

FASCINATED BY THE CIVIL WAR?

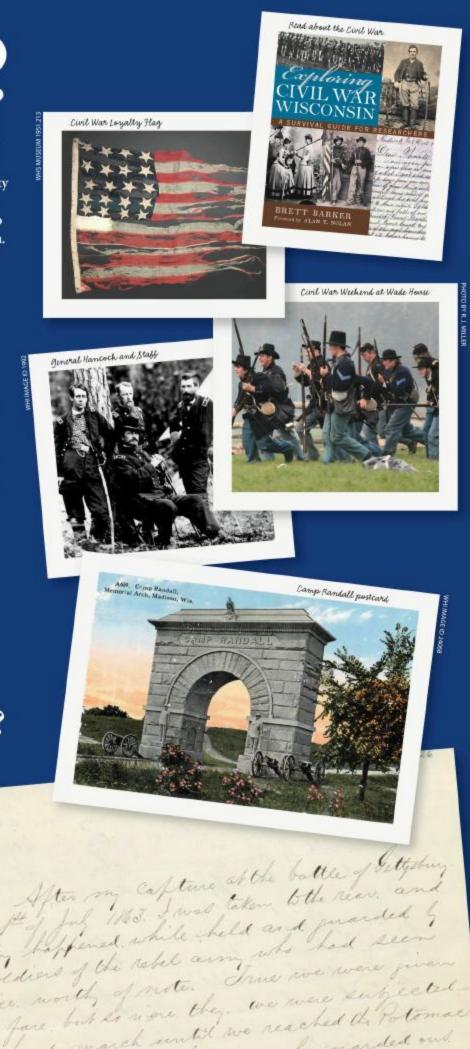
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What fascinates you?







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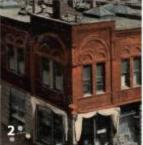
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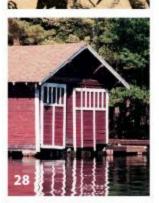
On the front cover: Located on Lake Minocqua, this unique boathouse displays a prominent octagonal corner turret.

PHOTO BY CHRISTINA SLATTERY











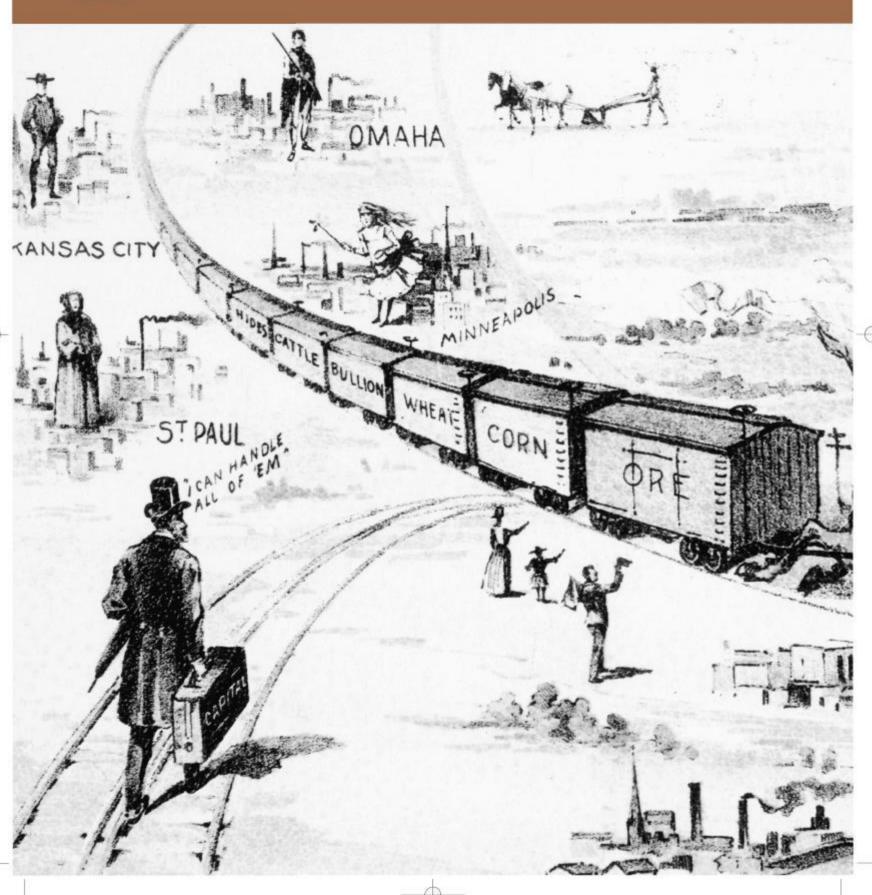
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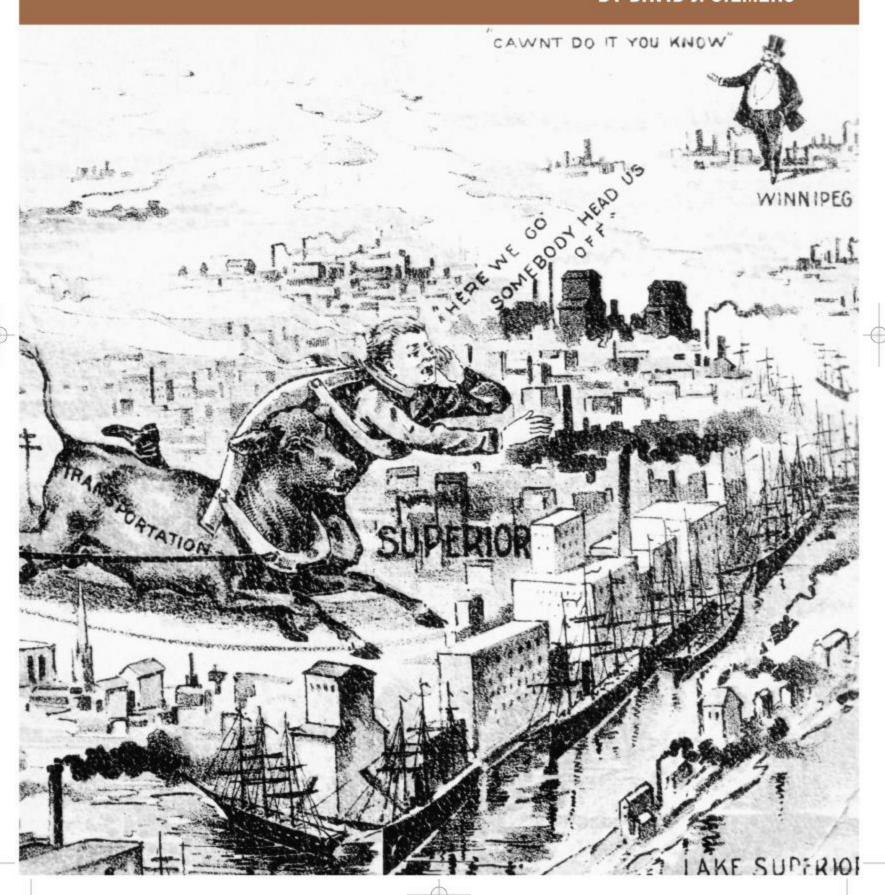
In the late nineteenth century, citizens and investors were optimistic that Superio would eclipse Chicago as the premier Great Lakes port. Drawing ca. 1885.

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THE ROOSEVELTS IN SUPERIOR

BY DAVID J. SIEMERS



n late September 1932, during the depths of the Great Depression, Franklin Delano Roosevelt campaigned for the presidency in Wisconsin. Speaking at Milwaukee's Eagle's Club on West Wisconsin Avenue, the governor of New York proclaimed that "back in the days when I was in college . . . and began to ponder the great principles of political life, I learned much and profited much by what was going on in Wisconsin."1 FDR identified his own "New Deal" with the Progressive tradition of Robert M. La Follette. This appeal worked well in Wisconsin, as Roosevelt received more than twice as many votes here as President Herbert Hoover on election day.2 This was a stunning result in a state where ninety percent of the seats in the state legislature were held by Republicans, and it ushered in the modern era of Wisconsin politics.3



Franklin Roosevelt campaigning in Milwaukee during the 1932 presidential race

The 1932 campaign trip was not Roosevelt's first visit to the Badger State. Nor was his first visit during his Vice Presidential run in 1920, when he came to Milwaukee to speak in support of the League of Nations. Franklin Delano Roosevelt first came to Wisconsin in 1892, as a ten-year-old boy. His father James, a prominent businessman, had meetings to attend in Chicago because he was a commissioner of the upcoming World's Fair. But the Roosevelts' trek through Wisconsin was not a side trip. One of the reasons that James Roosevelt had agreed to be a fair commissioner was so that he could conveniently check up on the substantial investments he had made in the city of Superior, Wisconsin. James Roosevelt set out from the Windy City to fulfill his duties as president of the West Superior Iron and Steel Company.

This visit was already James Roosevelt's fourth business trip to Wisconsin in three years. The West Superior Iron and Steel Company had just completed building a massive new factory on the western edge of town abutting St. Louis Bay. He had also just financed the building of "Roosevelt Terrace," a residential block of luxury townhomes sprawling out from the corner of 21st Street and Ogden Avenue. Additionally, the elder Roosevelt was on the board of directors of the Superior and Duluth Loan and Debenture Company and the First National Bank of Superior. He was also director and chairman of the West Superior and Duluth Gas and Water Company.

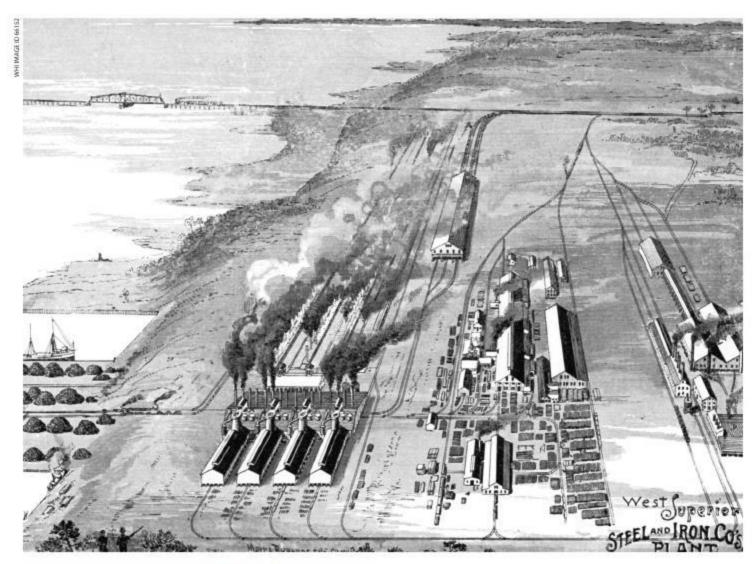
Thus in early April 1892, James, his wife, Sara Delano Roosevelt, their only son Franklin, and Franklin's governess traversed the entire length of Wisconsin, moving from its southeast corner to its northwest extremity. They traveled in style in the railway car owned by James Roosevelt. Setting out from Chicago on the evening of April 9 meant that Franklin would be sleeping during much of their journey. Even so, the rambunctious youth from the Hudson River Valley must have enjoyed seeing the farms carved out of the prairie and then the North Woods travel past his railway car window. Franklin undoubtedly took note of Wisconsin's birds on his way from Chicago to Superior, for this was the same year that he would start his extensive collection of eggs, nests, and stuffed birds, which can still be seen at the FDR home in Hyde Park, New York.

What attracted Franklin Delano Roosevelt's father to invest in a small town in the upper Midwest? James was looking to parlay his already substantial wealth into a fortune. If things would go as he hoped in Superior, he would become one of the nation's richest men.

As the Roosevelts traveled to Superior, the town was at the peak of a decade of spectacular growth. Superior had been a sleepy, neglected outpost into the early 1880s. But in the ten years from 1883 to 1892, Superior experienced an economic boom the likes of which no city in the state had ever seen. A former Civil War general named John Hammond saw an opportunity in the harbor lying at the western end of Lake Superior. Hammond convinced St. Paul's great railroad magnate James J. Hill that Superior was ripe for development. Both Hammond and Hill knew that transporting materials by ship was much less expensive per mile than transporting an equivalent weight by rail. If Hill could build a ship and harbor industry at Superior, it might corner the market on delivering grain from the Great Plains to the East by utilizing ships instead of railcars. Hill pledged that "I will not rest until I have taken from Chicago all of that immense traffic which belongs to Superior."8 In short, Hammond and Hill envisioned in Superior a new Chicago, which would rival the City of Broad Shoulders as the nation's commodities and transportation hub.

Railroad tracks were laid to connect Superior to points East, West, and South. John Hammond founded the Land and River Improvement Company, which bought up numerous tracts. He solicited investment in Superior from the wealthy businessmen of the eastern seaboard. During the next few years the Land and River Improvement Company would be responsible for developing most of the key properties within the city. By 1891, a promotional pamphlet titled "Souvenir of Superior" put out by the local Evening Telegram, called Superior "the second city in importance and the first in commerce in the State of Wisconsin" and gave Superior the nickname "the City of Destiny." 10

4 wisconsinhistory.org



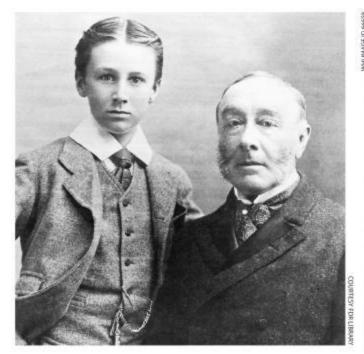


James Roosevelt invested in the West Superior Iron and Steel Company.

James Roosevelt was one of the wealthy easterners invited to finance and capitalize on Hammond and Hill's ideas. Roosevelt himself invested a good part of the money that made Superior what it was in 1892, but he also gathered capital from his friends. From among his eastern business associates he raised a total of \$3.5 million to start the West Superior Iron and Steel Company. 11 Among its investors were John D. Rockefeller and James Roosevelt's son by his first marriage, James Jr. 12

Roosevelt's plan seemed almost self-executing. The substantial iron ore deposits in northern Minnesota and northern Michigan could be hauled to the West Superior factory relatively cheaply on the new rail lines. Labor costs in northern Wisconsin would be substantially cheaper than in Chicago or even

Franklin Roosevelt's bird collection on display in Roosevelt's Hyde Park home, which is now a National Historic Site.







John H. Hammond, fourth from the right, served during the Civil War as a member of General William T. Sherman's staff.

in St. Paul. A factory producing iron and steel could help make ships that could be dropped directly into Lake Superior, from whence they could move cargo more cheaply than by rail.

Together the Land and River Improvement Company and the West Superior Iron and Steel Company made what had been uncleared ground into a diverse city with a thriving manufacturing sector. The 1891 Evening Telegram promotional pamphlet relates that the plant cost nearly \$1.5 million dollars to build and that it would "employ 1500 men." Much of the iron and steel would be turned over to the American Steel and Barge works, which was touted as the greatest steel ship building plant on the continent. As the Roosevelt's private car arrived in town at noon on April 10, 1892, the plant was running nearly at full capacity.

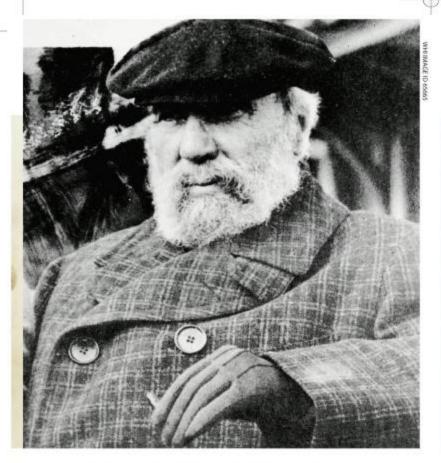
James Roosevelt had first visited Superior in April 1889, when Franklin's doting mother first recorded in her diary that "Dear James left for West Superior." James traveled with another key investor, Francis H. Weeks, who had engineered a takeover of the Land and River Improvement Company in the mid-1880s and installed himself as its president. He and James Roosevelt worked together in several capacities. Weeks served as president of the Improvement Company and as treasurer of West Superior Steel and Iron. By 1892, Weeks was the one responsible for executing Hill and Hammond's plan to create a new Chicago in Wisconsin's northwest corner.

The thriving industrial town needed amenities. Weeks and Roosevelt built residences for those who would work the plant and those who would supervise the work. When Roosevelt traveled to Superior in early June 1890, he hired John W. Schmidt and Louis Schmidt to build "in a thorough, careful and workmanlike manner... eleven brick and brown stone tenement houses according to plans therefor prepared by Carl Wirth, architect." Roosevelt promised to pay \$52,000 for their work.

Carl Wirth was one of the most sought-after architects in the Midwest. He had recently designed many of Superior's most important structures, including the new West Superior Hotel, the Grand Opera House, and several residential blocks. ¹⁹ His preferred style was Victorian Romanesque, where native sandstone detailing stood out against pressed red brick facades generously interrupted by windows with arched headers. ²⁰ Roosevelt Terrace was to be built in this style. These were not homes for the workers at Roosevelt's factory, but something more permanent and upscale, for the town's managers, lawyers, or bankers.

Unfortunately, the Schmidt brothers were not up to the job. In October 1890, James made a trip to Superior on short notice. He was called back to Wisconsin by Carl Wirth, who had been contracted to ensure that construction on Roosevelt Terrace was up to his specifications. Just a few months after shaking hands with the Schmidts, it became clear that Roosevelt was not getting his money's worth. Their original typed contract is still in existence at the FDR Presidential Library in Hyde Park, New York, along with a later attachment that requires John Schmidt, Louis Schmidt, and their partners to pay James Roosevelt "the penal sum of twenty six thousand dollars (\$26,000), good and lawful money of the United States of America." 21

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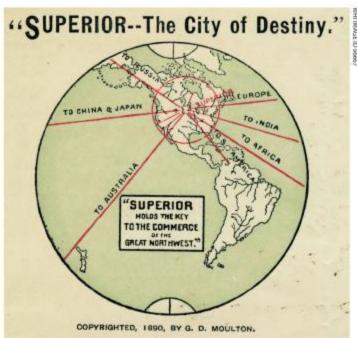
Rail baron James J. Hill built rail lines that connected Superior to the Great Plains and the substantial ore deposits of northern Minnesota and Michigan.

Exactly how the Schmidts were negligent or who took over construction is unclear. The Roosevelts typically only preserved contracts that were not fulfilled to their satisfaction, not ones that were completed. Nevertheless, Roosevelt Terrace was built at the corner of 21st and Ogden, "consist[ing] of 11 individual three-story townhouse units, each approached by way of a striking brick and sandstone entry porch" with "bay windows, projecting chimneys and rich sandstone detailing." This was "one of the city's most prestigious residential addresses."

Not accustomed to being separated from her husband, Sara Roosevelt did not quite know what to do with herself and Franklin during James's absences. During one of the weeks he was away, she traveled to the family's New York City apartment but wrote in her diary, "I missed James and did not enjoy New York without him." She privately complained about James having spent "a whole week away from me." 24

James suffered a heart attack in early 1891, just as Roosevelt Terrace was being constructed by a new builder. There would be no trips to Wisconsin that year as James was nursed back to health by his loving wife. In his remaining years he would only rarely be unaccompanied by Sara. Thus it was that in 1892 young Franklin Roosevelt found himself traveling through Wisconsin.

A precise accounting of the Roosevelt family's activities in Superior during April 1892 are not reported in Sara's spare diary. All that is mentioned is that the Roosevelts spent the day of April 11 "seeing the sights of W. Superior." Their itinerary did include a visit to the steel and ironworks. One can imag-



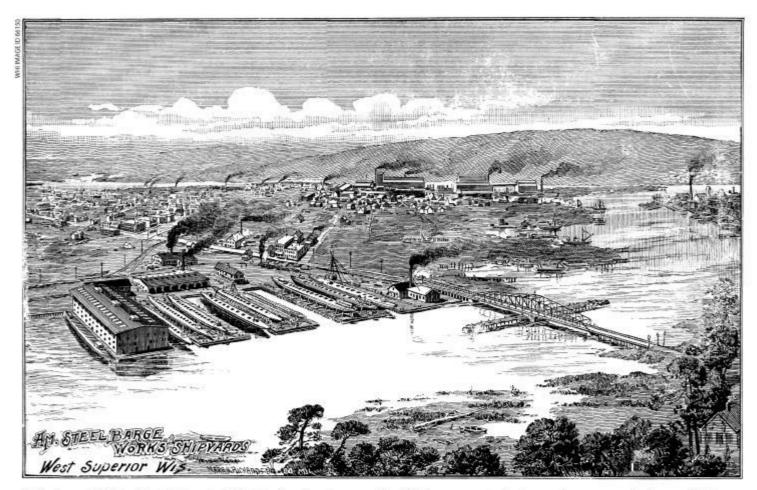
Letterhead for the real estate, loan, and investment company, Moulton, Moran & Co.

ine how wide Franklin's eyes were as they beheld molten metal and sweaty workers in a foundry building that stretched 360 feet long and 72 feet across.²⁷ James Roosevelt had seen this part of the plant before. What was new for him was a rolling mill which "contained blast furnaces and machinery for the production of a range of steel materials" including rails and steel plates to be made into ships.²⁸ This is the stuff of ten-year-old boys' dreams, particularly when that ten-year-old's father owns the plant in which these wonders are taking place.

The local Superior papers reported on the presence of the Roosevelts. The April 11 issue of the Superior Daily Call noted all of the individuals who traveled in James's private rail car, including "Master Franklin Roosevelt and [his] governess," This group of dignitaries was "met at the [Superior] depot by E. J. Wemyss and other officials of the Land & River Improvement Company." The Daily Call reported that the iron and steel works and the American Steel Barge works were closely inspected by the investors from New York and "great satisfaction was expressed at the recent improvements made."

Apparently one of the featured activities planned for the New York dignitaries was the launching of one of Superior's distinctive "whaleback" ships, which would be used to transport coal, ore, and wheat across the Great Lakes. Each of these freighters could carry between five and eight thousand tons when fully loaded. 32 When they slipped from the dock into the cool, dark waters of Howard's Pocket at the northernmost point of town, the vessels made quite a splash. On April 11, 1892, the splash from a freshly minted whaleback

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Built at a cost of \$1.5 million in the early 1890s, the American Barge and Steel Works was expected to be a prime customer for Roosevelt's West Superior Iron and Steel plant.

may have been sufficient to sweep an unsuspecting ten-yearold into the chilly waters of Lake Superior.

Young Franklin loved to sail and was fascinated by boats of all kinds. Thus the launching of a giant steel vessel must have been the highlight of his trip. Contemporary papers do not report any incident involving him that day—nor even the launching of the new whaleback. However, in 1945, the Superior Evening Telegram offered a headline that "Master Franklin Roosevelt Visited City as Boy of 10; Rescued after Fall into Bay" as part of its obituary coverage of President Roosevelt.³³

Telling the story of Franklin's rescue was Mrs. Fred J. Loss, whose husband had died in 1943. Mrs. Loss lived at 2115 Ogden Avenue, on property her husband bought from James Roosevelt. According to the story, "Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose love for the ships and sea was part of the great character that endeared him to the American people, got his first taste of Lake Superior at the age of 10 when he plunged fully clothed into the waters at Howard's Pocket." 34

Fortunately for the boy, he was "jerked to safety by the hand of the late Fred J. Loss, one-time alderman and carpentercontractor." Decades afterward, Mrs. Loss recalled that "quite a few got wet at those launchings." 35

In 1892, the New York investors still had big plans for the city. When Roosevelt and Weeks visited Superior, the local Daily Leader issued a headline that read, "There are Great Men in Our Midst; What Does their Visit Mean?" The article proceeded to suggest that it meant "good times ahead." While there was no official confirmation, the paper reported the financiers were negotiating contracts to bring a "cylindrical steel car" concern and a "steel nail manufactory" to the city. The Roosevelts traveled on the city's new streetcars, and the Daily Telegram reported that they stayed in the West Superior Hotel. The visit also coincided with the grand opening of the Superior Board of Trade, an intentional copy of the Chicago Board of Trade, where commodities could be bid on by those who would transport them by ship to distant locales.

The Roosevelts' visit in early 1892 came at the high point of their relationship with Superior. Within months, labor unrest at the plant would interrupt production. The next year, a nationwide economic downturn now known as the "Panic of

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Among the improvements made in Superior in the late nineteenth century was the creation of a system of street cars.

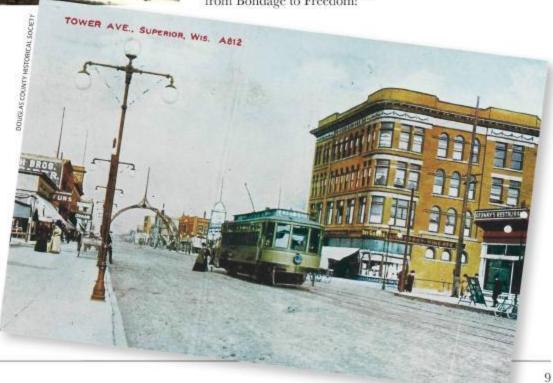
A streetcar makes its way down Tower Avenue.

Page from the diary of Sara Delano Roosevelt, Franklin's mother

1893" and a subsequent depression would hit Superior hard. It would expose a financial scandal and end the burgeoning growth of the city. These matters and continued ill health put an end to James Roosevelt's dreams of becoming one of the nation's richest men on the strength of his Wisconsin investments.

Among the attractions of Superior was the low wage that could be offered manual laborers. But the advantage of low wages was tempered by the possibility that those receiving them would object. The Gilded Age was characterized by tycoons

seeking maximum output for minimal wages and workers organizing and agitating in response. Superior's workers were no exception. As Paul R. Lusignan notes in his report on the city's history, "the number of [union affiliated] organizations that formed . . . during the peak of Superior's Boom Period (1888-1892), was incredible."39 Individual unions formed nationally for nearly every laboring profession. Superior boasted local branches of many of them, including a barber's local, a stenographer's local, a local for butchers, and even one for cigar makers. Because unions were so specifically tied to professions, by 1891 there was also a movement in the city to form a "union of unions." This "Trades and Labor Assembly" put out a directory of local unions the next year, which announced meeting times for various locals and stirred the rank and file with such quotes as, "The completion of this vast economic revolution (the labor movement) . . . will be the step from Bondage to Freedom!"40



AUTUMN 2009



The wake created by the launching of a whaleback was enough to soak spectators and almost drown young Franklin Roosevelt.

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Franklin Roosevelt at age ten, around the time he was alleged to have fallen into Lake Superior.

The iron and steel workers at the West Superior plant unionized as well, joining the Almagamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.41 By late 1892, its three hundred members in the West Superior plant were on strike.42 The timing of this strike was unfortunate. There had been a massive investment of capital by Roosevelt and his co-investors, and just as the enterprise promised to make good on that investment, production halted. There was an additional problem. Francis Weeks had abused his position as president of the Land and River Improvement

Company. Unbeknownst to anyone at the Land and River Improvement Company, he transferred over \$500,000 into the Iron and Steel Company. Weeks might have gotten away with propping up one company with the assets of another if a financial panic had not hit.

Early in 1893, the large Philadelphia and Reading railroad company failed. In the months that followed, there was a panic on Wall Street as investors sold off stock. 44 The Panic of 1893 led to one of the worst economic downturns in American history. As banks failed, even the wealthy had little money to invest, and credit tightened significantly. Very early during the panic, Weeks was exposed as an embezzler. He had made off with a healthy percentage of the money entrusted to him by his eastern financiers. His scheme had been to pay generous "dividends" that actually came out of the investors' principal. With his investors thinking that they were making large amounts of pure profit, Weeks had been "besieged by persons anxious to make him custodian of their money." With new principal no longer being invested he could not reimburse his clients their principal when they asked for it, and Weeks's scheme was discovered. As the New York Times reported in one of several front page stories, "He Robbed Everybody Who Placed Property Where He Could Reach It." In May 1893,

Weeks was deposed as president of the Land and River Improvement Company, and he fled to Costa Rica. His actions became tabloid fodder in the New York press.

None of this was good news for James Roosevelt. In the same week that the Weeks story broke, Roosevelt was in Superior for a fifth time. James had been scheduled to see the Columbian Exposition in Chicago and then to go on to Wisconsin, but the Wisconsin leg of the visit quickly turned into a public relations salvage operation. On May 7, 1893, the Superior Inland Ocean reported James Roosevelt's reassurances to the people of Superior. He stated that Weeks's ouster "will have no effect whatsoever on the Steel Company. They will be taken care of and are now doing a very successful business." He also reminded the locals that the money Weeks took



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The Roosevelts stayed in the posh West Superior Hotel.

belonged to easterners and that no person in Superior was owed money.

Francis Weeks was not a mere swindler, He used much of the money entrusted to him to build up Superior. As long as times were good he could have emerged a very wealthy man and repaid his creditors. Difficult economic times tend to expose shady business practices, and that is what occurred in Weeks's case. Weeks agreed to return to the United States in late 1893 in exchange for facing fewer charges. He was tried, convicted on a single count of robbery, and sentenced to ten years hard labor in Sing Sing Prison. 48

As president of the West Superior Iron and Steel Company, James Roosevelt probably should have known what Francis Weeks was up to, but he did not. He apparently considered his position to be more of a financier and a figurehead for the company, not an operations manager. The factory was built and production proceeded apace, so there was little reason for Roosevelt to suspect that anything was amiss. He wrongly assumed that Weeks was a gentleman who would not swindle anyone, particularly not those within the tight social circle of New York's moneyed elite. All told, Weeks squandered about \$1.5 million of investor assets.

Needless to say, this was the beginning of the end for Roosevelt's stewardship of the Iron and Steel Company. It was also the end of Superior's economic boom. Though the city would continue to be a thriving port, any hope that it would eclipse Chicago foundered on the shoals of Weeks's treachery and the nationwide depression. The success of Roosevelt's enterprise was predicated on building new ships and infrastructure. This was a business model more vulnerable to depression than James J. Hill's railroad and grain shipping interests. Hill even prospered in the 1890s as rival rail companies went bankrupt and he used the economic downturn to justify lower wages.50 This behavior prompted a strike against Hill's Great Northern Railroad by the newly formed American Railway



The Roosevelt family arrived at this depot in Superior in April 1892.

Tower Avenue, Superior, 1905

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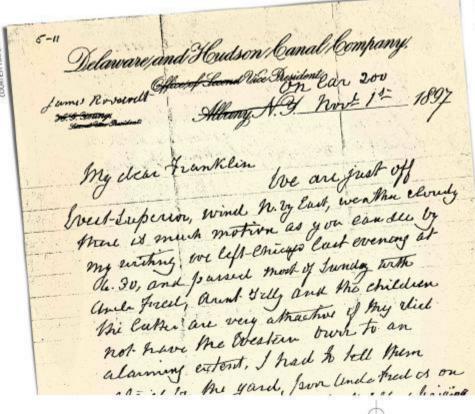
Union in 1894, led by Eugene V. Debs. ⁵¹ Debs would parlay the fame he garnered from the railroad strikes of 1894 into runs for the presidency as the nominee of the Socialist Party. ⁵²

James and Sara Delano Roosevelt would make one more trip to Superior in early November 1897—more to see the city than to conduct business. James was no longer the vigorous middle-aged man he had been on his first visit, having suffered several more heart episodes in the intervening years. The West Superior Iron and Steel Company had been sold, though he retained his position on the Board of Directors of Superior's First National Bank. The 15-year-old Franklin did not accompany his parents because he had recently entered the upperclass preparatory school Groton, in eastern Massachusetts, after ten years of home schooling. One of the few surviving letters that James Roosevelt wrote to his son describes the trip. Written on stationery of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, another of James' investment vehicles, father wrote to son from his rail car,

we are just off West-Superior, wind N. by East, weather cloudy. There is much motion as you can see by my writing. We left Chicago last evening at 6.30 and passed most of Sunday with Uncle Fred [a railroad executive in Chicago], Aunt Sally and the children. The latter are very attractive if they did not have the Western burr to an alarming extent.⁵³

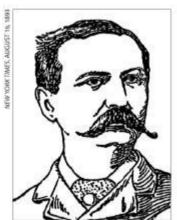
The letter acknowledges FDR's own letter to his parents, one of the first he wrote to them. It was with great pride that the Roosevelts reacted to Franklin's news about his grades from Groton School. James beamed, "we were delighted to get your

Letter from James Roosevelt to Franklin





Union organizer Frank Weber helped stoke discontent among workers at the West Superior Iron and Steel Works, exacerbating a situation already made difficult by the economic downturn of 1893 and Francis Weeks' mismanagement.



The shady business practices of Francis H. Weeks aided the demise of optimism and development in Superior.

letter and of course you know how greatly pleased I am to know of your very good report, I suppose in a day or two I shall have the official one."54

As a reward, James told Franklin that he had ordered his son a book titled Song Birds and Water Fowl. The elder Roosevelt signed his letter "with love from both of us, your Affectionate Father, J. R."55 Sara and James spent three days at Superior in 1897, November 1–3. This must have been their most leisurely visit. The only notation in Sara's journal was on November 3, when she remarked that they "found the place had grown a

> good deal." It was not quite the City of Destiny that they had hoped for, but James and Sara Roosevelt were proud to have helped make a city where there had been only a town before.

The legacy of Superior's eastern investors, including James Roosevelt, can still be seen in the street names on Superior's west side: Elmira Avenue, Lackawanna Avenue, New York Avenue, Susquehanna Avenue, and Ogden Avenue were all named for cities back East, Much of the characteristic architecture of the city was built during Superior's early boom, financed by the Land and River Improvement Company, Roosevelt Terrace still stands at the corner of 21st and Ogden. The Roosevelt estate owned the buildings into the twentieth century, selling individual units to their occupants in 1905, five years after James Roosevelt's death. 56 Beginning in the 1980s, one of Roosevelt

Terrace's residents, Deborah Devani, championed the block's architectural and historical significance. With the help of preservation consultant Debra Kellner, Devani and her townhouse association applied to the National Park Service for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Citing its significance to local history, the federal government granted Roosevelt Terrace that distinction on January 12, 2005.⁵⁷

The factory that James Roosevelt erected no longer exists, but it produced iron and steel until 1935.58 And one imagines that little Franklin Delano Roosevelt learned from his experience in Superior. For one thing, he now knew to stand clear of a ship's launch-a valuable lesson for a future assistant secretary of the Navy. Additionally, from his father's dealings with Francis Weeks, Franklin Roosevelt learned firsthand about "unscrupulous money changers," a class of people that he would mention that we could all do without in his First Inaugural Address. 59

Notes

- 1. Original notes for a speech at the Eagles Club of Milwaukee, September 30, 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library and Museum, Master Speech File, Box 11, #546.
 2. Wisconsin Blue Book (Madison: Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau, 2005–2006), 719.
- 3. Robert Booth Fowler, Wisconsin Votes: An Electoral History (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 259.
- 4. Original notes for a speech in Milwaukee, FDR Library, Master Speech File, Box 2, #134.
- 5. "Summary of My Life" written by James Roosevelt, FDR Library, Papers of James (II) Roosevelt (1828–1900), Miscellaneous Papers, 1842–1900, FDR Library.

 6. Sara Delano Roosevelt diary entries of April 5–11, 1889, June 4–11, 1890, and October 9–
- 15, 1890, FDR Library, Roosevelt Family Papers, Container 67
- "Summary of My Life."
- A Souvenir of Superior (Superior, WI: The Superior Evening Telegram, 1891), 15.
- 9. Paul R. Lusignan, Superior: Intensive Survey Report (Superior, WI: Department of Community Development of Superior and State Historical Society, Historic Preservation Division), 36-43, 256-258,
- 10. A Souvenir of Superior, 11, 13.
- 11. New York Times, May 2, 1893, 1.
- 12. A Souvenir of Superior, 123, 141. 13. A Souvenir of Superior, 17.
- 14. Ibid.
- 15. Sara Delano Roosevelt diary entry of April 5, 1889.
- 16. New York Times, September 12, 1893, 2
- 17. New York Times, May 2, 1893, 1
- 18. Original contract to build "Roosevelt Terrace," FDR Library, Roosevelt Family Papers, Container 52, Folder 11.
- 19. Lusignan, 247-8.
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- 21. Addendum to contract to build Roosevelt Terrace, FDR Library, Roosevelt Family Papers, Container 52, Folder 11.
- 22. Lusignan, 216.
- 24. Sara Delano Roosevelt diary entries, June 4 and June 11, 1890.
- 25. Sara Delano Roosevelt diary entry, April 11, 1892.
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- 34. Superior Evening Telegram, April 13, 1945, 1.
- 36. Superior Daily Leader, April 12, 1892, 4, WHS Microfilm P 69-2050.
- 38. Superior Daily Telegram, April 11, 1892.

- 39. Lusignan, 122.
- 40. Trades and Labor Directory (West Superior, Wisconsin: Trades and Labor Assembly,
- 41. Trades and Labor Directory, 21. Lusignan, 123.
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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

David J. Siemers is an associate professor and the TRISS endowed chair in political science at the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh, A Wisconsin native and a UW-Madison PhD, Siemers' latest book is Presidents and Political Thought, available from the University of Missouri Press this

fall. Two previous books, Ratifying the Republic: Antifederalists and Federalists in Constitutional Time (Stanford University Press) and The Antifederalists: Men of Great Faith and Forbearance (Rowman & Littlefield) focused on the Constitution's ratification. In his spare time, Siemers enjoys canoeing, fishing, playing racquetball, and just about anything else that can be done outdoors in Wisconsin.

Roosevelt Terrace as it appears today.



Milwaukee Mayor Frank Zeidler received dozens of letters from concerned parents. This letter asks "respectable" boys and girls to join their mothers and fathers in the fight against juvenile delinquency.

To the bonorable Mayor Zeidler 2.50 AW Iwould like to suggest a method Dear sir en which our Hot fearing bucilen your people can combat & overcome the freed. "bee-bop" scare. bee-voj staling respectable boy and girl of every creek and color wear a cross or staling or his or her person as POLICE STATION

City Plagued by Juvenile Crime Growth

Despite Long Records, Hoodlums Lightly Punished by Court, Police Complain

The Milwaukee police department is frustrated.

Juvenile delinquency is on the rise. The statistics of the department show it. So do records of the children's court and of the juvenile probation department.

The police have been catching more children breaking laws, but they claim that their work is being nullified. Many youngsters, picked up with long records of violations, even including burglaries, are be-

released by juvenile authoriwith warnings, or at the most, being put on probation.

he police know that there is re delinquency going on than it own records show. The paman on the beat is hearing ut it as he makes his rounds. cers in prowl cars are being about it by the people.

recinct stations, police headrters and the police youth aid au are receiving mounting plaints. Grocers, butchers and merchants are reporting daries. Janitors report schools red, property damaged, articles n. There have been more holdmore purse snatching. Auto-

Newspaper coverage in Milwaukee emphasized a "plague" of juvenile crime, as demonstrated by this Milwaukee Journal article dated October 22, 1950.

The classic movie Rebel Without a Cause (1955) starred James Dean, whose legendary performance captured the lifestyle of rebellious youth who defied the moral norms of the 1950s.

COPS & BEBOPPERS MILWAUKEE'S POST-WWII BATTLE WITH JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

BY JASON L. HOSTUTLER

To The Honorable Mayor Zeidler:

I would like to suggest a method in which our God-fearing young people can combat and overcome the present "be-bop scare."

Let every respectable boy and girl of every creed and color wear a Cross or Star of David on his or her person as a direct refusal to become a "be-bopper." Also let every adult do the same, as proud parents of such children and with the help of Him who has the power over all we will conquer this menace.

-A Proud Lutheran Parent, 1948



Scholars often point to World War II as an important moment in the creation of American youth culture. Enola O'Connell, pictured here, was the only female welder at the Heil Company in 1943. As women entered the workforce, children—especially teenagers—took on increased responsibilities for the household and its support.

n 1974, America was reintroduced to the lifestyle of Milwaukee's rebellious youth of the 1950s through the medium of television and the sitcom *Happy Days*. The popular show ran until 1984 and featured the humorous antics of teens who defied the moral norms of the 1950s and the stupefied reaction of more wholesome adults. In reality, the show's portrayal of Milwaukee teens and adults of the fifties was not far off the mark, and a similar drama played out in towns and cities across America. The modern American teenager grew out of the World War II—era cities and continued to define itself in the decade following the war. The teenagers' rejection of authority in the postwar era, which in extreme cases gave way to juvenile delinquency and crime, sent waves of panic through

nervous adults in cities like Milwaukee and in communities across America. In the midst of the fear and tension that stemmed from the Cold War, any perceived deviation from the moral norm equated domestic instability and even disloyalty. The increased reports of juvenile crime caused America's national, state, and city governments to take proactive measures to combat teenager rebelliousness. The city of Milwaukee presents an excellent case study of juvenile delinquency in the 1950s and how one city attempted fight it, through an inventive creation called the Metropolitan Youth Commission that was established by Milwaukee's Mayor Frank Zeidler.

The World War II home front touched the lives of American children as much as their parents. The war brought

1 6 wisconsinhistory.org

unprecedented changes in the lifestyles of American families and pervaded the lives of fathers, mothers, and children. For many families, the temporary or permanent loss of the father to the fighting and the working mother's absence from the home led to a significant transformation in parenting. Historian William Tuttle has documented the common occurrence of "latchkey" children during the war years. These were children who had to take on greater responsibilities inside and outside the home-such as preparing their own meals, seeing themselves off to school, and maintaining the householdwithout the constant presence of a parental figure. Wartime popular culture played a stronger role in the lives of latchkey youth and taught them the moral lessons that absent parents were unable to bestow. Older, teenaged youth oftentimes bore an even greater burden as both substitute parents for their younger siblings and as wage earners to supplement family income.

For home front children, greater responsibility correlated with greater freedom. Out of the autonomy provided by the latchkey lifestyle, a new type of child emerged. The years 1941 to 1945 marked the advent of what is colloquially known as the teenager, a distinct childhood classification with its own unique culture and personality. Owing in part to their newly discovered independence and self-reliance, one defining hallmark of the new teenager culture was the rejection of authority, which at times entered into lawlessness. James Gilbert, a noted historian of juvenile delinquency, has called the years of World War II a "rehearsal for a crime wave," when teenagers mastered their freedom from parental authority. A lack of parental supervision allowed American teenagers to test the bounds of traditional authority and led to a significant increase in juvenile crime during the war years, much to the chagrin of the adults who feared any domestic instability during a World War.3

The end of the war and the return of parental authority did not mark the end of the American teenager. Rather, in the late 1940s and the 1950s, the new teenager culture continued to define itself and surpassed its initial wartime sense of individuality and rebelliousness. Grace Palladino, a historian of the American teenager, has noted how the economic boom America enjoyed in the postwar years and the rise in consumerism significantly affected teenager culture.4 American teenagers, with a new sense of independence and oftentimes a discretionary income to supplement it, became the targets of marketing and fashion. The postwar teenager straddled all social classes and was characterized by dance halls, hot rods, leather jackets, premarital sex, and most importantly by rock 'n roll. From this new type of adolescent grew the popularity of rising stars such as James Dean and Elvis Presley. One such teenager reminisced that rock 'n roll "was everything that middle-class parents feared: elemental, savage and dripping with sexuality, qualities that respectable society usually associated with 'depraved lower classes.' "5



Rock legend Elvis Presley also symbolized the spirit of the times youth culture clashing with tradition and authority. He's shown here flanked by two police officers and a warden in a scene from Jailhouse Rock (1957).

From 1945 to 1957, the FBI conducted a series of reports that actually seemed to correlate the teenagers' rejection of social mores with a rejection of legal authority. Although less violent crimes such as truancy and disorderly conduct topped the list, the reports collectively claimed that between 1945 and 1952 juvenile crime rose forty-five percent, and from 1952 to 1957 it escalated an additional fifty-five percent. The striking crime reports drove Americans to ask questions and seek solutions. Attorney General Tom Clark called the National Conference of the Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency in 1946 to investigate the delinquency crisis and make procedural recommendations. Ultimately, Clark's conference only muddied the waters when the individuals and agencies involved could reach no consensus on how to proceed with the delinquency problem.7 The attorney general increased the American public's growing fear of a juvenile crime wave with a 1946 radio broadcast entitled "America's Town Meeting of the Air," wherein Clark cited vicious examples of juvenile crime and figures that indicated a growing trend in such crimes.8 Clark directed the Justice Department to respond by drawing a hard line with juvenile crime, equating it with adult crime and employing similar means of punishment. In contrast, the National Children's Bureau offered the competing opinion that juvenile delinquency was a problem demanding something more than harsh penalties for teenager-criminals. The Chil-

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Products marketed to teenagers attempted to promote wholesome activities. The back cover of this LP explained: "Teenagers, with all their excessive energy and electric liveliness, find a perfectly suitable and very entertaining source of expression in listening and dancing to lively music."

E3300 - TEEN AGE DANCE PARTY—DESIGNED FOR DANCING—SECONDS RUSSELL AND HIS ORCHESTRA - #3300 M-G-M-RECORDS TEEN AGE DANCE PARTY DESIGNED FOR DANCING GEORGE TEEN AGE DANCE PARTY GEORGE RUSSELL AND HIS ORCHESTRA Designed for Dancing RUSSELL AND 동 George Russell and his Orchestra TENT IT REMARKS !- LINE STATE POST MEDICAN NAT DANCE NELE GROWS (Conta WALL LINES SEER BARREL POLKS MOYAL SUMMER 1409 West Strd St.

> Youth culture—and youth rebellion—centered on the surging energy of dance, dance halls, and music.

dren's Bureau was of the more progressive opinion that "delinquency was a complex social problem demanding expert treatment" beyond mere arrest and punishment. Further complicating the issue for America's national politicians, the Children's Bureau called for more studies into the problem and more commissions and conferences to make recommendations.

In the city of Milwaukee during these years, the Youth Aid

Bureau, a branch of the Milwaukee Police Department, kept a detailed track of juvenile crime figures and made the statistics public annually. Much like the national trend, the years between 1948 and 1958 showed a significant increase in juvenile crime in the city. According to a comparison of two such reports, youth crime in Milwaukee nearly doubled in less than a decade, between 1949 and 1957. A total of 3,683 juvenile arrests were reported in 1949, compared to 6,162 in 1957.10 The growing number of juvenile crimes caused local politicians to take action to curb the crisis. Concerned Milwaukee citizens first received word of the creation of a new plan to combat juvenile delinquency on October 18, 1947, in a city council meeting convened in order to address the city's juvenile crime emergency. According to the Milwaukee Journal, a new "youth group" was planned at the meeting, designed to counter the city's juvenile crime problem.

The city government's decision to act was partly due to concern for Milwaukee families, but mostly due to bad press the city received over its boom in delinquent youth. 11 Mayor

Frank Zeidler, in justifying the creation of the youth commission to the Journal, stated: "The number of telephone calls and letters reaching my office [from concerned adults] . . . demanded action." In Milwaukee, the rebellious teenager became known as the "bebopper"—a negative term given to adolescents who exhibited signs of the new teenager culture. Furthermore, the "unfortunate wire stories had spread the facts" of Milwaukee's juvenile delinquency problem "throughout the nation," giving way to some bad publicity for Milwaukee. The new youth group assumed the name Metropolitan Youth Commission and was chaired by Dr. William Rasche, the director of the Milwau-

kee Vocational School. Rasche shared the opinion of the National Children's Bureau, asserting that the current problem with the nation's youth was extremely complicated and could not be solved by catching criminals and making an example of them with harsh punishments. At one point in 1947,

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when asked about the causes of Milwaukee's juvenile delinquency problem, Rasche replied: "It got this way over a long time. War lowered our moral standards . . . the unnatural life of the war period still lingers. That's the crux of the trouble." 13

Although the new commission's role in Milwaukee was still vague when the council meeting adjourned and actual work by the commission would not commence for almost another year, debate over the delinquency issue flourished at the October 18, 1947, meeting. Every Milwaukee politician had a different opinion on the causes and trouble spots of juvenile delinquency, and their concerns served to highlight the nature of teenager culture in the late 1940s as well as the mentality of local adults. Dance halls came under immediate fire. Not necessarily worried about the dancing itself, the council seemed concerned with the problem of interracial dancing and fraternizing between white and black youth. One white alderman objected to the socializing among white and black teenagers and pointed to the negative image Milwaukee received because of it, claiming: "We've been criticized for letting white and colored youths mingle at the Lapham Park social center." An African American attorney present at the meeting retorted that the city's delinquency problem rested with discrimination on the part of some Milwaukee police officers, who turned a blind eye on activities of black teenagers and instead focused on the actions of their white counterparts. He asserted that "too many times they ignore delinquent acts of Negro youngsters because white youths aren't involved. As a result we have more illegitimate children in the Sixth Ward than there should be on the basis of population and averages."14

Nighttime football games held by Milwaukee high schools were a second item singled out by the council as contributing

to juvenile delinquency. According to several members present at the meeting, under the cover of nightfall these events were conducive to all forms of juvenile misbehavior, especially after the football games ended and the celebrations began. One alderman complained that "kids thirteen, fourteen and fifteen go into juke box joints and restaurants, staying out later at night than their parents permit." Highlighting the generational gap between Milwaukee teenagers and adults, which accounted for much of the crisis, he further explained: "When I was young, we played football on Saturday afternoon, then if we wanted to go out that night to celebrate, we were home at 10:30 p.m. or so, not after midnight as now."15

The Metropolitan Youth Commission (MYC) met for the first time on November 3, 1948. The eleven members of the commission included two youth representatives. The MYC consisted of some of Milwaukee's most distin-

guished civic leaders of the time, including the chairman of the Milwaukee Fire and Police Commission and the county superintendent of schools. The members of the commission agreed to meet monthly. On March 19, 1949, the MYC was up and running and the Milwaukee Journal unveiled its initial plans to the public. According to the Journal, the commission would study the problem of youth crime in Milwaukee and make policy recommendations to city council. According to Chairman William Rasche, "a thorough and realistic approach to preparing youth for adult citizenship is needed" to solve the delinquency problem. 16 However, Rasche emphasized that the commission would not serve as a "moral fire department nor an official kind of baby sitter." He believed that was the job of the city's parents and schools. Instead, the commission was set up to work with and accompany the actions of parents and schools in an effort to positively develop the youth of Milwaukee as good American citizens, and thereby deter them from rebelliousness and juvenile crime. By developing habits of good citizenship in Milwaukee's youth, Dr. Rasche hoped to prevent youth crime before it occurred.

According to the "Statement on the Organization and Responsibilities of the Metropolitan Youth Commission," the MYC had the precarious responsibility of enacting a major social reform in Milwaukee without radically altering city politics or economics. The commission was charged with reform-

City council members often blamed nighttime football games for contributing to juvenile delinquency. Youngsters who attended juke box joints and stayed out past midnight were deemed especially troublesome.



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ing potentially delinquent youth and lobbying the city council to make changes in Milwaukee's laws and legal system to better address juveniles and juvenile delinquency in an overall attempt to eradicate the juvenile delinquency crisis. According to the statement, the MYC resolved to perform four functions in Milwaukee:

- Remove the causes of delinquency in our community, insofar as this can be accomplished within our present social and economic system.
- To point out to the community any social or legislative reforms necessary to complete the removal of the causes of delinquency.
- To reclaim to the maximum degree the youths who are now in a delinquent classification.
- To point which of our existing laws, if any, are in need of more strict enforcement to accomplish desired results.¹⁷

Armed with this charter, the Metropolitan Youth Commission went through three distinct phases in the way it approached Milwaukee's juvenile delinquency crisis over the course of its existence. Each phase was marked by a unique plan of action in the commission's attempt to solve the problem. What can be called the "Legislative Period" lasted from 1948 to 1954, when the commission's work primarily consisted of studying the causes and contributing factors of Milwaukee's juvenile delinquency problem, outlining legislative solutions, and lobbying the mayor and city council to enact its plans. The most important of the committee's studies, one that took them two years to complete, was entitled "A Report of a Study of What is Happening to Juvenile Delinquents in Milwaukee County." The study was completed in February 1950, and it was distributed to Milwaukee schools, churches, businesses, politicians, and families in the form of a forty-four page printed and bound report. Although the report addressed a wide range of delinquency issues such as theft and vandalism, it centered on underage drinking as the most prevalent problem caused by rebellious teens.

In the same month the commission's findings were published, the Milwaukee Journal printed an article that examined the extent of underage drinking in Milwaukee according to the records of the Milwaukee Children's Court. According to the Journal, cases of underage drinking doubled in the city between 1948 and 1949 alone. A city social worker described a typical scene in a Third Ward tavern, claiming: "There were so many girls seventeen years old and younger in the place that I felt like a grandmother. The boys who were around eighteen or a little older were drinking beer but many of the girls were drinking highballs." Soon after, the Journal reported the breakup of a "two-day teenage drinking party." ¹⁸ According to

MRS. RALPH POLK Del 22 381 N. E. 20TH STREET

MIAMI, FLORIDA

How. Mayor of Milmanke:

If you will look into

The Jeaching of Del money I chools of

Calleges your will find the reason for

this Malorial wake of say crimes.

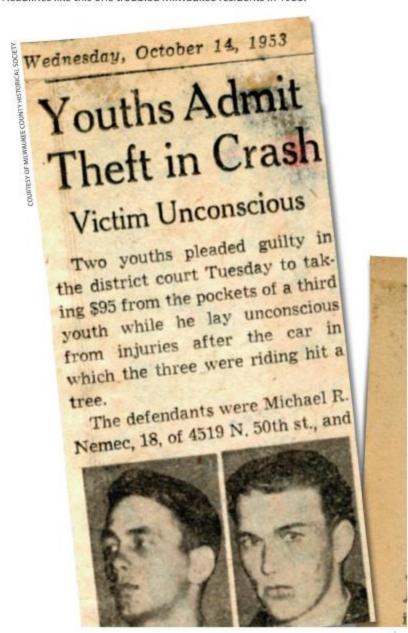
His the most dangerous stroke of

Communion as yet revealed of mas concerned
in Russia. Pleas innestigate This.

Sincerely Mrs. Ralph Polh

Parental fears of teenage promiscuity often aligned with the era's politics. Here, Mrs. Ralph Polk argued that sex education in the schools presented a "most dangerous stroke of Communism" in a postcard to Milwaukee's mayor.

Headlines like this one troubled Milwaukee residents in 1953.



this report, the party involved five teenage boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen and two fifteen-year-old girls. Two days, two cases of beer, and one "forced intimacy" later, the party was broken up by the Milwaukee police.

Armed with its 1950 report and corroborating evidence from the Journal, the Metropolitan Youth Commission launched a crusade against liquor stores and taverns that permitted underage drinking, with the tayerns receiving most of the commission's fire. The commission's report outlined three resolutions regarding local bars:

- 1. That the community has too many taverns and that number should be reduced.
- 2. That tayern owners, operators and bartenders should be required to pass examinations for licenses to insure the operation of taverns by persons who are fully conversant with all the laws relating to the operation of taverns.
- 3. That licenses be granted only to persons of integrity who will comply with the spirit as well as the letter of the laws. 19

Milwaukee's noncompliance with the Wisconsin state law regulating the number of taverns amongst a local population particularly attracted the commission's attention. Wisconsin guidelines stipulated that there was to be a maximum of one tavern for every five hundred citizens in a city, but Milwaukee's number of bars remained far above that level. According to one study by the MYC, Milwaukee had 896 more taverns than the state allowed.²⁰ In the early 1950s, the MYC lobbied city council to cut back on the number of tayern licenses in the

city but was blocked by the powerful brewing and tavern interests that dominated Milwaukee. In 1952, Milwaukee was still home to 2,140 bars and the city was, according to Rasche, making "snail like" progress in reducing the number.

The Metropolitan Youth Commission's plans to curb underage drinking were innovative, if not incredibly feasible. One such plan that never made it off the commission's drawing board was its recommendation that all minors in the city be required to carry identification cards. Its proposed policy stated that "the County Clerk be required to issue a transparent identification to a minor with his photograph, name, age, height and signature," which were to be demanded of teenagers in local bars.21 To dovetail with the ID card plan, the commission further recommended that any minor caught in the act of underage drinking or attempting to misrepresent his or her age in a Milwaukee bar would have his or her picture taken at the time of arrest and distributed to their parents and other local taverns. The embarrassment to the teen and the information provided to other local bartenders would then act as a deterrent to underage drinking.

The Metropolitan Youth Commission was unsuccessful in its attempt to get its underage drinking programs through city council, mainly due to the prevailing influence of the Wisconsin Tavernkeepers' Association (WTA). The WTA's influence was powerful in Milwaukee, and the organization had the ear of city council members. As one situation proves, the struggle between the MYC and the WTA was heated. At a council meeting in March 1952, the head of the WTA lashed out at Dr. Rasche, who was there to support his commission's legislation.22 Rather than blame its own bars for underage drinking, the WTA tried to deflect the blame toward the dance halls. At

Milwaukee was not alone in facing rising juvenile crime rates after World War II. This 1953 newspaper article suggests the reality of a "Nation-Wide" problem.

ingly involved in the done realest

COURTESY OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY Sunday, October 11, 1953 Youth Gangs on Increase and More Turn to the Use and Sale of Drugs with low incomes. Even where Two Authors Study New York Situation but Say the parents try to cope with their responsibilities, bad housing, over Problem Is Nation-Wide; Now Senate Body crowded conditions, and the ab sence of recreation areas do not Will Make Inquiry and May Visit Milwaukee make for a satisfactory environ ment. Schools here are so overcrowded By ROBERT W. WELLS and inadequately staffed that EW YORK, N. Y.—Youthful gangs, whose activities range attention they need, Mr. problem children are apt to get Journal New York Bureau the brush-off instead of the specia

Saturday, December 11, 1948

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL



The Milwaukee youth commission met at the vocational school Friday to make plans for the first meeting of its advisory congress, to be held Jan. 12. Shown are (from left) Mrs. Woods O. Drevfus. 3621 N. 39th st.; Miss Gertrude M. Puelicher, 3425 N.

Humboldt av.; Miss Alice Holz, 2528 W. Lisbon av.; Dr. William F. Rasche, director of the vocational school, chairman; Mrs. C. R. Beck, 7626 W. Lapham st., and Michael S. Kies, county superintendent of schools.

—Journal Staff

The Milwaukee Journal ran this photo of the Milwaukee Youth Commission in December 1948.

one point, the WTA leader stated to Dr. Rasche; "Do you know, Doc that each and every one of our dance halls—I mean the Eagles and the Wisconsin Roof and all of them—is operating in open violation of the law? . . . Children as young as fourteen and fifteen years old go into them. Bars to the left and bars to the right of the dance floor, they're flourishing, yet they are recognized as dance halls" 23

Beginning in 1954, due to the failure of its legislative programs in city council, the Metropolitan Youth Commission changed tact and entered into a period of new activity. The "Community Action Period" was characterized by a more direct intervention into the lives of Milwaukee teenagers. The MYC abandoned its previous legislative approach and devoted its energies into a more direct intervention into the lives of teenagers through youth festivals, programs, panel discussions, and parental help clinics. Nowhere during that time was the MYC's mission-to develop Milwaukee teenagers into wholesome, productive citizens-more evident than in its invention of Youth Recognition Week. The annual citywide event was four days in length and held in late April or early May from 1954 until 1960. The function of the week was to "recognize the fine citizenship of the great majority of our youth citizens" and to "encourage them to participate actively with adults in

the fight on the growing menace of juvenile delinquency."²⁴ Each of the four days featured a special theme to honor Milwaukee's youth and extol the values of good citizenship. Milwaukee teenagers, parents, churches, city government, local businesses, and private and public schools all took part.

The celebration began with Church and Family Day, which gave the week a religious imprint. This commission believed that this day would demonstrate to Milwaukee's teenagers the role of church in the life of a wholesome citizen and "emphasize the importance of families worshipping in the church of their choice." The MYC encouraged Milwaukee's churches to hold youth-oriented services, sponsor special programs honoring young persons, and help teenagers feel that they made a positive contribution to the church and their families. Churches across the city experimented with such activities as special sermons on the "importance of family living," postservice breakfasts, and special music. Some churches even gave youth complete charge of the services. The message was clear; citizenship was a blend between good behavior, religious piety, and familial and civic responsibility.

Youth Rally Day was a celebration of patriotism and citizenship. The commission instructed each high school to send between thirty and forty gifted and promising students to the

2 2 wisconsinhistory.org

gathering, which took place downtown at the Vocational School's auditorium.27 The rally began in the early afternoon and included socializing, patriotic singing, entertainment, and a guest orator who spoke on the values of patriotism and effective citizenship. The 1954 guest speaker was a Mr. L. A. Francisco, a high-ranking special agent from the FBI. In a letter from FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to Dr. Rasche, the agent came highly recommended as an accomplished professional and a potent orator.²⁸ The agent's speech instructed the gathered students that their country needed them to be good citizens, strive to build a better community, and make positive contributions to their homes, churches, and schools.29 Following the end of the rally, a discussion between Francisco and five students was aired on the local WISN radio station.

Government and Industry Day, followed by United Nations Day, rounded off the week. The former was a day when civic and private institutions around the city opened their doors to

teenage visitors. In preparation for the day, local teachers elected promising high school students to visit city government and local businesses. The commission believed that seeing professional men and women in action would provide a positive example for local teenagers and an incentive to turn away from juvenile delinquency.30 The students spent the day observing local businesses, judicial hearings, and executive and legislative functions. United Nations Day closed the Youth Recognition Week festivities. For this day, the MYC urged local principals and social studies teachers to arrange special assemblies and individual classroom programs that demonstrated how the United Nations functioned and affected America's youth. Specifically, the presentations would extol the values of good citizenship and "[promote] world peace."31 Later in the evening, WISN hosted a live radio broadcast that recapped and reflected on all the week's activities.

The members of the Metropolitan Youth Commission unanimously declared the first Youth Recognition Week a "complete success." Commenting on the youth-driven programs, a member of the MYC applauded Milwaukee's youth: "They proved youth can accept responsibility under adult guidance and achieve." At least some students were equally enthusiastic about the week's events. According to one high school student who caught a case of patriotic fervor; "This was an



William F. Rasche chaired the Metropolitan Youth Commission. He saw juvenile delinquency as a complex problem with equally complicated historical roots. "The unnatural life of the war period still lingers," he said in 1947.

experience not one of us will ever forget... it surely is wonderful to feel that all of us belonged to that flag and that even if we were teenagers, we were American citizens. I think it made us all want to be really good."

The glow of success did not last forever. Beginning in 1957, the Metropolitan Youth Commission began to lose the idealism of the previous eight years. According to the figures from the Milwaukee Children's Court and the Police Department, juvenile delinquency was still on the rise and the efforts of the commission were doing nothing to stop it. The Children's Court reported that there were 1,118 more juvenile delinquency cases before the court in in 1956 than in 1955, which translated into an 18.1 increase in only a year.33 The Milwaukee Police Department reported similar figures. Juvenile arrests jumped from 4,457 instances in 1955 to 5,785 in 1956.34 Leading the report were drinking, burglary, auto theft, and destruction of property. In the wake of the reports, Mayor Zeidler sent Dr. Rasche a letter

that urged him to enlarge the commission and take on more functions. Rasche agreed, despite the already tight operating budget allotted to them, and replied: "The continuing rise in juvenile delinquency and crime, we have agreed, require the strengthening of all the agencies and community service which are concerned with the physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual development of children and youth." In what can be characterized as the organization's Emergency Period, commission members voted to expand from eleven to twenty-three members and divided into six separate committees: youth programs, recreation, juvenile delinquency, institutions, legislation, and public relations.

Despite the reorganization, the MYC never demonstrated the proactive attitude toward legislation and juvenile delinquency; instead, from its reports, one detects a distinct sense of frustration. An excerpt from their 1957 report on reorganization highlights this sense of malaise: "The last report of the Children's Court revealed that Milwaukee County experienced a large increase in juvenile delinquency in the previous twelve months, notwithstanding all the constructive and positive efforts that were made by many county, city and private agencies to develop a community climate in which delinquency and crime were expected to decrease." Youth Recognition Week, once the commission's idealistic and choreographed annual event,

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FRANK P. ZEIDLER

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

MILWAUKEE

NOV 10 5 DM

FOLKE R. PETERSON

STANLEY BUDNY

November 9, 1950 RECEIVE

Dr. William F. Rasche Chairman Metropolitan Youth Commission City of Milwaukee

Dear Dr. Rasche:

Concerning your interview with Sergeant Cecil Daugherty on the youth problem, it seems to me that you have arrived at the same conclusion that I have in attempting to deal with it. We both recognize that the young people in this community, at night time, tend to congregate where they are not wanted, and hence they are pushed around.

However, to find funds to set up a \$250,000 institution, such as Sergeant Daugherty suggests, is not an easy one. In addition to that, the past record of youth centers has been so poor that I am sure that they are not the complete answer.

Thinking farther along with the problem presented by the sergeant, I detect that underneath his suggestion rests a sense of dissatisfaction in not being able to do something for the youth. I wish you would find a special assignment for him in connection with the youth commission so that his undeniable talents might be better utilized.

Considerable pressure is developing for the reinstituting of the PAL League, and I feel that there may be some merit in this problem. I am not at all convinced that the entire PAL League program can, or ever will be, successfully incorporated by the Municipal Recreation Department.

In your study, therefore, of Sergeant Daugherty's request, would you also include a bit of thinking on the PAL program?

Yours truly,

Frank P. Judly

FRANK P. ZEIDLER

and the same

FPZ.r

Mayor

was changed into a "self-sufficient" youth driven function and broken into two separate two-day events.³⁷

In the wake of the 1957 juvenile crime reports, the commission again took on the issue of underage drinking. Learning from mistakes of the past, the commission did not confront the Milwaukee tavern establishment, which was still among the most powerful lobbies in the state. Rather, it chose to oppose the U.S. Navy. One vexing problem for the MYC was the presence of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station so close to the city. The issue involved underage sailors on leave from the base who visited Milwaukee bars and returned to the facility "intoxicated and some helplessly drunk."38 The sporadic lawlessness and cases of

"sexual immorality" that ensued while the sailors were on their drunken furloughs in the city caused the commission to take action. The MYC, allied with civic leaders, local parents, and some naval officials, was successful in lobbying the city council for a change in policy. Beginning in 1958, any sailor found guilty of improper conduct within the city limits was restricted from further visits.

The steady increase in juvenile crime, despite the commission's best intentions, caused its members to rethink their strat-

Mayor Zeidler struggled to find solutions to the "youth problem." In this letter from 1950,he expressed doubts to William Rasche about the viability of a planned youth center (left).

Mayor Frank Zeidler served as the city's third Socialist mayor and died in 2006 (below).



FOUR IMPORTANT DAYS FOR YOUTH

YOUTH RECOGNITION WEEK

Beginning April 25, 1954

TUNE IN ON YOUTH RECOGNITION PROGRAMS BROADCAST BY MILWAUKEE RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS



MARY ANN HOPPMANN

GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY DAY April 27, 1954

Equipment of the control of the cont

CHURCH AND FAMILY DAY

April 25, 1954

Pecens and their young people are encouraged to join in family warship at their charches on this and continuing Sandays. The four lamics youth commissioners also will forecast the week's program as 3:10 p. no. on bristen WEN's on this day. Man Mary Area Hoffmann, Meuropolitan Youth Commission member representing the Sodality Union of the Mitwasione Artchicocy, will be chalenan of the Church and Family Day program.



LUTHER CUTKNICHT

YOUTH RALLY DAY April 26, 1954

On this day 1600 studeous representing high actuels in Milwestake County will once in the Milwestake Vocational School stellaritim at 149 pm. to hear Me. L. A. Francisco, Special Agence of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C., who will speak on Effective Youth Ciriamship. Mas Bethol Bragdon, Metropolitum Youth Commission member representing the Saburban High School Council, will penside at this resette.



JAMES HAUSER

3

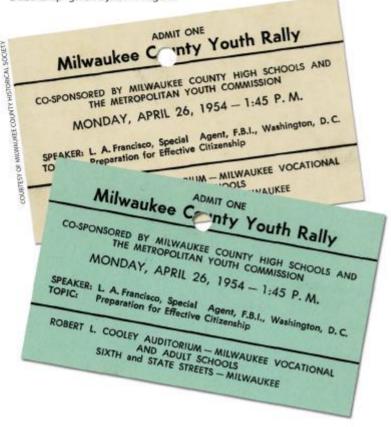
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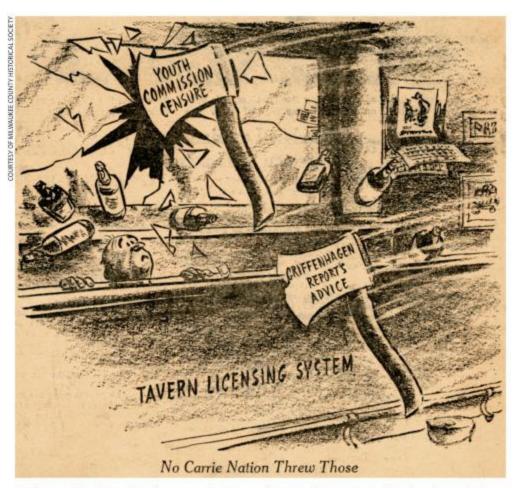
UNITED NATIONS DAY April 28, 1954

The principal and the social studies suchers of each high school have seen sided to airsunge class or successful programs in which consistence in the United Nations. Mr. Junes Hauser, Mercopolitan froath Causminion member concession and the Milwalete Inner-High chool Causeil, in in charge of the seegenss arrangements. A report on the week's events will be made at 100 p. m. over Stechen WISN.

The Metropolitan Youth Commission created Youth Recognition Week in 1954 to recognize area teens who demonstrated the values of good citizenship. The four young people pictured here were recognized during the inaugural event.

Parents and teens used these tickets to attend the Milwaukee County Youth Rally in April 1954. The program featured a talk on "effective citizenship" given by an FBI agent.





As illustrated by this political cartoon, the Metropolitan Youth Commission fought a fierce battle with the Wisconsin Tavernkeepers' Association (WTA) in the early 1950s. The commission blamed Milwaukee's bars for a surge in underage drinking arrests.

egy in dealing with teenagers. In what was to be its last major agenda, the MYC unveiled a new "Hard-to-Serve and Hard-to-Reach Youth Project," that was designed to meet the "unmet needs of older teen-age youth." Whereas the commission's previous programs were aimed at the good and wholesome teenagers of Milwaukee through programs such as Youth Recognition Week, the new approach focused specifically on delinquent teens. The "Hard-to-Reach Youth Project" recommended that city council fund safer dance halls and better socializing facilities for Milwaukee's teenagers. In late 1960, the proposal was distributed to the city council in pamphlet form. However, due to a lack of funds and the MYC's dissolution soon thereafter, the program was never implemented.

After years of disappointment over the rising reports of juvenile delinquency in the city and the failure of its final program in city council, the Metropolitan Youth Commission finally gave up. Following the 1957 juvenile crime reports, the MYC entered a period of malaise from which it never recovered. The commission officially dissolved itself in a unanimous resolution passed on February 28, 1961. The commission's final report demonstrated the frustration that the committee felt over its failure, and stated that the group disbanded "in view of present circumstances and fully conscious of the fact that the problem [of juvenile delinquency] has been by no means resolved." In this final act, the commission passed an informal resolution to honor Dr. William Rasche for his dedication and "unflagging zeal."

According to the Milwaukee Journal, the members' dissatisfaction over the growing rate of juvenile crime in the city and the commission's lack of funds were the two reasons for its dissolution. After the close of the last meeting, Dr. Rasche was quoted as saying, "I like this commission, but I don't think we are powerful enough to do the job called for by current conditions and trends."41 Indeed, the commission's slim budget presented a serious problem for continued action. According to the same article, the MYC had operated with an annual \$750 allotted by the city government, just enough to cover the cost of secretarial help and postage. The next day, the Journal again picked up on the story, and the sense of despair and powerlessness is equally evident in

Rasche's remarks. In a conference addressing the problem of juvenile delinquency and the dissolution of the commission, Rasche stated: "I think we were too weak. We met once a month; we passed resolutions. But in the meantime the other area [juvenile delinquency] has been growing." His statements ended with a challenge to the city to implement a stronger and better-funded group to combat the problem. According to Rasche, "I'd like to see a substantial sum of money put up for use by some organization . . . the group should have a paid staff and a director in his finest years. It must be county-wide."

The question of whether the juvenile delinquency scare of the 1940s and 1950s was real or merely perceived is interesting. For a city supposedly in the midst of a juvenile crime wave, the Metropolitan Youth Commission's constant lack of funding and the overall tin ear it received regarding its legislative recommendations would seem to indicate that city government was merely giving a hysterical public lip service with an underfunded commission. However, it is important to remember that the problem of teenagers and juvenile delinquency was very

2 6 wisconsin**history**.org

real for the citizens of Milwaukee at the time. Some, such as Dr. William Rasche and the members of the Metropolitan Youth Commission, took the real or imagined problem very seriously and worked very hard to solve it. What remains clear is that the appearance of an independent teenage child with his or her own values and culture was still a novelty in the 1950s. When evidence surfaced that teenagers were defying societal norms and at times breaking the law, Americans became concerned. When the press reported that the lawless trend was increasing in the decade following World War II, a panic swept the nation and cities such as Milwaukee were forced to act.

The Metropolitan Youth Commission was Milwaukee's response to the delinquency problem. Their actions embodied those of concerned parents across the city, attempting to protect their children from negative influences. The thirteen years of the commission's existence included many optimistic plans and inventive programs typical of the zealous patriotism expressed in the 1950s. However, the frustration caused by the city government's only passive interest in its plans and the continued rise of juvenile crime reports despite their best effort left the commission no choice but to give up the fight. After thirteen years, perhaps its members finally realized that American children had changed. World War II gave teenage Americans their first taste of autonomy and self-sufficiency, and they were unwilling to surrender it. Postwar commercialism and materialism had ushered in a completely new lifestyle for America's youth. Despite the concern of parents, politicians, and city commissions, the teenager was here to stay.

Years of frustration, a lack of funding, and a rising juvenile crime rate all led the Metropolitan Youth Commission to disband on February 28, 1961.

Commission on Youth Dies With Challenge

Ends After 12 Years; ly completed as a member of the Rasche Asks Strong
He quoted statistics which showed that, since 1948, arrests of 12 to 18 year old youths had doubled, but that the population Police Meet Threat

By DAVID F. BEHRENDT Of The Journal Staff

outh commission quietly breathed its last Tuesday afternoon, and in delivering its eulogy the commission chairman called for a strong new countywide organization of laymen to help police meet the threat of rising juvenile crime.

Warning the community that it was "taking refuge in its false ize it's got to have a strong lay sense of security," William F. group to work with its law en-Rasche, who had served as commission chairman since it was established by the county board problem. and the common council in

metropolitan study commission.

had increased in that time by only one-half. Milwaukee held its position of relatively little crime compared with other large The 12 year old metropolitan cities, he said, but the actual crime rate rose equally with the

Calls Position Favorable

"Milwaukee is still in a favorable enough position to keep control," Rasche said. "We can prevent Milwaukee county from slipping into the position of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

"But Milwaukee's got to realgroup to work with its law forcement agencies to lick this

"And that's why I'm ready to quit here, with this kind of commission. I think we're serving "I think we were too weak. the community by saying we're

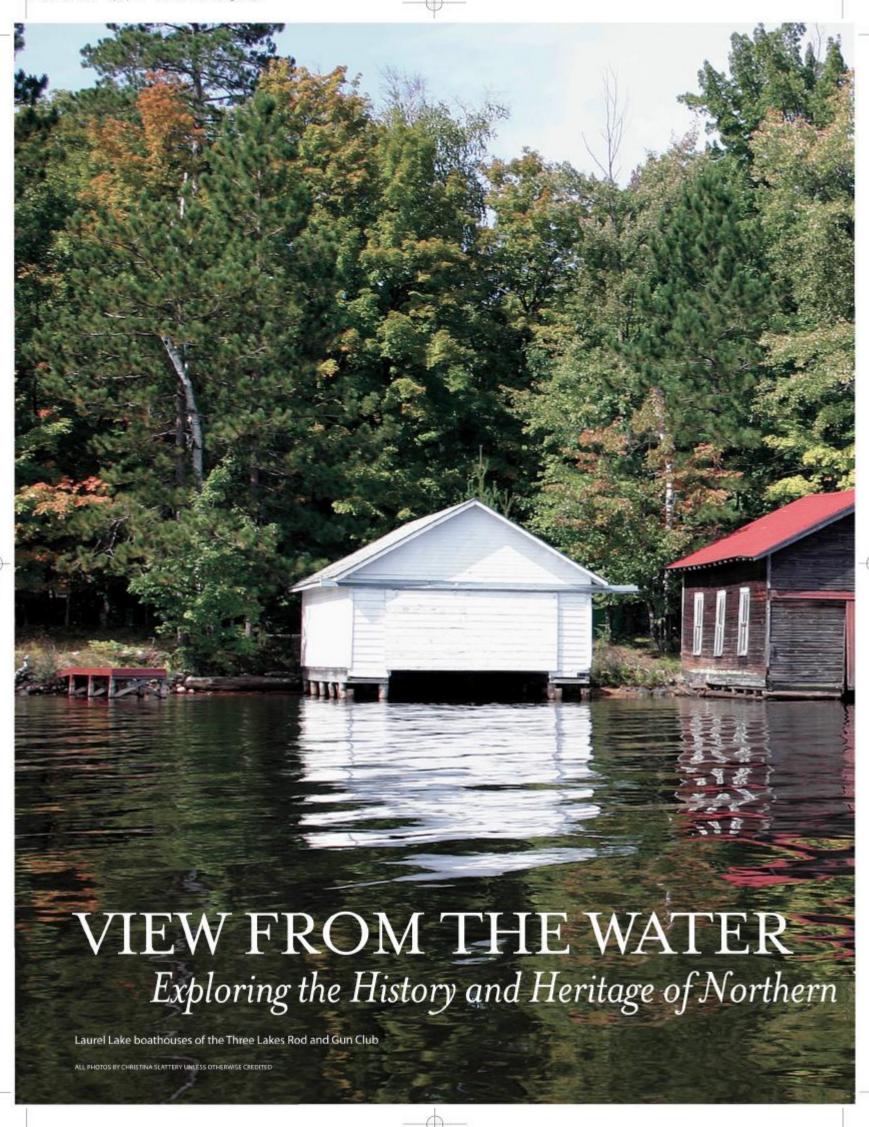
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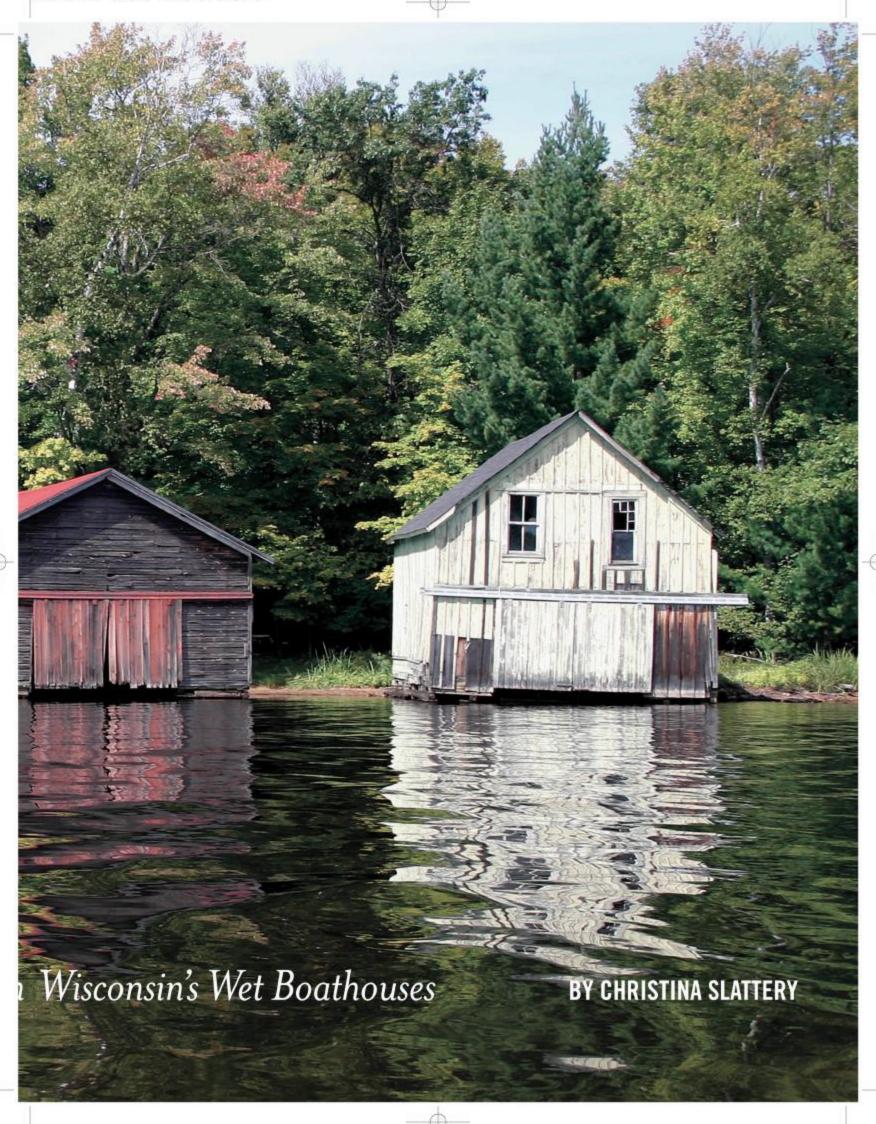
- 1. Letter to Mayor Zeidler, William Rasche Collection, Milwaukee County Historical Society Archives, Milwaukee, WI.
- 2. William M. Tuttle, "Daddy's Gone To War:" The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6.
- 3. James Gilbert, A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to Juvenile Delinquency in the 1950s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 24-26.
- Grace Palladino. Teenagers: An American History (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 97–115.
- 5. Ibid., 155-156,
- 6. Ibid., 161,
- 7. Gilbert, 37-38,
- 9. Ibid. (The Children's Bureau was set up in 1912 to improve the social and economic welfare of children.)
- Annual Reports 1949, 1957, Milwaukee Police Department Youth Aid Bureau.
- 11. Milwaukee Journal, October 19, 1947.
- 13. United Press News Release, 7:116; MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- 14. Milwaukee Journal, October 19, 1947.
- Milwaukee Journal, March 19, 1949.
- 17. Statement on the Organization and Responsibilities of the Youth Commission, 7:16. MSS 0789, William Rasche Collection.
- 18. Milwaukee Journal, June 28, 1951.
- 19. The Metropolitan Youth Commission. A Report of a Study of What is Happening to Juvenile Delinquents in Milwaukee County. February 1950, 23.
- 20. Study Concerning Excessive Taverns, 7:117, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- 21. Ibid.
- 22. Milwaukee Journal, March 28, 1952
- 23. Ibid.
- 24. Letter from William Rasche to Milwaukee Principals, 7:128, MSS-0789, William Rasche
- News Release: April 15, 1954, 1:126, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection
- 26. Summary of Church and Family Day 1954, 7:126, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- 27. Rasche to Milwaukee Principals.
- 28. Letter from J. Edgar Hoover to Rasche, 7:127, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- Rasche to Francisco, 7:127, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- 30. Rasche to Milwaukee Principals
- 32. Milwaukee Journal, May 5, 1954.
- 33. Annual Report, Milwaukee County Children's Court, Milwaukee, WI.
- 34, 1956 Annual Reports, Milwaukee Police Department Youth Aid Bureau.
 35. Letter from Rasche to Zeidler, October 30, 1957, 7:119, MSS-0789 William Rasche Col-
- 36. The Metropolitan Youth Commission, "An Introduction to the Problems and Responsibilities of the Reorganized Youth Commission," 1957, 6.
- 37. Ibid., B.
- 38. Minutes: March 11, 1958, 7:118, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- Annual Report, 7:119, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- 40. Final Resolution, 7:118, MSS-0789, William Rasche Collection.
- Milwaukee Journal, February 28, 1961 42. Milwaukee Journal, February 29, 1961.

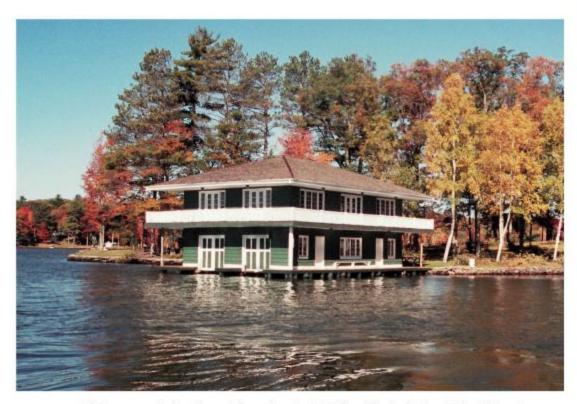
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jason Hostutler received his PhD in American history from Marquette University in 2009. His expertise lies in urban history, with a special emphasis on the greater Milwaukee area. He teaches at Mount Mary College in Milwaukee, and in his free time, he enjoys travel, gardening, home brew-

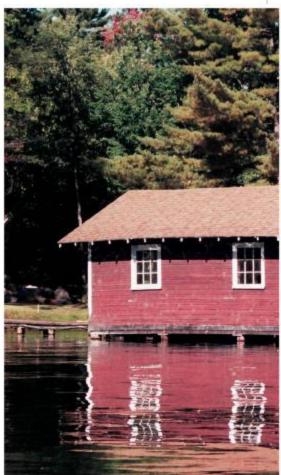
ing, dancehalls, and hotrods. He currently lives in Cudahy, Wisconsin, with his wife and son.











Typical one-story boathouse located on the Minocqua chain of lakes

enerations of year-round and seasonal residents, fishermen, resort guests, campers, and tourists have enjoyed northern Wisconsin's vast network of lakes, floating past wet boathouses along the shorelines. Perched over the water, these structures are integral components of the North Woods landscape and one of the most visible symbols of the recreational activities for which the area is treasured. Although privately owned, these garages on the water belong to the collective memory of all those who have had fun on the lakes. Standing for generations, the boathouses are landmarks that provide visual guides to navigate, mark a favorite fishing spot, or serve as a familiar site during the first boat ride of the year. Oncida and Vilas county lakes are home to many of these buildings, and pictured here are just a few of those that can be discovered on Plum Lake, Lake Katherine, the Eagle River chain of lakes, the Minocqua chain of lakes, and the Three Lakes chain.

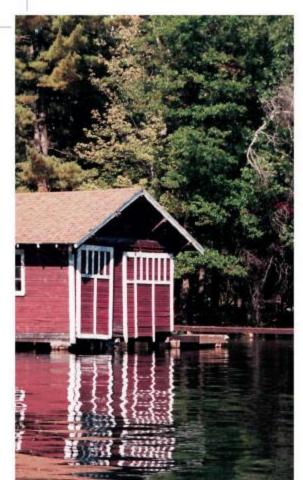
Northern Wisconsin's boathouses were most often constructed of wood and were built from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1950s as shelters to store and protect boats from the elements. Smaller bodies of water or lakes with bays provide ideal locations. These areas offer protection, especially from ice shoves, which can damage the building's foundation. Constructed along with seasonal residences or resorts, boathouses are simple, utilitarian buildings. In addition to creating storage space for boats and related recreational items, some also provide additional recreational or living space on the second level.

North Woods boathouses are typically constructed as oneand two-story wood frame buildings built over wood pilings or crib foundations in the water. The foundations were often driven during the winter months for ease of construction, with the frozen lake serving as a working platform. The square or rectangular buildings commonly feature a hip- or gable-shaped roof; however, flat or gambrel roofs are not uncommon.

The lower level of a boathouse is often a garage-like space with one to three boat slips and storage for generations of water skis, fishing poles, and life jackets. Mechanical or manual hoists above the boat slips are used to lift the boats in and out of the water. Boathouses with a second level feature either an open recreational room or secondary living quarters, sometimes with bedrooms, bathrooms, and kitchens. In most cases, bands of windows are found on the second-level elevations to showcase majestic views of the lake and offer great vantage points for judging sail boat races. The second level of the boathouse frequently serves as a favorite gathering place, a place of reprieve on rainy days where owners and guests can play ping pong or watch the sunset in clear weather.

Boathouses were most frequently designed and constructed by the same local builders and carpenters who constructed the North Wood's resorts and cabins. Popular architectural styles of the early to mid twentieth century, which were utilized in the main buildings of resorts and seasonal cabins, were often continued in a more limited way in the expression of the com-

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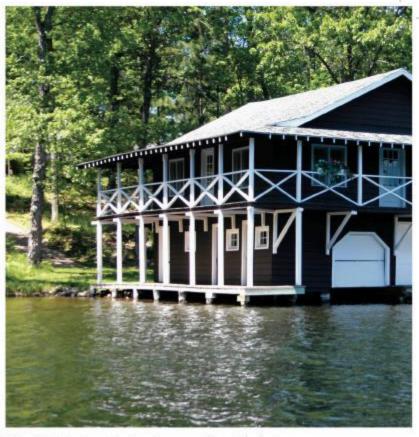
Large two-story boathouse on Lake Minocqua

Craftsman-style boathouse at Kemp Natural Resources Station on Lake Tomahawk

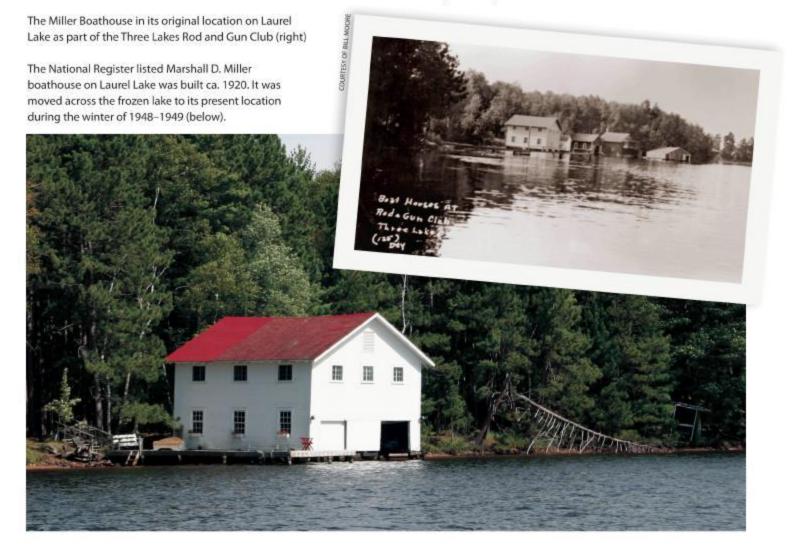


plexes' boathouses. As a result, influences of Queen Anne, Craftsman, Tudor Revival, Rustic, and modern architectural styles can be seen in the boathouses in Oneida and Vilas counties. Style is most often reflected in the boathouse's form and massing (similar to proportion), roofline, and simple architectural details such as multi-divided windows; exterior log, shingle, or clapboard siding; and the inclusion of decorative roof brackets and exposed roof rafters. In a few cases, the overall design is more elaborate, such as the Lake Minocqua boathouse that features a corner turret.

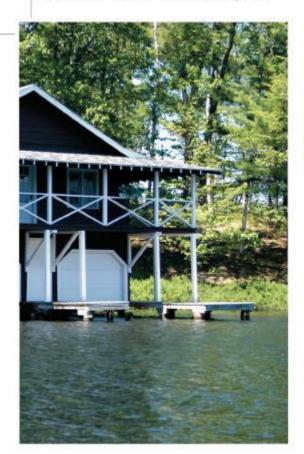
Few boathouses on northern Wisconsin's lakes were built after the 1960s. The decline of wet boathouse construction can be attributed both to the invention of free-standing boat lifts and a 1979 Wisconsin State Statute that restricted the construction of any new structures over the state's waters, including boathouses. The freestanding removable lifts that dot Northern Wisconsin's shoreline today became a cost effective option to store a boat on the water without the required maintenance of a permanent building. In addition, many boats came to be con-



This distinctive two-story boathouse on Plum Lake features an upper level wrap-around porch.



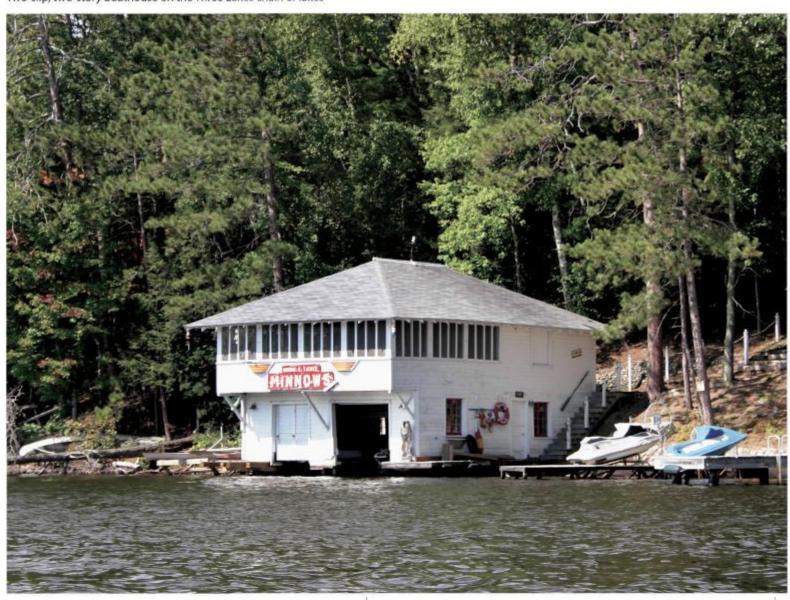
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Vintage postcard of Lake Minocqua boathouse and canoes in front of the C. M. & P. Bridge, postmarked 1907

Two-slip, two-story boathouse on the Three Lakes chain of lakes





The Craftsman-style Ella M. Boesel boathouse on Lake Minocqua was built ca.1935. It was the first boathouse to be individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

structed of fiberglass and aluminum following World War II and required less protection from the elements. In accordance with current state statutes, boathouse owners also face restrictions on conducting continued maintenance of these buildings.

As a result, the existing boathouses within the North Woods landscape have become endangered architectural resources.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Christina Slattery is an architectural historian with Mead & Hunt, Inc., a national consulting engineering/architecture firm with a specialty in historic preservation. She received her master's degree in historic preservation from Ball State University and a bachelor's degree

in art history from the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Christina has documented boathouses, resorts, private estates, and cabins throughout northern Wisconsin and has nominated several of these properties to the National Register of Historic Places.

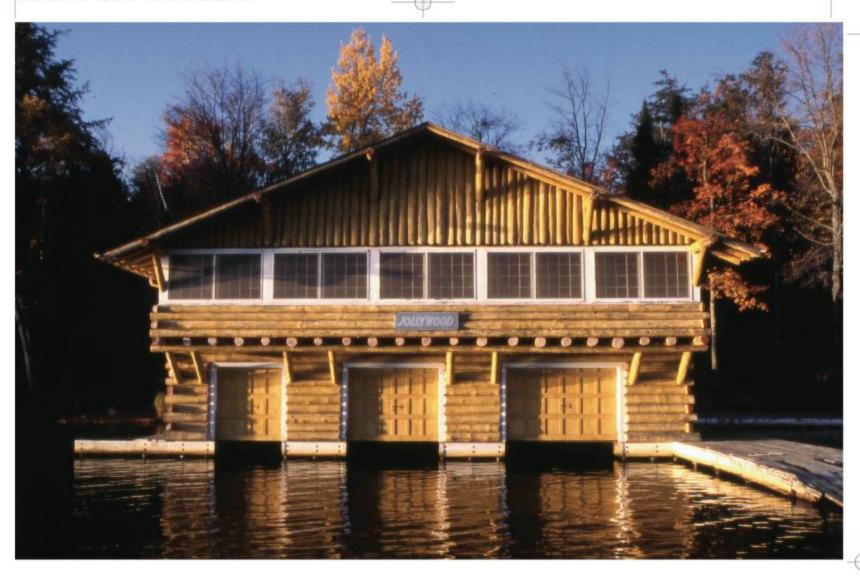
Owners of some of the more distinctive historic boathouses have embraced historic designation in the State and National Register of Historic Places as a way to recognize the significance of these structures and continue their maintenance in accordance with the state statutes. To date, thirteen wet boathouses in Oneida and Vilas counties have been recognized for their architectural significance as examples of this distinctive recreational property type. As symbols of "Up North," wet boathouses in Oneida and Vilas counties continue to link the memories of many to a specific lake or landscape and evoke our state's recreational heritage.

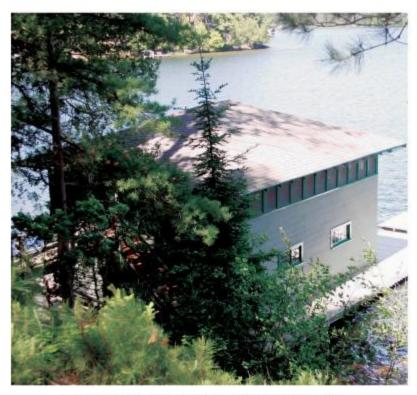
Notes

1. The state statue 30.121: Regulation of boathouses and houseboats states that the owner of any boathouse extending beyond the ordinary high water mark of any navigable waterway may repair and maintain the boathouse if the cost of the repair or maintenance does not exceed 50 percent of the equalized assessed value of the boathouse. While the statute includes more detail, it states in general that the subsection related to maintenance does not apply if the boathouse has historice or cultural value as determined by the state historical society. As a result, boathouse repair is limited unless it is listed in the state or national register. The complete state statute language is available at http://www.legis/state.wi.us/rsb/statues.html.

 These boarhouses have been both individually listed and listed as contributing resources of a complex. Information on National Register listed properties in Wisconsin is found on Wisconsin Historical Society's website at http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/hp/register.

3 4 wisconsinhistory.org





View of the Ben and Margaret Stone Boathouse from land. Located on Plum Lake, it was built in 1928. It is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Jollywood, a rustic log cabin-style boathouse, is located on Big Fork Lake. Built in 1940, it is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Camp Idyle Wyld boathouse on the Three Lakes chain, undated



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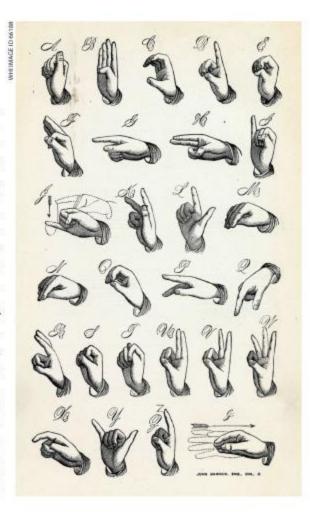
She Taught Him to "Hear With His Eyes"

BY NANCY K. PLANT

orace Gillespie's obituary in the New London Press-Star reads like a conventional twentieth-century success story. Born in Hancock, Michigan, in 1902, he married a girl from Bear Creek, Wisconsin, in 1934. He was a graduate of Lawrence College in Appleton and ultimately joined the faculty at Columbia University in New York, where he taught biochemistry to medical and dental students for forty years. At the time of his death in 1983, he was a member of Most Precious Blood Catholic Church in New London. He was survived by his wife, son, daughterin-law, and three grandchildren. An impressive life story, certainly, but not unlike others of that time. Yet Horace Gillespie's life was indeed remarkable, more remarkable than it sounds on first telling. Horace Gillespie was deaf.1

How did a deaf boy born at the beginning of the twentieth century in the rural Upper Peninsula of Michigan manage to live a life of such

apparent normalcy and with such notable professional accomplishments? Horace Gillespie was quite intelligent and presumably had extraordinary personal qualities of resilience and determination. However, as with many exceptional people, there was someone who made a timely difference that was critical to his life. That person was a teacher of deaf and speechimpaired children named Maude McGinty.



The sign language alphabet

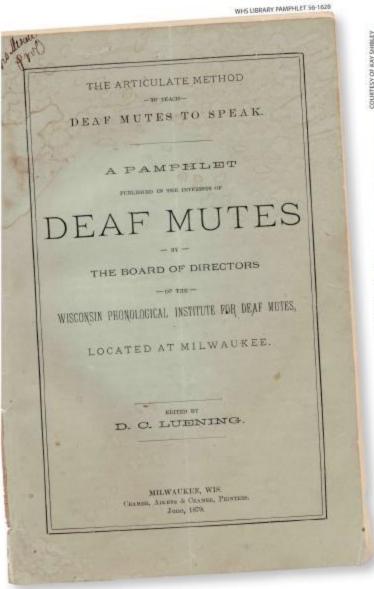
The Deaf Child

Horace Gillespie was normal at birth. He gradually went deaf, possibly as a result of a severe illness he suffered at age four, Although his parents knew that he was hard of hearing, they apparently didn't realize that he had gone completely deaf-rather, he was considered a bit "backward." Ironically, Horace was, in fact, quite bright, and his intelligence and adaptability may have confused his parents into thinking that he could hear them, as he was apparently able to discern what they were communicating much of the time. Also, deaf children often have an acutely developed sense of vibration, with the result that they respond to loud noises, such as something large falling on the floor, Horace's parents may also simply have had trouble accepting that their child was deaf; as one late nineteenth century pamphlet stated, "Many parents, even at the present time, consider themselves disgraced by having a deaf and dumb child,

and studiously conceal the fact from the world."2

Society's treatment of the deaf has a long and troubling history. For centuries, people who were deaf and mute were considered less than human, almost akin to animals, because of their inability to speak. The law classified the deaf along with insane and mentally defective people, and they were denied fundamental civil rights, unable, for example, to marry or

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Pamphlets like this one, published by the Wisconsin Phonological Institute in 1879, document strategies from the era for educating the deaf.

engage in legal transactions. Educating the deaf was not attempted, because it was believed to be impossible, and they often lived alone and were relegated to menial work. The Catholic Church even held that deaf people could not be Christians, because of their inability to hear the word of God. Beginning in the Renaissance, however, monks and other clergy motivated by compassion and a desire to save souls began to take an interest in and to teach deaf children. As momentum gathered for the education of deaf and mute children, residential schools for such children were established throughout Europe during the eighteenth century.³

For over a century, Americans who could afford to do so sent their deaf children to Europe to be educated. Early in the nineteenth century, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet traveled from Connecticut to Europe to learn how to teach deaf children, eventually arriving in Paris where he observed the traditional



Maude McGinty was born in Bear Creek, Wisconsin, in 1878. She became a recognized expert in the field of teaching deaf children.



Horace Gillespie, Maude McGinty's student, graduated from Lawrence College in Appleton before joining the faculty at Columbia University in New York.

French method of sign language. When he returned to the United States in 1816, he brought with him Laurent Clerc, who had both graduated from and taught at the Royal Institute for the Deaf in Paris. A year later, Gallaudet and Clerc founded the country's first school for deaf students in Hartford, Connecticut, ultimately named the American School for the Deaf. The American School, which was the first school of any kind in the country to receive state aid, was a residential school in which sign language was used with students. It became a model for other states and similar schools popped up all over the country. In 1852, Wisconsin followed suit and opened the Wisconsin School for the Deaf in Delavan.

In the 1860s and 1870s, a countervailing pedagogical movement called the "oral" method gathered force. The philosophy of the oral method, which was the prevailing manner of teaching deaf and mute children in Germany, was to educate them so "that they shall be as nearly as possible like hearing people." Children who learned by the oral method were taught to read lips and to speak. Under the strictest interpretation of the method, students were forbidden to use sign language, which was viewed as counterproductive. Teachers who used the oral method taught deaf students in decentralized day schools, rather than residential schools, and were generally young hearing women, rather than deaf people. Day schools were located in the same buildings as schools for hearing children, and deaf students were thus provided as much contact with hearing students as possible, during, for example, art classes and recess periods. In addition to claiming superiority for the oral method of instruction, advocates touted day schools as less expensive with the advantage of allowing deaf children to live at home with their parents.6

One of the primary leaders of the oralist movement was Alexander Graham Bell, whose mother and wife were deaf, and

3 8 wisconsinhistory.org

whose father had spent much of his life educating deaf children. After he achieved fame for inventing the telephone, Bell became an ardent advocate for the oral method of instruction for deaf children and, with his leadership, the oralist movement gained momentum throughout the country towards the end of the nineteenth century. He joined other impassioned supporters who believed that they were helping the deaf overcome a tragic affliction; one publication likened the cause of teaching deaf students with the oral method to freeing the slaves, stating, "The minority which to-day [sic] is engaged in liberating the deafmutes of our country from the bondage of silence by means of the oral method, has no less earnest and zealous advocates."

Supporters of the oral method found fertile ground in Wisconsin. In 1878, German immigrants with deaf children opened a private day school for the deaf on National Avenue in Milwaukee. The parents wanted German language, culture, and traditions to be preserved and taught to their children; hence, they employed a German teacher who taught using the oral method. A charitable foundation, the Wisconsin Phonological Institute, was established the following year, also on National Avenue in Milwaukee, to raise money for the school and "to promote the pure oral or German method of educating the deaf." When the funds raised from private sources were not sufficient, the Phonological Institute turned to the state government, which initially turned down the request for support, Robert C. Spencer, the head of the Institute, then invited Alexander Graham Bell to come to Wisconsin to help persuade the state to provide public support for the oral method of instruction. Bell came twice, once to address the National Education Association in 1884 and once the following year to meet with legislative committees. The combined efforts of Bell and the Phonological Institute were successful, and in 1885 Wisconsin became the first state in the union to pass a law providing public support for day schools for the deaf in local communities.8

Under the law, any community could request that a day school for the deaf be established in that locality by making the appropriate submission to the state superintendent of public instruction. The state paid the community a set amount per student and later also provided support for boarding nonresidential students with families. By the turn of the century, there were eighteen day schools for the deaf in Wisconsin. Alexander Graham Bell had returned to the state in 1898 to tour several of the day schools and stated at the end of his visit:

Wisconsin has startled America with her progress relating to the education of the deaf and it now becomes the duty of all the prominent instructors of the deaf to come and see what you are doing. Other states are beginning to follow your lead. Wisconsin to-day [sic] represents the most progressive movement in the education of the deaf that has appeared in this country.⁹



Thomas Gallaudet traveled to France to learn about deaf education and brought that knowledge back to the United States. He founded the country's first school for the deaf in Hartford, Connecticut.

The supporters of the oral method, buoyed by their success in Wisconsin, extended their efforts to other states, and several Midwestern states subsequently passed similar legislation providing public support for day schools for the deaf.¹⁰

By 1910, over 350 students were enrolled in twenty-one day schools statewide, with approximately 245 students enrolled in the residential Wisconsin School for the Deaf in Delavan. Why there were so many deaf children in Wisconsin in the early twentieth century is puzzling. Infections of various sorts may have contributed; one anecdotal opinion in the late nineteenth

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century attributed an increased incidence of deafness to a scarlet fever epidemic that had occurred a few years previously. In any case, the seemingly high number of deaf students in Wisconsin in the early twentieth century likely helped focus attention on how best to teach such children.¹¹

Teacher at the "Deaf & Dumb" School

Maude McGinty was born in August 1878, on a farm in Bear Creek, Waupaca County, Wisconsin, the youngest of nine known children born to Patrick McGinty and Anna Patton McGinty. Maude's parents left Ireland soon after the potato famine and initially settled in Canada, then immigrated to the United States in the early 1870s. Maude became an elementary school teacher, like her sister Margaret, but never married or had children as her three older sisters did. Instead, by her early thirties, Maude had begun teaching deaf and speech-impaired students. The education of deaf and mute students had clearly become a hot topic in Wisconsin education circles and may have been what led Maude McGinty to enter the field. The 1910 census for the Village of Welcome (located in the Bear Creek area) lists Maude's occupation as a teacher in the "deaf & dumb school." According to state records, Maude actually taught the 1909-1910 school year at the Day School for the Deaf in Eau Claire, some 165 miles from Bear Creek. 12

How Maude was trained to teach deaf and mute students is not entirely clear. She attended a state or county normal school, perhaps the Waupaca County Teachers Training School in New London, for her initial training in teaching. Following that, and after teaching a regular classroom of hearing students for a few years, she likely received her training to educate students with hearing and speech impairments at the Wisconsin Phonological Institute. The Phonological Institute had

a normal school associated with it that offered a one-year course of instruction in how to teach deaf and mute students using the oral method. The 1910 report of the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, which listed Maude as a teacher at the Day School for the Deaf in Eau Claire, stated that all of the trained teachers at the state day schools for the deaf, except for two, had been educated at the Phonological Institute. ¹³

Around the end of 1910, Maude moved to Houghton in the northern peninsula of Michigan, presumably to teach at the day school for the deaf in Houghton.¹⁴ It was there that she met Horace Gillespic.

Hearing with His Eyes

Horace Gillespie's parents had the choice of sending him either to the residential Michigan School for the Deaf in Flint, almost 500 miles away, or to the day school for the deaf in Houghton, across Portage Lake from Hancock. Pedagogical methods aside, one can certainly understand why Horace's parents chose to send their small son to a school nearby. Maude McGinty met Horace when he was eight and took him under her wing. An article about Gillespie, referring to Maude, says, "With infinite patience, she taught the child to 'hear with his eyes,' that is to read lips, and also taught him to speak." As Maude's niece put it in a short memoir:

I have seen four and five year olds brought to her who couldn't hear a sound and had never spoken a word because they had never heard one. Often they were stunted, terrified, and unattractive looking. When she was most successful, they turned into animated little chatter-boxes whose quick glances hardly betrayed their dependence on lip-reading. Not for everyone was the miracle performed, and the way to the speaking of just one word was often long and discouraging, but even the backward lost their terror and their vacant look. ¹⁵

How indeed did teachers like Maude teach children to recognize lip shapes and move their vocal chords to produce words? It was certainly not easy, "requiring all the patience man is capable of possessing." The technique made use of the student's sense of sight and sensitivity to vibration, both of which were usually better developed in deaf children than in

Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Delavan, Wisconsin, undated



4 0 wisconsinhistory.org





hearing children. The deaf child held his hand to the teacher's throat while she spoke, so that the student could watch the teacher's lips and, at the same time, feel the vibrations of sound in the teacher's body. As one instructional pamphlet explained, "The resonance of sound coming from the larynx and mouth is not confined to the parts lying above the larynx, but the resonance is also below this in the chest, and extends even down to the lungs and diaphragm." The student held the other hand on his or her own throat and attempted to imitate the sound made by the teacher by holding the lips in the same position and producing the same vibration in the throat. ¹⁶

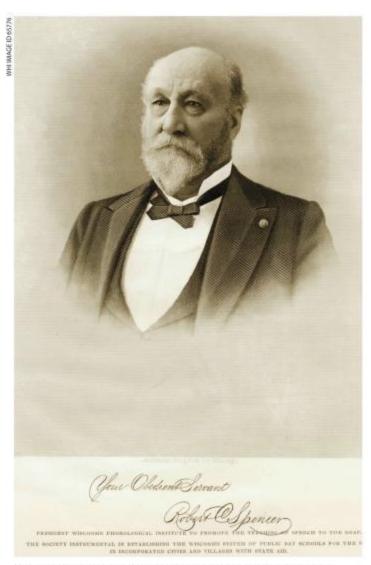
Expression class held at the Doty School in Madison in 1931

A piano was sometimes used to help the deaf learn to differentiate pitch. By feeling the change in pitch from the keys with their fingertips, children learned to modulate their own voices.



Young women painting still life subjects at the Wisconsin State School for the Deaf, 1893

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Robert C. Spencer headed the Wisconsin Phonological Institute, founded in 1879. He also invited Alexander Graham Bell to lobby on behalf of deaf education in Wisconsin.

Another pamphlet counseled that "it is of the utmost importance that the teacher should create in his scholar the facility to scream at will any kind of a cry, as, when this is acquired, the foundation is laid for pronouncing the vowels, and there only remains afterward the work of teaching him the true sound of each one." Teachers used mirrors, which allowed a student to see his own lips, as well as, in some cases, pictures or even models showing the correct lip formation. Some teachers apparently also used spatulas, placed in the child's mouth to assist correct tongue position. A 1931 newspaper article even mentioned use of the piano in helping train deaf students to modulate their voices:

The piano is also a great asset in teaching voice pitch. Through constant use, a deaf child's fingertips become very sensitive to vibration. With his fingers on the piano keys, the child can feel the change in pitch and will thus learn to modulate its own voice. 17

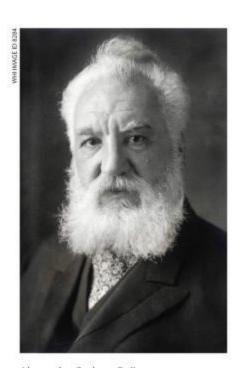
By moving around the room, to be different distances away, the teacher could help the child learn how strongly to use her voice. ¹⁸ Gradually, the student progressed to identifying and uttering words; as the same article stated, "The use of the voice is taught by what is now known as the 'mother method,'—just babling [sic] at first, as with babies—then drills for voice development, and finally elements and combination of elements of speech."

The difficulty of this process cannot be overstated; as one scholar recently put it, "What is essentially an auditory phenomenon must be grasped and controlled by nonauditory means." Not only could it be very slow, arduous, and frustrating work for both the student and teacher, but those opposed to the oral method believed that it wasted valuable time. Proponents of sign language, which deaf students generally pick up much more rapidly, argued that students could move on more quickly to academic subjects-writing, reading, arithmetic, and so on-if they did not have to spend years learning the rudiments of communication. Indeed, some experts today believe that one key to a child's intellectual development is simply that she be introduced to and given the opportunity to master a language-whether it be English, German, sign language, or any other language-at the appropriate developmental stage. If that occurs, her development will progress; if the child is unable to master the language or takes too long to do so, she may have trouble ever catching up. As one scholar has put it, "If communication cannot be achieved, if the child is not exposed to good language and dialogue, we see . . . mishaps at once linguistic, intellectual, emotional, and cultural."20

By 1920, nearly eighty percent of deaf children nationwide were educated using the oral method, which continued to be the preferred method of teaching deaf students until the 1960s. Questions then started to emerge regarding the effectiveness of the oral method, which worked well for some, but seemed to fail many other students.21 American Sign Language, which had been minimized by oral advocates, was recognized not as a pantomime method of communication, but as a complex, highly effective language of its own. The deaf themselves tended to be strong advocates for sign language taught in residential schools. Alexander Graham Bell, whom the world at large views as a genius and hero, is not so viewed by the deaf community because of his insistence that the deaf were better off the more they adapted to hearing society. Bell's advocacy was also tainted by a tinge of eugenics. He published a paper in 1883 in which he argued that failure to integrate deaf children into society would result in more intermarriage of the deaf, increased numbers of deaf children, and ultimately a "deaf variety of the human race." The deaf community was

4 2 wisconsinhistory.org

SOUTH CORNER CAPITOL PARK J. VAN ETTA, Prop. Madison, Wis., Faxuedy Feb. 14 1885-My smeet douling wife The Auow blocade has dissolved and at last has allowed your letters to wach me. Here letter last right - and another with The children's letters hack just reached me. Wank Elsie & & airy for their nice letters & I leope they will write again - and to That in after but a date on their letter vene witten to. Count with at length just now. They addens to the assembly chamber I think has love good - at gestude, I had a long lession with both committees, by time has been largely spent in interviewing important people - & disarming offorition to the bill. Everything beens to be favorable to the hastop of the bill. The Committees will report to the assembly on housing - and In . Spencer & I are heard at work writing a report for the lower itees to adopt! Its don't expert on the work from me till house any we have buck discussed the open to getter - 20 we have buck discussed the open to getter write a cast define the chief points. We will each write a compart tought & compare notes toward morning the two. (Aunday) & spend the day in combining the two.



Alexander Graham Bell was a passionate advocate for the deaf and the oral method of instructing deaf children.
Bell's father, grandfather, and brother had all been associated with work on elocution and speech, and both his mother and wife were deaf.

Alexander Graham Bell visited Wisconsin in 1884 and 1885 to lobby the legislature for public support of deaf education. Bell helped Wisconsin become the first state to support deaf schools in local communities. He described his visit to his wife in this letter.

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A class of girls speaking with mirrors in front of their mouths, 1892. This method helped students better understand speech.

sometimes suspicious, or even resentful, of the intrusion of wellmeaning but paternalistic hearing people who maintained that the deaf were better off when fully integrated into the hearing world. Since the 1960s, deaf culture and community has experienced a sort of renaissance; however, the struggle to ensure that deaf and speech-impaired children are properly educated using optimal teaching methods continues.²²

Delavan School

The history of the residential Wisconsin School for the Deaf in Delavan reflects the arc of deaf education in the United States. When the school began in 1852, sign language was used, consistent with institutions patterned after the American School for the Deaf in Hartford, Connecticut. Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing to the 1960s, however, students were taught using the oral method and, for part of that time, the use of sign language was forbidden. Today, the website of the Wisconsin School for the Deaf states that both sign language and speech reading and acquisition are taught at the school, but the clear emphasis is on sign language.²³

A Life in the Hearing World

Horace Gillespie, perhaps because he had acquired language skills before he lost his hearing, was one of the children for whom the oral method worked well. In fact, he ultimately became so proficient at reading lips and speaking that, years later, when he gave an inspirational talk to Appleton high school kids, "[i]f the students had not been told in advance that he was unable to hear, in fact that he cannot remember ever having heard a sound of any kind, they would never have known that he was laboring under the handicap of total deafness since childhood."²⁴

Horace finished grade school and then went to a regular high school of hearing children. He played on the basketball and football teams; as halfback, he discerned the plays by looking at his teammates' formations and reading finger signals from the quarterback. He was valedictorian of his high school class, graduating after only three years.²⁵

Around the time that Horace was finishing high school, Maude McGinty moved back to Wisconsin, initially teaching at the Day School for the Deaf in Green Bay for a year or two. In 1922, the city of Kaukauna in Outagamie County, about forty miles from where Maude was born, hired her to begin a day school for hearing and speech-impaired students within the vocational school located there. Maude began teaching at the Kaukauna Vocational School and, the next year, bought a three-bedroom house in Appleton, about eight miles away.²⁶

Maude "couldn't stand the thought" of Horace not going to college, so she brought him to Appleton and paid his tuition at Lawrence College. Horace lettered in both basketball and foot-

4 4 wisconsinhistory.org

ball at Lawrence—he was later described as one of the "Lawrence stars" in both sports. He graduated from Lawrence in 1925 with an undergraduate degree in chemistry and many academic honors. Maude, still wanting to ensure that Horace reached his full potential, then reportedly paid "the entire cost" of Gillespie's PhD in chemistry from the University of Illinois, which he received in 1930.²⁷

Welcoming All Comers

Horace Gillespie wasn't the only young person who benefited from Maude McGinty's encouragement and generosity. By her own account, she paid some or all of the cost of college for fourteen of her nieces and nephews as well. And her support sometimes continued even beyond graduation. Her niece, Marie McGinty, won a year-long scholarship to study in Paris after completing her bachelor's degree at the University of Wisconsin, and Maude helped pay for Marie's expenses when she was living abroad.²⁸

In addition to paying college tuition costs, Maude was remarkably generous with her three-bedroom home, where she housed five nieces and nephews from two families whose mothers had died, as well as numerous other family members who moved in and out from time to time. "Those home from college, those working in the town either temporarily or permanently, and those who were unemployed made it their home. It was nothing for twenty to sit down to dinner and twelve was usual."

How in the world did Maude McGinty afford all of this on a teacher's salary? Because of her specialty, she presumably made more money than some teachers, but even at that, her

salaries were modest. Maude was fortunate enough, however, to have an independently wealthy and very generous older brother, Peter McGinty had discovered iron ore when working in the Minnesota iron ranges as a young man, and that discovery provided him with a lifelong income. Peter, who remained single his whole life and moved in with Maude after their mother died in the early 1920s, reportedly had simple desires in life and enjoyed playing cards and socializing at taverns. He apparently was also a kind man who simply gave Maude the money that he didn't need. This provided Maude the resources to

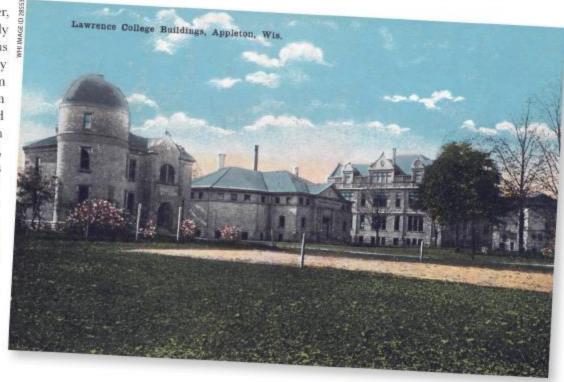
ensure that her many nieces and nephews, as well as Horace Gillespie, were well educated and that any relative who needed a home could move in with her.³⁰

One of the nieces who came to live with Maude was Margaret McGinty, the daughter of Maude's brother Patrick. In the 1930 census, Margaret is one of the seven family members listed as living with Maude; her occupation is stated as "telephone operator." In 1930, Horace Gillespie was hired as a research assistant by the Biochemistry Department of the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons and moved to New York; that, however, did not stop Margaret and Horace from falling in love. They were married in 1934, and their son Jimmy was born in 1937.31 Horace ultimately worked his way up to associate professor at Columbia, teaching biochemistry to medical and dental students. He also conducted research and published articles in the cancer field. According to present-day Columbia faculty members, Horace was universally well-liked, a kind man who had no trouble communicating with others. After Horace retired in 1970, the Gillespies moved back to the New London, Wisconsin, area, where he died in 1983 and Margaret died in 1995.32

The Power of a Teacher

Newspaper reports indicate that Maude McGinty spoke at various professional meetings and school events, apparently achieving some recognition in her field for her expertise and experience. Yet despite her thirty-plus years spent teaching and the countless lives she affected, Maude's obituary was one short

Horace Gillespie graduated from Lawrence College in Appleton.



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paragraph, with her teaching career summed up in one sentence under a heading that simply listed her name. A few pages later in the same newspaper, the obituary for the sales representative of a local paper company appears, with a large headline, a sub-headline, and five paragraphs of text approximately one-and-one-half times the length of Maude's obituary. While this difference may result in part from Maude's relatives being more modest on her behalf, it also demonstrates that, as with nearly all teachers, the rewards of Maude's career were not in any recognition that she may have received, but in the satisfaction of transforming the lives of children who might otherwise have been left behind. In fact, Horace Gillespie's obituary doesn't even mention the fact that he is deaf. Maybe that is Maude McGinty's true legacy. 33 MM

Maude McGinty with her nephews and niece (From Left: Marcus, George, and Esther Plant), ca. 1932



Notes

 Horace Gillespie's obituary states that he was born in 1903. "Dr. Horace B. Gillespie," New London Press-Star, 1 September 1983. His social security death index record and tombstone, however, confirm that he was born in 1902. Horace Gillespie, no. 095-26-0669, Social Security Death Index, http://www.ancestry.com; Horace B. Gillespie tombstone, St. Mary's Cemetery, Bear Creek (Outagamie County) Wisconsin; photographed by author, May 3, 2008.

2. For biographical information on Horace Gillespie, see Esther Plant Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," (date unknown): 7. Unpublished manuscript available from the author; "High School Notes: Horace Gillespie: An Object Lesson to Students," Appleton Review, vol.1 (September 26, 1930): 12. Children who lose their hearing after birth sometimes even continue to hear voices in their heads after becoming deaf. See Oliver Sacks, Seeing Voices (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 6–7 and 133–34 (n.7). For period studies of deaf education, see Paul Binner, "The Dumb Speak.' Improvements and Reforms in the Education and Treatment of Deaf-Mute Children," (Milwaukee, WI: Cramer, Aikens & Cramer, 1884), 10; D. C. Luening ed., The Articulate Method to Teach Deaf Mutes to Speak. A Pamphlet Published in the Interests of Deaf Mutes by the Board of Directors of the Wisconsin Phonological Institute for Deaf Mutes Located at Milwaukee (Milwaukee, WI: Cramer, Aikens & Cramer, 1879), 8.

3. For more on this history see Susan Plann, "Pedro Ponce de Leon: Myth and Reality," in Deal History Unreiled (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1993), 6–7; The Articulate Method to Teach Deal Mutes to Speak, 8; Sacks, Seeing Voices, 8, 12. See also John Vickery Van Cleve and Barry A. Crouch, A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deal Community in America (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1989), 4, 18.

4. For more information on early deaf education in Europe and the United States, see Van Cleve and Grouch, A Place of Their Own, 37, 29–46. For more on the founding of the American School for the Deaf, see Robert G. Spencer, Purposes, Claims, and Advantages of the Wisconsin System of Public Day Schools for the Deaf (n.p.: Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1905), 14. The

American School for the Deaf is online at http://www.asd-1817.org/history/his-

tory-asd.html.

 For more on this story, see Barry A. Crouch and Brian H. Greenwald, "Hearing with the Eye: The Rise of Deaf Education in the United States," in The Deaf History Reader (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2007), 42. The opening of the Wisconsin School for the Deaf in Delavan receives attention in Milwaukee Telegram, March 2, 1895.

 6. For more information on the "oral" method, see Spencer, Purposes,
 Claims, and Advantages, 4, 9. See also Van Cleve and Crouch, A Place of Their Own, 118. The quotation on the philosophy of the oral method comes from Spencer, 4.

7. For more on Alexander Graham Bell, see Brian H. Greenwald, "Taking Stock: Alexander Graham Bell and Eugenics, 1883—1922," in The Deaf History Reader (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2007), 137. The quotation likening the cause of teaching deaf students to freeing the slaves comes from Binner, Improvements and Reforms, 12.

8. On the German role in opening the Milwaukee Day School for the Deaf, see Van Cleve, Academic Integration, 120–123. On the Wisconsin Phonological Institute, see Spencer, Purposes, Claims, and Advantages, 3–4. On Bell's visits to Wisconsin, see The Wisconsin System of Public Day Schools for the Deaf with Limited State Aid (Milwaukee, WI: Wisconsin Phonological Institute, 1896), 5–13. The quotation on the mission of the Wisconsin Phonological Association comes from Spencer, 4.

9. See The Wisconsin System of Public Day Schools for the Deaf With Limited State Aid," (Milwaukee, WI: Wisconsin Phonological Institute, 1896), 14 (reprinting Chapter 313, Law of Wisconsin. Laws of 1885). For more on deaf schools in Wisconsin during this period, see Robert C. Spencer, Progress and Change in the Education of the Deaf in Wisconsin (Milwaukee, WI: Wisconsin Phonological Institute, 1901), 2. The Bell quote comes from Spencer, Purposes, Claims, and Advantages, 8.

 John Vickrey Van Cleve, "The Academic Integration of Deaf Children," in *Deaf History Unweiled* (Washington, DC: Gaullandet University Press, 1993), 123.

11. See Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, Fourteenth Biennial Report (Madison, WI: Democrat Printing Company, 1910), 319: Ellis Baker Usher, Wisconsin/Its Story and Biography (Chicago and New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1914), Vol. II, 398. For more on deaf children in Wisconsin during the early twentieth century, see Van Cleve and Crouch, A Place of Their Own, 21; Binner, Improvements and Reforms, 9–10.

12. See Maude McGinty's baptism record, Baptisms, 1877–1878, p. 18, entry 3, St. Patrick's Catholic Church, Lebanon, Wisconsin, Roman Catholic Diocese of Green Bay Archives. See also Annie McGinty household, 1910 U.S. census, Outagamie County, Wisconsin, population schedule, town of Welcome Village, enumeration district 133, supervisor's district 8, sheet 3B; National Archives micropublication T624, roll 1731. See also Fourteenth Biennial Report, 317. Although Maude does not appear in the 1908–1909 state listings, her name does appear as a teacher in Eau Claire in the 1909 report of the American Annals of the Deaf, Edward Allen Fay, ed., American Annals of the Deaf, Vol. LIV (Washington, DC: Conference of Superintendents and Principals of American Schools for the Deaf, 1909), 88.

Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 5–6. Fourteenth Biennial Report, 61.

14. It is unclear exactly when Maude moved from Bear Creek to the Hancock-Houghton area. However, she reportedly met her student Horace Gillespie

4 6 wisconsinhistory.org

when he was eight years old. Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 7. As Horace was born in 1902, then Maude likely met him in 1910 or 1911. Horace B. Gillepie tomhstone, St. Mary's Cemetery, Bear Creek (Outagamic County) Wisconsin; photographed by author, May 3, 2008. The day school for the deaf in Houghton was taught by one teacher, which was presumably Maude at this time. Seventy-Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan (Lansing, MI: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Company, 1909), 61. 15. Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 7, 11–12. For the article about Gillespie that refers to Maude, see "High School Notes: Horace Gillespie: An Object Lesson to Students," Appleton Review, vol. 1 (September 26, 1930); 12. The quotation from Maude's niece's memoir is from Shibley, 11–12.

16. The Articulate Method to Teach Deaf Mutes to Speak, 9. Binner, Improvements and Reforms, 10, 17, 18. The quotation on the difficulty of the oral method is from Binner, The Articulate Method to Teach Deaf Mutes to Speak, 9. The quotation on the touching technique is from Binner, Improvements and Reforms, 18,

17. The Articulate Method to Tech Deaf Mutes to Speak, 15, 20. Binner, Improvements and Reforms, 6. The quotation on screaming is from The Articulute Method to Teach Deaf Mutes to Speak, 20. The newspaper quote is from, "Local Teacher of Deaf Tells of Method Used," Wisconsin Rapids Daily Tribune, April 29, 1931.

18. The Articulare Method to Teach Deaf Mutes to Speak, 20.
19. The Wisconsin Phonological Institute published a pamphlet to assist parents in helping their children learn to read lips and to speak. Parents were advised to speak constantly to their children, to place the child's hand on the speaker's throat frequently in a manner similar to how the child was taught in school, and to place the child's hand on his or her own throat when the child made any kind of noise, including crying or laughing. Parents were encouraged to start these practices early, even before the child started school, to help the vocal chords become accustomed to speaking.

Pamphlets reminded parents to speak distinctly, though not in an exaggerated fashion, and to ensure that the lighting and body position of the speaker were such that the lips were clearly visible to the child. Parents were even advised on such matters as the proper diet for deaf children, the temperatures to which they should be exposed, and their moral training and development. Binner, The Dumb Speak, 12–16. In an interesting parallel with today's educational environment, the Phonological Institute clearly considered it necessary to enlist parents to be active educators at home, to supplement the child's education at school.

20. Sacks, Seeing Voices, 3–30, 94, 141 (n. 22). The quotation on learning an auditory phe-

20. Sacks, Seeing Voices, 3–30, 94, 141 (n. 22). The quotation on learning an auditory phenomenon by nonauditory means is from Sacks, Seeing Voices, 141 (n.22). The quotation on the importance of communication is from Sacks, Seeing Voices, 94, Van Cleve and Grouch, A Place of Their Own, 129. "School for the Deaf, Wisconsin's, at Delavan, Ranks High," Milwaikee Telegram, March 2, 1895.

21. Van Cleve and Crouch, A Place of Their Own, 122, 141; Van Cleve, Academic Integration, 123–132; Crouch and Greenwald, "Hearing With the Eye," 42; Sacks, Seeing Voices, 25–28. 22. Sacks, Seeing Voices, 60–99, 111, 118. This view that the oral method fails deaf children in most cases is not universal, of course. See, for example, Lew Golan, Reading Between the Lips (Chicago: Bonus Books, Inc., 1995). See Harlan Lane, "Cochlear Implants: Their Cultural and Historical Meaning," in Deaf History Unweiled (Washington, DC: Gallandet University Press, 1993), 283–287. With respect to Alexander Graham Bell, see, Greenwald, Taking Stock, 136–152. The Bell quotation is from Greenwald, 139 (quoting Alexander Graham Bell, Memoir Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race, 1884; reprint (Washington, DC: Alxander Graham Bell Association for the Deaf, 1969). Note: no page number for the Bell quotation is provided in the Greenwald article. For a more positive view of Bell from a deaf person, see Golan, Reading Between the Lips, 108–109. See also the websites for the National Deaf Education Project, http://www.ndepnow.org/ and Hands and Voices, http://www.handsandshiver.org/

23. See the mission of the Wisconsin School for the Deaf as stated on its website, http://www.wsd.kl2.wi.us/.

 "High School Notes: Horace Gillespie: An Object Lesson to Students," Appleton Review, vol. 1 (September 26, 1930): 12.

25. "High School Notes: Horace Gillespie: An Object Lesson to Students," Appleton Review, vol. 1 (September 26, 1930): 12; "Deaf Lawrence Alumni Gets Degree at Illinois," Appleton Post-Grescent, May 29, 1930. Interestingly, the football buddle was invented at Gallaudet University to provide a means for the football team to communicate secretly. Sacks, Seeing Voices, 110. 26. The 1919 Biennial Report of the Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction lists a Day School for The Deaf in Green Bay. State Department of Public Instruction, The State and the Public Schools: Two Year's Progress in Education in Wisconsin (Madison, WI: State Department of Public Instruction, 1919), 204. The Appleton Post-Grescent later characterized Maude as having "had charge" of a school for hearing and speech-impaired students in Green Bay. "Fificen New Teachers Engaged to Teach in Public Schools," Appleton Post-Grescent, August 10, 1922. See also Outagamic County Deeds, Vol. 93: 133, Outagamic County Administration Building—Register of Deeds, Appleton, Wisconsin.

27. Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 3, 8, "High School Notes: Horace



Horace Gillespie was hired by the Biochemistry Department of the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1930.

Gillespie: An Object Lesson to Students," Appleton Review, vol. 1 (September 26, 1930): 12; "Deaf Lawrence Alumni Gets Degree at Illinois," Appleton Post-Crescent, May 29, 1930. The quotation on Maude wanting to send Horace to college is from Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 8. The quotation on Horace being a Lawrence star is from "High School Notes: Horace Gillespie: An Object Lesson to Students," Appleton Review, vol. 1 (September 26, 1930): 12. The quotation on Maude paying the entire cost of Horace's PhD is from Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 3.

28. Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 1, 3. "Bear Creek Girl is Studying in Europe," Appleton Post-Crescent, October 1, 1927; "Bear Creek Girl Completes Studies in French School," Appleton Post-Crescent, August 18, 1928; John McGinty, conversation with author, Bear Creek, Wisconsin, May 5, 2007. Sadly, Marie died within a few months of returning to Wisconsin. "Former Bear Creek Resident is Dead," Appleton Post-Grescent, January 3, 1929.

29. Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 9. Maude S. McGinty household, 1930 U.S. census, Outagamie County, population schedule, city of Appleton, enumeration district 44-1, supervisor's district 6, sheet 7B; National Archives micropublication T626, roll 2603.

30. Shibley, "She Emptied Her Purse Into Our Heads," 4. See also the Wright's Appleton City Directory, 1925 [Milwaukee, WI: Wright Directory Co., 1925], 277; John McGinty, conversation with author, Bear Creek, Wisconsin, May 5, 2007. Apparently, Maude and Peter argued from time to time, causing him to move out temporarily. They always reconciled, however, and he came back to live with her, bringing his money with him.

31, U.S. census, Outagamie County, Wisconsin, sheet 7B, line 53. "Deaf Lawrence Alumni Gets Degree at Illinois," Appleton Post-Crescent, May 29, 1930. See also "Dr. Horace B. Gillespie," New London Press-Star, September 1, 1983; James P. Gillespie tombstone, St. Mary's Cemetery, Bear Creek (Outagamie County) Wisconsin; pho-

tographed by author, May 5, 2007.

32. Lea Osborne, Columbia University, email to author, May 13, 2006; "Dr. Horace B. Gillespie," New London Press-Star, September 1, 1983. For an example of Gillespie's research, see Alfred Gellhorn, et al., "The Effect of 5-Amino-7-Hydrosy-1H-v-Triazolo(d) Pyrimide (Guanazolo) on a Variety of Neoplasms in Experimental Animals, Cancer Research 10 (March 1, 1950; 170–177. Professor Alvin Krasna, telephone conversation with author, October 27, 2008; Professor P. R. Srinivasan, telephone conversation with author, October 27, 2008. Professor Krasna noted that once a person got to know Horace, he tried to remember to look directly at Horace when speaking, so that be could more easily read Horace's lips. Additional information comes from the Margaarct A. Gillespie tombstone, St. Mary's Cemetery, Bear Creek (Outagamic County) Wisconsin; photographed by author, May 3, 2008.

33. "Two Teachers Slated to Speak in Oshkosh," Appleton Post-Crescent, September 30, 1925; "P-T Club Learns About Work With Deaf Children," Appleton Post-Crescent, January 25, 1929. "Maude McGinty," Appleton Post-Crescent, December 8, 1933. "Wesley A. Brooks Dies at Menasha: Sales Representative of Paper Company For Eight Months," Appleton Post-Crescent, December 8, 1933. Also "Dr. Horace B. Gillespie," New London Press-Star; September 1, 1963.



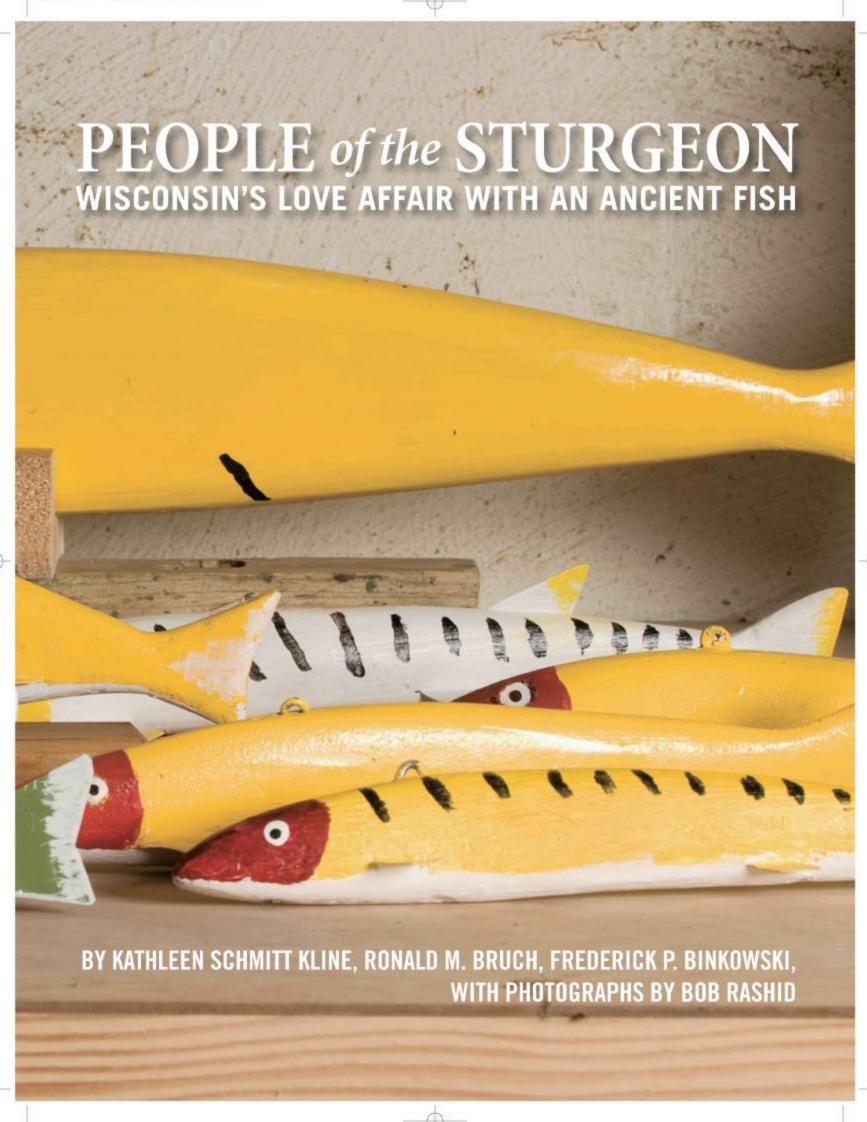
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Nancy Plant is a lawyer by training and a writer and historian at heart. She was born in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and received her undergraduate and law degrees from the University of North Carolina. A few years ago, a longtime family mystery piqued her interest in genealogy and family history. She

began researching her family and then studied at the University of Washington, receiving a certificate in genealogy and family history in 2008. Nancy lives with her family in the Seattle, Washington, area and makes frequent trips to Wisconsin, where her family roots lie.

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The following is excerpted from People of the Sturgeon: Wisconsin's Love Affair with an Ancient Fish by Kathleen Schmitt Kline, Ronald M. Bruch, and Frederick P. Binkowski with photographs by Bob Rashid to be published in September by the Wisconsin Historical Society Press.

The Art of Sturgeon Spearing

Historically, many people referred to ice spearfishing as the "poor man's sport" because all the necessary gear was—and, for the most part, still is today—made by hand, often out of salvaged materials.

Tar paper became walls for an ice shanty, an old pitchfork turned into a spear, and a scrap piece of wood transformed into a

fish decoy. Although these tools of the trade all need to fulfill certain basic, utilitarian needs where form definitely follows function, they also provide a canvas to express individual tastes and creativity.

The Ice Shanty

Once holes are cut out of the ice, spearers set up their home away from home. The shanty is positioned over the hole, and snow is packed around the base to block the wind and any stray rays of light. Spearers drill holes into the ice at the corners, drop ropes in, and cover the holes with snow. The ropes, which

PEOPLE of the STURGEON
Wisconsin's Love Affair with an Ancient Fish

Kathered Schotty Kass, December 1915 Parinted Parin

are tied to the corners of the shanty, freeze into the ice and secure the structure in place.

Over the years, the materials, size, and design of ice shacks have changed as spearers experimented with the ideal shelter for their sport. Sometimes round, mini silos were used, and they were simply rolled out onto the ice. Others were capped with a cupola to provide enough room to wield a tenfoot-long spear handle but still keep the ceiling low enough to make the shanty as snug and warm as possible.

Staying warm in early shanties was a challenge, as most of them weren't insulated. Jerry Neumueller recalled using

small stoves fueled with wood and coal. During the first hour in the morning as the fire was started and the shanty warmed up, moisture would drip from the ceiling, and at night the spearers would cough from the smoke of the coal burning. Soot clouded the water in the hole.

Most of today's shacks are heated by gas stoves complete with thermostats, creating a climate warm enough to remove your hat, gloves, and jacket. Stock the shanty with the basics chairs, coffeepot, and a little bacon to fry up—or luxuries such as a generator, radio, and satellite television, and you're more than ready for opening day.

Shanties for sturgeon spearing can be built in many creative forms.





Archaeological evidence suggests
the first decoys used to attract sturgeon
were carved from mussel shells. When metalworking became more common among tribes,
most decoys were carved out of wood and
weighted with lead.² Many of them today are still
created this way, and over the past twenty years,
hand-carved sturgeon decoys have become a
sought-after collector's item.

"Sturgeon are curious fish," said Bill McAloon of Oshkosh. A good friend of his once worked as a diver when a pipeline was being laid under the river in Oshkosh. Apparently, the light given off by the welding torch he used was a big attention-getter. His friend would tell how he would be welding underwater and huge sturgeon would swim up to him, giving a little nudge every now and then. "He said it was quite frightening to be thinking you're all alone down there in twenty feet of water, and—all of a sudden—this fish would come right alongside you."

It's this curious nature of sturgeon that makes the decoy such a critical component of spearing. Because sturgeon are primarily bottom-dwellers, something is needed to draw them up closer to the water's surface so they can be speared more easily. Although many decoys are designed to look like fish, they're not meant to bait sturgeon with promises of a free lunch. The primary purpose of any decoy—also known as a "coaxer"—is to be interesting enough to persuade a sturgeon to take a closer look.

McAloon uses a decoy carved by his father, for sentimental reasons. He's seen other people use corncobs, wine bottles, and even a dead rabbit in a basket. Because sturgeon live so long, many of them have probably seen it all, and even though most spearers have their favorite decoys, they're usually open to trying something novel, just to appeal to the sturgeon's curiosity. Copper-colored gelatin mold pans were all the

e welding im, giving nite fright-wenty feet

Sturgeon spear, Artist: Anton "Tony" Nadler, (left)
Sturgeon spear with "flying barbs" Artist: James Nadler , (right)

PHOTOS © BOB RASHID

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Harry Lopas, third from right, used his 1947 Diamond T Truck to pull his shanty and four others out onto Lake Winnebago. His shanty, on the bed of the truck, was double-ended, allowing each of the two spearers to have his own hole, but still talk to each other.

rage for a while, and anything shiny—a pail or a beer can—will do in a pinch. Andy Horn of St. Cloud even claims to have attracted the fish by dangling various undergarments in the water. One can only wonder what all these soggy unmentionables must look like to the fish cruising along below the ice.

Those who prefer to stick to more traditional wood decoys still have a wide selection to choose from. Most are between ten and fifteen inches, but some stretch to a couple feet. The larger decoy helps a spearer identify a legal fish—one that is three feet or longer. The sturgeon-spearing season can be short—sometimes only a few days—leaving plenty of time for some talented spearers to simply contemplate their sport as they whittle away at a piece of scrap wood. Carved wooden decoys from the Lake Winnebago region have become an identifiable art form, and many carvers design them to be pleasing to their own eyes, not just to the eyes of a sturgeon.

The Spear

It's easy to get caught up in the festivities that surround the spearing season. Taverns put up "Welcome Spearers" signs and order a couple extra barrels of beer, while parents haul their bundled-up children to the registration stations to gawk at the frozen fish. But one look at a sturgeon spear quickly brings things into perspective: this is a primal battle between human and beast.

Sturgeon spears are all made locally—you won't find one at a nationwide sporting store. Each is handmade by someone who loves the sport and is handy at welding. Typical spears weigh anywhere from twelve to twenty-five pounds and cost \$150 to \$200. Most are six to nine feet long, with a weighted wood or metal handle and a spearhead made up of three to eight barbed tines. A sturgeon spear looks like a spiffed-up pitchfork that's ready for some serious business.

Inside the shanty, the spear is hung from a headless nail above the hole so that the tines are submerged in the water. This placement is very important when it comes time to move into position to throw—the spear needs to slide off the nail easily and without causing any splashing or ripples in the water. The spearhead is connected to a rope that's tied to something secure in the shanty. Sturgeon spears have detachable heads, so that once a sturgeon is speared the handle can be set aside and the fish can be pulled in by the rope (with some handles up to seven to eight feet in length, you can see why it would be entirely too cumbersome to pull the fish out otherwise).

5 2 wisconsinhistory.org



This shanty was built by Hobie Gilgenbach of Fond du Lac out of an old steel sawdust bin in the 1940s

Throwing at and missing a sturgeon will likely generate a long string of curses and is every spearer's worst nightmare. A close runner-up is hitting the sturgeon but watching it slip off the spear and swim away. To prevent this from happening, small barbs are welded onto the main tines. Opinions differ on whether traditional fixed barbs or more recently developed "flying" barbs work best. Flying barbs are loose and flush to the tine when entering the flesh but then open up once inside to hold the fish to the spear. Either way, a good spear will slice through the water quickly and accurately, secure the fish, and bear the weight of the sturgeon as it's hauled out of the hole.³

Notes

- Ben Apfelbaum, Eli Gottlieb, and Steven J. Michaan, Beneath the Ice: The Art of the Spearfishing Decoy (New York: E. P. Dutton in association with the Museum of American Folk Art, 1990), 8.
- Ron Deiss, Ice Spear Fishing: Focusing on the Upper Mississippi River La Crosse Reach (Rock Island, IL: United States Army Corps of Engineers, 2005).
- 3. www.fishdecoy.com/spears.html.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Kathleen Schmitt Kline is a science writer at the University of Wisconsin Sea Grant Institute, which supports research, education, and outreach dedicated to the stewardship and sustainable use of the nation's Great Lakes and ocean resources. She has a B.A. in biology and English from

Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, and an M.S. in life sciences communication from the University of Wisconsin–Madison.



Ronald M. Bruch is Natural Resources Region Team Supervisor for the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources, based in Oshkosh. He has been the lead sturgeon biologist for the Winnebago system since 1990. In his efforts to establish scientifically based sturgeon management policies with maximum public input, Bruch has worked with numerous local, state,

tribal, federal, and international agencies and organizations. He has a PhD in biology from the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee.



Frederick P. Binkowski is a senior scientist at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee Great Lakes WATER Institute and the aquaculture advisory services specialist with the University of Wisconsin Sea Grant Institute. He has been raising and researching lake sturgeon since 1979. Binkowski's research has focused on early life stage development, nutrition, and be-

havior—he is one of the first scientists to monitor sturgeon movements using radio and sonic telemetry. He has an M.S. in zoology from the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee.



Bob Rashid (1949–2008) was a photographer/writer whose previous books include Wisconsin's Rustic Roads, Backroads of Wisconsin, and Gone Fishing. His first book, Wisconsin's Rustic Roads, inspired Wisconsin Public Television's documentary of the same title, and he worked as location photographer for three other television documentaries. An avid traveler,

Rashid visited 19 countries and covered assignments in Europe, Asia and Central America. His work was published in *Time*, Newsweek, the New York Times, Travel/Holiday and Northwest Airlines World Traveler.

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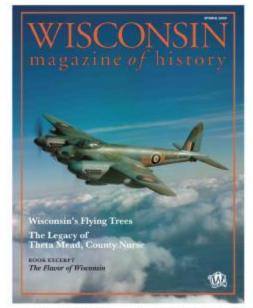
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Letters



Sara Witter Connor's article on "Wisconsin's Flying Trees" in the Spring 2009 issue was very interesting. However her statement that "It was the fastest airplane of World War II, capable of

traveling at speeds up to 450 miles per hour" was not correct. At least two German planes used toward the end of the war, the ME262 (rated 541 mph) and the Arado 234 (rated at 485 mph), exceeded the Mosquito's top speed. The cover picture of the Mosquito was superb.

—William H. Olson, Washington Island, WI

Sara Witter Connor: The Mosquito was the fastest Allied aircraft of the war and the fastest propeller-driven aircraft through the end of 1942. The ME-262 and AR-234 jets, while faster, were German aircraft.

I have received your spring issue, and found the cover page with the Mosquito airplane of more than casual interest. For the last three months of the war in Europe, I was stationed at a base about fifteen miles west of Norwich, attached to one of Elliott Roosevelt's reconnaissance groups. This particular one had a squadron of Mosquitos that flew combination radar "chaff" missions and reconnaissance missions. The Mosquitos flew ahead of the bombers and dumped chaff to disrupt German radar, flew off-target until the bombers released their bombs, and then photographed the damage inflicted. In three of those four cases the plane had lost power in one engine, requiring it to land at higher-than-normal speed, which made it impossible to stop before the end of the runway. The expe-

5 4 wisconsinhistory.org

dient [action] was to release the brake on one wheel causing a "ground loop" and wiping out the landing gear. In another case, one of the German jet fighters made a pass at the Mosquito, which was diving for cloud cover. It weakened the end of the wing, and when it pulled out of the dive several feet of the wing broke off. It got back to the base, but barely!

It happened that four of these planes crash-landed on returning to the base, fortunately with no casualties. When they crashed, plywood pieces from the fuselage flew in all directions. On that account we had an opportunity to view it. Memory is notoriously unreliable after long periods of time, but my memory is that the core layer of the plywood was not one of the Wisconsin-grown products, but balsa, the very light material used to build model airplanes. Balsa comes from tropical areas of Central and South America. . . .

Eldon D. Smith
 Professor Emeritus, University of Kentucky

Sara Witter Connor: Balsa wood was used in the fuselage of the Mosquito and not in the wing plywood. The wing was built in one piece, constructed of yellow birch (primarily from Roddis Lumber and Veneer Company or Lullaby Furniture Company of Stevens Point), and attached to the fuselage later. The fuselage was made of balsa wood between two layers of birch plywood.

Thank you very much for the Spring 2009 edition of Wisconsin Magazine of History, with the excellent article on Theta Mead. "The World of Theta Mead, County Nurse" exhibits exemplary research, outstanding writing, and skillful editing. The graphic design/layout is also extremely effective. Most of all you truly capture Theta Mead's selfless dedication and amazing contributions to public health. The opening quote and poster establish the essence of the article, and the final paragraph and photo serve as a perfect metaphor for Theta Mead's life. I also like the way you segue from Theta's contributions to the history of public health and the role of women in America for fostering those ends. . . .

—Virginia Mead Allen, Georgetown, Texas

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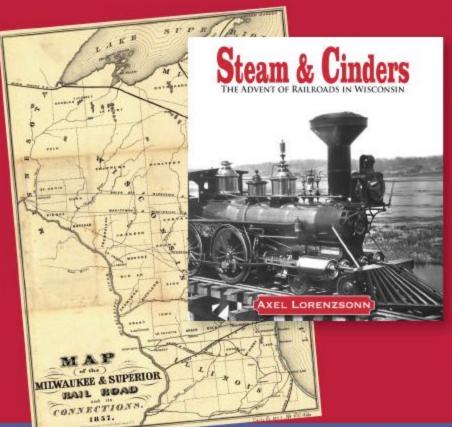
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mericans love their cars, and where people tend to gather, parking can become a major problem. This unusual parking structure stood for nearly thirty years at the corner of Dayton Street and Wisconsin Avenue in downtown Madison. Built adjacent to Manchester's department store just off the Capitol Square, the structure could accommodate nearly two hundred cars. The vehicles were lifted to an open stall by a hydraulic lift. When the structure was built in 1952, Madison was one of only three cities in the country to use what was known as pigeonhole parking. A more familiar style of parking ramp stands on the spot today. The corner formerly housed Madison's Unitarian Meeting House, which was razed in 1946. It was replaced in another location by Madison's current Unitarian Meeting House, which was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright in 1947 and completed by 1951.



Steam & Cinders: The Advent of Railroads in Wisconsin

By Axel Lorenzsonn

Fall 2009

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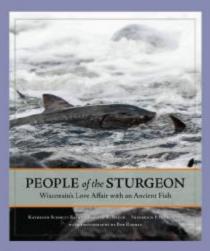
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"... where, when, and how railroads developed was far from inevitable, as Axel Lorenzsonn shows in his thorough and superb study of the coming of the Iron Horse to Wisconsin." -Robert S. McGonigal, Editor, Classic Trains magazine

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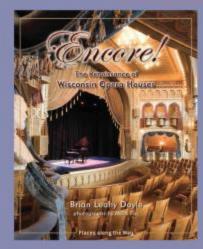
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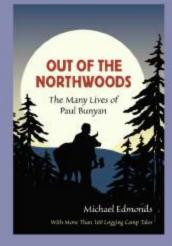


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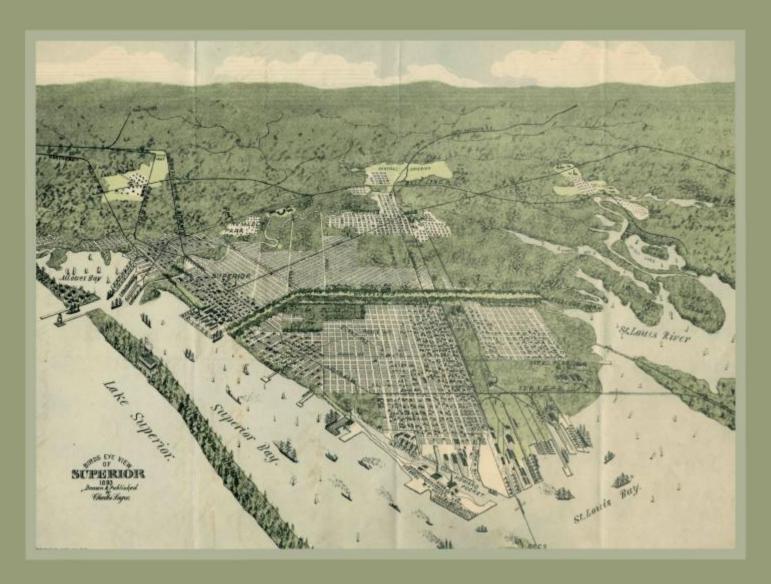
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ames Roosevelt, father of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, invested in the city of Superior in a time of spectacular growth. From 1883–1892, the city experienced an economic boom unlike any a city in Wisconsin had seen before. Along with his investors, Roosevelt envisioned Superior as a new Chicago, which would rival the original as the nation's commodity and transport hub. Unfortunately, the economic downturn during the Panic of 1893 along with the exposure of a key investor as swindler put an end to the grand dream. Read more about the ambitious plans to build Superior into "the City of Destiny," in David Siemers' article, "The Roosevelts in Superior."

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