A history of housing at the University of Wisconsin. 1987

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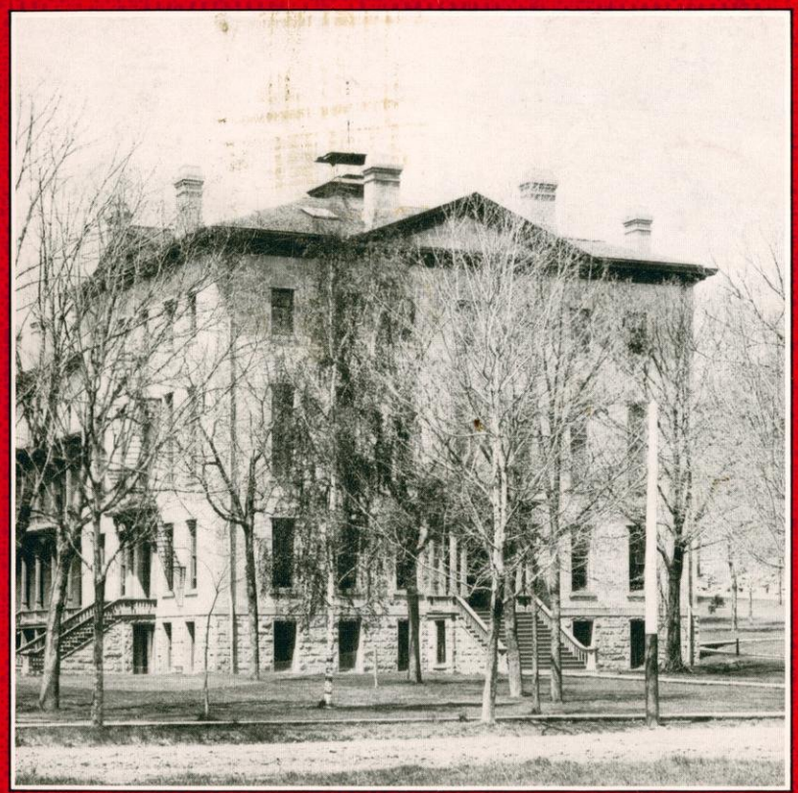
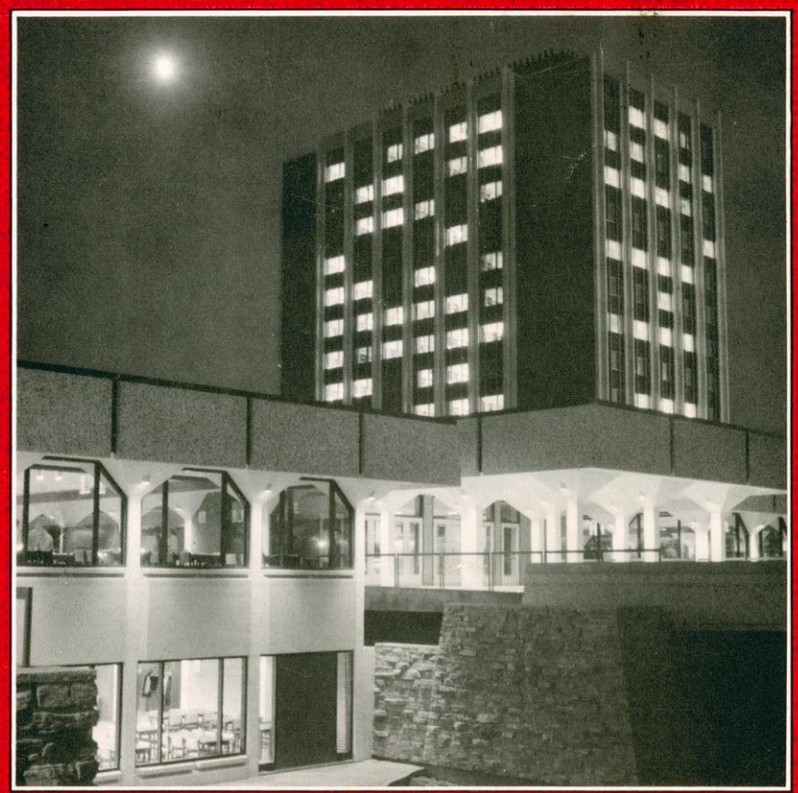
Barry Teicher and John W. Jenkins





A History of Housing at The University of Wisconsin

Barry Teicher and John W. Jenkins

UW History Project
Madison, Wisconsin

CONTENTS

Cover: Ladies' Hall (later Chadbourne Hall), circa 1880 (left)
Gordon Commons and Ogg Hall, 1965 (right)

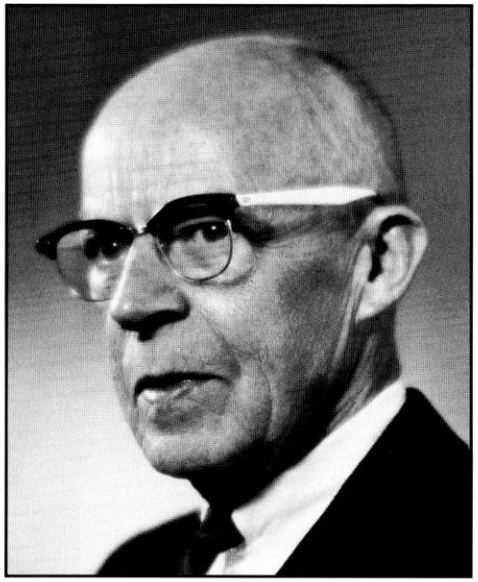
DEDICATION

The Division of University Housing dedicates this history to Donald L. Halverson, now in his 97th year, who was the first Director of the Department of Dormitories and Commons, the original name of the present-day Division.

Don Halverson implemented the concept, expressed by President Charles Van Hise in 1904 and strongly subscribed to by the original Dormitory Faculty Committee, that residence halls for students should be an important part of the University educational process. From the beginning, he stressed high-quality housing and food service as essential support for a successful educational program. He had a strong belief, shared by the Dormitory Faculty Committee, in the ability of students to handle their group living affairs with minimal direction. He translated his faith into action by encouraging student self-government and leadership. In conjunction with the Dormitory Faculty Committee, and with their guidance and assistance, he developed the House Fellow (leader/counselor) System as a key element in the educational process. This system of administering student living units has been adopted in concept by many colleges and universities across the country, and it remains the system on which the present University residence halls are based.

The past and present staffs of the Division of University Housing, as well as the University as a whole, have benefited from Donald Halverson's extraordinary vision and pioneering work. His philosophy, based as it is on the worth of students and those who advise and teach them, continues to guide the University housing program.

July 1987
Madison, Wisconsin



Donald L. Halverson, first director, 1924–1945

PREFACE

The writing of this history was conceived about sixteen years ago by several senior staff members of the Division of University Housing. By that time, Donald L. Halverson, the first director of the division, and Lee Burns, the second director, had retired. Beginning in 1924, their overlapping careers spanned more than forty years. These men pioneered the development of the educational philosophy of student housing as President Charles Van Hise had envisioned in his inaugural address in 1904. Halverson and Burns also developed a very successful managerial philosophy and we believe that their knowledge and experiences should be recorded. We also believe that there are salient facts and events in the seventy-five years from 1851 to 1926 that will provide valuable perspectives on the growth of student housing. Such a historical record might benefit present and future Division of Housing staff and University administrators.

In 1983 we were fortunate to commission Barry Teicher and John W. Jenkins to undertake the research and writing of this project as an adjunct to their work on the third volume of the University of Wisconsin history. Don Halverson and Lee Burns were still available, as were Newell Smith, the third and fifth director; and George Gurda, longtime assistant director; and myself, the fourth director. All of us had spent many years in University housing administration and were able to contribute to the research. Norm Sunstad, the present director, has also contributed his support.

We are greatly indebted to Barry Teicher and John Jenkins for their conscientious and thorough research and writing efforts. The University Publications Office staff have contributed their talents to enhance this book; especially Francine Hartman for editorial support, Barry Carlsen for design, Gabrielle Cooke for production coordination, and Steven Deatherage and Beth Horning for typesetting. The final result has exceeded our expectations. We believe it will be a valuable and useful part of the University history.

Lawrence E. Halle
Associate Director (retired)
July 1987

INTRODUCTION

The University of Wisconsin began as a one-room college preparatory classroom in 1849 and by 1903 it had evolved into a nationally respected teaching and research institution. From 1903 through 1925, under the administrations of Charles R. Van Hise and Edward A. Birge, the University grew into an even more comprehensive institution—a "combination university," in Van Hise's words—featuring strong teaching, research, and graduate training, while at the same time expanding student services. The years 1925 through 1940 were confusing and complex. The University's experience paralleled the nation's, going from economic prosperity to depression. Internally, faculty governance gained importance as presidential leadership faltered. World War II and its aftermath dominated the decade of the 1940s. In the 1950s and 1960s authorities at the University turned their attention toward the development of a comprehensive, forward-looking campus growth plan.

The history of housing at the University of Wisconsin reflects the history of the institution itself. The first fifty years saw a struggle for definition. In his 1904 inaugural address, President Van Hise included housing as a key component in the combination university, thereby proposing a new and important function for it at Wisconsin. Beginning with the opening of Tripp and Adams halls in 1926, a new system of dormitories was established that tried to meet the residential, social, and educational needs of students. Based on Van Hise's model, it was administered by the Department of Dormitories and Commons, and involved a dormitory committee, a student self-government association, and a house fellow system. After 1930, in addition to defining its role in and responsibility toward the University, the department, under the leadership of Donald Halverson, coped with the debilitating effects of the Great Depression, and later helped reinstate the stalled building program. With the advent of World War II, the Department of Dormitories and Commons, renamed the Division of Residence Halls, turned its attention to providing housing for soldiers stationed on campus. Following the war, the division provided emergency living accommodations for returning veterans and their families. When these temporary facilities were closed, the division, under the leadership of Lee Burns, and then of Newell Smith, redirected its energies toward planning and building for the future. The present-day physical plant and program of the division bear testament to the success of their efforts.

It is always a risky proposition for the historian to write on a subject whose readers actually lived through its events. This history of housing at Wisconsin is no exception. Of necessity we have had to pick our approach and follow it; unfortunately, ignoring material of special personal or professional interest to our audience in the process. Perhaps we have over-simplified housing nomenclature at Wisconsin in an effort to provide ease of reading and understanding. Terms such as "dormitory" and "residence hall," for example, are used synonymously, even though each predominated during its particular era. The critical reader will find other similar examples, and we hope she or he will be forgiving.

This study was prepared under the auspices of the UW History Project, specifically to trace the history of housing and to place it within the larger University of Wisconsin context. The authors wish to thank Dean E. David Cronon and the College of Letters and Science for their continued help and support of the project. Most data used in this history reside at the University of Wisconsin Archives, and we wish to express our gratitude to Frank Cook and Bernard Schermetzler for their assistance. Among the most pleasant and rewarding experiences in researching this study were interviews and conversations with many of the men who shaped the history, including Donald Halverson, Lee Burns, Lawrence Halle, Newell Smith, and George Gurda. Others providing helpful assistance include Willard W. Blaesser, Elmer B. Dahlgren, Leland S. McClung, Otto E. Mueller, George W. Robinson, Clarence Schoenfeld, W. Norris Wentworth, and Tell C. Yelle. Finally, we wish to thank the Division of Residence Halls for providing funds for the hiring of a research assistant, Steven Ourada. The authors take full responsibility for any errors in fact or judgment that may appear in the following pages. A chronology listing the major events in the history of housing at Wisconsin is included at the end of the text.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY YEARS

Between 1849 and 1903 the University of Wisconsin evolved from a rented one-room college preparatory classroom into a beautifully situated modern teaching and research institution. It began primarily as a school for boys and ended as a richly variegated home of male and female college students, graduate degree seekers, teachers, and world-renowned scholars. Compared with the institution's twentieth century experience, governance throughout the early years was heavily centralized, first residing with the Board of Regents, and later broadening to include an increasingly autonomous chief executive officer. Outside the campus, local and national concerns included the Civil War, Wisconsin's legislative commitments to equal educational opportunities for women and men, midwestern industrialization and urbanization, a succession of religious and social reform perspectives, and trends in European and American higher education all came into play at Madison. Due to the nature of power and control on campus, regents and presidents (sometimes called chancellors) were the ones who frequently defined and expressed the responses to the broader events of the time.[1]

The early history of housing at the University of Wisconsin was very much in step with the general drift of ideas and events, and little in the way of tradition or administrative structure existed to provide an offsetting dynamic. Housing ebbed and flowed with the changing currents of life on campus, the state, and the nation. But this is not to say that housing during the early years failed to attract the serious attention of campus movers and shakers. On the contrary, student dormitories operated at the beginning as perhaps the central feature of the institution, although later, and for very good reasons, they did indeed shift to the periphery. This chapter discusses the early history of housing at Wisconsin as an expression of the institution's general formative development.

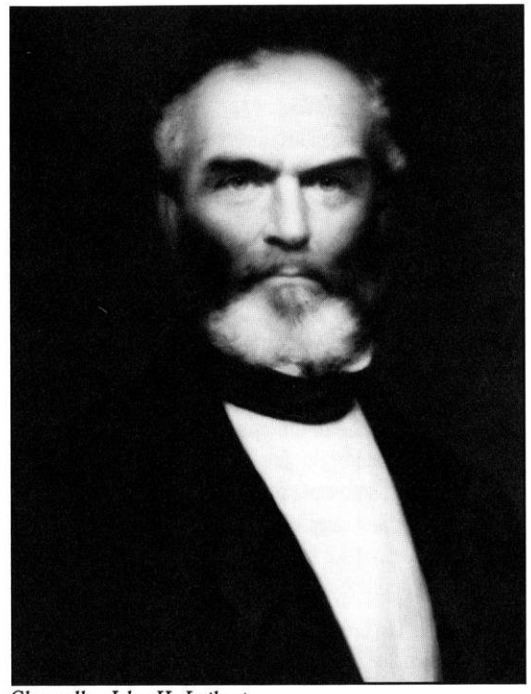
Campus, circa 1887

The Collegiate Ideal in a Small Town

Prior to the Civil War, the University of Wisconsin functioned almost entirely as a small-town preparatory school and modest college for young men. Although perhaps difficult to envision over a century later, the population of Madison during the 1850s and early 1860s never surpassed 9,000 people. Few city residents possessed accommodations to house students, many of whom were still teenagers. Furthermore, capital city Madison had developed a statewide reputation as expensive and sometimes dangerous, a place parents might reasonably hesitate to send their children to live, regardless of age. It only made sense that the University would establish a program that combined housing with instruction.

The fledgling university's first three administrative heads—Chancellor John Hiram Lathrop (1849–1858), Chancellor Henry Barnard (1859–1860), and Vice-Chancellor John Sterling (1860–1867)—and the Board of Regents exercised day-to-day control. The institution was small, providing instruction to a maximum of only 331 students by 1865, most of whom were enrolled in preparatory studies anticipatory to genuine college work. Furthermore, there was no conception of academic freedom or faculty governance. Faculty members were strictly employees, hired to teach and otherwise follow instructions of the regents and the chancellor, who himself possessed only extremely limited prerogatives.

In January 1850 the Board of Regents approved an initial building plan and authorized its Building Committee to proceed with the first of five anticipated structures, a dormitory. (Of the first five buildings originally planned, four were dormitories and one was a classroom; two of the dormitories were never built.) The city housing situation obviously contributed significantly to this decision, which was patterned after an old tradition in higher education known as the "collegiate way." This approach to student housing originated at Oxford and Cambridge in Great Britain, and was followed for both educational and demographic reasons by several American colonial colleges. The collegiate way defined higher education as a social as well as an intellectual enterprise. Students lived with teachers, sharing ideas and information, learning



Chancellor John H. Lathrop

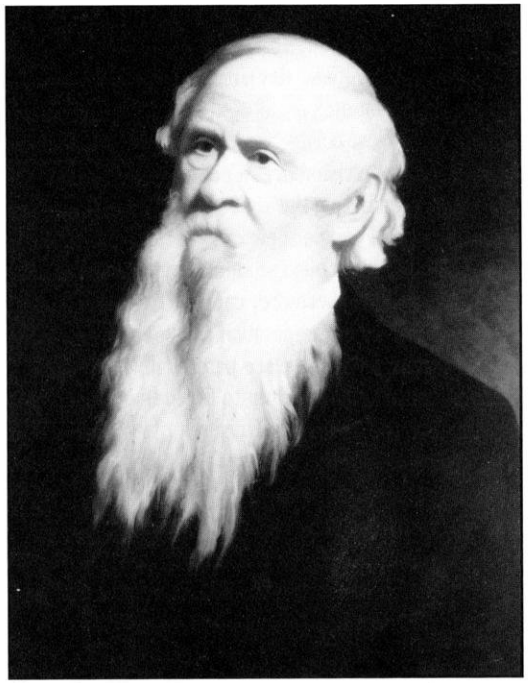
from example, and generally coming to grips with their destinies as future leaders of church and state.[2]

Nevertheless, the regents' decision to construct residential facilities contradicted a contemporary American educational antipathy toward dormitories and commons. On the one hand, the colonial colleges, always perceived as leaders within American higher education, had grown well beyond their modest origins by the mid-nineteenth century and no longer required collegiate housing arrangements merely to provide lodging for their students. Furthermore, enthusiasm for the educational aspects of the collegiate ideal had diminished as time passed, enrollments grew, and outside interests attracted faculty members' attention away from student residence halls. Dramatic problems with the collegiate model were also apparent. Reports circulated that dormitories and commons had turned into bastions of student misconduct, where pranks and general disorder

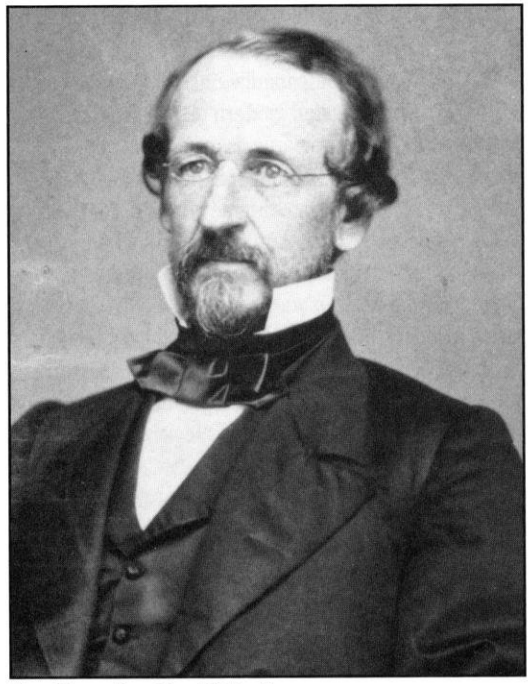
replaced serious study and collegial discourse with tutors and fellow undergraduates. Additionally, an ever-present Anglophobia, especially strong on the Atlantic seaboard following the War of 1812, combined with a growing American egalitarian or populist attitude, came to associate the collegiate way with the nurturing of an American aristocracy, a notion abhorrent to many Americans, educators among them.[3]

Authorities at Wisconsin tended to ignore or reject this negative image of college residential life. Indeed the only criticism expressed by a University official of any aspect of the collegiate model came from Chancellor Barnard in 1859, and his concern was limited to saving money on the food service side of the operation, while yet assuring that "the presence of the families of the Faculty [remain] an elevating and a co-operative influence in the administration of the University." He would regret, he continued,

> to see a feature of our system, so conservative of the morals, manners and order of the institution, done away. The entire abandonment of the grounds by the families of the Faculty, would impair confidence, I think justly, in the order and safety of the institution, as a residence for young men.[4]



Chancellor Henry Barnard



Vice-Chancellor John W. Sterling

Especially during the pre-Civil War years at Wisconsin, continuing allegiance to the collegiate ideal and the inadequate city housing alternatives supported a thoroughly positive attitude toward on-campus dormitory living.

The Board of Regents paid for the first two campus buildings—North Dormitory (1851) and South Dormitory (1855)—by arranging loans against University capital accounts, and they maintained close supervision of construction through their Building and Executive committees, among whose members was Chancellor Lathrop. Original facilities included basement furnaces, outside privies and a well; bedrooms with adjacent studies; common rooms for recitations, study, and scientific work; and in South Dormitory (also known as South Hall, the other building was known as North Hall), a dining room for common boarding.[5]

The reader may be surprised to learn that North and South halls contained furnaces. If the regents' reports throughout the 1850s are any indication, the board took great pride in these modern contraptions, which consistently failed to meet expectations. The executive committee of the board reported in January 1853, for example, that the two original furnaces in North Hall had not produced sufficient heat during the severest part of winter and that two additional units had been installed. Problems continued, and in 1865 the regents decided to discontinue use of the furnaces; residents thereafter found themselves responsible for fueling and operating fireplaces in their rooms.

Building Committee members regularly paid inspection visits, and "Professor Sterling and Lady" resided for a time in South Hall rent-free in return for running the "boarding establishment," designed by the regents to obviate "an alleged objection to the locality of the University, as an unsafe as well as an expensive place for the residence of young men during their period of pupillage." According to the regents' executive committee report of 1856, the facility avoided entirely "the evils heretofore connected with college commons."[6]

As time passed and the University grew more complex and difficult to govern, the regents withdrew somewhat from daily supervision of the dormitories and increasingly laid the burden upon the shoulders of Dean of the Faculty Sterling, who became the primary administrative agent for both housing units, while a male "steward," C. L. Williams, ran the commons for approximately two years during the late 1850s. Sterling's duties were far from glamorous. He found himself responsible for such mundane jobs as renting used furniture to residents, receiving payment for room and board, and generally supervising the students' behavior. Several other faculty members also resided in the dormitories from time to time, but nothing is known of their names, activities, or responsibilities.[7]

Prior to the Civil War the regents discussed the admission of women to the University, but they took no action. The stated intention was constant and consistent,

but the priority was too low; funds remained extremely scarce, and professors had to be hired and facilities constructed merely to bring the institution up to minimum academic and residential standards for the men.

Finally, conditions right for the admission of women developed during the war, when the campus was nearly depleted of its male students. Women were thus admitted in 1863 to the Normal Department—previously more an abstraction than an actual functioning unit of the University—and housed in South Hall. Professor and Mrs. Sterling now found themselves in charge of three to four score of young women; feeding, counseling, and otherwise looking after them. While male students had the option of dining with their female counterparts in the Sterling-run commons, the fact was that the young men failed initially to welcome the young women to campus. The women received a chilly reception in the mixed classes they attended, and reports indicate that communications between the two groups were rare and often unfriendly. Mrs. Sterling finally broke the ice by hosting a gathering in her rooms, following a meeting of a recently established female literary society.[8] Thereafter, campus social animosities diminished, although the change seems not to have extended to the classroom. In any event, as the Civil War came to an end, the University operated two dormitories, North Hall for the men, and South Hall for the women. The collegiate way remained formally intact, although the collegial aspects of the arrangement—the heart of the arrangement—never fully took root because most faculty members resided away from campus.

President Chadbourne and the Female College

The presidency of Paul A. Chadbourne (1867–1870) heralded the regents' first attempt to employ a chief executive officer of national scholarly stature. Academe was at that time just entering a phase of intellectual ferment. The emerging precepts and practices of modern science were threatening to wrest control over curricular and other institutional developments from previously dominant interests representing traditional Protestant orthodoxy in the nation's colleges and universities. The board thus sought a leader who might shape Wisconsin into a thoroughly modern state university and at the same time escape the criticism of many potentially offended conservative religionists, such as the state's numerous Lutherans.

Chadbourne was clearly the man for the job. As a professor of science responsible for instruction in geology, chemistry, and botany at highly regarded Williams College in Massachusetts, Chadbourne had elicited widespread praise as a full-fledged scientist who argued effectively in books and speeches for the compatibility of his studies with American religious orthodoxy. Furthermore, he possessed impressive ideas as to possible programmatic reforms.[9] Within this broader context of the Chadbourne administration, the Female College, originally housed in the South Dormitory Building, can be better understood.

The regents' interest in hiring such a substantial leader as Chadbourne was prompted by the Wisconsin legislature's passage of the Reorganization Act of 1866, which read in its opening section, "The object of the University of Wisconsin shall be to provide the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches of learning connected with scientific, industrial and professional pursuits. . . ." This was grist for Chadbourne's mill, and the board enthusiastically pursued him. During the summer and fall of 1866, Chadbourne met and corresponded with the regents. In anticipation of a visit with the board in Madison, Chadbourne expressed his stand thoroughly and effectively in a letter to the regents dated September 3, 1866. Displaying detailed knowledge and appreciation of such leading universities as Yale, Harvard, and Michigan, Chadbourne envisioned an academic program and administrative structure that would, if put into effect, place Wisconsin in the vanguard of America's colleges and universities. In general, his goal was to

Main Hall (later Bascom Hall), South and North Halls, 1884

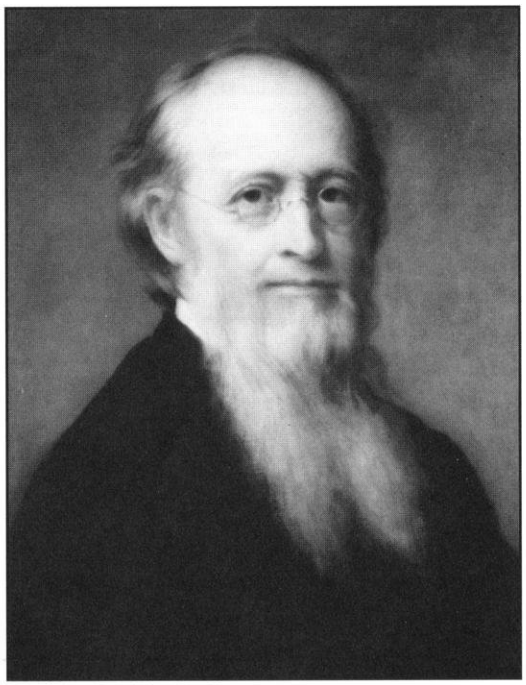
retain the best of traditional liberal arts education while combining it with more recent utilitarian developments in scientific research and instruction. All of this could be accomplished under the auspices of the Reorganization Act of 1866. So far, so good.[10]

Then came the rub. Section 4 of the act read that "The University in all its departments and colleges, shall be open alike to male and female students. . . ." In Chadbourne's view, this provision promised to direct the University of Wisconsin along exactly the wrong path for reaching its highest potential level of development. Instead, his preference was to remove the fledgling Normal Department from campus and place it under the auspices of some other state agency. "There is no question but that every state ought to provide equally for the education of both sexes," he wrote, but "experience" did not indicate that the "best results" would be reached "by bringing them together in the same college." After marshalling several similar arguments, Chadbourne respectfully proposed a compromise:

> that a law might be passed requiring the Regents . . . to establish a Female College or Department—having its own buildings, & its own teachers—in which Department the course of study should be equivalent to that in the Classical Department & the members have such access to Cabinets, Libraries & University lectures as the Regents should prescribe.

An amendment to the 1866 statute would produce the desired result, and the regents might thereby "give equal advantages to males & females and have an Institution that all the people of the State could patronize. . . ." In the absence of such an amendment, concluded Chadbourne, "I must now respectfully decline to accept the place which you have offered me."

The regents willingly set to work and within months were able to inform Chadbourne that the legislature had enacted the Amendment of 1867. Replacing the old section 4, it read in part that "The University shall be open to female as well as male students, under such regulations and restrictions as the Board of Regents may deem proper. . . ." By convincing the legislature to include this second clause, the University thus maintained its commitment to the principle of equal access for women, while simultaneously gaining control over the particular form through which such equality might be expressed. To the present-day mind, this amendment might indicate an actual threat to or denial of access, but to the regent or legislator of the mid-1860s the change apparently seemed innocuous enough; no publicly expressed opposition to the revised section 4 has come to light. Satisfied with this compromise—women would, after all, remain associated with the University—Paul Chadbourne accepted the president's office during mid-1867, and the regents allowed him unprecedented latitude as he strove to reorganize the institution according to his vision.[11]



President Paul A. Chadbourne

During the 1867–68 academic year, Chadbourne and the regents abolished the Normal Department, replacing it with the Female College as the best possible compromise. As Curti and Carstensen observed of the new president in *The University of Wisconsin: A History*, "The young women in the University could not be removed, and so he tolerated them, but on his own terms." In an early report to the regents, Chadbourne described his current thinking as to why the change made sense:

> I consider it a misfortune that this [Normal] Department is connected with the University as it is—an arrangement well enough for High Schools and perhaps for Denominational Colleges where the system of constant supervision is in vogue and where everyone can be subjected to family and religious discipline, but in my opinion, entirely out of place in a State University, where the students are, and ought to be, treated like men, rather than like boys.[12]

Besides stating Chadbourne's view on the place of women at the University, this passage is also an early expression of the thinking that ultimately would result in the full eclipse of the collegiate ideal at Wisconsin: to the extent that university students should be considered "men," not "boys," the old model, featuring constant surveillance by adults was inappropriate. As we shall see in a later section of this chapter, President John Bascom finally, at least as far as males were concerned, thrust aside the last remnants of the collegiate model at Wisconsin in 1885.

Chadbourne's concern was with the specific problem of how best to arrange conditions so that female students would least hinder the true work of the University as he saw it. Holding true to the views he expressed in his September 1866 letter to the regents, the new president consistently emphasized the separate and distinct status of Female College students. An amusing incident indicates the lengths to which Chadbourne would go in this connection. Six women of the college had completed their program of studies in time for the 1869 spring commencement, and they were scheduled to receive the first University of Wisconsin bachelor's degrees awarded to females. Chadbourne balked, however, on the grounds that women should not be referred to in masculine terms. Only when a professor demonstrated for the president that the dictionary defines "bachelor" without reference to gender did Chadbourne allow the female scholars to received their Ph.B. degrees.[13] The annual

report of the regents for 1868–69 stated the new official policy: "Ladies receive the same degrees as gentlemen for the same or equivalent courses of study."[14]

While the Female College represented an important structural change in the University, life in South Hall, home to the women students, continued much as it had during the Normal Department period. The preceptress, Miss Elizabeth Earle, exercised day-to-day supervision. Miss Earle had earlier carried the title of Preceptress of the Normal Department, a position she occupied following the departure of Miss M. S. Merrille, who served as the first preceptress from 1864 to 1866. While Female College students attended university lectures and used other instructional facilities (apparently because limited resources could not purchase anything approaching equal facilities exclusively for the women), recitations and other study activities took place within the walls of South Hall under tutelage of the Female College staff. During the academic years 1867–68 through 1869–70, six women served on that staff. Miss Earle remained as preceptress through 1868–69, when she was replaced by her former assistant, Miss Clarissa L. Ware. Four other women—Miss Frances Brown, Miss Louisa Brewster, Miss Clara D. Bewick, and Miss Elizabeth (Lizzie) S. Spencer—were employed as teachers of music, printing and drawing, Latin and history, and English, respectively. The record fails to indicate which staff members resided at South Hall, although it is clear that the preceptress and probably her assistant lived there. Thus while the men of North Hall increasingly escaped the confinement of the collegiate way, through President Chadbourne's benign neglect of their supervision more than anything else, the women of South Hall lived out the traditional model more fully than any group of Wisconsin students, before or since.

Within an austere, Calvinist atmosphere the women developed an apparently pleasant and rewarding camaraderie. One 1872 alumna described her life in South Hall for the *Wisconsin Aegis* of February 1896. "We lived," she said, "in rooms furnished almost entirely by ourselves . . . they contained a bedstead, wash stand, stove and table. Our carpets were a great deal of trouble to us. We bought our wood, hired someone to cut and

Chadbourne Hall, circa 1901

Chadbourne Hall dining room, circa 1928

carry to our rooms. We drew from the very deep well by means of two buckets, a rope and wheel." Students cleaned their own rooms. During winter the halls were "icy cold."

> Attendance at church and at evening devotions, was compulsory. To most of us this daily service, consisting of Bible reading, lecture and prayer was very beautiful and interesting. I shall never forget my first evening in South Hall and the sweet, impressive voice of the Preceptress as she led the kneeling girls in prayer.

"On the whole," the report continues, "we lived together much like a happy family, interested in one another's welfare and pursuits."[15]

While President Chadbourne succeeded in limiting the scope of coeducation at Wisconsin, the women of South Hall failed to accept his victory with equanimity and acquiescence: "During the first year," wrote the *Wisconsin Aegis* correspondent,

> we were always . . . conscious of a little friction and criticism. Several of the men students were opposed to coeducation. On the part of women, from beginning to end, I believe there was only the desire for larger opportunities to gain knowledge. We felt, and sometimes said, that the state owed as much to her daughters as to her sons, and that the doors of the University should be thrown open as widely to us as to them. . . . Our lady teachers quietly encouraged us.[16]

As long as the separate and so-called equal Female College continued to exist, however, the institutional structure of the University served as an effective barrier to completely free access for women at Wisconsin.

While President Chadbourne apparently did not favor imposing the collegiate model upon the University's male students, he did work enthusiastically with the Board of Regents to convince the legislature to pay for an additional dormitory building. The early argument maintained that accommodations in North Hall were insufficient to house the 148 men enrolled; that South Hall, designed for men, should be reoccupied by them; and finally, therefore, that a new facility for the 88 women of the Female College, appropriately designed, should be constructed.[17]

The regents and president continued to push for a special women's dormitory building. As Chadbourne expressed in 1868, "we have no proper laboratory, no telescope, no observatory, no room for public meetings, no building suitable for the Female College." The next year, Chadbourne's last at Wisconsin before returning to Williams College as President Mark Hopkins' successor, the regents reported that the University now enrolled 245 men, while North Hall could accommodate only 90, many crowded 4 to a room. Furthermore, room and board prices in town were expensive, driven up "according to the demand." The men needed South Hall, and therefore "we are in immediate want of a building to be used as a Female College." Also needed were a public hall and an observatory. Finally, in 1870, the legislature appropriated $50,000 for a new Female College building. Besides significantly expanding the institution's physical plant by this action, the legislature set an important precedent by directly financing a University facility through an appropriation. As subsequent chapters of this history illustrate, this would not be the last time that fresh approaches to funding University buildings emerged from efforts to expand on-campus housing accommodations.[18]

The building process took about fifteen months. The regents awarded the construction contract in July of 1870, and the basement was completed that summer, with work continuing throughout the winter. Finally on about the first of October 1871, the Female College Building, located near the northwest corner of Park Street and University Avenue, opened to residents in time for the beginning of the fall term. The three-story structure was built of stone, 50 by 75 feet, with a wing measuring 40 by 87 feet. Total cost of construction was $46,570, the remainder of the appropriation going for furniture. The new building, like South Hall, accommodated approximately 80 student residents. A new preceptress, Mrs. Delia E. Carson, was appointed that year. She would remain at the University for sixteen years (ten as preceptress and six as an instructor), a record unsurpassed by any other professional female employee during the nineteenth century. The regents also hired a "judicious matron" to direct the "Department of Boarding" in the hall, providing meals for all women residents at a cost of three dollars per week.[19] As the Chadbourne era at Wisconsin closed, the men again resided in both North and South halls, and the women occupied a new building designed especially for their exclusive use.

Presidents Twombly and Bascom

The presidencies of John H. Twombly (1871–1874) and John Bascom (1874–1887) defined a lively era of upheaval and moderate change at Wisconsin. As with the short Chadbourne administration, this more enduring period featured the continuing transition in American higher education toward a more secular and scientific orientation. Twombly ran afoul of the drift, while Bascom championed it. Similarly, Twombly stubbornly tried to retain at least the paternalistic aspects of the collegiate model, while Bascom rejected them outright. What tied the two men together was their vocal and enthusiastic advocacy of full and complete coeducation at the University of Wisconsin. Neither of these presidents would have quarreled with section 4 of the Reorganization Act of 1866; they would have endorsed it heartily. Indeed by the close of John Bascom's administration, the Female College found itself abolished in favor of women's unrestricted access to educational facilities. As for the three dormitories first encountered by Twombly upon his arrival on campus, only one remained in 1887, and that was the building most recently built and occupied by women.

Twombly was unfortunately a rather undistinguished, probably misplaced, chief executive officer. His administration is instructive primarily as an indication of the massive change then transpiring in academe. To put it most bluntly, this severe Methodist minister simply lacked all appreciation for the developments in secular scholarship championed so articulately by President Chadbourne. He also lacked President Chadbourne's tact and ability to please his diverse public. Even Twombly's advocacy of fuller coeducation led to serious problems instead of hearty praise.

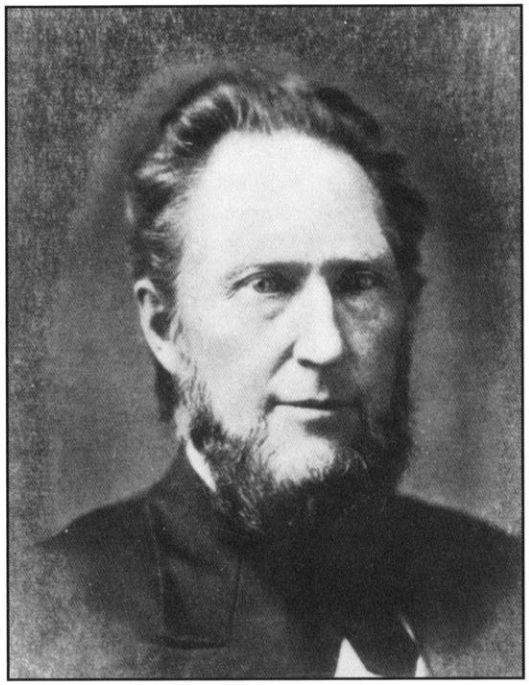
The way Twombly approached the women's cause at Wisconsin may have in fact hastened the eclipse of his

career there. In 1877 a bitter flap developed over the wording Twombly had used in the University catalog, which wishfully misrepresented the actual extent of coeducation on campus. Regent Hamilton, possibly a supporter of President Chadbourne's image of coeducation and certainly an advocate of regent prerogatives, wrote angrily on August 6, 1872, that Twombly's statement was

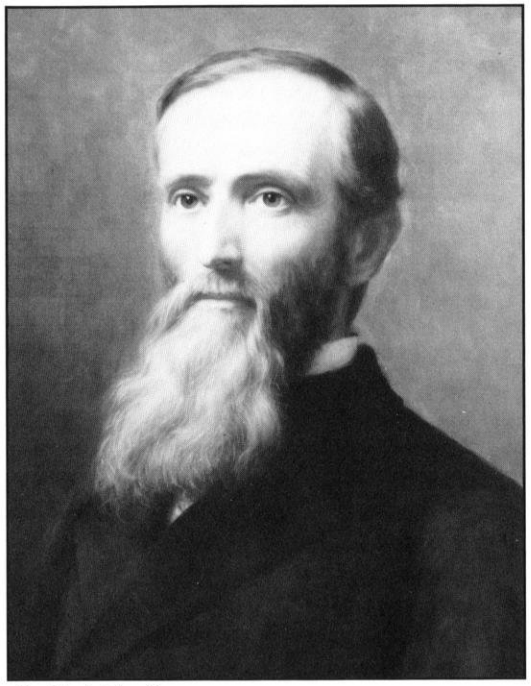
> in direct opposition to the whole letter and spirit of the Board of Regents. The Female College and the College for gentlemen are entirely separate and distinct, and it is only when the ladies prefer, or when the instructional force is deficient, that Ladies and Gentlemen are to recite together.[20]

By 1874 Twombly found himself the object of scorn from all sides. The faculty judged him neither a scholar nor a defender of scholarship. The students chafed under his fundamentalist Christian orientation, which he expressed in an obnoxious, paternalistic style when dealing with daily campus life. The regents, recalling the 1872 flap over coeducation and finding no reason to support the president's woefully inadequate academic leadership, forced Twombly to resign in lieu of dismissal for incompetence.

The day the regents accepted Reverend Twombly's resignation, they named John Bascom his successor. Bascom hailed from Williams College, as had Paul Chadbourne before him. Bascom, too, was a highly regarded and eclectic scholar, although the bulk of his work, as distinguished from Chadbourne's, was in the social studies and humanities. More than fields of study separated the two colleagues, however. Twice before, Chadbourne had prevailed over Bascom in political struggles at Williams, most recently by ascending to the institution's helm. An earlier conflict concerned an effort to introduce coeducation, with Bascom as a leader of the losing side, in support of the movement. Furthermore, Bascom's religious and moral views, which he enthusiastically expressed in published writings and public speeches, strayed from orthodoxy and leaned toward the nondoctrinaire, naturalistic, and rationalistic end of the nation's Protestant spectrum. Yet Bascom and Chadbourne did share similar hopes and expectations for increasingly modern American higher education, and they both were academically well connected. Twombly, on the other hand, was entirely lacking in these regards, and the regents must have recognized another president of his ilk would never do. With John Bascom, the University of Wisconsin found itself back on the right track.



President John H. Twombly



President John Bascom

The regents' pleasure over the hiring of President Bascom translated into considerable latitude of action for the new chief executive officer. Bascom was not reluctant to take control of events on campus, he quickly established himself as a leading exponent of social reform throughout the city and state. Within the University, Bascom set about hiring new and impressive faculty members and otherwise bolstering the academic program. Coeducation, too, occupied a prominent spot on his agenda, and he placed it fully in effect at the earliest possible moment.

To accomplish full coeducation at Wisconsin meant primarily to eliminate the Female College, an institution designed expressly to segregate university women from the mainstream of campus life. The Board of Visitors, organized in 1858, was a regent-appointed committee (usually of alumni) that observed and commented upon University of Wisconsin activities from the layperson's perspective. The Board of Visitors had begun edging away from the Female College almost as soon as President Chadbourne left town: ". . . for the securing of the best advantages, of liberal education," they wrote in 1870, "the administration and this dual organization of the University needs revision in some respects. . . ." One year later the visitors called explicitly for abolition of the college, but President Twombly remained incapable of effecting the desired reform. John Bascom, however, moved quickly during his first year in office, and reported to the regents in 1875 that within "the past

Ladies' Hall student room, circa 1890s

year, the young women have been put, in all respects, on precisely the same footing in the University with the young men. No difficulties have arisen from it." Consistent with this new organization, the Female College Building was now designated Ladies' Hall.[21]

John Bascom did more about on-campus residential life than merely changing the name of one dormitory building. Concerning the women, for instance, coeducation led directly to a reduction in the size of the old Female College staff because the necessity of providing equal, but separate, educational services had largely been eliminated. At Ladies' Hall, in other words, university coeds encountered fewer opportunities to work with and be inspired by adult women of varied academic and cultural accomplishments. Such was the price of progress. But the introduction of full coeducation notwithstanding, the men's dormitory life underwent the most radical change during President Bascom's administration. In John Bascom we find a leader who struggled, like Chadbourne, first and foremost to place the institution upon a solid foundation of modern scholarship. As Bascom's annual reports indicate, the University above all needed expanded facilities to accommodate classrooms, laboratories, and libraries. And so it was in 1885, following the destruction of Science Hall by fire in late 1884, that Bascom acted in full consistency with his basic objective as president and abolished the men's dormitories in North and South halls in favor of the buildings' use as classrooms.

Such an act would have been unthinkable during the early years of the University, but the times had changed. The city of Madison had grown large enough to house the men. And the collegiate way seems almost to have been forgotten by the institution's leaders as they tried to construct a modern university, an enterprise which increasingly stressed the maturity and rationality of its students. Moral education remained important, but President Bascom, unlike his predecessors, believed that instruction in the classroom was the appropriate method of accomplishing this end. As one celebrated Wisconsin alumnus, Charles Van Hise, put it some years later, in 1904,

> The men of the days of Dr. Bascom may or may not now believe the tenets of his formal philosophy and ethics as given in his books, and as pounded into them in the classroom with sledge-hammer blows, but they believe and share in his high ideals, are inspired by his burning enthusiasm, and have been led to stand steadily for the right.

Bascom defined his general policy in this area for the regents in 1879: "Counsel is freely given collectively and singly to students as to their duties to themselves, to each other, and to the state."[22] The men's dormitories had thus lost their educational mission, and were fully expendable when greater needs presented themselves. The displaced men, for their part, seemed fully capable of taking care of themselves.

The situation at Ladies' Hall was different and more complex. The collegiate way, after all, had been from its inception in England an ideal concerning the education of men. Dormitories for women might share some of its

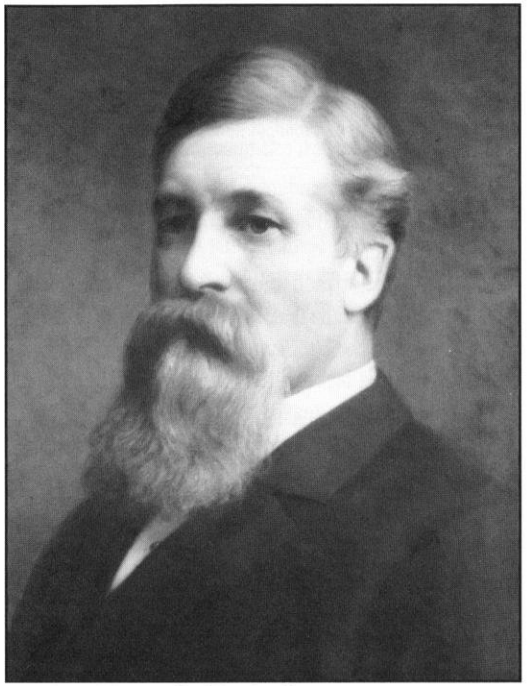
features, as did the facility at Madison, but their basic raison d'être referred instead to shifting attitudes about the place of women in American society. Thus President Bascom, while announcing the introduction of full coeducation, told the regents in 1875 that "The ladies rooming and boarding in Ladies' Hall, necessarily come under the restrictions incident to a quiet household, and we wish them and their parents to distinctly understand this." Nine years later, however, the Board of Visitors reported, "With the Ladies' Hall . . . standing on the same footing of entire freedom from any restraint of authority . . . , as are all the other halls of the university, the fear of loving parents is increasing." Management of the facility had nevertheless improved during the year before, "and we advise," concluded the visitors, "that its regulations, if changed at all, be made more rather than less stringent."[23]

In 1887 President Bascom found himself forced out of office by the regents. He had guided the University through thirteen years of unprecedented growth and development. But he also had pressed incessantly on campus, in the community, and beyond for reform after reform, from time to time offending powerful members of the board, who probably would have agreed with Mark Hopkins' 1862 assessment of young Bascom's character, which seemed to the Williams' president "in danger of that fanaticism . . . by which men sacrifice the finer feelings and proprieties of life in view of what they call right."[24] Yet at the end of Bascom's tenure, the University of Wisconsin remained essentially a liberal arts college, albeit by this time one of increasingly impressive quality and diversity. It would be left to Bascom's next three successors—Thomas C. Chamberlin (1887–1892), Charles Kendall Adams (1892–1901), and Edward A. Birge (1901–1903)—to complete the transition to full university status.

From College to University

Thomas Chrowder Chamberlin was a scholar through and through. A widely acclaimed geologist, he maintained serious and substantial interests in a broad range of subjects, the humanities and social sciences included. His great contribution at Wisconsin was to begin building what President Charles Van Hise later called the "superstructure" for research and scholarship that turned the college into a true university. Perhaps most importantly in this regard, he set up a faculty committee to oversee a new "graduate department," which in 1904 became the Graduate School, and he drastically increased graduate student enrollment. He also, for the first time, hired productive scholars in several pure and applied science fields, including engineering and agriculture. And he even took the time to help with early university summer school classes in an effort to prepare high school teachers more effectively to introduce modern laboratory science to future university students. As Chamberlin wrote before his appointment at Wisconsin, the presidency would allow him to introduce "the newer educational ideas that have emanated and will yet more abundantly develop from the profound intellectual movements of our times."[25] Chamberlin was so entranced with modern scholarship, in fact, that he even eschewed President Bascom's seemingly old-fashioned commitment to instruction in social and personal morality. Chamberlin truly considered the institution's students mature adults, competent to study and master a rigorous experimentally based university curriculum.

This latter view led to disciplinary problems that Chamberlin could not solve. The immediate occasion for trouble was the traditional student practice of hazing freshmen, which he considered childishly inappropriate and, more importantly, illegal. Early in his administration, Chamberlin informed some violators of his anti-hazing policy to stop. They did not, and the president, acting logically in his view, called in the police. Later he was amazed to learn of the bitter student reaction on campus. What Chamberlin saw as a simple matter of dealing with adult lawbreakers, the students viewed as unwarranted outside interference with traditional college fun and games. The president thereafter tried to establish more cordial relations with the students, but failed. Finally, in 1891, Chamberlin transferred to Professor Edward A. Birge the responsibility of dispensing student discipline, thereby appointing Birge the first dean of the College of Letters and Science, the unit within which the great majority of students was enrolled.[26]



President Thomas C. Chamberlin

Chamberlin's view of on-campus residential life was consistent with his discipline policy. Obviously sharing the anti-dormitory perspective characterized earlier in this chapter, the president wrote to a colleague in another state:

> I beg leave to say that in my judgment college dormitories are very undesirable, and I would earnestly advise against the adoption of the dormitory system if it is practicable to avoid it. It is much better for the students to be distributed among the homes of citizens and receive through them that essential part of a complete education which springs from social relations. It furthermore relieves the institution of much care and expense, and frees the college community from a constant source of disturbance, since the aggregation of a large body of young men in such associations gives occasion for the development of those peculiar rowdy practices which characterize—and perhaps it is not too strong to say—disgrace college life. . . . I go so far as to believe that . . . it would be well if all that is distinctive in a college com-

> munity, as such, could be wiped out, and then when we had freed ourselves from our unfortunate inheritance, we could develop a community of sentiment and action harmonious with our times and also consonant with our claims to leadership in education in its broadest sense.[27]

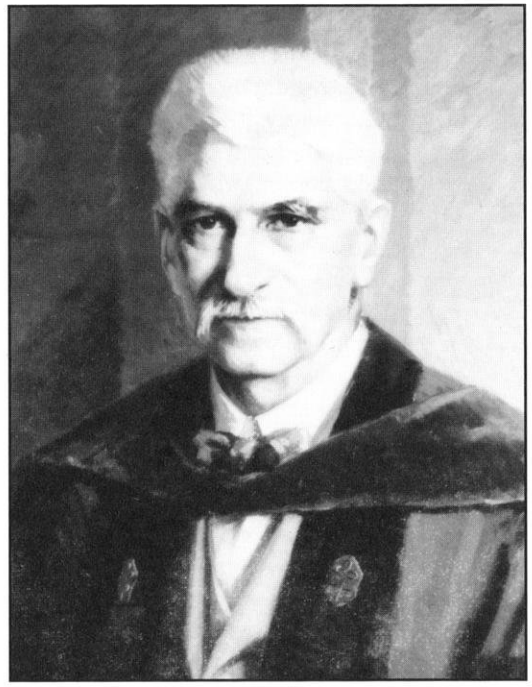
By 1888, when the president wrote these words, the collegiate model, as an abstract ideal, had reached its nadir at Wisconsin.

Meanwhile, the attraction of Ladies' Hall had diminished to such an extent that only twenty women now resided there. In their report of June 1888, the Board of Visitors noted this fact and took aim at a facility that seemingly had lost its reason to continue. Introducing their attack with an apparent misreading of history, the visitors stated their stand against continuing the women's dormitory:

> Several years ago the Board of Regents wisely abolished from the University the dormitories for boys. It is the aim and spirit of the University to abolish all distinctions on account of sex, and to inculcate the principle of co-education in spirit as well as in name; hence we deem it inconsistent to longer preserve a dormitory for girls.

Besides expressing a concern for the social implications of coeducation, this passage is also instructive since it indicates tacit assent to Bascom's and Chamberlin's views that off-campus living conditions were now well suited to the personal needs of university students. "The building itself," concluded the visitors, "is a fine structure and with the dormitory eliminated it will be found very serviceable . . . for use in instructional work."[28]

As it turned out, President Chamberlin took a less jaundiced view of the prospects for Ladies' Hall. Rather than closing the dormitory, he tried to transform it. His tactic in this regard was to hire Dr. Almah J. Frisby, a graduate of Wisconsin's general science course and of Boston Medical School. Her appointment as Preceptress and Professor of Hygiene and Sanitary Science took effect at the beginning of the 1888–89 academic year. As Chamberlin put it in his 1888–90 biennial report, "Miss Frisby's thorough scientific and professional training fit her to watch over the health of the young ladies." Later



Dean Edward A. Birge

in the same report Chamberlin noted that workers had fitted the facility with better heating, lighting, and plumbing. "It is gratifying to note that with these improvements and the most excellent management of the hall it is now fully occupied, indeed, fails to meet the demand."[29] These were President Chamberlin's last public words on dormitories at the University of Wisconsin.

In 1891 the president resigned his post to take up duties as head of the geology department at the recently founded University of Chicago. It is difficult to overstate the impact of this new institution upon the University of Wisconsin. For one, as the pirating of Chamberlin suggests, William Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago, was quickly and ably constructing a research institution to rival Johns Hopkins and Harvard in the East, while establishing a teaching institution that immediately placed itself in direct competition for students with Wisconsin. Harper did much more. This master innovator in higher education also brought with him from Yale a fresh and controversial perspective about the educational opportunities potentially associated with student life. As Edwin E. Slosson wrote in 1910, Harper "at the start established residential halls or houses in spite of the prejudice against them at that time prevailing in the West, on the ground that they were medieval, British, and aristocratic institutions." Harper, in his 1902 decennial report to the trustees, recalled that his purpose had been "to provide social units so constituted as to give freedom for individual development." Ultimately, he asserted, "Nothing will contribute more largely to the development of the proper spirit and life than the provision of student houses on the quadrangles, or in close proximity."[30]

Meanwhile, at Wisconsin, the regents appointed Cornell University president Charles Kendall Adams to replace Thomas Chamberlin. Although Adams had succeeded at his duties in New York, he found them personally distasteful. The result was that Wisconsin acquired another highly regarded scholar and administrator. Earlier, as a professor of history at the University of Michigan, Adams had apparently introduced the seminar method of graduate instruction to the West. President Adams remained at Wisconsin throughout the remainder of his career, finally leaving in 1900 when doctors convinced him that only a change of climate might restore his seriously failing health. (Dean Birge carried on for Adams as acting president from 1901 through 1903, when the regents appointed Charles R. Van Hise president.) Throughout his tenure President Adams worked productively and happily within the boundaries laid down by Chadbourne, with the added feature of constantly striving to unify a growing institution whose teaching, research, and social functions increasingly tended toward destructive fragmentation. It was in this regard that Adams stepped beyond his predecessor by nurturing university "spirit" whenever possible; backing the football team, for example, or overseeing the construction of a modern men's gymnasium and armory in 1894. As the faculty resolved upon the occasion of his resignation in 1901, "The administration of President Adams has aimed to promote the physical and social interests of the stu-

dents, as well as their intellectual and moral welfare."[31]

President Adams's attitude was a harbinger of renewed University of Wisconsin concern for the general well-being of its students, particularly those residing in Ladies' Hall. His major action in this regard was to appoint Annie C. Emery, Ph.D., the first Wisconsin dean of women in 1897. In his 1896 report to the regents Adams had acclaimed the success of coeducation at Wisconsin, but noted that "the social tendencies and inclinations of young men and young women are as prevalent in a University as elsewhere." Thus it was that the institution "should at times exercise moderating and restraining influences." Adams continued to observe that

> it is hardly to be denied that benefits would be derived from such wise superintendence as might be given by a large-minded, sympathetic, and scholarly woman of discretion, whose duties, without interfering with those of the Mistress of Ladies' Hall, should be so comprehensive as to embrace the general oversight of all the young women in the University.[32]

Noting that the legislature in 1889 had mandated the employment of a preceptress for Ladies' Hall (Dr. Frisby had served for seven years before resigning in 1895), Adams suggested that a dean of the women's department, qualified for faculty status, now be employed instead. The dean's position obviously would encompass responsibilities well beyond the purview of earlier preceptresses.

Dean Emery's tenure at Wisconsin was short, lasting only until 1900, when she resigned due to her failure to please either students or University authorities. As the past and first president of the Bryn Mawr College Self-Government Association, Emery had tried to establish a

Ladies', Music, and Science Halls, circa 1899

Main Hall (later Bascom Hall) fire, 1916

similar organization of women at Wisconsin, "the special object of which," according to President Adams, was "to define the social conventionalities which shall be observed, and, by the fostering of a wholesome public opinion, to contribute to the earnestness of University life."[33] Many university women objected, however, to this rather mild attempt to reassert institutional control over their personal lives (membership was voluntary), and therefore refused to cooperate.

Meanwhile the Board of Visitors pressed for even tougher social control measures. They lamented the association's "inability to enforce its authority," and observed that "the greatest weakness in the present system of directing the life of the women students is in the lack of personal responsibility for the enforcement of rules, whether these rules be made by the . . . Association or by the University Authorities." The visitors further proposed that the dean replace the current matron at Ladies' Hall and be charged "with such responsibility for the students . . . as is exercised by the wise mother of daughters of similar age." The visitors suggested that "this system" be extended to sorority houses as well, allowing "for the enforcement of such definite rules as might be adopted."[34] But Dean Emery resigned and University authorities allowed her position to remain vacant for the next six years. The times apparently were not yet right for as rigorous a reassertion of in loco parentis as the visitors desired.

The Board of Visitors also concerned themselves with the personal lives of university men, although in this case displaying a more lenient attitude. But "of course," they observed in 1901, "there must be no winking at, or toleration of, such flagrant immoralities as drunkenness, gambling or licentiousness. . . ." As regarded the resumption of on-campus residential life for men, "It is believed," they wrote in 1899, "that a dormitory for the young men would be helpful in many ways. It would reduce the expenses of living to those of slender means and would supply a community of feeling among many of the students. . . . It would also contribute to a wholesome University spirit." By 1902, a men's dormitory seemed "a necessity." Room rents in town had risen, discouraging potential students of limited means, "young men from the common walks of life" as well as the "more favored." A men's dormitory would help maintain our "homogeneous" society, thwarting its fragmentation into "distinct castes or classes." Such a new facility would help preserve our "free government" and "free institutions." Even Harvard, noted the visitors in closing, provided dormitories for impecunious students at "reasonable room and board."[35] The cogency of these arguments notwithstanding, however, University authorities maintained higher priorities for their spending, and the men would have to wait nearly a quarter century for their new hall.

E. A. Birge provided administrative leadership for the remainder of this period, which was marked by much talk and little action about student life and dormitory living. He had worked closely with President Chamberlin, and then with President Adams, whom he effectively, though unofficially, replaced in 1900. Viewing himself as a caretaker president, Birge offered no important policy initiatives. As his administration closed in 1903, the dean of women's position remained vacant and only the single dormitory for women accommodated students on campus. Acting President Birge does deserve credit for engineering one notable event in the history of housing

at Wisconsin, however. Exercising his wry sense of humor during his first year in command, he arranged that Ladies' Hall be renamed for President Chadbourne. "My reasons were two," he wrote years later,

> First, President Chadbourne secured the appropriation for the building. . . . My second reason is a private one. . . . I thought it was only fair that Dr. Chadbourne's contumacy regarding coeducation should be punished by attaching his name to a building which turned out [to be] one of the main supports of coeducation.[36]

ENDNOTES

Note: Much of the information cited in these notes, including the Regents' Reports, can be found in the University of Wisconsin Archives, located in the basement of the Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin-Madison, telephone (608) 262-3290.

1. For a detailed history of the University during the late nineteenth century, see Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848-1925*, 2 vols. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1949). For a shorter version of the same history, see Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, "The University of Wisconsin: To 1925," in *The University of Wisconsin: One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years*, ed. Allan G. Bogue and Robert Taylor (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1975), pp. 3-37.
2. Third Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin [for the year 1850], pp. 4-5. Hereafter cited as "UW Regents' Report for . . . ." For discussion of the collegiate way, see Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 26-27, 87-96; John S. Brubacher and Willis S. Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1968* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1968), p. 41; and Edwin E. Slosson, *Great American Universities* (New York: Arnold Press, 1977), p. 31. Reprint of 1910 edition.
3. Rudolph, *American College and University*, pp. 96-99, 101-102; Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition*, p. 42.
4. UW Regents' Report for 1859, p. 14.
5. UW Regents' Report for 1865, p. 6.
6. UW Regents' Report for 1855, pp. 18, 25.
7. UW Regents' Report for 1859, pp. 29-13; Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 171.
8. Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 370.
9. Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, pp. 219, 227-228; Leverett Wilson Spring, *A History of Williams College* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), pp. 227-230; and Frederick Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins and the Log: Williams College, 1836-1872* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1956), pp. 141, 151-152.
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11. Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, pp. 223, 225.
12. Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 230. Quoted in part in Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 445; the full quotation is found in Reports of the Regents, vol B., 23 June 1868, p. 36.
13. Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, pp. 371-72.
14. UW Regents' Report for 1869, p. 23.
15. "Girls at the University in the Early Days," *Wisconsin Aegis* (February 1896):135; also quoted in part in Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 407. For other accounts of campus life for women during the Chadbourne regime, see Jennie Muzzy Covert, "At the Dawn of Co-Education," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 2, no. 6 (March 1901):241-45; Emma Phillips Vroman, "Pioneer Days in Coeducation," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 14, no. 8 (May 1913):400-401; and Ellen Chynoweth Lyons, "The Early Years of Co-Education at Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 22, no. 2 (December 1920):33-35.
16. "Girls at the University," p. 137.
17. UW Regents' Report for 1867, p. 13.
18. UW Regents' Report for 1868, p. 20; UW Regents' Report for 1869, pp. 29-30; UW Regents' Report for 1870, p. 30.
19. UW Regents' Report for 1871, pp. 45, 24-25.
20. Quoted in Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 239.
21. UW Regents' Report for 1870, p. 38; UW Regents' Report for 1871, p. 43; UW Regents' Report for 1875, p. 29.
22. Charles R. Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," in *The Jubilee of the University of Wisconsin, 1904* (Madison: Jubilee Committee, 1905), p. 103; UW Regents' Report for 1879, p. 26.
23. UW Regents' Report for 1875, p. 29; UW Regents' Report for 1884, p. 53; and UW Regents' Report for 1884, p. 54.
24. Rudolph, *Mark Hopkins*, p. 54.
25. Quoted in Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 536.
26. George C. Sellery, *E. A. Birge: A Memoir* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1956), p. 20.
27. Chamberlin to President Lewis McLouth, Dakota Agricultural College, 16 November 1888, UW Archives. Also quoted in Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 664.
28. UW Regents' Report for 1888, pp. 59-60, 60.
29. UW Regents' Report for 1888-89 and 1889-90, pp. 45-46.
30. Slosson, *Great American Universities*, p. 422; William Rainey Harper, "Decennial Report, July 1, 1902," in *The Idea of the University of Chicago*, ed. William M. Murphy and D. J. R. Bruckner (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 176, 210.
31. UW Regents' Report for 1900-01 and 1901-02, p. 5. Also quoted in Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 1, p. 578. On Charles K. Adams at Cornell, see Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1962).
32. UW Regents' Report for 1894-95 and 1895-96, p. 25.
33. UW Regents' Report for 1896-97 and 1897-98, p. 12. For background on Dean Emery and the self-government movement, see Mary Jane Purcell, "Self Government in Colleges and Universities and the History of the Women's Self Government Association at the University of Wisconsin" (University of Wisconsin M.A. thesis, 1947).
34. UW Regents' Report for 1898-99 and 1899-1900, p. 62.
35. UW Regents' Report for 1900-01 and 1901-02, p. 47; UW Regents' Report for 1898-99 and 1899-1900, p. 47; and UW Regents' Report for 1900-01 and 1901-02, p. 68.
36. Birge to Rudolph F. Schuchardt, 11 March 1922, as quoted in Curti and Carstensen, *University of Wisconsin*, vol. 2, p. 138.

CHAPTER II

THE COMBINATION UNIVERSITY

In 1903 the Board of Regents settled upon a permanent replacement for President Adams by appointing University of Wisconsin Professor Charles Richard Van Hise to the post. Like Chamberlin, Van Hise was an internationally respected geologist. He had sat as an undergraduate in President Bascom's class, had done graduate work with President Chamberlin, had earned the University's first Ph.D. degree in 1892, and, for the previous ten years, had served as a part-time faculty member with Chamberlin at the University of Chicago. Fully appreciative of the modern university as advocated by Thomas Chamberlin, Van Hise also reflected the Chicago influence in favor of an even more coherent and comprehensive institution, featuring strong teaching, research, and graduate training components, as well as significantly enhanced faculty participation in governance and expanded student services. In these regards, Van Hise's breadth of institutional vision was unprecedented at Wisconsin. President Van Hise died unexpectedly in 1918, and the regents, as they had for President Adams, looked to Edward A. Birge to carry on for the fallen leader. Birge did so until 1925, when the appointment of Glenn Frank to the presidency introduced a new era at Wisconsin.[1]

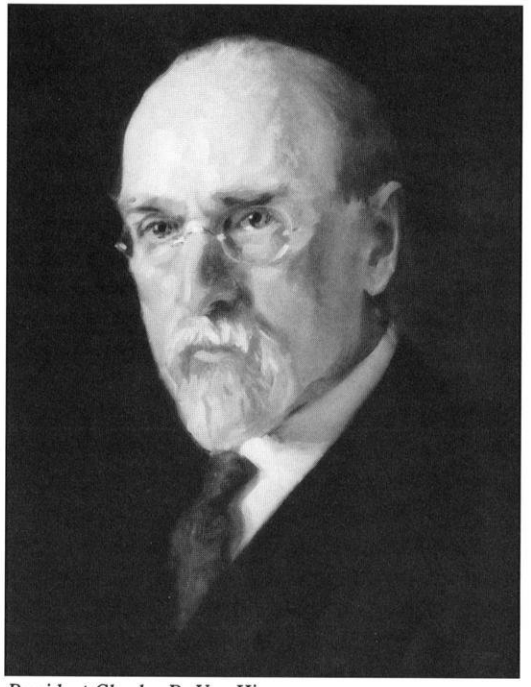
In his 1904 inaugural address President Van Hise offered the term "combination university" to characterize his splendid conception of what Wisconsin might someday become. The speech constitutes a tour de force within the literature of American higher education as it defines and defends the main components of Van Hise's ideal university, a revitalized men's dormitory system occupying an important place therein. But ideas require action to make them effective. Thus, among other important efforts, in late 1908 President Van Hise produced and submitted to the regents a campus architectural plan to embody, detail upon detail, the physical features of the combination university. Meanwhile the exigencies of day-to-day institutional life forced themselves upon the president, resulting in a series of pragmatic decisions and actions, among them the construction of two new facilities for university women; one a social and physical education center, and the other a dormitory. Struggle as he might, however, Van Hise continually and ultimately failed to orchestrate the funding, planning, and building of his proposed men's facilities. But the dream did not die with him. During the Birge administration a succession of committed and resourceful regents, faculty members, and administrators continued the struggle, and finally, at long last, they succeeded.

Campus, circa 1917

The Van Hise Inaugural Address

President Van Hise delivered his inaugural address on Tuesday morning, June 7, 1904, as part of the University's jubilee celebration. The event marked the fiftieth anniversary of the institution's first commencement exercise. Van Hise insightfully and somewhat apocryphally portrayed Wisconsin's past and detailed his hopes for the future of the University, if only the necessary will, energy, and resources were brought to bear. In the process he argued cogently for his vision of the combination university.[2]

Van Hise opened his talk by reviewing the University's history. He noted, for example, the increase from 3 professors and 1 tutor in 1854 to the current 228 faculty members. Similarly, he described an expansion in enrollment from 56 to 3,150. He summarized the administrations of Lathrop, Barnard, Sterling, Chadbourne, and Twombly as constituting a period of "struggle first for existence and, later, for advancement." President Bascom, under whom the speaker had studied, "consolidated and unified" the College of Arts and Letters, establishing strong liberal arts courses. Many alumni certainly remembered Dr. Bascom's "pervasive, mastering, moral power." They "may or may not now believe the tenets of his formal philosophy and ethics as given in his books, and as pounded into them in the class-room with sledge-hammer blows," continued Van Hise, "but they believe and share in his high ideals, are inspired by his burning enthusiasm, and have been led to stand steadily for the right." A "distinctive feature" of President Chamberlin's administration had been the recognition of the "importance of applied science." But more significant was Chamberlin's emphasis on "scholarship and research—a definite attempt on his part to make the institution of which he was head justify the name of university." His "profound influence" produced both "advancement" and "diffusion of knowledge." President Adams and Acting President Birge had carried on Chamberlin's legacy with distinction.[3]



President Charles R. Van Hise

"While the achievements of the past fifty years are sufficiently great for celebration," continued Van Hise, "the ideal of the state university is still more worthy of celebration." At this kind of institution "no restriction as to class or sex is possible . . . this is a new thing in the world." But it was not accurate to say that historical influences are necessarily worthless. Consider Oxford and Cambridge, to whom the founders of America's colonial colleges looked for guidance. Their most basic characteristic was "the system of halls of residence,

involving commons, unions, and athletic fields." It was true that recent scientific advances requiring large and expensive laboratories had caused problems for the small English colleges, but it would be "absurd" to think the collegiate way might be abandoned there. After all, Oxford and Cambridge had produced "an astonishingly large proportion of great statesmen, writers, and scientists."[4]

During the early days at Wisconsin, he continued, "we had the essentials of the English system." But they had nearly vanished since the burning of Science Hall, after which time the men were turned out of North and South halls, "without any definite plan to change our system, indeed without any thought of the profound change which was being made in the character of the university. . . ." Certainly, formal teaching was important.

> But, when the student goes out into the world, there is no other part of his education which is of such fundamental importance as capacity to deal with men, to see the other fellow's point of view, to have sympathetic appreciation with all that may be good in that point of view, and yet to retain firmly his own ideas and to adjust the two in fair proportion. Nothing that the professor or laboratory can do for the student can take the place of daily close companionship with hundreds of his fellows. In the intimate communal life of the dormitories he must adjust himself to others. He must be genial, fair, likable, or else his lot is rightly a hard one. This fundamental training in adaptability to and appreciation of his fellows can only come from attrition between a large number of human units.

Authorities at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Pennsylvania understood this and had retained many features of the collegiate system. If Wisconsin was to do what these institutions had done "for their students, not only in producing scholars and investigators, but in making men, it must once more have halls of residence, and to these must be added a commons and a union."[5]

Van Hise next sketched other important historical themes, among them "the development of pure science and its assimilation by the college of liberal arts," and the rise of the studies of political economy, political science, sociology, and history, which had had "a profound influence upon governmental progress." Similarly, the "German model" and the subsequent founding of Johns Hopkins University had led to the appearance of scholars in the West "not content to do instructional work alone." Professors Allen and Irving were the first to arrive at Wisconsin, followed by Chamberlin, who "began systematically to develop scholarship and research." All of this had resulted in enhanced public service by the social and the natural scientists. Ultimately, however, "the final and supreme test of the height to which a university attains is its output of creative men, not in science alone, but in arts, in literature, in politics, and in religion."[6]

> With all of this as preamble, President Van Hise was now prepared to suggest the ideal American university—one which has the best features of the English system with its dormitories, commons, and union; one which includes the liberal and the fine arts and the additions of science and applied science; and one which superimposes upon these an advanced school modeled upon the German universities, but with a broader scope. . . . This combination university is the American university of the future, and this the University of Wisconsin must become if it is to be the peer of the great universities of the nation.

Van Hise closed by proclaiming his desire that Wisconsin "will continue to guide the state, until a university is built as broad as human endeavor, as high as human aspiration."[7]

The Campus Architectural Plan

Once he had defined it, President Van Hise set out actually to build the combination university. And in many connections he was remarkably successful. He is widely and justly remembered, for example, for his advocacy of University of Wisconsin service to the public in the forms of faculty participation in the work of governmental commissions and in extension programming. Research and scholarship developed markedly during his regime. And finally, he grew into an articulate and intelligent national spokesman for modern American higher education and the roles it might play in society.

President Van Hise also strove to accomplish the more subtle yet equally important nuances of the combination university, nuances which at least through World War II largely defined the essential character of the institution. For example, he appreciated the fragmentation problems addressed earlier by President Adams, but Van Hise's task was more difficult because the organization he envisioned would be considerably larger and more complex than anything imagined during the 1890s. Thus he set out to nurture a comprehensive university community. One of his greatest accomplishments in this endeavor was the development of a system of shared governance through faculty committees. Not only did faculty members increasingly find themselves responsible for important university affairs, they also met and worked with colleagues whom they might otherwise never have known. Again with regard to the faculty, Van Hise pushed for and coordinated the founding of the University Club, which ran a dining room, provided meeting facilities for department and committee meetings, and sponsored many recreational and social activities. For the students, as we have seen, he intended to build the dormitories, union, and commons.

Indeed, Van Hise intended to build many things. Just as the combination university implied community, it also involved rational physical expansion. Classrooms and laboratories were badly needed, and ever-increasing student enrollments seemed likely. Six months after presenting his inaugural address, Van Hise suggested in his president's report of December 1, 1904, that a long-term building policy should be developed. Barely four years later the Board of Regents received the "Preliminary Draft of the Report of the Architectural Commission on the General Design of the University of Wisconsin." The Regents' Minutes for December 16, 1908, read: "Architect Laird appeared before the Board and presented his report on the plans for the future constructional development of the University." Although the document is entitled a "Preliminary Draft," the regents, without taking formal action on its recommendations, used it for years thereafter as an important guide whenever the expansion of campus facilities was under consideration.[8]

The Architectural Commission consisted of three members. The chairman was Warren P. Laird, professor in charge, College of Architecture, University of Penn-

sylvania. The second member was Professor of Architecture at Pennsylvania, Paul Cret, who had distinguished himself in the design of new facilities at his home institution and elsewhere. The third member was Arthur Peabody, state architect of Wisconsin. Throughout the four years of its work, the commission frequently reported its progress to the regents and remained in close and sympathetic contact with President Van Hise, whose influence in the preparation of the report was ubiquitous.

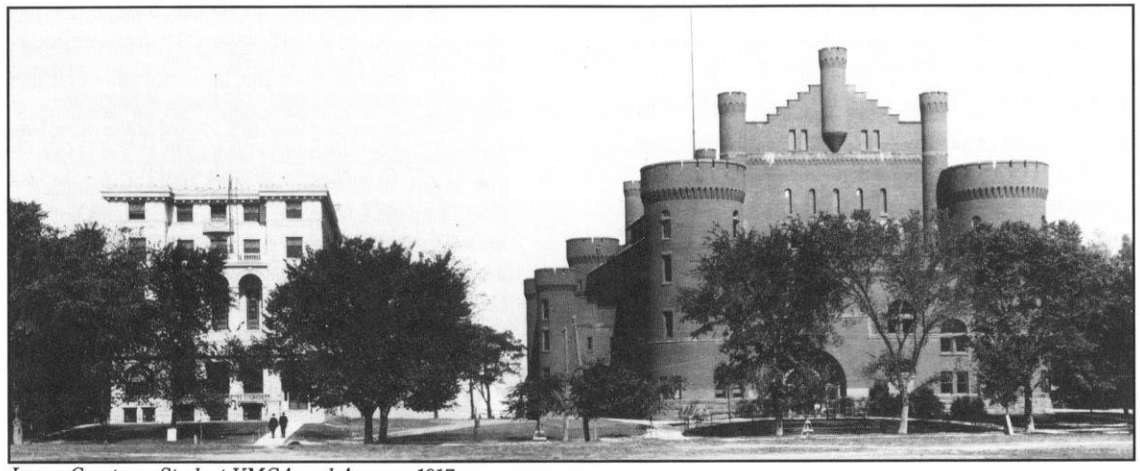
Near the beginning the report notes "the task set for your Commission has been the production of an organic plan for the whole future development of the University in which each newly added part would find its proper and final place, securing its own greatest individual usefulness while contributing to that of the whole . . .

> To accomplish this end, the commission began with a study of underlying conditions, both of site and institution, of the answer given by each department to a comprehensive inquiry as to its needs present and prospective, and of the policy and views of the administration. This was followed . . . by conferences with the departments concerned and the unfailing aid and counsel of the President.[9]

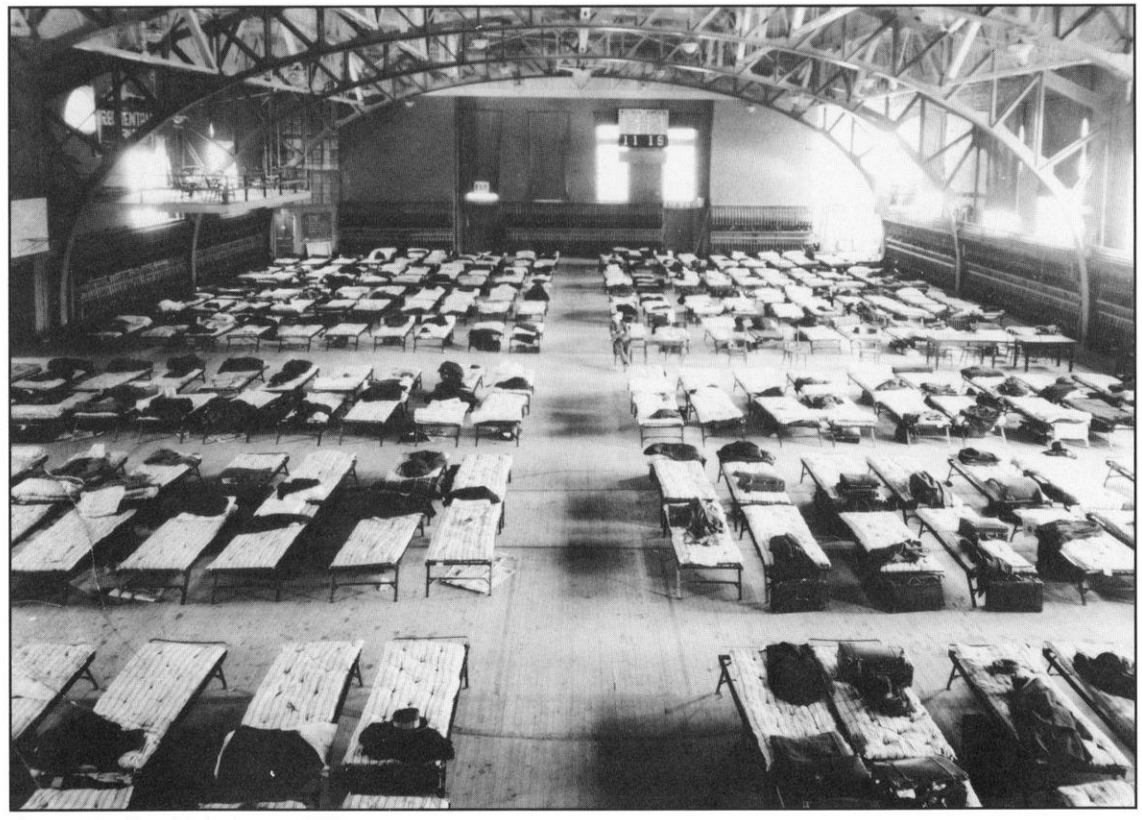
Besides looking internally to the faculty for its views, the commission and Van Hise, so typically of University of Wisconsin leaders, also looked externally for information and advice. By the fall of 1906 they had consulted with appropriate authorities at Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Wellesley, Columbia, Vassar, and Princeton. Years later, when funding had finally been arranged for new men's dormitories, planners followed the same pattern of seeking advice.

The plan as submitted to the regents described six campus subunits: the approach, the liberal arts group, the pure science group, the applied science group, the group of agriculture, and the group for residence and athletics. The commission intended that these subunits would accomplish a number of community facilitating objectives, among them:

> a proper relation of departmental groups to the whole system . . . a suitable inter-relation of the buildings of each departmental group . . . [and] a complete and well ordered



Lower Campus—Student YMCA and Armory, 1917



Army trainee housing in Armory, 1917

> system of thoroughfares by which all parts of the University will be knit together . . . in a manner most likely to minimize time and energy in travel to and from the University and between its parts.[10]

In this way the combination university would find expression in actual physical relations.

Referring generally to its sixth subunit, the Architectural Commission departed radically from Bascom's point of view vis-à-vis student life by asserting, in harmony with President Van Hise, that "as the complete university must extend its care of the student over the whole range of his activities, bodily and social as well as mental, there is provided another chief factor, that of Residence and Athletics." The commission's reasoning as to location follows:

> Groups of suitable size could not have found space, for women in the region of Chadbourne Hall or for men elsewhere within the University territory, without preempting ground more wisely assigned to purposes of instruction. The lake shore region is least well adapted to the latter, but its very isolation, great beauty of outlook and accessibility from all parts of the institution give it nearly ideal qualities for the purpose. In shape and configuration also the ground has lent itself happily to the purpose. The Women's Group lies nearest the Liberal Arts and Pure Sciences, its southern division lifted by the hill slope above that near the lake shore, thus giving full view to both, while the Men's Group, nearest their athletic field, lies on the lower level with a long lake frontage enjoyed by every house.[11]

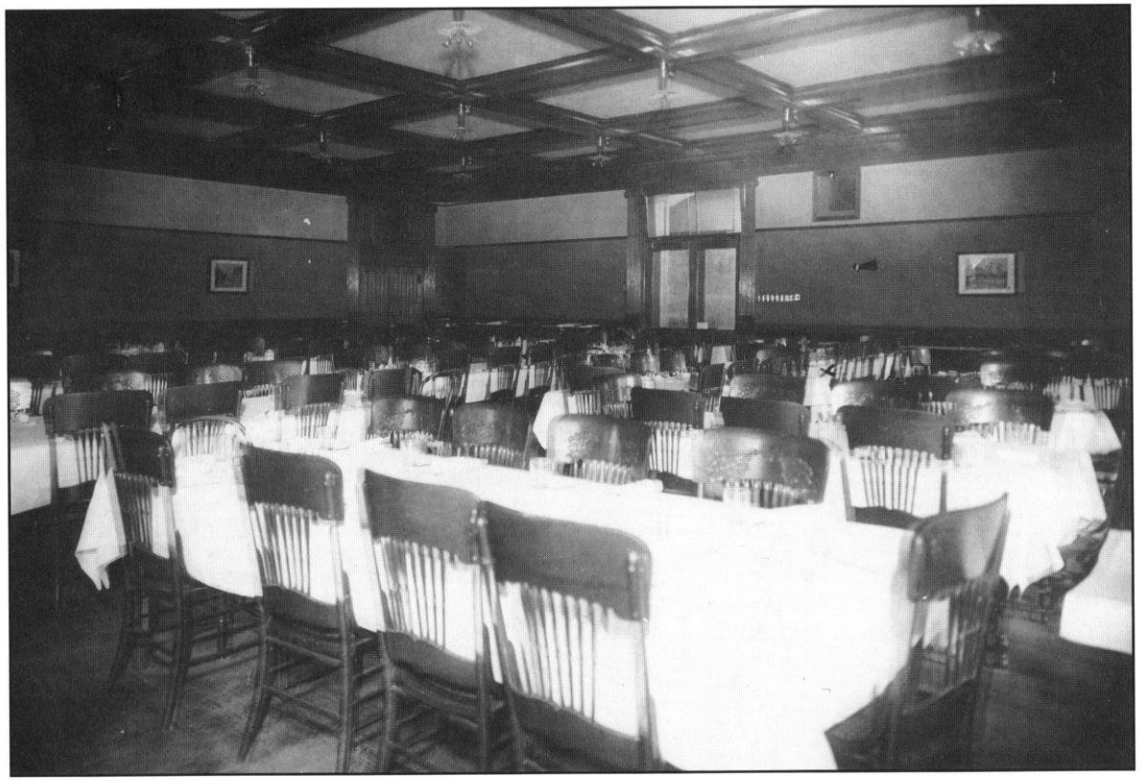
The new university dormitory system would, in other words, conform to and confirm the logic of the combination university.

Finally, the commission characterized and justified the specific design it had chosen for the new student facilities:

> The house-unit conforms in each group to the principle adopted by the administration after extended study of dormitory systems. This principle calls for the segregation of students into residential groups of about one hundred and fifty each for men and a smaller number for women. The latter are provided with houses accommodating two units each, joined by a dining hall or commons, the former with houses each reserved to its group, containing social rooms and commons the structure enclosing a quadrangle. . . . The central pavilion of the chief dormitory for men could be developed into a Men's Union if desired.[12]

Aside from proximity to a men's union, this plan, as concluding portions of this chapter demonstrate, was remarkably prescient of the facilities as they finally came to exist.

Earlier in its report the commission had discussed what it called "the Sub-Group for Women," located near Chadbourne Hall. It was in this area, central to women's life on campus, that the architects envisioned a "Women's Building," boasting "a modern gymnasium complete in all phases and with provision for lectures, concerts, dances, banquets, receptions and private theatricals." The commission also anticipated placing a women's union in the immediate area, one which would provide "for the women students a house exclusively devoted to their social life . . . for many organization and common needs such as lunching facilities, society and class meeting rooms, the guest rooms for visiting women, etc., etc."[13]



Chadbourne Hall, third floor dining room, circa 1920

New Facilities for University Women

These were the plans that President Van Hise and his Architectural Commission made for accommodating the university's students. And to a remarkable extent, as we shall see, they ultimately came to fruition. But in the meantime, day-to-day life proceeded and brought with it the need to improvise. The first challenge was to arrange for the Women's Building described above. Pressures for this physical education unit had been mounting

since the mid-1890s, when the men's combination gymnasium and armory was completed. Throughout the next decade this facility provided the male student population with embarrassingly superior facilities compared to the women's small and poorly equipped unit in Chadbourne Hall.

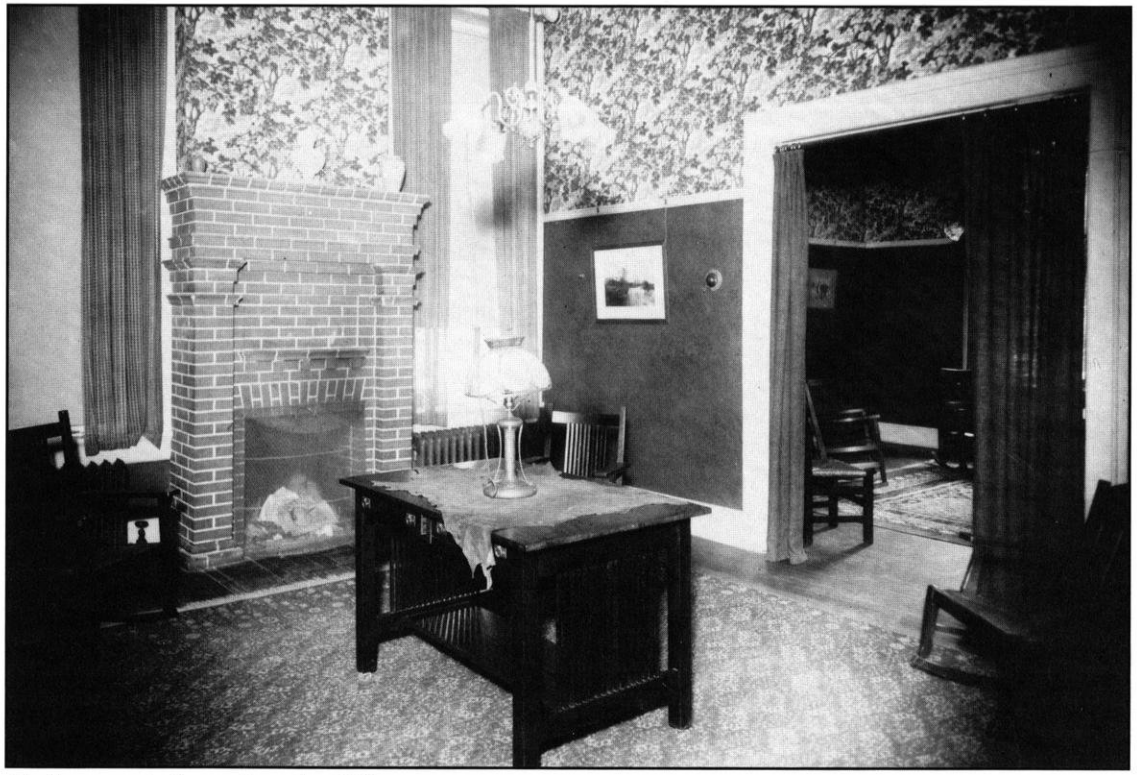
Two general considerations help account for the decision to move ahead with the Women's Building before the commission completed its plan. First, the Progressive reform movement of the day emphasized healthfulness as a basic educational and social objective. The view evolved that a good university must provide good physical education facilities for all of its students and any institution that did not should act with some urgency to remedy the omission. Second, women could not use the gymnasium and armory because such facilities had to be segregated by gender. We have seen that President Bascom completed the coeducation process, but this did not mean that he thought all students could or should share all University resources. The dominant view of the day held that men and women at times deserved separate, albeit equal, programs and facilities. Thus in 1904 Acting President Birge reported that the legislature had provided for the "establishment and support for a course in home economics . . ." in 1903. This new program, according to the Board of Visitors report for 1902–03, would

> bring women here for the practical training they must now seek in neighboring states, and give them an equivalent for the work the University has so long emphasized for men. In this regard we feel that the University has taken a step needed to bring it in line with other state institutions, and in the direct course demanded by the development of coeducation.[14]

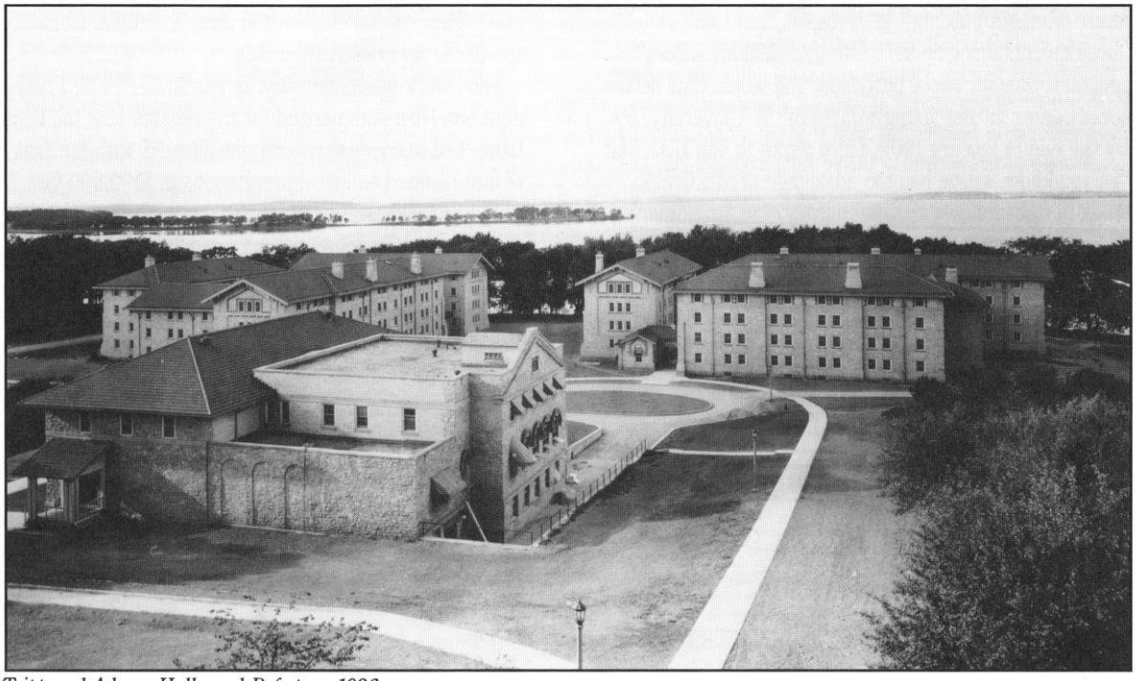
As might have been expected, Chadbourne Hall housed the new program in its early years.

President Van Hise and the regents began planning for the Women's Building and the dormitories, commons, and union simultaneously and prior to the naming of the architectural commission. Earlier in 1906 the board had engaged Warren Laird as a consulting architect at a fee of $1,000.[15] By this time, too, Van Hise had begun expanding his image of what the facility might do. "The future women's building," he wrote in June 1906, "besides containing an adequate gymnasium, should contain rooms for social purposes, and would thus be the social center for the young women of the University."[16] By the end of January 1907, Laird wrote to Van Hise that "as you know, I have had the advantage of Mr. Cret's study in working over the preliminary plan for women's dormitories, gymnasium and commons, thus bringing it into consonance with the larger plans for future University development." [17] Finally on December 12, 1907, the regents accepted the recommendations of its Chadbourne Hall Committee and the adviser to women by adopting plans for the "women's gymnasium," to be located "on University Avenue between Chadbourne Hall and the Chemistry Building, fifty feet from the Avenue." The regents empowered their Executive Committee to call for construction bids.[18]

Soon work was under way. In November 1908, President Van Hise summarized for the regents how the legislature had financed the facility in 1906–07 with the first of four planned annual appropriations of $100,000 for "student buildings." "Under this grant," he explained, "the women's building, to serve as a women's gymnasium, a union for the women, and as a supplementary dining hall, is under construction . . ."[19] By 1910, when Van Hise delivered his next biennial report to the regents, he was pleased to observe that Lathrop Hall (originally named Adams Hall by the board) had opened early that academic year.[20] "The building for the first time in the history of the University of Wisconsin fur-



Chadbourne main floor parlors, circa 1905



Tripp and Adams Halls and Refectory, 1926

nishes the proper gymnasium facilities for the women. . . . The far-reaching influence of this gymnasium upon the general health and physical development of the women cannot be estimated."

> The building also boasted an auditorium with a stage, rooms for social purposes, for literary societies, and for other women's organizations. It is expected that as many as practicable of the social affairs under the auspices of the young women will be held in this building. Lathrop Hall also contains a dining room and cafeteria. Thus this building furnishes to the women students all the advantages of a club, and in addition to that makes it possible to have the general social affairs under much more satisfactory conditions than heretofore.[21]

By 1910, while the men remained dispossessed in these regards, University of Wisconsin women had their own dormitory, union, and commons.

Three years later, in 1913, the women had their second dormitory, Barnard Hall. As with Chadbourne and Lathrop halls, the legislature financed this building through an appropriation. At present we have found no record of discussions explaining why the women received yet another facility while the men remained wanting. At least two contributing factors are apparent. First, parental wishes were influential. As President Van Hise wrote to the regents in 1906, "the parents of the state are desirous of sending their daughters to quarters which are under some university supervision. . . . This is not possible at the present time for more than a part of the young women, nor does it seem likely that it will become possible until additional women's dormitories are provided." In 1905, a committee of the Board of Visitors stated, "We feel that the state owes the protection and advantages of a home to all young women who enter [the university's] doors, and we recommend the erection *at once* of cottages or dormitories, large enough and of sufficient number to house all the women connected with the University who now must live in boarding houses." Second, a university women's housing organizational structure already existed and a second dormitory could be easily added. Rules, regulations, and procedures were in place, as was an adequate administrative apparatus. None of these existed for the men.[22]

In any event, the appropriation became available during 1911, and the president, consulting architects, and regents kept busy making arrangements. The primary debate with regard to Barnard Hall was choosing its location. Although Van Hise and the architects favored the lakeside site described in the campus plan of 1908, the regents found it unacceptable since only a single dormitory was to be built at this time and the lakeside location would be extremely isolated. Regent (Mrs.) C. A. Buckstaff, a leading member of the Committee on Future Constructional Development, argued for locations at the foot of Park Street, either to the east or to the west. But the legislature disallowed the eastern site, and the architects made a persuasive case that the western location would interfere with future University growth and would be too publicly located for the residents. Finally, on July 11, 1911, as a compromise more than anything else, the regents voted that the new dormitory "building be placed between Chadbourne and Lathrop Halls."[23]

Construction of Barnard Hall proceeded from March 1912 to June 1913. According to the report of State Architect Arthur Peabody, "It consists of a central portion, running north and south with wings extended eastward and enclosing a paved court with balustrades and steps down to the lawn." The cost was $123,500, and the total floor space 35,000 square feet. Of the 140 dormitory spaces, 133 were rented to students, with the remainder set aside for the matron and other uses.

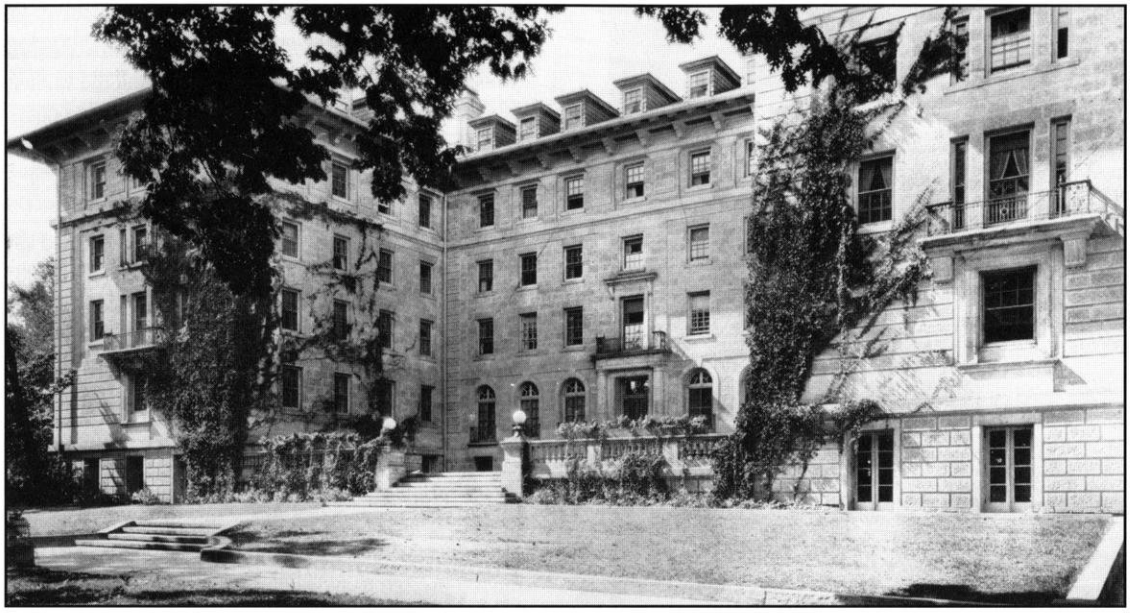
> On the first floor are the parlors and in the basement the dining rooms, serving rooms, trunk rooms and other utilities. The building is connected to the Central Kitchen, which supplies also Chadbourne Hall and Lathrop Hall dining rooms. The interior is finished in a simple dignified manner, and is equipped with a passenger elevator.[24]

Without a doubt, this new residential facility far surpassed any other that university women had ever enjoyed.

Administration of the women's facilities, including Chadbourne, Lathrop, and Barnard halls, became increasingly structured and inclusive during the Van Hise presidency. Through 1905 the mistress of Chadbourne Hall seems to have had sole responsibility for life in that building. In 1906 Van Hise hired an "adviser of women," Mrs. Cora Stranahan Woodward of Brooklyn, New York. "Upon her," stated the president, "will rest the responsibility of leadership in still further improving the social conditions of the young women of the University." Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathews, dean of women, replaced Mrs. Woodward in 1911, and retained her post until 1918. By 1914, Dean Mathews could report, "The care of this whole body of young women falls upon this office," which then included the dean of women, the mistress of Chadbourne Hall, the mistress of Barnard Hall, one full-time assistant, one-half time assistant, and a secretary. In 1917 University Business Manager H. J. Thorkelson submitted to the regents his "Memorandum Regarding Dormitories and Commons," covering the previous decade. For the years through 1910–1911, Thorkelson discovered "a serious financial loss amounting in round numbers to $29,000." No accounts were kept but from that time forward, results of a new recording system for Barnard Dormitory, Chadbourne Dormitory, and Commissary Department improved annually. University authorities would later reshape and extend this structure into a modern and efficient unit responsible for the administration of all campus residence hall and commons facilities.[25]

Struggle and Failure

While the women's facilities had been built and were operating, the funding of men's dormitories through legislative appropriations remained a fond but elusive dream of their advocates. As early as his inaugural address, President Van Hise had speculated that, in light of other "necessarily very large demands upon the state," perhaps the burden would have to be borne by wealthy alumni. "In no way can a man leave a more appropriate and permanent monument for himself than by building a hall of residence, a commons, or a union." Van Hise did



Barnard Hall, circa 1920

Barnard Hall small parlor, circa 1920

not give up on the state government, however. Each year he offered his plea, and as we have seen, he announced that in 1906–07 the legislature was planning a series of four $100,000 appropriations. The first fifty or sixty percent was to pay for Lathrop Hall, and the remainder was to go for a men's dormitory, but the legislature never appropriated the rest. Then in 1914 the president proclaimed in his biennial report that the legislature had finally set aside $300,000 for a men's dormitory, commons, and union, including $50,000 for equipment. The money would become available in March of 1915, and occupancy was expected for the autumn of 1916.[26]

This good news from the legislature set off a flurry of planning activity on campus among regents, students, and staff. Heady with optimism, the Board of Regents voted on October 8, 1913 to "adopt for the Men's Dormitory the location originally designated by the Architectural Commission of 1908, and that the first structure to be erected be the most easterly." Also in 1913 the Student Conference issued its "Report of the Committee on Dormitories." "This committee," which had worked with representatives of the junior and senior classes, "has become convinced of the necessity of a system of dormitories for men that shall provide convenient and comfortable living conditions, in one center of student life at a reasonable price, under University control." Three reasons justified this conclusion: the high cost of living in town, the lack of "close, personal contact with other students and . . . Faculty," and "democracy within the university is not fostered by the present social conditions." The report ended by affirming the regents' decision to locate the dormitory at the lakeshore. Next came a plan prepared by Arthur Peabody and submitted to the regents by the acting business manager that would provide "economical but ample provision for men in single rooms." Finally, early in 1915 a distinguished committee of Dean Charles S. Slichter (Graduate School), Dean Frederick E. Turneaure (Engineering), and Professor John G. Mack (Engineering) produced a plan "based on furnishing lodging and board at the lowest possible cost." Unfortunately before the regents could take further action, the legislature again changed its mind, due, in Van Hise's words, to "the alleged hard times and poverty of the state," and cancelled the appropriation.[27]

With the advent of World War I, the University entered wholeheartedly into the war effort, opening the women's facilities to the Student Army Training Corps and postponing plans for further expansion. As Business Manager Thorkelson wrote to state Senator Whitman, "I wish to suggest that the Capital items originally requested by the University authorities be modified as follows: (1) The elimination of the request of $240,000 for Men's Dormitories or Union. . . ." Thorkelson continued, "In making this proposal, which has the approval of President C. R. Van Hise, we are sacrificing many items of expenditure absolutely necessary to the continuance of the University at its present standard of effectiveness."[28]

Funding, Building, and Organizing for the Men

President Van Hise died on November 19, 1918, and the regents appointed the dean of the College of Letters and Science, E. A. Birge, his successor on December 4, 1918. Six months later the war ended, and the new president, again viewing himself as a caretaker, faced monumental and unprecedented problems. The University was in disarray after Van Hise's sudden death; an unusually conservative state legislature was generally unsympathetic, if not hostile, to the institution; and the campus was flooded with returning veterans, actual enrollments exceeding estimates by thousands. Yet by the time the Glenn Frank administration, (beginning in 1925) was barely one year old, much progress had been made. A fresh and workable method for raising construction funding had emerged; a faculty committee had immersed itself in planning for the new facilities; and a modern, fully comprehensive, and efficient management system stood in place. President Van Hise's combination university ideal had finally reached fruition.

During the first few years following the war, regent discussions favored the building of new dormitories for both men and women. On October 20, 1920, the board voted to have the business manager "include in the Biennial Estimates for 1921–22 an item for Dormitories for Men and Women to accommodate 150 men and 150 women." A crunch for housing was on, and Dean of Women Nardin had argued in her "Confidential Report upon a Survey of the Housing of Women Students in the City of Madison" that "no more houses are available." As during the Van Hise regime, however, legislative appropriations for additional campus residential facilities were not forthcoming. Before long the housing shortage subsided, largely due to the sustained efforts of the dean of women, and the regents narrowed their attention almost entirely to providing accommodations for the men.[29]

The regents now began to look seriously into alternative methods of financing. One method, first proposed as early as 1905 by the Board of Visitors, was for the University to lease land to private builders, who would then construct dormitories and rent them back to the institution. A second method was to raise money with a fund drive. So, for a time in 1919 the regents worked with a committee of alumni, faculty, and students to secure funds through the sale of stocks for dormitories and a student union. In March of 1922 the Visitors resurrected their earlier proposed method, this time before a very receptive Board of Regents, which instructed Acting Business Manager J. D. Phillips to consult with the state attorney general as to possible legal problems. Unfortunately the attorney general determined, in Phillips's words, that "Legislation which now exists does not make it possible to build dormitories on state property with private capital." Yet, according to Deputy Attorney General Hoyt, there were certain constitutional avenues the legislature could follow to allow such an effort.[30]

Mr. Phillips pursued the matter for the next eight months, corresponding with officials of the Commonwealth Mortgage and Bond Company of Madison, the Executive Committee of the University of Michigan Dormitories Corporation, Gay Brothers of Madison, and the Wisconsin Attorney General's Office, while keeping the regents informed along the way.[31] Meanwhile, Arthur Peabody prepared a report on the "General Problem of Dormitories," which outlined the next possible actions the board might take.[32] The regents held an evening

Dean Scott H. Goodnight

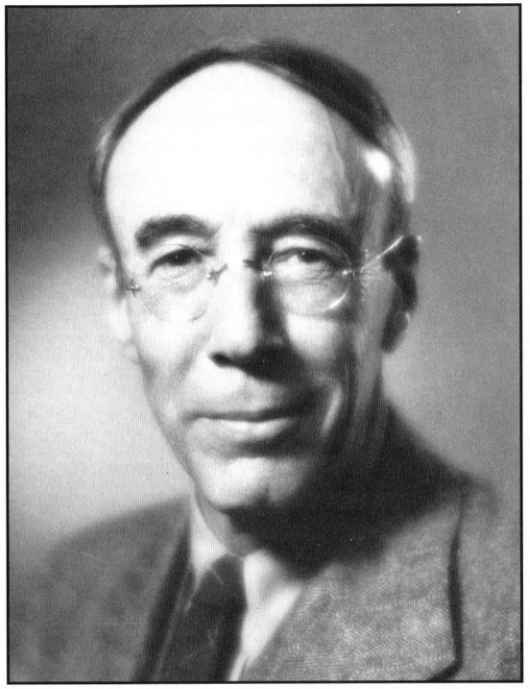
meeting on the subject on Tuesday, December 5, 1922, and one week later received from Regent Walter J. Kohler a "General Plan (which includes Legislation and Financing)," prepared by a Committee on Dormitories whose members included President Birge; Regents Kronshage, Seaman, and Kohler; J. D. Phillips; with Regents Horlick, Faast, and Eimon also participating.[33] Finally, the next October, President Birge reported to the regents that the legislature, thanks to the timely and effective efforts of Regent Theodore Kronshage, had authorized the board "to build dormitories from surplus in revolving funds, etc." Kronshage, an alumnus, attorney, and public servant, was active behind the scenes and his general support for the development of men's residence halls was apparently of inestimable value.[34] The primary legal barrier had been overcome.

Planning for the new men's facilities now proceeded on three interrelated fronts. The regents' Constructional Development Committee oversaw the general process, the architects prepared drawings and plans, and a faculty committee, appointed by President Birge in August of 1924, studied and reported to the board on "the development of social life of the University, particularly with relation to the architectural plans for the Memorial Union Building and dormitories."[35]

The faculty committee (commonly known and hereafter referred to as the Dormitory Committee) construed its charge in the broadest of senses. Its members, after all, were highly respected senior professors from across the campus, originally including Max Mason (mathematician and future president of the University of Chicago), Harold C. Bradley (physiological chemist), Otto Kowalke (chemical engineer), and Charles S. Slichter (mathematician and dean of the Graduate School). Dean of Men Scott Goodnight began serving on the committee during its earliest days. Working with the staffing assistance of John Dollard, secretary of the Wisconsin Union, during the ensuing semester the group studied the national dormitory situation, debated possibilities for Wisconsin, and finally offered its "Report to the Regents by the Faculty Committee on Constructional Features of Dormitories etc." on January 21, 1925.[36]

In anticipation of this report, the committee sent Dollard on a twenty-three-day trip to twelve leading North American institutions of higher education. Dollard visited Northwestern University, University of Michigan, University of Toronto, Dartmouth College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cornell University, University of Chicago, Harvard University, Yale University, Columbia University, Princeton University, and the University of Pennsylvania. Dollard's "Report to the 'Faculty Committee on the Social Needs of Wisconsin Undergraduates' " and "Data on Dormitories in Schools Visited" covered all aspects of the problem. He offered two general conclusions: first, at the minimum, dormitories "should make student living conditions less costly, more comfortable, more thoroughly decent . . .";

> and second, as a maximum contribution dormitories may encourage undergraduate leadership . . . lessen social distinctions in student society, encourage general participation in athletic sports, provide a means for intellectual stimulation of dormitory men outside the class room, and help to develop a vigorous and healthy morale.[37]



Professor Harold C. Bradley

The second conclusion is nothing less than a restatement of the collegiate ideal, modified for modern times at a state university. Dollard then considered the following categories: freshman dormitories, type of dormitory, size of rooms, types of supervision, rules, financing and cost, fraternities and dormitories in the same architectural unit, freshman commons, single and double rooms, library and common room, breakage and roughhousing, freshman pledging, athletic and intramural sports, and general interest. The report was truly comprehensive in scope and based solidly and substantially upon the best working examples available.

The Dormitory Committee relied heavily upon Dollard's work, but the members also discussed the dormitories extensively with faculty colleagues, and consulted with architect Arthur Peabody—a process that perfectly

embodied President Van Hise's shared governance ideal. In the introductory remarks of their report, the committee stated: ". . . the material available in Madison was studied and the secretary of the committee was sent on a trip to twelve universities to gather data. On the basis of the information so obtained, of study of conditions at Wisconsin, and of the advice of a considerable group of the faculty, recommendations were made to the architect during the preparation of his sketches."[38] When the time finally came to make recommendations, both the board and the committee could be confident that the proposed measures enjoyed substantial backing throughout the university community.

The report contains eight substantive recommendations, most of which eventually were followed. The committee first advocated "the quadrangle type of construction," desirable both for architectural concerns and for "the social unity which common life around a common center would promote." Similarly, they preferred the "entry type" over the corridor style to protect health "and for social reasons, in that a small group of thirty men can more easily become a compact social unit through friendly activity and close contact." About thirty men would make up a unit, "one which would merge satisfactorily into the larger group of eight units which make up the whole dormitory." Each unit should contain a "common room." "It was felt that the inclusion of such a room as the natural meeting place and playing place for the men would make life in the dormitories more desirable and would promote a unity in this group which would simplify all problems in connection with dormitory administration." Single rooms were preferable, although about one quarter of the accommodations might consist of two-room suites. Regarding who should live in the dormitories, the committee favored required freshman residence as soon as adequate accommodations came available. Freshmen, after all, "are most in need of the influences which right leadership and good living conditions could bring to bear on them." Concerning the general architectural style, "the committee felt that the dormitories should . . . be of a varied and non-institutional character and so recommended to the state architect."

The two-part recommendation on "supervision of dormitories" deserves special attention. The committee felt that discipline should take the form of "home rule," organized around a committee of residents elected by their peers. More importantly, perhaps, they also asserted

> the desirability of having an older man resident in each unit. This man might be called a dormitory "leader" with such functions as the name would suggest. His influence for leadership should not be lessened by imposing on him disciplinary responsibility. He would be expected to help educate the younger men by example, by friendly counsel, and by his sympathetic interest in them. The committee has suggested that he be provided with a suite of two rooms, one of them a sitting room in which he can meet and talk with the men in the dormitories.

This proposal constitutes the foundation for what would later become known as the House Fellow System, a discussion of which appears in Chapter 3.

Taken in sum, the eight recommendations loyally reflected Van Hise's combination university ideal. As John Dollard wrote in the minutes of the committee for April 2, 1926,

> Chairman Bradley took up the important business of the meeting by sketching to the students present the course of the dormitory development to date, showing it to be a needful feature of the university envisioned by Dr. Van Hise, and which came to a proper realization when this Committee was appointed by Dr. Birge with Max Mason as its chairman.[39]

The Spirit Lived On

During this period of research and planning by the Dormitory Committee, the regents were busy as well. Possessing legislative approval and architectural plans, on June 30, 1925, their agents filed articles of organization for the non-stock and non-profit-sharing Wisconsin University Building Corporation with the assistant secretary of state in Madison. Officers, members, and directors of the corporation were the university business manager, secretary, and comptroller. In essence this maneuver allowed the regents, through a legally distinct corporation under their direct control, to overcome dependence upon state appropriations by placing themselves in debt to finance the men's dormitories. Technically, the regents would lease the tract of land proposed in the architectural plan of 1908 to the corporation for fifty years, rent-free. Then they would lease back the completed buildings from the corporation, with rental payments approximately equal to interest and principal charges. The corporation would obtain the necessary $970,000 for the construction of and equipment for two quadrangles and a refectory through a first mortgage with the state Soldiers' Rehabilitation Fund, and a second mortgage bond from the regents. The completed facilities would be ready for occupancy at the opening of the fall semester in September of 1926.[40]

As the opening day approached, members of the Dormitory Committee refined their thinking on the proportions of students by classes that should reside in the dormitories. They finally recommended to the regents that each thirty-two-man unit accommodate two seniors, four juniors, six sophomores, and twenty freshmen. As the minutes of their deliberations put it, "It was felt that the twelve men above freshman rank would leaven the lump of green freshmen coming into the dormitories and would establish a basis for friendly leadership and guidance of the new men."[41]

At the same meeting, in response to the request of recently appointed President Glenn Frank, the committee also agreed upon a policy concerning "the nature and extent of the supervision of the dormitories themselves." John Dollard, who prepared the minutes of the meeting, records that President Frank "commented on the special function of advisers as that of promoting community life and spirit . . . and offered further that the special function of the adviser was one of informal leadership. . . ." Mr. Phillips wondered about a possible conflict between "business and social leadership . . . and spoke of the experience in the girls' halls where it became necessary for the so-called 'hostess' to be under the department of Halls and Commons." (See

Chapter 3 for discussions of the unanticipated problems occasioned by this administrative change. Initially, conflicts developed between the dean of women's office and the department of Halls and Commons.) Further discussion produced a consensus that residents should set and administer their own rules, "with the exception of certain fundamentals as to drinking, women and gambling . . . and that disciplinary officers of the university should step in only in case of an offence committed against the university body politic, its good name or reputation."

The Dormitory Committee also agreed that "young faculty men, university staff men, graduate students, and possibly . . . a few prominent seniors" would be considered for the post of adviser or counselor. Professor Kowalke argued that no candidate should be hired who had not spent at least two years at the University, "his idea being that such men could not properly communicate to the younger students the spirit of Wisconsin." The group then designated a Personnel Committee consisting of Deans Slichter and Goodnight and Professor Bradley, with staff assistance from the director of Dormitories and Commons, Donald Halverson, to receive applications and make selections. In the process of its deliberations this committee would evaluate over seventy-five applicants for sixteen vacancies.

Finally, to round out preparations for the opening of the first men's dormitories on campus in forty years, the department of Halls and Commons, the agency responsible for the day-to-day operations of the new facilities, completed its transition into a fully functioning administrative subunit of the University Business Office. Donald Halverson, while effectively functioning as director of Halls and Commons on February 1, was formally appointed to the post of acting director at the Board of Regents' meeting on March 5, 1924. Sometime later the regents transferred his appointment to permanent status.[42]

Earlier, as we have seen, a succession of women had occupied the office, which administered Chadbourne, Lathrop, and Barnard halls. Unlike his predecessors, Halverson's orientation was heavily toward the dollars-and-cents side of the job. He organized and ran the French House when he arrived at the University in 1918, and later, between 1922 and 1924, he found employment as an accountant and then assistant to the manager of the University Business Office. As Halverson wrote in 1927, "It was during this period that much of the plan for food cost accounting was worked out; in this work I had an active part."[43]

On December 29, 1922, Acting Business Manager J. D. Phillips submitted to the regents a "Report on the Cost Accounting System being installed in the University Department of Halls and Commons." The system was important because it finally made rational, and reasonably predictable, the activity of a unit that operated entirely upon the income it generated. As Donald Halverson approvingly wrote of the system in his "Management of Dormitories & Commons," dated May 1925,

> I cannot overestimate the value to be derived from a comprehensive cost accounting system. The extra expenditure for a competent accountant and the added duties in the various departments are more than made up for in the valuable information given the director. In fact I would not care to supervise a department without a complete cost system.

Halverson concluded his observations by placing his work in a larger context: "We aim to have in the operation of our dormitories and commons the best business methods available, never as an end in themselves, but as the means of making our department achieve its greatest measure of usefulness."[44]

Finally, on February 4, 1926, Halverson transmitted to Phillips a "graphic chart" showing the proposed organization of the department after the opening of the men's

Tripp and Adams Halls, Refectory, and Soils Building, circa 1930

Adams Hall, circa 1932

Tripp and Adams Halls, single room, circa 1935

dormitories. The new arrangement would require a budget increase from $20,790 per year to about $29,800, but the work load would grow even more. The staff, which only a few years earlier had consisted of a mere handful of people, now would number fifteen: director, assistant director, accountant, dietitian, assistant to director, housekeeper, assistant accountant, bookkeeper, head chef, storekeeper and buyer, superintendent of men, clerical helper, hostess of Chadbourne Hall, hostess of Barnard Hall, and head proctor.[45] The main lines of planning for opening day were now complete. Tripp and Adams halls opened, as planned, for the fall semester of 1926.

ENDNOTES

Note: Much of the information cited in these notes, including the Regents' Reports, can be found in the University of Wisconsin Archives, located in the basement of the Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin–Madison, telephone (608) 262-3290.

1. The Van Hise and Birge presidencies are discussed in perceptive detail in Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848–1925*, vol. 2, (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1949). Also on Van Hise, see Maurice M. Vance, *Charles Richard Van Hise: Scientist Progressive* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1960); and Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965). On President Birge, see George C. Sellery, *E. A. Birge: A Memoir* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1956).
2. Charles Richard Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," in *The Jubilee of the University of Wisconsin, 1904* (Madison: Jubilee Committee, 1905), pp. 98–130. Also included in this volume are addresses by past University of Wisconsin President John Bascom, University of Chicago President William Rainey Harper, Wisconsin Governor Robert M. LaFollette, Regent William Freeman Vilas, Professor Frederick Jackson Turner, Daniel Coit Gilman, James Burrill Angell, and others.
3. Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," pp. 99–105.
4. Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," pp. 109–111.
5. Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," pp. 111–113.
6. Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," pp. 114–124.
7. Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," pp. 125–126, 128.
8. Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, Biennial Report for 1902–03 and 1903–04, p. 43. Hereafter cited as "UW Regents'

Report for . . . ." Architectural Commission, "Preliminary Draft of the Report of the Architectural Commission on the General Design of the University of Wisconsin for Examination by the Members of the Board of Regents," 16 December 1908, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 22.

9. Architectural Commission, "Preliminary Draft," p. 4.
10. Architectural Commission, "Preliminary Draft," p. 4.
11. Architectural Commission, "Preliminary Draft," p. 31.
12. Architectural Commission, "Preliminary Draft," p. 32.
13. Architectural Commission, "Preliminary Draft," pp. 21–22.
14. UW Regents' Report for 1902–03 and 1903–04, pp. 51, 135–136.
14. UW Regents' Report for 1902–03 and 1903–04, pp. 51, 135–136.
15. See Report of Committee on Future Constructional Development of the University, UW Regents' Minutes, 16 October 1906.
16. UW Regents' Report for 1904–05 and 1905–06, p. 61.
17. Laird to Van Hise, 21 January 1907, UW Archives, 4/10/1, Box 6.
18. UW Regents' Minutes, 17 December 1907.
19. UW Regents' Report for 1906–07 and 1907–08, pp. 40–41.
20. UW Regents' Minutes, 16 December 1908.
21. UW Regents' Report for 1908–09 and 1909–10, pp. 10–11.
22. UW Regents' Report for 1904–05 and 1905–06, p. 62; UW Regents' Report for 1904–05 and 1905–06, p. 194.
23. "Minutes giving views of President C. R. Van Hise in reference to location of women's dormitories," n.d., UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 1; Van Hise to Laird, 29 May 1909, UW Archives, 4/10/1, Box 11; Regents' Minutes, 20 October 1909; Regents' Minutes, 1 December 1909; Regents' Minutes, 2 March 1910; Regents' Minutes, 20 April 1910; Regents' Minutes, 12 October 1910; Regents' Minutes, 6 April 1911; "Report on Sites and Design of Certain Buildings," UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 24; Regents' Minutes, 11 July 1911.
24. UW Regents' Report for 1912–13 and 1913–14, pp. 340–341.
25. UW Regents' Report for 1904–05 and 1905–06, p. 18; UW Regents' Report for 1912–13 and 1913–14, pp. 238–245; H. J. Thorkelson, "Memorandum Regarding Dormitories and Commons," 13 January 1917, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 6.
26. Van Hise, "Inaugural Address," pp. 113–14; UW Regents' Report for 1912–13 and 1913–14, p. 30.
27. UW Regents' Minutes, 8 October 1913; "Report of the Committee on Dormitories to the Student Conference," 1913, UW Archives, 4/12/1, Box 2; Acting Business Manager to Committee on Constructional Development," 12 January 1915, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 4; Arthur Peabody, "Project for Men's Dormitories, Union and Commons at the University of Wisconsin," 9 November 1916, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 6; UW Regents' Report for 1914–15 and 1915–16, p. 27.
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29. UW Regents' Minutes, 20 October 1920; F. Louise Nardin, "Confidential Report upon a Survey of the Housing of Women Students in the City of Madison," November 1919, UW Archives, 4/12/1, Box 11.
30. J. D. Phillips to Regents and Visitors, 26 September 1922, UW Archives, 4/12/1, Box 30 and 24/1/1, Box 12; UW Regents' Report for 1904–05 and 1905–06, p. 195; UW Regents' Minutes, 15 January 1919.
31. J. D. Phillips to President E. A. Birge, 1 December 1922, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 30. This letter includes attached correspondence as follows: Samp, of Commonwealth Mortgage and Bond Company, to Regents, 26 April 1922; Bennett, of University of Michigan Dormitories Corporation, to Samp, 29 August 1922; Hoyt to Phillips, 19 September 1922; Phillips to Regents and Visitors, 26 September 1922; Samp to Phillips, 5 October 1922; and Cay Bros. to Phillips, 20 November 1922.
32. Arthur Peabody, "General Problem of Dormitories," 1 December 1922, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 12.
33. "General Plan (which includes Legislation and Financing)," submitted to J. D. Phillips, Acting Business Manager, 18 December 1922, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 12.
34. E. A. Birge, "Report on Legislation—1923," 10 October 1923, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 37. See also, "Theodore Kronshage, 1869–1934," unpublished typescript, Wisconsin State Historical Society, Wis/MSS/IK, Kronshage, T.
35. E. A. Birge to Max Mason, 12 August 1924, copy on file with UW History Project.
36. "Report to the Regents by the Faculty Committee on Constructional Features of Dormitories etc.", 21 January 1925, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 38.
37. John Dollard, "Report to the 'Faculty Committee on the Social Needs of Wisconsin Undergraduates,' " [1924], copies on file with Division of University Housing and UW History Project.
38. "Report to the Regents by the Faculty Committee on Constructional Features of Dormitories etc.", 21 January 1925, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 38.
39. John Dollard, "[Minutes of the] Meeting of the Faculty Committee on Undergraduate Social Needs," 2 April 1926, copy on file with the UW History Project.
40. For an overview of the process see "The University of Wisconsin Financing and Construction of Men's Dormitories," December 1926, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 31.
41. "[Minutes of the] Meeting of the Committee on Undergraduate Social Needs [Dormitory Committee]," 22 January 1926, copy on file with UW History Project.
42. At about this time, the unit became generally known as Department of Dormitories and Commons, although both terms remained in use for a while. As late as February 1926, for example, Halverson wrote to J. D. Phillips on stationery with this return address: "Office of Director of Halls and Commons."
43. D. L. Halverson to J. D. Phillips, 20 April 1927, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 27.
44. J. D. Phillips, "Report on the Cost Accounting System Being Installed in the University Department of Halls and Commons," 29 December 1922, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 36; "The Management of Dormitories and Commons by Donald L. Halverson, Director of Dormitories and Commons, University of Wisconsin, May 1925," UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 36.
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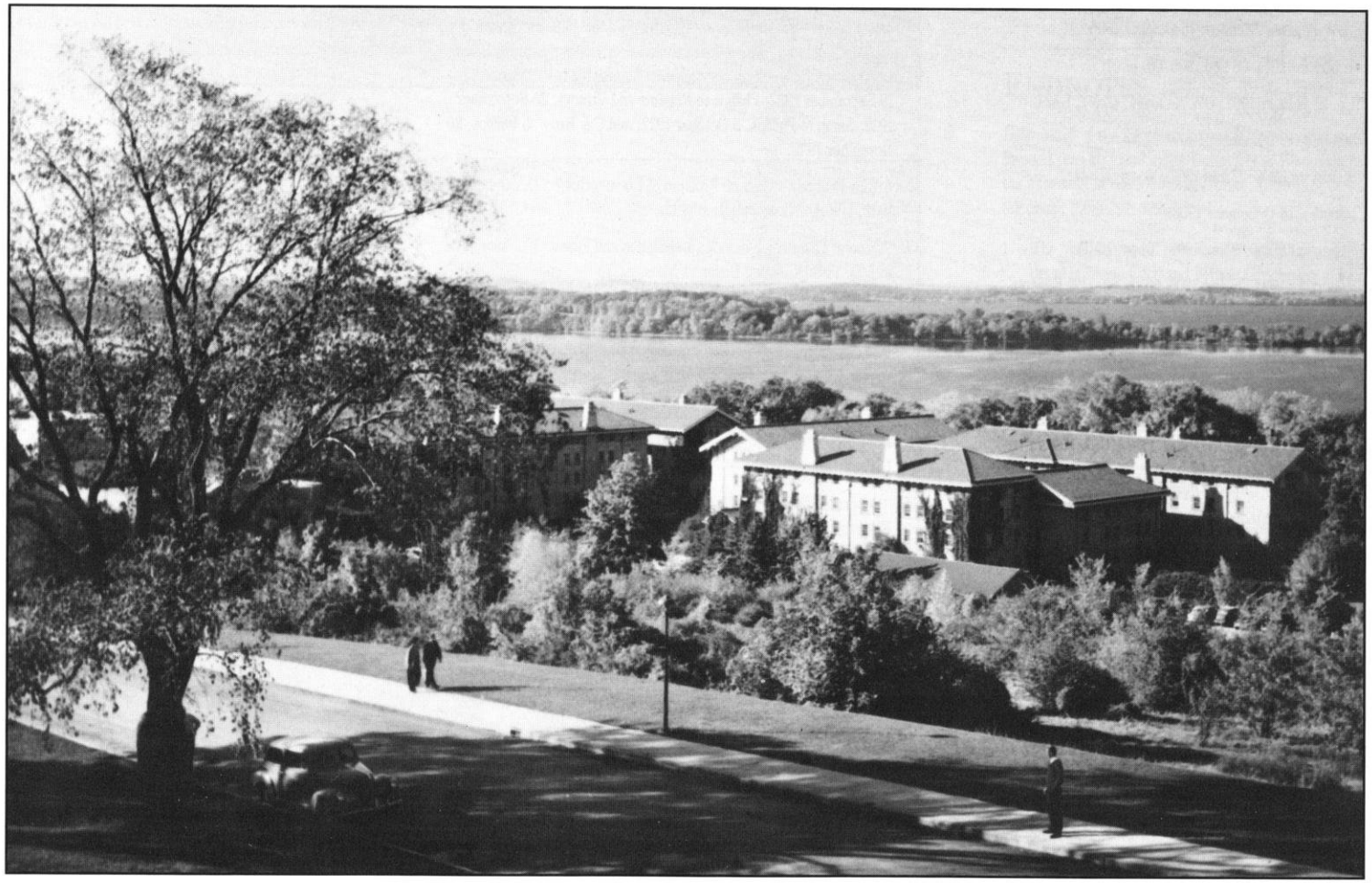
CHAPTER III

UPHEAVAL AND COALESCENCE



The years from 1925 through 1940 formed a period of unprecedented institutional complexity and dispersion of power at the University of Wisconsin. The regents set the ball rolling in 1925 by replacing scientist and traditionalist caretaker president Edward A. Birge with booster and journalist Glenn Frank, thirty-seven years old, one-time protégé of Billy Sunday, and most recently editor of the New York-based *Century Magazine*. While Birge had spent decades at the University, ingesting and cultivating the principles of open-handed collegiality and respect for faculty prerogatives and responsibilities, Glenn Frank strode into the president's office as a greenhorn, with his gaze focused well beyond the local Madison landscape, toward the national political and social horizon. Especially to enthusiastic LaFollette Progressives who were then in power, the new president appeared to be a man of vision and style, a leader destined to revitalize the institution's outward-looking spirit and commitment.

Problems and Solutions, 1925–1940

President Frank's career at Wisconsin waxed and waned according to his relationships with his various constituencies. From the political point of view at the state level, for example, the president's unexpected refusal to back partisan agendas, combined with his repeated failure to prepare adequately for legislative and associated hearings finally rendered him persona non grata among his former supporters. Perhaps it was true that no chief executive officer, no matter how attentive and well-informed, could have withstood the enormous challenges of the Great Depression and emerged unscathed. But by the time the LaFollettes engineered Frank's ouster in early 1937, the situation had deteriorated beyond any possibility of rational discourse. While the politicos tried to deal with what they viewed as an

Tripp and Adams Halls, and Picnic Point

Governor Philip F. LaFollette

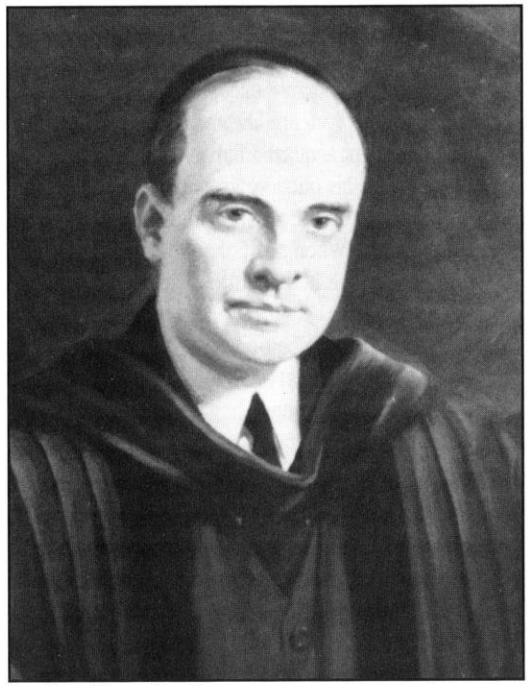
uncommitted and sloppy university administrator, the general public and the student body perceived him as a striking personality. Frank maintained a coast-to-coast readership of his syndicated newspaper column, he spoke eloquently and long, and, by implication, he asserted the pride of Wisconsin upon the broad American scene. Doing what he did best, Glenn Frank continually pleased these audiences and enjoyed local support. The day the regents dismissed him in 1937, the students protested vehemently at the state capitol; three years later, but for his untimely death during a campaign trip, Wisconsin Republicans seemed ready to designate Glenn Frank their candidate for the United States Senate.

The faculty occupied a third position vis-à-vis President Frank. They generally expected him to provide strong and thoughtful leadership within a governance structure respectful of professorial rights and duties. To many of them, to administer the University effectively, as had the great Van Hise, required full-time attention to and appreciation of the myriad traditions, details, and problems that made up this dynamic and diverse institution. But with a few notable exceptions, such as his first-rate appointments to vacant law and agriculture deanships, the president acquitted himself poorly. He simply was too busy with his outside writing and traveling schedules to carry his administrative burden as some thought he should. When he spoke, he spoke well, but his listeners often felt he had little of substance to impart.

At least one crucial, albeit unanticipated, benefit did accrue from Mr. Frank's style in office. Early on, great chunks of power and influence began to disperse away from the central administration and move toward the various schools and colleges. Simultaneously, curbing what might otherwise have evolved into an oligarchy of deans, the faculty began to band together in a new way. Numerous faculty committees, the practice of collaborative research across campus units, and the informal faculty infrastructure, centering around the University Club and a plethora of dining clubs, experienced an invigoration unprecedented in the institution's history. A full-blown, fully functioning community of scholars emerged to help fill the void in leadership.

President Frank's failure to concentrate fully on campus matters carried less vital although equally important implications for on-campus housing, an enterprise responsible for serving the educational and social, as well as the residential needs of its charges. Before the men's facilities opened, responsibilities were fairly well, although not perfectly, delineated. The Dormitory Committee provided faculty involvement in planning the new buildings, setting basic educational policy, and selecting the all-important student "advisers." Donald Halverson's department of Dormitories and Commons, located within the University Business Office, looked after financial and administrative matters for the new units, as well as for Chadbourne, Barnard, and Lathrop halls. The dean of women, meanwhile, supervised most aspects of the educational and social lives of female campus residents.

As time passed, and President Frank allowed matters to drift, lines of authority blurred. The Dormitory Com-



President Glenn Frank

mittee, established as a planning group, continued to function on an ad hoc basis as the educational arbiter for the men, although professional administrators increasingly predominated, both in number and in influence, over the remaining and aging professors.[1] Simultaneously, Donald Halverson's ascension to full membership on the committee led to enhanced power for him and his department. Regarding female campus residents, Halverson's efforts to encompass all housing and dining facilities consistently within his purview resulted in continuing tensions with the dean of women's office, which had traditionally been responsible for the social life of university women, including those living in dormitories. Meanwhile the two women's and two men's facilities bumped along, through good times and bad, housing and feeding and educating an ever-growing cadre of University of Wisconsin students.

In early 1937 the regents selected Clarence A. Dykstra, political scientist and city manager of Cincinnati, to replace Glenn Frank. Dykstra immediately set about the task of recapturing the presidency. As far as university housing was concerned, the new chief executive took little direct action. Nevertheless, a spirit of reinvigoration, rooted significantly in improving economic conditions, infused the institution, and the regents quickly ended the decade-long hiatus in the expansion of on-campus housing facilities. Within three years of arriving at Wisconsin, President Dykstra saw residential accommodations for both women and men more than double in capacity. By 1940 the Van Hise ideal for on-campus living, as first partially embodied in Tripp and Adams halls, was no longer a goal but a reality, functioning in modified and diverse form. The faculty continued to assert its opinions through the Dormitory Committee, and Donald Halverson's recently renamed Division of Residence Halls had settled into a satisfactory, if not amicable, working relationship with the dean of women. In sum, university housing had passed through a trying and exciting period of upheaval and coalescence during the previous fifteen years.

The Van Hise Units

The new men's dormitories opened as scheduled for the fall semester of 1926, the *Wisconsin Alumni* magazine apocryphally proclaiming the event "a fifty-year-old dream come true." More realistically, of course, the three-building complex represented the fruition of President Van Hise's ideal as expressed in his inaugural address of 1904. And thus it was fitting that the regents named the refectory, and thereby the entire set of structures, after the late president. The dormitory buildings were named Adams Hall, for the earlier university president, and Tripp Hall, for a deceased Wisconsin alumnus and financial benefactor. As the university bulletin for 1926–27 announced to prospective residents,

> Tripp and Adams Halls . . . accommodate approximately 500 men. . . . The dormitories consist of two quadrangles, each of which is divided into sections accommodating about thirty men. Thus each section is virtually an independent unit with its own entrance, social rooms, and toilet and shower facilities.

Tripp and Adams quadrangles each maintained a gatehouse, where an attendant furnished information, distributed mail, and operated the all-important telephone switchboard. The Van Hise Refectory boasted several dining rooms attached to a large and modern kitchen.[2]

From the educational point of view, the design of the buildings was important, but not as crucial as the arrangements developed by the Dormitory Committee for governance and supervision. In the first place, all 500 residents reportedly met during their first week on campus in the auditorium of Agriculture Hall to form their Men's Dormitory Association, loosely patterned upon the long-standing Women's Self-Government Association and adhering to the April 1926 recommendation of the Dormitory Committee (discussed in Chapter 2). As the *Daily Cardinal* put it in late September, "The body of men will be practically self-governing . . . and the president and council members who were elected in sectional meetings . . . will have virtual control of the dormitories." To assure faithfulness to the spirit of the enterprise, the association, one month later, submitted its draft constitution to the Dormitory Committee for approval, which followed within one week. As finally constituted, the association governed in all matters relating to social, recreational, and athletic activities of the several subunits or houses of the halls, which included subscribing to magazines and newspapers, financing a pier, and operating a lending library that maintained a "symphonic phonograph collection," all to be paid for through fees and special fund-raising events. [3] So far, so good.

As Chapter 2 has illustrated, the Dormitory Committee envisioned a cadre of relatively mature student advisers to function as the central feature of the educational program in the dormitories. The setup early became known as the house fellow system, aptly referring in the one direction to the thirty-man subunits or "houses" within the halls, and in the other direction to the instructional responsibilities frequently associated with academic graduate "fellows." Exactly who at Wisconsin coined the name is unknown, although Charles S. Slichter, dean of the Graduate School, long-time advocate of men's residence halls, and a prominent early Dormitory Committee member seems the most likely candidate.

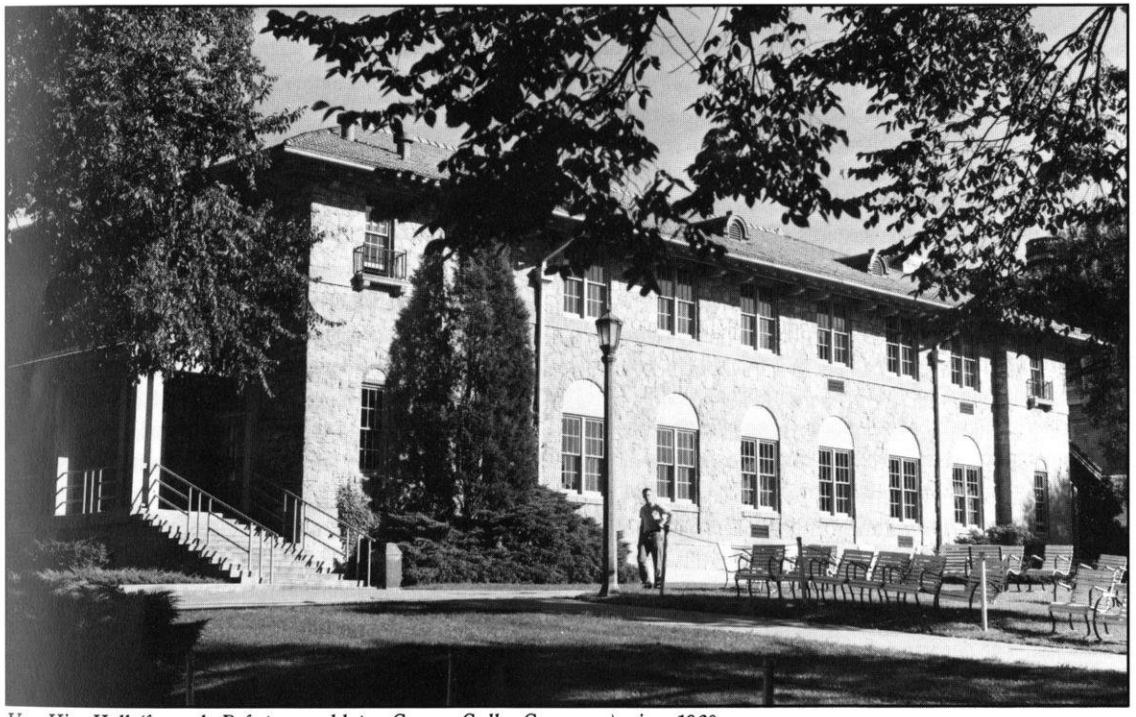
More than any of his colleagues on the committee, Slichter would naturally have thought in terms of "fellows" as appropriate to accomplishing the long-anticipated educational mission of the new dormitories.[4] Whatever the case, nearly a score of handpicked house fellows, most of them graduate, medical, or law students, were on hand during September 1926 to meet and greet the first 500 residents of the Van Hise units. On the face of it, then, the Men's Dormitory Association and the house fellow system at Tripp and Adams Halls provided for student self-governance within an explicitly educational context.

Detailed evaluations as to the early success or failure of the dormitories to meet President Van Hise's idealized expectations of them would be foolish. Yet the day-to-day grind of schoolwork and the tendency of students to seek diversions must quickly have set powerful limits upon how far either the association or the fellows, functioning at their very best, could progress toward defining the character of the typical resident's stay at the University. Furthermore, neither agency actually performed fully as intended, and to that extent the stated purposes of the dormitories were thwarted.

Two problems, both referring at least partially to the Glenn Frank administration, presented themselves as especially troublesome to the authorities, if not to the paying residents, many of whom may have been amused by the upheaval they witnessed. The first difficulty involved confusion among the fellows as to the nature of their responsibilities and wisdom of their organizational superiors. In February 1927, for example, house fellow C. W. Thomas thought so little of both the Dormitory Committee (the agency that selected him) and Director Halverson (the official who supervised him) that he wrote directly to President Frank about his displeasure with a system he said failed to prepare him to introduce residents "to the more intangible spirit of study and intellectual interests," while saddling him with colleagues having "no real interest in intellectual affairs." By January 1929 a committee of fellows concluded that "the exact duties of the Fellow have never been specifically defined. They have been left to us to determine with experience. Now that the dormitories are two and a half years old, perhaps we can begin to define what the Fellows' duties have come to be. . . ." Yet two years later, following his dismissal for hitting an unruly resident, ex-fellow T. G. Schirmeyer complained, among other things, that Director Halverson promulgated "weak administrative policy" that failed to adequately protect fellows from unruly residents.[5]

The second problem concerned Alexander Meiklejohn's Experimental College, which appropriated half of Adams Hall for its use from the fall of 1927 through the spring of 1932. During the 1926–27 academic year, the letters and science faculty had approved the controversial program primarily as a courtesy to recently arrived President Frank, who had taken a serious personal interest in Meiklejohn and his ideas while serving at *Century Magazine*. The debate continues as to the strengths and weaknesses of the Experimental College, but one thing is clear: This nontraditional, inquiry-oriented experiment in bashing social convention in undergraduate liberal education disrupted life mightily at the Van Hise units. While Donald Halverson fumed, the Men's Dormitory Association and the fellows assigned to the traditional houses attempted to keep order in the face of daily challenges to their legitimacy.[6]

The fellows were unsure about their general objectives and particular duties, the Dormitory Committee and Director Halverson failed to act decisively to clarify their respective responsibilities and obligations, and the Men's Dormitory Association and the house fellows faced hard times in contending with disruptions from the Experimental College. The fact remains, however, that the Van Hise units opened on schedule and consistently served a full complement of university men throughout the late 1920s.

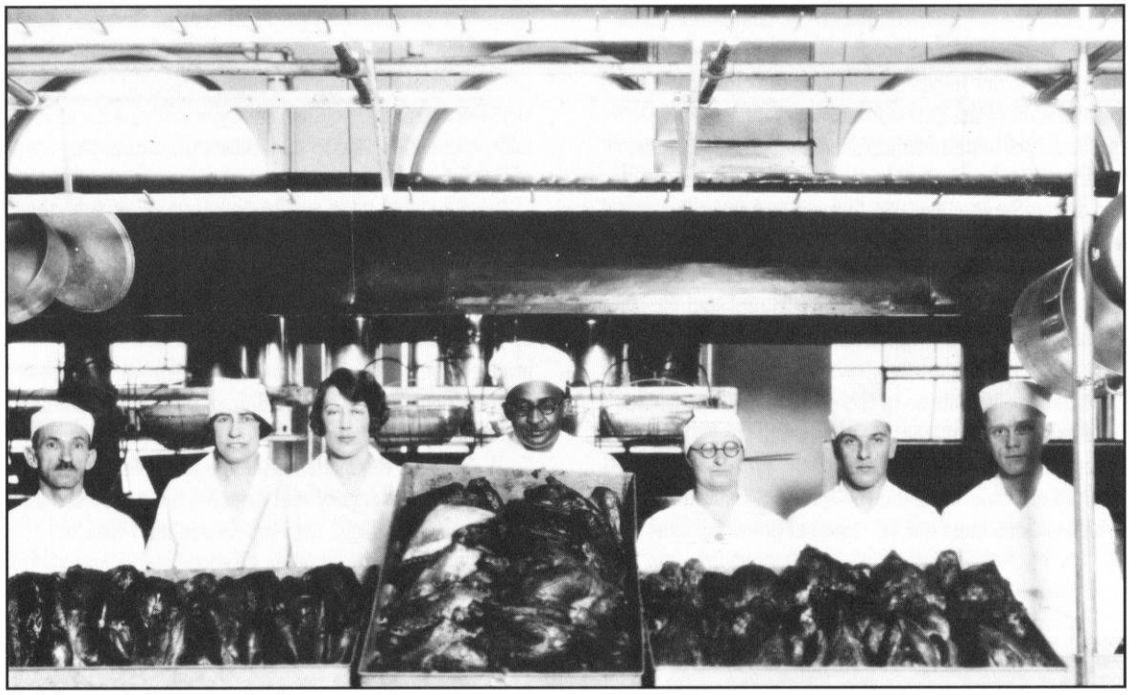


Van Hise Hall (formerly Refectory and later, Carson Gulley Commons), circa 1960

Problems and Possibilities

The character of the University housing scene evolved steadily during the pre-Depression era Frank administration. On the one hand, Dormitories and Commons Director Halverson struggled to overcome what he conceived as roadblocks to the full exercise of his responsibilities, but he received little assistance from any centralized authority to reduce the continuing tensions. On the other hand, general satisfaction with the Van Hise units led the regents momentarily to lose control of their collective sense of reality and plan a "University City." They temporarily envisioned facilities grand enough to provide on-campus dormitory and fraternity housing for all interested comers. The time was ripe for many people to assert their interests and concerns about the direction university housing should take.

Donald Halverson's problems developed as he resisted any agency that challenged or limited his comprehensive administration of university housing and commons facilities. Two of his difficulties are especially instructive in this regard. First, Director Halverson sought to break the dean of women's traditional monopoly over Barnard, Lathrop, and Chadbourne halls. Halverson initially challenged the dean soon after his appointment to the directorship when he announced that the mistress of Chadbourne Hall would no longer enjoy the use of a private dining room table and waitress. Dean of Women Frances Louise Nardin intervened, but Halverson succeeded in getting his way in this early skirmish. During the fall of 1926, Halverson banned the taking of food and equipment from the Lathrop cafeteria. Dean Nardin's response in this case was that the incident represented nothing more than a "misunderstanding," based upon the director's failure to appreciate the long-term practice involved. Halverson saw things differently, and wrote to his superior, Business Manager Phillips, "It is disturbing and rather disheartening to me to know that my authority in handling the cafeteria is entirely ignored by those who have taken exception to the ruling." At the heart of these incidents, and apparently many more undocumented ones, was a fundamental conflict between two phases of University authority: the dean of women, responsible for the social and moral education of university women, and the director of dormitories and commons, functioning under the auspices of the University Business Office.[7]



Chef Carson Gulley and staff with Thanksgiving turkeys, circa 1932

In his second major difficulty, Halverson battled with the agencies responsible for protecting the rights of state workers. In one instance, the director tussled with the Wisconsin State Civil Service Commission in 1928 over its right to classify University housing officials. He and his administrative colleagues in the business office finally succeeded in gaining official recognition that these employees, himself among them, were professionals within the institution. In another difficult situation, Halverson found himself responsible for providing custodial and repair services twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The department paid university engineers for this work, but they remained under the control of the physical plant, which adhered to civil service regulations.

As with the case of overlapping authority between the dean of women and the director of dormitories and commons, Donald Halverson found himself again in the position, at least in his view, of holding responsibility but lacking full capacity to act. Presidential intervention, although probably incapable of entirely relieving these natural institutional tensions, might have improved matters significantly. The fact remains, however, that while personally annoying to the people involved, these difficulties almost certainly had little bearing upon the residents' quality of life on campus.[8]

The regents' remarkably ambitious efforts throughout the fateful year of 1929 to plan a "University City" indicate just how captivating to the imagination the possibilities of on-campus living were at the time. At first the only question before the board concerned constructing university housing for graduate students. On January 16, 1929, Regent Olbrich reported to his colleagues on Har-

vard University's efforts in this regard, the implication being that perhaps Wisconsin might follow suit, indeed might move one giant step beyond. The board referred the matter to its Constructional Development Committee for investigation, the charge including instructions to consider the "fraternity and sorority situation at Wisconsin," which at that time was in especially poor shape due to prohibitively high costs of building and maintaining facilities. Proceeding as the faculty's Dormitory Committee had a few years earlier, this regents' committee surveyed important sister institutions to determine the status of housing on their campuses. On March 6, 1929, the committee recommended to the full board that "a special committee, consisting of Regents Faast, Schmidtmann, and Mead, be appointed to continue the study of the fraternity, sorority and student housing situation; that this committee have the power to appoint faculty and alumni members, as they see fit, to aid in their work." Among the three faculty members appointed, Harold Bradley of the Dormitory Committee provided the strongest link with building efforts of the immediate past.[9]

The special committee set enthusiastically to work. Here was an opportunity to extend President Van Hise's vision of university housing as an educational enterprise to thousands of students. Committee chairman Schmidtmann wrote, in full concurrence with Van Hise's inaugural address of 1904 (see Chapter 2), ". . . the student leaving the campus is just as much the product of his way of living here as he is in his class work." The special committee submitted its final report to the regents on November 22, 1929. It called for an extremely energetic two-phase building program, when completed, to extend from the lakeshore at Observatory Hill to Picnic Point, and to be funded through the Wisconsin University Building Corporation and private sources. The first and easternmost phase would include new women's dormitories, the transfer of the Van Hise units to women's occupancy, and the building of new men's dormitories and fraternity houses, all provided with abundant recreational areas. The second phase would consist of additional facilities for fraternities and sororities, "and perhaps even faculty homes." "In general," the report read, this second mile zone, "running from the 'Milwaukee' tracks to the lake, properly platted, landscaped, and planted with trees and shrubs, can be developed into a 'university city' that will be picturesquely unique in the United States."[10]

Considering the difficulties encountered by University officials as they struggled for decades to build Tripp and Adams halls, it seems unlikely that funding ever would have been found to build University City. The point became fully and finally moot, however, as the Great Depression temporarily slammed the door shut on any possibility of further development, great or small. On March 4, 1930, Business Manager Phillips submitted a report to the board, entitled "Memorandum Relating to the Construction of Additional Dormitories." After rehearsing the various and gloomy fiscal problems involved with any extension of campus housing facilities, including the possibility of requiring freshmen to reside on campus, Phillips concluded that "Compulsory residence . . . would probably work severe hardships on many self-supporting students and . . . create a condition that would make University dormitory rates out of line with the market price in Madison."[11] With these words the regents' discussion of University City ended for the duration of the Great Depression.

The Great Depression

The annoyances of the 1920s were as flea bites compared to the wounds inflicted upon the University by the Great Depression of the early and mid-1930s. Enrollment dropped significantly, and so did state appropriations. The Board of Regents killed its plans for expansion such as University City, and they seriously curtailed building and grounds maintenance work. Happily for the University, however, a spirit of hearty resolve manifested itself throughout the community of scholars, leading to a generally acceptable, if not agreeable, salary-reduction plan. The senior professors were hit the hardest but the need to fire any junior faculty members was avoided. Simultaneously, the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation dipped into its then modest capital accounts to provide enough emergency aid to maintain the University's fundamental commitment to basic research and scholarship, while employing recent Ph.D. graduates until they could find jobs elsewhere.

The Depression hit the department of Dormitories and Commons at least as hard as other campus units, producing especially challenging problems. Not only was this agency, like the summer session from the academic side, required to raise its entire budget through revenues, it also had to service the mortgage debt on the Van Hise units. (The University owned Barnard and Chadbourne Halls free and clear.) Furthermore, because he was responsible for an educational rather than a business enterprise, Director Halverson had set men's room rates at a level that required nearly full occupancy to produce the needed income. When 30 vacancies appeared at Tripp and Adams in the fall of 1930, followed by 70 more the next spring, serious trouble seemed unavoidable. Compounding these difficulties, the Experimental College, which had been such a thorn in Halverson's side, closed in the spring of 1932, contributing to the burden. In addition to all of this, certain campus attitudes persisted against the recruitment of new residents. Greek organizations, which had their own financial problems, frequently discouraged potential pledges from living on campus in order to have them available for residence in fraternity houses. Saddest of all, however, was the so-called "racial problem." Directed initially against the Experimental College and later to the whole of Adams Hall, this midwestern anti-Semitism manifested itself among students who might otherwise have taken up residence in the men's dormitories.[12] With such difficulties to face, residence hall authorities might have been forgiven had they quit and stood aside as their modest empire collapsed in a general slide to ruin.

But the community spirit prevailed throughout the entire institution, and housing officials and interested university citizens set imaginatively and productively about the task of accommodating themselves to the bleak conditions they faced. The most obvious measure was to lower room and board rates from a 1930–31 high of $410 for women and $420 for men to approximately $340 for all by 1934–35. Concurrently, Director Halver-

Adams Hall courtyard, circa 1950

son initiated a high school visitation program, placing Lee Burns and Arnold Dammen in charge of this phase of recruitment. A complementary effort, the Slichter Plan, required male Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation fellows to reside at Richardson House in Adams Hall, where they received room, board, and a modest stipend.[13] Finally, in a crucial policy decision, Assistant to the Business Manager A. W. Peterson agreed to a Dormitory Committee request that the University budget a portion of the expenses for the department of Dormitories and Commons on the grounds that its mission was indeed partially educational in nature. Taken as a whole, these measures allowed the men's and women's dormitories to continue providing a reasonable level of service until a healthier economy permitted a resumption of growth and development.[14]

The Kronshage Units

During the fall of 1936, as the undecided fate of President Frank dominated campus scuttlebutt, a rekindling economy and rising enrollments produced the first stirrings of interest in a rejuvenated building program. With the basic architectural and educational features of the Van Hise units now generally perceived as expressions of conventional wisdom, late-Depression discussions about additional university housing began stressing the virtues of high-quality, low-cost facilities. The Great Depression, of course, encouraged this interest in economy and providing for students of extremely limited means. More than this, however, since 1915 a modest cooperative housing tradition had developed off-campus at Wisconsin, and its example suggested emulation on a larger scale.[15]

Dean of Men Scott Goodnight was the first University official to encourage the regents to end the building hiatus. His involvement in student housing had been ubiquitous, with both a membership on the Dormitory Committee throughout most of its history, as well as primary responsibility for overseeing men's off-campus living arrangements since World War I. The immediate occasion for Goodnight's initial appeal was in response to press reports of unsafe and unclean student living

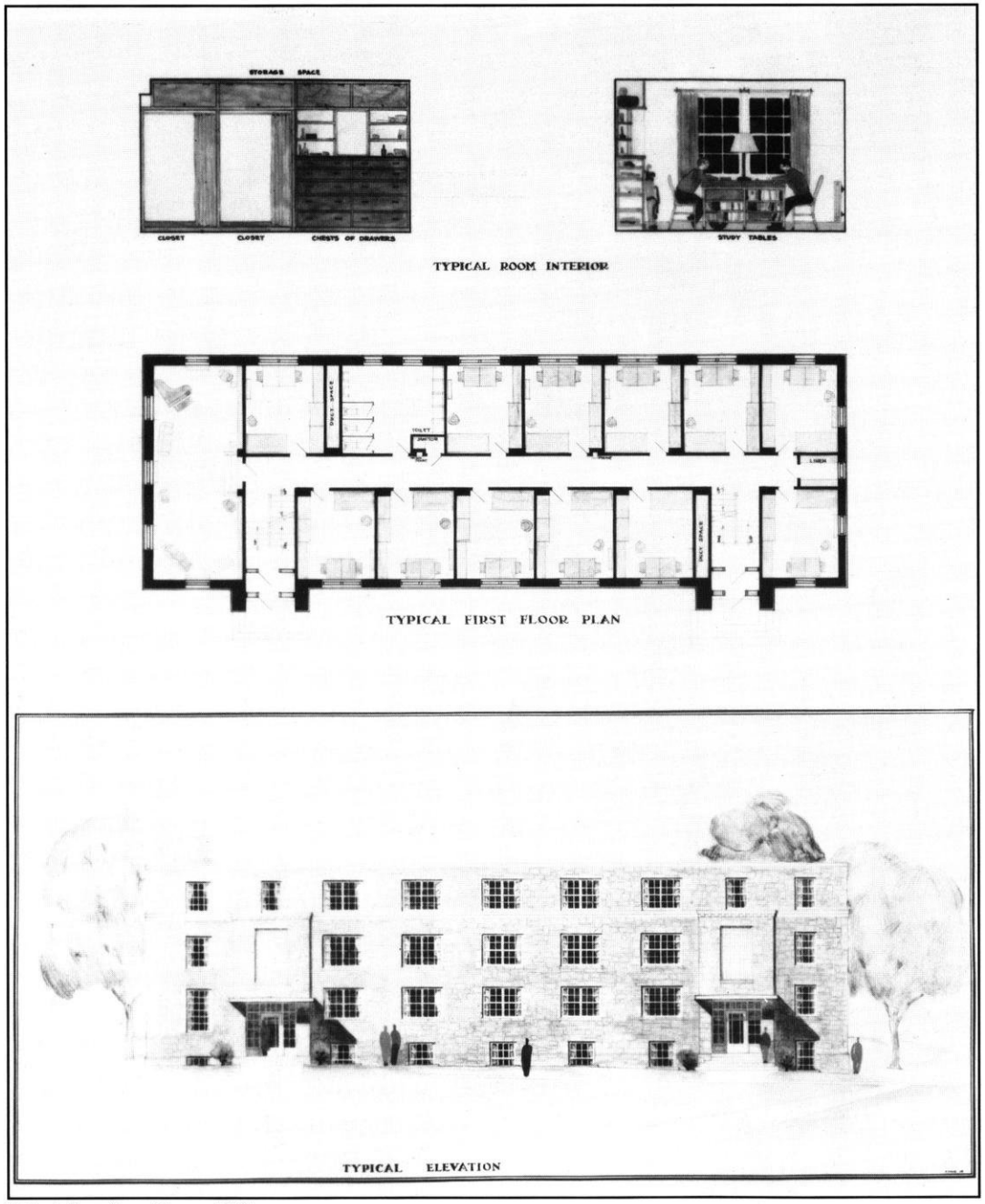
conditions in the city. The alternative that Goodnight and his colleague, Charles Dollard, offered was a revival of the University City idea. "We feel," they wrote to the regents in mid-October 1936, "that any final or adequate solution to our housing situation for men involves a resumption of this original plan. . . ." Immediate and practical actions, however, might involve the building of "some sort of university owned and subsidized dormitories" or "cooperative houses."

Dean Goodnight and his General Student Housing Committee, the counterpart of the Dormitory Committee, appealed twice more to the regents within the next few months, the second time advocating the construction of on-campus cooperative living accommodations for an additional 1,500 men. With these conditions and reports as background, the regents settled down to serious planning for the construction of what eventually would be eight additional men's residential facilities known as the Kronshage units.[16]

Once the regents realized the more than ten-year building hiatus might actually be drawing to a close, preliminary planning for the new men's units proceeded relatively smoothly and quickly. At its March 1937 meeting, the Board of Regents received from J. D. Phillips the "Proposals for Additional University Dormitories: An Analysis by the University Business Office," which they had ordered in response to Dean Goodnight's final report submitted the previous month. Phillips's discussion considered demand, financial feasibility, and methods of financing, possibly involving support from the Works Progress Administration, thereby demonstrating for the regents that the time for action had arrived.[17] Thus convinced, the board, expressing itself through its Executive Committee, issued a proclamation asserting that "In a state institution, where there are equal academic facilities for all, the democratic principle demands that equal facilities for social education should be provided, regardless of the financial limitations of the individual. . . ."[18] The Executive Committee further committed the University to resume a building program by appointing a committee, appropriately chaired by Donald Halverson, to consider what could be done.

Halverson and his colleagues, including another member of the Dormitory Committee, Professor Otto Kowalke, set to work in the now-traditional manner for such groups. After consulting with other institutions to identify positive exemplars, after seeking out the views of fellows and representative students, and after long and serious deliberations, the committee issued its "Kowalke Report" on December 6, 1937. In concert with the architectural commission plan of 1908, this proposal recommended that new men's dormitories be constructed along the lakeshore to the west of the Van Hise units. And in keeping with the times, the report stressed economy in its analysis of costs and described structures that would feature double rooms (as opposed to mostly singles at Tripp and Adams) and forty-man houses (as opposed to thirty). Eschewing any comment on the educational features of the proposed facilities, the committee appropriately left it to Professor Harold Bradley, chairman of the Dormitory Committee, to argue that the house fellow system ought to function as the key means of structuring residential life at the new units. The board indicated its approval of these recommendations during its December 1937 meeting by agreeing to proceed with a search for funding and authorizing the Executive Committee "to give approval for the location

Turner House, Kronshage Units, circa 1962



Typical Kronshage House, 1938

of such building or buildings and to approve the necessary contracts to be entered into by the Wisconsin University Building Corporation." With these general considerations now resolved, the arrangements for the first three units could proceed.[19]

The process of producing these facilities, known at first simply as units A, B, and C, moved at an unprecedented rate. In March of 1937 the board approved a building plan that could include as many as eight units, depending upon availability of funding, capable of accommodating up to 640 students. The next month, the regents granted the Wisconsin University Building Corporation permission to receive bids, sign contracts, and borrow funds from the Wisconsin State Annuity Board for the construction of buildings. As work proceeded, the first three units now scheduled to open at the beginning of the fall semester, the Works Progress Administration notified the regents in August that it would contribute $229,909 for new men's dormitories. Thus financially fortified, the board gave its approval for the construction of the next five halls and associated dining rooms, which would stand ready for occupants in approximately thirteen months.[20]

Units A, B, and C, accommodating 240 students, opened in September 1938 as planned. The facilities were diverse; all of them, however, were in accordance with Harold Bradley's recommendation, using the house fellow system in one form or another. Unit A offered services similar to those available at Tripp and Adams halls, where residents enjoyed daily maid service and the Dormitory Committee hired the fellows. Unit B, tending toward the cooperative model, offered weekly cleaning, while the men cared for the parlors and corridors themselves and elected their own house fellows. Unit C, most closely resembling the off-campus cooperatives, offered no maid service and governed itself entirely. Unit C, unlike units A and B, offered no food service, primarily because its residents held jobs that included meals. Said Donald Halverson after one month's operation of unit C, "I have been cherishing the cooperative idea on dorms for a long time, and it has been gratifying for me to see how well the boys have so far managed their dorm." Consistent with the variations in services provided by

the University, annual room rates varied by unit: A, $96; B, $75; and C, $70, with possible adjustments in the latter according to actual expenses.[21] The new units boasted the best features of Tripp and Adams halls while incorporating timely and economical arrangements as well.

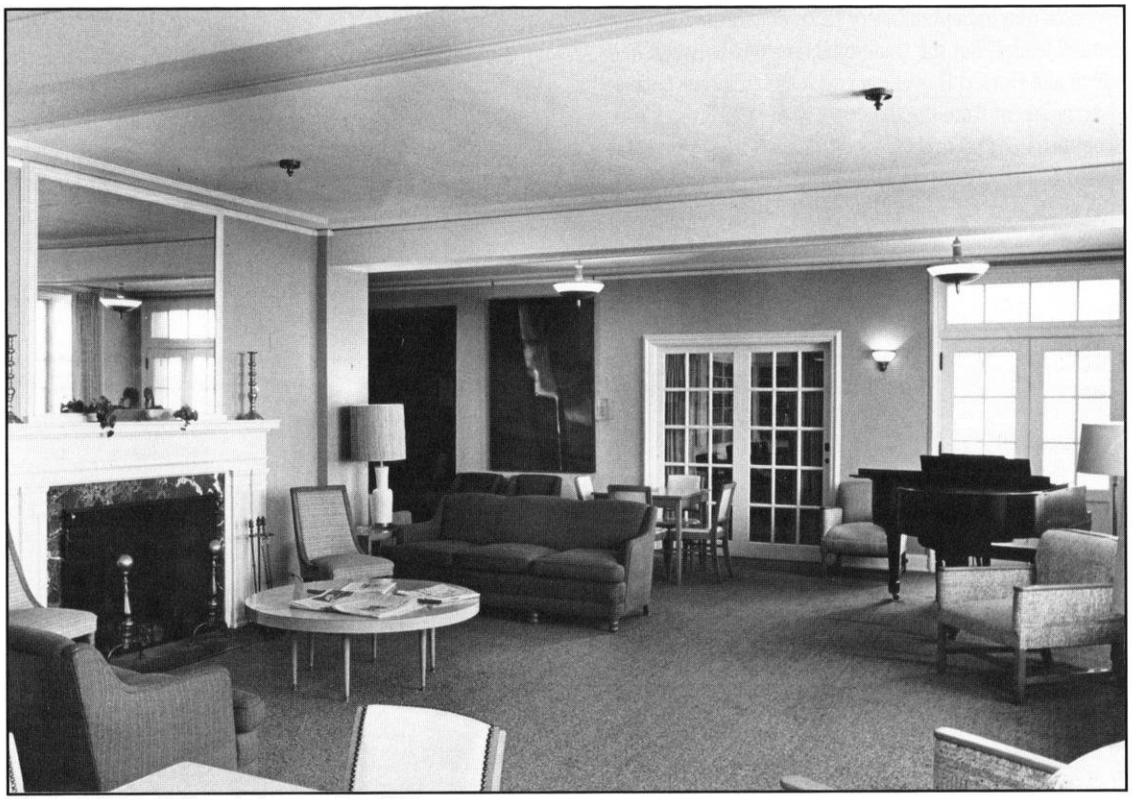
The final five halls and dining facility of the Kronshage units went into service twelve months after the first three. Two of this latter group mimicked the successful example of unit C and functioned as cooperatives for men of particularly limited means, while all of them, of course, incorporated the house fellow system. As student Monty Jackson observed for the *Daily Cardinal*, "I think that these cooperative houses are really great. They help train men for cooperation and good citizenship in later life." Thus as the academic year of 1939–40 opened at the University of Wisconsin, the campus accommodated nearly 12,000 men in the mature, if not aging, Van Hise units (Tripp and Adams) and the new Kronshage units (Chamberlin, Swenson, Conover, Gilman, Jones, Mack, Showerman, and Turner).[22] Now it was the women's turn for improved housing facilities.

Elizabeth Waters Hall

Planning for the new women's dormitory began in February of 1937, at the same time the regents initiated work on the Kronshage units—the implication being that the board fully intended to expand campus residential accommodations for all students. Progress was considerably slower in the case of the women, however, for two reasons. First, the Van Hise units offered obviously helpful models to which planners of the Kronshage facilities referred for help. Barnard and Chadbourne, on the other hand, were old and seriously outdated, offering little in the way of good planning for university women. Second, and perhaps of greater importance, those vitally involved in the planning of the Kronshage units were experienced in the process—many of them had been present through housing construction of the mid-1920s. As concerned the new women's facility, on the other hand, Dean of Women Louise Greeley, who had replaced Dean Nardin in September of 1931, constituted the most natural leader, but the traditional tensions between her office and Donald Halverson had resulted in her near-estrangement from the department of Dormitories and Commons. New lines of communication had to be established before serious progress could be made.

A seemingly haphazard, yet ultimately productive, series of meetings finally laid the groundwork for the opening of Elizabeth Waters Hall in time for the summer session of 1940. On June 7, 1937, the Regents' Business Committee, the Dormitory Committee, and the General Student Housing Committee (among whose members was Dean Greeley) convened to discuss the women's facility. At this time the group voted to recommend to the regents that two units be built. But, as had been the case for the Kronshage units, the exact number of buildings would remain tentative until exact arrangements for funding were completed. The next month Dean Greeley

Elizabeth Waters Hall and Lake Mendota



Elizabeth Waters Hall, main lounge, circa 1955

wrote to Comptroller A. W. Peterson to advocate a three-story building. In November of 1937 the dean informed President Dykstra that three units, each with its own dining room, now seemed preferable, and that the entire facility should be fireproof. The exact plan remained fluid, however, even after construction began in April of 1938. It was not until August of that year that matters finally were settled when the Works Progress Administration notified the University that it would provide $363,088 for the project. This bonanza, combined with $443,774 borrowed by the Wisconsin University Building Corporation, allowed for a much larger facility than was earlier anticipated. Once the authorities had completed all of these arrangements, the project moved swiftly toward completion.[23]

Elizabeth Waters Hall proudly opened its doors to the public on May 19, 1940, during the annual Parents' Weekend. Consisting of five connected units on seven levels, the hall maintained accommodations for 478 students, raising the total number of spaces available for women on campus to 769. Compared to any other University of Wisconsin residence hall, Elizabeth Waters was massive and truly palatial, boasting fifteen lounges, four dating parlors, a library, built-in radios, and a paging system.[24] University women now had at their disposal a residential facility second to none on campus, perhaps in the nation.

The completion of Elizabeth Waters Hall for University of Wisconsin women in 1940 was a fitting culmination of the Van Hise ideal for campus living. After all, the women had long bided their time with their aging Barnard and Chadbourne halls, and Wisconsin tradition demanded that they too enjoy their fair share of modern residential facilities. The new "superdorm," as it was popularly known, also fulfilled the residence hall component of the architectural commission plan of 1908. Finally, and especially important from the educational point of view, the process of building Elizabeth Waters Hall provided the occasion for a general clarification of authority and responsibility between the department of Dormitories and Commons (now renamed the Division of Residence Halls) and the dean of women. The primary educational result was a greatly expanded use of the house fellow system in all forms of university housing.

As the planners and builders were accomplishing their construction tasks, Donald Halverson and Dean Greeley spent a stormy year and one-half establishing a workable arrangement, dividing the turf and introducing the house fellow system to the women's facilities. On April 13, 1939, Halverson wrote a letter to Greeley about her expressed intention to appoint the hostess for the new hall. Halverson began by defining the boundaries of their respective fiefdoms: "You have the social set-up for the private dormitories, the sororities, and the girls' rooming houses; I have the same responsibility for the university dormitories." The director next argued his case from the employer's point of view by noting, perhaps not altogether accurately, that "since 1925 the hostesses have been under my supervision, and have appeared in my budget; when changes have been made, I have made them." Thus, concluded Halverson, when the dean had informed him of her intentions, he "was really under the impression you were not serious, for it would have seemed incredible that you would appoint a person in my department any more than I should select one of your staff."[25]

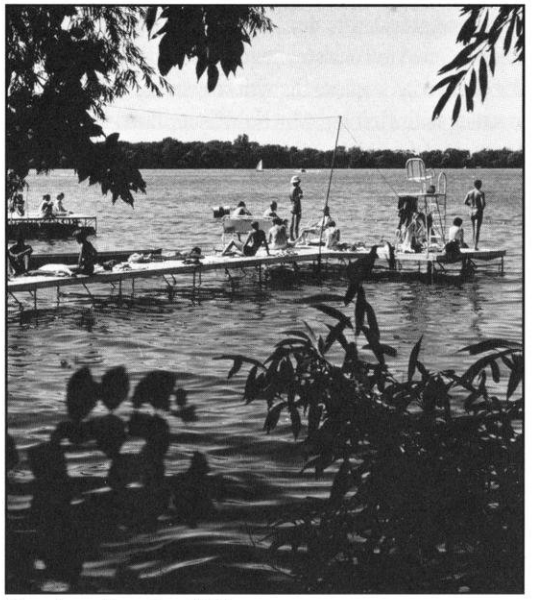
Dean Greeley, for her part, looked at things from a different institutional slant. Her responsibility, as it had been since near the turn of the century for the dean of women, was to look after the personal lives of her female charges, many of whom resided in the university dormitories. That the hostess of a residence hall was

budgeted outside the dean's office was irrelevant to the need to provide consistent and appropriate supervision, for women by women, the ultimate authority currently residing with Greeley. Mr. Halverson, the dean might have argued, was the prisoner of a narrow, business-office perspective that emphasized formal power and accountability over traditional moral responsibility. Thus it was that Halverson wrote from his somewhat biased perspective to Comptroller Peterson in April of 1940 that Dean Greeley "just hops and skips all around the point and ends by saying 'you have enough to do in running the men's dormitories now you just let me have a hand in the women's, etc."[26]

Greeley and Halverson finally came to loggerheads over the appointment of the first head resident for Elizabeth Waters Hall. Previously they had agreed to introduce the house fellow system at the new facility, as well as at Chadbourne. They also had found common ground in the proposal to use the Women's Self-Government Association at Waters, an uncontroversial matter in view of the fact that the association already functioned in nearly all university women's residences. In the case of the head resident, however, Halverson favored placing Ruth Campbell, current head resident at Chadbourne Hall and apparently an ally of the director, in charge at Waters. Greeley backed another candidate, one who almost certainly favored the view that Greeley and her female colleagues from across campus should supervise, if not hire, the new house fellows. While this controversy was common knowledge at the time, no documentation has yet come to light indicating exactly who resolved it. Whatever the case, however, Director Halverson succeeded in having Ruth Campbell hired, while the dean of women quietly and with a minimum of controversy asserted her influence as best she could.[27] With this informal and tenuous arrangement, university housing at Wisconsin had finally coalesced into a smoothly running, educationally oriented program of which the institution was rightfully proud.

Elizabeth Waters Hall, main entrance, circa 1954

Bascom Hall, circa 1960



Kronshage pier, circa 1965

ENDNOTES

Note: Much of the information cited in these notes, including the Regents' Reports, can be found in the University of Wisconsin Archives, located in the basement of the Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin–Madison, telephone (608) 262-3290.

1. The professional administrators on the Dormitory Committee included Donald Halverson, director of Dormitories and Commons; Porter Butts, director of Memorial Union; and Scott Goodnight, dean of men. Although these men officially were members of the faculty, they were not teaching professors, as were Otto Kowalke, of Chemical Engineering, and Harold Bradley, of Physiological Chemistry. Max Mason left the committee and the University in 1925 for the presidency of the University of Chicago. Charles Slichter's involvement waned following the opening of the new men's dormitories, although the precise date of his resignation from the Dormitory Committee is unknown. Alexander Meiklejohn, professor of philosophy, served on the committee while the Experimental College resided in Adams Hall.
2. *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 27 (November 1926):5; University of Wisconsin, *Bulletin* (1926–27):32.

3. "Men Elect Head at Dormitories," *Daily Cardinal*, 23 September 1926; *Daily Cardinal*, 22 October 1926.

4. Max Mason, the foremost scholar on the Dormitory Committee, had departed in 1925 for the University of Chicago presidency after the regents dashed his aspirations at Wisconsin by appointing Glenn Frank president.

5. C. W. Thomas to Glenn Frank, 15 February 1927, UW Archives, 4/13/1, Box 22; Jack Brisco and Paul Henshaw, "Report of a Findings Committee for the Dormitory Fellows," 20 February 1927, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 45; T. G. Schirmeyer to the Dormitory Committee, 19 May 1931, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 66.

6. On the Experimental College, see Alexander Meiklejohn, "A New College, Notes on Next Steps in Higher Education," *Century Magazine* 109 (January 1925):312–20; George Sellery, *Some Ferments at Wisconsin, 1901–1947* (Madison:Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1960), p. 7. For Donald Halverson's reaction to the college, see Donald Halverson interview with Lawrence Johnson, 31 March 1966, on file at the UW Housing Archives.

7. Halverson interview, 31 March 1966; Halverson to Phillips, 18 November 1926, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 27.

8. Halverson interview, 31 March 1966; Newell Smith, Lawrence Halle, and George Gurda interview with the authors, 6 August 1986, on file with the UW History Project.

9. UW Regents' Minutes, 16 January 1929; UW Regents' Minutes, 6 March 1929; and UW Regents' Minutes, 24 April 1929. Besides Bradley, Professor of Economics William Kiekhofer, and Professor of Clinical Medicine and Superintendent of Wisconsin General Hospital Robin Buerki represented the faculty.

10. John C. Schmidtmann, "Is Housing Its Students a Proper Obligation of the University," 11 November 1929, UW Archives, 1/1/4, Box 97. Untitled report, submitted to the Board of Regents by Frederick H. Clausen, Francis G. Perkins, Malcolm K. Whyte, Charles V. Hibbard, Edward F. Pritzlaff, Ben F. Faast, John C. Schmidtmann, George W. Mead, William H. Kiekhofer, Harold C. Bradley, and R. C. Buerki, 22 November 1929, Lawrence Halle Papers.

11. J. D. Phillips, "Memorandum Relating to the Construction of Additional Dormitories," 4 March 1931, UW Archives, 1/1/4, Box 43.

12. Dormitory Committee Minutes, 7 April 1933, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 89.

13. As Leland S. McClung recalls it, as a WARF fellow and dormitory resident (and a "proponent of equal justice"), he and "Polly" Ingraham (niece of illustrious campus citizen Mark Ingraham and future first woman to serve on the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission), thought of the idea and discussed it with Professor E. B. Fred, who then apparently passed it along to Graduate School Dean Slichter. See Leland S. McClung interview with UW History Project, December 1984.

14. Smith, Halle, and Gurda interview, 6 August 1986; Donald Halverson, "Report to the President of the University of Wisconsin," 30 June 1938, on file with the UW History Project; A. W. Peterson, "Dormitories and Commons—Wisconsin Union, Apportionment of Costs Between Revolving and Specified Funds . . . ," 17 December 1933, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 97; Harold C. Bradley to J. D. Phillips, 2 June 1932, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 89.

15. "Making Dollars S-t-r-e-t-c-h," *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* 34, no. 6 (March 1933):166–67; "Cooperative Houses for Students at the University of Wisconsin," *School and Society* 36, no. 923 (3 September 1932):294–95; "The University of Wisconsin, Men's Cooperative Houses, 1937–1938," UW Archives, 1/1/4, Box 95; and University of Wisconsin *Bulletin* (1938–39):24–25.

16. Scott Goodnight and Charles Dollard, "The Student Housing Situation," 14 October 1936, UW Archives, 113, Box 49; UW Regents' Minutes, 9 December 1936; "Report of the General Student Housing Committee to the Regents of the University of Wisconsin," 2 February 1937, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 127.

17. J. D. Phillips, "Proposals for Additional University Dormitories: An Analysis by the University Business Office," 15 March 1937, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 126. Beginning in 1932, with the creation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and in 1933, with the much broader Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the federal government became actively involved with providing financial support for various educational programs. The Works Progress Administration, for example, was responsible for funding approximately 70% of all educational building construction in the United States between 1933 and 1939. See Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression* (New York: Times Books, 1984); *The Federal Government and Higher Education*, ed. Douglas M. Knight (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960); and Jack F. Isakoff, "The Public Works Administration," in *Illinois Studies In the Social Sciences*, vol. 23 (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1938).

18. UW Regents' Executive Committee Minutes, 18 March 1937, UW Archives, 1/1/4, Box 96.

19. The "Kowalke Report" was actually written by Donald Halverson, and its official title was "The University of Wisconsin: A Proposal for Additional Dormitories for Men," 6 December 1937, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 51; Bradley to President Dykstra, 23 November 1937, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 1; Regents' Minutes, 7 and 8 December 1937.

20. UW Regents' Minutes, 9 March 1938; UW Regents' Minutes, 26 August 1939.

21. "New Unit Dormitory System Starts Operation This Fall," *Daily Cardinal*, 7 October 1938; "Cooperative Dormitory Unit C," *Daily Cardinal*, 1 October 1938.

22. "Dormitory Units Are Completed," *Daily Cardinal*, n.d. September 1939, sec. 2, p.1; "Men's Dorm's in Full Swing Include Rifle, Radio Facilities," *Daily Cardinal*, 1 October 1939.

23. Minutes of the joint meeting of the UW Regents' Business Committee, the Dormitory Committee, and the General Student Housing Committee, 7 June 1937, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 127; Louise Greeley to A. W. Peterson, 23 July 1937, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 137. Greeley based her recommendation on assurances from a physician that the residents would suffer no untoward effects from climbing the stairs to the third floor; Louise Greeley to President Dykstra, 18 November 1937, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 51; UW Regents' Minutes, 14 October 1938.

24. "Dorms' Preview to Be Next Sunday," *Daily Cardinal*, 12 May 1940; "Elizabeth Waters Hall Is Campus Architectural Wonder," *Daily Cardinal*, n.d. August 1940, sec. 2, p. 3.

25. Donald Halverson to Louise Greeley, 13 April 1939, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 145.

26. Donald Halverson to A. W. Peterson, 12 April 1940, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 152.

27. Halverson to Peterson, 12 April 1940; Smith, Halle, and Gurda interview, 6 August 1986.

CHAPTER IV

WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH

"War came to the University with breath-taking suddenness in the afternoon of December 7," wrote the editors of *Wisconsin Alumnus* in early 1942. "Students and faculty members gathered about radios, listening to the symphonies or the professional football games were stunned. . . ." Two days later, the article continued,

> President Roosevelt's request for a declaration of war, listened to by nearly the entire campus when most classes were unofficially dismissed at 11 o'clock, served to fan the flames of patriotism. . . . There was a job to be done—and the University campus would have to gird itself for an all-out effort to help win this gigantic struggle.[1]

As the 1930s had been dominated by the Depression, the 1940s were dominated by the war and its aftermath. And as the Division of Residence Halls had found itself playing a key role in coping with the effects of the Depression, so would it find itself playing a similarly important role in providing housing first for the soldiers stationed at the University, and then for the large numbers of GIs returning to school after the war.

The war and the period immediately afterward was a time of challenge and change. Perhaps the most dramatic change was reflected in the fluctuation in student enrollment. In 1939–40, just prior to the war, 11,286 students were enrolled at the University. In 1944–45 that number had dropped to 6,615 students. Two years later enrollment had nearly tripled, climbing to 18,598 of which 11,076, or 59.6%, were veterans. Additionally, the typical student profile changed. Before the war, the typical undergraduate came to college directly from high school, was unmarried, white, and came to the University to acquire a broad liberal arts education. During the war, the typical student was female, unmarried, white, and in pursuit of a liberal arts education. After the war, the typical student was a veteran, older than his predecessor, more vocationally oriented, often married, and, in increasing numbers, non-Caucasian. The change in student profile brought with it changes in other areas as well, such as student dress and attitudes toward authority. All these changes impacted—directly and indirectly—on the organization and operation of university housing.

Badger Village Row Houses apartment, 1947

Wartime Housing

From the outset of the war the Division of Residence Halls played an important and active role in the war effort. University President Clarence Dykstra appointed an Emergency Housing Committee consisting of Donald Halverson, Zoe Bayliss from the Office of the Dean of Women, Blanche Stemm from the Office of the Dean of Men, and two students. To meet the needs of new wartime programs, early in 1942 Halverson appointed Lee Burns, Assistant Director of Residence Halls, to the position of Director of the War Housing Office, a new agency that developed programs to feed and house military personnel assigned to training programs at the University. Working throughout the summer of 1942 with the Emergency Housing Committee, Burns and former house fellows Joseph Van Camp and Robert Bittner found creative solutions to housing problems, which included using not only established dormitory housing, but also commandeering fraternity and other available housing as well. Their job did not stop there. They also needed to locate housing for students displaced by military personnel.[2]

At the end of September, Halverson reported to Dykstra that all displaced students had been relocated. Ann Emery and Langdon halls, two large off-campus housing facilities privately run but operated under university rules, had enlarged their capacity by 44. Madison girls living in Elizabeth Waters Hall had voluntarily given up their rooms and moved back home. Sororities had increased their capacity by 40. Furthermore, Halverson reported, operators of private, approved houses continued renting to university students, despite the possibility of making more money from the influx of defense workers. Other temporary housing arrangements, such as Halburn House, sprang up as well. Located at 515 North Henry Street, from 1942 to 1944 it provided rooms for about 25 male students forced to give up rooms in the Kronshage units in favor of military personnel. Halburn House, named by its occupants for Donald Halverson and Lee Burns, operated as a cooperative, as had the units it replaced at Kronshage.[3]

It remained for the University to develop a working relationship with the military and the federal government. Shortly before military personnel began arriving on campus, President Dykstra discussed his perception of the University's role in housing the military, and the military's reciprocal obligations. "The University," he told the Board of Regents, "is asked to provide dormitories and meals, instruction in a course of study including typewriting, radio communications, code, and radio theory. . . . The Navy will furnish typewriters and all bedroom equipment as well as all associated costs, including amortization of the equipment." He concluded by saying that he expected military discipline to be the responsibility of the navy.[4]

Despite this clear agreement, problems arose once the operation began. Though, as Dykstra noted, the University assumed responsibility for dormitories and meals, Donald Halverson nevertheless found himself besieged with questions from the military. The chief offender, in Halverson's eyes, was the officer in charge of military operations in Madison, Lieutenant Commander Lambert. By November of 1942 Halverson had had enough, complaining to A. W. Peterson that "Lt. Comm. Lambert calls every day, raising some point or other about the 'contract'. . . . Today he asked if he could know about certain other points." Halverson ended by requesting that Lambert either be shown the contract the instant it arrived or be provided with a point-by-point outline.[5]

To adapt to the influx of military training programs, Halverson wrote Peterson in February of 1943 that he had made several changes in the duties and responsibilities of members of his staff, chief among these was appointing Lee Burns in charge of answering all questions

> referring to Army and Navy contracts; information regarding incoming and outgoing groups; requisitions requiring priorities; questions regarding food priorities for all units; placing and transfer of equipment; [and] rental of equipment.

Halverson noted that he retained responsibility for all "general policy matters."[6]

A year after the war began, A. J. Glover, president of the Board of Regents, reported in "A Message To All Alumni" on the development of new campus programs. Twelve hundred sailors, Glover wrote, were enrolled in the radio code and communications school; 480 WAVES were being trained as radio operators; an Institute of Correspondence for Army and Navy personnel was in operation; 2,600 students were enrolled in ROTC; forty courses of study had new or streamlined curricula and were aimed at aiding the war effort. The Extension Division was working with people throughout the state in such areas as civilian pilot training and mobilization of business and industry in the war effort, more than 100 of the University's leading scientists were working on problems related to the national defense, and about 300 female students registered for Women's Emergency National Training Service (WENTS), which provided training in home nursing skills.[7]

Training programs continued throughout the war. One of the most popular was the Cooks and Bakers School started at the request of the navy in July of 1942. Classes were taught by members of the Division of Residence Halls, including Helen Giessel, Beulah Dahle, Carson Gulley, Lydia Jones, and other chefs, food managers, and dietitians in food service. The course instructed those who had no previous training or experience in kitchen work, and the objective was "to make available to camp and ship trained cooks and bakers." At the end of each training session graduates prepared meals for representatives of both the navy and the University. Its last class was graduated in July 1943.[8]

Through a combination of hard work by Halverson, Burns, and other members of the housing staff, and cooperation between the University, the military, and the citizens of Madison, the University converted its campus into a base and training ground for military personnel, while offering traditional academic programming to those students not in the military.

Hectic as the times were, Halverson and Burns managed to find time to put together a newsletter that they sent overseas and to bases and training camps around the country. As they wrote in one issue, "we've tried to collect a little scuttlebutt for you." The newsletter contained information from, and questions to, the soldiers. The following is typical: "Lt. Peter Pappas is over in the Pacific. His unit has received a special commendation from MacArthur for 'superior shooting'. 'It's sure different from the Winslow House days [where there was a basement Rifle Club practice range],' says Pete. . . . The last we heard, Lawrence Halle was still with the Caribbean Unit in Florida—wintering in Florida, Larry?" It also contained information about the residence hall staff in Madison. Again: "Ferd [Hintz] is beginning to look like himself again but the Doc says no cigarettes and no liquor yet—oh well, who can find cigarettes anyhow, but no martinis—that is tough." And news about the University, as well: "Edwin Fred is our new . . . President and everyone is happy with the choice. The new prex will certainly want you to stop in and say hello when you get back this way." Mostly, though, the newsletter simply let those in the service know that the people back home were thinking of them. "We are very proud of our faithful employees who are doing the job [of feeding the servicemen]," Halverson and Burns wrote in one newsletter, "but a lot prouder of you guys doing the real job!"[9]

Library in Kronshage Units, circa 1952

Truax and Badger

After the war, the job of housing thousands of returning veterans fell squarely on the shoulders of the understaffed and overworked Division of Residence Halls. They succeeded in their task by setting up a number of temporary emergency housing facilities and through financial assistance from the federal and state government, as well as the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation. Veterans also received support in their schooling efforts through the GI Bill of Rights, which provided a monthly stipend and helped defray tuition, fee, and book

expenses.[10] Just two years after the war's end, excluding the dormitories, temporary emergency housing facilities were provided for 1,522 single veterans and 1,158 married veterans and their families, for a total of 2,680 temporary housing units.[11]

The two major temporary emergency housing facilities were developed at Truax Airfield in northeast Madison, and at the Badger Ordnance Works, located outside Baraboo, Wisconsin, approximately thirty-five miles northwest of Madison. Truax primarily housed single veterans, and Badger exclusively housed married veterans and their families.

The development of Truax officially began on January 15, 1946, when the base hospital there was transferred to the University by the Federal Public Housing Authority. Two weeks later, the first veteran moved into the project. This first section of the Truax Project, later named the Nelson Group, housed 562 single men and 100 married couples. Since it was made up of a maze of hospital buildings connected by miles of covered corridors, these facilities were determined to be unsuitable for families with children. Five months later, in May of 1946, work on a second section at Truax was approved by the Federal Public Housing Authority. This housing complex, which consisted of three large, remodeled radio instruction buildings, came to be known as the Johnston Group and housed 960 single men. In addition, the University took on the responsibility of remodeling auxiliary buildings that eventually served as cafeterias, libraries, gymnasiums, and other service buildings.[12]

While A. W. Peterson, vice-president of business and finance, was completing final negotiations with the army for the transfer of Truax to the University, President E. B. Fred was helping secure the early release of former residence hall employee Newell Smith, a combat veteran who was stationed at Fort Hood, Texas, awaiting his official discharge. Donald Halverson left the Division of Residence Halls to become associate director of business and finance in the spring of 1945. Though Lee Burns, director of the Division of Residence Halls since June 1945, served as project director, the important day-to-day job of running Truax fell to Smith, who moved to Truax in mid-November of 1945. Two more veterans,

Badger Village (bottom right), circa 1945

Badger Village Barracks apartment building, 1947

Badger Village Row Houses apartment kitchen

George Gurda and Wayne Krebs, joined Smith at Truax. Gurda assumed control of the student personnel program, and Krebs was responsible for the business aspects of the operation. The number of single units at Truax had increased to 1,522 by November of 1947, while apartments for couples reached 106. Except for differences dictated by the six-mile commute to campus and the temporary nature of the project, the student program roughly paralleled the program in the campus residence halls, including a house fellow program for single men and a student self-government association for all residents.[13]

In April of 1946, three months after Truax opened, Donald Halverson, Lee Burns, Albert Gallistel, Newell Smith, and A. W. Peterson made a recommendation to the Board of Regents that Badger Ordnance Works be developed for housing married couples. At the same time they applied to the Washington, D.C., office of the Federal Public Housing Authority for permission to convert barracks into family units at the government's expense. If Washington disapproved, they would use only the row houses available at Badger, and convert Truax into family units. Fortunately, they never needed to exercise that option.[14]

When Lawrence Halle was drafted into the army, he thought his days with the Division of Residence Halls were over. Returning to Madison after his release from service, Halle stopped in to chat with his old friends, Donald Halverson and Lee Burns. Before the conversation had ended, they offered him the job of managing Badger. He accepted, thinking he and his wife would have a place to live for a year—since housing was extremely scarce—after which time he would enroll in law school. Halle stayed at Badger for the duration of its association with the University, and remained with the Division of Residence Halls for his entire career.[15]

On December 1, 1946, the Division of Residence Halls began operation of veterans' housing at Badger Ordnance Works by taking over the staff village one mile south of the plant entrance. Constructed in 1942 for use only as a munitions plant during the war, Badger Village was built with the cheapest of materials. Electrical systems and plumbing, Lee Burns wrote in March of 1947, presented serious problems. When hot plates and Nesco roasters became available to residents, Halle recalled, the electrical situation worsened, as did the plumbing situation when January rolled around. Nor were matters helped, Lee Burns wrote, by a "chronic shortage of plumbing and lumber supplies caused by general conditions prevailing throughout the country."[16]

For most residents the hardships of the day were simply viewed as unavoidable facts of life. "Everyone was poor and going to school on the GI Bill," recalls Joyce Dreyfus who, with her husband Lee, moved to Badger after being married in 1947. "It was a very difficult time, but a very positive time." "All in all," wrote Ellen (Sawall) Proxmire, ". . . it was not an unhappy time. We were young, ambitious, optimistic and knew that these conditions would pass and we would go on to other things." Apparently, what made the experience such a positive one for so many was the spirit of cooperation at Badger. "No place that my wife and I have ever lived," wrote Theodore C. Widder, Jr., "has had the tolerant feeling of 'live and let live' more than Badger." He and his wife's three years at Badger, he noted, were "a remarkable and thoroughly enjoyable experience in group living."[17]

That spirit of group living withstood many tests. In May of 1950 a windstorm struck Badger. "Our most vivid memory," wrote Betty Wylder, "was . . . when all of a sudden one afternoon Jen Runke flew to the door with a box of flour in her hand as her roof peeled off and went sailing down the row. I can still see that roof, as though it had been rolled off with a can opener, peeling off and bouncing down the row as Jen stood there in the doorway, flour pouring out of the box." During the winter of 1951 the temperature dropped to fifty below zero, cold even by Wisconsin standards. The copper tubing from the oil tank to the burner froze, leaving many units—some housing infants—without heat.[18]

Indeed, if Truax had the feel of a not-quite army base being used for educational purposes, then Badger had the atmosphere of a small town. A small town for GIs, to be sure, but a small town nonetheless. When operating at capacity, Badger had 699 apartments providing housing for 2,700 people. It had a community center that was built in 1945—in ninety days—at a cost of $78,000. Privately owned stores operating on the grounds included the Badger Village A & P, Badger Drug Store, Badger Village Variety Store, Badger Village Barbershop, Badger Village Post Office, *Badger Bulletin* (a local newspaper), and the Badger Village Gas Station. Other needed services, such as doctors and dentists, were provided by the University or by surrounding communities.[19]

Community organizations established at Badger ranged from the Boy Scouts to the Euchre Club to the Socialist Club to a P.T.A. to the Badger Slum Clearance Committee. Recreational activities included softball, skiing, men's and women's basketball, tennis, and golf. Catholic and Lutheran worship services were held weekly at Badger, as were services by the Badger Christian Fellowship, an organization started during the war by the Wisconsin Council of Churches. To organize and administer these activities, Lee Burns and Lawrence Halle encouraged residents to form a village council. Residents accomplished this by dividing Badger into wards, with each ward electing its own representative.[20]

Plans for a school at Badger were included in the original blueprints for the community. Financed by the Federal Works Housing Authority, construction began shortly after Badger Village opened. "A year ago the land upon which the school was located was filled with animals, birds, bees, and a few carpenters," wrote a res-

ident reporter in the community newspaper. "By September 1, 1944, it was a school which opened with two hundred folding chairs." Since most children at Badger were young, the school provided an extended day-care program, a nursery school program, and a regular state-graded school program. Instead of being known by grade level, students were Seabees, Marine Corps, Rangers, Commandoes, Army, Navy, B-12, and so on. With help from members of the University's School of Education, particularly Professor John Guy Fowlkes, the school not only survived but prospered, becoming "a model school, which was studied by school administrators from across the nation, as it coped with students from all corners of the nation and many different ethnic groups. . . ."[21]

While Badger functioned in many ways like a community, the veterans behaved pretty much like veterans. "They were not about to put up with petty bureaucrats," recalled Halle, and neither were they sympathetic with the inordinate numbers of rules and regulations. The veterans were not hesitant to question authority, and Halle learned quickly that he had better have good reasons for instituting policies if he expected them to be followed.[22]

Some of the problems this new generation of students presented were new to the University. Domestic squabbles occasionally cropped up. Two fathers came to blows because of an argument between their children; finally, a law student, who doubled as Badger justice of the peace, resolved the matter. Sometimes, as Badger Village manager, Halle was called upon to do a little counseling or to refer couples to a professional counselor at the Memorial Union. If a situation got out of hand, there was a policeman paid by the University stationed at Badger.[23]

For the most part, though, life at Badger consisted of students commuting between home and campus, attending classes, and studying. The story behind the commute (done on buses that can only be described as vintage) serves, in a sense, as a metaphor for the ingenuity of both the Division of Residence Halls and the residents of Badger. At first it looked as though neither the buses nor the commute would even be an issue. As late as January 1946, Lee Burns wrote, "the University plan for

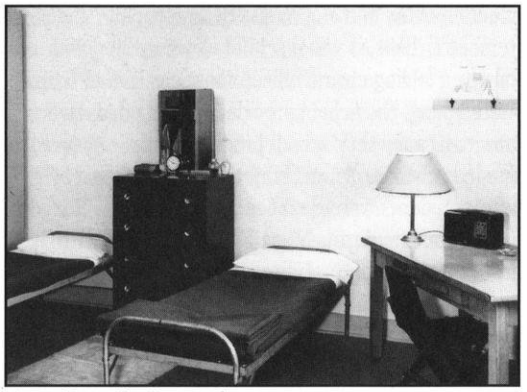
Truax Field Veterans' Housing, left foreground and center, 1946

Badger Village seems to be working towards teaching at Badger Village, and not transporting students back and forth." This would be done, he continued, "in order to eliminate the transportation problem." Three months later, President E. B. Fred presented the recommendations of a faculty committee appointed to study the problem to the Board of Regents. The committee's first recommendation read: "That a program of housing and instruction of students be inaugurated at B.O.W."[24]

This decision had been based in part on the fact that there were simply no buses available for transporting students to and from campus. A short time later, when the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) announced that buses would be made available to federally sponsored emergency housing projects, the picture changed dramatically. Up to that point the University had been able to find only one second-hand bus. In the year following the FPHA's announcement, the University located thirty-two additional buses, bringing them to Madison from Georgia, Virginia, Missouri, Ohio, Minnesota, Illinois, and other parts of Wisconsin. As Burns wrote in March 1947, "The buses received by the university have generally been in poor condition. Many had to be repaired before they could be driven to Madison. The greatest difficulty has been experienced in repairing, overhauling, and keeping them in safe, serviceable condition." This already acute problem was complicated, Burns wrote, by a shortage of mechanics and spare parts.[25]

The employees and residents of Truax and Badger, displaying what can best be described as pragmatic ingenuity, did what had to be done. Students worked as drivers and managers; two of the managers, Bob Korach and Bruce Solie, typified this practical approach. Newell Smith recalled Bob Korach as a student who, when he first arrived at Truax, "just raised hell about the bus

Truax Project student cafeteria



Truax Room for four students

service." Smith remembers Korach, stopwatch in hand, clocking the buses and complaining if they ran behind schedule. Korach's attitude didn't change after being hired as a driver. At this point management decided to act, appointing Korach student manager in charge of buses. Efficiency came to Truax, and Korach, so involved with his job as manager, shifted his academic major to transportation, and eventually became head of the transit authority in Rochester, New York.[26]

Bruce Solie had been an army navigator during World War II. Born and raised on a farm outside Stetsonville, Wisconsin, he had never attended a day of high school. He received credit from courses he had taken in the military, married a school teacher, and moved to Badger. He stayed six years, earning degrees in economics and law. Two children were born to the Solies at Badger, and Bruce, as student manager of buses, spent thirty to forty hours a week hiring and training drivers, taking care of minor repairs, and working with the mechanic at the University on other bus-related problems. After leaving Badger, Solie went on to Washington, D.C., for a career with the CIA.[27]

Badger and Truax were more than just places to live. People like the Korachs and the Solies all helped in countless ways to ease the veterans back to civilian life, while shaping the hearts and minds of the citizens of the future. "They were good years," wrote Bob and Pat Fausett. "In many ways during those times when we had the least, and all of us had the same discomforts, [those] years . . . are our fondest memories."[28]

Other Temporary Emergency Housing Facilities

Emergency housing extended beyond Truax and Badger. On April 11, 1945, the State Emergency Board authorized $40,000 to build a trailer camp at Camp Randall for veterans.[29] The board noted that the camp would be operated by the Division of Residence Halls. Again, the Federal Public Housing Authority assisted by providing sixty-four "standard" and twenty-seven "expansive" trailers, as well as four toilet units and two laundry units. The Board of Regents set rental at $25 per month for the standard trailers, and $32.50 for the expansive trailers. On September 20, 1945, just over five months after the initial proposal, the trailers were ready for occupancy. The original intent had been to provide temporary housing until better facilities were located. "However," Lee Burns wrote, "as soon as the veterans and their families moved in we were informed that the majority of them were planning to stay in the trailer camp until they had finished school."[30] The veterans, as shall be seen, would prove steadfast on this point.

An unusual variation of temporary housing, which operated only during summer sessions, deserves mention. Beginning in 1913, a Tent Colony was located on a wooded slope at the far western end of campus along the Lake Mendota shoreline. Eight families lived there that

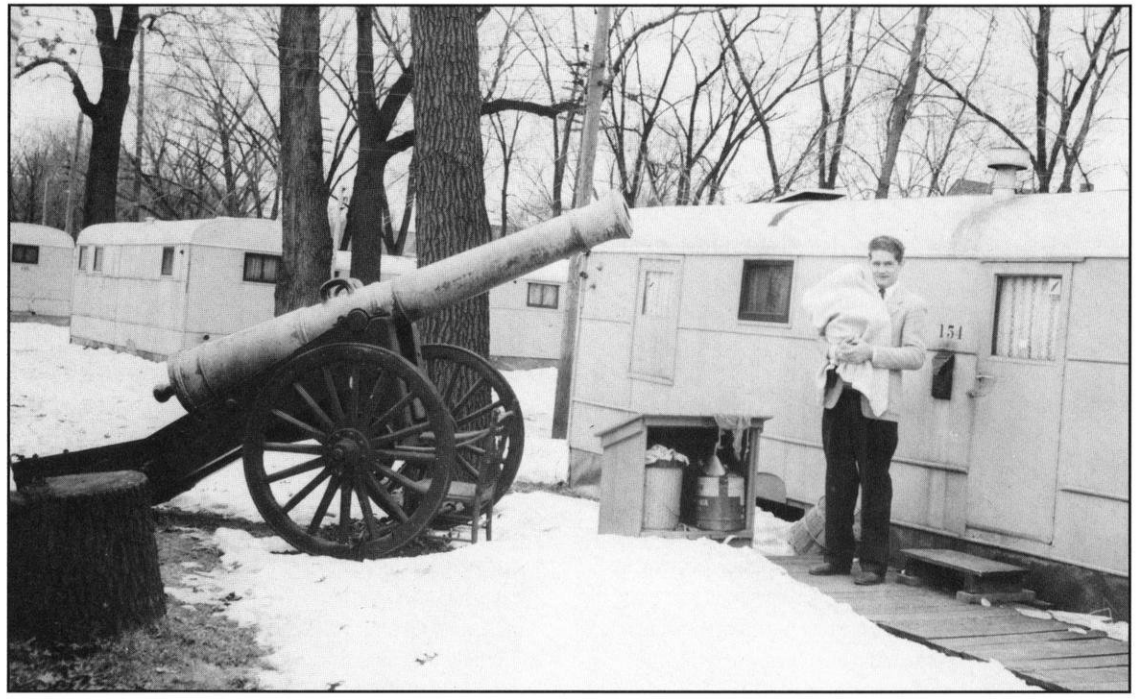
first summer. The University provided improvements such as a well, a pier, comfort stations, and tent platforms, and modern technology provided the automobile. Over the years the Colony grew, and at its peak accommodated approximately 200 residents, the great majority of whom were graduate students with their families. Renamed Camp Gallistella, after Buildings and Grounds Superintendent Albert F. Gallistel and his wife, who supervised it during most of its years of operation, the camp prospered during the postwar years. Indeed, this experiment lasted fifty years, until occupancy dwindled and it closed for good in September 1962.[33]

Another chapter in veterans' housing began when Nancy Fischer, a law student at Wisconsin, learned that sixteen cabins located in the 2900 block of University Avenue were for sale. She "advanced the suggestion," in Lee Burns's words, that the University buy them. "President Fred and other university officials investigated its possibilities and . . . authorized its purchase." A. W. Peterson informed the Madison Town Board on September 12, 1946, that "the University of Wisconsin has purchased the property in the town of Madison owned by Walter W. Sullivan and Bertha Sullivan known as the Sullivan Cabins." The property, Peterson wrote, "was purchased as an emergency measure to provide space for approximately twenty-four trailer sites, four prefabricated cabins, and for the use of the present sixteen cabins." Two days later the Board of Regents approved the purchase and appropriated $40,000 to cover the purchase price plus equipment and remodeling. When opened, the Sullivan Cabins—also called "University Cabin Court" and "Cabin Camp"—provided housing for fifty married veterans and their families.[34]

The story of temporary emergency housing facilities for veterans at Wisconsin would not be complete without mentioning the "emergency hospitality" provided to veterans by residents of Madison and Dane County. The *Wisconsin Alumnus* for example, tells of Madison residents Mr. and Mrs. Wallace Paske who, despite having five children of their own, opened their doors to five university student veterans "who were searching desperately for a roof over their heads." An area farmer, Vernon Kahl, converted his cavernous machine shed into apartments for twenty-two couples, while putting up five other couples in his house. George Wahl, owner of a resort on Lake Ripley, winterized forty-eight of his cottages and rented them to university students, faculty, and staff. Through the generosity of the city of Madison and its surrounding communities, many of the university's housing dilemmas were solved.[35]

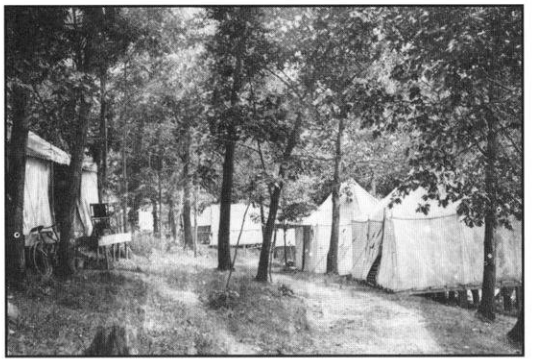
Old and New Dormitories

Before World War II ended, even as the University was making plans for temporary emergency housing facilities, planning for additional permanent housing was under way by the Division of Residence Halls. "We know that housing will present a serious problem at the close of the War," Donald Halverson wrote President Dykstra in July of 1944, "so I shall hope that work may start as soon as materials are available." Halverson suggested three separate building projects: the first, an addition to the Van Hise units; the second, an addition to the Kronshage units, which was completed in 1939; and the third, a new residence hall for women. The enlarged Van Hise group, he estimated, would house a total of 250–300 additional men; Kronshage 500–550; and the new women's hall about 300. The major obstacle, Halverson warned, would be finding money to finance the projects. "If the [State] Annuity Board is willing again to invest additional funds," Halverson wrote, "I believe that even though 100 per cent of the cost of the proposed budgets must be financed, with the Division's total assets as collateral, the loan will be sound." Despite this, he admitted, only two of the three projects would be possible—unless $225,000 from an outside source could be found. "From every viewpoint except the financial one," wrote Blanche Stemm of the Dean of Men's Office, "it is expedient to expand our dormitory program at once."[36]



Monroe Trailer Camp, Camp Randall, 1947

Tent Colony on Lake Mendota



Tent Colony on Lake Mendota

As it turned out, only one of the three projects, the third residence hall in the Van Hise unit, ever made it past the planning stages. Construction of Slichter Hall was approved at the Board of Regents meeting on August 20, 1946, and the new building opened the following fall. Named after Charles Sumner Slichter, former dean of the Graduate School and a key member of the original Dormitory Committee, the hall housed 200 men and provided badly needed office space for the Division of Residence Halls.[37]

With a new men's dormitory under construction and with temporary emergency housing facilities popping up in various parts of south-central Wisconsin, it was easy to overlook the fact that all existing dormitories were operating at full capacity. And like most everything else on campus, nothing was quite as it had been before the war. This was especially true in the men's halls. "Our men's halls are entirely occupied by Wisconsin veterans and a very few out-of-state veterans who were assigned in the fall of 1945," Lee Burns wrote A. W. Peterson in February of 1947. "No applications have been accepted from non-veterans for the academic year 1947–48," he continued, "since there is no possibility of assignment."[38]

A closer look inside the dormitories reveals another dramatic change. Before the war Tripp and Adams had each housed about 250 students in what were mostly single rooms. After the war many of these singles were converted to doubles. Tripp Hall, Arnold Dammen reported to A. W. Peterson in November of 1947, had increased its housing capacity to 400; Adams to 403. Even old Chadbourne, whose demolition was a favorite topic of discussion around campus, increased its capacity from 125 to 157 students.[39] Changing styles of dress, the disappearance of tablecloths and waiters and "family style" food service, among other things, brought a new look to the postwar residence halls—a look determined not by choice but by the exigencies of the times. Still, even with these changes, which by their very nature made for a more impersonal atmosphere for the residents, one key ingredient remained, an ingredient aimed at preventing students from thinking themselves anonymous cogs in an impersonal machine: the house fellow system.

The house fellow system operated in its early years on a more or less informal basis; that is, after the screening and selection process by the Dormitory Committee, each fellow went his own way, managing his unit without a great deal of supervision. As the 1930s progressed this began to change. In 1935 Donald Halverson appointed W. Norris Wentworth "Graduate Fellow" (or "head head fellow" as Wentworth facetiously referred to his job title). In charge of the house fellow program and room assignments, Wentworth's responsibilities were "to see that things ran smoothly." Wentworth left the University in 1941 and was replaced by Arnold Dammen and Otto Mueller. Dammen's responsibilities included student activities programs and student government for the men's program; Mueller's included room assignments, as well as the training, selection, and supervision of house fellows. Neither job had a chance to develop,

however, as both men left the University to serve in the military.[40]

Any progress toward systematizing duties and responsibilities of the fellows disappeared during the war years. At a conference of fellows in September of 1942, Donald Halverson explained that each was to be an "individually . . . good Fellow in [his] individual way." A good fellow, he went on, does not "follow any setup or scheme of things."[41]

A more full-fledged training program for house fellows began shortly after the war's end. In the immediate postwar years Lee Burns and Arnold Dammen ran the program. In a September 1949 address, titled "Talk to House Fellows," Burns told the gathering of new fellows that "the entire Fellow Orientation Program, as drawn up by Mr. Dammen, Miss Campbell [senior head resident], and our head residents, and with the valued advice of our [Dormitory] Committee, is to . . . acquaint you with our Division, its aims, and its purposes." The point Burns made over and over was that "the residence halls system is a part of the total educational enterprise of the University. . . . Student residences should not only *enable* education—*they should be an education*." Finally, Burns addressed the issue that might very well have been a key reason for the conference. "We are a large organization but that does not necessarily mean that we must be bureaucratic. We are trying hard to guard against becoming impersonal and we need your help on that problem. We need you, as liaison officers with our students."[42] The goal was a difficult one: to provide more definition and direction to the house fellow system without it losing its autonomy and becoming too impersonal.

Civil Rights and Housing

Another profound postwar change, which shook the country as well as the University, occurred in the area of civil rights. In late 1947 the Committee for Civil Rights delivered its report to President Truman. The committee's report documented discrimination in nearly every aspect of American life. The committee unanimously recommended that segregation based on race, creed,

Slichter Hall, circa 1951

Ochsner House den, Adams Hall, circa 1952

Pine Room, Van Hise Hall, circa 1954

color, or national origin be eliminated from American life. Just a few years before the issuance of this report, Arthur Burke, a promising University of Wisconsin graduate student in English, had been forced to move out of the University Club because he was black. With the help of Professors Merle Curti and Helen C. White, among others, he was eventually reinstated. The University of Wisconsin, like the rest of the country, was being made painfully aware of the fact that the race issue could no longer be swept under the rug. The University also learned early on that many of the key battles would be fought in the area of housing.[43]

In early 1949 the Student Board Committee Against Discrimination recommended that "all questions pertaining to race and religion on Residence Halls application blanks be removed." Director Lee Burns, stung by the tacit implications of the recommendation, responded with a statement summarizing "the policy and the aims of the Division of Residence Halls with reference to the housing of negro *[sic]* students." Students whether colored or white [are assigned rooms] in order of application date, within class quotas." It was also "the desire of the University Residence Halls Administration to have students representing all creeds, races, and ways of life live happily in a democratic atmosphere. . . . The question of mutually satisfactory roommates is important in achieving this aim," Burns continued. "For this reason, in assigning roommates the Division attempts to assign together students who ask to room together; or generally if no preference is given, students of approximately the same age and class." When requests for roommates of the same faith were made, Burns said, the division tried to honor them. "In the case of negro *[sic]* students, we have not segregated them to any sections or halls. We have not, however, assigned a negro *[sic]* and white person together as roommates unless requested to do so, or unless both parties have been informed beforehand and the arrangement approved."[44]

Responding to the student board's request that questions about race and religion be replaced with a new question "that would give each student the opportunity to state what qualities he would like to find in his roommate," Burns stated emphatically that

> "We do not believe such a system is practical or workable. If a resident then asked for a negro *[sic]* for a roommate or for a white person for a roommate, how would we be able to fulfill his request, if we have removed the question pertaining to race from our application card?"[45]

Later that year the University Committee's "Report on Human Rights for Students" recommended that the optional information request for race and religion on housing applications be eliminated, that requests for roommates be made by name only, and that a University policy statement against discrimination be included on

every application blank. In a letter to President Fred in late January of 1950, Burns wrote that the recommendations of the University Committee's report "could be followed without seriously affecting the residence halls program." Burns went on to note that if the report was approved "the Division of Residence Halls will do its utmost to carry out the recommendations as outlined." The report was approved by the Faculty Senate on October 2, 1950. On May 19, 1952, the Commission on Human Rights, later named the Committee on Human Rights, issued the following statement: "It is recognized that the Dormitory authorities have made rapid progress in the improvement of human relations as related to the occupancy of the university dormitories. We commend the staff members for their efforts and urge them to continue working in this direction. . . ."[46] The issue of room assignments of blacks in residence halls had been resolved. The stirring of social protest engendered by the issue, however, would remain with the University for decades to come.

Tripp Hall, circa 1963

Permanent Housing for Married Graduate Students and Staff

The first graduate students appeared at the University of Wisconsin in the 1850s. Between 1925–26 and 1940–41 about 10% of the students attending the University were enrolled in graduate programs. The percentage of graduate students on campus rose steadily after the war, increasing from 10.5% in 1946–47 to 19.8% in 1950–51. In 1940–41 there were 1,248 graduate students on campus. That number climbed to 3,126 by 1950–51. Statistics concerning married students are even more dramatic. Between 1936–37 and 1940–41 the percentage of married students averaged between 4.8% and 5.6%. By 1946–47 it had shot up to 19.2%. Real numbers are more startling still. In 1940–41 there were 544 married students attending the University. By 1946–47 that number had risen to 3,592. Many of these students were housed initially in the temporary emergency housing facilities and the obvious question became, Where would these students live after the facilities closed?[47]

Graduate student housing had been recognized as a growing problem in the years immediately preceding World War II. In the fall of 1939, E. B. Fred, then dean of the Graduate School, suggested that the Graduate Club appoint a committee to conduct a study of housing conditions for graduate students and report their findings to the Board of Regents. The Graduate Housing Committee submitted their "Interim Report" to the board at its March 7, 1939, meeting.[48]

"For several years," the Interim Report began, "there has been a growing conviction among the graduate students, as well as among the faculty and administration of the University, that improvement is needed in the housing facilities available to graduate students." Graduate students' needs differed from undergraduates', the report continued, because their work demanded more "quiet study" than undergraduates', and because they were older and shared different interests, with about one quarter being married. All these problems, the report continued, were exacerbated by a housing shortage in Madison. Based on the results of a questionnaire prepared by committee members, "the solution of the grad-

uate housing problem lies in the direction of a housing project or projects undertaken either by the university directly or by the university in cooperation with some other public agency, such as the Madison Housing Authority, or the Public Works Administration."

Citing precedent, the committee noted that during the 1933–34 and 1934–35 school years 72 graduate assistants were housed in one of the undergraduate dormitories (see Chapter 3). In a survey taken several weeks later, 66 said they were satisfied with the arrangement, while only 6 said they were not. In addition, of the 608 graduate students responding to the committee's questionnaire, 508 reported "that they would like to live in a University graduate housing unit." The committee presented their final report to the regents on December 7, 1940. The outbreak of World War II, however, pushed the graduate student housing issue to a back burner.[49]

After the war, with the influx of married veterans, the emphasis shifted away from the larger issue of graduate student housing and gravitated specifically toward housing for married students, especially veterans. On April 18, 1946, the Sub-committee on Residence Halls met "to review and inspect the plans for [permanent] apartments for married couples." The Board of Regents acted quickly, approving a proposal at its July meeting that called for a 120-unit apartment quadrangle for married student veterans "at a cost of approximately $800,000." Construction was set to begin immediately.[50]

A month later, on August 15, 1946, the Board of Regents voted on the following action:

> That the plans for the construction of the married veterans' apartment buildings be postponed for the present on account of the fact that final construction estimates are in excess of budget allocations and the construction of these apartments at this time would require the allotment of an unwarranted sum from the postwar construction appropriation made available by the State.

In an article a few months later, the *Wisconsin Alumnus* reported that local contractors had been upset when the contract for building the quadrangle had gone to an out-of-state firm. Coupled with the fact that in-state construction estimates exceeded the budget, the regents had felt compelled "to postpone the project indefinitely." Permanent graduate student housing for married veterans would never be. Graduate student housing for married students would have to wait another ten years.[51]

University Houses

University Houses

Although the faculty did not experience the dramatic increase in numbers displayed by graduate students and married students, the *Wisconsin Alumnus*, for one, posed a question about the University's "homeless profs." In 1935–36, for example, there were 479 faculty members at Wisconsin; by 1940–41 the number had risen to 599; by 1945–46 it had fallen to 542; and by 1950–51 it had climbed back up to 613. Faculty members did not have the option of living in temporary emergency housing facilities, and like other local residents, they found themselves in a town with a severe housing shortage. As with housing for graduate and married students, something needed to be done, and quickly.[52]

The "homeless profs" were luckier than the married graduate students. In 1944 President E. B. Fred, himself a "homeless prof" when he arrived in Madison after World War I, approached the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation (WARF), asking that they provide funding for housing for faculty members and their families. WARF, aware of the likelihood of a postwar housing shortage, reacted favorably to Fred's request. On July 25, 1946, the Board of Regents voted that WARF "be advised that the regents approve their proposal for a housing project to be located on the Eagle Heights Farm in an area of approximately ten to twelve acres. . . ." Interest would be 1% with the principal amortized at the rate of 2% annually for fifty years. Later that year, at an "Informal Conference of the Regents" held the day before their regularly scheduled meeting of November 23, 1946, representatives of WARF and the regents agreed that the amortization rate would be raised to 2 and 1/2% and that WARF would set up a non-profit corporation—later named University Houses, Inc.—to construct and manage the 150-unit property. Despite the strenuous objections of Regent Grady, who claimed that such a corporation had no precedent and the board would have "absolutely no control" over the property, the revised motion passed. Construction began in May of 1947 and was completed in 1948. Leonard Schultz and Associates of New York City, designers of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, among others, served as architect. The "homeless profs" would soon have their much-needed housing.[53]

End of an Era

Although organized during an urgent housing shortage, the communities at Badger and Truax were more than places to live. The people, the buildings, even the buses created an environment that, despite the many hardships, are remembered with fondness and pride by many former residents. But from the day they opened, the University considered Badger and Truax as temporary, operating only as long as the housing emergency persisted, after which time they would be closed.

In the 1948–49 school year 10,134 veterans accounted for 54.4% of the University's enrollment. Two years later that figure had dropped to 5,455 veterans, representing 34.6% of the total. At its peak Truax housed nearly 800 single male students and Badger over 550 families. As the 1940s ended, a steady decline in the population of each of these facilities began.[54]

In a description of Badger written in early 1951, Lee Burns noted that even though the Division of Residence Halls managed to operate on an overall "break even" basis, it had lost $54,000 on the Badger operation alone, with nearly 60% of the loss coming from the bus service. Burns concluded that "since it is predicted that the enrollment of GI students will drop off rapidly during the next few years, it appears that plans for an orderly withdrawal from the operation of Badger should be made now." Working in conjunction with the Badger Council, Burns outlined a plan which would move all residents out of Badger no later than June 30, 1952. Again, as had happened so often in the recent past, world events—this time the outbreak of the Korean War—forced changes in the plans. The federal government needed Badger as soon as possible to train soldiers. Lawrence Halle, resident manager of Badger, therefore recommended that the part of the facility known as North Badger be closed March 31, 1951, three months ahead of schedule.[55]

Throughout the existence of the temporary emergency housing facilities, veterans had displayed little enthusiasm for residence halls' self-government associations. It is ironic that the Badger and Truax associations chose these final months to exert themselves. In a meeting of the Badger Council on February 6, 1951, Halle's recommendation was rejected by council members. In a letter to A. W. Peterson a short time later, the Badger Council proposed saving money by eliminating janitor service and curtailing bus service for North Badger, asking in return that they be allowed to remain at Badger until the original June closing date. Responding on February 19, 1951, Peterson wrote to the Badger Association that "the Regents are willing that we continue to operate North Badger for the balance of this fiscal year provided the deficits can be kept to a minimum."[56]

Elizabeth Waters Hall picnic, circa 1960

A similar situation had developed at Truax. In October of 1948, 785 single males lived at Truax. Twelve months later that number had dropped to 426. As enrollment fell, talk of closing the facility increased. Acknowledging that possibility, Lee Burns wrote to University Business Manager Neil G. Cafferty that despite the decline in enrollment, "we have a very great obligation to the residents of Truax Field right now." As with Badger, the budget was crucial. And like Badger, Truax was operating at a loss—$63,000 during the 1949–50 school year alone. At the May 1949 regents' meeting funding was approved to operate Truax for the first semester of the 1949–50 school year only.[57]

In October of 1949 Lee Burns wrote A. W. Peterson that even though the Board of Regents had recom-

Student social activities, circa 1963

mended closing Truax at the end of the first semester of the 1949–50 school year, "there are some students who are questioning the advisability of terminating the project at the end of the first semester." He informed Peterson that "there undoubtedly will be some student sentiment for continuance." On the same day Burns sent his message to Peterson, Otto Mueller, director of the Housing Bureau, sent Peterson a separate memo stating that even though housing remained scarce in Madison, "these men [forced to leave Truax] will be able to find accommodations in the city by the opening of the second semester."[58]

Armed with Burns's letter and Mueller's memo, Peterson met with the Board of Regents Finance Committee on November 3 and informed them that "[a] definite decision should be made by the Regents at the meeting on November 12 whether to continue the Truax project for the second semester." On November 10 the Truax Student Association informed the regents that, based on a survey they had conducted, over three-fourths of the 366 students still living at Truax desired to stay there. They pointed out that most students who had recently moved out had done so "because of the action to close Truax." The "general living conditions" of those students, the Truax Student Association had since learned, was "far below the quality we receive at Truax." They concluded by emphasizing that their living experiences at Truax had

> developed responsible democratic individuals, through a program of self-government and planned social and recreational activities. Such a program is in point a part of any educational plan. Truax has benefited from this program because Truax is a part of Residence Halls! We ask only that you allow us to retain these benefits.[59]

On November 12, 1949, the Finance Committee of the Board of Regents recommended to the full board, "That the University Residence Halls budget for 1949–50 be amended to permit the continuation of the Truax Housing project for the second semester of the 1949–50 school year only and that not to exceed $25,000 . . . be budgeted for this purpose."[60]

By arguing the principles that Slichter and the other members of the original Dormitory Committee had sought to instill in their charges, the residents of Truax won their point. The largest temporary emergency housing facilities, Badger and Truax, closed that spring. A unique and, in many ways, inspiring chapter in the history of the University closed with them.

ENDNOTES

Note: Much of the information cited in these notes, including the Regents' Reports, can be found in the University of Wisconsin Archives, located in the basement of the Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin–Madison, telephone (608) 262-3290.

1. Editorial, *Wisconsin Alumnus* 43, no. 2 (February 1942):102. The *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* became *Wisconsin Alumnus* as of October 1936.
2. Lee Burns interview with Barry Teicher, 18 July 1985, on file with UW History Project.
3. Donald Halverson to Clarence Dykstra, 25 September 1942, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 58; Lee Burns interview, 18 July 1985; Lawrence Halle interview with Barry Teicher, 31 October 1985.
4. Clarence Dykstra, Handwritten Notes, Board of Regents' Meeting, 14 March 1942.
5. For specific examples of these disagreements see Donald Halverson to Lt. Boudry, 7 April 1942, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 168; Donald Halverson to A. W. Peterson, 10 November 1942, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 175; Donald Halverson to Lt. Comm. Lambert, 10 November 1942, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 175; Donald Halverson to Lt. Comm. Lambert, 20 November 1942, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 175.
6. Donald Halverson to A. W. Peterson, 25 February 1943, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 175.
7. A. J. Glover, "A Message To All Alumni," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 44, no. 2 (February 1943):106–13.
8. Lee Burns interview, 18 July 1985; Donald Halverson, "The University of Wisconsin Naval Training School, Cooks and Bakers," 21 October 1942, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 175.
9. Donald Halverson and Lee Burns, "Newsletter" (December 1944), UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 182; Donald Halverson and Lee Burns, "Newsletter" (February 1945), UW Archives, 19/18, Box 1. Peter Pappas was a former house fellow, as was Lawrence Halle, who had gone on to replace Arnold Dammen when Dammen was called into military service in early 1942. At the same time, Otto Mueller was called to active duty and was replaced by George Gurda, a former house fellow.
10. Known initially as the Serviceman's Readjustment Act, the GI Bill of Rights was signed into law on 22 June 1944.
11. Donald Halverson to Clarence Dykstra, 18 July 1944, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 188; Blanche Stemm, "University of Wisconsin Report on Housing of Men, 1943–44," 13 October 1944, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 188.
12. Lee Burns, "Report on Emergency Housing Projects at Wisconsin and Operating Estimates for 1946–47," 8 March 1947, Lawrence Halle Papers, UW Housing Office Archives.
13. "University Uses Truax Hospital," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 47, no. 4 (January 1946):4; Newell Smith interview with Barry Teicher, 18 October 1983, on file with UW History Project; Arnold H. Dammen to A. W. Peterson, 10 November 1947, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 229. Among those helping at Truax was Susan B. Davis, who came out of retirement to assist in the advising of students, especially married couples. Davis, who had served as assistant dean of women, related her experiences at Truax in "The Student Veteran's Wife," a published booklet, in Housing Files, UW Archives, 25/00/6, Box 1.
14. Clarence Dykstra, Handwritten Notes, 6 April 1946, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 188.
15. Lawrence Halle interview with authors, 6 June 1984, on file with UW History Project.
16. Lawrence Halle, "The University of Wisconsin Badger Project," in Burns, "Report on Emergency Housing Projects," p. 1; Lawrence Halle interview, 6 June 1984; Erhart Mueller, *Badger Village Bluffview Courts, 1943–1982*, (Madison: Bluffview Acres, Inc., 1982), p.3.

17. Mueller, *Badger Village*, pp.18, 22, 26. Lee Sherman Dreyfus would later serve as governor of Wisconsin, and William Proxmire as a United States senator.
18. Mueller, *Badger Village*, pp.16, 19.
19. Mueller, *Badger Village*, pp.40, 52–58.
20. Mueller, *Badger Village*, pp.61–84; Lawrence Halle interview, 6 June 1984.
21. Mueller, *Badger Village*, pp.86–96.
22. Lawrence Halle interview, 6 June 1984.
23. Lawrence Halle interview, 6 June 1984.
24. Lee Burns to O. B. Fensholt, 12 January 1946, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 188; UW Regents' Minutes, 9 March 1946.
25. N. J. Fagerland, "The University of Wisconsin Badger and Truax Bus System," in Burns, "Report on Emergency Housing Projects."
26. Newell Smith interview, 18 October 1983.
27. Lawrence Halle interview, 6 June 1984.
28. Lawrence Halle interview, 6 June 1984; Mueller, *Badger Village*, p.14.
29. The State Emergency Board, set up to deal with requests for postwar emergency funding, consisted of Governor Walter S. Goodland, State Budget Director E. C. Giessel, and a member of the assembly and senate.
30. "Randall and Monroe Park Projects," in Burns, "Report on Emergency Housing Projects."
31. "Randall and Monroe Park Projects," in Burns, "Report on Emergency Housing Projects."
32. "Regents' Constructional Development Committee Meeting," 28 September 1945, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 63; Lee Burns to Robert E. Hammes, 6 June 1947, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 229.
33. Scott H. Goodnight, "Organized Summer Study at the University of Wisconsin: The Story of the Origins and Growth of the Summer School and the Summer Session, 1885–1940" (Mimeo., Office of the Summer Session, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1940), pp.49–50; "Interchange Newsletter," (Division of Summer Sessions, Univ. of Wisconsin, July 1980).
34. "University Cabin Court," in Burns, "Report on Emergency Housing Projects"; A. W. Peterson to Madison Town Board, 12 September 1946, Box 213; UW Regents' Minutes, 14 September 1946; UW Regents' Minutes, 16 October 1948.
35. "Emergency Action in Madison," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 48, no. 3 (December 1946):9.
36. Donald Halverson to Clarence Dykstra, 18 July 1944, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 188; Blanche Stemm, "University of Wisconsin Report on Housing of Men, 1943–44," 13 October 1944, p.8, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 188.
37. A. W. Peterson, Vice-President of Business Services and President of the Wisconsin University Building Corporation, should be given credit for the addition to the Van Hise unit being completed on schedule. Whenever the contractor, the George A. Fuller Company of Chicago, fell behind schedule, Peterson always seemed to be there to prod them along. (See, for example, A. W. Peterson to George Fuller Construction Company, 18 February 1947, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 214.) UW Regents' Minutes, 20 August 1946; George Gurda interview with Barry Teicher, 17 July 1986, on file with UW History Project.
38. Lee Burns to A. W. Peterson, 28 February 1947, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 214. "Report on Situation in University Halls and Temporary Projects" was distributed weekly in the years immediately following the war. These one-page mimeographed reports provide an excellent week-by-week account of the housing situation on campus.
39. Arnold Dammen to A. W. Peterson, 10 November 1947, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 229.
40. W. Norris Wentworth interview with Barry Teicher, 19 June 1984, on file with UW History Project; Otto Mueller interview with Barry Teicher, 1 May 1984 on file with UW History Project.
41. Donald Halverson, "Joint Fellow Conference Meetings Thursday, September 10, 1942," UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 175.
42. Lee Burns, "Talk to House Fellows," September 1949, Lee Burns Papers (emphasis in original), UW Housing Office Archives.
43. For a thorough discussion of the Burke case, see John W. Jenkins and Barry Teicher, "The Community of Scholars at the University of Wisconsin, 1920–1944," UW History Project Working Paper #1, 1984, pp.33–42.
44. Lee Burns, "Residence Halls Assignment Policy," 6 June 1949, UW Archives, 19/18, Box 1.
45. Burns, "Residence Halls Assignment Policy" (emphasis in original).
46. Burns, "Residence Halls Assignment Policy"; "Minutes of the Residence Halls Faculty Committee," 23 January 1950, UW Archives, 19/18, Box 1; Lee Burns to E. B. Fred, 27 January 1950, UW Archives, 19/18, Box 1; "Report of the Committee on Human Rights," 19 May 1952, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 74.
47. L. Joseph Lins, "Fact Book For History of Madison Campus" [prepared for UW History Project, 1983].
48. "Interim Report of the Graduate Housing Committee," 7 and 8 March 1939, p.2, UW Archives, 1/1/4, Box 53.
49. "Interim Report of the Graduate Housing Committee," pp.2–3; "Memorandum, Graduate Housing Committee to Board of Regents and President Dykstra," 7 December 1940, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 55.
50. Donald Halverson to James G. Woodburn, 22 April 1946, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 188; UW Regents' Minutes, 25 July 1946.
51. UW Regents' Minutes, 15 August 1946; "Building Program Moves Slowly," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 48, no. 1 (September/October 1946):5.
52. "Houses for Homeless Profs," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 49, no. 6 (March 1948):20–21.
53. Three years later, in 1951, WARF turned the operation of University Houses back to the University. UW Regents' Minutes, 25 July 1946; "Informal Conference of the Regents," 22 November 1946, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 65; [Untitled Amendment to the] Regents' Minutes, 23 November 1946, UW Archives, 1/1/3; "Houses for Homeless Profs," *Wisconsin Alumnus* 49, no. 6 (March 1948):21; Clarence Schoenfeld interview with Barry Teicher, 16 July 1986, on file with UW History Project.
54. Lins, "Fact Book for History of Madison Campus."
55. Lee Burns, "Some Facts and Statistics About Badger Village," 23 March 1950, pp.1–2, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254; Lee Burns to A. W. Peterson, 12 April 1950, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254; Lee Burns to Neil G. Cafferty, 9 February 1951, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 274.
56. Badger Village Association Statement, 6 February 1951, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 274; A. W. Peterson to Charles D. Gelatt, 8 February 1951, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 274; Badger Council to A. W. Peterson, 15 February 1951, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 274; A. W. Peterson to Badger Council, 19 February 1951, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 274.
57. "U of W Housing Bureau: Where Students Lived [1948–49]," UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254; Lee Burns to Neil G. Cafferty, 11 May 1949, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254; Lee Burns to A. W. Peterson, 24 May 1949, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254; Regents' Minutes, 14 May 1949.
58. Lee Burns to A. W. Peterson, 10 October 1949, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254; Otto Mueller to A. W. Peterson, 10 October 1949, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254.
59. A. W. Peterson to Board of Regents Finance Committee, 3 November 1949, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254; Truax Student Association to Board of Regents, 10 November 1949, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254.
60. Lee Burns, "Memo: Re/ Housing of Randall Park Trailer Residents," 27 April 1950, UW Archives, 24/1/1, Box 254.

CHAPTER V

BUILDING TOWARD THE FUTURE

When the temporary emergency housing facilities closed, the Division of Residence Halls, under the direction of Newell Smith (who succeeded Lee Burns in October of 1954), refocused its energies onto new projects. The first of these was the cooperatives, expanding on the pattern of the first three Kronshage units, which arose from the University's desire to provide the option of lower-cost on-campus housing. The Division of Residence Halls also returned to plans for new housing for an expanding undergraduate population, and, finally, to the transition for married graduate students from the postwar facilities to permanent housing.

While the Division of Residence Halls worked on these projects, the campus-wide planning commission, working in conjunction with President E. B. Fred and the Board of Regents, turned their attention to developing a comprehensive forward-looking plan for campus growth. This period in the history of the Division of Residence Halls was characterized by a tremendous increase in the size and scope of the University. Once again, the Division of Residence Halls assisted the University's general goals by developing specific plans and by redesigning the house fellow system and the residence halls' self-government association to meet the needs of a modern university.

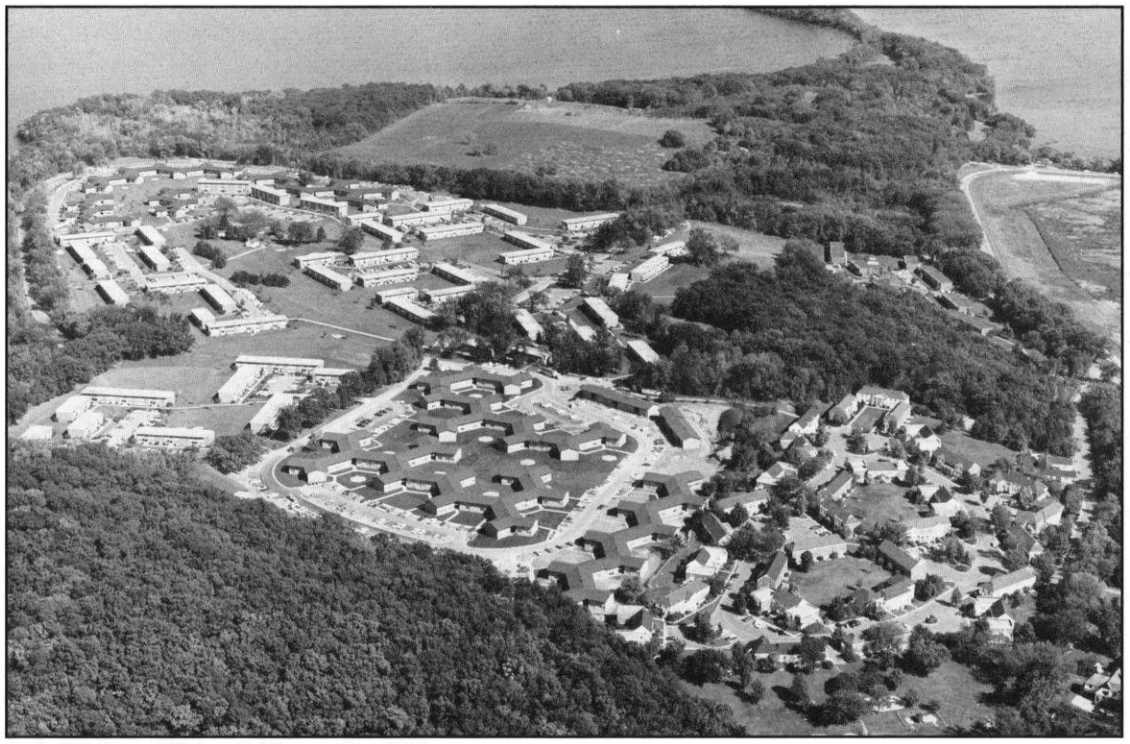
Cooperatives

Acting on the recommendation of the Division of Residence Halls, the Board of Regents, at their November 1953 meeting, tackled the problem of expanding the low-cost housing option for students. Regent Wilbur N. Renk, concerned that "a number of women . . . did not enroll in September" because of a shortage of low-cost housing, noted that enrollment projections "made it essential that the Regents . . . do something regarding this problem." Since space for such facilities was not available on campus, the board finally voted that work on preliminary sketches for "a low-cost housing unit for about one hundred students—either in one building or several" begin immediately. Instructions were that the housing be located south or east of campus; Regent Renk suggested reserving part of a trailer camp project or a University farm area for this project.[1]

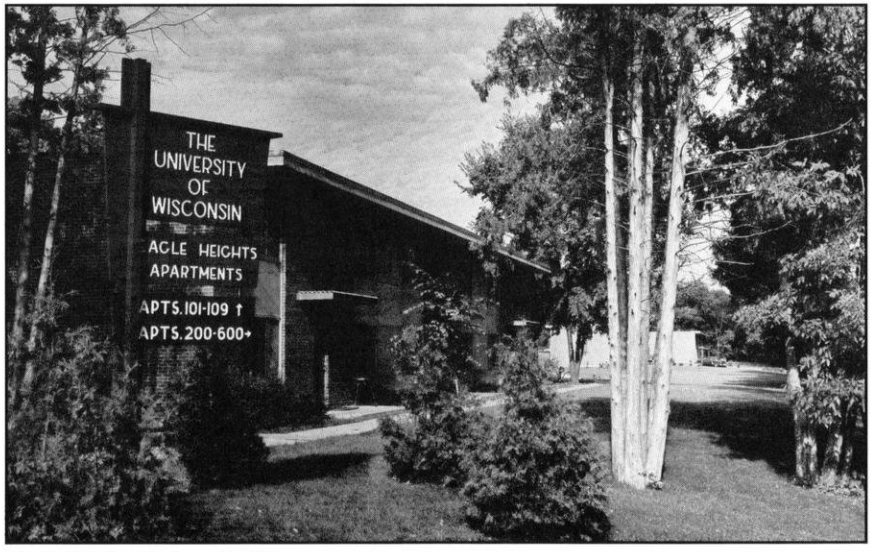
Six months later, at the May 8, 1954, regents' meeting, site approval was given for two scholarship cooperatives. Unlike Kronshage, the scholarship cooperatives had very inexpensive construction, small rooms, and limited social space. The criteria for assignment were a stated desire to participate in a cooperative, proven academic ability, and need. In November preliminary plans and sketches for the dormitories were approved, with rent tentatively set at $4.00 per week. Four months later, final board charges were established at $5.00 per week. By June, financing had been secured. The cost, not to exceed $125,000 per unit, was to be taken from cash balances in the 5-A Residence Halls Revolving Fund and advanced to the Wisconsin University Building Corporation.[2] The method of operating these scholarship cooperatives was discussed at the September 1955 board meeting. University Vice-President A. W. Peterson reminded the board that "the goal . . . in building these dormitories [is] to reduce the costs to students as much as possible." Therefore, Peterson said, it was "deemed advisable" to form student cooperatives with "the costs to the students [being] reduced by the stu-

Gordon Commons and Ogg Hall plaza, 1965

Rust House, men's cooperative



Eagle Heights and University Houses, circa 1967



Eagle Heights apartment building

dents doing part of the work in the dormitories themselves."[3]

The two dormitories opened, with a month's delay, in the fall of 1955. The women's dormitory, located at 915 West Johnson Street, was named after Zoe Bayliss, former assistant to the dean of women. The men's unit, located at 123 North Orchard Street, was named after David Schreiner, a former men's hall resident and an All-American football player who was killed on Okinawa.[4]

In their March 1956 annual report, the Board of Visitors commented favorably not only on the overall construction of Bayliss and Schreiner houses, but on "the enthusiasm of the students" as well. "This type of housing," they wrote the regents, "is meeting a real need." The Board of Visitors asked the University to "please give us more." The University did just that, building two additional scholarship cooperatives. The first, for women, was opened in 1961 and named after Zoe Bayliss's colleague and friend, Susan B. Davis. The second, opened in 1963, was named after Henry Rust, its principal benefactor. Each dormitory was built adjacent to its counterpart.[5] The cooperatives fulfilled their function and they continue to provide a popular housing alternative to traditional residence halls.

Married Graduate Student Housing

The University needed permanent housing for married students displaced by the closing of temporary postwar housing and for the increasing number of married graduate students who were teaching and research assistants. At the same regents' meeting where approval was given to proceed with Bayliss and Schreiner houses, the board voted that the University's administrative officers be permitted to begin site evaluation and to initiate discussions on financing and construction for married graduate student housing.[6] Once set in motion, planning proceeded quickly, though not at quite the breakneck pace of the temporary emergency housing immediately after the war.

First on the agenda was choosing sites where initial housing could be built and future housing planned. In July of 1956 two possible sites were presented to the

regents for consideration. The first was in the Spring Street area, located just east of Camp Randall, and the second was the Pharmaceutical Garden area, a section within the Eagle Heights Farm. Weiler and Strang, Madison-based consultants, were hired to study not only site selection, but cost and feasibility as well. In their report they deemed both sites acceptable, as well as a third on Midvale Boulevard. In February of 1955 the Board of Regents voted that "the Pharmaceutical Gardens area [Eagle Heights] be approved for the site of 100 units of married student apartments."[7]

During this period, the regents were actively investigating other possible married student housing options. One proposal was for the utilization of the University Cabin Camp—located in the 2900 block of University Avenue and used as temporary emergency housing during the war—by razing the cabins and replacing them with apartments. At its June 1955 meeting the board voted to do just that, approving construction of forty-eight apartments for married students on lots fronting Harvey Street. Securing financing for the proposed units presented another problem. Beginning in the Depression (see Chapter 3), the University had relied heavily on federal aid for its building projects, with loan and grant money channeled through the Wisconsin University Building Corporation (WUBC). In this case, financing through the WUBC was delayed "pending the decision of the Wisconsin Supreme Court as to the legality of financing through private building corporations." Thus it came about that the board granted authority to invest about $400,000 from Anonymous and Knapp funds to finance the apartments. Regent Renk also requested that the board be furnished a report on the feasibility of financing such projects through temporary loans from the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation. Again, the Board of Regents employed creative financing to meet the housing needs of the University.[8]

Financing the first 100 units of married graduate student apartments at Eagle Heights came through a loan from the College Housing Program of the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA). Bids for the first unit of apartments were approved on October 6, 1956, shortly after the courts had reasserted the WUBC's involvement in overseeing financing; construction began soon afterward.[9]

The pattern for financing married student apartments had been set. Plans for a second unit in Eagle Heights began two months after bids for the first unit were approved; this unit would also contain 100 apartments. In June of 1957 the Board of Regents approved financing for a third Eagle Heights unit of 400 apartments, with approximately half of the $3.6 million price tag coming from HHFA loans and the rest "from other sources."[10]

Four additional units of 100 apartments each were eventually built. The Eagle Heights apartments were attractive for many reasons. They were built on spacious grounds, they had spectacular views and large areas for resident vegetable gardens. They were accessible to campus bus service, and developed an increasingly international atmosphere. More importantly, though, they offered reasonable rents, and when finally completed, they provided housing for 1,074 students and their families.

The Division of Residence Halls had planned on more units than were actually built. At the September 1963 regents' meeting, Housing Director Newell Smith stated that the University was planning 150 apartments for 1965 and 150 apartments for 1966, with a "long range program . . . for 150 apartments per year for the next 7 years." The following year, University President Fred Harvey Harrington recommended to the board that 400 married student apartments be built near Tokay Boulevard on the Rieder Farm area. Neither of these ambitious goals were met, but married student housing had found a permanent place on the campus.[11]

Expanding Undergraduate Housing

Undergraduate enrollment, which had more than doubled between 1945 and 1946—from 7,743 in 1945 to 15,877 in 1946—leveled off in 1947 and 1948, and then began a three-year decline as veterans gradually left the University, falling to 10,139 in 1951. Undergraduate enrollment held at around 10,000 through 1954, then started a steady climb for the next decade, reaching 20,000 for the first time in 1965.[12] Although a comprehensive plan for major expansion was still a few years off, the Division of Residence Halls continued to work hard toward short-term plans to keep a step ahead of the increasing need for student housing.

From the postwar period on, the process of planning and constructing university housing projects became increasingly systematized. In 1945 the University Campus Planning Commission was created "to advise the president and regents concerning priorities, the location of buildings, and the acceptance of plans at various stages."[13] This commission, which did not initiate plans, provided support throughout the planning process. They were later aided by the Division of Physical Plant Planning—initially headed up by Albert F. Gallistel, superintendent of buildings and grounds—which provided technical support ranging from determining utility locations to landscaping. Both the University Campus Planning Commission and the Division of Physical Plant Planning worked closely with the Division of Residence Halls staff during all stages of planning.[14]

The first major housing project developed to meet the anticipated undergraduate enrollment increase was initiated in early 1954 when the Board of Regents, acting on the advice of the Division of Residence Halls and the University Campus Planning Commission, agreed to give "further consideration . . . to the construction of a new women's dormitory on the site of Chadbourne Hall and to the urgent need for constructing such a dormitory as soon as possible." A year later, in February of 1955, it was "Voted, That . . . it is the considered opinion of the Regents that a new dormitory should be constructed on the site of Chadbourne Hall." Two hurdles needed to be cleared before the new Chadbourne could be built, however. The first related to financing, the second to determining dimensions and capacity.[15]

As with the Eagle Heights project, financing of the new Chadbourne Hall was delayed while the Supreme Court settled the question of the legality of financing through private building corporations (in this case, the WUBC). The Housing Act of 1950 was amended by Congress to allow for loans through private corporations like the WUBC, and when the regents learned that $65,000,000 was available at 2 and 3/4% over forty

Chadbourne Hall, circa 1965

Bucky Badger visits Chadbourne Hall dining room

years for just that purpose, the board wasted no time in applying to the Housing and Home Finance Agency for monies.[16]

The question of determining dimensions and capacity presented a different challenge. The original Chadbourne Hall was situated on a prime location that the Division of Residence Halls wanted to retain for housing purposes. Economic considerations were also a factor in the decision. Dining facilities were already in place adjacent to the site, the land belonged to the University, and having the building near Barnard Hall insured a better utilization of staff. Matters became more complicated still when the University announced that it hoped the new Chadbourne would house up to 600 students. The old Chadbourne was four stories high and housed about 180 students. The other residence halls varied in height—Kronshage was three stories; Tripp, Adams, and Slichter were four; and Barnard, and Elizabeth Waters' center section were five stories. If the new Chadbourne was to be built on the site of old Chadbourne, the lower, traditional structure would have to be abandoned.

The options were limited; the new building could either soar upward or spread over most of the site. The regents selected the former option. At the December 1955 regents' meeting, when preliminary plans and sketches for the new Chadbourne were presented to the board, Regent Renk expressed regret "that the new dormitory would only provide space for six hundred students." Apparently once the Board of Regents started thinking big, they did not look back. On June 14, 1956, authorization was given to employ a contractor. A year later the schedule of costs was approved. Old Chadbourne Hall was torn down in 1957, and the new Chadbourne Hall was built in 1959 at a cost of just over $3,000,000.[17]

Both the size and the high-rise design of the new Chadbourne Hall posed serious planning problems for the Division of Residence Halls, which sought to retain the "gracious, intimate atmosphere [that] had characterized the Residence Hall program at Wisconsin." To meet this goal, the Division of Residence Halls had the building designed in a "Y" shape, and designated each floor a

"house." The number of residents living in each house was kept relatively small—about 66. There were no long corridors and community facilities were centrally located, as was the house fellow room.[18]

Once the building of new Chadbourne Hall was under way, the regents turned their attention to building an additional women's dormitory. Plans were to locate it near the lakeshore between Tripp and Elizabeth Waters halls and to provide housing for 400 to 600 women. When debate over the issue finally reached the board floor in November of 1957, opposition to the plan was led by President E. B. Fred. As the board minutes state: "[President Fred] pointed out that the construction of the dormitory building, as proposed, would violate the long-held understanding that no buildings are to be constructed which would in any way interfere with the view of Picnic Point from Observatory Hill." The proposed dormitory, Fred was quick to point out, "would put a building directly in front of the finest view in the State of Wisconsin."[19]

Although respectful of the president's wishes, the regents did not immediately defer to what the board minutes characterized as Fred's "vigorous opposition." Regent Carl F. Steiger, for example, "emphasized that he felt as strongly as anyone regarding the aesthetic aspects of the campus . . . but that . . . it was his opinion that the proposed building would not interfere with the view of Picnic Point from Observatory Drive." When it was suggested that the board refer the question "for further study," Vice-President A. W. Peterson reported that the plans and specifications for this project needed to be submitted to the HHFA by December 31 in order for the University to be eligible for loan consideration, and thus would not allow for "sufficient time to complete [the revised] plans and specifications." The board was stymied. The final motion referred the plan to the University Campus Planning Commission, recommending "that the area between Tripp Hall and the west line of Elizabeth Waters Hall and bounded on the south by Observatory Drive not be used for the contemplated purposes; and that this matter be considered by the Board at the December meeting." In December the board voted that "consideration of the construction between Tripp and Elizabeth Waters Hall be postponed indefinitely. . . ." The unobstructed view of Picnic Point from Observatory Drive was safe. Building another large women's dormitory would have to wait until the development of the Southeast Dormitory Area on the lower campus in the 1960s.[20]

With other land in the lakeshore area still available for expansion, planning for two large dormitory units for undergraduate men moved with relative speed. In June of 1957 the University Campus Planning Commission recommended that the regents grant authority "for employment of an architect to prepare a site development and preliminary sketches for new dormitories to house up to 1,000 men and to be located west of Elm Drive."[21]

Actually the University Campus Planning Commission recommended two groups of dormitories: the first on the east side of Elm Drive, the second on the west side. Group one, to be located on the east side of Elm Drive, planned for two four-story units and a single two-story dining hall, received the final go-ahead in the fall of 1957. The board approved final plans and specifications the following spring. During construction the board decided that one of the units would house women. Cole Hall, the women's building, along with Sullivan Hall and Holt Commons, opened in the fall of 1958, housing 500 students. For the first time a men's and a women's residence hall shared a commons.[22]

On April 7, 1956, the regents granted approval for a second group of dormitories, housing 825 students, to

Holt Commons, circa 1960

Intramural touch football, lakeshore area

be located west of Elm Drive. The WUBC negotiated the loan and WARF backed it. Three housing buildings and a commons opened in September 1959. The total cost of the four Elm Drive buildings was a little over $3,400,000, with each housing unit costing around $833,000.

The three housing buildings were known as "A," "B," and "C" for several years. The food building was "Elm Drive Commons." After Professor Harold C. Bradley died in 1976, "A" was named after him. "C" became Goodnight Hall after Dean of Men Scott Goodnight's death in 1973, although the building was no longer a housing facility by that time. "B" was named the Friedrick Center, after Jacob F. Friedrick, a labor leader from Milwaukee, longtime adviser to the School for Workers, and past president of the Board of Regents, who died in 1980. The building now serves as a University extension conference center.[23]

With the exception of Merit House, which opened much later, in June of 1986, the completion of the Elm Drive units brought an end to the days of low-rise, on-campus housing units for single students. The handsome, sturdy, functional style of architecture that had so characterized these buildings was about to be replaced by more cost-efficient, space-efficient "high-density structures."[24] The new Chadbourne Hall had, in effect, shown the University the shape of things to come.

Planning for the Future

On February 7, 1959, the Board of Regents approved Faculty Document 1365, "The Sketch Plan for the University of Wisconsin at Madison: A First Progress Report on the Development of a General Campus Plan." Developed by the Department of University Planning and Construction—formerly the Division of Physical Plant Planning—and approved by the University Campus Planning Commission, the Sketch Plan, as it came to be called, was "to show in very broad terms major planning objectives in order to establish basic development policies." The key to implementing these policies lay in the acquisition of some seventy acres of land south of University Avenue between Breese Terrace and Frances Street. Among the seven "component parts" listed in the Sketch Plan was housing. The other areas to be studied included university services, academic land use, commercial and industrial services, transportation and parking, university recreation, and the environment.[25]

Within the context of housing, the Sketch Plan outlined two general needs: student housing, and faculty and staff housing. The University currently provided housing for 30% of its single students and 17% of its married students. The Sketch Plan noted that to maintain that percentage, the University would have to construct over 3,000 additional housing spaces by 1970. If the University elected to expand south of University Avenue, the Sketch Plan continued, several facilities then housing students would have to be razed, thus exacerbating an already serious problem.[26] Fortunately, most of the facilities to be razed were of substandard quality.

The Sketch Plan also foresaw a greater need for faculty and staff housing. "About 40% of the faculty members," the Sketch Plan pointed out, "presently reside within 3/4 of a mile of the center of campus, indicating a strong demand for proximity to the University among the faculty." Assuming that expansion would displace several of these faculty and staff living units, and projecting that future enrollment levels would "result in a substantial increase in academic and civil service members," the plan advocated "new, private residential accommoda-

tions . . . on the periphery of the campus proper."[27]

Using the Sketch Plan as a guide, the Division of Residence Halls prepared its own "Ten Year Housing Plan" for the lower campus area. Not since the University City report of 1929 had the University seen such an ambitious plan for housing. The plan, to cover the years 1960 through 1970, called for a total increase of 4,850 housing spaces for undergraduates—3,200 for single men and 1,650 for single women. It also called for 1,500 new housing spaces for graduate students, faculty, and staff. Of the 3,200 housing spaces for undergraduate men, 3,000 would be in conventional residence halls with food service, and 200 in cooperatives with food service. For the 1,650 undergraduate women, 1,000 would be in conventional residence halls, 250 in cooperatives, and 400 in apartments. Of the 1,500 spaces for graduate and professionals, 400 would be for single rooms for men, 900 for apartments for married students, and 200 for single rooms for women.

Residence Hall Director Newell Smith, University Vice-President A. W. Peterson, and others presented basics of the Ten Year Plan at the regents' meeting on July 8, 1960. They called for an expansion beyond the campus boundaries proposed in the Sketch Plan, asking that dormitories be built in the area bounded by University Avenue, Park Street, Dayton Street, and North Frances Street. They requested provisions be made for indoor and outdoor recreation areas, and, if at all possible, "financial assistance in the form of appropriations from public sources and gifts from private sources to aid in building future university housing." Food services initially were *not* to be included in this area, as some thought food service needs could be met by the Memorial Union and in local restaurants. The Division of Residence Halls staff convinced these skeptics, however, that food service was a necessary and essential part of the residence hall operation and that serious problems would result if it was not included. The report also asked that "an area in addition to the one described . . . above be reserved for University housing expansion." Other highlights of the plan include "consideration [that] cooperative units [be kept separate] from other University housing and each other;" development of programs such as

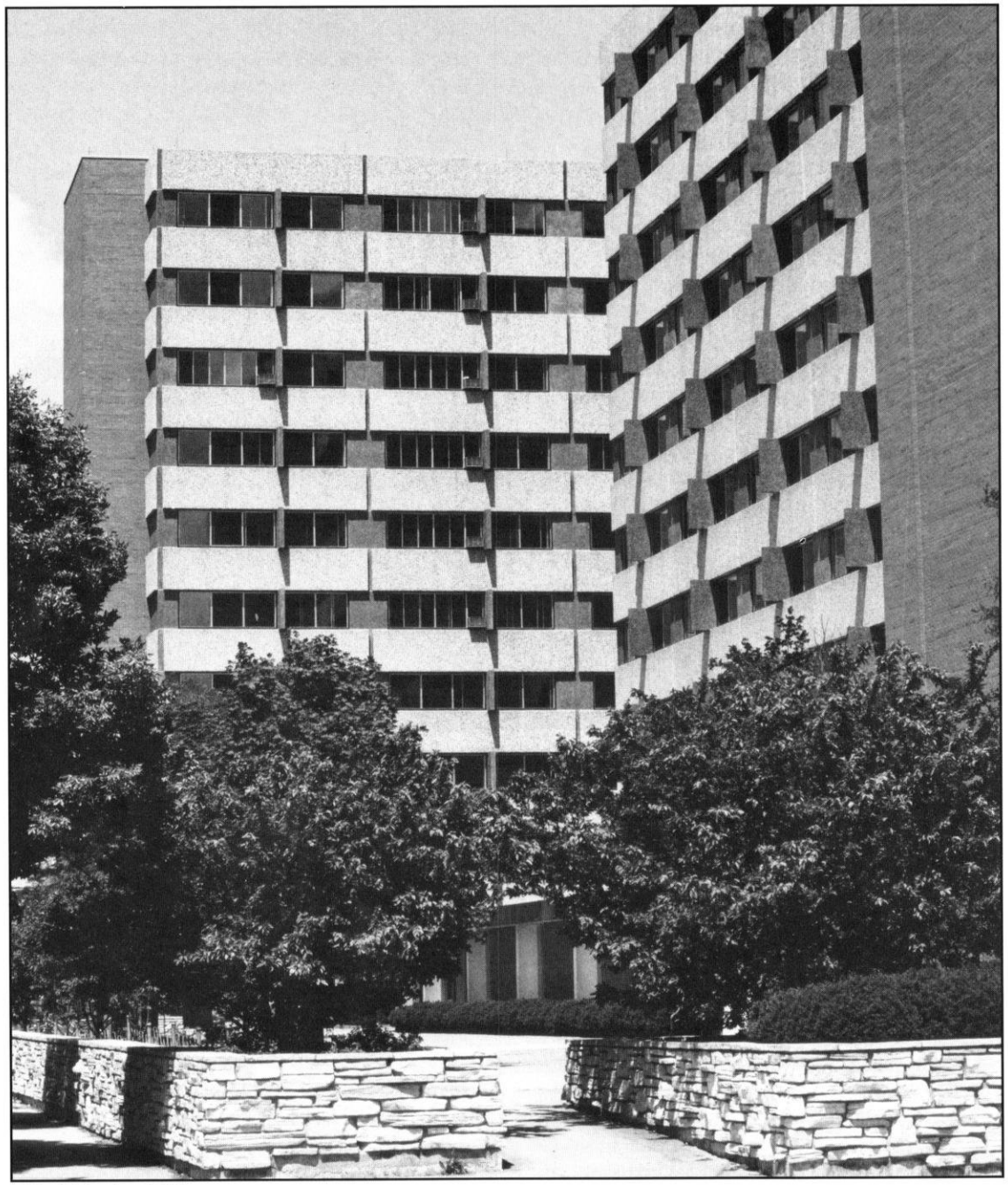
Merit House, 1987

citizenship training, social education, and counseling; fireproofing of all units; and adequate parking.[28]

President Conrad Elvehjem (who succeeded E. B. Fred)[29] pushed the plan, warning that although the past year had seen a housing surplus, nevertheless, "this fall we have a larger number of students coming to the University than . . . anticipated." As a result, he warned, "we are going to be short on housing." Elvehjem presented the following recommendation for regent action:

> That, subject to the approval of the Coordinating Committee for Higher Education . . . the State Building Commission [be authorized to prepare] analysis sketches and budget preliminaries for dormitories to house approximately 1000 single undergraduate students and for apartments to house about 200 married students. . . ."[30]

A lengthy discussion of the motion followed, covering a wide range of issues and concerns. Regent Oscar Rennebohm, for example, worried about "taking property off the tax rolls." He also questioned the policy of making life on campus better "than 80% of [the students] are used to at home." Perhaps, he wondered aloud, the University might not just be making it a little too easy for students to attend college. Director Newell Smith, meanwhile, was concerned about financing, noting that, unlike in the recent past, borrowing might have to come from private sources rather than the federal government.



Witte Hall, circa 1975

The final word came from University Vice-President Peterson. If the state did not begin purchasing the houses and land under discussion, Peterson warned, this other wrangling would become pointless. A vote was finally taken and the motion as proposed by Elvehjem carried. Not one to think small, Vice-President for Academic Affairs Fred Harvey Harrington then stated that "if the Regents have no objections . . . we are going to have a thousand units [built] a year from now on." Regent Robert C. Bassett replied that he was not sure if Harrington's statement was a fair summary of what the regents had just voted on; President Elvehjem said determining the exact number of units was not yet possible.[31] The Division of Residence Halls was off and running on a student housing building program, the likes of which the University had never seen before and most likely will never see again.

The Southeast Dormitory Area

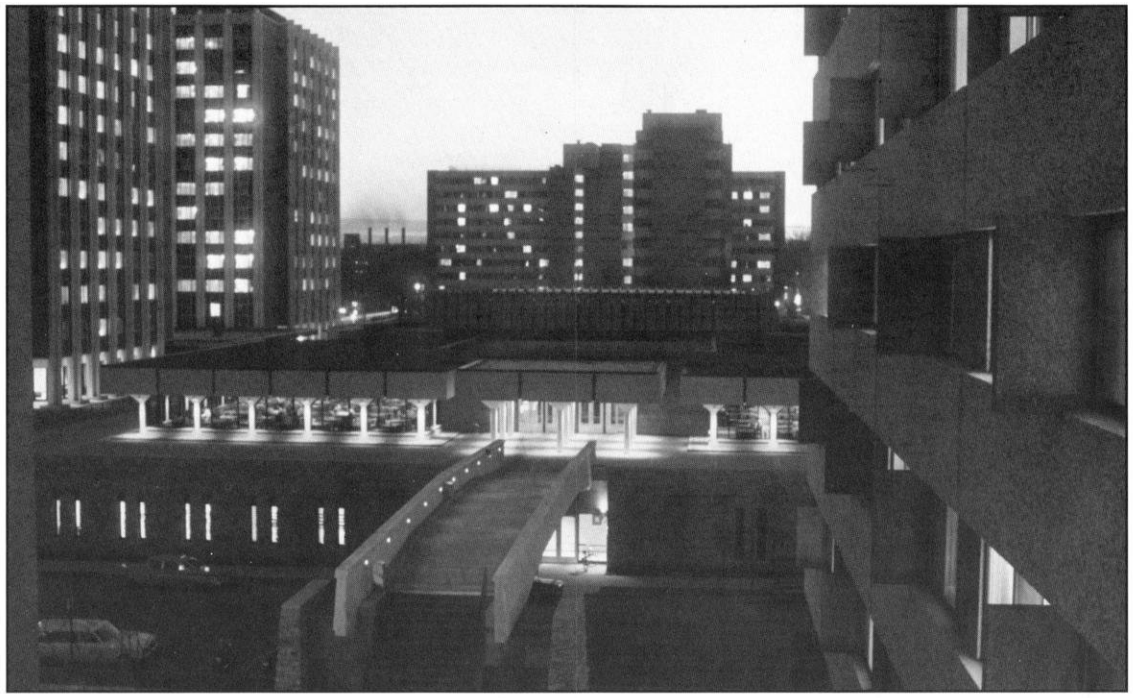
On September 9, 1960, Kurt Wendt, dean of the College of Engineering and chairman of the University Campus Planning Commission, presented to the Board of Regents, at the request of President Elvehjem, a proposal relating to sites for additional dormitories. Relying heavily on the Sketch Plan and the Division of Residence Halls' Ten Year Plan, Wendt's proposal called for "apartment-type units for both men and women in the area east of Lake Street; graduate dormitory facilities in the area between North Park Street, West Johnson Street, North Murray Street, and Conklin Place"; and three "conventional type dormitories" (high-rises) to be built on a location bounded by Park Street, Dayton Street, Lake Street, and West Johnson Street. Of this ambitious plan, only the last of the three proposals came to be.[32]

The first proposal, dealing with "apartment-type units," was denied funding by the legislature. The second proposal, for a graduate dormitory facility, though reworked numerous times in planning, was never built. To meet the needs of planning and constructing the three high-rise dormitories and a food service building, Director of Residence Halls Newell Smith appointed

Lawrence Halle to oversee the construction project.[33]

Nothing was going to be built anywhere, Vice-President A. W. Peterson said to anyone who cared to listen, unless the University began buying the houses located on the sixteen acres of land needed to provide space for the dormitories. Peterson must have breathed a sigh of relief when, at the February 10, 1961, regents' meeting, the board finally authorized Peterson and the WUBC "to conclude the purchasing of properties needed for the first units of dormitory construction in the southeast dormitory area." During the same meeting the board went a step further, allowing the University to hire retired Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds A. F. Gallistel to assist Peterson in this task "on an hourly basis." Shortly thereafter, Peterson and Gallistel began the incredibly time-consuming and frustrating job of acquiring the dozens of properties in the area.[34]

In March of 1961 Kurt Wendt, at the request of President Elvehjem, reported to the regents on the basic plan for what had by then become known as "Southeast Dormitory Area." The plan called for three dormitory units, two with twin towers eight stories high, and the third with a single tower fourteen stories high. Each tower was to house 500 men and women, with the third dormitory having space for 1,000. Asked by Regent DeBardeleben about the decision for the floor heights, Leo Jakobson, a professor of urban and regional planning and a member of the University Campus Planning Commission, explained that for elevators to be cost-efficient, buildings must be "eight or nine stories in height" and that if a dormitory exceeds fourteen stories "the costs become greater because of the need for additional elevator capacity." In addition, as the minutes read, "Professor Jakobson also noted that there were certain aesthetic considerations in planning the dormitory structures with different heights." Finally, Wendt noted that the original plan was to have the food service located south of West Dayton Street. "Following a detailed study by the Division of Residence Halls of problems in connection with transporting food," Wendt told the board, "the decision was reached to have a combined food preparation and dining facility located just south of West Johnson Street. . . ."



Gordon Commons, Ogg, and Sellery Halls, circa 1965

Picnic activities, southeast halls

Southeast Halls in foreground, 1965

As in the planning of Chadbourne Hall, the Division of Residence Halls sought to maintain the traditional housing goals of an intimate atmosphere through careful building design. House size was held to a minimum, a central location for the community area was again employed, and architectural design elements, such as low ceilings in the lounge area were used to foster the division's goals. The initial plans incorporating the division's recommendations were approved.[35]

The final challenge came at the next regent meeting, when State Architect Karel Yasko presented his plans to the board on May 12, 1961. The debate that followed revolved not so much around Yasko's plans as around dollars and cents. The problem was basic. "This is the first dormitory project, other than the Modest Rental Dormitories," A. W. Peterson noted, "where the project has had to stand the cost of land." (The cost of the land in this case was about $1,000,000 per square block.) To finance the purchase of the land needed, Newell Smith estimated that dormitory rates would have to be increased by an average of $100 per year. When Smith noted that 600 parking spaces were needed for hall residents, and that television would be readily available, regent reaction was predictable. "I have always objected to out-of-town students owning cars at all," Regent Ellis E. Jensen fumed. "I have a number of serious questions about the entire project," he went on. "It seems to me

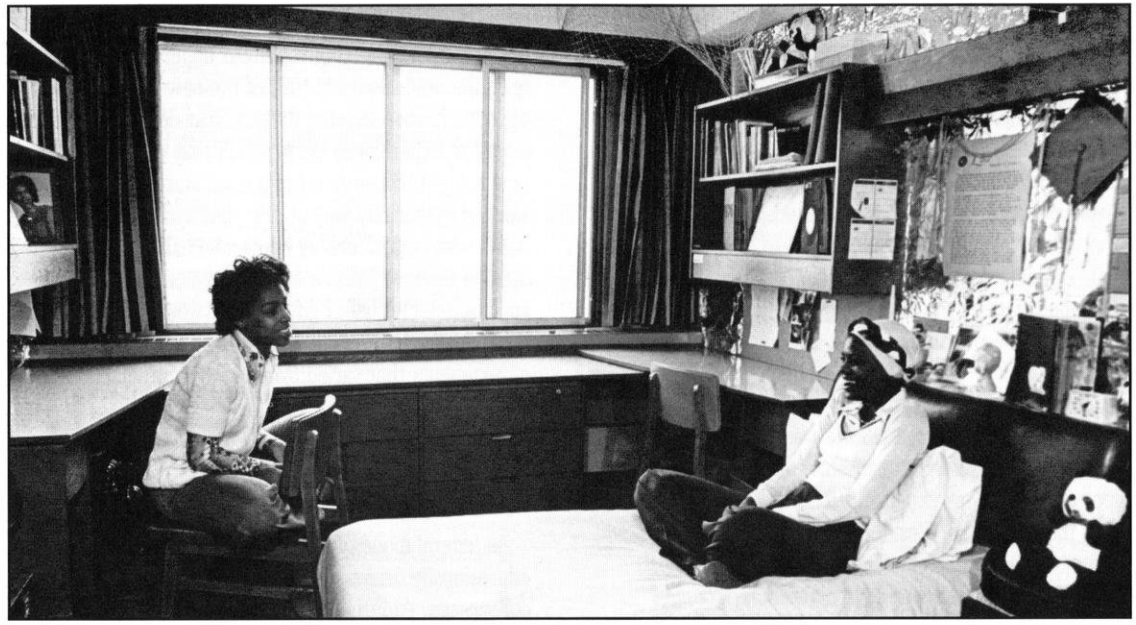
it appears to be a club, instead of a dormitory for serious purpose." Other regents joined in as the discussion moved from "the national disgrace of TV," to building dormitories that encourage "a more Spartan-like existence." The point was made that dormitory rates should not be raised to where "the demand is limited to the economic status of the parents of the students," and the hypothetical student "ends up paying $200 more than she should for the dormitory she is in." In the end it was moved to adopt the architect's recommendations. The motion carried with only Regent Jensen voting against it.[36]

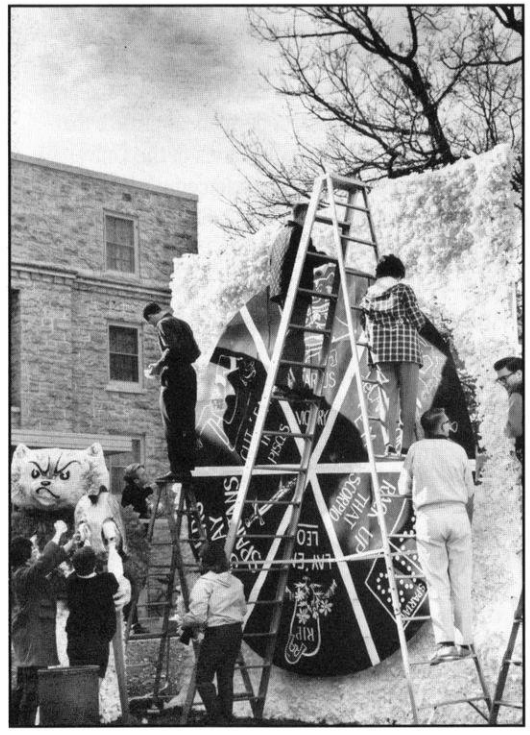
From there matters moved quickly. The board approved preliminary plans and specifications for the first Southeast Dormitory (Sellery Hall) at its July 1961 meeting. Final plans were approved five months later. Plans and specifications for what would become Witte and Ogg Halls, and Gordon Commons were discussed as bids were accepted, contracts rewarded, and construction begun on Sellery Hall.[37]

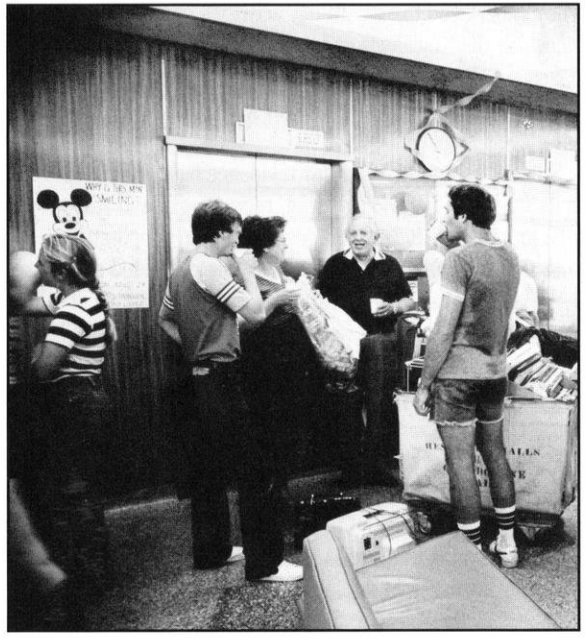
Sellery Hall opened in the fall of 1963. Its opening, in contrast to that of Tripp and Adams halls nearly forty years earlier, went virtually unnoticed in the *Daily Cardinal*. The focus of campus life had shifted to other concerns, the conflict in Vietnam and civil rights among them. When Witte Hall opened in 1964 and Gordon Commons and Ogg Hall opened in 1965, construction of the Southeast Dormitories was completed.

House Fellows and Student Self-Government

As the external structure of housing expanded and changed to meet the needs of the University, the internal structure of the house fellow system changed as well. At the time of the opening of the Holt units in 1958, the house fellow programs in men's and women's residence halls was staffed entirely by graduate students. A head fellow supervised male fellows and the head resident in each of the halls for women supervised female fellows. The head fellows and the head residents reported directly to an area manager. Traditionally, the house fellows received room, board, and in the case of







Students in Ogg Hall, 1976 (top)
Homecoming decorating, circa 1950s (left)
Moving in, circa 1978 (above)

those from out of state, waiver of non-resident tuition as compensation. However, the University discontinued granting this tuition waiver for house fellows in 1971. This action made the fellow position less attractive to graduate students, the majority of whom were out-of-state residents. At about the same time, the availability of federal grants for research increased, as did the need for graduate teaching assistants because of larger enrollments of undergraduates. These factors provided many more opportunities for graduate students to finance their education while remaining in jobs allied with their academic work.

As the new high-rise dormitories were built and as the program expanded, house fellows were increasingly drawn from the undergraduate student population. To supervise these less experienced fellows, in the mid-1960s the Division of Residence Halls established program advisers for each building. These full-time Residence Halls staff members held master's degrees in student personnel or counseling and guidance programs. They supervised the day-to-day activities of the house fellows in their buildings and reported directly to area managers. It was during this period that the professionalization of the house fellow system at its supervisory levels began.[38]

Student self-government for residence halls continued in its function of providing social, recreational, and athletic programs. Student self-government, in cooperation with the Division of Residence Halls, also provided other services to enhance dormitory life. A prime example of these support programs was the Lakeshore Halls Association store, started by the Men's Dormitory Association in 1929–30, which grew over time to become "one of the largest student-controlled stores in the country."[39]

The opening of the high-rise halls in the mid-1960s challenged the existing structure of student self-government. The first attempt was to simply set up self-government in the new halls as an extension of the structure prevalent in the existing halls. It soon became evident that the size, location, and internal layout of the new halls would make this difficult. The next approach was to try and establish self-government in the new halls patterned after that in the old halls, but functioning separately. To accomplish this, the new halls were "colonized" by transferring volunteer upper-class students from the old halls to fill 10% of the new halls as they opened. It was intended that the transfers would provide a core of experienced participants that would get the new hall governments off to a good start. This effort worked reasonably well at first, but as a cadre of residents with experience as house and hall officers developed in the new halls, it became evident that different approaches to student government would be instituted. What finally developed was a system of individual hall governments that varied from highly centralized to relatively decentralized.[40]

Conclusion

As federal money flowed freely, and as a larger, more educationally oriented generation of students came of college age, American universities entered a new period of growth. In the 1950s and 1960s, the University of Wisconsin no longer engaged in the frantic construction of temporary facilities that had characterized the years after World War II. Instead, campus officials and planners instituted a program of permanent growth that would shape the physical boundaries of the University for decades to come. Housing had come a long way since a handful of boys first spent the 1851–52 school year in the confines of North Dormitory.

There must have been a sigh of relief when Ogg Hall opened its doors in the fall of 1965. The time had come to enjoy the fruits of the labors of such people as Charles S. Slichter, Harold C. Bradley, Scott Goodnight, Otto Kowalke, Donald Halverson, Lee Burns, Newell Smith, and of so many others who had helped pave the way toward this moment in the history of housing.

ENDNOTES

Note: Much of the information cited in these notes, including the Regents' Reports, can be found in the University of Wisconsin Archives, located in the basement of the Memorial Library, University of Wisconsin–Madison, telephone (608) 262–3290.

1. UW Regents' Minutes, 14 November 1953.
2. UW Regents' Minutes, 16 June 1955.
3. UW Regents' Minutes, 8 May 1954; UW Regents' Minutes, 25 September 1954; UW Regents' Minutes, 12 March 1955; UW Regents' Minutes, 10 September 1955.
4. UW Regents' Minutes, 10 December 1955; "Dave Schreiner, UW Football Star, Hero in Battle, Laid to Final Rest," *Wisconsin State Journal*, 14 April 1949.
5. "Annual Report of the Board of Visitors," 16 March 1956, p. 6, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 79; also found in UW Regents' Minutes, 12 May 1956. For information on the construction of Davis and Rust Houses, see UW Regents' Minutes, 7 October 1960; UW Regents' Minutes, 6 June 1961; UW Regents' Minutes, 8 December 1961; UW Regents' Minutes, 9 February 1962; UW Regents' Minutes, 9 March 1962; and UW Regents' Minutes, 4 May 1962.
6. UW Regents' Minutes, 6 February 1954.
7. The first group of apartments, the 100s, were originally called the Pharmaceutical Gardens Apartments; the second group, the 200s, were called the Eagle Heights Apartments. Eventually all the units became known as Eagle Heights. ("Blueprints for Pharmaceutical Garden Apartments [100s]," prepared by Gausewitz and Cashin, 6 July 1956, Division of Residence Halls Papers; "Blueprints for Eagle Heights Apartments [200s] . . . ," 12 September 1957.) UW Regents' Minutes, 25 September 1954; UW Regents' Minutes, 12 February 1955.
8. The question of accepting federal aid, especially as red tape became more of a problem, was much debated by the regents. In June of 1956, for example, Regent Chester O. Wanvig complained of "the unnecessary expense and complication encountered in obtaining money from the federal government for purposes which are really the responsibility of the State." It was pointed out to Wanvig that UW had received nearly $1 million that year from the federal government. Regent Renk, speaking for those in favor of accepting the aid, noted that although he too found the process "irritating," the University "should still be pleased to get dormitories built by accepting federal aid." (UW Regents' Minutes, 14 June 1956.) UW Regents' Minutes, 16 June 1955.
9. UW Regents' Minutes, 6 October 1956; UW Regents' Minutes, 8 December 1956.
10. UW Regents' Minutes, 12 January 1957; UW Regents' Minutes, 20 June 1957. It should be pointed out that Eagle Heights was, as housing projects since Tripp and Adams halls had been, a self-amortizing project.
11. (UW Regents' Minutes, 6 September 1963; UW Regents' Minutes, 8 May 1964.) UW Regents' Minutes, 29 July 1961; UW Regents' Minutes, 4 May 1962; UW Regents' Minutes, 6 September 1963; UW

Regents' Minutes, 6 December 1963; and UW Regents' Minutes, 8 May 1964.

12. L. Joseph Lins, "Fact Book For History of Madison Campus" [prepared for UW History Project, 1983].

13. Mark H. Ingraham, "The University of Wisconsin, 1925–1950," in *The University of Wisconsin: One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years*, ed. Allan G. Bogue and Robert Taylor (Madison:Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1975), p.74.

14. The Division of Physical Plant Planning was reorganized in the late 1950s, after which time it was known as the Department of Planning and Construction. Lawrence Halle interview with Barry Teicher, 31 October 1985, on file with UW History Project; John A. Paulson interview with Barry Teicher, 11 August 1986, on file with UW History Project.

15. UW Regents' Minutes, 6 February 1954; UW Regents' Minutes, 12 February 1955.

16. UW Regents' Minutes, 16 June 1955; UW Regents' Minutes, 10 September 1955.

17. At its June 14, 1956, meeting, the Board of Regents employed the First Wisconsin Trust Company of Milwaukee "on the basis of their offer dated May 10, 1956, to act as Trustee in connection with the bonds to be issued." (UW Regents' Minutes, 14 June 1956.) UW Regents' Minutes, 10 December 1955; UW Regents' Minutes, 20 June 1957; Lins, "Fact Book for History of Madison Campus."

18. "Chadbourne Hall," 1955, Division of Residence Halls Permanent File; Lawrence Halle interview, 31 October 1985.

19. UW Regents' Minutes, 16 November 1957.

20. UW Regents' Minutes, 16 November 1957; UW Regents' Minutes, 14 December 1957.

21. UW Regents' Minutes, 20 June 1957.

22. UW Regents' Minutes, 7 September 1957; UW Regents' Minutes, 16 November 1957; UW Regents' Minutes, 10 April 1958; UW Regents' Minutes, 3 May 1958; UW Regents' Minutes, 17 June 1958. Cole Hall was named after Dr. Llewellyn R. Cole, former director of the Department of Student Health, Sullivan Hall after Richard E. Sullivan, a former house fellow in the lakeshore area as well as former director of the Industrial Management Institute, and Holt Commons after F. O. Holt, former director of the Bureau of Guidance and Records.

23. UW Regents' Minutes, 7 April 1956; UW Regents' Minutes, 12 May 1956; UW Regents' Minutes, 20 June 1957; UW Regents' Minutes, 7 September 1957; Lins, "Fact Book for History of Madison Campus."

24. Kenneth L. Stoner and Christopher W. Thurman, "The Effects of Density in a High-Rise Residence Hall on Helping Behavior and Social Interaction," *Journal of College and University Student Housing*, 8 (1978):14.

25. Faculty Document 1365, "The Sketch Plan for the University of Wisconsin at Madison, A First Progress Report on the Development of a General Campus Plan," December 1958, pp.5–13, UW Archives, 1/1/3, Box 84.

26. "Sketch Plan," pp.7–8.

27. "Sketch Plan," pp.8–9. The Sketch Plan was the first of three steps in the general campus development plan. Step two was the Tentative (or working) Plan; and step three the General Plan itself. We have limited ourselves to the Sketch Plan because it serves as a good introduction to the Division of Residence Halls' Ten Year Plan.

28. "Proposed Ten Year Construction Program for the Division of Residence Halls," as summarized in UW Regents' Minutes, 8 November 1960.

29. Conrad Elvehjem succeeded E. B. Fred as UW president; he served from 1958 until his death in 1962.

30. Created in 1955 by the legislature, the Coordinating Committee for Higher Education (CCHE) was set up to coordinate the activities of UW and the state colleges and institutes, as well as to recommend necessary changes in programs and facilities. "Transcript of Notes from Regents' Meeting," 8 November 1960.

31. "Transcript of Notes from Regents' Meeting," 8 November 1960.

32. Eventually the boundaries would be expanded to North Park Street, West Johnson Street, Frances Street, and the Illinois-Central Railroad right-of-way. UW Regents' Minutes, 9 September 1969.

33. UW Regents' Minutes, 9 September 1960; Lawrence Halle interview, 31 October 1985. Later in the 1960s, the plans for a graduate dormitory facility were enlarged into plans for a Graduate Center, to be built on the site of what is now the Vilas Communication Arts Building. Lawrence Halle remembers that part of the plan called for the relocation of the University Bookstore—slated for demolition because of the Memorial Library addition—to the complex. A failed financing attempt with Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, and the reluctance of several University Avenue merchants to join in on the venture eventually led Chancellor Robben Fleming to call off the project, substituting in its place an urban renewal plan for the area, to be worked out jointly with the city of Madison. As it turned out, the city's half of the project became what is now University Square Four, a complex of stores; the University purchased a number of businesses on University Avenue, and its half became a parking lot. Plans were begun in early 1986, however, to convert the area into student apartments. Regarding graduate student housing, Witte Hall, one of the three dormitories built in the Southeast Dormitory Area, had one of its two towers reserved for graduate student housing through the mid-1970s.

34. The UW Regents' Minutes list all property purchases. Apparently Peterson and Gallistel became very proficient at the job, as they soon devised a "formula" for determining property worth. (See, for example, UW Regents' Minutes, 11 October 1963.) UW Regents' Minutes, 10 February 1961.

35. UW Regents' Minutes, 10 March 1961; Lawrence Halle interview, 31 October 1985.

36. UW Regents' Minutes, 12 May 1961. Regent Jensen went on at great length arguing, among other things, that to encourage walking there should be no elevators for the first four floors. He ended by saying, "We cannot pound at them in the classroom and ask them to get serious, and provide them with living quarters where the invitation is to have a four-year loaf! That's the thing on my mind!"

37. The dormitories were named after: George Clarke Sellery, dean of the College of Letters & Science; Edwin E. Witte, professor of economics; Frederick A. Ogg, professor of political science; and Edgar B. Gordon, director of the School of Music.
UW Regents' Minutes, 20 July 1961; UW Regents' Minutes, 8 December 1961. For the planning and construction of Southeast Area Dorm No. 2 (Witte Hall), see the Minutes of the following Board of Regents' Meetings: 13 July 1962; 9 November 1962; 7 December 1962; 11 January 1963; 8 February 1963; 6 March 1964; 8 June 1964; and 20 August 1965. For Southeast Area Dorm No. 3 (Ogg Hall), see the Minutes for: 8 February 1963; 5 April 1963; 10 May 1963; 6 September 1963; 11 October 1963; 6 December 1963; 5 March 1965; 9 April 1965; 10 October 1965; and 7 January 1966.

38. Newell Smith, Lawrence Halle, and George Gurda interview with the authors, 8 August 1986, on file with UW History Project.

39. Smith, Halle, and Gurda interview, 8 August 1986.

40. Smith, Halle, and Gurda interview, 8 August 1986.

University of Wisconsin Housing Chronology

1851 North Hall opens.

1855 South Hall opens.

1863 University women take up residence in South Hall.

1867–68 Female College established.

1871 Female College Building opens.
Men reoccupy South Hall.

1874 Female College Building renamed Ladies' Hall.

1885 Men's dormitories in North and South Halls closed.

1901 Ladies' Hall renamed Chadbourne Hall.

1904 Van Hise inaugural address.

1908 Architectural Commission campus plan completed.

1910 Lathrop Hall opens.

1913 Barnard Hall opens.

1924 Department of Halls and Commons renamed Department of Dormitories and Commons.
Donald Halverson appointed Director of Dormitories and Commons.
Dormitory Committee appointed.

1926 Van Hise units (including Tripp and Adams Halls) open.
House Fellow System put into effect.

1927 Experimental College occupies Adams Hall.

1929 Report on University City submitted to regents.

1938 A, B, and C of Kronshage units open.

1939 Remaining five dormitories and dining facility of Kronshage units open.

1940 Elizabeth Waters Hall opens.
Department of Dormitories and Commons renamed Division of Residence Halls.

1945 Lee Burns appointed Director of Division of Residence Halls.
Camp Randall trailer camp opens.

1946 Truax Field facility opens.
Badger Ordnance Works facility opens.

1947 University Houses open.

1954 Newell Smith appointed Director of Division of Residence Halls.

1955 Bayliss and Schreiner houses open.

1957 Eagle Heights apartments open.

1958 Holt units on Elm Drive open.

1959 Second set of Elm Drive units opens.
New Chadbourne Hall opens.

1960 Ten Year Housing Plan prepared.

1961 Davis House opens.

1963 Rust House opens.
Sellery Hall, first building of Southeast Dormitory Area, opens.

1964 Witte Hall opens.

1965 Ogg Hall and Gordon Commons open.

1986 Merit House opens.

EPILOGUE

This history of housing at the University of Wisconsin–Madison ends in 1965 with the completion of Ogg Hall and Gordon Commons. The years immediately following brought substantial student unrest and activism, and many changes for the campus and the city. All of this made a significant impact on students, the University, and student housing.

The political, economic, social, and educational events that occurred in the United States after 1950 laid the foundation for student attitudes and actions in the 1960s and early 1970s. Some of the key factors were the unpopular Korean and Vietnam Wars, a booming economy, the civil rights movement, and the expansion of federal and state student loan programs. The generation of students brought up in the 1950s and 1960s were taught to utilize the "scientific method," and question facts and authority in general. This contributed to the campus unrest that occurred across the United States in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The most significant student attitude that developed during the 1960s was the distrust of authority, which led to the questioning and challenging of national and state laws, university policies and regulations, and traditional parental values. Restrictive rules in university housing, based on the old principle of in loco parentis, were attacked; women's hours, visiting between the sexes and consumption of alcohol were the greatest irritants. It was a difficult time for University Housing staff as well as for all student services staff in the University. Rules were eventually liberalized or abolished, but it took time to consider and resolve the strong feelings held by legislators, regents, parents, and the general public.

The substantial increase in local apartment construction by private capital in the 1960s coincided with the students' desire for more privacy and freedom in their living arrangements. This resulted in a reduction of student interest in residence halls, sororities, and fraternities, which all experienced serious financial consequences.

Along with the drop in demand for university housing came student criticism of the conventional residence halls' system of food service and the regulations governing student conduct. The traditionally strong identification with the living unit was weakened because a number of students chose to identify with the political and social issues of the day. This caused some reduction in the effectiveness of house fellows and the house system, which had served the residence halls so well over the years.

The capacity of university housing was reduced in 1971 and 1972 through conversion of two housing buildings and one food service building to academic, research, and adult education uses to reduce occupancy losses. Demands for a student labor union culminated in strikes by student employees in both those years, which exacerbated the financial adjustment problems.

To increase student satisfaction, new ideas were developed in all areas of housing operations. Major changes included a radically different, flexible food service plan and coeducational housing for students who wanted it. Student attitudes changed as the 1970s progressed; trust and confidence returned, bringing strong student demand for campus housing once again. The house system with house fellows and student self-government that had come through trying times renewed its role and began to flourish again. The events in this exciting period of university housing are left for future historians to chronicle.

Newell J. Smith
George F. Gurda
Lawrence E. Halle
July 1987

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