All All African American LGBTQ LGBTQ Women All	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930) 1943-present (1845-1936) 1977-1981 (1845-1936) 1947-present 1913 1975-2015	160671 106834 16673 107875 38647 106831
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street 110 E. Main Street 111 W. Main Street 117 W. Main Street 4014 Major Avenue 210 Martin Luther	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter (Congress Bar & Grill) Going My Way (Philip Schoen Building) Shamrock Bar House City-County Building Kajsiab House	Women All African American LGBTQ LGBTQ Women All Hmong	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930) 1943-present (1845-1936) 1977-1981 (1845-1936) 1947-present 1913	160671 106834 16673 107875 38647 106831
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street 110 E. Main Street 111 W. Main Street 117 W. Main Street 4014 Major Avenue 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter (Congress Bar & Grill) Going My Way (Philip Schoen Building) Shamrock Bar House City-County Building	Women All All African American LGBTQ LGBTQ Women All	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930) 1943-present (1845-1936) 1977-1981 (1845-1936) 1947-present 1913 1975-2015	160671 106834 16673 107875 38647 106831
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street 110 E. Main Street 111 W. Main Street 117 W. Main Street 4014 Major Avenue 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard 3518 Memorial Drive	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter (Congress Bar & Grill) Going My Way (Philip Schoen Building) Shamrock Bar House City-County Building Kajsiab House (Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church) St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal	Women All All African American LGBTQ LGBTQ Women All Hmong African American African	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930) 1943-present (1845-1936) 1977-1981 (1845-1936) 1947-present 1913 1975-2015 2000-2018 (1922)	160671 106834 16673 107875 38647 106831 108335
800 Langdon Street 2 E. Main Street 110 E. Main Street 111 W. Main Street 117 W. Main Street 4014 Major Avenue 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard 3518 Memorial Drive 402 E. Mifflin Street	Gay Liberation Front Wisconsin Center UW-Madison Memorial Union Wisconsin State Capitol (Tenney Building) NAACP-Madison Chapter (Congress Bar & Grill) Going My Way (Philip Schoen Building) Shamrock Bar House City-County Building Kajsiab House (Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church) St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church	Women All All African American LGBTQ LGBTQ Women All Hmong African American	1971-1974 1963-1997 (1928-1957) 1970-present (1906-1917) 1906-present (1930) 1943-present (1845-1936) 1977-1981 (1845-1936) 1947-present 1913 1975-2015 2000-2018 (1922) 1928-1997	160671 106834 16673 107875 38647 106831 108335 - 81006

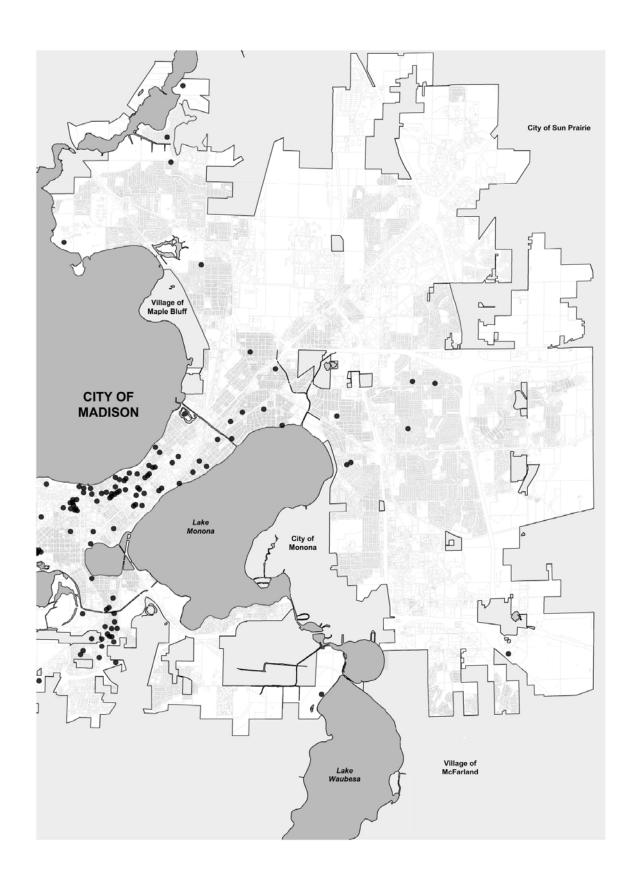
1440 Monroe Street	Camp Randall Stadium	African American	1929-present	109646
2105 Monroe Street	George and Edna Joachim House	Women	(1891-1940) 1915	37719
1645 Norman Way	John R. Commons House	Women	(1913-1937) 1913	16847
5326 Oak Crest Place	Truman and Nancy Lowe House	First Nations	1978-2000	-
600 N. Park Street	Helen C. White Hall	African American	(1951-1969) 1978-2006	109674
2102 S. Park Street	Mercado Marimar	Latino	1999-present	-
2222 S. Park Street	Umoja Magazine	African American	1990-present	-
7-11 N. Pinckney Street	(Olson and Veerhusen Building / Hobbins Block) United Migrant Opportunity Services	Latino	(1899-1906) 1976-present	110533
29 N. Pinckney Street	Belmont Hotel	LGBTQ	(1924) 1960-1968	99322
406 N. Pinckney Street	(Orasmus Cole House) Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy	LGBTQ	(1850-1946) 1981-present	37126
918 Pontiac Trail	Velma F. and Harry Hamilton House	African American	1971-present	-
841 Prospect Place	A. & M. Zell Pardee House	Women	(1853-1941) 1912	91791
525 Riverside Drive	Tammy Baldwin House	LGBTQ	1996-2000	-
3 Robin Circle	Betty Walker Smith House	Women	1969-1979	-
416 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women	(1853-1941) 1911-1914	91794
418 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women	(1853-1941) 1911-1914	91795
420 Russell Walk	Frank W. Hall Speculative House	Women	(1853-1941) 1911-1914	91796
1103 Spaight Street	Orton Park	LGBTQ	(1887) 1986-1990	-
218 Schenk Street	Annie Greencrow Whitehorse Middle School	First Nations	1993-present	-
1207 Seminole Highway	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1880-c.1920	-
6098 N. Sherman Avenue	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1880	-
State Street	State Street	All	c.1860-present	-
320 State Street	(Dr. J. H. Bertrand Building) Uptown Grill	LGBTQ	(1855-1946) 1963-1967	88386
326 State Street	(Peter Hamacher Building) Wisconsin Weekly Blade	African American	(1855-1946) 1916-1925	88387
341 State Street	Community Pharmacy	LGBTQ	1983-present	75764
548-550 State Street	(Central Building Co.)	LGBTQ	(1910) 1973-1974	88421
816 State Street	State Historical Society of Wisconsin	First Nations	(1851-1969) 1915-1945	16108
2001 Taft Street	South Madison Neighborhood Center	African American	1949-present	-
1440 E. Johnson Street	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1830- c.1880	-
1821 Thorstrand Road	Ruth Bleier House	Women	1970-1986	-

1515 Tripp Circle	(Van Hise Refectory) Carson Gulley Center	African American	1926-1962	160481
602 University Avenue	(Olwell Commercial Building) 602 Club	LGBTQ	(1907) 1951-1994	113364
970 University Avenue	Barnard Residence Hall	Women	(1912) 1912-2001	113937
1050 University Avenue	Lathrop Hall	Women	(1909) 1909-c.1940	16896
1011 University Avenue	St. Francis House	LGBTQ	1969-c.1990	-
1127 University Avenue	University United Methodist Church	LGBTQ	1983-present	113374
University Bay Drive	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1890	-
31 University Houses	Cornelius Golightly Apartment	African	1949-1955	_
or our croing from es	Comenus Congina i i parament	American	17.7 1700	
1811 Vilas Avenue	Eugene and Alice C. Smith House	Women	(1891-1940) 1912	38525
1813 Vilas Avenue	Samuel P. and Grace BaRell House	Women	(1891-1940) 1911	37334
1821 Vilas Avenue	Eugene C. Smith Rental House	Women	(1891-1940) 1912	37337
1602 Vilas Park Drive	Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp	First Nations	c.1860-c.1880	-
1126 Waban Hill	Charles E. & Bertha Brown House	First Nations	(1915-1946) 1915-1946	36516
849 E. Washington Avenue	(C. G. McGlashan Wholesale Bakery) Apple Island	Women	(1917) 1991-1996	114982
949 E. Washington Avenue	(M. W. Keeley Wholesale Confectionery) Omega School	Latino	1988-1995	115006
829 W. Washington Avenue	Brittingham Park	A. American & Hmong & LGBTQ	(1903) 1978-2000	122079
4801 Waukesha Street	(Van Hise Middle School)	African	(1956-1989)	229038
	Velma Hamilton Middle School	American	1993-present	
2114 West Lawn Avenue	Nellie McKay House	African American	1989-2006	-
1119 Williamson Street	(Meek's Auto Body Company) Broom Street Theatre	LGBTQ	1977-present	-
1442 Williamson	(D. D. Daniher House)	African	(1850-1929)	115936
Street	Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House /	American &	1922-1936 /	
	Theodore Pierce House	LGBTQ	1936-1999	
416 E. Wilson Street	Cardinal Hotel	Latino &	(1908)	17062
		LGBTQ	1974-2017	
506 E. Wilson Street	(Herman Klueter Building) Emily's / Cheri's Back East	LGBTQ	(1881-1940) 1983-1990	100018
413 W. Wingra Drive	Marshall and Eva Colston House	African American	1956-c.1965	-
1925 Winnebago Street	(Madison Gospel Tabernacle) Freedom House School	LGBTQ	(1931) 1974-c.1990	116036
401 Wisconsin Avenue	(A'delbert L. Averill House) Moontree	LGBTQ	(1850-1946) 1975-present	37139











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Conclusion

The survey should serve to enhance the overall historic preservation ethic in the City of Madison. It gives a brief history of the city, identifies historic resources, and can serve as a basis for decision-making activities regarding those resources. This report can be used to create interest and awareness and promote historic resources and preservation issues in Madison.

This report should not be considered a complete history of the City of Madison, nor of the underrepresented groups highlighted in this document. It is hoped that this survey will be periodically updated and expanded upon. This report is subject to change. Additional research and clarifications should be incorporated and added to this report in the future. This is a living document and the beginning of an ongoing historic preservation effort that will continue for years to come.





23

Notes

¹ Mollenhoff, David V. *Madison: A History of the Formative Years, Second Edition.* Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003, p. 2-9.

² Janik, Erika. *Madison: History of a Model City*. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2010, p. 7-11.

³ Mollenhoff, David V. Madison: A History of the Formative Years, Second Edition, p. 12-19.

⁴ Nesbit, Robert C. *Wisconsin, a History*, Second ed. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, p. 98-100.

⁵ Janik, Erika. Madison: History of a Model City, p. 7-11.

⁶ Mollenhoff, David V. Madison: A History of the Formative Years, Second Edition, p. 22-30.

⁷ Segoe, Ladislas. Comprehensive Plan of Madison, Wisconsin and Environs, Vol. I and II. Madison, WI: Trustees of Madison Planning Trust, October 1838; and Madison, Wisconsin: The Four Lake City. Madison, WI: Madison Board of Commerce, 1914.

⁸ Mollenhoff, David V. *Madison: A History of the Formative Years, Second Edition*; and *Madison, Wisconsin: The Four Lake City*, p. 44-58.

⁹ United States Federal Census Bureau. Madison, Wisconsin Data. 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 2000, and 2010; and Mollenhoff, David V. *Madison: A History of the Formative Years, Second Edition*, p. 87-106.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 87-106.

¹¹ Janik, Erika. Madison: History of a Model City, p. 46-47.

¹² Ibid, p. 17.

¹³ United States Federal Census Bureau. Madison, Wisconsin Data; and Janik, Erika. *Madison: History of a Model City*, p. 20-23.

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