City of Madison, Wisconsin

Underrepresented Communities
Historic Resource Survey Report

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Abstract

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

Survey Report

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

Survey and Key Maps

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

Electronic Documents

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 Introduction</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 Survey Methodology</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 Historical Overview</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 African American Context</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 First Nations Context</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 Hmong Context</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 Latino/a Context</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8 LGBTQ Context</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 9 Women Context</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 10 Government</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 11 Architecture</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 12 Education</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 13 Social and Political Movements</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 14 Religion</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 15 Art and Literature</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 16 Commerce</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 17 Planning and Landscape Architecture</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 18 Recreation and Entertainment</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 19 Notable People</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 20 Bibliography</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 21 Survey Results</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 22 Conclusion</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 23 Notes</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 24 Appendix</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- *Save Money Through Tax Credits to Preserve Your Home*
- *Contractor Standards for Typical Tax Credit Projects: Historic Homeowners Income Tax Credit Program*
- *Invest in Your Commercial Building Using Tax Credits*
- *Guidelines for Planning Historic Preservation Tax Credit Projects in Wisconsin: Income-Producing Tax Credit Program*
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Introduction

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

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

The boundaries of the survey are bounded by the extents of the City of Madison at the time of the survey. The survey identified approximately 117 resources of historical interest.

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

Introduction

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

Reconnaissance Survey

From May 2018 to September 2019, a survey of the City of Madison was conducted that resulted in the identification of approximately 117 resources of historical interest with specific emphasis on six underrepresented communities, including African American, First Nations, Hmong, Latino/a, LGBTQ, and Women.

For properties that were previously designated or listed, the information contained in the Wisconsin Historical Society’s online Architecture and Historic Inventory (AHI) or the Wisconsin Historic Preservation Database (WHPD), particularly the address, was confirmed and corrected if needed, and field observations were recorded if any alterations, additions, or demolition work had been done to the structure since last surveyed. A new digital photograph of each property was taken and added to the AHI/WHPD. New historic context related to an underrepresented community was added if not previously known. During the survey, approximately 62 previously recorded resources were updated.

In addition to updating the previously designated or listed resources, 55 new resources of interest were observed and documented. Information such as an address, name, and architectural style was noted; field observations were recorded, and a digital photograph of each property was taken and later entered into the AHI/WHPD. Addresses and photographs of living people have been redacted from this document for their privacy at the City of Madison’s request.
Historical Research

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

A wealth of information on the history of underrepresented groups exists outside of this survey report and addresses these subjects more comprehensively including Muriel Simms’ recently published *Settlin’: Stories of Madison’s Early African American Families* and Richard Harris’ *Growing Up Black in South Madison*. Simms’ book draws on interviews and recollections of the Black community’s experience in Madison from the late nineteenth century to the present day, while Harris’ work describes his experience of growing up in South Madison. Likewise, Barbara Robinson Shade’s series of articles on Black history, published in the *Capital Times* during the spring and summer of 1979 and the bi-monthly newspaper *Capital City Hues* have provided lengthy articles on the history of underrepresented groups in Madison.

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

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

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

The work of R. Richard Wagner, including a *Timeline of Wisconsin LGBTQ History – A Sampling* and his recently released *We’ve Been Here All Along, Vol.1* is invaluable in recording the history of LGBTQ people in Madison. A series of selected oral history interviews narrated
by Scott Seyforth for the University of Wisconsin-Madison Campus Voice is also a good source for local Madison LGBTQ experiences.

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

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

Evaluation of Significant Resources

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

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

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

State and National Register evaluations were performed according to the National Register’s Criteria for Evaluation and Criteria Considerations which are used to assist local, state, and federal agencies in evaluating nominations to the State and National Registers of Historic Places. The Criteria for Evaluation are described in several National Register publications as follows:
The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

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

The Criteria Considerations are described as follows:

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

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

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

A. A contributing building, site, structure, or object adds to the historic architectural qualities, historic associations, or archeological values for which a property is significant because:
   a. it was presented during the period of significance and possesses historic integrity reflecting its character at that time or is capable of yielding important information about the period, or
   b. it independently or individually meets the National Register criteria.
B. A non-contributing building, site, structure, or object does not add to the historic architectural qualities, historic associations, or archeological values for which a property or district is significant because:
   a. it was not present during the period of significance [less than 50 years old or moved to the site],
   b. due to alterations, disturbances, addition, or other changes, it no longer possesses historic integrity reflecting its character at that time or is incapable of yielding important information about the period, or
   c. it does not independently meet the National Register criteria.
The Wisconsin Historical Society’s Survey Manual recommends surveys include properties that are more than forty years old, rather than fifty years old, so the report does not become quickly out of date. In addition, the histories of some of the underrepresented groups studied in Madison are rather recent. This is not to say that these groups did not exist or lacked histories worthy of consideration, only that resources associated with those histories are more modern. With this in mind, the evaluation of significant resources eligible for designation as City of Madison Landmarks included significant people and places up to thirty years old, so the result was inclusive and useful for decades to come. Some resources less than thirty years old that may achieve significance in the future were also identified during the survey and were mentioned in the Context Chapters but were not evaluated. Evaluation for the State and National Registers of Historic Places is held to the fifty-year Criteria Consideration; therefore, these resources shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register individual listing in the future.

Eligibility

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

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

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

Origins

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

The region was physically formed by glaciers as they retreated around 13,000 years ago, leaving a network of lakes, marshes, and streams. Native Paleo-Indians likely arrived in this part of Wisconsin shortly after with a hunter-gather culture. Around 2,000 years ago, the Woodland Tradition of Native American culture was introduced to the region with widespread pottery, farming, villages, metal tools, and earthen burial mounds. This culture developed a distinct regional pattern of effigy mound building approximately 1,000 years ago. Clustered near the water and at high elevations, these mounds resemble animal and abstract shapes and were likely religious, depicting levels of the Woodland Culture universe such as water, earth, and sky. These mounds were especially common around the four lakes, and there may have been thousands of them, though only dozens remain.²

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

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

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

Early Years

Judge James Doty convinced the territorial legislature to designate Madison, which did yet exist, as the site for the new territorial capital in 1836. The site was chosen partly because of Doty’s aggressive lobbying in favor of his property and also because of the central and iconic location of the four lakes region. The capital was named after President James Madison, who had died the same year. The settlement was platted, and the streets of the planned city were named after signers of the United States Constitution. In 1837, the first settlers arrived along the isthmus, constructing a few log cabins and inns for the workers who would come to build the non-extant capitol building and operate the legislature. Madison grew slowly at first, isolated from the more populated parts of the territory, and most of the newcomers built their homes and businesses to the east and northeast of the Capitol Square. The small community soon had a meeting hall, theater, church, a few inns, general stores, and the territorial capital, still under construction as the legislature met for the first time in 1838.⁶
Most of the first settlers were Yankees from New England and New York, though they were soon followed by German, Norwegian, and Irish immigrants in the following decades. At least some people that belong to the underrepresented groups were present in Madison at this time. Ho-Chunk, who had either remained or returned, also lived in the area around Madison, usually along the shores of the four lakes. The small Madison community had only 172 inhabitants by 1840. Madison incorporated as a village in 1846 with a population of 626 people, and Wisconsin became a state in 1848, with Madison as the capital. The following year it became the site of the University of Wisconsin. Lacking a large population or access to good transportation routes, Madison was constantly under threats to move the territorial, and later state, capital elsewhere, usually to Milwaukee.

**Nineteenth Century Growth**

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

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

Some larger industries also developed in the late nineteenth century, such as Oscar Mayer, French Battery Co. (Ray-o-Vac), L.L. Olds Seed Co., Gisholt Machine Tool Co., and the Fauerbach Brewery. However, the city remained largely a center of government and education. Madison’s population reached 10,324 people in 1880, certainly a city at the time, but by no means one of the larger ones in Wisconsin.
The University of Wisconsin grew rapidly in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The student body and the institutions permeated city life. The student population expanded from approximately 400 to 2,000 by 1900, and the university enlisted specialists and faculty in law, economics, the burgeoning social sciences, and natural sciences and became one of the largest and most influential public universities in the Midwest. The rise in expertise combined with the state government to inform public policy. This link between academia and government became known as “the Wisconsin Idea” and served to further define the character of Madison.¹¹

A Model City

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

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

*View of State Street from the capitol, 1915. WHS# 35710*
Twentieth Century Madison

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

Madison fared better than much of the country when the Great Depression came in 1929, as the city’s economy was not reliant on industrial production or finance and instead relied on government, the university, and a service-based economy. Unemployment in the city reached around 16% at its peak in 1931, half that of the rest of Wisconsin. However, New Deal programs, intended to aid recovery through the Works Progress Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps, did affect the city and were responsible for the construction of much of Madison’s parks, sewers, the restoration of Indian mounds, and public buildings in addition to funding public art, maps, guidebooks, historical investigations, and university programs and research. The population of Madison reached 67,447 people in 1940, a year before World War II began, effectively ending the Great Depression. During World War II, women’s role in the workforce and their independence increased dramatically. Local industries, as well as the university, relied on women during this period. After the end of the war, Madison continued to grow rapidly in terms of its economy and population. Suburban growth and annexation
continued on the east and west sides of the city, and the University of Wisconsin began a two-decade expansion and building program as its student body swelled.\textsuperscript{15}

Post-War Developments

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

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

Initially, Madison, a small affluent northern city, did not experience much progress or civil rights work during the 1950s; however, diverse groups, including Latinos/as, women, Native Americans, and the LGBTQ community, made their voices heard. State Street, linking the Capitol Square with the university campus and already the site of dense commercial activity, became the site of student organizations, socialization, and protest. Madison gained a reputation in the 1960s and 1970s for its outspoken and active reformers and students; initially organized in opposition to the Vietnam War, many continued in other directions in favor of social justice. The population of Madison reached 171,809 people in 1970.\textsuperscript{18} The city’s economy continues to be dominated by the state government and the University of Wisconsin joined by related health, technology, advertising, and insurance industries from the 1980s to the present. The City of Madison continued to annex surrounding areas, especially from the Town of Madison, leaving the latter as a collection of small discontinuous areas. The remainder of the town is planned to be incorporated into Madison by 2022. The population of Madison reached 208,054 people by 2000, 255,214 residents in 2017, and continues to grow. The city presently has over 120 officially recognized neighborhood associations, each one expressing its local identity.\textsuperscript{19}
African American Context

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

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

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

A notable African American resident of Madison from the period is Eston Hemmings, the son of President Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemmings. Freed from Jefferson’s estate as a part of Jefferson’s will in 1829, he moved to Madison from Ohio in 1852. In Madison, he changed his
name to E.H. Jefferson and identified as White due to his family name and complexion. Genetically, he was approximately 1/8th African American in his decent, which made him legally White in the United States at the time.\textsuperscript{23} Eston Hemmings lived with his family in a non-extant building located at 121 North Webster Street, and he died in 1856. His sons, Beverly and John, became successful Madison hoteliers and entrepreneurs, owning the American Hotel on the Capitol Square, after serving in the Union Army during the Civil War. The Hemming brothers later opened the Rasdall House Hotel on King Street.\textsuperscript{24}

Another early example is that of William H. Noland, an African American who moved from New York and settled in Madison with his family in 1850. During his time in Madison, Noland held several positions including as a legal clerk, cloth dyer, barber, cleaner, veterinarian, musician, and entertainer. He was a recognized figure among Madisonians and was known as “the professor.”\textsuperscript{25} Many of his business ventures were in a non-extant building at the corner of Main Street and Fairchild Street. The Noland family home was in a non-extant apartment at 7 South Carroll Street. In 1857, Noland was nominated for the state government position of a notary public. While Governor Coles Bashford accepted his nomination, it was rejected by the Secretary of State David Jones because of his race. In 1866, following the affirmation that Blacks could vote and hold government positions in Wisconsin, Noland was again nominated for a public office, but this time not of his own volition. The Democratic Party nominated Noland for Mayor of Madison against the incumbent and powerful Republican Elisha Keyes. Noland was also a loyal Republican and voted for his opponent during the election, which he lost by a vote of 692 to 306. William H. Noland died in 1880.\textsuperscript{26}

Turn of the Century Community

African Americans living in Madison throughout the nineteenth century were not geographically concentrated in any distinct area of the city. In 1900, Madison’s Black population was 69 people, divided into only 19 households. Most of them were transplanted from Milwaukee or migrated from southern states. However, things changed in the early twentieth century, and this small group formed a distinct community centered around a couple of institutions: the St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Douglass Beneficial Society, located on East Dayton Street not far from the Capitol Square and downtown Madison in a neighborhood often known as the Old Market. Both were established by John and Martha Turner, who had moved from Kentucky to Madison in 1898. The non-extant church, which was located at 631 East Dayton Street, provided economic and social support to other African Americans who moved to the growing city.\textsuperscript{27}

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

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

Struggle and Expansion

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

Widespread prejudice and segregation in housing also contributed to making Madison an unattractive destination. African Americans had to also contend with systematic exclusion from much of the housing market during the Great Depression. The federal Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC), established in 1933 to assist families in attaining and maintaining home
mortgages, developed exclusionary policies and subjective neighborhood appraisals that all but prevented them from buying homes and establishing businesses in many areas of Madison. HOLC “area descriptions” of various Madison neighborhoods included data on the “infiltration” of “foreign-born,” “negro,” and “relief” (people accepting economic or employment assistance) residents, as well as whether those groups were “static” or “decreasing” in that area.31 The presence of residents in these categories usually resulted in a lower grade for those areas, prejudicially devaluing properties, preventing fair access to home loans, and resulting in the common practice of implementing deed restrictions and lending policies that excluded people who met those criteria.32 During this time, residents of Madison neighborhoods, especially the affluent and predominately White ones such as Nakoma and West Lawn, introduced restrictive covenants that explicitly excluded homeownership and residence based on race. Both leaders in state and city government, as well as presidents of the University of Wisconsin, approved of these local laws during the period.

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

According to the 1940 census, eighty percent of the Black population of the city lived in only three of Madison’s twenty wards: the 4th Ward on the near east side along East Dayton Street, the 9th Ward in the Greenbush neighborhood, and the 14th Ward further south along Park Street. Housing in these areas was considered to be in relatively poor condition and rents were higher than comparable White neighborhoods. Despite this segregation, Madison was reported to be the “congenial” city in the state for Blacks.34

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

Further institutional growth also occurred when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter was reorganized in 1943, along with the establishment of the Capital City Masonic Lodge, a predominately Black Masonic order. The NAACP was first organized in Madison earlier in 1920 as the Madison Negro Civic League. However, the national organization remained dormant locally until the 1940s and 1950s, when it became active
under the leadership of the NAACP officers, including Velma Hamilton, Reverend Collins, Anna Miller, and Hilton Hanna.\textsuperscript{36}

Richard Harris wrote a biographical book, \textit{Growing Up Black in South Madison}, that describes his growing up from the 1940s through the 1960s. He grew up on Bram Street in Bram’s Addition neighborhood before it was annexed into the City of Madison. His family members were active in the Mount Zion Baptist Church and the NAACP. His mother, Willie Lou Harris, was instrumental in organizing the South Madison Neighborhood Center. Harris recalled life in the neighborhood and some examples of prejudice outside of it. He attended the University of Wisconsin and pursued a career in social work.\textsuperscript{37}

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

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

\textbf{Urban Renewal and Civil Rights}

In response to national trends, the City of Madison created a Commission on Human Rights to improve race relations in 1954. There was hope in Madison, within the city government and the
African American community, that the issues could be resolved locally through studies and public policy rather than protest and conflict. Leaders of the African American community, such as James Wright, Velma Hamilton, and Marshall Colston, wanted to address obvious prejudice and inequalities, the concentration of African Americans in unskilled, low-paying employment, and limited and segregated housing.40

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

The Federal Housing Act of 1949 and the modified Housing Act of 1954 were intended to identify blighted areas for removal and redevelopment, usually near the core of large American cities. In 1958, the Madison Redevelopment Authority, using federal urban renewal funds, planned to clear the Triangle to remove an area of poor housing and unsanitary streets and replace it. Two projects, the Brittingham and Triangle projects, were instituted by the City of Madison. Residents were forced out and given sixty days to relocate. The two-year plan, begun in 1962, demolished much of the neighborhood and slowly replaced it with parks, office buildings, a hospital expansion, and ironically low-income housing. Notable Black businesses such as the Chicken Shack restaurant and the Tuxedo Tavern, located in the Triangle area of the Greenbush neighborhood, were demolished along with institutions such as the Neighborhood House Community Center, which was forced to move. While some relocated, usually further south, others never reopened. The residents of the neighborhood followed suit. As most landlords in the city would not rent to Black people, they moved further south along Park Street. Similarly, very few homes were for sale to African Americans as other Madison neighborhoods had formal restrictions, and White residents did not want African American neighbors or perceived associated lower property values. By 1960, Madison’s African American population reached 1,489, about one percent of the city’s total.42

In 1961, a group of NAACP protestors visited the state capitol in favor of civil rights for African Americans followed by a series of nonviolent sit-ins to force action on legislation prohibiting housing discrimination. Two years later Madison’s equal housing law was passed. The ordinance, which prohibited housing discrimination based on race, was ahead of its time and provided for open accommodations and fair employment, though it was passed on a close and contentious vote. It was the first ordinance of its kind in the state and appeared to have immediate and lasting effects as landlords and realtors were no longer able to discriminate in Madison. It was followed by the creation of the Madison Equal Opportunities Commission in 1964. The federal Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964.43 Madison's Common Council adopted
an "Equal Opportunities Ordinance" in 1963. The ordinance created an Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) to replace the existing Commission on Human Rights and gave the new Commission the power to "study the...denial of equal opportunities because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry."

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

South Madison and the Present

Following the twin experiences of the Civil Rights Movement and the urban renewal projects of the Greenbush neighborhood, the African American community in Madison became increasingly organized and involved in the political and cultural life of Madison. Both the Bram’s Addition and Burr Oaks neighborhoods, annexed by the City of Madison in 1944 and 1959 respectively, had been places where African Americans settled in the Madison area dating back to the 1930s. The land was largely unimproved and affordable at the time. Following the development of Park Street south and the beginnings of the Beltline Highway in 1950, the area's population grew rapidly. In the wake of urban renewal and changes in the Greenbush neighborhood in the early 1960s, many of its residents moved to the South Madison neighborhoods, which became the center of the African American community, featuring institutions, businesses, and gathering places such as Mount Zion Baptist Church, the South Madison Neighborhood Center, Ben’s Barber Shop, and Penn Park.
The 1970s and 1980s saw many firsts in the City of Madison, including John Winston, Sr. as the first Black police officer in Madison, Charlene Harris-Hodge as the first Black woman television anchor, Pia Kenney James as the first Black women police officer in Madison, John Odom became the first Black Affirmative Action Officer for the Madison Metropolitan School District, and Milton McPike became the first Black head principal at East High School. The Southside Raiders, a youth football team, was established in the early 1970s and has been active ever since. Other influential Black Madisonians of the period include the musician Clyde Stubblefield, educators Muriel Simms and Ed Holmes, Professor Nellie McKay, and institutional leaders such as Kwame Salter and Barbara Nichols. More recently, from the 1990s to the present, Paul Higginbotham was appointed Madison’s first municipal court judge and elected Dane County’s first African American judge, Napoleon Smith became the first Black president of the Madison Common Council, Gloria Ladson-Billings was the first African American woman to earn tenure in the University of Wisconsin School of Education, Milele Chikasa Anana founded UMOJA magazine in 1990, covering many aspects of the Black experience in Madison, and Fabu Phillis Carter was named Madison’s first Black Poet Laureate. In 1990, a fire at Sommerset Circle in South Madison killed five African American children. It is reported that the city’s Police Department and Fire Department were intentionally slow and heartless in their response to the tragedy contributing to an occasional distrust between the community and the Police Department in particular. Richard K. Williams was hired as Madison’s first African American police chief in 1993, a position he held until 2004. In an era where racial profiling has been a common concern in relation to law enforcement, Williams was careful to avoid such methods and attempted to maintain a dialogue between the Madison Police and underrepresented groups. The Race to Equity report was released in 2013, indicating that racial economic, social, and educational disparities in Dane County and Madison were greater than elsewhere in the State of Wisconsin and the nation. The 2015 police shooting and subsequent death of an unarmed Black teenager, Tony Robinson, created friction between the Madison Police Department and the African American community. The same year, a group of African American leaders led by the Pastor Alexander Gee, Jr. of Fountain of Life Church created a plan called Justified Anger to address the racial achievement disparities in Madison and the wider region. In 2010, the African American population of Madison reached 16,507 people or approximately 7% of the city’s total. During the twenty-first century, the concentration of the African American community in South Madison has dispersed as many have moved to other neighborhoods on the west and east sides of the city. This has perhaps been encouraged by the influx of recent immigrant groups, such as Latinos/as, who have also occupied South Madison. However, many of the African American community’s institutions, physical, social, and cultural, persist in the area. Many of the identified resources related to African Americans reflect not only the importance of the struggle against exclusion in the form of segregation, but also reflect their communal dignity and aspirations.
Distribution of Resources Associated with the African American Community
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First Nations Context

Movement and displacement have defined the Native American experience in and around the City of Madison since its establishment. Wisconsin contains the most Native American nations of any state east of the Mississippi River with twelve tribes total. Among these, three language families are represented including Algonquian (Menominee, Ojibwe, Potawatomi, Munsee), Siouan (Ho-Chunk), and Iroquoian (Oneida). All these tribes are represented in the City of Madison. The Ho-Chunk, whose ancestral land included the four lakes area around Madison, were forcibly displaced beginning in 1832 so that the area could be settled and developed by White settlers, leading to the establishment of the territorial capital of Madison. Since that time, many Ho-Chunk returned to the area and lived on the periphery of the accepted and legal arrangements of White society. They were joined by other tribes, especially from Wisconsin, who came to Madison for opportunities and work. Often, Native Americans have had multiple homes besides Madison and commonly travel from one to another, based on the pattern of seasons and work. Ho-Chunk specifically called the four lakes region home in addition to other parts of the state, especially the areas around Black River Falls and Tomah, where many Ho-Chunk settled. A rich cultural history and oral tradition have maintained that the Madison area serves as a collecting place and civic center for many Native Americans. This has also made it somewhat difficult to trace their history, as it is often an insular one, reliant on oral traditions and hesitant to assimilate with the White narrative and history of Madison.\(^{50}\)

Pre-Madison History

Archeological evidence suggests that native peoples arrived in southern Wisconsin roughly 10,000 years ago. The early Paleo-Indian stages developed into the Archaic stage from 8,000 to 2,000 years ago, when the area around the four lakes became a popular location for settlement. The Woodland Tradition that followed saw the development of advanced tools, farming, permanent settlements and building, pottery, and the construction of burial mounds. Approximately 1,000 years ago, indigenous people began building complex effigy mounds. These large earthen mounds took on abstract geometric shapes and more common shapes that represent animals.\(^{51}\)
The mounds vary considerably and cover several phases of development in the wider region. Most mounds are located at high points adjacent to deep water, spanning the distance that covers the three distinct realms of the Woodland culture universe: the lower world, middle world, and the upper world. Certain animals are symbolically associated with this tripartite division. As many as 4,000 such mounds have existed in Wisconsin, with 1,500 of them located in the four lakes area. The Ho-Chunk tribe asserts that they are the direct descendants of the Woodland society native to Wisconsin that built the mounds and that the four lakes area around Madison is a former cultural center of their historic society. As many as 80% of the mounds have been destroyed during the last 200 years by agricultural practices and urban expansion. In 1966, the National Historic Preservation Act was enacted at the federal level, and this was followed locally by the establishment of the Madison Landmarks Commission in 1970. During the following two decades, most of the remaining local mounds were identified and protected. In 1985, a Wisconsin state law was passed that prohibits the disturbance of burial sites. Effigy Mounds, deeply important to the native peoples of the region, and the Ho-Chunk in particular who understand the mound builders as their direct ancestors are not covered in detail in this report as they pre-date any conception of the City of Madison as a community. Among many good resources on the subject, Robert Birmingham and Katherine Rankin’s *Native American Mounds in Madison and Dane County* documents the local mounds, their variety, and history.

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

**Displacement and Return**

The Ho-Chunk, initially known as the Winnebago, a name given to them by the Potawatomi tribe and Europeans, refer to themselves as Hoocaak. By the early nineteenth century, the Ho-Chunk tribe’s population had reached nearly 3,000, and they occupied much of southern and western Wisconsin. Following a series of treaties, before, during, and after the Blackhawk War, the Ho-Chunk, led by chiefs White Crow and Whirling Thunder, were forcibly moved west of the Mississippi River in 1832. When Madison and Dane County were established in 1836 within the Wisconsin Territory, there were Ho-Chunk settlements around the four lakes. The federal government attempted to remove them several times throughout the nineteenth century unsuccessfully. Many were forcibly moved in 1865 to a reservation established in what is now Nebraska. Others simply ignored the treaties and stayed or returned to Wisconsin as refugees. These people are presently divided into two federally recognized tribal groups: The Ho-Chunk Nation of Wisconsin and the Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska.
Ho-Chunk people were routinely mentioned by some of the first White inhabitants of Madison from the mid-nineteenth century on. Though they were certainly present, their story was not well documented by others. The following decades in the nineteenth century saw the Ho-Chunk living in and around Madison, but not being recognized by existing socio-economic structure and government. Many of the mounds were leveled and destroyed, and native peoples generally experienced discrimination or outright hostility. A policy of assimilation was adopted by the federal government in the late nineteenth century. The General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887 changed the ownership of tribal lands to individual owners of 80-acre parcels, selling many to White settlers in an attempt to expose native people to mainstream culture. Schools were introduced with the explicit purpose of removing the cultural traditions of Native Americans.  

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

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

Mounds and mound groups can be found in Madison and the surrounding area in Burrows Park, Elm Side Park, Hudson Park, the Edna Taylor Conservancy, the Mendota Mental Health Institute grounds, Cherokee Park, Vilas Circle Park, Vilas Park, Forest Hill Cemetery, the Edgewood College campus, (Observatory Hill, Picnic Point, Willow Drive, Eagle Heights), the University of Wisconsin Madison Arboretum, the Spring Harbor school grounds, Governor Nelson State Park, Yahara Heights County Park, Indian Mound Park, Goodland County Park, and Siggelkow Park. While many of the existing and identified mound-groups are in city and county parks, the existence of the parks does not necessarily have anything to do with the presence of the mounds. The location of mounds in

Charles E. Brown and others on an Effigy Mound on Fox Bluff, Lake Mendota, 1908. WHS# 3519
Madison, contained in this report, is deliberately vague to protect their integrity as burial sites in keeping with archeological practice.\(^{58}\)

**Twentieth-Century Identity and Resistance**

The Society of American Indians met at the University of Wisconsin in 1914 for their fourth annual conference after being encouraged by Charles E. Brown. The first recognized native rights organization composed of Native Americans, the Society of American Indians, lobbied for a clarification of the legal status of Indian people and the right to litigate claims against the federal government. In 1934, the effects of the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) were reversed with the passage of the federal Indian Reorganization Act, which encouraged tribes to form tribal governments and constitute political bodies to govern themselves. Critics of the act were successful in passing a resolution in 1953 that created the goal of terminating Indian reservations and relocating their inhabitants to urban areas offering some housing assistance and job training programs. Many Native Americans in Wisconsin opted for this opportunity, some of whom ended up in Madison; however, it effectively destroyed fifty tribes, including the Menominee, who underwent termination.\(^{59}\)

Native peoples frequently experienced discrimination in treatment, employment, and housing. The 1960s and 1970s experienced an increase in Native American activism and an interest in cultural preservation that accompanied a national trend in favor of civil rights. The rise of Red Power and self-determination during this period encouraged the development of organizations such as Wunk Sheek and artistic work that clearly expressed native culture and identity, which can be seen as the work of local artists such as Truman Lowe and Harry Whitehorse.\(^{60}\)

In 1975, Congress restored tribal status to the Menominee Tribe in the Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders following the work of Ada Deer, Senator Gaylord Nelson, and many others, and served to clearly define all tribes’ legal status in Wisconsin and affirm their traditional treaty rights to a degree of sovereignty. This tribal self-determination was bolstered by the introduction of gaming. In 1987, Wisconsin passed a referendum that approved of the creation of a state lottery and gave tribes the right to establish casinos on their land. Many tribes such as the Ho-Chunk, Ojibwe, Mohican, and Potawatomi subsequently opened casinos, which provides economic benefits to their members. Accompanying increased political representation and economic strength, local Native Americans have gained political and legal influence including examples such as alderperson Arvina Martin, elected in 2017 the first Native American member of the Madison City Council\(^{61}\), and lawyer Richard Monette. Monette has served on the Environmental Protection Agency’s National Environmental Justice Advisory Council’s Indigenous Peoples’ Subcommittee, taught at the University of Wisconsin law school, and was

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*Formal Signing of the Tribal Restoration Bill, Madison, 1975. WHS# 45437*
the president of the National Native American Bar Association. Movement is still a theme in the Native American experience in Madison as many of them travel frequently between the economic and political draw of Madison and other places called home. Many live and work just outside the boundaries of the city itself in the surrounding communities in the four lakes region. Likewise, students at the assorted educational institutions of Madison and the university are often transitory.62

The Ho-Chunk tribe remains regionally dispersed, though the recent significant work of the Madison Community Foundation Grant and the Teejop Community History Project have supported interviews, museums, signage, businesses, and sites that record the history of native peoples and begin to address the communal sense of being systematically ignored that has persisted.63

In the twenty-first century, the Ho-Chunk tribe has developed and operates six casinos in Wisconsin including Ho-Chunk Gaming–Madison, established in 1999 on the far southeast side of the city. Gaming has proven to be very lucrative in recent decades and has greatly contributed to the welfare of the Ho-Chunk Nation. Casinos have also become one of the most visible forms of the modern Native American community in Madison and throughout the state. During the period from the 1980s to the present, the Ho-Chunk and other tribes, have radically changed due to the influx of large sums of money, employment, and re-investment in their community. There is internal debate over the effects, positive and negative, of the casino economy on First Nations peoples today.64

Recent census data indicates that besides Ho-Chunk there are several other prominent tribes presently represented in Madison including Cherokee, Chippewa, Choctaw, Creek, Ojibwe, Dakota, Navajo, Menominee, Iroquois, Blackfeet, Apache, and South, and Central American Indians. The Ho-Chunk tribe is the largest locally, with 295 registered members of the tribe living in Dane County, of which approximately half live in the City of Madison. There are also nearly 700 Native American students at the University of Wisconsin presently. Native Americans comprise approximately 1% of the total population of Madison and the surrounding region and have not, during the city’s history, lived in specific neighborhoods or areas in dense homogenous communities. Instead, native people have lived throughout the city and the surrounding communities in a dispersed fashion. Generally, there is an emphasis among the Native American community in the Madison area, and elsewhere, on recognition and the value of the natural landscape. Physical constructed resources may not always be the appropriate subject of historic preservation in the context of this community.65
Distribution of Resources Associated with the First Nations Community
Hmong Context

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

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

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

Beginning in 1975, the United States honored the Hmong people’s war-time alliance by adopting policies that offered the opportunity to immigrate to the United States. American policies regarding the resettlement of Hmong immigrants were designed to favor settlement in locations that offered a high potential for successful adjustment to a new and different culture. Although Wisconsin was not initially designated as a receiving state for Hmong immigrants, a relatively small number arrived in the state in 1975 and 1976 and settled in cities other than Madison. The first Hmong settlement in Madison likely occurred in 1976 or 1977. In anticipation of the potential need for resettlement of more Hmong refugees in Wisconsin, the Division of Emergency Government created a new Resettlement Assistance Office to anticipate the assistance they may need. By 1979, the federal settlement strategy had resulted in significant concentrations of Hmong people in nine states, including 2,000 to 2,500 who had settled in Wisconsin. Around 500 of those had settled in the Madison area, most of them in the Bayview Apartments (later Bayview Town Houses) and Wexford Ridge Apartments.
Under federal policy changes in 1979, Wisconsin was added as a major receiving state for Hmong refugees.\textsuperscript{73} State agencies and relief workers affiliated with Christian religious denominations began preparing for a dramatic increase in immigrant refugees.\textsuperscript{74} Leaving Laos, and then Thailand, to move to the United States was a harrowing and deeply emotional journey for many Hmong people.\textsuperscript{75} They would travel a great physical distance, but also a staggering cultural distance to settle in Wisconsin.\textsuperscript{76} It was expected that the new residents would need assistance in making the transition. At a national conference of Lutheran denominations at the St. Benedict Center in Middleton (now Holy Wisdom Monastery) in 1978, the chairman of the International Rescue Committee asked attendees to respond to the expected urgent needs of refugees in the wake of fighting in Vietnam and Laos.\textsuperscript{77} At a similar conference one year later at the same venue, state representatives and officials involved in resettlement planning outlined policies that the state was implementing in preparation for a wave of new residents settling in Wisconsin.\textsuperscript{78}

The first dramatic increase in Hmong immigration happened during three years from 1979 through 1981 when an estimated 43,000 Hmong people resettled in the U.S.\textsuperscript{79} That wave, plus secondary migration to Wisconsin from other states, brought about 10,300 Hmong people to the state.\textsuperscript{80} It is unclear how many settled in Madison during that period. A second wave of Hmong immigration to the U.S. happened from 1988 through 1990. This period brought more Hmong people to Madison. By 1988, 660 lived in Madison, and by 1990, 750.\textsuperscript{81} 

Hmong immigrants to Madison had to overcome significant language and cultural differences to integrate into a foreign society and economic system while coping with a traumatic departure from their home.\textsuperscript{82} Faith-based humanitarian service organizations and government agencies played significant roles in the resettlement of new Hmong residents in Madison. Catholic Social Service, Lutheran Social Services, and Dane County Department of Social Services were among the earliest agencies to offer resettlement services to Hmong immigrants, hiring Hmong staff to bridge the cultural gap as early as 1979. In 1980, Madison Metropolitan School District officials noticed an increase in students using their Hmong bilingual program\textsuperscript{83} and appropriated funding to hire their first Hmong-language teacher.\textsuperscript{84} Lakeview Elementary School on the north side has maintained a bilingual program since. Community Centers welcomed Hmong residents and offered assistance with overcoming common difficulties of resettlement: housing, transportation, health care, income, and opportunities to practice cultural traditions.\textsuperscript{85}

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

The late 1980s and early 1990s was a period when new Hmong residents in Madison demonstrated their resilience in overcoming the dramatic cultural differences of their new home. A Hmong public school counselor characterized the trend as “learning to live in two cultures and succeed in both.” Education had become an important force in the development of the Hmong community. Hmong women were enrolling in colleges and universities and obtaining advanced degrees. Hmong immigrants in nearby cities (St. Paul, MN, and La Crosse, WI) broke barriers by getting elected to public offices. The first Hmong Madisonian to win public office was elected in 2001; Shwaw Vang’s election to the school board was called a “breakthrough step for the Hmong community.” He was elected to a second three-year term in 2004. In another sign that they were integrating well with a foreign economic system, Hmong immigrants purchased homes at a dramatically increased rate in the 1990s.

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

As the number of Hmong residents increased, so did manifestations of their cultural traditions. Horticulture is an important component of the Hmong culture in Laos. Hmong immigrants brought cultural food traditions to Madison and converted their gardening proficiency to economic value. Many Hmong families who settled in Madison took advantage of public garden plots after 1985 when the Community Action Commission established a program to allow gardening on designated areas of public land. Troy Community Gardens, Quann Community Garden, and plots adjacent to housing developments were popular locations for urban agriculture in Madison from the 1980s to the present. Some Hmong families bought land in rural Dane County to grow produce to sell at the Dane County Farmer’s Market, sometimes renting land to other gardeners. By the early twenty-first century, Hmong farmers were a significant component of the market.

Submitting to western medical practices was particularly challenging for Hmong people accustomed to treating illness with traditional herbal remedies and shaman healers. Hmong immigrants who studied western medicine became translators for Hmong people who needed medical attention in Madison. In the early twenty-first century, small Hmong-run businesses emerged to offer medical care to an increasing number of elderly Hmong residents. There was also a unique need for culturally relevant care for Hmong immigrants suffering from mental health issues related to traumatic evacuation from a violent homeland. Leaders in Madison’s Hmong community emerged who established places and practices to address these needs. Traditional Hmong culture includes complex funerary rituals that take place over several days. Hmong residents of Madison have mostly held funeral rituals in private homes. A few
Professional funeral homes have made regular accommodations for the ceremonies, but the desire for a venue to consistently accommodate traditional Hmong funeral ceremonies has not been realized. A section of Forest Hill Cemetery has been designated for permanent interment of deceased Hmong residents, where relatives continue to carry out traditions to honor their ancestors.

Traditional Hmong culture also includes an annual harvest celebration around the end of November when Hmong people celebrate the end of a growing season and look forward to the beginning of another. For Hmong people in Madison, as in many other American cities, the Hmong New Year celebration has evolved into a community-wide event to share and celebrate Hmong cultural traditions and history. Activities associated with some of the early Hmong New Year celebrations have been held at various public places in Madison including Reindahl Park, Brittingham Park, and West High School. In the twenty-first century, the event has been held in Exhibition Hall at Alliant Energy Center. Many Hmong art forms, including story quilting, were practiced and passed to Hmong children at Kajsiab House when it was located on the grounds of Mendota Mental Health Institute. Besides the International Center for Education and the Arts at Bayview, Kajsiab House was the center of Hmong culture for the years that it existed.

Hmong people have traditionally had animistic spiritual beliefs. In the twentieth century, many Hmong people adopted Christian religious practices in response to relationships with Western missionaries. Hmong converts to Christianity established congregations in Madison, often meeting in existing church buildings. About one-third of Hmong people in the United States practice Christianity, though the proportion is higher in some states. Hmong Christians belong to many denominations, but the largest number are members of the Christian Missionary Alliance Church. New Beginnings Alliance Church and Victory Hmong Alliance were both affiliated with the Christian and Missionary Alliance, an organization that evangelized the Hmong people in Laos in the 1950s and 1960s and developed the written Hmong language. In 2018, both congregations use the Victory Hmong Alliance Church, located at 602 Acewood Boulevard, for gatherings and worship services.
Distribution of Resources Associated with the Hmong Community
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Latino/a Context

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

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

Mexican Migration

The labor shortages of World War II and the following economic boom brought Mexican migrant workers back to Wisconsin. The federal Bracero Treaty of 1943 allowed for the temporary employment of migrants, mostly from Latin American countries. The program continued until 1964, and many of the migrants eventually brought their families and settled in
Wisconsin. By 1950, census records indicate approximately 1,000 Latinos/as living in the entire state; however, this is misleading since seasonal and temporary workers were not counted. Wisconsin, though it had plenty of jobs during the period, was not a favorable place for migrant Mexicans in particular, and Mexico sanctioned the entire state as a warning to its citizens that Wisconsin had poor working conditions and hostile relations.\\(^\text{107}\) 

Unlike Milwaukee and the small cities of southeast Wisconsin, the Mexican community was small in Madison by the 1960s. Many of the arrivals to the city were college students except for small Cuban and Puerto Rican communities. In addition to students, migrant farmworkers of Mexican origin became common during this period in the rural areas around Madison. These workers organized the National Farm Workers Association and the Obreros Unidos as a part of a national movement of mostly Latino/a farmworkers. They petitioned and marched to hold the food industry accountable for better working conditions for migrants. In 1966, many farmworkers marched from Wautoma to Madison over five days in support of their goals.\\(^\text{108}\)

Other Latinos/as

The diversity of Latinos/as is often overlooked. While many of the immigrants to Madison of Spanish-speaking origin are Mexican, other groups have also had an impact on the city’s history. These communities often have different stories to tell. The first known groups of Puerto Ricans came to Wisconsin in the 1940s, often in a migratory pattern intending to return to their home. However, many stayed and settled, usually in the larger cities of Milwaukee and Madison. During the post-war era, Puerto Ricans were often employed in unionized industrial jobs and integrated more seamlessly into the community. Cubans came to the area in the wake of the Cuban Revolution in 1959 and settled in Madison. This first wave of refugees, including notable local businessman and political leader Ricardo Gonzalez, was often well-educated and professional and fit in easily while maintaining their Cuban identity. A subsequent wave of Cuban refugees in the early 1980s was expelled from the Caribbean nation, and they had a more difficult time settling in Madison, usually belonging to the low classes of Cuban society, and had a more difficult time finding employment and services.\\(^\text{109}\)

Post-War Growth and Invisibility

The Latino/a population of Madison began to grow in the early 1970s, though only slowly at first. More and more Mexicans began to settle out of migrant agriculture and find homes in the city. Many were American born and of Mexican descent, often referred to as Chicanos. Some became students at the University of Wisconsin and formed organizations like La Academia de la Raza and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicanx de Aztlan (MEChA) to facilitate their cultural
identity as an underrepresented group. These student organizations also took part in protests in support of civil rights causes carried over from the experiences of many groups during the 1960s. A lack of bilingual education in Madison schools appeared to significantly dampen outcomes for Latino/a students, and the community applied pressure to encourage bilingual staff throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s with some success. Latinos/as also began to be involved in local government with Rosa Escamilla serving as alderperson, and Juan Jose Lopez serving as the president of the Madison School Board.¹¹⁰

By the 1980s, a host of social service and community organizations existed to serve the growing Latino/a community of Madison. Organization de Hispano-Americanos, funded by the federal government, was one of the first agencies in the city to provide English language programming and aid through local community colleges. The local Catholic Archdiocese established an office specifically for Spanish-speakers, and the United Migrant Opportunity Services (UMOS) worked with immigrants and migrants to provide financial assistance and guidance. The University of Wisconsin also developed a new Chicano and Latino Studies Department, coursework, student organizations, and newsletters addressing issues faced by the Latino/a community.¹¹¹

As the Latino/a population of Madison grew, cultural support in the form of churches, and community centers and businesses such as grocery stores and restaurants appeared in the city. The 1980s saw the development of local Latino/a institutions, often directly related to Latino/a culture and the process of adaptation for recent immigrants including religious organization through the Catholic Church such as the Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, St. Joseph Catholic Church, and Centro Guadalupano, as well as the radio station La Movida and the community center Centro Hispano. Originally opened in 1983 with funding provided by the United Way of Dane County, Centro Hispano was established to serve incoming Cuban refugees and has since provided services to all Latinos/as in the city. The center was initially located in the non-extant St. Martin House on Beld Street, and the organization grew as the Latino/a community grew and diversified. In 1988, a new building was constructed for Centro Hispano at 835 West Badger Road. Today the building is occupied by the Omega School. In 2006, Centro Hispano moved to an 18,000-square-foot facility at 810 West Badger Road on the south side of Madison.¹¹² Centro Hispano continues to provide social services, activities, festivals, and educational services to an average of 2,500 families and 6,000 individuals annually and is one of the central resources for Latinos/as in Madison to this day.¹¹³ There is also a series of Supermercados, including Mercado Marimar on South Park Street, that appeared across the city catering to the culinary needs of Latino/a groups. Many of these resources have existed on the south and east sides of Madison, especially at the periphery, nearest to where Latinos/as settled.¹¹⁴

Legal immigration from Mexico and other Latin American countries has become, by many accounts, nearly impossible since the 1960s if one does not belong to the high end of the socio-economic class. Many immigrants from Mexico, specifically, have arrived in the United States undocumented. The total present number is estimated at 11 million, half of whom arrived from Mexico. For many of these immigrants, coming to Madison for better opportunities for themselves and their families has not been easy, especially with the constant threat of deportation and having to exist in a semi-invisible legal state. During the 1980s and 1990s, approximately 63,000 Latinos lived in Wisconsin, 65% of which were Mexican. Indeed, Mexicans are certainly
the largest nationality among Latinos/as, and their population and culture can often seem dominant.\textsuperscript{115}

**Continued Development**

Among the 15,948 Latinos/as currently living in Madison, nearly 7\% of the total population, 10,558 are identified as Mexican, 1,165 are Puerto Rican, 299 are Cuban, and there are a significant number of Dominicans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Argentineans, Chileans, Colombians, Ecuadorians, Peruvians, and Venezuelans. Nearly every Spanish-speaking country of the western hemisphere has a small community in Madison. Presently, Latinos/as are the second largest and the fastest-growing minority racial and ethnic population in the state and Madison. The Latino/a population has grown nearly 50\% since 2000, and yet there is a prevailing sense that this community is largely invisible to mainstream culture and political power in Madison.\textsuperscript{116}

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

Oscar Mireles has been a popular fixture in the city and the Latino/a community. He moved to Madison in 1994 to become the Executive Director of Omega School, a school that provides adult education and GED preparation in Madison and serves many Latinos/as. Mireles was later selected as the Poet Laureate of the City of Madison for 2016-17, and again for 2018-2020.\textsuperscript{117}

Activists, such as Gladis Benavides and Fabiola Hamden, and professors at the university, such as Tess Arenas and Alfonso Morales, have worked to draw attention to the interests and cultures of Latinos/as in Madison. In 2005 through her position as director of the College of Letters and Science’s new Service Learning and Community-Based Research Initiative, Arenas developed a course for community-based learning students to document Latinas in Wisconsin, distinct in its

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*Dane County Hispanic Population Growth and Demographics, 2011.*

focus on Latina women, which led to the Somos Latinas History Project and book in 2015. The *Somos Latinas* book is based on a series of oral history interviews with longtime residents of Madison including Rosa Aguila, Yolanda Salazar, Ramona Natera, Romelia Schlueter, and Eva Perez, which address the Latina experience and history in the city. Alfonso Morales became a professor in the Urban and Regional Planning Department at the University of Wisconsin in 2006, and his work and teaching emphasized cultural studies and food systems. He has pioneered the study of food street markets and farmer’s markets and their social-cultural and economic value. He also initiated the Kaufman Lab for the Study and Design of Food Systems and Marketplaces in 2014. Morales has published several articles and books including the recent *Cities of Farmers: Urban Agricultural Practices and Processes*. Approximately one-third of Madison’s Latino/a community are immigrants and many of them came to the city before the year 2000, meaning that the community is well established in the city. The population is growing rapidly too, with over 20% of the student body in Madison schools identified as Latino/a. Latinos/as, already diverse in their origin and status, are not limited geographically to a specific part of Madison, but instead, live in every neighborhood. The diffusion and diversity of the Latino/a community are one of its primary features is its history in Madison. However, many of the recent immigrants of the Latino/a community have generally settled along the periphery of the city on the south and east sides of the city. Physical resources that reflect Latino/a history in Madison are often manifested in cultural institutions such as churches and community groups that reflect a shared social history.
Distribution of Resources Associated with the Latino/a Community
LGBTQ Context

There is no doubt that queer people have lived in Madison since the city’s formative years. A prominent historian of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer or questioning (LGBTQ) history in Wisconsin has documented queer relationships in the state in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Few, if any, of those early Madison residents, however, lived in open recognition of their relationships or their identity, doing so meant facing substantial social and economic risks.

Under a series of statutes from 1836, when the laws of the Wisconsin Territory were inherited from the Michigan Territory from which it was cleaved, through 1983, any person in Wisconsin could be arrested, fined, or imprisoned for engaging in or being suspected of engaging in “unnatural” sex acts, even in the privacy of their own homes. These state statutes were known as sodomy laws because they specifically targeted only sex acts defined as sodomy. The statutes were silent on similar non-procreative sex acts involving females until 1955 when they, too, were explicitly outlawed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then in 1948, just three years after the end of the war, Alfred Kinsey and his team of sex researchers at Indiana University published the first of two reports on their ground-breaking studies of human sexuality. The 1948 report on male sexual behavior (a similar report on female sexual behavior was published in 1953) suggested that homosexuality is within the range of normal human sexual behavior and, thus, not a pathology or a deviation. Initially, Kinsey’s research was controversial among the psychiatry profession, and homosexuality continued to be widely defined as a mental disorder.
Wisconsin lawmakers were not persuaded by Kinsey’s research. In the late 1940s, sodomy laws in Wisconsin shifted from criminalizing sex acts to targeting LGBTQ people more overtly by defining people with non-heteronormative sexual orientation as psychopaths and deviants. In 1947, the state legislature enacted a Psychopathic Offender Law that permitted the institutionalization for the treatment of any sexual psychopath, whether or not the person had committed a crime. It was replaced a few years later by the Sexual Deviate Act that focused on punishing acts of sodomy but more overtly defined perpetrators as sexually deviant. Characterizations of LGBTQ people as deviant and psychopathic were generally supported by the psychiatric profession who largely embraced theories of pathology and emotional immaturity to explain homosexuality. These theories presumed that homosexuality could be cured through psychotherapy or behavioral treatments. Homosexuality was included in the first edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) in 1953. Its inclusion as a pathology continued to reinforce broad connotations of LGBTQ people as deficient and inferior.

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

Homophile Movement

The 1950s saw the emergence of a period of progress toward LGBTQ civil rights known as the Homophile Movement when awareness of LGBTQ people and the injustice they faced continued to grow. It was a period of increasing visibility of queer people and research-informed debate about the nature of human sexuality. The Homophile Movement was fueled nationally by frank and empathetic writings about queer people and relationships. Books like the American edition of Andre Gide’s Corydon and Donald Webster Cory’s The Homosexual in America: A Subjective Approach added historical and emotional depth to Kinsey’s research.

The first formalized organizations were founded to advocate for civil rights and to deliberately challenge laws that discriminated against queer people. Gay and lesbian groups, like the Mattachine Society in Los Angeles in 1950 and the Daughters of Bilitis in San Francisco in 1955, organized to directly challenge unequal protection under the law and influence public opinion. Affiliated organizations were established in other cities and were effective in stimulating a national debate and persuading some Americans to question long-held assumptions about homosexual people.

There were no formalized organizations in Madison during this period, but Madisonians were exposed to the national conversation in the local newspapers. The Wisconsin State Journal ran a regular column by Dr. George W. Crane from 1941 to 1955. Crane consistently employed the
theory of emotional immaturity when answering questions from readers about homosexual issues, asserting to Madison readers that homosexuals could be re-educated. The Journal began running a similar advice column by Ann Landers in 1958. Landers’ advice about homosexuality acknowledged disagreements among psychologists, sociologists, and criminologists, but stopped short of siding with professionals who argued that homosexuality is within the bounds of normal.

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

In the 1960s, perhaps encouraged by civil rights activism organized by groups in other American cities, LGBTQ people in Madison asserted rights that had long been denied them. Simply being who they were in public was one of those rights. Like anyone, LGBTQ people needed to cultivate communities and personal relationships in which they could live genuinely, and they needed to find public spaces that could facilitate those relationships. In Madison, bars and cafés were a ubiquitous and convenient type of social space, but in the 1960s there were no public accommodations that openly invited LGBTQ communities. Some establishments offered tolerance and discretion, particularly to gay men, but did not advertise it lest they attract unwanted attention from police or homophobic customers. Few bars in Madison would allow lesbians to gather. Travel guides published for gay travelers in the 1960s relied on advice from their readers about bars and restaurants where gay travelers might find a community. In particular, the Lavender Baedeker and International Guild Guide listed several Madison bars in the early and mid-1960s where gay travelers might be welcome. Some were located in buildings that are no longer extant: The Fireside Lounge at 1229 Regent Street, The Three Bells at 763 University Avenue, Stop Lite tavern at 302 East Wilson Street, and Kollege Klub bar in its original iteration at 714 State Street. Others were located in buildings that still exist: Lombardo’s Piano Lounge at 119 East Main Street, Uptown Grill (aka Uptown Cafe) at 320 State Street, 602 Club at 602 University Avenue, Belmont Hotel bar at 101 E. Mifflin Street, Velvet Swing lounge at 317 West Gorham Street, and Marty’s Restaurant at 506 East Wilson Street. These gay-friendly spaces were confirmed by interviews with longtime gay Madison residents.

Gay Liberation Movement

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

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

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

The Madison Alliance for Homosexual Equality (MAHE), founded in October 1969, was the first group to organize and publicly advocate for LGBTQ civil rights in Wisconsin. In Madison, it was followed by Madison Gay Sisters, Gay Liberation Front (GLF), Crossroads of Madison, and Renaissance of Madison. These groundbreaking groups set an agenda for LGBTQ civil rights activism in the 1970s and 1980s that included information sharing, political action, community building, artistic expression, self-help, and self-publishing. Crossroads of Madison established the Madison Gay Center in 1973, the first gay community center in Wisconsin.
Beginning in 1972, gay bars increasingly took on the role of providing safe and welcoming social spaces for LGBTQ people – a role previously served by gay and lesbian organizations. Gay bars in the early 1970s quickly became important social spaces where queer people could find a welcoming community and let their guard down with the minimal risk of incurring the social hazards they faced for being out at traditional venues. Some were truly gay bars in that they were established by gay people and catered explicitly to the needs and customs of LGBTQ communities, like Back-Door bar that opened in 1972 or Cardinal Bar that opened in 1974. Others made no special accommodations for queer patrons and were operated with no such intentions but had owners and a clientele who tolerated or even welcomed queer patrons, like Pirate Ship at 116 N. Fairchild Street (not extant), Velvet Swing at 317 W. Gorham Street, and 602 Club at 602 University Avenue.

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

On the political front of the movement, openly gay and lesbian political candidates entered public service in the early 1970s. Judy Greenspan was one of the earliest lesbians in the country to run for public office when she announced her candidacy for the Madison school board in February of 1973. Jim Yeadon was appointed to a partial term of an open seat on Common Council in 1976; he shared publicly about his sexuality the following day. He was then elected to the Council in 1977, becoming the first openly gay man to be elected to a common council in the country. David Clarenbach was elected to Dane County Board of Supervisors in 1973 and the Wisconsin State Assembly in 1974, although he was not open about his sexuality at that time, and LGBTQ groups in Madison gained legal ground in 1975 when the Common Council adopted amendments to the city’s 1963 Equal Opportunities Ordinance that added sexual orientation to the classes of people against whom discrimination was prohibited. It was the first such municipal ordinance in Wisconsin and one of the earliest in the nation.

In 1977, a nationwide campaign to repeal municipal gay civil rights laws reached into Madison to repeal the 1975 amendments to the Equal Opportunities Ordinance that offered protections for
LGBTQ people. The campaign failed, but two consequential groups formed in response to the effort, Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) and The United, who was later joined by the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center to form OutReach LGBT Community Center.\textsuperscript{151}

Publishing self-funded and self-produced media allowed LGBTQ groups to share news and information throughout the community during the early years of the movement when it was particularly important to gain and retain control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues. Marketing of events and organizations often took the form of brief mentions in local newspapers or printed, single-use notifications posted in public. Early publications in the newsletter format included the \textit{Gay Coordinator’s Newsletter / Gay Renaissance / The Gay Endeavor} from 1974 to 1978 and \textit{Gay Madison / OUT!} from 1978 to 1987. These publications also helped organize efforts at advocacy, legislative action, education, visibility, and community building. Self-publishing boomed in the 1980s and 1990s. The United, who had published \textit{Gay Madison} in the late 1970s and early 1980s, returned to publishing in the 1990s with \textit{Unity} which ran from 1991 to 1997. The University of Wisconsin LGBTQ student group, Ten Percent Society, published \textit{We’re Everywhere} from 1993 through 1995. It consisted of “News of the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual community at the University of Wisconsin-Madison Dean of Students Office.” A bisexual-interest organization called Bi?Shy?Why? published \textit{Bi-Lines} from 1993 to 1995. Since 2007, \textit{Our Lives} magazine has become the leading print forum for news and information about the LGBTQ community.

Listener-supported community radio, like WORT in 1975, and public access cable television outlets, like the Community Access Center and WYOU from 1975 to 2001, provided access to a broader audience through their broadcasting capabilities. David Runyon’s \textit{Nothing to Hide} which ran for over twenty years was one of the longest-running LGBTQ television programs in history. Community-supported theaters staged performances with queer themes by LGBTQ performers, like the Broom Street Theater from 1977 to today, the Madison Gay Theater Project from 1983 to 1986, Proud Theater youth program from 1999 to today, or Stage Q at the Bartell Theater from 2001 to today. Community-oriented venues like the Wil-Mar Neighborhood Center, the Barrymore Theatre, and Kanopy Movement Center offered space for meetings, classes, support groups, and performances as early as the mid-1970s and continue to support the LGBTQ community today. Even parochial student centers and religious congregations near the University of Wisconsin-Madison campus, like the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center in 1969, the former University Methodist Episcopal Church in the early 1980s, and Luther Memorial Church in the mid-1980s, opened their doors to LGBTQ organizations, offering space for meetings, events, and counseling sessions.
The LGBTQ community gained visibility and political power in the 1980s as more gay and lesbian candidates from Madison were elected to public offices at the local, county, and state levels. Dick Wagner became the first gay man elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors in 1980. Wagner, along with Kathleen Nichols, were appointed by Governor Tony Earl to the Governor’s Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues, which was formed in 1983 by executive order. Ricardo Gonzalez, the owner of the Cardinal Bar, became the first openly gay Latino person elected to public office in the United States when he was elected to the Common Council in 1989. Tammy Baldwin was elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors in 1986 and became the first lesbian and first openly LGBTQ member elected to Wisconsin State Assembly in 1992. Baldwin’s political career continued when she became the first lesbian elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1998 and the first to be elected to the United States Senate in 2012.

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

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

The annual MAGIC Picnic at Brittingham Park, started in 1973 as the Back Door Picnic, became a regional event for the LGBTQ community, and increased the public visibility of Madison’s LGBTQ dramatically through the 1970s and 1980s. The MAGIC picnic was Madison’s default Pride event until 1989 when a coalition calling themselves GALVAntize (Gay and Lesbian Visibility Alliance) came together with the single purpose of organizing a large-scale LGBTQ Pride event in Madison similar to those that had happened in Washington DC in 1979 and 1987. The GALVAntize coalition argued “A massive and visible coming out in the Midwest is necessary to affirm the gay and lesbian culture, to celebrate differences and to prevent erosion of our hard-won rights.” The first Madison Lesbian and Gay Rights and Pride March happened on May 6, 1989, with associated events at the Barrymore Theatre, the UW Field House, and the Madison Civic Center (not extant) on May 4th and 5th. The 1989 march gathered on the Capitol Square, marched up State St. to Library
Mall, then up Langdon St. to James Madison Park. A version of the 1989 event has taken place nearly every year since then.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Hotel Washington became the center of the LGBTQ social scene. Rodney Scheel, extending the success of his Back-Door Bar, purchased the Washington Hotel in 1975. Built in 1906 near a railroad passenger depot, Hotel Washington had become a deteriorated rooming house in the early 1970s. Scheel began transforming the building into a complex of restaurants, bars, and dance clubs designed to meet a wide range of tastes within the LGBTQ community. To focus exclusively on Hotel Washington, Rodney Scheel closed Back Door in 1978.

The Hotel Washington became the center of queer social life in Madison from the late 1970s through 1996. It was so thorough in its offerings that few other queer social spaces opened during the time. In a shocking loss to the LGBTQ community, the building burned down on February 18, 1996. If it were still extant, it would likely be one of the most important resources of LGBTQ history in Madison.

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

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

While the community made significant advancements, it continued to struggle for equity in all areas of the law. In February 1982, Governor Dreyfus signed the “Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill” Chapter 112 of Wisconsin Law, prohibiting discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations based on sexual orientation, becoming the first state in the country to enact such a law at the state level. One of the most important civil rights advancements for LGBTQ people in Madison came in 2014 when United States District Court Judge Barbara Crabb struck down the state’s constitutional ban on same-sex marriage. It was upheld on appeal. Then, in 2015, the Supreme Court of the United States decided Obergefell v. Hodges, a case that granted marriage equality to LGBTQ people nationwide. The first, and many of the earliest, legal same-sex weddings in the state took place at the top of the stairs of the main entrance of the City-County Building after couples obtained their marriage licenses in the Dane County Clerk’s Office. While there are no state laws against discrimination based on gender identity, in January 2019, Governor Tony Evers issued an executive order prohibiting gender identity discrimination in government employment.
Advocacy groups like ACLU Wisconsin, Human Rights Campaign, and Fair Wisconsin Inc. continue to lobby policymakers for legal equality for the LGBTQ community. In its seventh annual Municipal Equality Index report in 2018, a nationwide evaluation of how inclusive municipal laws, policies, and services are of LGBTQ people who live and work there, the Human Rights Campaign rated the City of Madison a maximum score of 100 based on its non-discrimination laws, the municipality as an employer, municipal services, law enforcement, and the city leadership’s public position on equality. In 2019, Satya Rhodes-Conway was elected the first openly LGBTQ mayor of the City of Madison; she is also believed to be the first openly LGBTQ mayor elected in the State of Wisconsin.
Distribution of Resources Associated with the LGBTQ Community
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Women Context

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

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

When Wisconsin became a state in 1848, women remained second-class citizens, while men gained all the rights of American citizens. Married women had no legal right to their property or the custody of their children. The law did not protect women from spousal abuse, and women did not have the voting power to change leadership and legal protections. The debate over the drafting of Wisconsin’s constitution in 1846 and again in 1848 had included discussion, without input from Wisconsin women, of a provision granting women legal right to their personal property and wages they earned. The provision was eventually excluded from the constitution.
that passed in 1848, making Wisconsin a state and granting Wisconsin men all the legal rights under federal law. The same year, the nation’s first convention on women’s rights took place in Seneca Falls, New York. The event catalyzed the national women’s rights movement and significantly shaped the first wave of feminism in the United States.\textsuperscript{170} Two years later, in 1850, the Wisconsin legislature passed a constitutional amendment granting women legal possession of their property, and Governor Dewey signed it.\textsuperscript{171} The provision was severely curtailed, however, by subsequent rulings in Wisconsin courts that interpreted the provision narrowly, maintaining second-class economic status for married women.\textsuperscript{172}

Women in Wisconsin gained limited access to education in the 1840s and 1850s. The earliest schools to which women were admitted were privately run and only admitted women. While girls were allowed to attend the earliest public primary schools, a college education was largely unavailable to women. The state’s earliest college campuses – Carroll College (later Beloit College), University of Wisconsin, and Lawrence College, Appleton – did not initially admit women. Lawrence was the first to change this policy in 1849.\textsuperscript{173} The University of Wisconsin first admitted women in 1860, to a ten-week course in the Normal Department. In 1867, the Regents of the university abolished the Normal Department and established the Female College with separate courses for female students and in a separate building. Six women were the first to be granted bachelor’s degrees from the University of Wisconsin in 1869.\textsuperscript{174}

Following the Civil War, political and economic changes opened doors for some Wisconsin women to work beyond domestic service. Many Wisconsin women found employment in industry, retail, and business in the 1870s and 1880s.\textsuperscript{175} Women also began to organize and advocate for equal rights and protections under the law. Groups coalesced to focus primarily on temperance and suffrage.\textsuperscript{176}

The temperance movement in Wisconsin sought policy changes that would limit the consumption of alcohol and in turn reduce instances of violence against women that often resulted from excessive alcohol use. Wisconsin already had a law, passed in 1859, prohibiting alcohol consumption on Sundays, but it was seldom enforced in Madison. In the early 1870s, temperance groups lobbied for new legislation and new local ordinances to limit alcohol consumption, but the city’s large and influential German population lobbied against their efforts and prevailed.\textsuperscript{177} By the end of 1873, thirty cities in Wisconsin, including Madison, had organized temperance campaigns.\textsuperscript{178}

The Wisconsin Women’s Suffrage Association was founded in 1869 in Milwaukee, boosted by a visit from leaders of the young national movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Mary Livermore, who also visited Madison to address a session of the state legislature.\textsuperscript{179}
After more than a decade of organizing women state-wide, the group persuaded the state legislature to pass legislation in 1885 allowing women to vote on school matters. The provision suffered setbacks in Wisconsin courts, but it was an important step in a long struggle for equality for Wisconsin women that would last well into the twentieth century.

Organizing and Progressive Era Victories

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

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

In the later years of the Progressive Era, Wisconsin women finally won major victories for which they had been fighting for decades. Their advocacy for the prohibition of alcohol culminated in the adoption in 1919 of the eighteenth amendment to the United States Constitution. It prohibited the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors. In 1920, after more than a half-century of activism, suffragists won full voting rights nationwide for all women in the form of the nineteenth amendment. Wisconsin was the first state to ratify it. In 1921, Wisconsin became the first state to adopt an equal rights law. It granted women “the same rights and privileges under the law as men in the exercise of suffrage, freedom of contract, choice of residence for voting purposes, jury service, holding office, holding and conveying the property, care and custody of children, and in all other respects.”

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

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

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

It was a decade of firsts in Wisconsin and Madison, as women broke barriers to arenas traditionally populated only by men. Almost immediately after gaining the constitutional right to
vote at the federal level in 1920 (the Wisconsin Constitution was not amended to allow women
to vote until 1934), women encouraged each other to seek leadership roles in civic affairs. Wisconsin women responded, seeking and obtaining leadership positions in local government, business, civic, and even religious affairs. Women ran in municipal elections in several Wisconsin counties in 1920. The first woman was elected as a curator of Wisconsin Historical Society in 1920. The first woman to sit on a jury in a Dane County court was seated in January of 1922. By March of that year, fifteen women held positions on state boards and commissions. The first woman to serve as District Attorney in Wisconsin was elected in Columbia County in 1922. The first woman to run for a seat on Madison’s Common Council was a member of the Switchmen’s Women’s Club and the League of Women Voters. Emma A. Ledwith of 509 W. Dayton Street, filed her nomination papers in March 1922. However, Madison did not elect a woman to the council until 1951. The first woman appointed to be the Director of Madison Playgrounds took the position in May 1922. The first woman to lead a city board in Madison was elected president of the Board of Health in 1923. Three women were the first to be elected to the Wisconsin Legislature in the November election of 1924. The first woman to serve as Wisconsin’s Assistant Attorney General was appointed in 1928.

By 1923, enough Madison women were working in business that the Altrusa Club, a national organization of business and professional women, established a chapter here. Amid professional and legal progress for women in Madison and statewide in the 1920s, an amendment to the United States Constitution, then known as the Lucretia Mott Amendment in honor of the pioneering suffragist, was drafted and proposed in 1923. The amendment proposed, in brief and simple language, that men and women throughout the United States and its territories have equal legal rights. Congress did not take up the measure.

By 1930, the demographic balance in Wisconsin had tipped, and more residents lived in urban areas than in rural. Women comprised around 20% of the urban workforce. Women continued to break barriers to traditionally male professions like law and medicine.

The Great Depression

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

Married women also had to work against discrimination. In the early years of the Depression, amid widespread anxiety over rising joblessness in Wisconsin, a debate raged in Madison over whether married women who worked were taking jobs from men who were expected to provide for families. The debate was stoked by a 1931 proposal by a state legislator to terminate married women employed by state agencies, hundreds of whom lived in Madison, to free up jobs for
The debate over married women holding jobs continued through the remainder of the Great Depression, and in 1939, a member of the Dane County Board of Supervisors sought a similar measure for women employees of the county. The Madison Board of Education also had a policy in the late 1930s of refusing to renew contracts of married women teachers who did not have tenure. The Wisconsin Attorney General's office determined the policy to be unconstitutional in 1939. Toward the end of the 1930s, although there was a common recognition of the increase in the number of women working in business and industry, most people felt that women should not work if their husbands were able to provide for their families. Wisconsin Governor Julius Heil revived the policy again in 1940, but this time faced public ridicule in The Capital Times for suggesting it. Despite the sentiment against the practice, the Madison Board of Education continued its policy until 1942.

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

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

By 1940, as the economy in Wisconsin and Madison showed strong signs of recovery, women comprised about 20% of the Wisconsin labor force. By 1941, the worst economic troubles of the Great Depression were past, and Madison women with leisure time returned to club activities that now included more charity, service, and philanthropy. Professional women were common enough in Madison that Zonta International, a service club for businesswomen founded in 1919 in Buffalo, NY, organized a chapter here. However, the hope of better times for women, augmented by access to more professions and advancements toward equality, at least in the law, was again put on hold as the United State entered World War II. World War II efforts brought more Madison women out of traditional domestic roles and into the workplace than ever before. Many men left jobs to enlist, leaving business and industry seeking more women to fill vacant positions, and they made significant contributions to the economy and the war effort. They were, however, typically excluded from management and decision-making positions. Hundreds of Madison women were hired to work at the Badger Ordnance Works northwest of Madison near Prairie Du Sac. In Madison, manufacturers that provided
critical products for American war efforts hired women as well. Ray-O-Vac boomed with defense contracts. RMR Corporation, a subsidiary of Ray-O-Vac, made batteries for military use. Oscar Mayer and Co. provided the pack meats for the United States military. Madison-Kipp Corporation stayed busy with defense contracts. All of these Madison industries hired many women to maintain their production capacity during the war.

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

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

The advancements toward self-determination that the women’s movement achieved in the 1910s and 1920s were put on hold during the Great Depression and World War II. A zealous revival of the movement might have been expected during the jubilant years following the end of the war, especially after women had been such a significant component of the workforce during the war. A revival did not happen, at least not immediately. The women’s movement between 1945 and 1963 was characterized by one historian as having taken on the character of an “underground fire - important in the long run, but for the moment beneath the surface.” Even in Madison with a relatively high concentration of college-educated women and tolerance for progressive social movements, there was no crystallization of a woman’s movement in the postwar years. However, there was much public discussion of the role of women in a society that was quite different than it was when the United States entered the war in 1941. The concept of the “modern woman” was often discussed in Madison newspapers in terms of new approaches to traditional female roles, while in reality, women were inventing new roles for themselves outside of traditional expectations. Women’s pages and advice columns frequently included suggestions on how the modern woman should properly dress, sit, speak, date, budget, raise children, and interact with male colleagues. There was also much speculation and misunderstanding of what the new idea of feminism was all about. Advice columns and reader letters in local newspapers commonly included comments about feminists being frantic, hysterical, chattering, and man-hating. Feminism was the butt of routine jokes in Madison newspapers in the 1940s and 1950s. One anonymous commentator, typical of the time, called “Milady Militant” and her
Women’s Liberation Movement

The emergence of the second wave of feminism in the 1960s coincided with the American civil rights and anti-war movements and gained some energy from the civil rights movement that was happening in the African American community at the same time. Three things happened in the early 1960s that began to coalesce a renewal of the women’s movement nationally and in Madison: a pervasive phenomenon of fatigue in the lives of American women, the birth control pill was approved for use by the Food and Drug Administration, and the Civil Rights Act was adopted in 1964.

Fatigue, coupled with dissatisfaction, was becoming a significant factor in the lives of women who were expected to assume the traditional duties of housewife and mother and maintain expectations of femininity whether they had a professional career or not. Dr. Marion Hilliard called out the experience in her 1960 book Women and Fatigue, which helped elevate the concept to the level of a cultural phenomenon. Popular culture glorified the image of the gleeful housewife with all the modern conveniences of middle-class suburban life. More women than ever before were working outside of the home. A 1961 survey by the University of Wisconsin Dean of Women’s office confirmed the phenomenon in Madison-area women and revealed a groundswell of local women pursuing higher education and new job opportunities. The university responded by establishing an Office of University Education of Women in 1962. Madison educator and activist Dr. Kathryn Clarenbach was selected as the office’s first director. Betty Friedan’s 1963 book The Feminine Mystique identified a phenomenon of coercive domesticity that was fostering fatigue and constricting growth for American women. This oppressive trend, she argued, included the view that bearing children was the highest achievement of a woman. Friedan’s book is often credited with releasing the underground fire and igniting the second wave of feminism known as the Women’s Liberation movement in America. Women in Madison were exposed to Friedan’s book through book group discussions. Freidan herself presented her thoughts at Memorial Union in July 1964.

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

The Civil Rights Act enacted on July 2, 1964, prohibited discrimination based on, among other things, sex. It codified a new level of access to employment for American women. Women responded by getting into the job market in increasing numbers. The percentage of American women participating in the labor force increased by four points in the 1950s, six points in the 1960s, and eight points in the 1970s. The number of American women enrolled in some college-level education programs increased by a factor of ten between 1950 and 1990.
Astute political leaders who saw the emerging cultural shift leaned into it by convening panels to identify the issues of inequity and advise them on how to address the issues. President John F. Kennedy created a Commission on the Status of Women in 1961. The federal Commission’s final report in 1963 influenced Wisconsin Governor John Reynolds to establish a state-level Commission on the Status of Women in 1964. The state commission coordinated conferences in Madison and other Wisconsin cities where they discussed issues of inequity and how they may be corrected. In the late 1960s, they lobbied state legislators to correct inequities in state laws and compiled lists of women qualified for appointed seats on state boards and commissions. They formed committees to address labor laws, health and welfare, social services and taxes, and family law and policy and issued biennial reports with findings and recommendations.

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

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

In its early years, the local NOW chapter held regular meetings at the Wisconsin Center, now the Pyle Center at 702 Langdon Street, and the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street. The YWCA was a catalyst and host, along with NOW, of a series of discussions on women’s liberation in early 1969. They also coordinated a women’s liberation conference in December of that year.
In a show of political activism in 1969 that boosted the cause of women’s empowerment, low-income mothers who were economically dependent on the state’s welfare system staged demonstrations at the state capitol to protest cuts proposed to the state budget that would affect the program. The effort culminated in a September march of mothers from Milwaukee to Madison to protest the cuts. Hundreds of welfare-dependent women and thousands of supporters interrupted a legislative session and occupied the Assembly chamber for 11 hours.

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

By 1970, the University YMCA was the gravitational center of the Women’s Liberation Movement in Madison. A group of movement leaders established a center for women there that year where women could come together to discuss concerns in family planning, job and wage discrimination, and health issues.

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

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

Although commonalities were obvious, the two branches of the women’s movement had an uneasy alliance through the 1970s. The local chapter of NOW focused its efforts on political and legal reforms and changing societal attitudes, while other women’s organizations took a more direct approach, attempting to address more immediate, practical needs. The state Commission on the Status of Women was remarkably adaptable during the 1970s, adding more practical issues like daycare and maternity, diversity within the movement, and abortion to their traditional public policy agenda. NOW organized demonstrations, panel discussions, lectures, conferences, and lobbying efforts. They showed consciousness-raising films, publicly called out sexism in the legislature, courts, and the media, and lobbied for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. Groups associated with the more radical branch of the movement established resources, services, and spaces designed specifically to empower women. Feminist and lesbian activists continued to run the Women’s Center which morphed into the Lesbian Switchboard and established the Women’s Transit Authority in 1973, a ride-hailing service for women aimed at preventing rape. Feminist activists organized a women’s peer-run counseling and health service at St. Francis House at 1011 University Avenue in 1973. In 1975, four feminist business women opened a feminist bookstore conceived as a women’s resource center called A Room of One’s Own at 317 W. Johnson Street (not extant). A feminist restaurant and bar called Lysistrata, also conceived as a resource for women’s groups, opened in 1977 at 325 W. Gorham Street (not extant). Feminist groups drafted women to run for public office and encouraged artistic explorations of female gender identity.

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

African American women had an uneasy relationship with the Women’s Liberation Movement. They did not play a prominent role in the early years of the movement. Black feminists Maxine Williams and Pamela Newman explained that Black women had not yet developed a feminist consciousness in 1970 and that they were wary that the movement’s anti-male sentiments could divide Black women and men at a time when they need to work together against their issues of racial oppression. They also accused the Women’s Liberation Movement of being led by middle-class white women who were largely ignorant of the needs of Black women and poor women. In 1976, the Wisconsin Union Cultural Affairs Committee recognized that many women of color had needs and goals that were not being recognized by the contemporary women’s movement. The committee coordinated a conference that year at Union South (not
extant) called “Women of Color Now: Ethnic Women’s Conference ’76.” Sessions at the conference attempted to articulate and address issues of sexism and racism experienced by Latina, Black, and Asian attendees.

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

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

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

By the early 1980s, NOW was still the dominant organization for women’s rights and equality. It was characterized as the nation’s largest and richest feminist organization, with 950 chapters, 220,000 members, and an annual budget of $13 million. The group had expanded their political strategy to include “sex discrimination, uses of nuclear power, abortion [rights], Reagan budget cuts, gay rights, and military spending.” NOW led the effort to persuade states to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the United States Constitution. The Madison chapter followed suit, often holding monthly meetings at Lysistrata and the University Presbyterian Church and Student Center “Pres House” at 731 State Street. In 1982, the states failed to ratify the ERA. After the demoralizing loss, the Madison chapter continued to stage consciousness-raising and recruitment events and lobby for progressive legislation. In 1984, the chapter secured its first permanent office location. They moved into a shared space on the second floor of 625 W. Washington Avenue with the Wisconsin Women’s Political Caucus and the Wisconsin Women’s Network who had been located there since their founding in 1979.
chapter appears to have been located there for about two years. In 1989, they had an office at 8 W. Mifflin Street (not extant).

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

By the 1980s, women were still excluded from the premier social and service organizations for community and professional leaders, including the Downtown Rotary Club until 1987. In 1981, a group of women in prominent roles, including Jean Manchester-Biddik, Boo Mortenson (nee Henderson), Sue Riordan, and Barb Miller, founded a networking and social organization for women in leadership known as Tempo of Madison, which continues to meet at the Madison Club to present day.293

A third wave of feminism emerged in the mid-1990s as concepts such as heteronormativity, gender, and sexuality were challenged and became unstable and women repossessed and redefined ideas of feminine beauty and power. Some scholars define a “fourth wave” of feminism beginning in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Organizations, such as Apple Island, were formed in the 1990s as incubators of feminist and lesbian women’s arts, such as musical and dramatic performances, dances, art exhibitions, lectures, readings, classes, craft sales, food-production, and events in support of lesbians of color.294
Distribution of Resources Associated with Women
Government

African American

State Government

Samuel S. Pierce

In 1922, Samuel Pierce took on the job of the Wisconsin Governor’s office messenger. Pierce’s calming manners, intelligence, and good looks made him a popular and influential figure at the capitol, serving as the personal messenger and correspondent for governors Blaine, Zimmerman, Walter J. Kohler Sr., Philip LaFollette, and Schmedeman. When Governor Philip LaFollette’s brother Robert M. LaFollette was a member of the United States Senate, he passed legislation for the Pierce’s so that they could access funds they deposited in a bank in Washington, D.C. fifty years earlier. LaFollette gave a signed copy of the bill to the family after its passage.295 Samuel Pierce died in 1936. The flag of the capitol flew at half-staff to honor his passing, and he was described as "one of the best diplomats in the state capitol” by a local newspaper.”296

Samuel Pierce is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government from 1922 to 1936. During this period, there were several resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street and his house at 1442 Williamson Street, which was originally constructed in 1898 for D.D. Daniher, where Pierce lived from 1910 to 1936. The primary resource associated with the life of Samuel Pierce and his significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. A secondary resource includes the Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House at 1442 Williamson Street. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Third Lake Ridge Historic District. However, consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community. This resource is also potentially eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.
This resource is also associated with Samuel Pierce’s nephew, Theodore Pierce. For more information on the life of Samuel S. Pierce, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Local Government

_Eugene Parks_

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

In 1988, Parks was reprimanded and suspended for calling an MATC board member a “racist, liar and coward” at a meeting. Parks filed a racial discrimination claim and was fired. In 1989, Parks filed a circuit court action to regain his position and was given a job as a sign shop supervisor in the Traffic Engineering Department of the city. In 1995, a court of appeals ruled that Parks was illegally fired in 1988, and the city settled with him for $441,000.

Eugene Parks is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government from 1969 to 1995. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: The City-County building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, his 1969 to 1970 residence at 914 West Dayton Street, and his 1971 to 1988 residence at 6608 Berkshire Road. The primary resource associated with the life of Gene Parks and his significance in Government is the City-County building. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. A secondary resource includes his 1971 to 1988 home at 6608 Berkshire Road. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Park’s home at 914 West Dayton Street was not included in the survey as the life of Eugene Parks and his significance in the area of Government were more closely associated with other resources. For more information on the life of Eugene Parks, please see the Notable People Chapter.
First Nations

Federal Government

Ada Deer

Ada Deer’s work for the Menominee played a large role in the Menominee Restoration Act signed by U.S. President Richard Nixon on December 22, 1973, which returned the Menominee Tribe to federally recognized status. From 1974 to 1976, Deer became the first woman to chair the Menominee Tribe and headed the Menominee Restoration Committee. 300

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

Under the Clinton administration in 1993, Ada Deer was appointed as the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of the Interior and was the first Native American woman to head the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. During her 4-year tenure, the department oversaw a large increase in the number of recognized tribes as she set federal policy for more than 550 recognized tribes through the federal government. 301

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

LGBTQ

State Government

David Clarenbach

David Clarenbach was born in St. Louis, Missouri in 1953. The son of Kathryn F. Clarenbach, co-founder of the National Organization for Women, came to Madison with his family at a young age. He studied politics at the University of Wisconsin in the early 1970s, while at the same time beginning his political career. In 1972, at the age of 18, he was elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors. In 1974, he served for a brief period as an interim alderperson on the City of Madison Common Council.
In the fall of 1974, he was elected to the Wisconsin State Assembly representing the 78th District, a seat he would hold for nine terms, until 1993. Clarenbach helped craft, advance, and ultimately pass two pieces of state legislation that dramatically improved the civil liberties of LGBTQ people in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill signed into law in February of 1982, prohibited discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations based on sexual orientation. It was the first such state legislation in the country. Clarenbach also undertook the majority of the legislative work that culminated in the passage of the Wisconsin Consenting Adults Bill in May of 1983. That legislation decriminalized cohabitation, fornication (sex outside of marriage), and homosexual behavior between consenting adults in Wisconsin. That same year, he was elected the Assembly’s Speaker pro tempore, a position he held for a decade. During his time in the assembly, he also authored an AIDS bill of rights and HIV confidentiality law.

David Clarenbach is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government from 1974 to 1993. During this time, there were several resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street, his 1974-1976 home at 130-134 East Gorham Street, his 1976-1977 home at 26 North Franklin Street, his 1978-1983 home at 123 West Gilman Street, his 1984-1985 home at 1035 Sherman Avenue, and his 1986-1993 home at 454 Sidney Street. The primary resource associated with the life of David Clarenbach and his significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. A secondary resource includes the David Clarenbach House / Jim Yeadon House at 123 W. Gilman Street where Clarenbach lived during the development, introduction, and passage of his two biggest legal milestones. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Mansion Hill Historic District and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District. However, consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. For more information on the life of David Clarenbach, please see the Notable People Chapter.

The house’s associations with the LGBTQ civil rights movement are not limited to the residency of David Clarenbach, though. From 1973 until 1987, 123 West Gilman Street was the center of a network of young people, self-identified as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, working for the advancement of civil liberties for gays and lesbians and involved in politics and community activism. Jim Yeadon lived at 123 West Gilman Street in 1977 at the time he was elected as the first openly gay man to a common council in the country.
Attempts to pass a bill in the Wisconsin legislature to protect the rights of members of the LGBTQ community began as early as 1967 and 1971 when Representative Lloyd Barabee of Milwaukee first introduced bills to the Wisconsin State Assembly that would decriminalize homosexuality and protect gays and lesbians from job discrimination. After his election in 1974, David Clarenbach of Madison advocated for LGBTQ rights in the State Assembly. Clarenbach helped craft, advance, and ultimately pass two pieces of state legislation that dramatically improved the civil liberties of LGBTQ people in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill, Chapter 112 of 1981 Wisconsin Law, was introduced as Assembly Bill 70 by Representatives Clarenbach, Leopold, Coggs, Ulichny, and Becker in 1981 and signed into law in February of 1982 by Governor Lee S. Dreyfus. It prohibited discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation and it was the first such state legislation in the country. Clarenbach also undertook the majority of the legislative work that culminated in the passage of the Wisconsin Consenting Adults Bill in May of 1983. That legislation decriminalized cohabitation, fornication (sex outside of marriage), and homosexual behavior between consenting adults in Wisconsin. For more information on David Clarenbach, please see the previous section of this chapter.

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

The Wisconsin State Capitol is significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government from 1967 to present. The Wisconsin State Capitol, located at 2 East Main Street, is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its City of Madison Landmark designation to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities.
Roland Richard Wagner moved to Madison in 1965 and has been as a community leader, neighborhood pioneer, and LGBTQ historian since the early 1970s. After earning a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in History, he was credited with advancing the passage of Madison’s Landmarks Ordinance in 1971. He pioneered reinvestment in the deteriorated Marquette neighborhood by buying and restoring several houses in the neighborhood beginning in 1975. While he was investing in the neighborhood, he also served on its neighborhood association and advocated for a community-directed revitalization of the Williamson Street corridor.

In 1980, Wagner was the first openly gay member elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors, which he served on until 1994 and chaired for four terms. In his first year, the Dane County Board of Supervisors adopted a county-wide non-discrimination ordinance that offered protections to the LGBTQ community. During his time on the county board, he also played a major role in the advancement of Monona Terrace and Olbrich Gardens.

In 1983, when he was one of about only twenty-five openly gay elected officials in the country, Wagner was appointed as one of the first co-chairs of Governor Tony Earl’s newly established Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues. Wagner resigned from the council in August 1984; before the council disbanded after Tommy Thompson’s election in 1986 due to his vowing during the campaign to eliminate the council. He has served on many other boards, committees, and commissions, including the Wisconsin American Revolution Bicentennial Commission from 1972 to 1976, the Citizen’s Advisory Committee to the Landmarks Commission in 1972, the Madison Landmarks Commission from 1973 to 1979, the Dane County Board of Supervisors from 1980 to 1994, the Governor’s Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues from 1983 to 1984, the Urban Design Commission from 2017 to 2019, the East Rail Corridor Plan Advisory Committee from 2001 to 2004, and the Madison Plan Commission from 1997 to 2004.

Dick Wagner is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government from 1980 to 1994. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: the City-County Building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, his 1975 to 1986 house at 754 Jenifer Street, and his 1986 to the present-day house at 739 Jenifer Street. The primary resource associated with the life of Dick Wagner and his significance in Government is the City-County Building; this resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be
given to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. A secondary resource includes his home at 754 Jenifer Street. This resource is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and is within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Third Lake Ridge Historic District. Consideration should be given to amending the designation to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The resource is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Jenifer-Spaight Historic District. For more information on the life of Dick Wagner, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Local Government

City-County Building

The City-County Building was the location of administrative offices, meetings, and jail space shared by the City of Madison and Dane County throughout the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison. The council chamber on the second floor was the location of the passage of ground-breaking municipal LGBTQ civil rights legislation. LGBTQ groups in Madison gained legal ground in 1975 when the Common Council adopted amendments to the city’s 1963 Equal Opportunities Ordinance. The amendments added sexual orientation to the classes of people against whom discrimination was prohibited. The newly adopted language defined sexual orientation to include “homosexuality, heterosexuality, and bisexuality by preference or practice.” It was the first such municipal ordinance in Wisconsin and one of the earliest in the nation. In 1980, the Dane County Board of Supervisors adopted similar county-wide legislation while meeting in the same room.

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

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

The City-County Building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government, specifically Local Government, from 1975 to 2015. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The
City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This resource shall be re-evaluated for State and National Register individual listing in 2025.

Jim Yeadon

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

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

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

Jim Yeadon is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government from 1976 to 1980. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: the City-County Building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, his non-extant 1975 home at 350 West Wilson Street, his 1977 home at 123 West Gilman Street, his 1978-1979 home at 444 Hawthorne Court, and his 1980 home at 725 Jenifer Street. The primary resource associated with the life of Jim Yeadon and his significance in Government is the City-County Building. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. A secondary resource includes the David Clarenbach House / Jim Yeadon House at 123 West Gilman Street, believed to be his residence at the time of his election to the City of Madison Common Council.
as the first openly gay man elected to a common council in the country. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Mansion Hill Historic District and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District.

The house’s associations with the LGBTQ civil rights movement are not limited to the residency of Jim Yeadon, though. David Clarenbach purchased the house in 1977 and lived there from 1978 until 1982, selling it in 1987. Clarenbach lived here during the development, introduction, and passage of his two biggest legal milestones: the Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill of 1982 and Wisconsin Consenting Adults Bill of 1983.

Women

State Government

Marjorie (Midge) Miller

Midge Miller was sensitive to women’s issues as early as 1966 when she was involved in Women’s Day activities on the University of Wisconsin campus. She began her career in politics as a volunteer for the 1968 presidential campaign of Eugene McCarthy. In 1970, she decided to run for an elected office herself. She ran with an anti-war position and was elected to her first of seven terms to represent the 77th Assembly District which included the west side of Madison. During her time in state government, she successfully advocated for improvements in rights and opportunities for women in Wisconsin. In 1972, Miller shepherded the federal Equal Rights Amendment through the ratification process in the Wisconsin legislature. She was a founder of the National Women’s Political Caucus the same year and was honored as Woman of the Year by the Business and Professional Women’s Club of Madison. Before 1972 was over, Miller headed an effort to craft an omnibus equal rights bill that would remove gender-discriminatory language from state laws. Her bill required an amendment to the state constitution and failed in a statewide referendum in 1973.

Miller continued to act for reform of state laws regarding women. In 1973, she sponsored a successful bill that prohibited discrimination based on sex in the granting of loans or credit. The same year, Miller headed a committee that studied all Wisconsin statutes. The committee found preferential treatment of men in many state laws. The study resulted in the introduction of a bill that would equalize the language relative to sex throughout Wisconsin statues. Miller articulated her mission in August of 1973 while promoting declarations by the city and the state on Women’s Rights Day. She said, “We honor [those courageous women who attained for American women the right to vote] only if we work for the new laws and customs that make equality a reality.” Early in 1974, Miller sponsored legislation to allow pregnant women to receive unemployment compensation during maternity leave from a job. In March, her state equal rights bill was defeated, and the backlash by women voters was cited as a deciding factor in a statewide election a month later. Miller based her 1974 re-election campaign partly on the advancement of women’s rights. After being re-elected, Miller reintroduced her equal rights bill. This time it was passed.
As a member of the Wisconsin Assembly, Miller was also active in the National Women’s Political Caucus. In 1976, she fought for a change in the rules of the national Democratic party that would have required that half of the delegates to the 1980 Democratic National Convention be women. In the late 1970s, she advocated for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. Miller regularly took opportunities during her tenure on the Assembly to speak publicly about sexism, equality, and opportunities for women and reporting on state legislation related to women’s equality, rights, and obligations. She continued to serve in the Wisconsin Assembly for seven terms, until 1984. She went on to establish the Madison Institute and continue to advocate for issues of women’s rights. She died in 2009.

Midge Miller is significant within the community of Women at a statewide level in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1970 to 1984. During this time, there were several resources associated with her: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street, her 1970 to 1978 house at 1937 Arlington Place, and her 1978 to 1984 house at 213 Du Rose Terrace. The primary resource associated with the life of Midge Miller and her significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark, was individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 1970, and was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its City of Madison Landmark designation to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. A secondary resource includes her home at 1937 Arlington Place when she was most active in the Wisconsin Assembly. It is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s University Heights Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of Women. The house is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the University Heights Historic District.

Mary Lou Munts

Mary Lou Rogers was born in 1924 in Chicago, where she spent her early life. She graduated from Swarthmore College in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, before receiving a master's degree in economics from the University of Chicago, where she met Ray Munts whom she married in 1947. The Munts moved to Madison in the early 1950s. The Munts relocated to Washington D.C. for some time before returning to Madison around 1967 for Mary Lou to attend the University of Wisconsin Law School, where she graduated with her law degree in 1976 while continuing in the assembly. She engaged in politics almost immediately, becoming active in local Democratic Party organizing, and advocating for peace negotiations in Vietnam.
In 1972, Mary Lou Munts was elected to the Wisconsin Assembly from the 76th District, becoming one of four women in the Wisconsin Legislature at the time. She served six two-year terms, much of which was spent advocating for the passage of her Marital Property Reform bill, arguing that her bill would remove the "last vestiges of (sexual) discrimination in state law," by reforming inequities for married women who have no income and whose financial contributions to their household or family business are difficult to quantify. She was instrumental in the passing of Wisconsin's Marital Property Reform Act in 1986.

In 1984, she was appointed to the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, becoming the chair of the commission in 1986. In 1992, Munts was elected to the governing board of Common Cause, a national watchdog group advocating for minorities and the working poor in urban areas, based in Washington, D.C. Munts moved to Kennett Square, Pennsylvania in 2005. She died in 2013.

Mary Lou Munts is significant within the community of Women at a statewide level in the area of Government, particularly State Government, from 1972 to 1986. During this period, there were several resources associated with her: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street and the house at 6102 Hammersley Road where she lived during her terms in the Wisconsin Assembly. The primary resource associated with the life of Mary Lou Munts and her significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark, was individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 1970, and was designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. Consideration should be given to updating its City of Madison Landmark designation to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. A secondary resource includes her home at 6102 Hammersley Road. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of Women.

### Historic Resources Associated with Government Included in the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Historic Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Eligibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937 Arlington Place</td>
<td>(Balthasar H. Meyer House) Marjorie and Edward Miller House</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>American Foursquare</td>
<td>CoM HD–w/i POS, and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
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<tr>
<td>6608 Berkshire Road</td>
<td>Eugene and Marilyn Parks Duplex</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Ranch</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 W. Gilman Street</td>
<td>Jim Yeaton House / David Clarenbach House</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Queen Anne</td>
<td>CoM HD–w/i POS, and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
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<tr>
<td>6102 Hammersley Road</td>
<td>Mary Lou Munts House</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>754 Jenifer Street</td>
<td>(John George Ott House) R. Richard Wagner House</td>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Italianate</td>
<td>CoM HD–w/i POS and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Style</td>
<td>Designation</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 E. Main Street</td>
<td>Wisconsin State Capitol</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Beaux Arts</td>
<td>CoM Landmark, SRHP/NRHP Listed and NHL</td>
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<tr>
<td>210 Martin Luther King Jr.</td>
<td>City-County Building</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulevard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1442 Williamson Street</td>
<td>(D.D. Daniher House)</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Front Gabled</td>
<td>CoM HD–w/i POS, and SRHP/NRHP Eligible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House /</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theodore Pierce House</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Architecture

Women

Designers

Cora Tuttle

Cora Tuttle was born Cora Cadwallader in 1864 near Evansville, Wisconsin.\textsuperscript{332} She married Charles M. Tuttle in 1890, and by 1900 was living in the Town of Brooklyn, Wisconsin.\textsuperscript{333} In 1904 Cora, Charles, their nephew Eugene Cadwallader Smith moved to Ganado, Texas.\textsuperscript{334} Charles died there in 1906. By that time, Cora had three sons, and her nephew Eugene had moved to Prescott, Arizona. After Charles died, Cora moved to Prescott with her sons to live with Eugene’s family.\textsuperscript{335} By 1908, Cora and her sons' Ray, Clifton, and Fordyce moved to Madison, so Ray could attend engineering school at the University of Wisconsin.\textsuperscript{336} Tuttle, with no formal architectural training, designed a Bungalow for her own family. In 1909, she assembled craftspeople to build the house at 1206 Grant Street.\textsuperscript{337}

The house was unique in Madison and drew on Tuttle’s understanding of the Bungalow style as refined by architects in California, a style she had likely been exposed to while living in the southwest. The building introduced the style to Madison. Tuttle was the first known woman designer in Wisconsin, and the only known woman to be designing buildings in Madison before the 1930s. As a point of reference, the first licensed woman architect in the state was Lillian Leenhouts of Milwaukee, who began practicing in her family’s office in 1942.

Tuttle gained a reputation for designing bungalows at a time when the style was becoming widely popular nationwide and in Madison. Over the next twenty years, Cora Tuttle designed about fifteen more homes that were built in the city, often in collaboration with her son Ray, who had studied structural engineering, and her nephew Eugene, who had returned to Madison in 1911 to care for his aging parents.\textsuperscript{338} Cora Tuttle lived in the house at 1206 Grant Street until she left Madison around 1931 and moved to Rochester, New York. She died in 1948.
Cora Tuttle is locally significant in the area of Architecture from 1909 to 1931. During this time, she lived in the house at 1206 Grant Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Wingra Park Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of Women.

Furthermore, the other homes in Madison that are known to have been designed by Tuttle are included in the list below and are also potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmarks. While several are already designated within the period of significance of various City of Madison historic districts, consideration should be given to designating those resources as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities.

**Historic Resources Associated with Architecture Included in the Survey**

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

African American Primary Education

Hamilton Middle School

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

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

Lincoln Elementary School

In 1988, Muriel Simms was hired as the principal of Lincoln Elementary in the Burr Oaks neighborhood of South Madison, a position she held for six years. Lincoln was diverse when Simms took over with 41 percent of students being African American and 51 percent of students coming from low-income families. She stressed multicultural teaching and project-based learning methods, hired more staff of color, more than doubled parental involvement at parent-teacher conferences, raised achievement scores, and generally changed the culture at the school.
Simms was awarded the Wisconsin Elementary Principal of the Year in 1992. Her work at Lincoln Elementary School was so instrumental that she left the position to work as equity coordinator for the Madison Metropolitan School District in 1994.

Muriel Simms was locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education from 1988 to 1994. During this period the primary resource associated with her significance in Education is Lincoln Elementary School. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. For more information on the life of Muriel Simms, please see the Notable People Chapter.

South Madison Day Care Center

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

Child Development, Inc. was founded by Betty Walker Smith in 1968. As president of Child Development, Inc., she led the effort to build a daycare center on Madison’s south side. During the early 1970s, she was especially interested in increasing the number of daycare centers to make it easier for women to choose employment. In 1971, she became the second woman ever to run for a seat in the Wisconsin Senate. While unsuccessful, one of her campaign issues was the expansion of daycare facilities as a way of liberating women to join the workforce.

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

The South Madison Day Care Center, located at 2012 Fisher Street, is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education from 1968 to 1999 and for its association with Betty Walker Smith and her significance in Education from 1968 to 1979. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. For more on the life of Betty Walker Smith, please see the Notable People Chapter.
Wright Middle School

James C. Wright Middle School is a charter school that was constructed on the south side of Madison at 1717 Fish Hatchery Road in 1997. The school is the most racially diverse public school in the City of Madison and was named after Reverend James C. Wright. Wright was a long-standing activist and leader within the African American community, serving as minister at Mt. Zion Baptist Church, a founding member of the Madison Urban League, the director of the Neighborhood House Community Center, and the executive director of Madison's Equal Opportunities Commission.341

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

Vocational and Extension Education

Madison Vocational School / Madison Area Technical College

Madison Continuation School was established in 1912 to provide vocational training to the city. The school changed its name in 1921 to Madison Vocational School, when it moved into a new building at 211 North Carroll Street, and again in 1966 to Madison Area Technical College, when it occupied a location adjacent to the non-extant Madison Central High School building. Madison Central High School, drawing students from the central and southern portions of the city, had a large number of African American students. The primary campus moved to a larger facility at 1701 Wright Street in 1987.

In 2010, it began to refer to itself as simply Madison College, to avoid confusion with Milwaukee Area Technical College, also known as "MATC". Still operating from both two campuses, the college has an enrollment of nearly 34,000 students today. The institution has always maintained a diverse student body and has employed many instructors from underrepresented backgrounds since 1950.342

One such teacher was Velma Fern Hamilton. In 1950, Velma was hired as the first African American teacher in Madison as an English teacher at the Madison Vocational School, the predecessor to Madison College. She also worked with the Ford Foundation's Institute of International Education during the 1950s. In 1970, she served as the chair of the General Studies Department of MATC and became the Dean of Liberal Studies before retiring in 1975. Velma
Hamilton had worked for education, civil rights, and fair housing throughout her time in Madison.\(^{343}\)

Velma Hamilton is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education from 1950 to 1975. During this time, Hamilton lived outside of the City of Madison, making the Madison Vocational School at 211 N. Carroll Street the only resource associated with Hamilton within the city. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Madison Vocational School was listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 2019. Consideration should be given to updating its listing to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. For more information on the life of Velma Hamilton, please see the Notable People Chapter.

University of Wisconsin System

*Department of Afro-American Studies*

The Department of Afro-American studies was established in 1970 following a series of successful student strikes demanding the creation of programs about African Americans and the hiring of African American faculty. The department has always focused on Black history, culture, and literature, but became increasingly popular and influential after the 1978 arrival of Nellie Yvonne McKay who took a faculty position at the University of Wisconsin specializing in African American literature. She was tenured in 1984 and worked throughout the 1980s expanding and popularizing the fields of African American literature, women’s studies, and multicultural women’s writing. Much of these disciplines owe their formation and identity to the seminal texts of her work.\(^{344}\)

McKay’s work aided in expanding and popularizing the Department of Afro-American Studies. Though she also taught in Women’s Studies and the English Department, her work on African American literature was influential. McKay, who received many academic honors, taught until the time of her death in 2006. An annual lecture series at the university was established in her name.\(^{345}\)

Nellie McKay was nationally significant in the African American community in the area of Education from 1978 to 2006. During this time, there were several resources associated with her: including her office at room 4220 in the Humanities Building at 455 North Park Street that she occupied from the late 1970s to 1989, the Department of Afro-American Studies located in Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park Street, where she taught from 1978 to her death and occupied office number 6183 from 1989 to her death, her 1978 to 1987 residence at apartment #2 at 3213 Bluff Street, and her 1988 to 2006 residence at 2114 West Lawn Avenue.\(^{346}\) The primary resource associated with the life of Nellie McKay and her significance in the area of
Education is Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Helen C. White Hall is listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Bascom Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to updating its listing to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. For more information on the life of Nellie McKay, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

Department of Philosophy

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

Cornelius Golightly is locally significant in the African American community in the areas of Education from 1949 to 1955. The Philosophy Department on the University of Wisconsin campus from 1949 to 1955 was located in Bascom Hall, at 500 Lincoln Drive, and Professor Golightly’s office was at room 369B in Bascom Hall for all six years that he spent at the university. Bascom Hall is the primary resource associated with Cornelius Golightly’s significance in the area of Education and is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Bascom Hall is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a contributing resource to the Bascom Hill Historic District. For more information on the life of Cornelius Golightly, please see the Notable People Chapter.

Van Hise Refectory

Van Hise Refectory, a Mediterranean Revival style university building at 1515 Tripp Circle on the University of Wisconsin campus, was originally constructed in 1926 with major additions and alterations completed in 1943 and 1960. It was the site of much of the work of university chef Carson Gulley, beginning in 1926.
In 1936, Gulley established and taught a popular curriculum for chefs and bakers and conducted seminars at the Tuskegee Institute and the University of Wisconsin. The United States Navy established a similar school during World War II at the University of Wisconsin for service cooks, developed and taught by Gulley. Gulley is also credited with developing recipes for a boneless turkey roast and the fudge bottom pie. Gulley was a popular figure with students. In 1954, Gulley retired after being passed over for the position of director of dormitory food services at the university, despite being a senior chef for two decades. The position was given to a younger, less experienced, White man.

The University of Wisconsin-Madison renamed the Van Hise Refectory the Carson Gulley Commons in 1966, the first building on any University of Wisconsin campus named after an African American and the first building on the University of Wisconsin campus named after an employee other than administration or faculty. The building was renamed the Carson Gulley Center in 2013.

Carson Gulley is locally significant in the African American community in the areas of Education from 1926 to 1954. During this time, there were several resources associated with him: Van Hise Refectory at 1515 Tripp Circle and his 1926 to 1953 residence at the neighboring Tripp Hall dormitory. The primary resource associated with his significance in Education from 1926 to 1954 is the Van Hise Refectory (now the Carson Gulley Center) at 1515 Tripp Circle. This resource is potentially eligible for designating as a City of Madison Landmark. For more information on the life of Carson Gulley, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

First Nations

Primary Education

Whitehorse Middle School

Herbert Schenk Junior High School was constructed at 218 Schenk Street on the east side of Madison around 1963. In 1993, the school was renamed the Annie Greencrow Whitehorse Middle School in honor of her life and local commitment to the environment, Native American culture, and education. Annie Greencrow Whitehorse was a frequent guest lecturer at the University of Wisconsin regarding Ho-Chunk folklore, culture, language, and art. She also insisted that all her children finish high school in the 1930s and 1940s, and many attended colleges too. For more information on the life of Annie Greencrow Whitehorse, please see the Notable People Chapter.
Other than the name, the school holds no direct association to Annie Greencrow Whitehorse’s contributions in Education and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Criteria Considerations discuss properties primarily commemorative in intent, which shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless their design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its historical significance.

University of Wisconsin System

*American Indian Studies Program*

The American Indian Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin was introduced in 1972 to create a Native American studies curriculum and recruit American Indian faculty. The program was originally located at the University of Wisconsin Law School and moved to the School of Education in 1976.

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

Ada Deer is locally significant in the Native American community in the area of Education from 1977 to 2007. Deer taught in the non-extant School of Social Work, which was located at 425 Henry Mall on the University of Wisconsin campus; however, her office was at room 1188 in the Education Sciences Building, located at 1025 W. Johnson Street, which has been the site of Ada Deer’s and others work in the field of American Indian Studies. Therefore, the Educational Science Building is the only resource in the City of Madison associated with her significance in the Native American community in the area of Education. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may not be considered eligible for listing in the
State and National Registers of Historic Places unless they are of exceptional importance. This property should be re-evaluated for State and National Register individual listing in 2027.

Museums

Charles E. Brown

Charles Brown was born in Milwaukee in 1872. In 1900, he became an assistant at the Milwaukee Public Museum, where he reorganized the Wisconsin Natural History Society. In 1903, he helped found the Wisconsin Archeological Society, and in 1904, he was the curator of the United States Philippine Exposition at the St. Louis World Fair. Charles E. Brown was appointed the Director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Museum in 1908, serving as its first full-time curator, and moved to Madison. In 1915, Brown was also named to the faculty of the University of Wisconsin.

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

During his life, he was the recipient of many academic awards in his field including the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Medal in 1904, the Lapham Medal for anthropological research in 1926, an honorary master’s degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1931, and a medal from the Illinois Academy of Science for archaeological research in 1941. He held the position of director of the State Historical Society until 1945. When he took on the position, the museum had about 25,000 specimens and artifacts in its collection; when he retired the State Historical Society of Wisconsin
816 State Street
count was over 200,000 items. Charles Brown died in 1946.\textsuperscript{359}

Brown was significant at the state level in the First Nations community in the area of Education, from 1908 to 1945. During this time, there were a couple of resources associated with him: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin at 816 State Street and his 1915 to 1945 Prairie style residence at 1126 Waban Hill. The primary resource associated with the life of Charles E. Brown and his significance in Education is the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at 816 State Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building was individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 1972 and is listed as a contributing resource in the Bascom Hill Historic District.

A secondary resource includes his 1915 to 1945 home at 1126 Waban Hill. Brown and his family previously lived in a house along Van Buren Street in Madison from 1908 to 1914; however, the exact location and address are unknown at this time.\textsuperscript{360} The house at 1126 Waban Hill is also potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. It is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Nakoma Historic District. It is eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for its significance in the history of the Native American community.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{charles_brown_house.jpg}
\caption{Charles E. and Bertha Brown House 1126 Waban Hill}
\end{figure}

Latino/a

Secondary Education

\textit{Omega School}

The Omega School is an alternative school founded in 1972 focused on providing a course to learn English and complete the GED and HSED high school equivalency exams for adult students. The school has also served as a bridge for non-English speaking and particularly Latino/a immigrants to the wider Madison community.\textsuperscript{361} Today, the Omega School is managed by Executive Director Oscar Mireles, a notable poet and educator in the Madison Latino/a community who has been with the school since 1994.\textsuperscript{362}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{omega_school.jpg}
\caption{Omega School 254 West Gilman Street}
\end{figure}
The Omega School is locally significant in the Latino/a community in the area of Education from 1972 to the present. During this period, several resources have been associated with it: the 1972 to 1988 location at 254 West Gilman Street overlooking State Street, its 1988 to 1995 location at 949 East Washington Avenue, and its 1995 to the present-day location at 835 West Badger Road, a small contemporary style building constructed in 1988 for Centro Hispano of Dane County. The primary resource associated with the Omega School and its significance in Education is its original extant location on the second floor of 254 West Gilman Street and is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Women

University of Wisconsin System

Anderson House

The cooperative housing model offered low-cost housing for undergraduate students in exchange for the students’ time in managing the house. Cooperative housing became popular for University of Wisconsin students in the 1910s. Housing cooperatives were often sponsored by university faculty for residents within a particular department of study; language department faculty and the office of the Dean of Women were among the pioneers of cooperative housing. The earliest women's housing cooperatives were the Deutsches House (German House) in 1914; Mortar Board House in 1915; La Maison Francaise (French House) in 1918; Tabard Inn formed by the consolidation of the Mortar Board House, Blue Dragon House, and A.C.A Cottage in 1919; Charter House in 1921, Anderson House in 1921, La Casa Cervantes (Spanish House) in 1923, and Fallows House in 1924. The locations of these early women’s housing cooperatives are non-extant.

The house at 228 North Charter Street was originally built in 1914 for Samuel and Ida Oakey. In 1928, the University Women’s Building Corporation purchased the house from Ida Oakey and remodeled it for use by a women’s housing cooperative under the supervision of the Dean of Women. It was named after Mary D. Anderson, one of the women who negotiated the purchase. By 1933, only the Tabard Inn, Charter House, and Anderson House were still in operation. Groves House, the first interracial women's cooperative housing facility, opened in 1943 at 150 Langdon Street, originally built in 1892 a house for Halle Steensland, but relocated to a non-extant building 1104 W. Johnson Street by 1951. Groves House remained at that location until 1963 when it was relocated again to 102 E. Gorham Street. The Groves House cooperative was renamed Hypatia House in 1987 and is still in operation. The Anderson House operated until 1964, making it one of the longest-running women’s housing cooperatives at the University of Wisconsin System.
University of Wisconsin. Anderson House is locally significant to Women in the area of Education from 1928 to 1964. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

**Barnard Residence Hall**

In 1910, “agitation began for the construction of new dormitory space [for women].” After some debate about a suitable location, university Regents decided to build a new dormitory between Lathrop Hall and the non-extant old Chadbourne Hall to “carry out the plan of a woman’s quadrangle on University Avenue.” Barnard Residence Hall, located at 970 University Avenue, was completed in 1912 as a dormitory hall for female university students. The building was not initially included in the 1908 master plan likely because the old Chadbourne Hall was already serving the need and was located near Lathrop Hall. Barnard Hall was designed to house 150 students and to be connected by covered passageways with both Lathrop Hall and old Chadbourne Hall as a women’s “quad.” Barnard Hall served as a dormitory for undergraduate and (for a period in the late-1950s) graduate women until 2001 when it was opened to male residents.

Barnard Residence Hall at 970 University Avenue is locally significant to Women in the area of Education from 1912 to 2001. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

**Lathrop Hall**

The University of Wisconsin responded to the surge of women seeking professional and educational opportunities in the Progressive Era by including a women’s gymnasium in the 1908 university master plan. Lathrop Hall, a massive Neoclassical building clad with Madison sandstone, was completed in 1909 and was uniquely designed to meet the needs of campus women that were not being met by existing facilities. The building had meeting rooms, kitchens, a swimming pool, a gymnasium, bowling lanes, a laundry, a cafeteria, reading rooms, and home economics laboratories. It was intended to be the first of a quadrangle of women’s buildings and served as a social hall akin to the male-only student union before Memorial Union was built.
In the 1910s, it hosted offices of the Women’s Self-Government Association and the Women’s Court that adjudicated on-campus disciplinary matters.\textsuperscript{373} Academic, social, and athletic clubs for campus women convened in Lathrop Hall. In the early part of the twentieth century, Lathrop Hall was the epicenter of women’s activities on the University of Wisconsin campus. It was seen as a meaningful investment in co-education after decades of the discussion by Regents on how to make provisions on the campus for the education of women.\textsuperscript{374} According to the 1985 National Register Nomination for Lathrop Hall, the hall “is of national significance in the areas of physical education and dance. Built for the Department of Physical Training for Women, Lathrop Hall was the site of the founding of the Athletic Conference of American College Women [in 1917], today the premier organization in the nation governing intramural sports for college women.”\textsuperscript{375}

According to the 1985 National Register Nomination, Lathrop Hall was also the location classes were held for the first dance major established in the United States.

“In 1915, assistant professor Margaret H’Doubler [was sent] to New York to survey the current trends in dance to bring back a form of sufficient educational merit for inclusion in the university curriculum. At the time a reaction against formal dance was underway, resulting in a movement favoring dance based on the laws of natural motion and rhythm, as exemplified by such innovators as Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, and Ted Shawn. In 1917, H'Doubler returned to Wisconsin to undertake a new kind of dance instruction which was to some extent based on the natural and creative dance movement but was mostly her concept. Breaking with former techniques, she developed "fundamentals" of dancing as basic teaching forms. H'Doubler's dance philosophy viewed the body as the instrument of dance, and movement the artistic medium of dance with which to express the inner state. H'Doubler's form of dance gradually blended into modern dance. Her work won wide acclaim and her philosophy was nationally influential, determining the direction of dance education through to the present day. Born Margaret Newell Hougen-Doubler in Kansas, she graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1910, and upon graduation was offered an assistant professorship in the Department of Physical Training for Women. In 1918, she founded "Orchesis," a university dance performance group, the first of its kind in the United States. H'Doubler established the first comprehensive dance curriculum at an American university at the University of Wisconsin in 1921, and in 1926 her proposal for the organization of a major in dance at the University of Wisconsin was accepted, the first such major in the nation. The recipient of numerous awards and honors, the author of many books and articles, Margaret H'Doubler was to dance education what Martha Graham was to dance performance. H'Doubler's students went on to form dance departments at colleges and universities all over the country. Her writings, spanning over half-a-century, were always timely, exerting a major influence on dance education over many decades, and facilitating the acceptance of dance in the curriculum of higher education. H'Doubler retired from the university in 1954 but continued to write and teach up until the time of her death. Her most popular works were The Dance and Its Place in Education (1925) and Dance: A Creative Art Experience (1940). H'Doubler's teaching theories, techniques, and philosophy of dance resulted in a blend of aesthetics and science which have successfully withstood the passage of time. Although formulated in the early decades of the twentieth century, many of her fundamentals can be found in the techniques taught in college dance departments all over the country today.”\textsuperscript{376}

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

The University of Wisconsin’s institutional response to the Women’s Liberation Movement was initially peripheral. In 1970, the University of Wisconsin Extension developed a four-session course on the movement itself and how women might relate to it. The course was offered at Midvale Community Lutheran Church in Madison and simultaneously by phone in other locations around the state.\textsuperscript{377}

In the mid-1970s, when it was clear that movement was making significant progress in shifting American culture, the University of Wisconsin system’s response was more direct. University Regents made it a system-wide policy in 1974 that all University of Wisconsin institutions initiate a Women’s Studies program.\textsuperscript{378}

The University of Wisconsin established a Women’s Studies program in 1975.\textsuperscript{379} The former house at 209 North Brooks Street was home to the University of Wisconsin’s Women’s Studies Program from its founding until 1997.\textsuperscript{380} The house at 209 North Brooks Street was built in 1902 for James and Rosa Bitney, who owned it until 1947 when it was purchased by the Wisconsin University Building Corporation. It was rented as a residence for the University of Wisconsin faculty and students through the 1950s. In 1962, the corporation transferred the title to the University of Wisconsin. It was converted in the mid-1960s for use as program office space affiliated with the university.\textsuperscript{381}

The new Women’s Studies program was shaped in this house as the program’s faculty and Executive Committee debated the issues of sexual orientation, the development of courses in lesbian studies, the needs of women of color, and whether male faculty should be allowed to teach in the program.\textsuperscript{382} In 1981, the University of Wisconsin established a graduate program in women’s history.\textsuperscript{383} The house was the site of intense discussions of feminist issues that drew crowds in the 1980s.\textsuperscript{384} By 1988, the program was called “probably the best women’s studies program in the US” by the woman who pioneered the academic field.\textsuperscript{385} By 1996, the program had outgrown the house and was relocated the following year to Ingraham Hall at 1155 Observatory Drive.\textsuperscript{386}

The University of Wisconsin Women’s Studies Program is locally significant to Women in the area of Education from 1975 to the present day. During this time, two resources have been associated with it: its 1975 to 1997 home at 209 North Brooks Street and its 1997 to present-day home at Ingraham Hall at 1155 Observatory Drive. The primary resource associated with the Women’s Studies Program and its significance in Education is 209 North Brooks Street due to its founding and longevity at this location. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a

Women’s Studies House
209 N. Brooks Street

99
City of Madison Landmark. The building is also individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

### Historic Resources Associated with Education Included in the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Historic Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Eligibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>209 N. Brooks Street</td>
<td>Women’s Studies House</td>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Queen Anne</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Eligible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211 N. Carroll Street</td>
<td>Madison Vocational School / MadisonArea Technical College</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Collegiate Gothic</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>228 N. Charter Street</td>
<td>Anderson House</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Craftsman</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 Fisher Street</td>
<td>South Madison Day Care Center</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254 West Gilman Street</td>
<td>Omega School</td>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Neoclassical</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 W. Johnson Street</td>
<td>Educational Science Building</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Brutalist</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500 Lincoln Drive</td>
<td>Bascom Hall</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Neoclassical</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 N. Park Street</td>
<td>Helen C. White Hall</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Brutalist</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>909 Sequoia Trail</td>
<td>Lincoln Elementary School</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>816 State Street</td>
<td>State Historical Society of Wisconsin</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Neoclassical</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
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<tr>
<td>1515 Tripp Circle</td>
<td>Van Hise Refectory</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Italianate</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>970 University Avenue</td>
<td>Barnard Hall</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Neoclassical</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Eligible</td>
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<tr>
<td>1050 University Avenue</td>
<td>Lathrop Hall</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Neoclassical</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Listed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1126 Waban Hill</td>
<td>Charles E. and Bertha Brown House</td>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Prairie</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Social and Political Movements

African American
Fraternial Organizations

Capital City Masonic Lodge #2

The Capital City Masonic Lodge #2 of the Prince Hall Free and Accepted Masons, an exclusively African American lodge, was established along with a women’s auxiliary in Madison in 1906. The organization had a small membership at the time and likely congregated at the extant Douglass Beneficial Society Hall at 649-653 East Dayton Street or the non-extant old St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church on East Dayton Street. The Madison lodge officially chartered in 1925. The Capital City Masonic Lodge #2 eventually congregated at 100 North Blair Street by the 1960s. The Colonial Revival style building was designed by architect A. H. Beckman for the Free Methodist Church in 1940. The lodge continues to use the building to this day.

Capital City Masonic Lodge #2 is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1906 to the present. During this period, several resources have been associated with it: its likely 1906 to c.1960 meeting places, the non-extant Old St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church on East Dayton Street and the Douglass Beneficial Society Hall / John and Amanda Hill Grocery at 649-653 E. Dayton Street, and its c.1960 to present-day lodge at 100 North Blair Street. The primary resource associated with its significance in Social and Political Movements is 100 North Blair Street due to its longevity in this location. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.
Service and Social Groups

*Neighborhood House Community Center*

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

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

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

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

The community center raised funds to build a new home one block west of its previous location in 1965. The new International style building at 29 South Mills Street cost $200,000 to construct and is organized with a gymnasium in the center and offices and classrooms around the periphery of the one-story building. A new wave of immigration in the 1960s gave the Neighborhood House a new purpose, and it began to provide English courses and job training again. The Neighborhood House Community Center has continued with its mission to the present. The Neighborhood House Community Center has served a wide variety of groups since its
establishment including, but not limited to, African Americans, Italians, Jews, Latinos/as, and Hmong.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, with the earliest Hmong refugees arriving in Madison, the Neighborhood House Community Center helped find housing, employment, and child-care, as well as provide after-school programs for new Hmong residents and families. The center also provided opportunities for Hmong immigrants to practice and share cultural traditions, art, and food. Its location was particularly convenient for the relatively large number of Hmong residents at the nearby Bayview Foundation Apartments.

The Neighborhood House Community Center is locally significant to the African American and Hmong communities in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1965 to the present. During its history, four resources have been associated with Neighborhood House: the non-extant buildings at 807 Mound Street, 25 South Park Street, 768 West Washington Avenue, and the extant present location at 29 South Mills Street. The only extant resource associated with the center is 29 South Mills Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

**South Madison Neighborhood Center**

The South Madison Neighborhood Center was established on the south side of Madison in 1949 by Willie Lou Harris, Kenneth Newville, and George Gerrard with the assistance of the surrounding community and the local carpentry and plumbers’ unions. The first buildings for the neighborhood center were Air Force barracks that were moved from Truax Field on the east side of Madison down Park and Beld Streets to a lot at 2001 Taft Street in the Bram’s Addition neighborhood.\(^{392}\)

The social welfare organization provided school programs for young children, neighborhood activities, and social programs and meeting space for adults. The South Madison Neighborhood Center soon came under the control of the Madison Neighborhood Centers organization, which also included the Atwood Community Center and the Neighborhood House.\(^{393}\)

In 1973, the organization changed its name to the United Neighborhood Centers of Dane County (UNC) and expanded to include the East Madison Community Center, Wil-Mar Neighborhood Center, Broadway/Simpson/Waunona Neighborhood Center, Deerfield Community Center, Vera Court Neighborhood Center, and the Atwood Community Center. Richard Harris, son of the center’s founder Willie Lou Harris, became the administrator of the neighborhood center in 1980.\(^{394}\)
In 1983, the South Madison Neighborhood Center, under the leadership of Richard Harris, successfully filed a complaint with the Office of Civil Rights claiming racial discrimination by the Madison Metropolitan School District. Plans to close Hoyt, Longfellow, and Sherman elementary schools and Lincoln and Sherman middle schools undermined equal educational opportunities in South Madison.\(^{395}\)

The UNC dissolved in 1997. In 1999, the South Madison Neighborhood Center became a chartered affiliate of the Boys and Girls Clubs of America that served over 600 young people. The community center experienced a series of large additions and alterations throughout its history. In 2001, a major addition for educational purposes by the Boys and Girls Club expanded the facility by 8,000 square feet.\(^{396}\)

The South Madison Neighborhood Center at 2001 Taft Street is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1949 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Health Services

*B. Nichols*

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

After a few years, she moved to Madison to work at St. Mary’s Hospital. In 1970, Barbara Nichols was elected president of the Wisconsin Nursing Association, the first African American to hold the position. She earned a master’s degree from the University of Wisconsin, has been a visiting lecturer at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee School of Nursing, and has published numerous articles on health care delivery and diversity in her field.\(^{397}\) In 1979, Barbara Nichols was elected as the first African American president of the national American Nurses Association (ANA).

In 1983, Barbara Nichols was named the secretary of the Wisconsin Department of Regulation and Licensing and is believed to be the first Black woman to hold a State of Wisconsin Cabinet role. From the late 1990s to her retirement in 2011, Nichols served as the CEO of CGFS International (Commission on Graduates of Foreign Nursing Schools), an organization that evaluates the credentials of foreign nursing schools.\(^{398}\)

From 1970 to 1981, Barbara Nichols lived at 1210 South Street, which was recently slated for demolition.\(^{399}\) Barbara Nichols is significant to the African American community in the area of Social and Political Movements, specifically Health Services, from 1970 to 2011. The primary resource associated with the life of Barbara Nichols and her significance in the area of Social and
Political Movements in her house at [redacted]. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Twentieth-Century Political Movements

NAACP-Madison Chapter

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a large national organization established in 1909 to advance the cause of justice for African Americans, established a branch in Madison in 1920. However, it remained relatively inactive until 1943, when members revitalized the organization in a successful effort against segregation in the USO at the Truax Air Force Base on the east side of Madison. The first official charter was granted for the organization in Madison the same year in 1943. The NAACP remained active in Madison through the Civil Rights era of the 1950s and 1960s and continued to 2014. Velma and Harry Hamilton were prominent leaders of the organization from the late 1940s to the early 1960s, and Marshall Colston served as the organization’s chairman from 1956 to the late 1960s. From 1975 to 1979, Eugene Parks served as the chapter president. In 2014, the Dane County NAACP Branch was organized, replacing the Madison branch, which was dissolved the same year.  

The NAACP-Madison Chapter is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1920 to 2014. However, there is no one resource associated with the organization’s role in the history of the African American community in Madison. The NAACP has had many locations throughout Madison since the 1940s, often meetings were held in churches or the homes of members. In particular, the Hamilton’s home at 918 Pontiac Drive and the Colston’s home at 413 Wingra Drive were notable meeting locations. Other locations where the NAACP held meetings and conducted business were the downtown YWCA building at 101 E. Mifflin Street in the 1950s, the South Madison Neighborhood Center at 2001 Taft Street and the South Madison Day Care Center at 2012 Fisher Street during the 1960s and Mr. P’s Place at 1616 Beld Street during the 1970s and 1980s. The organization rented dedicated office space at 151 E. Gorham Street in 1989, where they remained until 1998 when the organization moved to an office in the Tenney Building at 110 E. Main Street.  

First Nations

Service and Social Groups

Wunk Sheek

Wunk Sheek is a student organization that serves and represents students of indigenous identity at the University of Wisconsin. Established in 1968, the organization has held seasonal Powwows that have been popular draws for the local Native American community and demonstrate the groups’ mission of outreach, education, and inclusion. The annual spring Powwow has been held at the University of Wisconsin Field House since 1993.
Wunk Sheek’s mission as a student organization is to serve students of indigenous identity and members of the wider community interested in Native American issues, culture, and history. It has been used as a safe social space, a way to represent indigenous communities to the wider university community, and as a source for knowledge and experience of the Native American community. The group, since it is composed of students from a wide variety of backgrounds, is not strictly aligned with any one tribe or indigenous group.  

Wunk Sheek is locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1968 to the present. The organization was first located in room 208 of a non-extant building at 710 University Avenue during the early 1970s. This building was demolished in 2011, and Wunk Sheek moved. Wunk Sheek, along with the American Indian Student Cultural Center, is located at 215-217 North Brooks Street. The building was originally constructed as a duplex in 1931 and was acquired by the University of Wisconsin in 1966.

Hmong

Service and Social Groups

Bayview Foundation

Bayview Foundation was established in 1966 by a group of fifteen Madison residents to develop affordable housing on the Triangle in the Greenbush neighborhood. The Bayview Foundation Apartments, with a total of 102 units of Section 8 Project-Based housing in five buildings, were completed in 1971 at 601 Bay View on land where a significant portion of the Greenbush neighborhood was demolished under the federal Urban Renewal program. Bayview attracted some of the first Hmong refugee families to settle in Madison in the mid-1970s. The complex offered low-cost housing that was affordable for new residents. The Bayview Foundation, the non-profit organization that built, owned, and operated the complex, sponsored programs and events that supported the concentration of recently arrived residents who lived there. The proximity of the Neighborhood House Community Center and its resettlement service just a few blocks away contributed to the attractiveness of Bayview for Hmong refugees arriving in Madison. In the early 1970s, the administrative offices and a small number of social and educational programs and services were housed in one of the apartment units.
In the early 1970s, Bayview gained a reputation for having a high rate of crime, low standards for maintenance, and poor overall management. In 1978, the Bayview Foundation hired a new manager who made dramatic changes, built a new sense of community, and turned Bayview’s reputation around in just a few years. By the mid-1980s, the diversity of cultures represented at Bayview included Hmong, Nigerian, Colombian, African American, Mexican, Cambodian, and First Nations residents.

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

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

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

The Bayview Foundation Apartments and Community Center are locally significant to the Hmong community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1975 to the present. The complex at 601 Bay View, comprised of five apartment buildings and a community center, is eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.
Latino/a

Service and Social Groups

Centro Guadalupano / St. Martin House

The Blessed Martin House was a local Catholic organization founded in 1942 to promote interracial unity between Blacks and Whites and was originally located at a non-extant building at 746 West Washington Avenue. Renamed St. Martin House after the canonization of its namesake Martin de Porres in 1963, the organization offered an array of activities including sewing classes, summer children’s programs, a Golden Gloves boxing club, and by the 1980s, food assistance and help with finding employment. For a brief time, the St. Martin House also served as an orphanage. In 1952, the St. Martin House moved to a new, non-extant facility on Beld Street constructed entirely by volunteers, including local seminarians.416

The arrival of more Spanish-speaking immigrants to Madison and Dane County during the 1970s encouraged the Catholic Diocese of Madison to address their needs, and the Spanish-speaking ministry Centro Guadalupano was formed by the newly created Diocese Office of Hispanic Ministry, as no local parishes had bi-lingual clergy or staff. Centro Guadalupano was established in 1977, with the leadership of Dolores Ann Silha, to aid the Latino/a population alongside the St. Martin House at their facility. Centro Guadalupano provided bilingual spiritual services including Spanish mass, children’s catechism classes, and sacramental preparation as well as English classes, a clothing program, and a food pantry. 417 However, its spaces and the small chapel within the St. Martin House proved inadequate as the local Spanish-speaking population increased rapidly through the 1980s and 1990s.418

In 2002, the Centro Guadalupano and St. Martin House officially combined to become the Catholic Multicultural Center. That same year, the St. Martin House was demolished, and a new Contemporary style building was constructed in its place at 1862 Beld Street. The Catholic Multicultural Center continues to provide legal and spiritual services, technology classes, English and Spanish classes, meals and food pantry, clothing exchanges, and job placement services to this day.419 The only extant resource associated with the organization is its 2002 to the present-day location of the Catholic Multicultural Center at 1862 Beld Street. This resource should be re-evaluated for local landmarking in the future.
Twentieth Century Political Movements

MEChA

The Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) was established in 1969 during a series of conferences of the National Chicano Liberation Youth Conference on university campuses across the country. As a national student organization focused on social and economic justice issues facing the Chicano community and later the entire Latino/a community, it grew during the 1970s. MEChA was established at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1970 in a direct correlation with the development of the national student organization and the civil rights movement. MEChA grew during the 1970s and 1980s, often as a political organization, and encouraged the implementation of Chicano and Latino/a studies in higher education. By the 1990s, MEChA chapters were established on most university campuses across the United States. MEChA is intended to promote higher education and Latino/a culture and history. The organization claims to be grounded in a philosophy, not a nationality, and encourages political and educational involvement. In 2011, the annual MEChA National Conference was held in Madison and sponsored by the University of Wisconsin MEChA organization. To this day, the University of Wisconsin chapter continues to hold a variety of different activities including El Mes Xicano, a month-long educational program held annually in October.

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA) is locally significant to the Latino/a community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Twentieth Century Political Movements, from 1970 to the present. The organization was first located in a non-extant building at 710 University Avenue in room 202 from the 1970s. In 2011, the building was demolished, and MEChA was forced to move. The MEChA office on the University of Wisconsin campus is currently located in a Front Gabled style house at 206 Bernard Court. The building was originally constructed as a home in 1911. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

United Migrant Opportunity Services (UMOS)

United Migrant Opportunity Services (UMOS) was organized in Waukesha, Wisconsin in 1965 to arrange educational programs and daycare services to families of predominately Mexican migrant workers in rural Wisconsin. In 1966, UMOS assisted in organizing a migrant worker march from Wautoma to Madison to demand access to washrooms, better housing, a minimum wage, and compensation laws. The organization moved to Milwaukee in 1968.
In 1976, UMOS opened a branch office in Madison at 7 N. Pinckney Street, which continues to operate to this day. Involved with UMOS since he was a college student in the late 1970s, Juan Jose Lopez served as the chairman of the Board of Directors for UMOS from 1983 to 2012. UMOS remains one of the oldest active migrant farmworker advocacy organizations in the United States to this day and continues to provide programs in child development, workforce development, and social services with its corporate offices in Milwaukee, 20 locations throughout Wisconsin, and branches in Florida, Minnesota, Missouri, and Texas.

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

**LGBTQ**

**Health Services**

*Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy*

Adding to the breadth of professional counseling services sensitive to the unique challenges of the LGBTQ community, Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy opened in 1981 at 406 N. Pinckney Street. Harmonia offered professional “sexual identity counseling and sex therapy” in addition to counseling for “women’s issues, spirituality, eating disorders, relationship counseling, alcohol, and drug abuse.” In the mid-1980s and into the 1990s, Harmonia offered group therapy for drug and alcohol abuse prevention, specifically for gay and lesbian people. Harmonia currently occupies the entire building at 406 N. Pinckney Street. The Queen Anne style house was built in 1857 for Orasmus Cole. The Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy, at 406 N. Pinckney Street, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Health Services,
from 1981 to the present. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The building is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District.

**Lesbian Switchboard**

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

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

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

The Lesbian Switchboard is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Social and Political Movements, specifically Health Services, from 1974 to 1979. For its association with the Lesbian Switchboard, the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street is potentially
eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

*Moontree Psychotherapy Center*

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

The first male counselor, Will Handy, joined the collective in 1978. Moontree moved to 401 Wisconsin Avenue in 1983 while Will Handy was still active with the organization. Handy advocated for teaching students about HIV and AIDS in Madison public schools during the depth of the developing health crisis in the mid-1980s. Moontree was awarded a grant from the New Harvest foundation for training AIDS support volunteers. Moontree advertised extensively in LGBTQ publications in the 1980s and 90s.

Moontree currently occupies the entire building at 401 Wisconsin Avenue. The Craftsman style building was built in 1907 for A'delbert L. Averill.

The Moontree Psychotherapy Center is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Health Services, from 1975 to the present. During this period, there were a couple of resources associated with Moontree Psychotherapy Center: 2201-2203 Regent Street from 1975 to 1983 and 401 Wisconsin Avenue from 1983 to the present. The primary resource associated with Moontree and its significance in Social and Political Movements is 401 Wisconsin Avenue due to its longevity at this location. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Mansion Hill Historic District. Consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The building is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District.
Twentieth Century Political Movements

Madison Gay Center

Within a few months of the Stonewall uprising in New York City in late June of 1969 that sparked a nationwide wave of organization and activism known as the Gay Liberation Movement, organization of Madison’s LGBTQ community shifted from informal gatherings in private homes to formalized organizations and public advocacy for equal rights. Besides the palpable need for legal reforms, there was a pent-up need in the early 1970s for organization, information sharing, community building, and socializing without the risks of harassment. A flurry of groups came together in the early 1970s to meet those needs. Organizers of these early groups used existing spaces, often in upper floors or basements, that were either offered freely or affordably on a nonprofit budget funded largely by “pass-the-hat” fundraisers and small donations. Unfortunately, this meant that these groups were often short-lived and moved frequently. In Madison, it appears that the work of these groups had a cumulative effect, culminating in the formation of OutReach, Inc.

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

The Tudor Revival style St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center was designed by the Milwaukee architecture firm of Eschweiler and Eschweiler for the University Congregation of the Episcopal Church. It was built in 1925 at the corner of University Avenue and N. Brooks Street with an address of 1001 University Avenue. In 1964, a Contemporary style addition was built that extended from the western side of the original building. The addition featured a modern protestant Christian sanctuary. In 2012, the 1964 addition was demolished, and the 1925 building was moved immediately to the west of its original location and restored. A new 8-story residential building was built in its original location and was assigned the St. Francis House’s former address 1001 University Avenue. Correspondingly, the relocated St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center was assigned the new address 1011 University Avenue. Many, but not all, of the meetings and events held by LGBTQ organizations, were held in the basement of the building. Both the 1925 building and the 1964 addition had lower levels, and it is unclear which section hosted the meeting and office spaces for the LGBTQ organizations.

In the fall of 1970, MAHE changed its name to the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), in solidarity with GLF groups in other cities. Their stated mission was to “promote interaction and solidarity within the gay community and to raise the consciousness of the straight world to the problems of sexist oppression.” Madison Gay Sisters was a similar group organized around 1970 to
address issues of inequality faced by lesbians. Madison Gay Sisters also held meetings at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center.

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

Crossroads of Madison was incorporated in 1972. Crossroads established the Gay Center that same year in a second-floor space at 301½ N. Hamilton St. The Gay Center was run by subsequent organizations and was relocated several times as it evolved over the following decades.

In 1973, the Gay Center was relocated to a second-floor space at 550 State Street. During the following year, the Gay Center was relocated once again to St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue). The Gay Center found some stability at this location, where Madison’s Gay Liberation Movement formally began and remained here for the next nine years.

Crossroads of Madison Inc. merged with Renaissance of Madison which was incorporated in 1974. Almost immediately, Renaissance began publishing a newsletter with high journalistic standards that discussed LGBTQ issues. Publishing allowed LGBTQ groups to share news and information throughout the community during the early years of the movement when it was particularly important to gain and retain control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues. For more information on these publications, see the Commerce Chapter. The group continued to run the Gay Center.

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

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

In 1998, the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center officially merged with The United to form OutReach, Inc. and continued operating from 14 W. Mifflin Street as the OutReach LGBT Community Center. OutReach was located in the Gateway Mall at 600 Williamson Street from 1999 until 2016. In 2013, OutReach got involved with several other local groups in planning the annual PRIDE parade which has been called the OutReach PRIDE Parade since 2014. OutReach moved in June 2016 to its current location at 2701 International Lane and continues to serve the LGBTQ community. Through a long lineage of groups dating back to 1969, OutReach has become the leading organization supporting and connecting people in the LGBTQ community.

The Madison Gay Center is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Twentieth Century Political Movements, from 1972 to 1997. During this period, there were several resources associated with the organization: 301 N. Hamilton Street from 1972 to 1973, 548-550 State Street from 1973 to 1974, St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1011 University Avenue from 1974 to 1983, the former University Methodist Episcopal Church at 1127 University Avenue from 1983 to 1989, 310 E. Wilson Street from 1989 to 1993, and the building at 12-18 W. Mifflin Street from 1993 to 1998. The primary resource associated with the Madison Gay Center and its significance in Social and Political Movements is the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1011 University Avenue. This is the location where Madison’s Gay Liberation Movement formally began and where the center found stability in a permanent home for nine years from 1974 to 1983. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

The United

The Gay Liberation Movement continued in Madison in the late 1970s. In 1978, a nationwide campaign against municipal gay civil rights laws reached into Madison in an attempt to repeal the city’s 1975 Non-Discrimination Ordinance, which offered protections for LGBTQ people. The campaign, led nationally by singer Anita Bryant and locally by an evangelical minister, failed, but two consequential groups formed in response to the effort: Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) and The United.
The Madison Gay Men and Lesbians United sometimes called the Madison Community United, but more commonly referred to simply as The United, was a political action organization formed in 1977 or 1978. To organize opposition to the nationwide campaign, The United brought together a coalition of existing LGBTQ groups, individuals, and allies who came together at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) in May 1978.

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

The United also began publishing efforts, which covered local and then statewide LGBTQ issues. Publishing allowed LGBTQ groups to gain and retain control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues and helped organize efforts at advocacy, legislative action, and public education. The United returned to publishing again in 1991 with Unity, which ran until 1997. For more information on these publications, please see the Commerce chapter.

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

In 1998, The United and the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center officially merged to form OutReach, Inc., and OutReach LGBT Community Center. OutReach was located in the Gateway Mall at 600 Williamson Street from 1999 until 2016. In 2013, OutReach got involved with several other local groups in planning the annual PRIDE parade which has been called the OutReach PRIDE Parade since 2014. OutReach moved in June 2016 to its current location at 2701 International Lane and continues to serve the LGBTQ community. Through a long lineage of groups dating back to 1969, OutReach has become the leading organization supporting and connecting people in the LGBTQ community.

The United is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Social and Political Movements, particularly Twentieth Century Political Movements, from 1978 to 1997. During this time, there were several resources associated with the organization: St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) in 1978, University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street from 1978 to 1984, the former University Methodist Episcopal Church from 1984 to 1989, 310 E. Wilson Street from 1989 to 1993, and 14 W. Mifflin Street from 1993 to 1998. The primary resource associated with The United and its
significance in Social and Political Movements is the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street. This is the location where The United found stability in a permanent home for six years from 1978 to 1984. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is also individually eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Women

Women’s Organizations

East Side Women’s Progressive Club

The East Side Women’s Progressive Club shared the building at 2425 Atwood Avenue as a clubhouse with the East Side Businessmen’s Association from 1925 until 1954. The building was originally built in 1917 as the Hudson Hotel, with the address of 720 Atwood Avenue. A small addition was built in 1981, and a larger addition was built sometime later to house an elevator. The Hudson Hotel was advertised for sale in 1920. The building appears to have had long-term residents and even a dance studio in the interim. The East Side Businessmen’s Association was formed in 1923 and purchased the building that same year for use as their clubhouse. The east side and particularly the Atwood Avenue area was experiencing a renaissance.

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

In 1954, the East Side Women’s Progressive Club moved to the newly constructed East Side Businessmen’s Association clubhouse at 3735 Monona Drive. By the 1970s, the club’s public activities consisted mostly of hosting fund-raising events for local charities. The Club continued to meet through the 1980s.
The East Side Women’s Progressive Club is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1925 through the 1980s. During this period, there were two resources associated with the organization: 2425 Atwood Avenue from 1925 to 1954 and 3735 Monona Drive from 1954 through the 1980s. The primary resource associated with the East Side Women’s Progressive Club and its significance in Social and Political Movements is 2425 Atwood Avenue. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Tempo of Madison, Inc.

By the 1980s, the increasing number of women in high-level community and professional leadership roles had no organization where they could go to support and network with each other as women were still excluded from the premier social and service organizations. In 1981, a group of women in prominent roles, including Jean Manchester-Biddik, Boo Mortenson (nee Henderson), Sue Riordan, and Barb Miller, founded a networking and social organization for women in leadership known as Tempo Madison. The group incorporated as Tempo of Madison, Inc. in 1986. In its early years, the group met in the homes of members and at the Fess Hotel at 123 East Doty Street. Later in the 1980s, they found a regular meeting venue at the Madison Club at 5 East Wilson Street. By 2006, Tempo of Madison had grown to over 300 members. Tempo continues to bring professional women together to connect and learn and holds meetings at the Madison Club to present day.

Tempo of Madison, Inc. is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1981 to the present day. During this period, there were several resources associated with the organization: homes of members, 123 East Doty Street and 5 East Wilson Street. The primary resource associated with Tempo of Madison and its significance in Social and Political Movements in the Madison Club at 5 East Wilson Street, due to its longevity meeting in this location. The Madison Club at 5 East Wilson Street, constructed in 1916, is already designated a City of Madison Landmark for significance in architecture and history of men’s social clubs, consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities.

Woman’s Club of Madison / Woman’s Building

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

By 1900, club women had grown eager to move beyond philanthropy and self-enrichment and use their collective influence to address the civic problems of their growing city. Members’ social and political connections and the organizational skills they had cultivated while directing club activities enabled them to address civic causes with stunning success. In 1905, the club hired Chicago architect Jeremiah K. Cady to design the clubhouse for their activities. It was completed in 1906. Over the next twenty years, the Women’s Club led campaigns to improve public education, housing, and health conditions in the city and are credited with many of the civic improvements of Progressive-Era Madison. The building served as the headquarters for the club’s programs and public presentations until they sold it in 1973. The building was clad with brick when it was completed. The existing exterior insulation and finish system (EIFS) was applied in 1986 and covers the original exterior. The club disbanded in 2017.

The Woman’s Club of Madison is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1893 to 2017. The Woman’s Building at 240 West Gilman Street, which was their home from 1906 to 1973, is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its significance for Women in Madison.

Twentieth Century Political Movements

National Organization for Women (NOW)

Betty Friedan’s 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* identified a phenomenon of coercive domesticity that was fostering fatigue and constricting growth for American women. This oppressive trend, she argued, included the view that bearing children was the highest achievement of a woman. Friedan’s book is often credited with releasing the underground fire and igniting the second wave of feminism known as the Women’s Liberation Movement in America. Women in Madison were exposed to Friedan’s book through book group discussions. Freidan herself presented her thoughts at Memorial Union in July 1964. Friedan went on to co-found the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966 with 49 co-founders during two conferences held in Washington, D.C. that year: with 28 women and men, including Madison educator and activist Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, at the June 1966 Third National Conference of Commissions on the Status of Women and another 21 women and men at the October 1966 NOW Organizing Conference. Dr. Clarenbach was installed as its first chairperson. The term ’women’s liberation’ had been used in other cities as shorthand for the movement and
eventually became the label of the entire American movement. NOW struck a nerve with American women and quickly became the leading women’s rights organization in the country. Less than a year after the organization was founded, membership had reached about 900. Wisconsin, along with California and New York, was one of the organization’s early centers of gravity in 1967 when the Madison chapter was officially formed.467

In its early years, the local NOW chapter held regular meetings at the Wisconsin Center (now Pyle Center) at 702 Langdon Street and the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street. The YMCA was a catalyst and host, along with NOW, of a series of discussions on women’s liberation in early 1969. 468 They also coordinated a women’s liberation conference in December of that year.469

The Women’s Liberation Movement was never monolithic. Even in 1968, the movement nationally was splintering. NOW was the first new national feminist organization in nearly fifty years. They opened the floodgates of a powerful second wave of American feminism by advancing earnest consideration of the issues preventing women’s self-determination. NOW had persuaded a critical mass of Americans that women did not have rights or opportunities equal to men. Women, however, were hardly united in their methods for achieving reforms. A younger cohort of feminists took shape in the late-1960s who regarded the leaders of the movement as too conservative.470 They took a more revolutionary approach to the movement and adopted radical feminism that called for a new social order in which women would be liberated from unjust, sexist norms.471 They were also eager to join forces with lesbian feminists in the Gay Liberation movement, a partnership that NOW did not embrace.472 By 1970, the movement was being described as having two branches: one older and more conservative and the other young, college-educated, and protesting.473 The reluctance of the conservative branch of the movement (led by NOW) to embrace lesbian feminists manifested in Madison as well.474 It was a clear point of division between the YMCA and the United Way of Dane County over funding in 1972.475 In an emblematic move, the women’s center established under the banner of the Women’s Liberation Movement by NOW at the University YMCA’s North Brooks Street building.476 was reorganized and relocated by lesbian feminist leaders in 1972.

Although commonalities were obvious, the two branches of the women’s movement had an uneasy alliance through the 1970s. The local chapter of NOW focused its efforts on political and legal reforms and changing societal attitudes, while other women’s organizations took a more direct approach, attempting to address more immediate, practical needs. The state Commission on the Status of Women was remarkably adaptable during the 1970s, adding more practical issues like daycare and maternity, diversity within the movement, and abortion to their traditional public policy agenda. NOW organized demonstrations, panel discussions, lectures, conferences, and lobbying efforts. They showed consciousness-raising films,477 publicly called out sexism in the legislature, courts, and the media,478 and lobbied for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution.479 NOW did not have a permanent home. The group continued to meet at various locations including the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue), the downtown YWCA at 101 East Mifflin Street, a medical office building at 1020 Regent Street, Calvary Lutheran Chapel at 701 State Street, Lysistrata Restaurant at 325 W. Gorham Street (non-extant), and the Central Public Library at 201 W. Mifflin Street. By the late 1970s, the
women’s movement and the issues it engaged had become multifaceted and complicated. In the assessment of one of its founders, NOW had become bureaucratic, with groups of women splitting off to address an increasing number of special interest issues.  

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

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

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

The Madison Chapter of the National Organization for Women is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1967 to the present. However, there is no primary resource associated National Organization for Women in Madison due to their constant relocations and inability to stay in any one place for more than one or two years.

**Wisconsin Women’s Network**

In 1979, a new model emerged for addressing an increasingly complex agenda. That year, Governor Lee Dreyfus disbanded the state’s 30-member Commission on the Status of Women and replaced it with a single staff person, accusing the Commission of not representing the breadth of women’s ideas in the state. In response, Wisconsin leaders in the feminist movement, including Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach of Madison, established a framework for a new statewide network of women’s organizations. The Wisconsin Women’s Network (WWN) set up a small office at 625 W. Washington Avenue in Madison. The WWN took an innovative approach to advocate for women’s issues. Rather than coordinating a new group and a new strategy for each new issue, the WWN acted as a state-wide coalition of women’s organizations.
that could prioritize issues, bring together a group of member organizations willing to act on the issue, and, from that group, build a task force to confront the unique aspects of the issue. Special-interest women’s groups proliferated in Madison and around the state in the 1970s. Older organizations promoting equality and rights for women like Planned Parenthood (founded in 1916) and the League of Women Voters (1920) enjoyed new relevance. New organizations like the National Abortion Rights Action League (1969), the Wisconsin Women’s Political Caucus (1971), and the Rape Crisis Center (1973) emerged to focus on specific issues. By 1981, WWN had 58 member organizations and task-forces on issues such as domestic abuse and Wisconsin’s marital property laws. The WWN set up a task force to study women in the criminal justice system and advocate for recognition of the unique needs of female offenders. The network also had task forces on health and social services, media, reproductive rights, and childcare.

The Wisconsin Women’s Network was instrumental in passing the Marital Property Reform Act which was enacted in 1984 and equally recognized contributions made by both husband and wife throughout a marriage. Within the first decade of WWN’s existence, the percentage of women appointed to office increased by 29%. The organization held events at Memorial Union at 800 Langdon Street and the Madison Senior Center at 330 W. Mifflin Street. By 1990, the WWN had moved to a fourth-floor office at 122 State Street where the organization was located until 2007. They are currently located at 22 E. Olin Avenue.

The University of Wisconsin Memorial Union is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1970 to the present for its association with the Wisconsin Women’s Network. The Memorial Union at 800 Langdon Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Bascom Hill Historic District.

Women’s Center

A women’s center was originally established in 1970 at the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street in association with the National Organization for Women and under the banner of the Women’s Liberation Movement. The center lost funding when the United Way of Dane County declined to provide money to an organization that was perceived as “politically leftist.” In 1972, lesbian feminist leaders raised money for the center by holding special events at venues coordinated by gay liberation groups at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) and the Crossroads Gay Center at 301½ N. Hamilton Street.
The group opened the new Women’s Center in the small commercial storefront at 836 E. Johnson Street in the fall of 1972 and immediately began hosting meetings of lesbian groups as well as groups concerned with general women’s issues. From this location, activists established a strategy for feminist activism in the 1970s and 1980s that included information-sharing, political action, community-building, artistic expression, self-help, and self-publishing. They established a lending library, a lesbian caucus to “work out lesbian/feminist politics,” a regular Thursday night coffee house, a feminist therapy group, and provided space for a women’s poetry group. The Women’s Center published Whole Woman from this location in 1973 and 1974.

From this location, in 1973, the Women’s Center organized the Women’s Transit Authority, a network of drivers established, at a time of increased reports of rape, to provide safe transportation for women in the campus and downtown area. The WTA operated at this location until 2006. In 1973, the Women’s Center organized the Madison Gay Center. The Women’s Center appears to have dissolved in 1974 and been replaced by the Lesbian Switchboard which opened in 1974 in the University YMCA building at 306 North Brooks Street after the Gay Center. The Women’s Center is locally significant to Women in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1972 to 1990. The building at 836 E. Johnson Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Women’s Transit Authority

The Women’s Transit Authority (WTA) was established in 1973 as a free nighttime rape prevention service for women in Madison. Founded and operated primarily by female students at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, the WTA shared privately owned cars to give rides to women who felt unsafe in public at no charge. The organization was soon providing a service for over 1,000 women per month. The WTA operated two cars a night on a fixed-route shuttle service primarily around the university campus. The drivers were volunteers while the cost of the vehicles and operations were paid by the university. The success of the program gained national attention and similar initiatives were established at other universities around the country during the 1970s. However, the WTA did not receive funding from the City of Madison until 1978, when the organization hired part-time staff and rented space for an office in a small strip mall at 1274 South Park
Street. The organization also expanded to cover the entire city at this point. The WTA was also a feminist organization and had bylaws that explicitly stated this affiliation.\textsuperscript{500}

By the mid-1980s the WTA was providing over 80 rides per night. In 1992, the University of Wisconsin, Madison cut off their share of funding for the WTA because of its stated discriminatory practices of only hiring women and only providing a service for women, often in direct competition with other ride-share services and taxi companies. After a series of cuts and fund-raising efforts, the WTA was able to continue operating. Indeed, the organization’s mission expanded as it began providing daytime rides as community assistance for various appointments, food pantries, and shelters to the elderly, non-English speaking immigrants, and underrepresented groups.\textsuperscript{501}

A series of suits were filed against the organization from the late 1990s through 2003 charging that the WTA openly discriminated against men in its hiring practices and services, even though the organization was publicly funded. The courts ruled in favor of the WTA since their organizational behavior was not commercial in nature and it could practice free speech. Following the expensive legal battles, the WTA was unable to pay back taxes during the following year and eventually had to close in 2006. At the time, the non-profit Women’s Transit Authority was the largest free ride service in Madison, employing twelve people and providing 20,000 rides a year. In 2007, the YWCA, through its YW Transit branch, attempted to replace the void left by the closure of the WTA. Receiving funding from the City of Madison, Dane County, and the YWCA, the YW Transit ride service catered to the underprivileged, disabled, and children as well as women.\textsuperscript{502} The only extant resource associated with the organization is the 1978 to 2006 location at 1274 South Park Street. This resource should be re-evaluated for local landmarking in the future.

### Historic Resources Associated with Social and Political Movements Included in the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Historic Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Eligibility</th>
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<td>2425 Atwood Avenue</td>
<td>East Side Women’s Progressive Club</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Commercial Vernacular</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<td>601 Bay View</td>
<td>Bayview Foundation Apartments - 100</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
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<td>Bayview Foundation Apartments - 300</td>
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<td>Bayview Foundation Apartments - 400</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
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<td>206 Bernard Court</td>
<td>Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MEChA)</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Front-Gabled</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<td>100 N. Blair Street</td>
<td>Capital City Masonic Lodge #2</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Colonial Revival</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Wunk Sheek</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Queen Anne</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<td>306 N. Brooks Street</td>
<td>University YMCA</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>240 W. Gilman Street</td>
<td>Woman’s Building</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Beaux Arts</td>
<td>CoM Landmark</td>
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<td>836 E. Johnson Street</td>
<td>Women’s Center</td>
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<td>Commercial Utilitarian</td>
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<td>7-11 N. Pinckney Street</td>
<td>Neighborhood House Community Center</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<td>406 N. Pinckney Street</td>
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<td>2001 Taft Street</td>
<td>South Madison Neighborhood Center</td>
<td>1949</td>
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<td>5 E. Wilson Street</td>
<td>Madison Club</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Georgian Revival</td>
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<td>Moontree Psychotherapy Center</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Craftsman</td>
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Religion

African American

Baptist

Mount Zion Baptist Church

Mount Zion Baptist Church was established in 1911 as a Baptist mission and was located on the second floor of a non-extant building at 118 East Washington Avenue. The church was eventually formed and recognized by the National Baptist Convention and purchased a property for a new church building in 1925. The non-extant church, located at 548 West Johnson Street, was led by Reverend Joseph Washington, who worked closely with Willie Lou Harris and others to establish Mother’s Watch, the Madison NAACP chapter, and the South Madison Neighborhood Center. In 1955, Reverend Joe Dawson took on the leadership of the church, which was becoming increasingly involved in the civil rights movement. Mount Zion had become one of the leading social and religious organizations for the African American community in Madison.\(^{503}\)

In 1960, the University of Wisconsin purchased the church and demolished it. That same year, Mount Zion moved to Bram’s Addition neighborhood, near where many of the church’s parishioners lived. A new contemporary style building was constructed for the church at 2019 Fisher Street. An adjacent minimal traditional style parsonage house was also constructed that year at 2025-2029 Fisher Street.\(^{504}\)

In 1982, the church established a food pantry and constructed a small ranch style building at 2025 Fisher Street, adjacent to the parsonage and church, to serve as a community center. In
2004, the church constructed a new addition for a 500-seat sanctuary to accommodate a rapidly growing membership.\textsuperscript{505}

Mount Zion Baptist Church is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Religion from 1911 to the present. During this time, there were several resources associated with the church: the non-extant building at 118 East Washington Avenue where the congregation met from 1911-1925, its non-extant 1925-1960 church at 548 West Johnson Street, its 1960-present day church at 2019 Fisher Street and the 1960-present parsonage and the 1982-present community center at 2025-2029 Fisher Street. This church is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Methodist

\textit{St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church}

By the fall of 1901, the Douglass Literary Society founder John Turner was hosting Sunday school classes in his non-extant home at 118 North Blount Street. In 1902, the first Black church in Madison, St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church (also known as the Free African Methodist Church) was established by John Turner, William Miller, and Richard Allen. That same year, the non-extant old Norwegian Lutheran Church building was moved from the intersection of Hamilton, Butler, and Johnson Streets to 625-631 East Dayton Street to serve the new congregation. The first minister of the congregation was Reverend Charles H. Thomas, who came from Chicago to tend to the African American congregation. Unable to find housing in Madison, the congregation moved a house owned by John Turner down the block at 653 East Dayton Street for Thomas and his family to live in. The church became a social framework for many of Madison’s African American citizens throughout the twentieth century. The church on East Dayton Street was demolished in 1964.\textsuperscript{506}

In 1965, St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church moved to the former Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church, which had become the Central Lutheran Church in 1927 at 402 East Mifflin Street. This Neogothic Revival style church was constructed in 1922 and was briefly occupied by the Wisconsin Rescue Mission in 1964.\textsuperscript{507} In 1997, the church moved again to the former Central Lutheran Church building at 4525 Diamond Drive on the east side of Madison, and the East Mifflin Street church was converted into condominiums. The Diamond Drive church was originally constructed in 1964.\textsuperscript{508}

The St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Religion from 1902 to the present day. During this period, there were several resources known to be associated with the congregation: its non-extant 1902-1964 church
at 625-631 East Dayton Street, its 1965-1997 church at 402 E. Mifflin Street, and its 1997-present day church at 4525 Diamond Drive. The primary resource associated with the church and its significance is the St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church at 402 E. Mifflin Street. The building is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark; however, consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. The building is eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Latino/a Catholic

Holy Redeemer Catholic Church and School

Holy Redeemer Catholic Church, located at 128-132 West Johnson Street, was constructed from 1864-1869. The German Catholic congregation replaced a non-extant earlier brick structure, which was completed in 1857, on the same site. The new sandstone church designed by architect John Nader underwent considerable additions, including a steeple, bells, decorations, a rectory, and stained glass in 1885. The congregation constructed a school building, Holy Redeemer Catholic School, next to the church at 142 West Johnson Street in 1892. The school, designed by architects Conover and Porter, is the oldest extant school building in Madison. The church and school were built by and for German-speaking immigrants. Sermons and schools were conducted in the German language. However, by 1905, when the German immigrant community had existed in Madison for three generations, the first services in English were conducted at Holy Redeemer. The school closed in 1965 due to declining enrollment despite the rapidly growing population of Madison at the time.509

In the 1980s, the church became the favored spiritual home of many Spanish-speaking immigrants to Madison. The Centro Guadalupano on the south side of Madison already had the mission of providing for Spanish-speaking Catholics in the city; however, the chapel at Centro Guadalupano was too small for the congregation, and the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe was celebrated at Holy Redeemer for the first time in 1989.510

In 1992, weekly mass in Spanish was introduced at Holy Redeemer, and Spanish-speaking Catholics from many different backgrounds became members of the parish. The school re-opened during the 1990s for Latino/a children and educational programs for adults. In 2008, three historic Catholic parishes were merged, and Holy Redeemer became the principal home of the combined parish, which has a long history of serving Madison’s immigrant groups. Presently, the church holds an equal
The number of services in English and Spanish and is the largest Catholic Parish in Madison with many of its parishioners of a Latino/a background.\textsuperscript{511}

The Holy Redeemer Catholic Church and School, located at 128-132 and 142 West Johnson Street, are locally significant to the Latino/a community in the areas of Religion and Education from c.1980 to the present. Together, these two resources are potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Both buildings are already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Mansion Hill Historic District. Both buildings are also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as contributing resources in the Mansion Hill Historic District.

\textit{St. Joseph Catholic Church}

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

In 1961, the congregation constructed a new contemporary style church on the south side of Madison. The church is located at 1905 West Beltline Highway, has since welcomed Spanish-speaking parishioners, and holds daily services in Spanish. The church has become one of the largest attended by the Latino/a community in Madison. In 2012, the parishes of St. Joseph Catholic Church and St. James Catholic Church at 1128 St. James Court in the Greenbush neighborhood merged to become the Good Shepherd Parish, which continues to operate from both locations to this day.

St. Joseph Catholic Church at 1905 W. Beltline Highway is locally significant to the Latino/a community in the area of Religion from c.1980 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

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\hline
Address & Historic Name & Date & Style & Eligibility \\
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2019 Fisher Street & Mount Zion Baptist Church & 1960 & Contemporary & CoM Eligible Landmark \\
2025-2029 Fisher Street & Mount Zion Baptist Church Parsonage and Community Center & 1960 & Ranch & CoM Eligible Landmark \\
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<th>Style</th>
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<td>Romanesque Revival</td>
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<td>142 W. Johnson Street</td>
<td>Holy Redeemer Catholic School</td>
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<td>Romanesque Revival</td>
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<td>402 E. Mifflin Street</td>
<td>(Swedish Lutheran Gloria Dei Church)</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Neogothic Revival</td>
<td>CoM Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Eligible</td>
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<td>St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
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Nellie McKay authored nine books in her career and is arguably best known as the co-editor, along with Henry Louis Gates, Jr., of the *Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, first published in 1996. The book has since become the standard for the field. She is also well known for her edited book *Critical Essays on Toni Morrison*, published in 1988, which contributed to Morrison winning the Nobel Prize in Literature. McKay, who received many academic honors, also wrote more than sixty articles and essays on figures and writers such as Ida B. Wells, Zora Neale Hurston, and Alice Walker. Nellie McKay wrote until the time of her death in 2006. An annual lecture series at the university was established in her name.

Nellie McKay was nationally significant in the African American community in the area of Literature, specifically in the University of Wisconsin System, from 1978 to 2006. During this period there were several resources associated with her: including her office at room 4220 in the Humanities Building at 455 North Park Street that she occupied from the late 1970s to 1989, the Department of Afro-American Studies located in Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park Street, where she occupied office number 6183 that she occupied from 1989 to her death, her 1978 to 1987 residence at apartment #2 at 3213 Bluff Street, and her 1988 to 2006 residence at 2114 West Lawn Avenue. The primary resource associated with the life of Nellie McKay and her significance in the area of Literature is Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park Street where she produced her best-known work. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Helen C. White Hall is listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Bascom Hill Historic District. For more information on the life of Nellie McKay, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.
First Nations

Painting and Sculpture

Truman Lowe

Truman T. Lowe was born in 1944 in Black River Falls, Wisconsin. He was raised, along with six older siblings, speaking Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) at home. He worked briefly in the early 1960s as a native performer for tourists at Wisconsin Dells. After graduating from high school, Truman Lowe attended the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, where he studied art education and fine arts. Before graduating he left in 1964 and worked for a time in a factory. In 1966, he married Nancy Knabe. She taught in a high school while he completed his undergraduate degree. Once he graduated the couple moved to Valders, Wisconsin, where he taught art classes while beginning to produce his sculptures. In 1970, he enrolled in the fine arts graduate program at the University of Wisconsin. After graduating, Lowe and his family moved again to Emporia, Kansas, where he taught art at Emporia State University for a couple of years. They returned to Madison by 1978, and he served as the assistant dean of Multicultural Programming at the University of Wisconsin. Within a few years, Truman also took on the position of assistant professor of sculpture at the university. Lowe had become a successful sculptor and artist by this time, and, while exhibiting his work, he became tenured and promoted to associate professor of art in 1984. He was promoted again to a full professorship in 1989 and later elected as chair of the Art Department from 1992 to 1995.

In 2000, Lowe was appointed as the curator of contemporary art at the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C.; a position which he held until 2008 when he returned to Madison. Truman Lowe died in 2019.

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

Kentucky Museum of Art and Craft in Louisville, and the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C. In addition, his art has also been displayed in large exhibitions throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s.\textsuperscript{517}

Lowe likely worked in many studios during his career. One of his studios was located on the west side of Madison, presumably at or near his house. In 1978, Truman and his wife Nancy purchased a ranch house in Madison located at 5326 Oak Crest Place in the Glen Oaks neighborhood. The house was originally constructed in 1957. Lowe also taught in the Art Department of the University of Wisconsin and his office was located at room 7511A in the Humanities Building, located at 455 North Park Street.\textsuperscript{518}

Truman Lowe is locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Art and Literature, particularly Painting and Sculpture, from 1978 to 2000. The Truman and Nancy Lowe House at 5326 Oak Crest Place is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

\textit{Harry R. Whitehorse}

Harry R. Whitehorse, a native member of the Ho-Chunk tribe, was born near Black River Falls, Wisconsin in 1927. Harry’s mother, Annie Greencrow Whitehorse, purchased land in Monona in 1932 and moved the family to the site along a small creek leading to Lake Waubesa. For years, the family lived in wigwams and eventually built a small wooden house in the 1940s. The Whitehorse family still owns the same property in addition to family land near Wittenberg and Black River Falls.\textsuperscript{519}

Harry and his brother attended school in Monona and were the only two Native Americans in the school. Whitehorse’s interest in art began at an early age as he worked with his uncle, George Seymour, a silversmith and carver. Harry learned the craft and produced small objects with designs derived from nature, which his family would sell along with baskets and other handmade goods.\textsuperscript{520}

Harry Whitehorse served in the U.S. Navy in the Pacific during World War II, which allowed him to visit art museums all around the world. This experience influenced Harry to pursue a career in art after his tour of duty. Whitehorse pursued a diverse education following the war, spending some time studying human and animal anatomy at the University of Wisconsin during the early 1950s. He graduated from the Arthur Colt School of Fine Art in Madison, where he studied oil painting and sculpture. Later, Harry also graduated from the local technical college where he studied welding and metal fabrication. Whitehorse would often display his work in art fairs and won awards for the best sculptor and best painter during the first two years of the Madison Art Fair on the Square in 1958 and 1959.\textsuperscript{521}
Harry owned and operated Chief Auto Body and Repair in Monona from the 1960s on, and he and his family built, repaired, and drove race cars competitively. He treated automobiles much like a work of art, using a stock car as a blank canvas to customize and use as a form of expression in a creative process. The business’s garage, constructed in 1960, is located on the Whitehorse family land along the creek in the City of Monona and served as his art studio.522

During the 1960s and 1970s, Harry produced a series of metal sculptures that helped him gain national artistic prominence. In the 1980s, he moved towards wood carving and produced a series of carved animal figures for private commissions. The 1990s were a productive time for Whitehorse, producing several of his most well-known public sculptures. Whitehorse worked in a wide variety of media throughout his long career including wood carving, drawing, painting, metal, bronze, and even snow. His work is publicly on display in Madison and around the world. His work, regardless of material or period, speaks to his Ho-Chunk heritage and reflects natural subjects in realistic and intricate forms.523 Harry Whitehorse died in 2017.524

Harry Whitehorse is locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Art and Literature, particularly Painting and Sculpture, from 1958 to 2017. During this time, Whitehorse had several pieces of public sculpture installed in Madison: Blackhawk's Journey (1991) at the Blackhawk Country Club at 3606 Blackhawk Drive, Effigy Tree (wood in 1991, re-cast in bronze in 2009) at Hudson Park at 2919 Lakeland Avenue, Superior Spirits (c. 1996) at the Tommy G. Thompson Center at 201 W. Washington Avenue, Ho-Chunk Family Tree (2001) at Thoreau School at 3870 Nakoma Road, One Child Spinning Through Mother Sky (2002) in the Bayview Foundation Community Center at 601 Bay View, Eagle (2006) on the Edgewood College Campus at 1000 Edgewood College Drive, and Tree Sculpture (c. 2010) at Jerry's Camping Center at 4506 E. Broadway. All these objects should be evaluated for local landmarking in the future.

Historic Resources Associated with Art and Literature Included in the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Historic Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Eligibility</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5326 Oak Crest Place</td>
<td>Truman and Nancy Lowe House</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>Ranch</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600 N. Park Street</td>
<td>Helen C. White Hall</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Brutalist</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
John Turner, one of the earliest leaders of the African American community in Madison, purchased a two-story frame building constructed during the 1850s in downtown Madison and moved it to 649 East Dayton Street in 1901, around the corner from his non-extant home at 118 North Blount Street, to serve as a meeting house for the Douglass Beneficial Society which he founded that year. Turner likely operated the second floor of the meeting hall as a boarding house to serve African Americans moving to Madison. The attached house at 653 East Dayton Street was moved to the site in 1912 to house the family of Reverend Charles H. Thomas, the pastor of the St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church located just down Dayton Street. Thomas purchased the buildings at 649-653 East Dayton Street a few years later, and he and his wife began operating a grocery store from the old meeting hall. Together, the meeting hall, subsequent store, and nearby church formed the nucleus of the earliest area of concentrated African American settlement in the city at the turn of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{525}

John Hill and his family moved to Madison from Atlanta, Georgia in 1910 and joined the African American community growing in the city. In 1917, the Hills purchased the house and grocery from Reverend Thomas. The Hill family operated the grocery and lived next door for the following seven decades. Under the Hill’s operation, the grocery store continued to be an African American owned business in Madison. Amanda died in 1969; however, John continued to operate the store almost until his death in 1983.\textsuperscript{526}

The John and Amanda Hill Grocery is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce from 1917 to c.1980. The property at 649-653 East Dayton Avenue is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and listed in the State and National Registers.
Ben’s Barber Shop / Style and Grace Barber Shop

Ben’s Barber Shop served as a social space and as a place to cut and style hair for the African American community. The shop, the oldest African American barbershop in Madison, was divided in two, one side for women and the other for men, and provided a wide range of hair treatments and styles.527

Ben Parks moved to Madison from Georgia as a young man in 1953 and lived in the Greenbush neighborhood. Parks initially worked for Reverend James and Jackie Wright, who owned and operated the Jackie and Jimmy’s Beauty Shop. Eventually, Parks opened his shop. In 1962, Ben’s Barber Shop moved into a contemporary style building at 1610 Gilson Street, relocating from the Greenbush neighborhood.528

Ben Parks retired in the late 1990s when the shop was renamed Style and Grace. One of the most prominent barbers at the shop, Taylor “Smitty” Smith, was a fixture in the community who had been working as a barber in Madison since 1954. He has also trained many of the barbers that continue to work in the community. Jeff Patterson, who was mentored by Smitty, established JP Hair Design, located at 584 Grand Canyon Drive on the west side of Madison, that continues in the role of Ben’s Barber Shop as a social gathering place within the wider Madison community. Ben Parks died in 2013.

Ben’s Barber Shop at 1610 Gilson Street is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce from 1962 to circa 2000. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Tuxedo Tavern

Both Zachery and Maxine Trotter were born in Georgia in 1888. They migrated to Madison in the early twentieth century. In 1928, Zachery Trotter established the first African American owned tavern and nightclub, the Tuxedo Tavern, in a non-extant building at 763 West Washington Avenue in the Triangle portion of the Greenbush neighborhood. The tavern was a popular draw for the racially diverse neighborhood. In 1960, the business was forced to leave, and the building was demolished as a part of the Triangle neighborhood urban renewal efforts.529

The African American community’s experience of racial discrimination in real estate applied to commercial properties as well as housing, and the Trotters had difficulty finding a place to
relocate their business, obtain a tavern license, and recover adequate compensation for relocation from the Madison Redevelopment Authority. A proposed move to 1044 South Park Street was prevented by a petition of residents. Finally, the Tuxedo Tavern re-opened at 1616 Beld Street in the Bram’s Addition neighborhood on the south side of Madison in 1964.530

The tavern remained the only African American owned bar and nightclub in the city through the 1960s. The Tuxedo Tavern closed in 1970; after which time, the space was occupied by Mr. P’s, a popular restaurant owned and operated by Roger Parks at this location from 1971 to 1998.531 The Tuxedo Tavern is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce from 1964 to 1970. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

A.L. Weaver Grocery

In 1915, Albert L. Weaver opened a grocery store in the City Market neighborhood immediately northeast of the Capitol Square. In 1919, Weaver moved his business to a new building at 516 East Mifflin Street. The Weaver family lived on the second floor above the grocery for the next two decades. Little else is known about A.L. Weaver or his grocery at this time. The building has been significantly altered in recent years.532

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

Information Services - Publishing

Wisconsin Weekly Blade

In 1916, J. Anthony Josey established the first weekly Black newspaper in Madison, the Wisconsin Weekly Blade. The newspaper printed national and state news, social notes, church notes, and essays for Madison’s Black community. The Weekly Blade was located on the second floor of the Peter Hamacher Building, a commercial block at 326 State Street, which was constructed in 1907.533
Under the guidance of Josey, the paper began a “Black is Beautiful” campaign, encouraging dignity and pride in being Black in Madison and the State of Wisconsin. The paper was nominally affiliated with the Republican Party, not an uncommon condition for an African American paper in the early twentieth century with the memory of the civil war, emancipation, and reconstruction still somewhat fresh in the national consciousness. In 1917, the Blade spoke out editorially against involvement in World War I and advised against African Americans enlisting to fight in the war. The paper was a part of a larger national campaign among the Black press aligned with W.E.B. DuBois and Robert Abbott on political matters.\(^\text{534}\)

The Wisconsin Weekly Blade also covered women’s political issues and suffrage in addition to expanding its coverage to discuss local news in Beloit, Oshkosh, and Milwaukee. While the paper did address the African American experience in the southern United States, it also consciously focused on the present and the future in Wisconsin with the guidance of Josey, who organized a meeting called a “Great Gathering of Representative Negroes of the State” in Oshkosh in 1916, and then again in Fond du Lac the following year.\(^\text{535}\)

In 1925, Josey moved to Milwaukee and took the newspaper along with him, establishing the Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade the same year. The Enterprise-Blade became the most popular Black newspaper in Milwaukee from 1925 to 1944. Both the Wisconsin Weekly Blade and later the Wisconsin Enterprise-Blade served as the voice of the African American community and consistently advocated against discrimination.\(^\text{536}\)

The Wisconsin Weekly Blade is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1916 to 1925. The primary resource associated with the career of J. Anthony Josey and the Wisconsin Weekly Blade is building at 326 State Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is listed as a contributing resource in the State Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1997 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time.

Information Services – Television

What’s Cookin’

One of the most financially successful and prominent African Americans in Madison from the 1930s to the 1950s, Carson and Beatrice Gulley became Madison’s first Black television personalities. The station WMTV invited the chef and his wife to host a cooking show called What’s Cookin’ in 1953, its first-year broadcasting in Madison. At the time it was the only known television program in the United States to feature an African American husband and wife
team. The weekly television show ran until 1962 and was syndicated across the country.\textsuperscript{537} Also in 1953, Carson Gulley hosted a twice-weekly radio cooking program \textit{WIBA Cooking School of the Air}.\textsuperscript{538} For more information on the life of Carson Gulley, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

Carson Gulley is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Commerce, particularly in Television from 1953 to 1962. During this period, there were several resources associated with him: his 1953 to 1962 residence at 5701 Cedar Place and the non-extant WMTV Studio at 615 Forward Drive that was demolished in 2016. The primary resource associated with his significance in Commerce from 1953 to 1962 is the Carson and Beatrice Gulley House at 5701 Cedar Place. This resource is potentially eligible for designating as a City of Madison Landmark and individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Latino/a

Goods and Services

\textit{Cardinal Bar}

The Cardinal Hotel was originally constructed in 1908, and the bar on the first floor was completed in 1912. After moving to Madison the prior year to accept a position as an affirmative action officer, Ricardo Gonzalez took ownership of the struggling Cardinal Bar in 1974. Gonzalez quickly became part of Madison’s active and vocal Cuban community. He was also a gay man, active in Madison’s LGBTQ community, and intended to run Cardinal Bar as a gay bar. However, the Cardinal Bar soon became popular with a diverse clientele, including the LGBTQ and Latino/a communities among others.\textsuperscript{539}

Gonzalez was politically active in the community, and, therefore, the bar became the informal headquarters of many political actions in Madison during the 1970s and 1980s.\textsuperscript{540} It was a venue for campaign fundraisers for gay and lesbian political candidates, as well as fundraisers for LGBTQ organizations and causes. Gonzalez was elected alderman of the 4th District in 1989, becoming the first gay Latino/a elected to public office in the United States.
In 1981, a series of violent incidents occurred in the bar. Accompanied by damage from fire and flooding, these events nearly took the Cardinal Bar under. The bar closed briefly but re-opened again. The bar was remodeled in 1985 and 1986. After forty-three years in operation, making it the longest-running gay bar in Madison’s history and likely the longest-running Latino/a-owned enterprise in Madison’s history, too, the Cardinal Bar closed in 2017 and was sold.

The Cardinal Bar is locally significant to both the Latino/a and LGBTQ communities in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1974 to 2017. The Cardinal Hotel at 416 East Wilson Street is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. It is listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the East Wilson Street Historic District. It was also individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 1982. For more information on the life of Ricardo Gonzalez, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.

Information Services - Publishing

La Comunidad News

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

La Comunidad News has operated in a converted Minimal Traditional style house located at 912 Dane Street adjacent to the Burr Oaks neighborhood on the south side of Madison. Though currently located in the Town of Madison, this portion of the Town of Madison is expected to be annexed into the City of Madison in the future. La Comunidad News at 912 Dane Street is locally significant to the Latino/a community in the area of Commerce from 1989 to the present. After annexation, this resource will be potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark and should be re-evaluated in the future.
LGBTQ Goods and Services

*Back Door*

The Back Door opened in 1972 as Madison’s first gay-owned bar and dance club established intentionally for the LGBTQ community. It was owned and operated by Rodney Scheel in a non-extant building at 46 N. Park Street. Rodney Scheel started the annual Back Door Picnic in Brittingham Park at 829 West Washington Avenue in 1972, as a modest event to thank his patrons. The event advanced the visibility of the LGBTQ community and provided a casual summer scene for making contact and building community. The picnic evolved into an important public gathering of LGBTQ people and friends. In 1978, the Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) assumed stewardship of the annual event and renamed it the MAGIC Picnic. For more information on the picnic, please refer to the Planning and Landscape Architecture Chapter.

In 1975, Rodney Scheel purchased the non-extant Washington Hotel at 636 W. Washington Avenue. To focus exclusively on the hotel, Scheel closed Back Door in 1978. The Back Door is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Good and Services, from 1972 to 1978. Unfortunately, the building at 46 N. Park Street, where the bar was located during this time, is no longer extant.

*Cardinal Bar*

The Cardinal Hotel at 416 East Wilson Avenue was originally constructed in 1908, and the bar on the first floor was completed in 1912. After moving to Madison the prior year to accept a position as an affirmative action officer, Ricardo Gonzalez took ownership of the struggling Cardinal Bar in 1974. Gonzalez quickly became part of Madison’s active and vocal Cuban community. He was also a gay man, active in Madison’s LGBTQ community, and intended to run Cardinal Bar as a gay bar. However, the Cardinal Bar soon became popular with a diverse clientele, including the LGBTQ and Latino/a communities among others. For more information on the Cardinal Bar, please refer to the Latino/a section of this chapter; for more information on the life of Ricardo Gonzalez, please refer to the Notable People Chapter.
There were numerous gay bars and gay-friendly establishments in Madison in the 1960s and 1970s. However, there were very few that catered specifically to lesbians. Emily’s, a lesbian bar, operated at 506 East Wilson Street from 1983 and 1984. 506 East Wilson Street was built for Herman Kleuter and completed 1871. An addition was added in 1891. Emily’s was opened by women who “saw a need for a women’s place after Lysistrata, a lesbian/feminist restaurant at 325 W. Gorham Street, burned down.” After Emily’s closed, another lesbian bar, Cheri’s Back East, operated here from 1984 until 1990. Cheri’s hosted drag shows to benefit the Madison AIDS Support Network and the Gay Theater Project.

Emily’s and Cheri’s Back East are locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1983 to 1990. The building at 506-508 East Wilson Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is already listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the East Wilson Street Historic District.

The building at 111 West Main Street was built for the Congress Bar and Grill in 1966 after its previous building on the site was destroyed by fire. The queer bar Going My Way opened there in 1977 as a “disco and social center.” Going My Way unusually catered to both men and women in the LGBTQ community with a lesbian bar on the lower level, a gay bar on the first floor, and a men’s and women’s popular disco on the second floor. After Going My Way closed in 1981, another gay bar, One Eleven West operated in the building for one year.

Going My Way at 111 W. Main Street is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1977 to 1981. The building at 111 West Main Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is listed as a non-contributing resource in the West Main Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1999 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time.
The Shamrock Bar opened at 117 West Main Street in March 1947 and has operated there continuously under changing ownership since then. After ownership changed hands again in 1985, the Shamrock Bar catered to a “mostly straight” crowd during the day and a gay crowd at night for drinks. While not specifically a gay bar, the Shamrock was advertised as a “mixed bar” by 1988. Still in operation today, it is Madison’s longest-running gay bar according to the Wisconsin GLBT History Project’s list of bars and clubs outside of Milwaukee.

The building at 117-119 West Main Street was designed by Madison architect David R. Jones and completed in 1885. It was built for Dr. William Jacobs and Patrick Regan. The Shamrock Bar is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1985 to the present. The building at 117 West Main Street is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. It is listed as a contributing resource in the West Main Street Historic District in the State Register of Historic Places in 1999 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time.

The 602 Club

In 1951, Dudley Howe bought a tavern at 602 University Avenue and changed the name to the 602 Club. While not specifically a gay bar, the 602 Club was one of the few public places in Madison that welcomed LGBTQ people in the 1950s and 1960s. During those decades, LGBTQ people in Madison had few options for socializing in public with an open and accepting community. Open hostility and enforcement of sodomy laws inhibited openly LGBTQ people from socializing in public places. “The unpublicized arrangement at the 602 Club was that the tables at the back half of the bar were for straight patrons, while the front half, along the bar, was for gay male patrons.”

Howe operated the 602 Club until he died in 1992. Howe’s daughter Ja-Ja continued to operate the 602 Club until 1994. The building at 602 University Avenue was built in 1907 by brothers Frank J. and Morgan J. Olwell, who operated a grocery there into the 1930s. The 602 Club at 602 University Avenue is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1951 to 1994 due to its early acceptance of the LGBTQ
community and longevity of operation. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

*Wisconsin Student Association (WSA) Community Pharmacy*

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

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

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

Initially, it was located in a non-extant building 511 N. Lake Street and then at 666 State Street from 1977 until 1983. In 1983, the pharmacy moved to a newly constructed Post-Modern building at 341 State Street and has been located there to the present day.

The Wisconsin Student Association Community Pharmacy is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1972 to the present. During this period, there were several resources associated with it: 511 N. Lake Street (not extant) from 1972 to 1977, 666 State Street from 1977 to 1983, and 341 State Street from 1983 to the present. The primary resource associated with the Wisconsin Student Association Community Pharmacy and its significance in Commerce is 341 State Street for its longevity at the location. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. This building is listed as a non-contributing resource in the State Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1997 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time.

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

In 1974, Renaissance of Madison was incorporated. That same year, Renaissance began publishing the *Gay Coordinator’s Newsletter*, which was the first known LGBTQ periodical in Madison. The newsletter became *Gay Renaissance* in 1976. *Gay Renaissance* was succeeded by *The Gay Endeavor*, which ceased publication after just one issue which was published in March 1978. The newsletter was known for its high journalistic standards and discussions on LGBTQ issues. During this time, Renaissance of Madison was located at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue), and it is believed that the *Gay Coordinator’s Newsletter* and subsequently *Gay Renaissance* and *The Gay Endeavor* were self-published there, the location where Madison’s Gay Liberation Movement formally began.

The *Gay Coordinator’s Newsletter*, *Gay Renaissance*, and *The Gay Endeavor* are locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1974 to 1978. The primary resource associated with these publications is the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1011 University Avenue. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

*Gay Madison / OUT!*

The Madison Gay Men and Lesbians United, sometimes called the Madison Community United, but more commonly referred to simply as The United, was a political action organization founded in 1978 at the St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) in response to a nationwide campaign against municipal gay civil rights laws. By December 1978, The United located at the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street.

The United began publishing *Gay Madison* in 1978. Publishing allowed LGBTQ groups to gain and retain control of the narrative around gay civil rights issues and helped organize efforts at advocacy, legislative action, and public education. The United’s *Gay Madison* evolved into *OUT!* in 1982. The United began sharing space with the Madison Gay Center in the former University Methodist Church at 1127 University Avenue in 1984.

*OUT!* evolved to cover statewide issues, was known for its thorough and articulate reporting with high journalistic standards, and ran through 1987, making it one of the longest-running LGBTQ periodicals in Madison. The United returned to publishing again in 1991 with *Unity*, which ran until 1997. It is believed that *Gay Madison* and subsequently *OUT!* And *Unity* were self-published in The United’s offices. From 1989 to 1993, The United shared space with the Gay and Lesbian Resource Center, formerly the Madison Gay Center, at 310 E. Wilson Street.
The *Gay Madison* and *OUT!* were locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1978 to 1987. Several resources were associated with *Gay Madison* and *OUT!* during this time: The University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street from 1978 to 1984 and the former University Methodist Episcopal Church at 1127 University Avenue from 1984 to 1987. The primary resource associated with *Gay Madison* and *OUT!* and their significance is the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street, where the publications were founded and found stability in their early years and a home for the first six years of their existence from 1978 to 1984. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Information Services - Radio

*WORT-FM*

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

Within WORT’s first year of operation, volunteers were broadcasting *In America They Call Us Dykes*. Ricardo Gonzalez, a well-known gay business owner who had opened the Cardinal Bar two years earlier, was doing a Latin music and commentary show in 1976. *Gay Science Fiction* was on the air in the late 1970s, and, in the early 1980s, LGBTQ civil rights were a regular discussion topic. In 1980, the station purchased and rehabilitated the one-story, utilitarian, concrete-block building at 118 S. Bedford Street. WORT began broadcasting from the Bedford Street location in 1982 or 1983.

WORT is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1975 to the present. During this time, there were a couple of resources associated with it: the 1975 to 1980 studio at 2049 Winnebago Street which is not extant and the 1980 to the present studio at 118 S. Bedford Street. Therefore, the primary resource associated with WORT and its significance in Commerce is 118 S. Bedford Street. The resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.
Local public access television station Community Access Center (CAC) became a supportive broadcast outlet for self-produced content from the LGBTQ community when it began transmitting in 1974 or 1975. CAC negotiated with the Complete Channel Television (CCT), Madison's only cable provider at the time, for studio space and funding. As a nonprofit television station, CAC was available to anyone who could produce a regular program on any subject. This policy made CAC broadcasting available to those who could not access mainstream media outlets, like LGBTQ organizations. WYOU provided access to a broader audience well beyond what LGBTQ organizations could reach with self-published newsletters.

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

In 1981, David Runyon left the show to start the weekly, hour-long Nothing to Hide which focused on local and national LGBTQ events and issues. When the Wisconsin Gay Rights Bill which was the first in the country to prohibit discrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations on the basis of sexual orientation was signed into law in February of 1982, the program broadcast Wisconsin Governor Dreyfus's statement and signing. Another program broadcast the signing of the Consenting Adults Bill in May of 1983 that decriminalized cohabitation, fornication (sex outside of marriage), and homosexual behavior between consenting adults in Wisconsin. The program documented civil rights marches held in Madison in 1989, 1991, and 1996 as well as Washington, D.C. in 1979, 1987, and 1993. Guests included locally, nationally, and internationally known activists, politicians, and writers such as Tammy Baldwin, Angela Davis, Toni Morrison, George Mosse, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Dick Wagner, and Howard Zinn. Nothing to Hide ran for a remarkable 20 years on CAC, and later WYOU, until David Runyon died in 2001. It was one of the longest-running LGBTQ television programs in history. Archives of the show are held at the University of Wisconsin Archives. CAC closed due to a lack of funding in 1983. The channel was reorganized the following year as channel WYOU run by WYOU Community Television, Inc. which continues to operate to this day.

The television channels CAC and WYOU, and specifically the programs Glad to be Gay (1979-1981) and Nothing to Hide (1981-2001) are locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1979 to 2001. During this period, there were numerous resources associated with them: 1024 Regent Street from 1978 to 1984, a non-extant building at 20 N. Orchard Street from 1984 to 1985, the Video Center, Inc. at 2822
Index Road in Fitchburg from 1985 to 1987, 1325 Greenway Cross from 1987 to 1990, 1619 Monroe Street from 1990 to 1997, and Madison Gas and Electric at 650 East Main Street from 1997 to 2001. The primary resource associated with CAC, WYOU, *Glad to be Gay*, and *Nothing to Hide* and their significance in Commerce is 1024 Regent Street. The resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

**Women**

**Goods and Services**

*Lysistrata*

Lesbian and feminist women saw a need for social spaces operated by and for women. In 1977, a group of women including Catherine Rouse, Karla Dobinski, and Andrea Mote opened a feminist bar and restaurant called *Lysistrata*. Conceived as a resource for women’s groups, Lysistrata was a popular gathering place that featured women artists, hosted events by women’s groups, and supported women’s initiatives.

Before 1984, Madison’s chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) did not have a permanent home and met at various locations, including Lysistrata. In the early 1980s, NOW led the effort to persuade states to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the United States Constitution. The Madison chapter followed suit, often holding monthly meetings at Lysistrata. Lysistrata operated for about five years until the building burned down in January of 1982.

**Information Services - Publishing**

*Feminist Voices*

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

*Feminist Voices* was a Madison area news journal published from October 1987 to November 1998. The University of Wisconsin Archives collection contains all known volumes of the publication. Unfortunately, details of affiliation, publisher, or location of publication were not printed in the journal. At least during 1991, regular meetings were held at Apple Island. Little else is known about the publication at this time. *Feminist Voices* is locally significant to Women in the area of Commerce, particularly Information Services, from 1987 to 1998. If resources associated with the publication are discovered in the future, they should be evaluated to determine a primary resource associated with the publication during this period.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Historic Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Eligibility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118 S. Bedford Street</td>
<td>WORT-FM</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Astylistic Utilitarian</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1616 Beld Street</td>
<td>Tuxedo Tavern</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>20th Century Comm.</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5701 Cedar Place</td>
<td>Carson and Beatrice Gulley House</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Ranch</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Eligible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>912 Dane Street</td>
<td>La Comunidad News</td>
<td>c.1950</td>
<td>Minimal Traditional Front Gabled</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649-653 E. Dayton Street</td>
<td>Douglass Beneficial Society Hall / John and Amanda Hill Grocery</td>
<td>1901, 1912</td>
<td>Front Gabled</td>
<td>CoM Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610 Gilson Street</td>
<td>Ben’s Barber Shop</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>836 E. Johnson Street</td>
<td>Women’s Center</td>
<td>c.1960</td>
<td>20th Century Comm.</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111 W. Main Street</td>
<td>Going My Way</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117 W. Main Street</td>
<td>Shamrock Bar</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Italianate</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>516 E. Mifflin Street</td>
<td>A.L. Weaver Grocery</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>20th Century Comm.</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1024 Regent Street</td>
<td>WYOU Studio</td>
<td>c.1960</td>
<td>20th Century Comm.</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>326 State Street</td>
<td>(Peter Hamacher Building) Wisconsin Weekly Blade</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Commercial Vernacular</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>341 State Street</td>
<td>Wisconsin Student Association Community Pharmacy</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Post-Modern</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP HD–NC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>602 University Avenue</td>
<td>602 Club</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Queen Anne</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>416 E. Wilson Street</td>
<td>Cardinal Hotel</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Georgian Revival</td>
<td>CoM Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>506-508 E. Wilson Street</td>
<td>Emily’s / Cheri’s Back East</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Italianate</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In 1972, Louis Cooper, Will Smith, Jr., Muriel Johnson, and Melva McShan began the South Madison Block Party to serve as a social gathering and celebration for the African American community on the south side of Madison. The South Madison Block Party became associated with Juneteenth celebrations during the 1980s. Juneteenth, celebrated in June, commemorates the end of slavery in the United States. It is also a celebration of African American resilience and features a festival, parade, and event that demonstrates the talents and achievements of the community.

The annual block party event, now organized by the African American Council of Churches, the Justified Anger Coalition, and Madison College, continues through the present and has been held in Penn Park at 2101 Fisher Street in the Bram’s Addition neighborhood. Penn Park has served as a focal point for the surrounding neighborhood and community since it was constructed in 1953 as a baseball and football field. Penn Park also features a large concrete Brutalist style pavilion.

Penn Park, located at 2101 Fisher Street, is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, particularly Urban Parks and Planning, from 1972 to the present. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.
First Nations

Urban Parks and Planning

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

Cherokee Marsh - North Unit

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

Tenney Park

A Ho-Chunk settlement existed in what is now Tenney Park, located at 1440 E. Johnson Street, along the south shore of Lake Mendota near the mouth of the Yahara River. This settlement existed from the 1830s, or likely earlier, to the 1880s. Tenney Park, covering 14 acres, was purchased by the Madison Park and Pleasure Drive Association in 1899 for a public park. The park is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. The park is listed as a contributing resource to the Tenney Park-Yahara River Parkway in the National Register of Historic Places in 1999. Consideration should be given to updating the designations to reflect its significance in the history of the First Nations community.
University Bay

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

University of Wisconsin Arboretum

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

Vilas Park

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

The historic sites of Ho-Chunk settlements around the four lakes are locally significant to the First Nations community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, particularly Urban Parks and Planning, from circa 1840 to circa 1920. All of these resources are potentially eligible for designation as City of Madison Landmarks.
Rodney Scheel started the annual Back Door Picnic at Brittingham Park in 1972, as a modest event to thank his Back-Door bar patrons. The event was usually held on the third weekend of July and provided a casual summer scene for making contact and building community. The picnic evolved into an important public gathering of LGBTQ people and friends.

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

One of the most important goals of the Gay Liberation Movement in Madison was to increase the visibility of LGBTQ people. Visibility, it was argued, would help counteract negative portrayals and perceptions of queer people. Coming out would help break down stereotypes, challenge prejudice and discrimination, and normalize queerness. At a time when the AIDS crisis was forcing visibility on the LGBTQ community by striking gay men disproportionately, positive visibility meant increased empathy for and attention to the crisis from the public, government agencies, and the medical profession. Madison’s LGBTQ community increased its visibility dramatically in the 1970s through the late 1980s, and the MAGIC Picnic at Brittingham Park was one way they did so. The MAGIC Picnic was a major public LGBTQ social event. It charged an entrance fee and offered drinks, food, games, a volleyball tournament, swimming, dancing, DJs and live music, and the annual Drag Race in which participants would don traditionally female shoes, wigs, and clothing as they ran the course.

As the MAGIC Picnic continued to grow, it attracted people from around the Midwest. In 1982, the event attracted around 800 people, and, by 1983, it was being advertised throughout Wisconsin and in Chicago and Minneapolis. Coordinators would shift the regular late-July date to avoid conflicting with Pride events in Chicago and Milwaukee. In its heyday in the mid-1990s, the MAGIC Picnic attracted thousands of participants from around Wisconsin and the Midwest.
By the late 1980s, the picnic had become Madison’s default LGBTQ Pride event. Through the 1990s, the MAGIC Picnic competed with the official Madison Lesbian and Gay Rights and Pride march/parade event that began in 1989, but the MAGIC event was “a far bigger gathering of gays, lesbians, and friends.” From 1972 to 2002, the MAGIC Picnic was a public event at Brittingham Park where queer people found a supportive and welcoming community.

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

Brittingham Park, located at 829 West Washington Avenue, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, specifically Urban Parks and Planning, from 1972 to 2002. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

**Orton Park**

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

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

Some village residents opposed the installation, and local officials failed to allocate funding for it. The Williamson-Marquette neighborhood agreed to host the sculpture, and, with the support of the city, it was installed in Orton Park until installation at its intended location became feasible. The LGBTQ community saw the sculpture as a tangible public symbol of their presence at a time when the community was trying to cultivate positive visibility.
Orton Park, located at 1103 Spaight Street and formerly referred to as 1100 Spaight Street, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, particularly Urban Parks and Planning, from 1986 to 1990. The park is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Consideration should be given to updating the designations to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The park is designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Third Lake Ridge Historic District and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Orton Park Historic District. It was also individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1979 for its significance in the area of Community Planning and Development.

State Street

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

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

In May 1988, a coalition calling themselves GALVAnize (Gay and Lesbian Visibility Alliance) came together with the single purpose of organizing a large-scale LGBTQ Pride march and rally event in Madison similar to the 1987 National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. Up until 1988, many had thought of the Madison Area Gay Interim Committee (MAGIC) Picnic as Madison’s Pride event. The GALVAnize coalition argued that “A massive
and visible coming out in the Midwest is necessary to affirm the gay and lesbian culture, to celebrate differences, and to prevent erosion of our hard-won rights.”

The first Madison Lesbian and Gay Rights and Pride March happened on May 6, 1989, with associated events the two days prior at the Barrymore Theatre, the University of Wisconsin Field House, and the Madison Civic Center (not extant). The 1989 march of 7,500 people gathered on the Capitol Square, marched up State Street to Library Mall, and then up Langdon Street to James Madison Park. The attendance at this inaugural event was similar in scale to the record setting anti-war and civil rights era marches in Madison. It was a huge undertaking to organize, and GALVAnize’s second march and rally were held two years later on October 5, 1991, with approximately 5,000 people. A version of the event has taken place nearly every year since.

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

State Street, arguably important for its history as a place of congregation and protest, is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Planning and Landscape Architecture, specifically Urban Parks and Planning, from 1970 to 1991. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Much of the street and right-of-way itself is within the boundaries of the State Street Historic District which was listed in the State Register of Historic Places in 1997 but was not listed in the National Register of Historic Places due to owner objection at the time.

**Historic Resources Associated with Planning and Landscape Architecture Included in the Survey**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
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<th>Style</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2101 Fisher Street</td>
<td>Penn Park</td>
<td>1972-Present</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440 E. Johnson Street</td>
<td>(Tenney Park) Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp</td>
<td>c.1830-c.1880</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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<td>3113 Lake Farm Road</td>
<td>Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp</td>
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<td>1207 Seminole Highway</td>
<td>Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp</td>
<td>c.1880-c.1920</td>
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<td>6098 N. Sherman Avenue</td>
<td>Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp Orton Park</td>
<td>c.1880-c.1887</td>
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<td>1103 Spaight Street</td>
<td>State Street</td>
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<td>100-800 Blocks of State Street</td>
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<td>c.1890</td>
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<td>University Bay Drive</td>
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<td>1602 Vilas Park Drive</td>
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<td>829 W. Washington Avenue</td>
<td>Brittingham Park</td>
<td>1978-2000</td>
<td>N/A</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Recreation and Entertainment

African American

Athletics

George Poage

George Coleman Poage was born in 1880 in Hannibal, Missouri. His parents were both born in slavery in Missouri and moved to La Crosse, Wisconsin in search of better employment in 1884. Poage’s father worked as a popular coachman for the family of the local industrialist Albert Pettibone and later the wealthy La Crosse family of John Easton. After his father died in 1889, his mother continued to work for the city’s elite. George was an accomplished student and salutatorian of his graduating class at La Crosse High School. He was also a star athlete in track and field and was considered one of the best sprinters in the state. Due to his academic and athletic achievements, he enrolled at the University of Wisconsin in 1899 with some financial help from the Easton family. While a student at the university, George Poage lived with Benjamin and Amy Butts and their three children at the extant side-gabled house located at 633 East Johnson Street. The house was constructed earlier in the early 1870s. In 1901, Poage moved from the Butts household to a non-extant house at 1109 W. Johnson Street, where he lived with several other students.

Poage was a successful sprinter for the University of Wisconsin, setting many records during the period. He routinely had times of approximately 10 seconds for the 100-yard dash, 21.5 seconds for the 220-yard dash, and 49.5 seconds for the 440-yard dash, all impressive times at the turn-of-the-century. He became one of, if not the most, recognized African Americans in Madison and the state. The site of the track and playing fields for the university at the turn of the twentieth century, now non-extant, was a large open space and a series of bleachers arranged along the northern end of the site of present-day Camp Randall Stadium. The site of the former Union army Civil War camp, Camp Randall, was purchased by the university for use as
athletic playing fields in 1893; the football stadium was completed on the site in 1916, which has been expanded and remodeled extensively over the past seven decades, and a field house was constructed there in 1929. 594

His attendance at the University of Wisconsin paralleled the rise and popularity of college athletics in the United States. Poage was a recognized star athlete on campus while internal debate went on regarding the emphasis and value of college sports. After his graduation in 1903, there was a small scandal regarding the university’s attempt to extend his eligibility to participate and compete in track events for another academic year. Poage became an employee of the Athletic Department and re-enrolled in classes despite already graduating. Other athletes at the university and elsewhere experienced a similar arrangement and sparked a debate over the role of college athletics as an amateur student club or a semi-professional profitable division of college institutions, a debate which continues to the present.595

In 1903, he joined the exclusive, all-White Milwaukee Athletic Club who sponsored him in the revived Olympic Games held in St. Louis in 1904. Poage was the first African American to compete in the Olympics. He competed in four events: the 400-meter dash, the 60-meter dash, the 400-meter high hurdles, in which he finished third and was awarded a bronze medal, and the 200-meter low-hurdle, in which he also finished third and was awarded a bronze medal.596 After he competed in the Olympic Games, Poage remained in St. Louis597 and later Chicago. George Poage died in 1962.598

George Poage was nationally significant in the African American community in the areas of Recreation and Entertainment, specifically Athletics, from 1899 to 1903. During this period, there were several resources associated with him: the non-extant University of Wisconsin athletic fields on the site of present-day Camp Randall Stadium at 1440 Monroe Street, the Benjamin and Amy Butts House at 633 E. Johnson Street where he lived from 1899 to 1901, and the non-extant 1109 W. Johnson Street where he lived from 1901 to 1903. The primary resource associated with the life of George Poage and his significance in Recreation and Entertainment is the site of the non-extant University of Wisconsin Athletic Fields and present-day Camp Randall Stadium. The site is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The site was listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places in 1971, for its military significance associated with Camp Randall and Wisconsin’s participation in the Civil War.

Edward Withers, Jr.

The University of Wisconsin’s Athletic Department and its football team have been historically willing to integrate their team and were often at the forefront nationally in the process of encouraging diversity. The first Black football player with the University of Wisconsin Badgers football team was Leo Butts, who played beginning in 1918. However, the school did not record the race of its students and players until 1940, so it may not be precise.599

Edward Withers, Jr. was born in Memphis, Tennessee in 1926 and moved to Madison with his family as a young boy. He lived in a non-extant apartment located at 754 West Washington Avenue. Eddie graduated from Madison’s old Central High School in 1944. After serving in the United States Army towards the end of World War II, he received his discharge in 1947 and
enrolled at the University of Wisconsin. He started on the Badgers football team during his freshman year in 1947 but was ineligible to play during his second year in college. Withers returned to the field in 1949 as starting defensive halfback, a position he would keep for the next three years. Withers was considered an integral part of Wisconsin’s defense, which outscored their opponents with no offensive help for two years. The team won the Big Ten title in 1952, securing their first trip to the Rose Bowl, where they lost to the University of Southern California. While Withers was not the first Black man to participate in the University of Wisconsin athletics, he was arguably the most recognized, being the first to garner national attention as a college football All-American in 1952.

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

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

Wither’s performance in college attracted the attention of the Green Bay Packers, who drafted him in 1952; however, his pro football career was cut short when he was waived towards the end of training camp the following year. Wither’s lived the rest of his life in Milwaukee and died in 1975. After his death, the Madison chapter of the NAACP wrote to The Capital Times urging that Wither’s contributions be recognized, and two years later Withers was named to the Madison Sports Hall of Fame in 1977. Withers was added to the University of Wisconsin Athletics Hall of Fame in 1992. Since then the University of Wisconsin Athletic Department has made a conscious effort to celebrate the history of African Americans at the university and in college athletics generally.
Edward Withers, Jr. was nationally significant in the African American community in the areas of Recreation and Entertainment, particularly Athletics, from 1947 to 1952. During this period, there were several resources associated with him: Camp Randall Stadium at 1440 Monroe Street, a non-extant apartment at 754 West Washington Avenue where he lived from 1947 to 1951, and a non-extant apartment at 5 South Mills Street where he lived from 1951 to 1952. The primary resource associated with him was Camp Randall Stadium at 1440 Monroe Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Performing Arts and Motion Pictures

Clyde Stubblefield

Clyde Stubblefield was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1943. As a child he was inspired to play the drums and taught himself, often drawing on natural and man-made rhythms as well as musical percussion for inspiration. He began playing professionally as a teenager. During the early 1960s, he worked with guitarist Eddie Kirkland and singer and songwriter Otis Redding. In 1965, he joined James Brown’s band and played with Brown for the following six years, performing some of the most recognizable popular music of the period.\footnote{603}

Stubblefield’s drumming during this period is considered the standard-bearing influences for funk drumming, including singles such as "Cold Sweat," "I Got the Feelin'," "Say It Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud," and "Ain't It Funky Now." His drumming during this period has been routinely emulated and frequently sampled in funk, hip-hop, and pop music since. His drumming was marked by a light-touch filled with off-kilter syncopations within a very repetitive 4/4 meter.\footnote{604}

In 1971, after leaving James Brown’s band, he settled in Madison. For three decades he played with his band, The Clyde Stubblefield Band, in downtown Madison along with local musicians including Steve Skaggs, Cris Plata, Randy Sabien, Charlie Brooks, and Karri Daley. Stubblefield released solo records during the 1990s and 2000s and continued to collaborate with former James Brown bandmates including Jabo Starks, Bootsy Collins, and Maceo Parker. He also produced a series of instructional drumming videos and performed regularly on the nationally syndicated and recorded public radio show Whad'Ya Know?\footnote{605}. He retired from performing in 2011.

In 1990, Stubblefield was named Drummer of the Year by Rolling Stone magazine. In 2000, he was inducted into the Wisconsin Area Music Industry hall of fame and was awarded a lifetime achievement award at the Madison Area Music Awards in 2004. He also received the Yamaha Legacy Award in 2013 and was named the second-best drummer of the twentieth century by LA
Weekly in 2014. Clyde Stubblefield died in 2017 following two decades of poor health, during which time many notable musicians paid for many of his healthcare costs. Posthumously, he was awarded an honorary Doctorate in Fine Arts from the University of Wisconsin. Stubblefield resided at 502 Cedar Street. The extant minimal traditional style house was originally constructed in 1937 and is located in the Bay-Creek neighborhood.

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

LGBTQ

Performing Arts and Motion Pictures

Broom Street Theatre

Artistic explorations of queerness helped to promote positive visibility for the LGBTQ community. The Broom Street Theater was founded in 1969 by Stuart Gordon. Their first production was at 152 E. Johnson Street. From 1970 through 1975, the group staged performances at St. Francis House Episcopal Student Center at 1001 University Avenue (now 1011 University Avenue) and had an office at the University YMCA at 306 North Brooks Street. In 1976 and 1977, the group struggled to find a permanent home, staging shows at Calvary Methodist Church at 633 W. Badger Road, the Hillel Foundation at 611 Langdon Street (not extant), and the Eagles Club at 1236 Jenifer Street (not extant). They purchased 1119 Williamson Street in 1977. Later that year, the group moved into the new building permanently and still resides there today. The Broom Street Theater group has been staging plays and experimental works with queer themes since the group purchased the building at 1119 Williamson Street in 1977.

The Broom Street Theatre is locally significant to the LGBTQ community in the area of Recreation and Entertainment, particularly Performing Arts and Motion Pictures, from 1977 to
the present. While there were numerous resources associated with it from 1969 to 1977, they did not begin staging theatrical productions involving LGBTQ themes until after they moved to 1119 Williamson Street in 1977. Therefore, the primary resource associated with the Broom Street Theatre and its significance in Recreation and Entertainment is 1119 Williamson Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

**Historic Resources Associated with Recreation and Entertainment Included in the Survey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Historic Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Style</th>
<th>Eligibility</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>502 Cedar Street</td>
<td>Clyde Stubblefield House</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Minimal Traditional</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440 Monroe Street</td>
<td>Camp Randall Stadium</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440 Monroe Street</td>
<td>(Camp Randall) University of Wisconsin Athletic Fields</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Listed</td>
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<td>1119 Williamson Street</td>
<td>Broom Street Theatre</td>
<td>c.1890</td>
<td>Astylistic Utilitarian</td>
<td>CoM HD–w/i POS</td>
</tr>
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Notable People

Introduction

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

African American

Benjamin Butts

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

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

In 1888, Benjamin married Amy Roberts. The couple lived in a non-extant apartment at 86 East Gorham Street and had eight children, while only five survived infancy. In 1892, the family moved to a larger house at 633 East Johnson Street, northeast of the Capitol Square, which they rented. At the time, approximately 41 African Americans were living in the city. Benjamin Butts was influential as a leader of the small African American community as it grew into the twentieth century, particularly around East Johnson, Dayton, and Mifflin Streets.
Wisconsin Historical Society opened its large new building at 816 State Street in 1900 on the University of Wisconsin campus, Butts was hired as a messenger, doorman, and janitor given his knowledge of Madison and the city’s legislators and university faculty.611

In 1907, the Butts family moved again to a non-extant house at 639 East Dayton Street, where they lived until Benjamin and Amy died in 1930. Benjamin’s son, Leo, who was born in 1898, became the first Black football player on the University of Wisconsin’s college team. He played his first game for the Badgers during the second game of the 1918 season against Beloit College. Leo Butts was also the first African American to graduate from the University of Wisconsin School of Pharmacy in 1920. After graduating, he moved to Gary, Indiana where he became a druggist.612

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

Marshall Colston

Marshall Colston was the president of the Madison branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from 1956 through the early 1960s and played a large role in the civil rights movement in Wisconsin during the 1950s and 1960s, coordinating closely with the Milwaukee branch, and the national movement throughout its history. In 1962, Colston was appointed the vice-chairman of the Madison Mayor’s first Commission on Human Rights, playing an instrumental role in the city’s adoption of its Equal Opportunities Ordinance in 1963. Colston was also appointed to the Wisconsin Governor’s Commission on Human Rights in 1966.613 He moved to California in 1970.
Marshall Colston is locally significant in the African American community from 1956 to 1970. During this period, there were a couple of resources associated with him: his 1951 to circa 1965 residence at 413 West Wingra Drive and his circa 1965 to 1970 residence at 609 Constitution Lane. The primary resource associated with Marshall Colston is the Marshall and Eva Colston House at 413 West Wingra Drive, where he lived during his more active years in the African American community. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Cornelius Golightly

Cornelius Golightly was born in Waterford, Mississippi in 1917. He graduated from Talladega College in 1938 and then received a Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1941. He then taught social science and philosophy during the 1942-1943 school year at Howard University and was a Compliance Analyst with the Fair Employment Practices Committee in Washington, D.C. from 1943 until 1945. In 1945, he was hired as a professor of psychology and philosophy at Olivet College in Olivet, Michigan, becoming the first African American philosopher contracted to teach at a White college. In 1949, Golightly was hired to join the Philosophy Department at the University of Wisconsin as an assistant professor. He was the first African American tenured professor in the university’s history and the first African American professor of philosophy at a state university in the country. Golightly’s first scholarly article, entitled “Inquiry and Whitehead’s Schematic Method,” was published during his time at the university in a leading journal, Philosophy and Phenomenological Research. He was later published widely in the Journal of Philosophy and the Chicago Daily Law Bulletin. While in Madison, Golightly took on a mentoring lead with the Beta Omicron Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, the first Black Greek-letter organization at the university which was established in 1946. Golightly left the university in 1955 and took on a similar position at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, where he stayed until 1969. This was followed by a faculty position at Wayne State University in Detroit. He also served as the first African American president of the City of Detroit Board of Education. Cornelius Golightly died in Detroit in 1976.

Cornelius Golightly is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education from 1949 to 1955. The Philosophy Department on the University of Wisconsin campus from 1949 to 1955 was located primarily in Bascom Hall, at 500 Lincoln Drive, and Professor Golightly’s office was at room 369B in Bascom Hall for all six years that he spent at the university. Bascom Hall is the primary resource associated with Cornelius Golightly’s significance in the area of Education. Bascom Hall is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.
City of Madison Landmark. Bascom Hall is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a contributing resource to the Bascom Hill Historic District.

Carson Gulley

Carson Gulley was born in Zama, Arkansas in 1897. His parents were farming sharecroppers. At the age of 17, Gulley’s father apprenticed him to a schoolteacher to supply him with an education. In 1920, Carson left home and began working as a dishwasher, then cook, at a restaurant in Eldora, Arkansas. This was followed by a variety of cooking jobs in Kansas, Florida, and New York. He then worked briefly as a chef at Principia College in St. Louis, followed by a position as head chef at the Essex Lodge Resort in Tomahawk, Wisconsin. During his time at the resort, D.L. Halverson, the director of dormitories and commons at the University of Wisconsin, visited and was impressed with the quality of food and service and offered Carson Gulley a job at the university. In 1926, Carson Gulley began a 27-year tenure as a head dormitory chef at the University of Wisconsin.

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

In 1936, Gulley established and taught a popular curriculum for chefs and bakers and conducted seminars at the Tuskegee Institute and the University of Wisconsin. The United States Navy established a similar school during World War II at the University of Wisconsin for service cooks, developed and taught by Gulley. Gulley is also credited with developing recipes for a boneless turkey roast and the fudge bottom pie. Gulley was a popular figure with students. In 1954, Gulley retired after being passed over for the position of director of dormitory food services at the university, despite being a senior chef for two decades. The position was given to a younger, less experienced, White man.

As a hobby for over 20 years, Gulley assembled a collection of spices, which led to his accolade as an authority on herbs and spices. He authored the nationally acclaimed cookbook *Seasoning Secrets: Herbs and Spices* in 1949. A revised edition of the book was published in 1956 titled *Seasoning Secrets and Favorite Recipes of Carson Gulley* in 1956.

One of the most financially successful and prominent African Americans in Madison from the 1930s to the 1950s, Carson and Beatrice became Madison’s first Black television personalities. The station WMTV invited the chef and his wife to host a cooking show called *What’s Cookin’* in 1953, its first-year broadcasting in Madison. At the time it was the only known television program in the United States to feature an African American husband and wife team. The weekly television show ran until 1962 and was syndicated across the country. Also in 1953, Carson Gulley hosted a twice-weekly radio cooking program *WIBA Cooking School of the Air*.

The Gulley family, along with many African American residents in the city, were not permitted to purchase a home in Madison because of their race. After purchasing property to build a
house, a group of neighborhood residents petitioned the Crestwood Subdivision’s board of directors to buy back the land. Gulley appealed to the City Council’s Committee on Human Rights in favor of equal housing rights, influencing the passage of Madison’s Fair Housing Ordinance in 1954. The neighborhood co-op voted 64 to 30 against the petition and in favor of the Gulleys, after which the Gulley family built an extant ranch house at 5701 Cedar Place in the Crestwood neighborhood on the west side of Madison in 1954.626

At the end of 1961, Carson and Beatrice Gulley built a non-extant building at 522 University Avenue in which to live and open a restaurant and catering business. The restaurant, serving weekend buffets, opened in September 1962. Tragically, Carson Gulley died in November 1962 and was buried at Forest Hill Cemetery in Madison. Beatrice continued to operate the restaurant until at least 1964.627

The University of Wisconsin renamed the Van Hise Refectory the Carson Gulley Commons in 1966, the first building on any University of Wisconsin campus named after an African American and the first building on the University of Wisconsin campus named after an employee other than administration or faculty. The extant Mediterranean Revival style building at 1515 Tripp Circle on the University of Wisconsin campus was the site of much of his work as a chef for the university. The large refectory building was originally constructed in 1926 with major additions and alterations completed in 1943 and 1960. The building was renamed the Carson Gulley Center in 2013.628

Carson Gulley is locally significant in the African American community in the areas of Education, particularly at the University of Wisconsin System, from 1926 to 1953; Commerce, particularly in Television from 1953 to 1962; and Government, particularly Local Government, from 1954 to 1962. During this time, there were several resources associated with him: Van Hise Refectory at 1515 Tripp Circle, his 1926 to 1953 residence at the neighboring Tripp Hall dormitory, his 1953 to 1962 residence at 5701 Cedar Place, the non-extant WMTV Studio at 615 Forward Drive that was demolished in 2016, and the non-extant location of his 1962 business at 522 University Avenue. The primary resource associated with his significance in Education from 1926 to 1953 is the Van Hise Refectory (now the Carson Gulley Center) at 1515 Tripp Circle. This resource is potentially eligible for designating as a City of Madison Landmark. The primary resource associated with his significance in Commerce from 1953 to 1962 and his significance in Government from 1954 to 1962 is the Carson and Beatrice Gulley House at 5701 Cedar Place. This resource is potentially eligible for designating as a City of Madison Landmark and individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.
Velma F. Hamilton

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

The couple moved back to Madison in 1942 so that Harry could work as a supervisor at the Badger Ordnance Works in Baraboo overseeing the wartime manufacture of gunpowder and munitions. In 1943, Velma Hamilton helped re-establish the Madison chapter of the NAACP along with Mae Mitchell, Demetra Shivers, Hilton Hanna, Odell Taliaferro, Hazel Taliaferro, and Lucille Miller, and Velma’s husband Harry, and served as its first president.

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

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

Willie Lou Harris, who was married to George Harris, moved to Madison from Georgia and the couple had five children: Calvin, Richard, Donald, Charles, and Georgia. Willie Lou Harris was the first licensed Black practical nurse in Madison and worked as a caretaker at the Wisconsin General Hospital. The Harris’s bought their house at 405 Bram Street in 1927. She was also actively involved in the African American community and the Bram’s Addition neighborhood. In 1934, George and Willie purchased eight lots in South Madison, then outside the city limits. The area was annexed in 1944, and the streets paved. The intention from that time on was to develop the lots into homes for their families. During the late 1940s, Willie Lou Harris led an effort to construct several Minimal Traditional style houses along the 400 block of Bram Street. Much of the building material was taken from wrecked military barracks from Truax Field, which were disassembled, moved, and reconstructed in the Bram’s Addition neighborhood. Four adjacent buildings in all were completed by the early 1950s.632

The family was involved in Mount Zion Baptist Church, which relocated to the same neighborhood during the same period. George Harris was a deacon with the church, and Willie worked closely with then Reverend Washington on several issues including the establishment of a Black women’s group of active citizens called the Mothers Watch Group in addition to the establishment of the Madison branch of the NAACP and the South Madison Neighborhood Center in the late 1940s. Willie Lou Harris, along with Kenneth Newville and George Gerard, organized the move of two army barracks from Truax Field in 1949 for use as the South Madison Neighborhood Center at 2001 Taft Street. One of her sons, Richard, became the director of the center and later led a successful lawsuit against the discriminatory and segregationist school closings of the Madison Metropolitan School District. Willie Lou Harris died in 1954.633

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

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

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

Nellie McKay

Nellie Yvonne McKay was born in Queens, New York to Jamaican immigrants in 1931. She graduated with a bachelor’s degree in English from Queens College in 1969, a master’s degree from Harvard in 1971, and a Ph.D. from Harvard in American Literature in 1977. McKay was an assistant professor of American Literature at Simmons College and a visiting professor at MIT between 1973 and 1977. In 1978, McKay moved to Madison and took a faculty position at the University of Wisconsin specializing in African American literature. She was tenured in 1984 and worked throughout the 1980s expanding and popularizing the fields of African American literature, women’s studies, and multicultural women’s writing. Much of these disciplines owe their formation and identity to the seminal texts of her work.

Nellie McKay authored nine books in her career and is arguably best known as the co-editor, along with Henry Louis Gates, Jr., of the Norton Anthology of African American Literature, first published in 1996. The book has since become the standard for the field. She is also well known for her edited book Critical Essays on Toni Morrison, published in 1988, which contributed to Morrison winning the Nobel Prize in Literature. McKay also wrote more than sixty articles and essays on figures and writers such as Ida B. Wells, Zora Neale Hurston, and Alice Walker. Nellie McKay, who received many academic honors, taught and wrote until the
time of her death in 2006. An annual lecture series at the university was established in her name.

Nellie McKay was nationally significant in the African American community in the area of Education and Literature, specifically in the University of Wisconsin System, from 1978 to 2006. During this time, there were several resources associated with her: including her office at room 4220 in the Humanities Building at 455 North Park Street that she occupied from the late 1970s to 1989, the Department of Afro-American Studies located in Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park Street, where she occupied office number 6183 that she occupied from 1989 to her death, her 1978 to 1987 residence at apartment #2 at 3213 Bluff Street, and her 1988 to 2006 residence at 2114 West Lawn Avenue. The primary resource associated with the life of Nellie McKay and her significance in the area of Education and Literature is Helen C. White Hall at 600 North Park Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Helen C. White Hall is listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Bascom Hill Historic District.

Eugene Parks

Eugene Parks was born in 1947 on the south side of Madison to Roger and Pearlean Parks, who had come to Madison from Georgia in the 1940s and became prominent figures in the city’s African American community. He graduated from La Follette High School in 1965 and attended the University of Wisconsin. He ran unsuccessfully as a candidate for Dane County Sheriff. Parks became the associate editor of the Madison Sun and an outspoken proponent of civil rights in Madison. In 1969, Parks became the first Black alderperson for the Madison Common Council at the age of 22. He was the first person of color to be elected to public office in Madison and Dane County. He represented the 14th Ward in South Madison and was known as someone who challenged the system and fought for justice. In 1973, the Madison Metropolitan School District adopted an affirmative action policy, and Alderman Parks spoke extensively before the school board, arguing that minority candidates were often overlooked and unaware of job openings. In 1974, Eugene Parks ran unsuccessfully on the Democratic ticket for Secretary of State. From 1975 to 1979, Parks worked as the staff director for State Senator Monroe Swan and as the president of the Madison chapter of the NAACP. In 1979, Parks was appointed an administrative assistant to Fire Chief Ed Durkin, and in 1985 he became the director of the City of Madison’s Affirmative Action Department.
In 1988, Parks was reprimanded and suspended for calling an MATC board member a “racist, liar and coward” at a meeting. Parks filed a racial discrimination claim and was fired. In 1989, Parks filed a circuit court action to regain his position and was given a job as a sign shop supervisor in the Traffic Engineering Department of the city. In 1995, a court of appeals ruled that Parks was illegally fired in 1988, and the city settled with him for $441,000.\textsuperscript{651}

In the 1990s, Eugene took over the family business of Mr. Ps restaurant, located at 1616 Beld Street, from his father. In 1996, Mr. P’s closed. In 1999 and again in 2003, he ran unsuccessfully for mayor. Eugene Parks died in 2005.\textsuperscript{652} In 2016, Madison 365 began an annual award in his honor: the \textit{Eugene Parks Disruption Award}, for those who challenge the system and fighting for justice.

Eugene Parks is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government from 1969 to 1995. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: The City-County building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, his 1969 to 1970 residence at 914 West Dayton Street, and his 1971 to 1988 residence at 6608 Berkshire Road. The primary resource associated with the life of Gene Parks, and his significance in Government, is the City-County building. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. A secondary resource includes his 1971-1988 home at 6608 Berkshire Road. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

\textit{Samuel S. Pierce}

Samuel S. Pierce was born in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1873. His parents, emancipated enslaved people from North Carolina, had settled in New Orleans where his father was a legislator and judge. In the 1890s, Samuel began working as a Pullman porter along the Chicago to Los Angeles rail service. In 1908, he was assigned to the Milwaukee to Madison route and settled in Madison along with his wife Mollie, becoming a leading figure in the city’s growing African American community.\textsuperscript{653}

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

Samuel Pierce is locally significant in the African American community in the area of Government from 1922 to 1936. During this time, there were several resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street and his house at 1442 Williamson Street, which was originally constructed in 1898 for D.D. Daniher, where Pierce lived from 1910 to 1936. The primary resource associated with the life of Samuel Pierce, and his significance in Government, is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. A secondary resource includes the Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House at 1442 Williamson Street. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Third Lake Ridge Historic District. However, consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the African American community. This resource is also potentially eligible for individual listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. This resource is also associated with Samuel Pierce’s nephew, Theodore Pierce.

Muriel Simms

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

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

Simms taught sixth grade from 1971 to 1980 at Lincoln Elementary School in the Burr Oaks neighborhood in South Madison. In 1980, Simms moved to Franklin Elementary School in the Bay Creek neighborhood and taught fifth grade until 1985 and then went on to Cherokee Heights Middle School in the Nakoma neighborhood to work as a learning coordinator from 1983 to 1988.
In 1988, Muriel Simms was hired as the principal of Lincoln Elementary in the Burr Oaks neighborhood of South Madison, a position she held for six years. Lincoln was diverse when Simms took over with 41 percent of students being African American and 51 percent of students coming from low-income families. She stressed multicultural teaching and project-based learning methods, hired more staff of color, more than doubled parental involvement at parent-teacher conferences, raised achievement scores, and generally changed the culture at the school. Simms was awarded the Wisconsin Elementary Principal of the Year in 1992. Her work at Lincoln Elementary School was so instrumental that she left the position to work as equity coordinator for the Madison Metropolitan School District in 1994. She was appointed interim principal at Mendota Elementary on the north side of Madison in 1997 to effect change in that school’s culture as well. She then became the assistant principal at Black Hawk Elementary for three years before retiring in 2000.

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

Muriel Simms was locally significant in the African American community in the area of Education, specifically Primary Education, from 1988 to 1994. During this time, there were a couple of resources associated with her: Lincoln Elementary School at 909 Sequoia Trail and her 1988 to 1994 home at 1830 Baird Street. The primary resource associated with her significance in Education is Lincoln Elementary School at 909 Sequoia Trail. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

*John Turner*

John Turner moved to Madison with his wife Martha and adopted son Alfred from Kentucky in 1898. At that time, the Turners purchased a non-extant house at 118 North Blount Street. One of the earliest leaders of the African American community in Madison, John Turner founded the Douglass Beneficial Society in 1901. That same year, he purchased a two-story frame building constructed during the 1850s in downtown Madison and moved it to 649 East Dayton Street, around the corner from his family home, to serve as a meeting hall. Named after the influential national statesman Frederick Douglass, the society provided support to new arrivals in Madison’s African American community by running a boarding house, likely on the second floor of the building.

By the fall of 1901, Turner was hosting Sunday school classes in his family’s home. In 1902, he helped establish the first Black church in Madison, St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church also known as the Free African Methodist Church, with William Miller and Richard Allen. Unable to find housing in Madison, the congregation moved a house to the Turner’s property at 653 East Dayton Street, attached to the meeting hall, for the Methodist pastor and his family to live in 1912.

Thomas purchased the buildings at 649-653 East Dayton Street from the Turners a few years later and began operating a grocery store from the old meeting hall. John and Amanda Hill
purchased the buildings in 1917 and continued running a store there into the 1960s. Together, the meeting hall, subsequent store, and nearby church formed the nucleus of the earliest area of concentrated African American settlement in the city at the turn of the twentieth century. John Turner is locally significant to the African American community in the area of Social and Political Movements from 1898 to c.1915. The only known extant resource associated with Turner and his significance is the Douglass Beneficial Society Hall / John and Amanda Hill Grocery at 649-653 E. Dayton Street. The property is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the East Dayton Street Historic District for its significance in the history of the African American community.

_Rev. James C. Wright_

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

In 1968, Wright was appointed the executive director of Madison's Equal Opportunities Commission after serving as chairman for four years. In 1975, under the leadership of Wright who directed the Commission from 1968 to 1992, the ordinance was amended to extend its protections based on "sexual orientation." The inclusion of sexual orientation as a protected status as a response to a dramatic increase in complaints to the EOC of unequal treatment based on sexual orientation in the preceding years. Madison's ordinance was the first municipal ordinance in Wisconsin to extend such protections. Reverend Wright also served as an associate minister at Mt. Zion Baptist Church from 1960 to 1984. He was a member of many organizations including serving as president of the National Institute for Employment Equity, president of the Madison Association of American Baptist Churches of Wisconsin, the National Association of Human Rights Workers, the International Personnel Managers Association, the NAACP, and was a founding member of the Madison Urban League.

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

James C. Wright was locally significant in the African American community from 1968 to 1995. During this time, the primary resource associated
with him is his house at 848 West Lakeside Street in the Bay Creek neighborhood. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. Other than the name, the James C. Wright Middle School holds no direct connection to or association with James C. Wright’s contribution to civil rights in the African American community and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark or listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

First Nations

Ada Deer

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

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

In 1977, Ada Deer returned to Madison and was a senior lecturer in the School of Social Work and the American Indian Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She was known nationally for her groundbreaking classes on Native American issues and pioneering social work training on Native American reservations. Ada Deer was one of 51 accomplished educators and practitioners featured in the 2003 book *Celebrating Social Work: Faces and Voices in the Formative Years* published by the Council on Social Work Education.

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

Under the Clinton administration in 1993, Ada Deer was appointed as the Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs of the United States Department of the Interior and was the first Native American woman to head the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. During her 4-year tenure, the department oversaw a large increase in the number of recognized tribes as she set federal policy for more than 550 recognized tribes through the federal government.
Ada Deer continued to teach at the University of Wisconsin School of Social Work, and from 2000 to 2007 and was the director of the American Indian Studies Program at the university. She is currently a distinguished lecturer emerita at the university.

Ada Deer is nationally significant in the Native American community in the area of Government, particularly the Federal Government, from 1993 to 1997. During this period, she lived in a non-extant apartment and afterward lived outside of the City of Madison, so there are no resources associated with her significance in the Native American community in the area of Government.

However, she is also significant in the Native American community in the area of Education, particularly at the University of Wisconsin System, from 1977 to 2007. Deer taught in the non-extant School of Social Work, which was located at 425 Henry Mall on the University of Wisconsin campus; however, her office was at room 1188 in the Education Sciences Building, located at 1025 W. Johnson Street, which has been the site of Ada Deer’s, and others, work in the field of American Indian Studies. Therefore, the Educational Science Building is the only resource in the City of Madison associated with her significance in the Native American community in the area of Education. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Annie Greencrow Whitehorse

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

Whitehorse was a frequent guest lecturer at the University of Wisconsin regarding Ho-Chunk folklore, culture, language, and art. She also insisted that all her children finish high school in the 1930s and 1940s, and many attended colleges, too. Whitehorse died in 1990.

In 1993, Schenk Middle School, located on the east side of Madison, was renamed the Annie Greencrow Whitehorse Middle School in honor of her life and local commitment to the environment, Native American culture, and education. Annie Whitehorse lived most of her life in the neighboring City of Monona. Other than the name, the school holds no direct association to Annie Greencrow Whitehorse’s contributions in Education and is, therefore, not a good candidate to be designated as a City of Madison Landmark. Criteria Considerations discuss properties primarily commemorative in intent, which shall not be considered eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places unless their design, age, tradition, or
symbolic value has invested it with its historical significance. There are no primary resources associated with Annie Greencrow Whitehorse in Madison.

**Latino/a**

*Ricardo Gonzalez*

Ricardo Alfredo Gonzalez was born in Camaguey, Cuba in 1946 and immigrated to Miami, Florida in 1960 in the wake of the Cuban Revolution. Ricardo moved to Oklahoma and then Texas in 1963. He attended college and moved to Ripon, Wisconsin in 1968 to work as a manager for the Green Giant canning company. Gonzalez ran, unsuccessfully, for a State Assembly seat in 1972.  

After moving to Madison in 1973 to accept a position as an affirmative action officer, Ricardo Gonzalez took ownership of the struggling Cardinal Bar in 1974. Gonzalez quickly became part of Madison’s active and vocal Cuban community. He was also a gay man, active in Madison’s LGBTQ community, and intended to run Cardinal Bar as a gay bar. However, the Cardinal Bar soon became popular with a diverse clientele, including the LGBTQ and Latino/a communities and others.  

In 1980, Gonzalez was the director of a local organization that cared for and educated Cuban immigrants who were directed to Fort McCoy and eventually settled in Madison. In 1981, a series of violent incidents occurred in the bar. Accompanied by damage from fire and flooding, these events nearly took the Cardinal Bar under. The bar closed briefly but re-opened again. The bar was remodeled in 1985 and 1986.  

Gonzalez was politically active in the community, and, therefore, the bar became the informal headquarters of many political actions in Madison during the 1970s and 1980s. It was a venue for campaign fundraisers for gay and lesbian political candidates, as well as fundraisers for LGBTQ organizations and causes. Gonzalez was elected alderman of the 4th District in 1989, becoming the first gay Latino elected to public office in the United States. Gonzalez’s work as alderman focused on downtown revitalization, and he is credited with the creation of the Monona Terrace Convention Center. After forty-three years in operation, making it the longest-running gay bar in Madison’s history and likely the longest-running Latino-owned enterprise in Madison’s history, too, the Cardinal Bar closed in 2017 and was sold.  

Ricardo Gonzalez is locally significant to both the Latino/a and LGBTQ communities in the area of Commerce, particularly Goods and Services, from 1974 to 2017. During this period, the primary resource associated with him is the Cardinal Hotel and Bar. The building is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark. However, consideration should be given to updating its designation to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. The building is also individually listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places. However, consideration should be given to amending the nomination to reflect its significance in the Latino/a and LGBTQ communities in the future.
LGBTQ

David Clarenbach

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

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

David Clarenbach is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government from 1973 to 1993. During this time, there were several resources associated with him: the Wisconsin State Capitol at 2 East Main Street, his 1974-1976 home at 130-134 East Gorham Street, his 1976-1977 home at 26 North Franklin Street, his 1978-1983 home at 123 West Gilman Street, his 1984-1985 home at 1035 Sherman Avenue, and his 1986-1993 home at 454 Sidney Street. The primary resource associated with the life of David Clarenbach and his significance in Government is the Wisconsin State Capitol, which is designated as a City of Madison Landmark, listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, and designated as a National Historic Landmark in 2001. A secondary resource includes the David Clarenbach House / Jim Yeadon House at 123 W. Gilman Street where Clarenbach lived during the development and introduction of his two biggest legal milestones. The building is already designated within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Mansion Hill Historic District and listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Mansion Hill Historic District. However, consideration should be given to designating this resource as a City of Madison Landmark to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community.

Theodore Pierce

Theodore Pierce was born in Chicago in 1907 and moved to Madison in 1910 to live with his uncle, Samuel Pierce, who served as the Wisconsin Governor’s office messenger from 1922 until he died in 1936. Samuel Pierce was a popular and influential figure at the capitol. Theodore took over the position after Samuel died and continued to live in his childhood home at 1442 Williamson Street.
Theodore was one of the first known gay men in Madison. He was a well-liked figure in the gay community, not only in his Williamson Street neighborhood but throughout the state and country. While it is unknown how long he worked in the governor’s office, he began to acquire certain connections during his time there. He befriended gay dancers, actors, and writers who visited the state and often continued to correspond with them long afterward and host them in his home whenever they returned to Madison. Pierce lived as a gay man in Madison for almost four decades before the Gay Liberation Movement began and later served as a link between the contemporary gay community and their pre-Stonewall culture and history. He lived at 1442 Williamson Street until he died in 1999. The house was originally constructed in 1898 for D.D. Daniher.

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

R. Richard (Dick) Wagner

Roland Richard Wagner moved to Madison in 1965 and has been as a community leader, neighborhood pioneer, and LGBTQ historian since the early 1970s. After earning a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin in History, he was credited with advancing the passage of Madison’s Landmarks Ordinance in 1971. Wagner lived at 134 East Gorham Street until 1975.

He pioneered reinvestment in the deteriorated Marquette neighborhood by buying, restoring, and residing in several houses in the neighborhood beginning in 1975. Wagner purchased the house at 754 Wagner Street in 1975, restored it, and individually listed it in the National Register of Historic Places in 1982. The house was built in 1873 for John George Ott House. Wagner purchased and moved to the house at 739 Jenifer Street in 1984; he restored the house and lives there to the present day. The house itself, built-in 1857 for Joanna and Frederick Sauthoff, has a deeper history in the LGBTQ community as the home of Keith McCutcheon and Joe Koberstein in the 1950s and 60s. McCutcheon and Koberstein hosted a community of gay men in the house at a time when there were no public places where gay men could gather to live their lives and relationships openly and safely. While he was investing in the neighborhood, he also served on its neighborhood association and advocated for a community-directed revitalization of the Williamson Street corridor.

In 1980, Wagner was the first openly gay member elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors, which he served on until 1994, serving as its chair for four terms. In his first year, the Dane County Board of Supervisors adopted a county-wide non-discrimination ordinance that offered protections to the LGBTQ community. During his time on the county board, he also played a major role in the advancement of Monona Terrace and Olbrich Gardens.
In 1983, when he was one of about only twenty-five openly gay elected officials in the country, Wagner was appointed as one of the first co-chairs of Governor Tony Earl’s newly established Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues. Wagner resigned from the council in August 1984; before the council disbanded after Tommy Thompson’s election in 1986 due to his vowing during the campaign to eliminate the council.692

He has served on many other boards, committees, and commissions, including the Wisconsin American Revolution Bicentennial Commission from 1972 to 1976, the Citizen’s Advisory Committee to the Landmarks Commission in 1972, the Madison Landmarks Commission from 1973 to 1979, the Governor’s Council on Lesbian and Gay Issues from 1983 to 1984, the Dane County Board of Supervisors from 1980 to 1994, the Urban Design Commission from 2017 to 2019, the East Rail Corridor Plan Advisory Committee from 2001 to 2004, and the Madison Plan Commission from 1997 to 2004.693 In 1985, Wagner helped create the New Harvest Foundation, a foundation that “channels charitable contributions exclusively to organizations working to promote lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) rights, services, culture, and community development.” Founding meetings were held in Wagner’s home.694

Wagner, who earned a Ph.D. in history from the University of Wisconsin, has publicly articulated a culture of the LGBTQ community in Madison and Wisconsin through his writings. Based on his extensive collection of research, he has done a great deal to cultivate a sense of identity and history for Madison’s LGBTQ community. He has written many articles on LGBTQ history for Our Lives magazine since its inception in 2007. Wagner argues, in a soon-to-be-published book, that most gay history focuses on the movements in east and west-coast states and has left significant state-level gaps in history.

Dick Wagner is locally significant in the LGBTQ community in the area of Government from 1980 to 1994. During this time period, there were several resources associated with him: The City-County Building at 210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard, his 1975 to 1986 house at 754 Jenifer Street, and his 1986 to the present-day house at 739 Jenifer Street. The primary resource associated with the life of Dick Wagner and his significance in Government is the City-County Building; this resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The City-County Building has already been determined eligible for listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places for significance in other areas; consideration should be given to include its contribution to the history of underrepresented communities. A secondary resource includes his home at 754 Jenifer Street. This resource is already designated as a City of Madison Landmark and is within the period of significance of the City of Madison’s Third Lake Ridge Historic District. Consideration should be given to amending the designation to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community. The resource is also listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Jenifer-Spaight Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of the LGBTQ community.
Women

*Ruth Bleier*

Ruth Harriet Bleier was born in 1923 in Pennsylvania. She earned degrees from Goucher College and the Woman’s Medical College of Pennsylvania and became a widely respected neurophysicist.

She came to the University of Wisconsin in 1967 to work in the Department of Neurophysiology. In 1970, in response to an investigation by the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Bleier helped organize the Association of Faculty Women (AFW). She was elected as one of the first co-chairs and chaired the organization for about four years. Working with the AFW, Bleier collected data on the status of women and the hiring and compensation practices in the University of Wisconsin System. The AFW used the information to organize women and lobby administrators for changes. Bleier and the AFW organized women in many campus departments and brought together university women from across the state to share data, methods, and skills for correcting inequities. Their work fundamentally changed the conditions for women on campuses throughout the University of Wisconsin System.

While working with the AFW, Bleier was also an advocate for and founder of the Women’s Studies program at the University of Wisconsin. She worked with other AFW members to lay the groundwork for the program and advocate for its implementation. This led directly to the approval of the Women’s Studies Program at the University of Wisconsin in 1975, of which she was the chair from 1982 to 1986.

Ruth Bleier also had a feminist influence on the biological sciences in general. She was a nationally recognized neurophysicist in the 1980s when she brought her feminist ideas to her profession. She studied gender bias in the biological sciences and published two books in the subject that exposed such bias: *Science and Gender: A Critique of Biology and Its Theories on Women* (1984) and *Feminist Approaches to Science* (1986). Her books have become essential reading in the field of women’s studies. Ruth Bleier lived at 1821 Thorstrand Road from 1970 until 1986. The house was built in 1962 and was designed by Madison architect Herb Fritz. The house is not fully visible from Thorstrand Road, which is a private drive. City of Madison records describe it as a Ranch style home with a flat roof, concrete foundation, and wood exterior cladding. She died in 1988.

Ruth Bleier was nationally significant within the community of women in the areas of Education and Literature from 1970 to 1986. During this time, there were several resources associated with her: The Women’s Studies Program, now the Department of Gender and Women’s Studies,
located in Sterling Hall at 475 North Charter Street and her 1970 to 1986 residence at 1821 Thorstrand Road. The primary resource associated with the life of Ruth Bleier and her significance in Education and Literature is Sterling Hall at 475 North Charter Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark.

Kathryn F. Clarenbach

Kathryn Clarenbach was born in 1920 and grew up in Sparta, Wisconsin. She came to Madison in 1937 to study Political Science at the University of Wisconsin. She worked in Washington, D.C. for some time after college, then returned to Madison to pursue a Ph.D. in Political Science, which she received in 1946. After marrying and spending some time in New York, Clarenbach returned to Madison again in 1960.

By 1962, she was working as an assistant in the Dean of Women’s office on the University of Wisconsin campus. In 1962, she co-chaired a pioneering conference at the Wisconsin Center that “explored educational and employment needs and opportunities for women in the university and Madison area.” A year later, she helped plan a similar conference and persuaded Wisconsin Governor John Reynolds to establish a statewide Commission on the Status of Women. Reynolds did, seeing the need to “investigate the role of women in Wisconsin and suggest ways in which women can become fuller participants in our society.” Clarenbach was chosen to head the Commission (she did so until 1979, with a two-year break). By 1964, she was the director of university education for women.

In 1966, while she was still heading the state commission and working on educational reforms for women at the University of Wisconsin, she co-founded the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Washington, D.C. with several other women, including Betty Friedan. Clarenbach was chosen as the new organization’s chairperson, serving until 1970, and NOW was headquartered for a short time in her Madison home.

By the time the Women’s Liberation Movement crystallized in the late 1960s, Kathryn Clarenbach was a veteran feminist and organizer. In the late-1960s and 1970s, she successfully lobbied for reforms in Wisconsin laws regarding marital property, divorce, and sexual assault. In 1970, she was elected president of the Interstate Association of Commissions on the Status of Women. She was a founding member of the Association of Women Faculty (AFW) in 1970 and elected to its governing board in 1971. Clarenbach worked with the AFW in the early 1970s, organizing faculty and staff on the Madison campus and other University of Wisconsin System campuses and laying the groundwork for the Women’s Studies Program to be approved in 1975.

In 1977, she served as the Executive Director of the National Commission for the Observance of International Woman’s Year, an effort that culminated in the pivotal National Women’s Conference in Houston, Texas. That influential conference brought together major feminist leaders including Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan, and Bella Abzug, alongside Coretta Scott King, Rosalynn Carter, Betty Ford, and Lady Bird Johnson. The national strategy developed at the conference asked for federal involvement in removing barriers to women in twenty-six areas, including childcare, education, and health.
After Governor Lee Dreyfus disbanded the state Commission on the Status of Women in 1979, of which she was still the chair, Clarenbach helped create the Wisconsin Women’s Network.\(^7\) Clarenbach finished her career as a professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin in 1988 and died in 1994. She lived at 2229 Eton Ridge during her entire career in Madison.

Kathryn F. Clarenbach is nationally significant within the community of Women in the areas of Social and Political Movements from 1962 to 1979. The primary resource associated with the life of Kathryn F. Clarenbach and her significance in Social and Political Movements in her house at 2229 Eton Ridge. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as a City of Madison Landmark. The building is already listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the West Lawn Heights Historic District. Consideration should be given to individually listing this resource in the State and National Registers of Historic Places to reflect its significance in the history of Women.

**Betty Walker Smith**

Betty Smith came to Madison in the late 1930s. As a young adult in the 1950s, she was active in her church community, Girl Scouts, and local politics. She was exposed to local politics while working closely with her husband, William Bradford Smith, on his campaign for alder in 1961.\(^7\) In 1964, she chaired the Dane County Knowles for Governor campaign when Warren P. Knowles was elected Governor of Wisconsin.\(^7\) In the late 1960s, Smith spoke of political activism in terms of creating a good society for future generations. She thought of politics as an arena for men but recognized positive qualities in herself that she credited to her leadership in local party politics and political campaigns.\(^7\)

Betty Smith taught classes in advertising and consumer behavior at Madison Business College from 1963 to 1981 as her profession.\(^7\) In her spare time, she was active with the Dane County Republican Club, the University League, United Church Women, Dane County Citizens Association for Children and Youth, the Madison Civics Club, the American Association of University Women, and established Child Development, Inc. in 1968. As president of Child Development, Inc. she led the effort to build a daycare center on Madison’s south side, located in 2012 Fisher Street, in 1969.\(^7\)
Smith cultivated a reputation for being politically astute. She was invited to discuss grassroots organizing with members of the National Professional Society of Women in Journalism in 1968. In 1969, she was elected to chair the Governor’s Commission on the Status of Women. That position gave Smith a platform to emphasize cooperation and understanding among people of different political perspectives.

During the early 1970s, Smith began to advocate more for women’s issues. She was especially interested in improving detention centers for women and increasing the number of day-care centers and low-income housing to make it easier for women to choose employment. She was a founder of the Wisconsin Women’s Political Caucus in 1971. That year she became the second woman ever to run for a seat in the Wisconsin senate. One of her campaign issues was the expansion of daycare facilities as a way of liberating women to join the workforce. She lost that election, but she used her prominence to publicly criticize the underrepresentation of women on the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents and in Wisconsin Governor Patrick Lucey’s cabinet.

In 1973, Smith was elected to the Madison Common Council in the nineteenth district. She served three terms until 1979. While she was on the council, Smith ran unsuccessfully again for a state senate seat in 1976 and served as a member of the state Commission on the Status of Women. Smith demonstrated her passion for equality in 1974 when she joined a crowd of men and women from the White and Latino/a communities in a march to protest unequal hiring practices in local and state government. She also helped overturn state law which prevented giving birth control information to unmarried women. Smith ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Madison in 1977, emphasizing cooperation and understanding. Had she won, she would have been the first woman to be elected mayor. She died in 2008.

Betty Walker Smith is locally significant in the history of Women in the area of Education from 1968 to 1979. During this time, there were two resources associated with her: The South Madison Day Care Center at 2012 Fisher Street and her 1963 to 1995 house at 3 Robin Circle. The primary resource associated with the life of Betty Walker Smith and her significance in Education is the South Madison Day Care Center at 2012 Fisher Street. This resource is potentially eligible for designation as City of Madison Landmark for its association with Smith and her significance in Education from 1968 to 1979 and its significance in the African American community in the area of Education from 1968 to 1999.

### Historic Resources Associated with Notable People Included in the Survey

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<tr>
<th>Address</th>
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<tr>
<td>6608 Berkshire Road</td>
<td>Eugene and Marilyn Parks Duplex</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Ranch</td>
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<tr>
<td>405 Bram Street</td>
<td>Willie Lou and George Harris House</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Minimal</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<td>Madison Vocational School / Madison Area Technical College</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Collegiate Gothic</td>
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<tr>
<td>5701 Cedar Place</td>
<td>Carson and Beatrice Gulley House</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Ranch</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP Eligible</td>
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<tr>
<td>475 N. Charter Street</td>
<td>Sterling Hall</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Neoclassical</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>649-653 E. Dayton Street</td>
<td>Douglass Beneficial Society Hall / John and Amanda Hill Grocery</td>
<td>1901, 1912</td>
<td>Front Gabled</td>
<td>CoM Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2229 Eton Ridge</td>
<td>Kathryn F. and Henry G. Clarenbach House</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Colonial Revival</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and NRHP HD–C</td>
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<tr>
<td>123 W. Gilman Street</td>
<td>Jim Yeadon House / David Clarenbach House</td>
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<td>Queen Anne</td>
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<tr>
<td>754 Jenifer Street</td>
<td>(John George Ott House) R. Richard Wagner House</td>
<td>1873</td>
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<td>CoM HD-w/I POS and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
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<tr>
<td>633 E. Johnson Street</td>
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<td>Side Gabled</td>
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<td>1025 W. Johnson Street</td>
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<td>Brutalist</td>
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<td>848 W. Lakeside Street</td>
<td>Rev. James C. and Jackie Wright House</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Colonial Revival</td>
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<td>500 Lincoln Drive</td>
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<td>Beaux Arts</td>
<td>CoM Landmark, SRHP/NRHP and NHL</td>
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<td>210 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard</td>
<td>City-County Building</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<tr>
<td>600 N. Park Street</td>
<td>Helen C. White Hall</td>
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<td>Brutalist</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
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<td>909 Sequoia Trail</td>
<td>Lincoln Elementary School</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<td>1515 Tripp Circle</td>
<td>Van Hise Refectory</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Italianate</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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<td>1442 Williamson Street</td>
<td>(D.D. Daniher House) Samuel S. and Mollie Pierce House / Theodore Pierce House</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Front Gabled</td>
<td>CoM HD–w/i POS and SRHP/NRHP Eligible</td>
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<td>416 E. Wilson Street</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>Georgian Revival</td>
<td>CoM Landmark and SRHP/NRHP HD–C</td>
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<tr>
<td>413 W. Wingra Drive</td>
<td>Marshall and Eva Colston House</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Front Gabled</td>
<td>CoM Eligible Landmark</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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201


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Survey Results

Introduction

The survey conducted on the historical aspects of underrepresented groups in the City of Madison shows a genuine abundance of valuable historic properties within the survey boundary. However, a survey is a snapshot in time capturing the readily available information of the moment, and further information can and will come to light. This is especially the case considering the recent historical significance of many of the properties and future work may illuminate more on these subjects and their significance.

The survey identified approximately 117 resources of historical interest, 98 of which are potentially eligible for designation as City of Madison Landmarks. Furthermore, of these 9 are individually eligible for the State and National Registers of Historic Places. 39 included resources are already listed individually in the State and/or National Registers of Historic Places or as contributing resources in a State or National Register of Historic Places District (See Chapter 2, Survey Methodology, for an in-depth list of State and National Register criteria). Some of these resources are already designated as local landmarks or listed in the State and/or National Register of Historic Places; however, such designations are not related to their significance in the history of underrepresented communities in the city. An additional 19 resources were included in the survey but are not yet Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks or lack the criteria for Designation at this time.

This chapter contains lists of the following results of the survey:

- Resources Designated as City of Madison Landmarks (Consideration should be given to updating resources already designated as City of Madison Landmarks to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities).
- Resources Designated in City of Madison Historic Districts (Consideration should be given to updating resources already designated as City of Madison Landmarks to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities).
- Resources Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks
- Resources Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks in the Future
- Resources Individually Listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places (Consideration should be given to updating these nominations to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities)
• Resources Listed in State and National Registers of Historic Places Historic Districts (Consideration should be given to listing these resources in the State and National Registers of Historic Places individually to reflect their significance in the history of underrepresented communities).
• Resources Eligible for Listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places

In addition to the contents of this chapter, several other types of information were gathered and organized through the course of the survey. From this information, the following documents were created: updated entries to the Wisconsin Historical Society’s online Architecture and History Inventory (AHI), photos of every surveyed resource, and this report. This historical survey report and the associated work elements mentioned above are kept at the City of Madison Department of Planning and Community and Economic Development and the Historic Preservation Division of the Wisconsin Historical Society in Madison.

### Resources Designated as City of Madison Landmarks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Historic Name</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>P. of S.</th>
<th>AHI #</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>647 E. Dayton Street</td>
<td>(Miller House)</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>(1908-1920)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>William and Anna Mae Miller House</td>
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<td>1908-1963</td>
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<td>649-653 E. Dayton Street</td>
<td>(Hill Grocery and Thomas Residence)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Douglass Beneficial Society Hall / John and Amanda Hill Grocery</td>
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<td>1901-1912 / 1917-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1980</td>
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<tr>
<td>240 W. Gilman Street</td>
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<td>Women</td>
<td>(1906)</td>
<td>99204</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1906-1973</td>
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<tr>
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<td>First Nations</td>
<td>(1899-1910)</td>
<td>78138</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ho-Chunk Settlement Camp</td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1830- c.1880</td>
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<td>2 E. Main Street</td>
<td>Wisconsin State Capitol</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>(1906-1917)</td>
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<td>African American</td>
<td>(1922)</td>
<td>81006</td>
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<td></td>
<td>St. Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
<td></td>
<td>1965-1997</td>
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<td>1645 Norman Way</td>
<td>John R. Commons House</td>
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<td>(1913-1937)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1913</td>
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<td>7-11 N. Pinckney Street</td>
<td>(Hobbins Block / Olson and Veerhusen Building)</td>
<td>Latino/a</td>
<td>(1899-1906)</td>
<td>110533</td>
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<td>1976-present</td>
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<td>Women</td>
<td>(1918)</td>
<td>28438</td>
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<td>c.1985-present</td>
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<td>416 E. Wilson Street</td>
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<td>(1908-1935)</td>
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### Resources Designated in City of Madison Historic Districts

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<th>P. of S.</th>
<th>AHI #</th>
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<td>(Balthuasar H. Meyer House)</td>
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<td>(1894-1930)</td>
<td>94772</td>
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<td>Marjorie and Edward Miller House</td>
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<td>1970-1984</td>
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<td>123 W. Gilman Street</td>
<td>(Benjah Warnes Rental House)</td>
<td>LGBTQ</td>
<td>(1850-1946)</td>
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<td>Community</td>
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<td>AHI #</td>
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<td>128-132 W. Johnson Street</td>
<td>Holy Redeemer Catholic Church</td>
<td>Latino/a</td>
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<td>142 W. Johnson Street</td>
<td>Holy Redeemer Catholic School</td>
<td>Latino/a</td>
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<tr>
<td>406 N. Pinckney Street</td>
<td>(Orasmus Cole House) and Harmonia Madison Center for Psychotherapy</td>
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<td>(1850-1946)</td>
<td>37126</td>
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<td>Orton Park</td>
<td>LGBTQ</td>
<td>(1854-1944)</td>
<td>16104</td>
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<td>1119 Williamson Street</td>
<td>(Meek’s Auto Body Company) Broom Street Theatre</td>
<td>LGBTQ</td>
<td>(1854-1944)</td>
<td>241087</td>
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<tr>
<td>401 Wisconsin Avenue</td>
<td>(A’delbert L. Averill House) Moontree Psychotherapy Center</td>
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Resources Eligible for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks

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<td>Women</td>
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<td>37572</td>
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<td>1905 W. Beltline Highway</td>
<td>St. Joseph Catholic Church</td>
<td>Latino/a</td>
<td>c.1980-present</td>
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<tr>
<td>6608 Berkshire Road</td>
<td>Eugene and Marilyn Parks Duplex</td>
<td>African American</td>
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<td>206 Bernard Court</td>
<td>MEChA</td>
<td>Latino/a</td>
<td>1977-present</td>
<td>160472</td>
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<td>100 N. Blair Street</td>
<td>(Free Methodist Church) Capital City Masonic Lodge #2</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>c.1960-present</td>
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<td>405 Bram Street</td>
<td>Willie Lou and George Harris House</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1950-1954</td>
<td>241078</td>
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<td>Women’s Studies House</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1975-1997</td>
<td>95208</td>
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<td>215-217 N. Brooks Street</td>
<td>Wunk Sheek</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
<td>1968-present</td>
<td>95211</td>
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<tr>
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<td>University YMCA</td>
<td>LGBTQ and Women</td>
<td>c.1970-present</td>
<td>241079</td>
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<td>Race</td>
<td>Years</td>
<td>Code</td>
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<td>(1921-1968) 1950-present</td>
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<td>Clyde Stubbsfield House</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1971-2011</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Anderson House</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>(1917) 1928-1964</td>
<td>95423</td>
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<td>1989-2018</td>
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<td>Thompson House</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>96569</td>
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<tr>
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<td>African American and Women</td>
<td>1968-1999</td>
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<tr>
<td>2019 Fisher Street</td>
<td>Mount Zion Baptist Church</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1960-present</td>
<td>108156</td>
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<td>2025-2029 Fisher Street</td>
<td>Mount Zion Baptist Church Parsonage and Community Center</td>
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<td>241083</td>
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<td>African American</td>
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<td>241086</td>
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<td>Edgar and Marie Smith House</td>
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<td>(1891-1940) 1913</td>
<td>37210</td>
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<td>Benjamin and Amy Butts House</td>
<td>African American</td>
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<td>(Peter Hamacher Building) Wisconsin Weekly Blade</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>(1855-1946), 1916-1925</td>
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<td>(Meek’s Auto Body Company) Broom Street Theatre</td>
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## Resources to Evaluate in the Future for Designation as City of Madison Landmarks

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<th>AHI #</th>
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<td>(Eastwood Movie Theater) Barrymore Theatre</td>
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<td>3606 Blackhawk Drive</td>
<td>Blackhawk’s Journey</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
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<td>Hmong</td>
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<td>African American</td>
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<td>Superior Spirits</td>
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### Resources Individually Listed in the State and National Registers of Historic Places

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### Resources Listed in State and National Registers of Historic Places Historic Districts

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<tr>
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<td>Bascom Hall</td>
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<td>111 W. Main Street</td>
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<td>117-119 W. Main Street</td>
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<td>2105 Monroe Street</td>
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<td>209 N. Brooks Street</td>
<td>Women’s Studies House</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>c.1960</td>
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<td>c.1970</td>
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<tr>
<td>5701 Cedar Place</td>
<td>Carson and Beatrice Gulley House</td>
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<td>1954-1962</td>
<td>241080</td>
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<td>Benjamin and Amy Butts House</td>
<td>African American</td>
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<tr>
<td>326 State Streetb</td>
<td>(Peter Hamacher Building) Wisconsin Weekly Blade</td>
<td>African American</td>
<td>1855-1946</td>
<td>88387</td>
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<tr>
<td>341 State Streetb</td>
<td>Wisconsin Student Association Community Pharmacy</td>
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<td>1855-1946</td>
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<td>State Historical Society of Wisconsin</td>
<td>First Nations</td>
<td>1851-1969</td>
<td>16108</td>
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<td>1811 Vilas Avenue</td>
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<td>Charles E. and Bertha Brown House</td>
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<td>1871-1935</td>
<td>17062</td>
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<tr>
<td>506 E. Wilson Street</td>
<td>(Herman Kluter Building) Emily’s / Cheri’s Back East</td>
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<td>1871-1935</td>
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<td>(A’delbert L. Averill House) Moontree Psychotherapy Center</td>
<td>LGBTQ</td>
<td>1850-1946</td>
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* Non-Contributing to a district in the State Register of Historic Places.
* Listed in the State Register of Historic Places only.

**Resources Eligible for Listing in the State and National Registers of Historic Places**

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<td>228 N. Charter Street</td>
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<td>Penn Park</td>
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<td>(1948) 1972-present</td>
<td>241084</td>
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<td>Educational Science Building</td>
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<td>1976-present</td>
<td>241097</td>
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<td>City-County Building</td>
<td>All</td>
<td>1975-2015</td>
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<td>5326 Oak Crest Place</td>
<td>Truman and Nancy Lowe House</td>
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<td>1024 Regent Street</td>
<td>WYOU Studio</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Carson Gulley Center</td>
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Conclusion

The survey should serve to enhance the overall historic preservation ethic in the City of Madison. It gives a brief history of the city, identifies historic resources, and can serve as a basis for decision-making activities regarding those resources. This report can be used to create interest and awareness and promote historic resources and preservation issues in Madison.

This report should not be considered a complete history of the City of Madison, nor the underrepresented groups highlighted in this document. It is hoped that this survey will be periodically updated and expanded upon. This report is subject to change. Additional research and clarifications should be incorporated and added to this report in the future. This is a living document and the beginning of an ongoing historic preservation effort that will continue for years to come.
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