

Wisconsin, the New Home of the Jew

150 Years of Jewish Life at the
University of Wisconsin–Madison

Jonathan Z. S. Pollack

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150 Years of Jewish Life at the University of Wisconsin–Madison
By Jonathan Z. S. Pollack
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Back cover image: World War II-era promotional photo of “Hillel Bombshell Ball” dance, WHS Image ID 143294

To Julie and Peter Weil—
may their support for this project inspire
other dedicated alumni to commit to uncovering
the Jewish history of college communities.

Members 1st Semester 1923-24

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Alk, Louis		" " " "	"
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Cohen, Morris	a ✓	823 N. Johnson St.	B 7762
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Introduction

On February 2, 1930, the University of Wisconsin was a topic of concern in the English-language pages of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the nation's most popular Yiddish newspaper. The article "Too Many Jews?" described rising anti-Semitism on the bucolic Madison campus, as well as a divided Jewish campus community struggling as to how vehemently to respond to it. In particular, the article discussed a lawsuit filed by Mildred Gordon, a Jewish UW student who had signed a lease for an off-campus apartment for the fall 1929 semester. When she showed up to move in, she was told that they had found enough non-Jewish students to fill the building, so she could not have the apartment she had leased. The reporter, UW sophomore Nathan Leichman from Providence, Rhode Island, wrote: "Whether Wisconsin, the new home of the Jew, will have to battle against further inroads of anti-Semitism, is a mooted point. Perhaps the decision of the board of regents when Dr. Frank returns will be an indication."

The University's president, Glenn Frank, was out of town when the article was published. The Board of Regents had been entertaining

a motion to stop referring UW students to buildings that discriminated on the basis of race, religion, or nationality. When Frank returned, the motion was rejected, making clear the indication.

“The new home of the Jew” referred to the influx of Jewish students from New York, and the East Coast more generally, to Wisconsin in the 1920s. Termed “migratory students,” they came to a university that had flung open its doors to the bright and eager Jewish out-of-state students who were shut out of most Ivy League and elite eastern colleges by quotas Harvard University imposed in 1922. Unlike the many colleges that wanted to be like Harvard by imposing similar quotas, the University of Wisconsin wanted to attract the talent to be a world-class university by welcoming Jewish students.

However, the Jewish students of the 1920s faced a surprising level of anti-Semitism from the university that had sought them out. In 1926 Alex Stern could not get a part-time student job in the UW library system, and in 1928 a student club was formed at UW for the sole purpose of holding prom-like dances, like those of the Greek-letter associations, without having to invite Jewish students. Although the University shut down the club and transferred the library official who had publicly revealed that the library would not hire Jews, housing discrimination continued unabated and Alex Stern did not get his part-time job.

The 1920s were emblematic of the University’s uneven responses to anti-Semitism during the 150 years of Jewish presence at UW. When Philip Stein came from Waukesha to attend UW in 1861, he graduated as valedictorian of his class, and in the 1880s and 1890s, Sarah Belle Flesh and Adele Szold were able to join sororities that did not yet exclude Jews. However, Joseph Jastrow, the only Jewish professor at the time, was paid less than his colleagues were and the only two other Jews who taught at UW in the nineteenth century were hired on one-year appointments.

In the 1930s, anti-Semitism was coded through the stereotype of the Jewish UW student as both a New York outsider and an

undesirable radical, an aspersion that became part of the fabric of the University. After World War II, UW departments began to lift their implicit quotas and bans on hiring Jewish professors, but it was not until 1953 that UW enforced any fair housing standards for campus landlords. As the civil rights and antiwar movements roared into Madison with many Jewish students as leaders, the view of Jewish students as being East Coast radicals returned with a vengeance. This time, the University responded with out-of-state admission quotas to drastically reduce the number of Jewish students attending UW. In the 1970s the Administration refused to establish a Jewish studies department similar to those being created in all major universities throughout the country, and by the 1980s a new stereotype emerged of Jews at UW, particularly Jewish women, labeling them wealthy and materialistic. However, when a wave of anti-Semitic violence and vandalism hit the campus in 1990 and when the new stereotype led to harassment of Jewish students in the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s, the University responded quickly and decisively.

Although as feared by Nathan Leichman, Jews who followed him at UW did have to battle further inroads of anti-Semitism, the one constant that created an abiding, varied, and enriching community for Jewish students, faculty, and staff at UW was their early and enthusiastic embrace and continuing support of Jewish institutions and associations on campus. The Menorah Society, modeled on popular literary and debate societies, started a chapter at UW in 1911, only five years after the society was founded at Harvard in 1906. A Zionist group was established at UW in 1915, the first of many to follow. The short-lived Jewish Students’ Association brought Reform Judaism to campus in 1919. Much longer-lasting Jewish fraternities and sororities created their first chapters at UW in 1921. In 1924, UW’s Hillel was the second in the nation, opening only one year after the first chapter at the University of Illinois, and it quickly and enduringly became the anchor of Jewish life on campus. It provided Shabbat and holiday services, classes, meeting sites, social gatherings,

and leadership for various religious and political movements, such as support for Israel and emigration of Russian Jews. During World War II, it hosted dances for Jewish GIs, and its director performed weddings for two couples who met there. At the height of the antiwar movement, Hillel served as a medical center for UW students injured by tear gas during demonstrations and provided treatment by Jewish medical students. It eventually became the umbrella for more than thirty Jewish student organizations, ranging from Israel trips to public service to sports to a cappella. By the end of the twentieth century, Jewish alumni provided the endowments for the establishment of a Jewish studies program at UW, funding professorships, scholarships, and programs in Jewish history, philosophy, literature, arts, and music.

This is the story of the Jews who made UW their home. It is about the Jewish students, faculty, staff, alumni, and campus community leaders whose daily lives, accomplishments, contributions, and challenges throughout the decades formed the history of 150 years of Jewish life at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. ❖

"Too Many Jews"

The Forward Today Presents
A Complete and Dispassionate Account of the Strained Relations Existing Between the Jewish and the Gentile Student Bodies at the Famous State University

by
NATHAN S. LEICHMAN

MADISON, WIS., Jan. 31. — When Mrs. Meta Berger, widow of the late Victor Berger, and regent of the University of Wisconsin, introduced a resolution before the board of regents on January 15 that rooming houses which discriminate against race, creed, or nationality should officially be discredited, it was a sign that the Gordon suit had finally aroused to action one regent, who is determined to stop the recent wave of anti-Semitism before it overflows its banks.

No action will be taken on her resolution until President Glenn Frank returns from his Southern tour. Mrs. Berger's resolution follows:

"Be it resolved that it is the sense of the board of regents that the authority with power to place rooming houses and halls housing girl students of this university on the accredited list, shall not place on the accredited list any rooming house which in any way discriminates against any students on account of race, creed, or nationality."

Many instances have occurred recently where Jewish girls, especially those from New York, have been refused the right to lease rooms merely because they were Jewish. The latest incident to come to light is that of Mildred Gordon, a Jewish girl from Chicago, who has just started suit for \$10,000 against the officers of Langdon Hall, a women's private dormitory at the university, on the grounds that she was caused humiliation, embarrassment, and mental anguish, for having been discriminated against because of her religion.

Miss Gordon charges that the owners of the dormitory have adopted an iron-bound policy to deny any Jewish girls at the University the right to live at the dormitory, although literature sent out by the owners does not indicate that there are rules discriminating against any race or religion.

The procedure in accepting applications, she claims, was to take the application of those that applied, Jew or Gentile. Then, when it seemed that enough Gentiles were certain to fill the Hall, those applications of the Jewish girls would be returned with a formally courteous note of refusal.

Miss Gordon says in her complaint that on August 31, 1929, she applied for a room at Langdon Hall and filled out a questionnaire, answering one question thereon with the statement that she was Jewish; since her application was accepted and a room reserved she had stationery and engraved cards printed with Langdon Hall as her Madison address.

When she arrived in Madison on September 19 to start school, and had her trunk delivered at Langdon Hall, she was denied admission. The hostess at the dormitory requested her to see the manager, Mr. Malone. "He refused," Miss Gordon stated. "He refused to arrange a room for me. He even offered to pay my hotel bill at the Hotel Lorraine, and this I considered an insult. The rooms had not been assigned when I filed my application. I was told that all rooms were filled."

Miss F. Louise Nardin, dean of women, insisted that Miss Gordon registered from Madison ten years ago. In 1919, 123 students

Leading Figures in Wisconsin "U" Affair



META BERGER



GLENN FRANK



ALEX. MEIKELJOHN

"Eastern Students Are Responsible for the Present Situation," Say University Officials — Meta Berger Champions Jewish Students in Their Fight Against Discrimination — Hillel Foundation Active on Campus

ance at the dances of the Memorial Union showed a tremendous decrease. Commenting upon such a situation, *The Capital Times*, local newspaper, printed the following open letter in its editorial columns:

"TO THE APEX DANCING CLUB
"Dear Students:
"Any group of students at the university has a right to organize in a social way to suit themselves and their narrow, snobbish instincts. It is unfortunate, however, that the organization of the Apex Dancing Club among fifteen fraternities at the university had its inspiration in the presence of Jewish students at Memorial Union dances. It would seem that intelligent students would acknowledge in such a place at least, the fact that thousands of Jewish young men laid down their lives in France, and the Memorial Union is to commemorate their valor and bravery, too. Our observation has always been that the campus snobs who are the most uppish and nose tilted usually come from hick backgrounds and surroundings, and haven't much in the 'social' inventory. This whole business is opposed to the ideals and traditions of a great state university—supported by ALL of the people of Wisconsin with the understanding that there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color."

The club's activities this year have been minor ones; for a time optimists thought the anti-Semitic feeling had died down. The formation of the Pot Pourri Club, an anti-Semitic organization, soon dispelled such illusions. No matter what clubs have been formed, or are to be formed, of this kind, the attitude of any officials is a silent one. "They are out of town". As a result of this apathetic attitude on the part of officials, the Wisconsin Student Independent, an independent, radical student magazine, attacked them.

"Dean Goodnight's (Dean of Men) refusal to discuss the affair (Apex Club) may be interpreted as a desire on his part to allow an unhealthy situation to die from neglect", it said. "The Daily Cardinal saw fit to devote only one editorial to it in which the writer condemned *The Capital Times* for having given publicity to it. Nothing has been heard from Solomon Landman (rabbi, and director of the Hillel Foundation, (the Jewish social centre)."

As a solution many Jews offered the opinion that if the Jews would stay at Hillel instead of mixing among the Gentiles, there might be a more amicable feeling among everyone. Rabbi Landman has been praised and blamed alternately for much good and bad feeling.

As an organizer, Dr. Landman is admirably well fitted for his task. He makes the Jewish student, especially one from any great distance, feel at home. In the few years since he has been here, Doc, as he is affectionately called, and Mrs. Landman, have been father and mother to many

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CHAPTER 1

From First Jewish Student to First Jewish Organization, 1861–1911

During the fifty years from 1861 when the first known Jewish student enrolled at the University of Wisconsin until 1911 when the Menorah Society, the first explicitly Jewish student organization at UW, was established, only a few dozen Jewish students and a handful of Jewish professors came to UW. It would be a stretch to call this group a campus Jewish community, as few of them had much connection to their Jewishness beyond their ancestry, and until the dawn of the twentieth century, only a smattering of Jews could be found on campus in any particular year. However, in some regards, these Jewish students enjoyed more freedom on campus than would decades of Jewish students who followed them. In accord with the practices of other universities across the country, fraternities and sororities at UW that admitted Jewish men and women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stopped doing so by 1920 and would not begin to do so again until after World War II. In addition, Madison landlords who would later discriminate against Jewish students did not seem to do so in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

PHILIP STEIN AND THE FIRST JEWISH STUDENTS AT UW

Philip Stein was the first known Jewish student at the University of Wisconsin. He was born in 1844 in the small town of Stahl, in Prussia, and he came to the United States after his father passed away. By the time Stein turned ten years old, he and his mother were living in rural Waukesha, Wisconsin. After a few years attending Milwaukee high schools, Stein made the trip to Madison in 1861 to attend UW, which at that time had roughly three hundred students.

While at UW, Stein excelled in his studies and extracurricular activities. He was a member of the Hesperia debating society, a club that debated other societies at UW and other colleges as part of the major spectator activity that debate was during the late nineteenth century. Although he was the youngest member of his class, Stein earned valedictorian honors on graduating in 1865.

Following graduation, Stein attended several German universities, earning a PhD along the way, and then returned to UW to earn a law degree in 1868. After that he moved to Chicago where, as was typical for the time, he joined a predominantly Jewish law practice. Stein was eventually elected to several terms as a superior court judge for Cook County.

Throughout his professional career, Stein was active in B'nai B'rith and its Anti-Defamation League offshoot, which was formed in 1914. He also kept up his ties to the University of Wisconsin; to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation, he wrote the cover story for the July 1915 issue of the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*.

From his extracurricular activities as a student to his successful law career and work in Jewish communal organizations, capped with his support for the University as an alumnus, Stein set a path that other Jewish students at UW would follow. Law became a common pursuit for Jewish students at the University of Wisconsin in the late nineteenth century. The legal profession in general grew during this time, and as attorneys could go into businesses for themselves, Jewish

attorneys could practice despite discriminatory hiring practices at established firms. Stein even hired Israel Shrimski, who left UW short of a degree in 1890, to work for his firm, creating a network of Jewish UW graduates in Chicago before the Wisconsin Alumni Association established a chapter there.

Salmon Dalberg, one of the first Jews from Madison to enroll at UW, practiced law in Wausau and Milwaukee. Brothers James Madison and Thomas Jefferson Pereles returned to their native Milwaukee to practice real estate law. Edward B. M. Browne, after receiving a law degree from UW in 1871, briefly served as the Madison synagogue's rabbi and went on to fight cases of anti-Semitism. He then settled in Atlanta and became the editor of *The Jewish South*, joining Jewish UW alumnus Alfred Patek in the newspaper business.

Most of the early Jewish graduates of UW came from well-to-do families. Gottlieb Engel and sisters Lena and Sophia Klauber came from families that ran successful businesses and held political office. The Pereles brothers were the sons of a prominent self-taught attorney in Milwaukee. However, siblings Salmon and Julia Dalberg came from a family that struggled financially; their father was a grocer who was often on the verge of bankruptcy. Similarly, Israel Shrimski's father was a peddler and small shopkeeper in Hudson, Wisconsin, which probably accounts for why Shrimski left UW before earning his degree.

Like Philip Stein, many of the earliest Jewish students at UW became active in alumni activities. Despite not having graduated, Israel Shrimski was active in the founding of the Wisconsin Alumni Association's Chicago chapter, and toward the end of his life, he provided essential funding and support for the Memorial Union. James Madison Pereles was one of the organizers of the Wisconsin Alumni Association chapter in Milwaukee, and he became the first Jewish member of the UW Board of Regents in 1902. After Salmon Dalberg was killed in an automobile accident in 1916, Julia Dalberg established a scholarship in his name to honor top graduates of the

University of Wisconsin Law School. One hundred years later, the scholarship still exists.

PIONEERING JEWISH FACULTY AT UW

Similar to the smattering of Jews who were students at UW in the nineteenth century, only a few Jews taught at the University during that time. Although the first Jews on the faculty were not active in Jewish organizational life, in Madison or nationally, their background marked them as outsiders in academia. Christianity, particularly Protestantism, infused American higher education at that time, reflecting many schools' origins as seminaries. (UW, however, was founded as a public university. It was incorporated in 1848 when Wisconsin achieved statehood.) Few Jews even thought about careers as professors at American universities. European universities were more prestigious, and so pursuing a graduate degree often required study abroad and then a return to the United States to teach. Further, long-established academic disciplines such as literature, classics, and history were hard for Jews to break into; American academics believed that traditional disciplines should be the purview of Christians, especially Christians with several generations' residence in the United States.

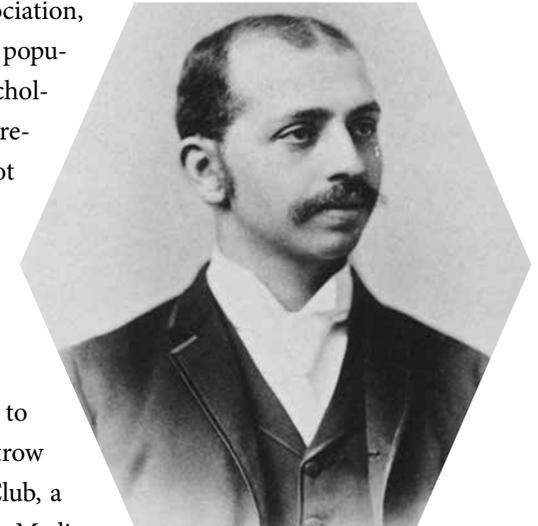
As a result, Jewish professors tended to cluster in new academic disciplines, like psychology, where there were no precedents of excluding Jews. Jewish faculty in American universities, like other Jews working in professional fields such as law and medicine at the time, were typically Reform or nonpracticing. Their Jewishness manifested itself in participation in fraternal organizations or simply as a matter of ancestral pride.

Joseph Jastrow was the first known Jewish professor at the University of Wisconsin. He was the first hire in the Psychology Department when he came to Madison in 1888. Jastrow's father was a prominent rabbi in Philadelphia, but Jastrow himself saw religion as

a kind of superstition and never joined a Madison synagogue or any Jewish organization. Jastrow's Jewishness was primarily a negative for him. Throughout his career at UW, he questioned why he was paid less than his peers, even though he published in the top psychology journals, served as the president of the American Psychological Association, and made a name for himself in popularizing the new science of psychology. Although the University's responses to his complaints did not mention Jastrow's background or religion, he was convinced that anti-Semitism was at the heart of the Administration's treatment of him.

Ironically, the closest thing to a Jewish organization that Jastrow joined was the Contemporary Club, a social organization sponsored by Madison's First Unitarian Church. During Jastrow's time in the Contemporary Club, several of his fellow club members had been members of the Reform congregation that leased its building to First Unitarian when the congregation disbanded in 1879.

Only two other Jews taught at UW in the nineteenth century, and they were on one-year appointments. Sarah Belle Flesh, in addition to being the first Jewish student to join a Greek-letter organization when she joined Delta Gamma in the late 1880s and the first Jewish graduate student at UW, became the second Jewish faculty member to teach at the University when she took a lectureship in elocution for the 1891-1892 academic year. Leon Mendez Solomons, a close friend of author Gertrude Stein both in California and in graduate school at Harvard, taught psychology at UW during the



Joseph Jastrow

1898-1899 academic year, while Joseph Jastrow was on sabbatical.

Neither Flesh nor Solomons continued on to academic glory elsewhere. Flesh married and worked with women's clubs, and Solomons died of a botched operation in 1900, shortly after taking a teaching position at the University of Nebraska.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, UW departments hired a few more Jewish faculty members, but nearly all of them were only retained as lecturers or other types of temporary hires. Milwaukee attorney Edwin S. Mack taught law from 1903 to 1906. Upon leaving the law school, he started the firm of Miller, Mack and Fairchild in Milwaukee, a rare example of a law firm that had Jewish and non-Jewish principals. Linguist Leonard Bloomfield was a teaching assistant in German while he did graduate work at UW from 1906 to 1908. He transferred to the University of Chicago and became a pioneer in the field of structural linguistics.

In the same decade, the University of Wisconsin College of Medicine hired two Jewish faculty members: Arthur S. Loevenhart, who was a professor of toxicology and pharmacology from 1909 until his death in 1929, and Joseph Erlanger, the medical school's first professor of physiology, who served as an associate professor from 1906 to 1910. Like many of their counterparts at other American universities, Loevenhart and Erlanger were both American-born, unlike the majority of American Jews during what was the peak of immigration to the United States. One of Erlanger's and Loevenhart's Jewish students, Platteville native Herbert Gasser, who graduated in 1910, later shared a Nobel Prize in medicine with Erlanger. Gasser taught physiology and pharmacology at UW from 1911 to 1916.

Aaron Arkin, while earning his master's degree, also taught pharmacology during the 1909-1910 academic year. In addition, Harry Kay, a 1909 UW graduate, ran a medical clinic near campus and served as an assistant in clinical medicine at the University for the 1910-1911 academic year. Kay went on to more than fifty years' work as a physician serving UW students from his office on University Avenue.

FROM JEWISH STUDENTS TO JEWISH STUDENT LIFE

It is hard to reconstruct what campus life would have been like for the half-dozen or so Jewish students who attended the University of Wisconsin each year in the 1890s, out of a campus of roughly two thousand students. The only archived window into Jewish students' experiences at that time comes from Adele Szold, Joseph Jastrow's sister-in-law, who lived with Jastrow and his wife while she attended UW for the 1895-1896 academic year.

Like Sarah Belle Flesh, Szold joined a sorority that would later exclude Jewish women—Kappa Alpha Theta. In an October 1895 letter home to her parents in Baltimore, Szold described meeting a “Mr. Goldsmith”—probably Walter Goldschmidt, a Jewish student from Milwaukee. She wrote that when she was talking with another student at a party, Goldschmidt came up and started talking to her, and “she could have hugged and cried over him,” because he started speaking German to her, and although she struggled at first, she found that “his German is exactly like ours, and it is that that made me want to hug him, his Jewish face, moreover, is so comfortable.” She described the conversation as “the pleasantest talk I have had with anyone [at UW] yet.” Szold left the University, for reasons she did not disclose, at the end of the academic year and returned to her parents' home in Baltimore.

In the 1890s, there were enough Jewish students at UW for them to meet and start romantic relationships. Rebecca Shapiro, a member of the only Jewish family in Medford, Wisconsin, graduated from the University with a degree in French, Italian, and Spanish in 1898. She earned a master's degree in French at UW in 1900 and went to Bryn Mawr College to continue her graduate work in the 1900-1901 academic year. She returned to Wisconsin to take a job as an assistant principal at the Grand Rapids High School (now Wisconsin Rapids Lincoln High) the following year and then married Ripon and Appleton native Richard Strauss, who had earned his pharmacy degree at UW in 1900. They settled in Marshfield.

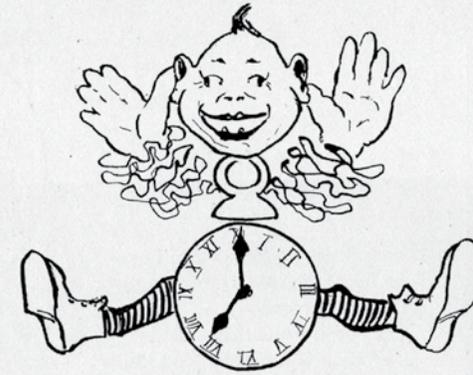
NEW KINDS OF JEWISH STUDENTS

By the late 1890s, a few Jewish students who had been born in Russia, or born in the US to newly arrived Russian Jewish immigrants, began to come to UW. They faced cultural conflicts that earlier Jewish students at UW had not; even the few earlier students who had been born in Europe, or born to immigrant parents, had come from the same kinds of comfortable homes as had their non-Jewish peers. Louis Wolfenson and Elias Tobenkin changed that. They represented a new sort of Jewish student at the University of Wisconsin—the poor but talented scholar.

Louis Wolfenson was born in La Crosse in 1882 to parents who had been part of the first large Russian Jewish migration to Wisconsin a year earlier. Wolfenson attended public schools in La Crosse, graduated from La Crosse Central High at age sixteen, and enrolled at UW in the fall of 1898. His family moved to Madison with him, as was fairly common for poor Jewish immigrants at that time. Although his father struggled to make a living as a scrap dealer, the family joined Madison's nascent Orthodox congregation and became part of the community. Wolfenson lived at home on Spring Street, a short walk from campus, and earned his bachelor's degree in three years.

Despite living in an area that was not considered a student neighborhood, Wolfenson was well-known to his peers, who saw him as a particularly intense student. The "Things Seen in Passing" humor column in the 1902 *Badger* yearbook states that at 3 a.m., "Mr. Wolfenson sets his alarm for five o'clock and goes to bed." Wolfenson's notoriety probably came from his membership in Philomathia, one of the University's top debating societies, as well as his participation in UW's Chess Club and the fact that his scholarship qualified him for the Phi Beta Kappa honor society.

Wolfenson attended UW with support from a scholarship from Harry J. Hirshheimer, an 1890 graduate of UW who worked for his family's La Crosse plow-making firm. The Hirshheimers were one of



Things Seen in Passing

- 6:00 a.m. Clifford Ireland's alarm clock goes off unnoticed. Furnace tenders are attending.
- 7:00 a.m. Hermy Taylor goes to breakfast on time.
- 8:00 a.m. Some one put snow in the thermometer and Slichter dismisses class.
- 9:00 a.m. Harry Winkler and Phil. Spooner seen ascending the hill for their eight o'clocks.
- 10:00 a.m. Professor Coffin meets his ten o'clock class coming down the hill as he ascends at 10:06.
- 11:00 a.m. Chauncey Blake and Miss Sanborn still in the rotunda.
- 12:00 m. Harvey Clawson flunked in geology. Same performance by others less noted in other classes.
- 1:00 p.m. Weekly review at boarding houses.
- 2:00 p.m. Mr. Ireland finally awakes and says uncomplimentary things about his alarm clock.
- 3:00 p.m. General exodus from chemistry.
Miss Cunningham takes a stroll with Mr. Beye.
- 4:00 p.m. Freshmen seen going towards gym with towels, soap, etc.
- 5:00 p.m. Fred McGowan goes to the library resolved to do a day's reading.
- 6:00 p.m. Clarence White leaves Gamma Phi House, not having been invited to dinner.
- 7:00 p.m. Miss Martin and Mr. Murphy seen going toward the library.
- 8:00 p.m. Miss McDill and Miss Cunningham each expect "men" and fight for the small parlor. Miss Cunningham wins out.
Mr. M. and Miss Martin finally reach the library.
- 9:00 p.m. "Jawbone Club" meets at Johnny Mauer's.
J. R. Kimball, "blown out" at Kappa House by Tommy Frawley, returns early. Exit of Bill Murphy and Miss Martin from library.
- 10:00 p.m. Badger board reads proof. Professor Scott makes out quiz questions.
- 11:00 p.m. "Beau" Walters gets a light lunch at Mr. Ketchner's on the corner.
- 12:00 midnight. Brindley works on joint debate. Willie Walker thinks of Olin in the morning and groans.
- 1:00 a.m. Badger board still reading proof.
- 2:00 a.m. "Owl Club" disbands for the morning. Hermy Taylor comes home.
Bruce starts walking the floor.
- 3:00 a.m. Mr. Wolfenson sets his alarm for five o'clock and goes to bed.
- 4:00 a.m. Dogs at University barns begin to bark. Short horns think about getting up. Bruce still walking.
- 5:00 a.m. Badger board stops reading proof. Bruce still walks the floor.
- 6:00 a.m. The same as before. Repeat "ad libitum."

the leading Jewish families in La Crosse, and Harry apparently set up a scholarship for the sole purpose of allowing Wolfenson to attend the University. Once Wolfenson graduated, Hirshheimer stopped donating money for UW scholarships.

In an effort to retain Wolfenson for graduate work in biblical Hebrew, UW reached out to Madison's German Jewish community, who agreed to donate \$25 per year for three years toward a scholarship in Hebrew for Wolfenson. Johns Hopkins University provided an even better financial package, so after earning a master's degree at UW in 1902, Wolfenson moved with his parents and older sister to Baltimore, where he earned his PhD in 1906. In 1908, Wolfenson and his family returned to Madison, where he became an instructor in Hebrew at UW until 1913, when he received an assistant professorship at UW that he held until 1922. During that time, Wolfenson

became the first Jewish professor to actively promote Jewish-centered activities for the increasing numbers of Jewish students who were coming to the University of Wisconsin.

Elias Tobenkin came to Wisconsin from a small Russian Jewish community that began to send people to Madison in the late 1890s. In 1899, at the age of seventeen, Tobenkin came from Slutsk to Madison to be near his mother's family, who had settled in Madison in the early part of the decade. Tobenkin attended the private academy run by Charlotte Richmond, a wealthy landowner who owned property near the Tobenkin family's home on Madison's south side. At the

Richmond academy, Tobenkin was a scholarship student encouraged by the headmistress to continue his education at UW in 1901.

Like Louis Wolfenson before him, Tobenkin lived at home with his parents and siblings and, apart from joining Wisconsin's International Club, stayed away from campus life. He graduated in 1905 and,

also like Wolfenson, continued on to earn a master's degree at UW in German, thanks to a scholarship endowed by a major brewer in La Crosse. He then embarked on a career as a journalist and novelist.

Tobenkin's 1916 debut novel *Witte Arrives* is a semiautobiographical account of Emil Witte, a Russian Jew who comes with his family to the midwestern city of Spring Water, attends the local university, and becomes a reporter. In the chapter entitled "College Days," Tobenkin writes about why his protagonist does not socialize with his fellow students outside of class:

To mingle with the student body, to go up to a student's room, meant inviting him in turn to his own room. If he invited a student friend to his room in the little ghetto, there would be too many explanations to make, he feared. The student might have a laugh at Emil's surroundings, and then transfer the laugh to Emil himself. He had seen such things happen. So he avoided the likelihood of having to invite friends by keeping away from the social life of the university.

This passage alludes to Tobenkin's own sense of alienation from American college life. Emil Witte, his stand-in, feels out of place in the wealthy, Protestant atmosphere of American higher education in the early twentieth century.

Other Jewish students from similar backgrounds to those of Tobenkin and Wolfenson joined UW's Socialist Club. William Leiserson came to UW in 1905, at the age of twenty-two, and became active in the Philomathia debating society and Wisconsin's Socialist Club. Before graduating in 1908, Leiserson, as president of the Socialist Club, brought Socialist politician Eugene V. Debs to Madison.

David Saposs, from Milwaukee, came to UW in 1907 as an adult special student and attended classes part-time while working as a stenographer for the state of Wisconsin. Saposs took over leadership of the Socialist Club from Leiserson and finally graduated in 1913, at the



Elias Tobenkin



"Young man, ally yourself to an unpopular cause, and make it popular."
—Wendell Phillips

Organized in 1902.

"The world is under full sail for a new epoch of thought."
—Prof. Bolsche

MEMBERS

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Wm. Leiserson, 1908 | Frances Lundquist, 1911 |
| C. A. Griswold, 1909 | Fred Merk, 1911 |
| Read Lewis, 1909 | F. C. Ramp, 1911 |
| E. E. Witte, 1909 | David Saposs, 1911 |
| A. A. Shillander, 1910 | Emil Bunta, 1912 |
| Carl H. Haessler, 1911 | S. P. Perlman, 1912 |
| J. A. Landesco, 1911 | John Schmidt, 1912 |



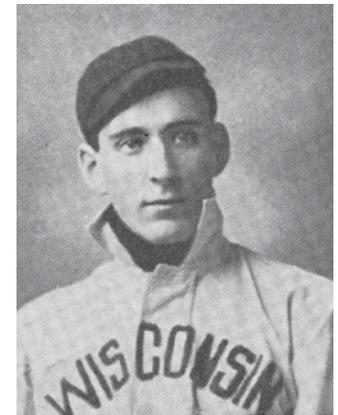
Saposs Schmidt Bunte Shillander Hookstadt Lewis Griswold
Leiserson Perlman Lundquist Haessler Merk

age of twenty-seven. Both Leiserson and Saposs went on to become labor economists who shaped American labor law in the New Deal era.

PIONEERING JEWISH ATHLETES AND COACHES

The turn of the twentieth century saw the beginnings of modern college athletics, and Jewish coaches and athletes were active participants. In 1896, the first year of Western Conference (later known as Big Ten) college football, UW coach Phil King led his team to an undefeated season and the conference championship, a feat that he repeated the following year. King's coaching record at UW included another undefeated season in 1901 and coaching UW's baseball team in 1897, 1901, and 1902. After leaving the University to practice law in 1902, he was persuaded to return in 1905, coaching the football team to an 8-2 record. King left UW for good when the University, in line with Western Conference policy, required coaches to also hold a faculty position. King returned to his native Washington, DC, and worked for his family's department store, King's Palace.

Gordon Lewis, who grew up as part of the only Jewish family in the small town of Highland, Wisconsin, was a star pitcher and outfielder for the University of Wisconsin's baseball team from 1903 to 1905. During his time at UW, Lewis also took on leadership roles in athletics, serving as a student member of the Wisconsin Interscholastic Athletic Association (alongside treasurer Moses Klauber, a Madison merchant whose sisters attended UW in the 1870s) and as the treasurer of the W Club. Lewis went on to a five-year minor-league career, a stint as a physical education instructor and baseball coach at UW from 1911 to 1917, and work in the 1920s as a minor-league umpire.



Gordon Lewis

In the years between Lewis's playing and coaching careers, Ike Bernstein served as the trainer for the men's basketball, track, baseball, and football teams at UW. Bernstein came to the University of Wisconsin after a 45-bout career in the boxing ring as "Kid Bernstein." When UW's football team lost to archrival University of Chicago in 1911, UW coaches claimed that Bernstein had not adequately conditioned the UW players. Although Bernstein contended that the coaches were holding him responsible for their bad decisions, he agreed to leave UW in 1912. After two years as Indiana University's trainer, he returned to the Chicago boxing world as a boxing trainer and manager. Bernstein continued managing fighters until the late 1950s. ❖

CHAPTER 2

Rising Visibility for Jewish Students and Faculty, 1911–1924

In the second decade of the twentieth century, the University of Wisconsin grew from being a college with a few dozen Jewish students out of a total student population of roughly four thousand to a college with a definite Jewish community, marked by an increasing number of organizations that focused on Jewish culture and Judaism. Not all Jewish students took part in these activities, and Jewish professors were still few and far between, but a Jewish presence at UW was far easier to see than had been the case in the past.

HOW JEWISH STUDENTS CAME TO THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Application forms from the 1910s show that many Jewish students who came to UW had grown up as the only Jewish students in their high schools. The University was a place where isolated Jewish students could meet peers who shared their experiences. In towns and cities across Wisconsin, Jewish young people achieved academic excellence on their own as high school students and then encountered a community of like-minded Jewish students from similar backgrounds at UW.

Bertha Yabroff of Horicon, Wisconsin, was the class of 1915 valedictorian of her high school. Her sister Leah, who graduated from Horicon four years later, was also valedictorian of her 26-person senior class, and her principal, in his college letter of recommendation for her, dubbed her a “natural student. Excellent character.” Sun Prairie high school class of 1912 graduate Abraham Assovsky was also noted in a college recommendation as “a young man of excellent character and valedictorian of his class.” In Ishpeming, Michigan, UW applicant Charlotte Kahn was described as being “of excellent family of sterling worth and character. Trustworthy and refined.”

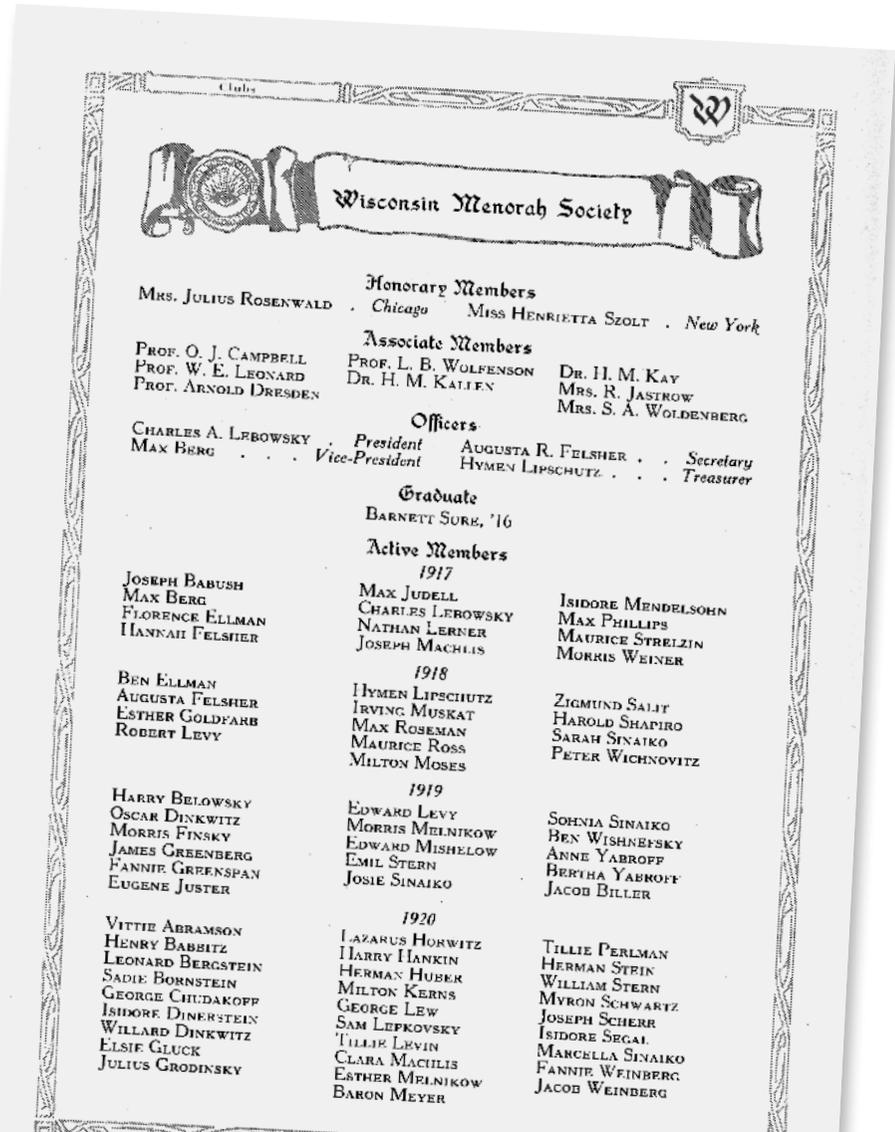
Along with Jewish students who applied to UW with perfect marks from midwestern high schools, there were others who followed an unconventional path to the University. In particular, students who came to the United States in their teens faced greater obstacles than did fellow students who were born in the US or who had been brought to the US as small children.

Aspiring student Abe Leviant submitted handwritten transcripts from the gymnasia in Zolotomocha and Vilna, Russia, where he spent his teens. Helen Machlis came to the US as a thirteen-year-old, graduated from the Madison high school and a local business college, and worked for several state agencies as a stenographer before entering UW at twenty-three years of age.

William Kirsch had attended schools in Russia as a child and then an academy and commercial school in Belgium before coming to the US and working on a farm in Plymouth, Wisconsin. He was allowed to take UW classes, but the University would not grant him credit for his coursework abroad. In a standoff with the UW admissions department, Kirsch refused to retake courses required for graduation until the late 1920s—seventeen years after he had first applied for admission to UW. Kirsch earned his degree long after he had already secured an analyst position with the state of Wisconsin and published *The Jew and the Land*, a pamphlet encouraging Jews to take up agricultural work.

THE MENORAH SOCIETY: CONNECTING JEWISH STUDENTS AND FACULTY

Fifty years after the first Jewish student enrolled at the University of Wisconsin, the first Jewish student organization on campus was established. The Menorah Society, founded in 1906 at Harvard University, started a chapter at UW through the efforts of philosophy professor Horace Kallen, who came to the University of Wisconsin to teach in 1911. Kallen had been part of the initial Menorah chapter at Harvard and had worked with other colleges to set up chapters while he finished his PhD there.



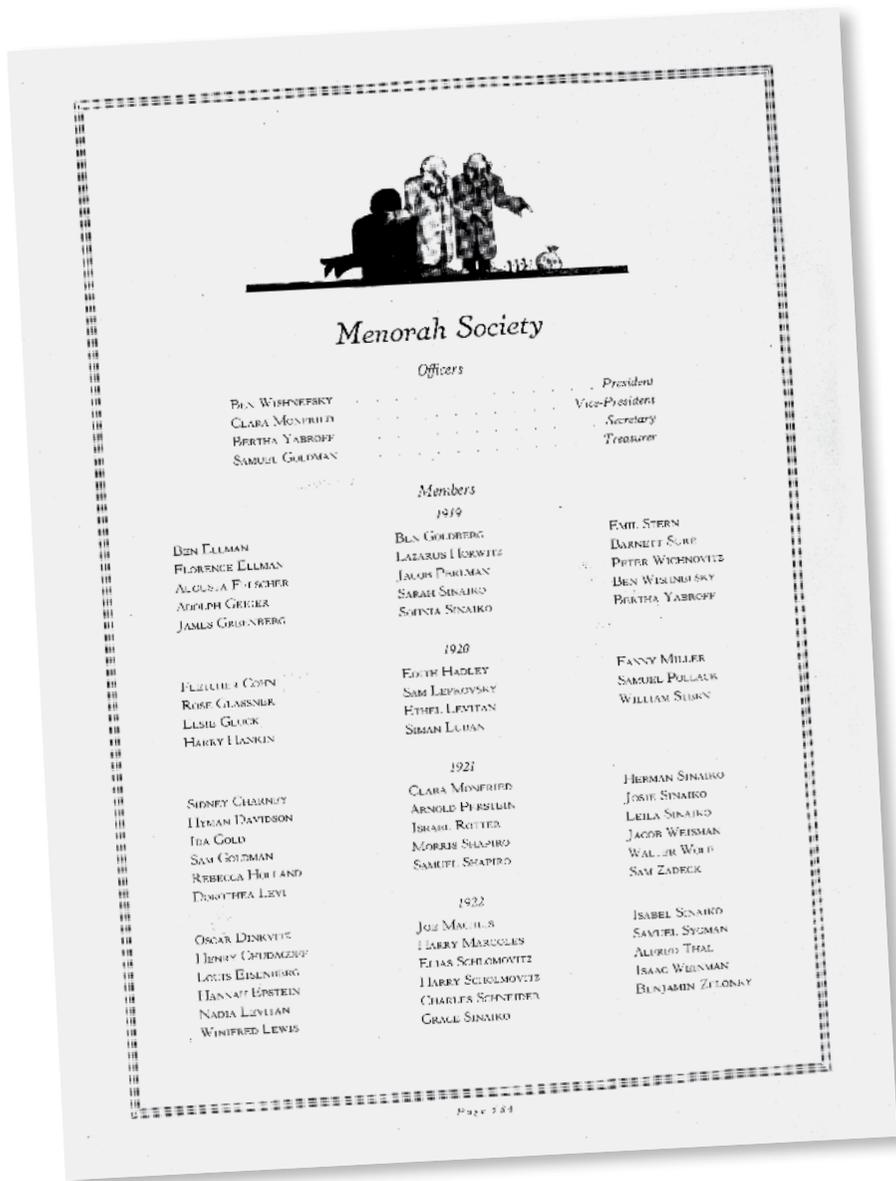
The Menorah Society was modeled on existing literary and debate societies that were ubiquitous on turn-of-the-century college campuses. As its name indicated, Menorah was different from other literary and debating groups due to its Jewish orientation. By naming itself after a Jewish symbol that had been in use for more than two thousand years, the Menorah Society ensured that even students with a tenuous connection to Judaism would understand that it was a group for Jewish students.

Menorah's roots were in the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* movement of the nineteenth century, the effort to study Judaism through modern scientific methods. At a time when there were no courses in what could be called Jewish studies at American universities, beyond coursework in Aramaic or Biblical Hebrew, the Menorah Society was a place where young Jewish intellectuals could study the Jewish world using the tools that they had acquired in class. Menorah chapters focused on reading and discussing ancient and modern Jewish texts, with an eye toward defining Jewishness for the modern era.

As the first Jewish organization at the University of Wisconsin, the Menorah Society brought Jewish students together with Jewish faculty and other local Jewish intellectuals. Roughly half of the Jewish faculty at UW were members at the time. Other members included Rachel Szold Jastrow, who was married to psychology professor Joseph Jastrow, and Sara (Mendelson) Woldenberg, a UW graduate who was married to one of Madison's leading department store owners. Several non-Jewish students also were members of Menorah early on.

Like its counterparts at other universities, the UW Menorah Society's typical events included presentations of papers on ancient and contemporary Jewish issues, planned and impromptu debates on the state of the Menorah Society, and vocal and instrumental recitals (when the meetings took place in the University's Music Hall). The society's calendar began with a postmeeting mixer and culminated in an end-of-year banquet, usually hosted by one of the Madison natives in the group. The UW chapter also sent a delegate to the Intercollegiate Menorah Society conference each year.

In 1913, Karl M. C. Chworowsky was the University of Wisconsin's delegate to the national conference. Although Menorah Society chapters across the country encouraged non-Jews, especially faculty members and administrators, to attend Menorah meetings, Chworowsky's background was unique. He had been born Jewish and converted, along with his family, to Lutheranism shortly after coming to the United States from Latvia and settling in Iowa in

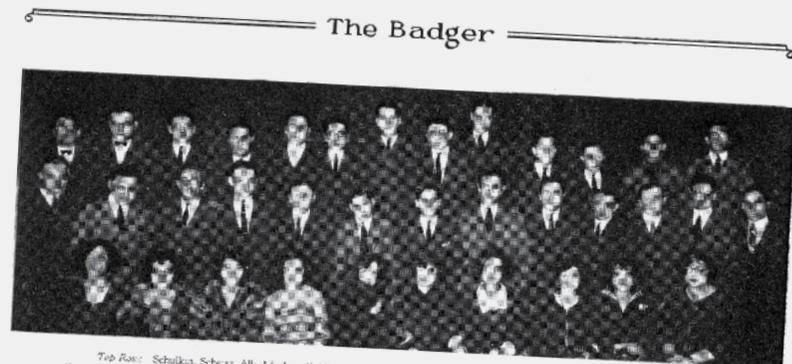


the 1890s. Chworowsky's father became a Lutheran minister, and Karl followed him and did the same. He earned a degree from Iowa's Wartburg College and came to UW for a master's degree in German, which he received in 1915. While in Menorah, Chworowsky often served as a piano accompanist for vocal and violin solos. He also gave a talk about Jewish students who tried to hide their Jewish identity. After graduation, Chworowsky returned to the pulpit and eventually became a renowned Unitarian minister, specializing in Jewish-Christian relations.

The Menorah Society's interest in Jewish ideas not limited to Judaism meant that its members included some of the earliest Jewish radicals on campus. Anna Mercy, who transferred to UW from the New York College of Dental and Oral Surgery, had contributed an article to an early issue of Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth* journal and had organized New York's first Yiddish-language suffrage group in 1908. In 1910, shortly before her move to Madison, Mercy participated in a notorious study of hashish led by radical doctor Victor Robinson. At UW, Mercy wrote her senior thesis on the history of the Industrial Workers of the World. Fellow New Yorker Percy Shostac, who won UW's first Menorah essay contest, went on to write an experimental novel-in-verse called *14th Street*, in which he referenced his Jewish background and bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Wisconsin.

It should be noted that many UW Menorah Society members went on to more conservative pursuits after graduation, starting businesses, joining synagogues, and participating in Jewish organizational life in cities around the country. And in addition to providing a home for Jewish nonconformists, Menorah brought in guest speakers on Jewish issues. Reform Rabbis Victor Caro from Milwaukee and Emil Hirsch from Chicago, Hadassah founder Henrietta Szold, and autobiographical novelist Mary Antin added Jewish voices to the ranks of UW student and faculty speakers.

Members of Menorah were involved in a range of campus activities: debate, music, sports, military organizations, and literary work



Top Row: Schulka, Scherz, All, Mosher, Colbran, Eshlin, Katowitz, Goldberg, Selows, Liberman, Levin, G. d. Halperin
 Second Row: Levin, Sinsko, Selows, Levine, Fisher, Bakkerman, Chorney, Bushkoff, Lepkowski, Pechasole, Shapiro, Wolfson, Lesley
 Third Row: Goldstein, Wagonitz, S. M. Halperin, Rozi, Heperin, Gatz, Nathanson, Rosen, Kolgram, Heintzner, Korman

Wisconsin Menorah Society

Officers

- IRVING GOLDBERG President
- HARRY J. KATOWITZ Vice-President
- ROSE A. NATHANSON Secretary
- JOSEPH SCHULKIN Treasurer
- SAMUEL LEPROVSKY Member of Executive Committee
- GERHARD F. KASDIN Member of Executive Committee

Graduates

- IRVING GOLDBERG
- ALFRED M. WOLFSON
- SAMUEL LEPROVSKY

Seniors

- NATHANIEL P. BRENSTADTER
- SYDNEY C. CLARNSLY
- BESSIE GOLD
- JANNELOTT M. GOLDFELD
- NORMAN LESHIN
- HERMAN H. LEVITZ
- HARROLD S. LEVINS
- SEYMOUR M. PERCHONOK
- JOSEPH SCHULKIN
- SAMUEL M. SORLEY

Juniors

- RUSSELL M. BECKERMAN

Members in University

- BENJAMIN M. LEVINE
- YVETTE Z. GOLDBERG
- JENNIE KANTOR
- GERTRUDE E. KASDIN
- HARRY J. KATOWITZ
- HAROLD H. LAUSKEY
- CHARLES A. LEPROVSKY
- FRANK K. LEVIN
- RUBIN LEVIN
- BEN LIBBERMAN
- HERMAN A. MOSHER
- JOSEPH B. SCHERER
- NATHAN S. SIEGEL
- BELLE SINAIRKO
- EDVITTE E. SINAIRKO
- ELLIE R. WAIN

Sophomores

- SARA M. ABRAMS
- LOUIS C. ALK

- HARRY D. COHEN
- NORMAN V. DELOSANGELO
- THEODORE H. GOLDMAN
- EVELYN HALPERMAN
- WILLIAM H. LIBMAN
- SARA E. MUGRAM
- ROSE A. NATHANSON
- EVELYN F. SCHANFELD
- ALVIN SHAPIRO

Freshmen

- HAZEL S. BECHTOLDER
- JENNIE FURMAN
- MARGIE E. GASUL
- BERNICE M. MARK
- TILLIE S. PIZZELLE
- EDVITTE S. ROSEN
- MIRIAM WASSERMAN
- SAMUEL WICK
- FREDA B. WINNMAN

on the *Daily Cardinal* student newspaper and agricultural and engineering magazines. Like other chapters around the country, UW's Menorah chapter struggled to retain members; it seems that many more people came to the introductory mixers than to the presentations and debates that made up most of the Menorah programming.

However, the existence of a Jewish organization on campus provided opportunities for even the least active participants. Marvin Lowenthal came to UW in 1912 at the age of twenty-one and had little to do with Menorah while on campus, but his future wife, Sylvia Mardfin, who was a Russian immigrant, was a fellow Menorah member. Lowenthal also struck up a valuable friendship with Horace Kallen through Menorah. Kallen helped Lowenthal get a postgraduate scholarship at Harvard and introduced him to influential Zionists and Jewish journalists. Lowenthal went on to have a long career as a journalist covering Jewish issues. He wrote for several periodicals, including the *Menorah Journal*, a publication that grew out of the Harvard Menorah Society and featured articles and fiction by leading Jewish scholars, intellectuals, and writers.

Lowenthal's letters from his undergraduate days shed light on Jewish campus life a hundred years ago. He attended Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services at Agudas Achim, Madison's small Orthodox congregation, although he was from a German Reform background in Bradford, Pennsylvania. Through Marcus Heiman, his cousin and employer at Madison's Orpheum Theater, Lowenthal met leading members of Madison's Jewish community and preferred socializing with them rather than with his fellow Menorah members. He particularly enjoyed the Passover seders that he attended at the home of Madison department store owner Sol Levitan.

Lowenthal found Kallen a little off-putting at first but became good friends with him while working for him as a research assistant. In one letter home, Lowenthal writes about Kallen taking him to a performance by the Wisconsin Dramatic Society, an amateur theater troupe. After the play, Kallen and Lowenthal had a beer at Hausmann's, the leading Madison brewery, followed by more drinks at a bar that Lowenthal calls "Pete's Life Saving Station," followed by a return to Hausmann's and a final stop at a Chinese restaurant.

ZIONISM ON CAMPUS

The first attempt at creating a Zionist group on campus began with a series of programs at Madison's Agudas Achim synagogue in 1910, organized by UW students Max and Maurice Silverman. Louis Wolfenson then took charge of the effort, as part of his expanding role as a liaison between the emerging on-campus Jewish community and the Jews who lived in Madison and ran small grocery stores and scrap yards. By 1915, students on campus could join the Wisconsin Collegiate Zionist League, which changed its name a year later to the Wisconsin Zionist Society. In 1917, the Wisconsin Zionist Society became an affiliate of the Intercollegiate Zionist Association, a national organization of college Zionists.

The Intercollegiate Zionist Association, like its parent organization, the Federation of American Zionists, existed primarily to raise awareness of the Zionist cause and to fundraise for efforts to settle Jews in Palestine. On campus, the Wisconsin Zionist Society seems to have been a quiet organization that held occasional dances and other social events.

In 1918, a group of Wisconsin men calling themselves the Palestine Builders made a more intense commitment to the Zionist enterprise. (Unlike the coeducational Wisconsin Zionist Society, the Palestine Builders' membership was all male.) The preamble of the Palestine Builders' constitution stated that they would "go over to Palestine as soon as possible, in the form of a colony, and do all in our power to help build up Palestine." Within a few years of its establishment, amid rising conflicts in Palestine that claimed the life of Morris Strelzin, the former president of the Wisconsin Collegiate Zionist League who died fighting in the Jewish Legion in Palestine during World War I, the Palestine Builders merely asked that members "signify their intention" to make aliyah. Further amendments to the Palestine Builders' constitution then allowed even students who refused to make such a statement of intent to join the group.

Members 1st Semester 1923-24

Abroham, Abe	a	615 W. Johnson St.	F 531
Alk, Isadore		" " " "	"
Alk, Louis		" " " "	"
(Beckerman, Russell)	✓	20 S. Warren St.	F 344
Brachman, Louis		143 N. Butler St.	B 190
Cohen, Morris	a ✓	823 W. Johnson St.	B 776
De Nosoguo, Norman	a	116 N. Orchard St.	
Goldman, Milton		1226 W. Dayton St.	B 1820
Katowitz, Harry		1214 W. Dayton St.	F 453
Lepkowsky, Charles		" " " "	"
Lepkowsky, Sam		" " " "	"
Lipman, Meyer	e	817 N. Johnson St.	B 455
Lipman, William	x	201 N. Park	F 457
Lieberman, Ben		202 Bernard St.	B 446
Kupperman, Sol	e	218 Lake St.	F 59
Mosher, Herman	a	314 N. Murray	B 120
Levitz, Herman	a	1325 Milton St.	B 76
Primakow, Jack	✓	825 W. Dayton St.	B 554
Minkbro, David		213 S. Park St.	F 316
Shapiro, Herman		820 Mound St.	B 275
Shapiro, Lazare		" " " "	"
Shapiro, Alvin		214 N. Murray	
(Schwartz, Sam)	✓	437 W. Gorham St.	F 55
Scheier, Joseph		530 N. Johnson	F 317
Soref, Sam		1216 W. "	B 275
(Strauss, Sam)	X	1214 W. Dayton St.	F 45
Mck, Louie		218 Lake St.	F 59
Mck, Sam	a	" " " "	"
Gratz, George	a X	713 - W. Johnson St.	B. 51
Lipman, Jack	X	731 University Ave.	B 82
Moree, Earl L.	a	408 W. Washington	
Moree, Earl L.	a	314 N. M.	F 120
Winberg, Harry A.	a	209 Berna	F 29
Merar, Thomas		820 - Chymer Pl.	B 2
Cohen, Meyer		401 - N. Murray St.	B 50
Alk	a	713 W. Johnson	B 215

Palestine Builders member list 1923
WHS IMAGE ID 143449

Horace Kallen's philosophy of Zionism greatly influenced the Palestine Builders. In 1913, impatient with the tentative and fund-raising-oriented Federation of American Zionists, Kallen started a national group called the Perushim. He saw it as a vanguard of influential American Jews who, through their influence in their communities, could spark more people to make aliyah and build a Jewish state quickly. At UW, Kallen invited his student assistant, Marvin Lowenthal, to be part of the Perushim. Like the Perushim, the Palestine Builders challenged the Federation's collegiate movement and promised their members a more immersive Zionist experience. Like at the Menorah Society, members of the Palestine Builders did extensive research beyond their classwork and shared their findings at meetings. Kallen's role as the Palestine Builders' advisor at UW was cut short when he left the University in 1918. But UW's group continued to stay in touch with Kallen, and its members reached out to like-minded Zionist students at the Universities of Minnesota and Michigan to start their own chapters.

The Palestine Builders also reached out to other Jewish groups at UW and in Madison in an effort to boost their membership. For a few years in the early 1920s, the Palestine Builders played football against members of the Menorah Society. Given that the Palestine Builders were led by Martin Mandelker, one of the first Jews to play varsity football at UW, they won handily. The Palestine Builders also fielded a baseball team that competed against Jewish teenagers from Madison's Greenbush neighborhood.

The group connected with the Jewish community by cosponsoring speakers promoting Zionist causes. In 1921, the combined efforts of the Palestine Builders and Madison Zionist groups brought to Madison talks by Vladimir Jabotinsky, who would emerge as a leader of right-wing Zionism; C. L. Patterson, the British head of the Jewish Legion in Palestine during World War I; and Otto Warburg, a German botanist who had recently begun the Tel Aviv Agricultural Experimentation Station. The University of Wisconsin's Palestine

Builders lasted until the late 1920s, when it merged with Avukah, a national Zionist student association.

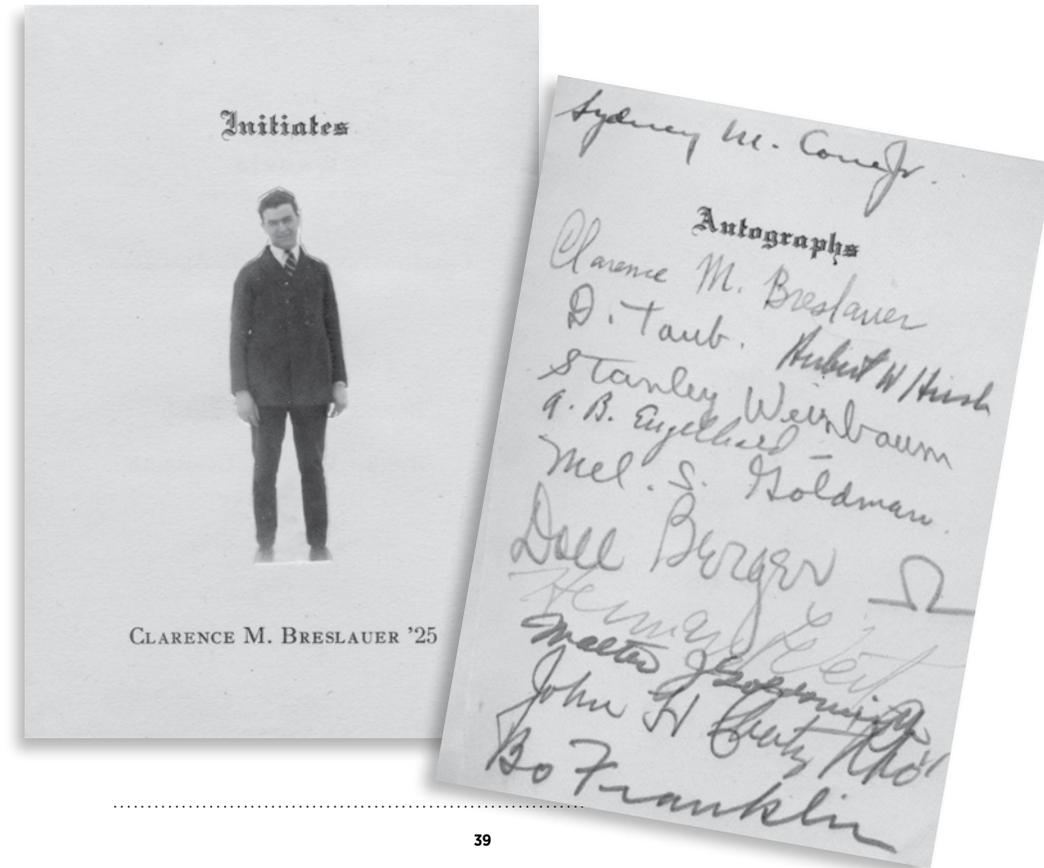
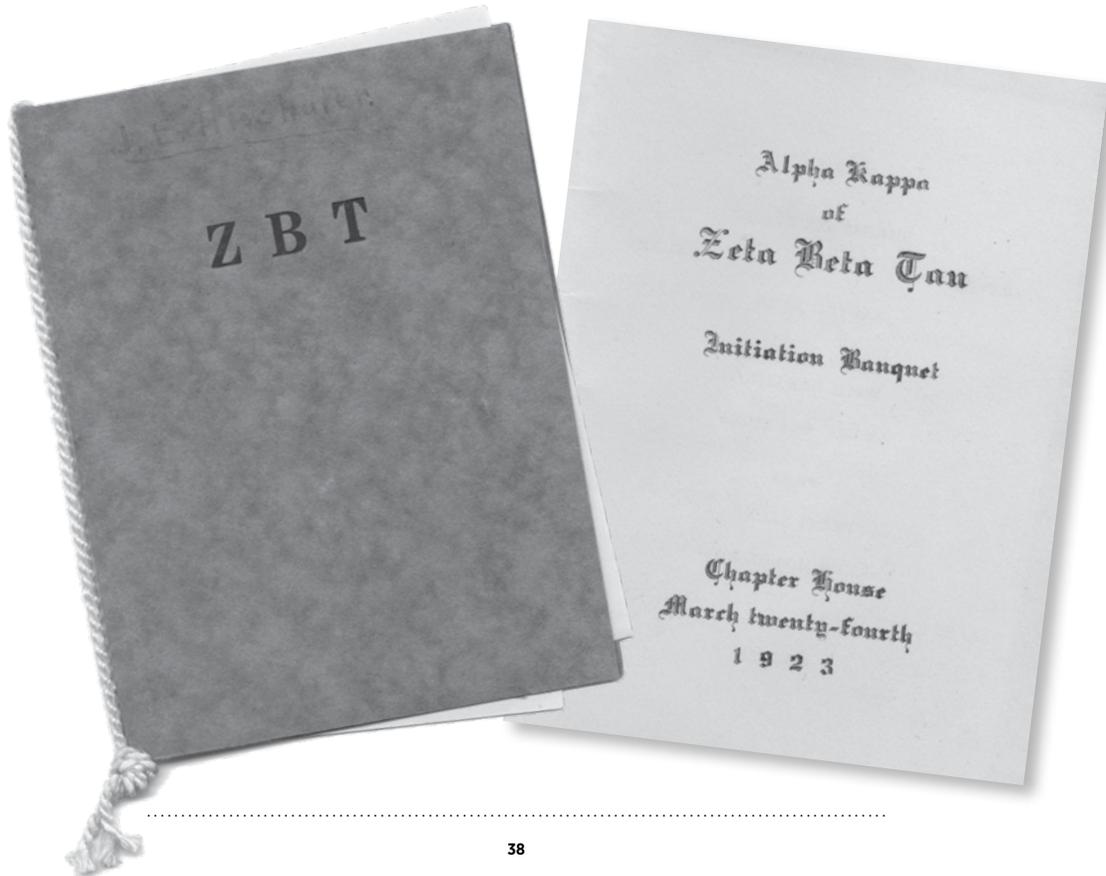
JEWIS AND THE GREEK SYSTEM

Responding to exclusion from existing Greek-letter fraternities and sororities, Jewish college students began to form their own Greek organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Zeta Beta Tau, formed in 1898, and Iota Alpha Pi, formed in 1903, were the nation's first fraternity and sorority expressly founded for Jewish students. The number of Jewish fraternities and sororities at eastern colleges grew through the first two decades of the twentieth century.

University of Wisconsin fraternities and sororities in this era, like their chapters at other universities, almost all barred Jews from membership. The one exception was the sorority Achoth, which was

associated with the Eastern Star order, a Masonic affiliate dominated by women by the early twentieth century. UW students Esther Levitan, Mary Gasser, and sisters Frances and Florence Ellman were members of UW's Achoth chapter between 1916 and 1919. They were the only Jewish members of the sorority, and their mothers were Eastern Star members. Coincidentally, Achoth was one of a few Greek-letter organizations that used Hebrew for their secret-society imagery. The sorority's name was Hebrew for "sisters," and it numbered its chapters with Hebrew letters instead of the usual Greek. Achoth folded at UW in 1923 and nationally a year later.

In 1921, Phi Sigma Delta and Alpha Epsilon Phi were the first Jewish fraternity and sorority to establish chapters at UW. Zeta Beta Tau (ZBT) followed a year later. The membership of each fraternity broke down along geographic lines. Phi Sigma Delta was overwhelmingly composed of in-state students, while ZBT had an out-of-state

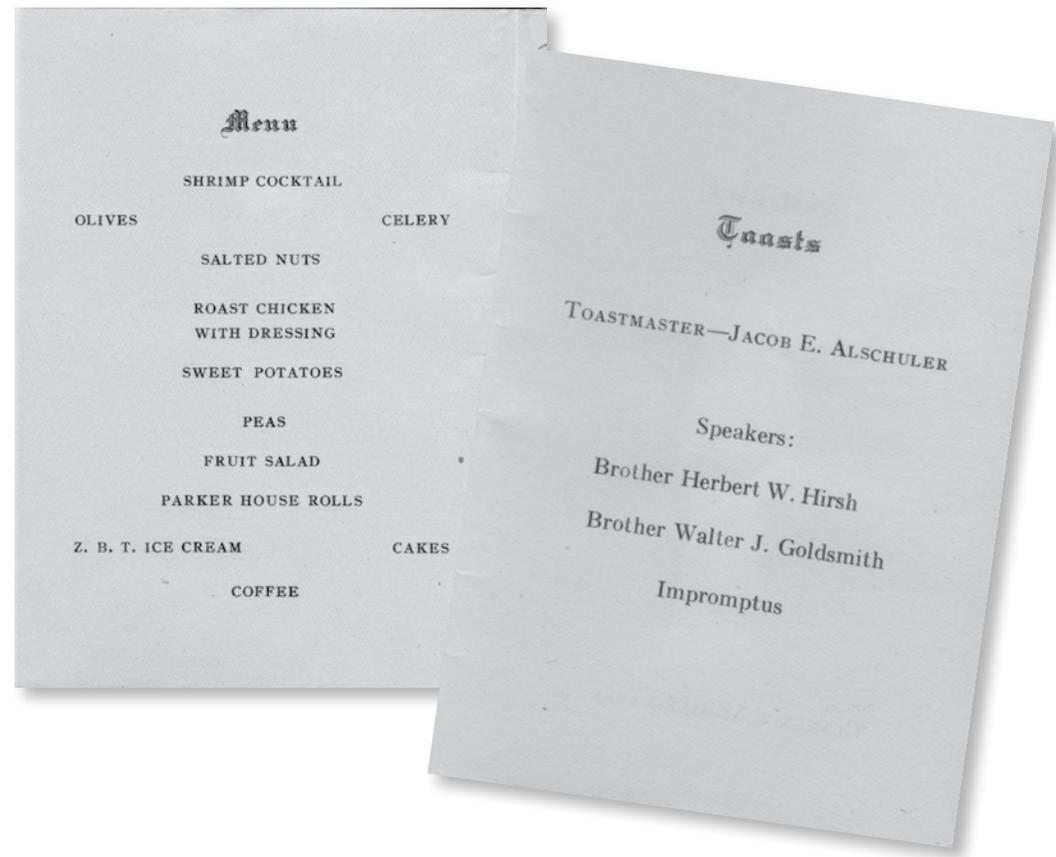
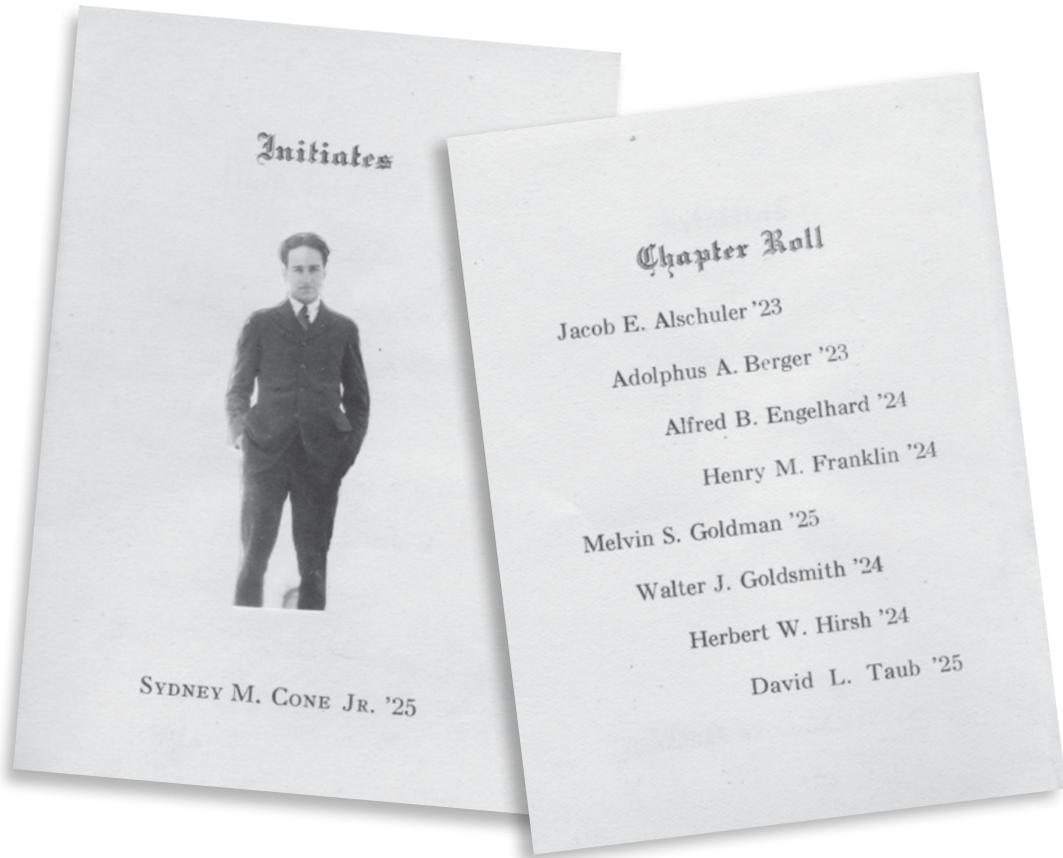


majority. The demographics of the Jewish fraternities on campus were the first sign of regionally based divisions that would become prominent within the campus Jewish community in future decades.

Efforts to organize Jewish fraternities on campus in the 1920s often ran afoul of an anti-Semitic contradiction. Jewish fraternities came into being because Jewish men were barred from existing fraternities. When Jewish students reacted by asking to charter fraternities of their own, University administrators often refused, claiming that racially or ethnically specific fraternities went against the inclusive mission of the University. Counterarguments that Jews had long been barred from fraternities were dismissed by deans arguing that individual Jewish students were at fault, not the Greek system. When University of Wisconsin Dean of Men Scott Goodnight, who oversaw UW's Greek system,

allowed Jewish students at UW to affiliate with ZBT, he claimed that "there have been heretofore no national organizations on our campus which confine their membership to any given race or creed."

UW's ZBT chapter was more of a social club for Jews than it was a forum for Judaism, Zionism, or Menorah-style debates about Jewish culture and history. Although some members were part of the Menorah Society, others were offended that the editors of the *Badger* yearbook included all chapter members on the list of Menorah members; Menorah was not considered a "popular" club. ZBT members did not observe Jewish dietary laws at chapter functions—ZBT banquets featured shrimp cocktail appetizers, and "Z. B. T. ice cream" followed a roast chicken main course, violating more laws of kashrut. The chapter's *Alpha Kappa-tol* newsletter, named for its



official chapter name, devoted most of its space to dances, golf outings, and gossip about members.

However, one serious *Alpha Kappa-tol* article from 1923, "The Jew as Anti-Semite," reveals how the UW ZBT chapter felt about Jewish immigrants and Jewish students who came from traditional backgrounds. It addresses a piece in the national ZBT magazine that called for ZBT chapters to "convert all the Zeta Beta Tau houses throughout the country into a sort of mild society for the uplift and advancement of pogromized gentlemen." The *Alpha Kappa-tol* author argues against Jews who see anti-Semitism around them:

[They] have not learned that they are in America, or at least have not learned to do as the Americans do. . . . We are not ready to convert Zeta Beta Tau into a benevolent institution for the education into American proprieties of loud and vulgar foreigners. . . . There are many of us, perhaps, who would not consider the initiation, were such an impossibility to be realized, of our own ancestors. If they were loud and uncouth, they are not Zeta Beta Tau type.

THE JEWISH STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

Although many Jewish students embraced the Greek ideal, some of the sharpest criticism of Jewish Greek-letter houses came from the University of Wisconsin's Jewish Students' Association, which existed from 1919 to 1922. In an address delivered to Milwaukee's Shalom Aleichem Circle, a social and literary club for Jewish men, Jewish Students' Association leader Louis Wolfenson identified Jewish Greek-letter associations as threats to Jewish unity on campus, dividing students along class lines and encouraging Jewish students to imitate their Gentile peers. Not mincing words, Wolfenson described fraternity and sorority members, including Jews, as "very comfortable, but execrable students."

Pledge Hirsch has retired from active service. He has the unique distinction of having been invited out by the dean.

Brother Berger is nearly a successful physician. He has completed the first half of his last year as a medic at the U., and has had his first successful case—his notes in pathology. We call him "Doctor."

Alpha Kappa had the sincere pleasure last week of entertaining its first out-of-town brother in the new house. Brother Goldstein, of Alpha Beta, spent a couple of days with us, and we were all more than sorry to see him go. The stories and songs which he gave us will long be remembered, as well as his own genial nature and absolute compatibility. His visit was a real pleasure to Alpha Kappa, and she is looking forward to a return engagement in the near future.

"Doc" Walter Meanwell, the greatest basketball coach that ever was or will be, who has just finished a championship season in the Big Ten as coach of the Varsity five, honored Z. B. T. with his presence at dinner the other night. We have coach—and now we know that he is a regular fellow. Everyone enjoyed the evening, and everyone appreciated Doc's stories and reminiscences.

We are blessed with a new child—a base ball team. As yet its prowess is untried, except that in preliminary practice with snowballs we beat the Phi Gams across the street, forcing them to retire early that evening. We are planning an extended spring training trip in back of the Engineering building, where no one will be able to steal our complex system of signals. For the benefit of our other chapters, we will say—but just watch!!!

THE JEW AS ANTI-SEMITE

In a recent number of our worthy Quarterly, Brother Bernard A. Bergman has written an article which he chooses to call "A Survey of Campus Prejudice," in which he takes issue with the reports submit-

ted by the respective Nasim to the general effect that campus prejudice is the result of gentile hatred of a certain group of black sheep among the Jews. He, on the other hand, although he allows our refusal to admit these men to our exalted rank as justifiable, objects strenuously to our policy of expectorating. He feels that it is our sacred duty to our less fortunate brethren to extend the open hand of welcome, and to convert all the Zeta Beta Tau houses throughout the country into a sort of mild society for the uplift and advancement of pogromized gentlemen. He insists that we aid the raw, bleeding hands of the rare souls who are building up Palestine to become, if not well done, at least more thoroughly cooked than the adjectives 'rare' and 'raw' now indicate them to be.

A criminal, says a noted pathologist, is an ordinary human being with a diseased mind. Certainly the criminal is not to be blamed for his criminality. He is one of those less fortunate souls, in the same class with other unfortunates of whom Brother Bergman speaks. Following the line of reasoning in this article, our homes should be opened to the criminal, and while we need not have this unfortunate live with us in our homes, at least we should never by any stretch of the imagination open ourselves to the criticism that "—we" have "become a closed group—" and that we have "—spit upon those who haven't the same background as we."

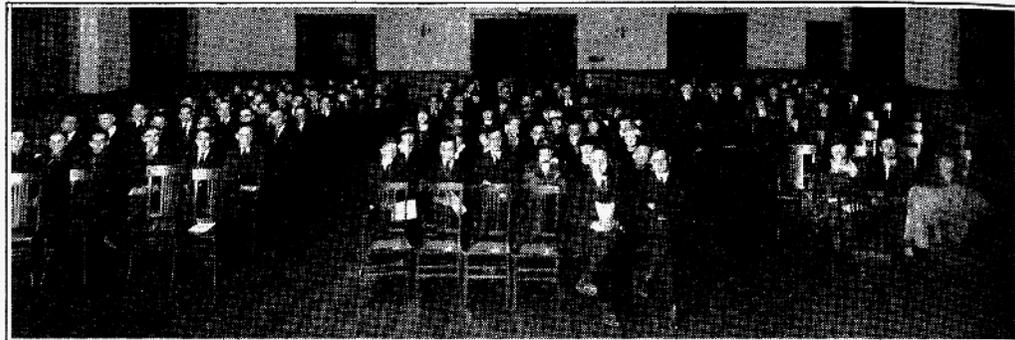
The beginning of race prejudice is to be found in the annals of ancient history; and we are little interested today in the prime causes of it. It is too obviously the result of conditions which do not exist at the present time. The thing in which present interest must center is the reason for the perpetuation of this prejudice. The Nasim throughout the country, working independently, have come to the conclusion that it is the result of a certain group of loud and vulgar black sheep, originating, Brother Bergman tells us, in Russia and Poland. The fact that their ancestry traces back to Rus-

sia and Poland, Brother Bergman must realize, is not the cause of this group being styled "black sheep." It is the fact that they have not learned that they are in America, or at least have not learned to do as the Americans do. There are always some hypocrites, amongst any group of people who have been the victims of persecution, who proclaim that they invite prejudice; and consider the act one of supreme bravery. There are those of us who hold no such illusions. We do not invite prejudice, nor are we going to put Zeta Beta Tau into a position where it can be censured from that standpoint if we can help it. Consequently, if we judge certain men to be unworthy only because they would give the gentile an opportunity to say that Zeta Beta Tau is a crowd of those loud, vulgar Jews, we shall consider our action justifiable. And we certainly will not associate actively with any men, under any pretext of redeeming them from their barbarous habits and mannerisms, whom we consider unworthy of the name of "equal" which the Zeta Beta Tau pin signifies.

Alpha Kappa of Zeta Beta Tau objects to the unjust charge of narrow-mindedness; anyone worthy of the pin shall wear it, be he from Poland or Borneo. But we are not ready to convert Zeta Beta Tau into a benevolent institution for the education into American proprieties of loud and vulgar foreigners. There are many of us, perhaps, who would not consider the initiation, were such an impossibility to be realized, of our own ancestors. If they were loud and uncouth, they are not Zeta Beta Tau type. And finally we will make Brother Bergman a concession: when the gentile fraternities begin to reform the black sheep among themselves—when they begin to initiate without regard to uncouth mannerisms, disagreeable traits, race, color, or previous condition of servitude, we will be glad to extend the meaning of the word "Welcome" on our door-mat to apply to the type of barbarian whom we now exclude.

JEWISH STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION

Furnished by L. B. WOLFENSON, '01



1. Q. Name of religious organization?
A. Jewish Students' Association.
2. Q. Special place of meeting for University students. A. Woman's Building.
3. Q. Is property owned or rented by the organization? A. Rented.
4. Q. Amount invested in real estate, building, furniture, and fixtures. A. Nothing.
5. Q. Amount of indebtedness? A. None.
6. Q. Number of paid religious workers? A. None.
7. Q. Name and title of such workers and annual salaries? A. None.
8. Q. Annual receipts:
g. Local contributions? a. \$100.
g. Outside contributions? a. About \$250.
9. Q. Annual expenditures, excluding salaries? A. \$300.
10. Q. Number of students of this Faith in the University? A. 210.
11. Q. Number of student members of this organization and its auxiliaries? A. 65.
12. Q. Number of members of the University teaching staff who are members of this organization and its auxiliaries? A. 5.
13. Q. Average attendance? A. 110.

14. Q. Approximate number of years this work has been conducted? A. Three years.

15. Q. How many courses in religious education does this organization offer on week days? A. None.

16. Q. Number of calls and conferences held during the year? A. None.

17. Q. Does this organization maintain a loan scholarship or fund? A. No.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati, Ohio, has co-operated very closely with Prof. L. B. Wolfenson of the department of Semitics in organizing and developing the Jewish Students' Association. The Association was directly planned by Professor Wolfenson, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has financed the bringing of prominent Rabbis from cities of the middle part of the United States to address the students and conduct services. This generous assistance has brought it about that the Jewish Students' Association has been the most successful organization for religious purposes of Jewish students in the whole United States.

In October last Professor Wolfenson conducted New Year and Day of Atonement services for the Association with the authorization of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Over two hundred students attended the service, probably the first service for these holy days ever conducted primarily for students.

Through the 1910s, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the organization of Reform temples in the United States, pondered how to attract young adult members. By the end of the decade, the Union dedicated funds to start Reform congregations on college campuses. The Reform movement and colleges seemed like a logical match. It was hard for students to find kosher boardinghouses in small towns and Reform Judaism had dispensed with kashrut. Reform congregations observed only one day of the two-day holidays on the Jewish calendar, often freeing Jewish college students from the dilemma of observing a holiday or going to class. Additionally, college students were likely to embrace the Enlightenment attitude toward religion that was at the heart of the Reform movement.

In 1919 Louis Wolfenson brought the Reform program to the University of Wisconsin in the form of the Jewish Students' Association. Although the organization's first events, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services held at the Women's Club hall a few blocks from campus, drew hundreds of students, the Jewish Students' Association failed to maintain that level of support after the holidays. The group held occasional Friday evening services and brought a few Reform rabbis from Chicago to talk about issues of the day, but the services and lectures drew few students, and UW's chapter folded after three years. UW's experience was typical; apart from the Jewish Students' Association at the University of Michigan, universities' efforts to bring their Jewish students together under the Reform banner consistently failed.

JEWISH STUDENTS AND THE GREENBUSH NEIGHBORHOOD

In addition to building a Jewish community on campus, some students sought to establish ties to the small Jewish community centered in the Greenbush neighborhood near the corner of South Park Street and West Washington Avenue. By the 1910s, the Orthodox Agudas Achim congregation began to ask the Menorah Society to

provide teachers for their religious school. When Madison's settlement house, Neighborhood House, opened in Greenbush in 1916, Jewish students from UW ran programming for Jewish children. Fundraising efforts for refugees fleeing the world war and the revolutions that followed through the early 1920s also brought Jewish students off campus and into the broader community. While still an undergraduate, Augusta Felsher, who had grown up in Greenbush, taught "Americanization" classes at the Madison Vocational School through Neighborhood House.

The Greenbush neighborhood responded in kind. Jews in Madison hosted Passover seders for Jewish students who were unable to return home for the holiday. Also, some families in Greenbush rented rooms to Jewish students who wanted to live in a more homelike Jewish setting or who were unable to afford high rents closer to campus.

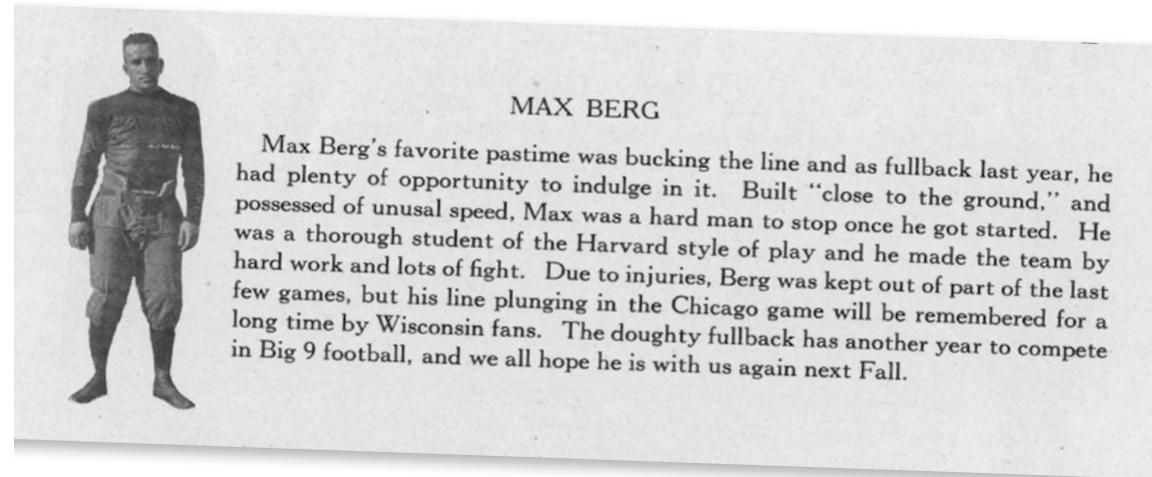
JEWIS AND UW ATHLETICS

In this era, relatively few Jewish students played on athletic teams. There had been no culture of sports in the Eastern European communities where many of these students and their parents came from, and football fields and baseball diamonds were often scarce in the crowded urban American neighborhoods where many Jewish students were brought up. As interest in athletics developed, it tended to run in families, with younger siblings following older ones into organized sports.



Louis Berger

Football became the principal college sport in the early twentieth century, and the University of Wisconsin's team's exploits were covered in detail in the *Badger* yearbook. Even the scholarly Marvin Lowenthal devoted a long 1913 letter home to a description of an exciting UW-University of Chicago football



The Badger, 1918

game. In addition to being fans, a few Jewish students played football for UW in this era. The first two Jewish players to letter in football were Louis Berger, a halfback who earned his "W" in 1912, and Max Berg, a fullback who earned his letter four years later. Harry Margoles played guard in 1918 and 1920.

Gordon "Slim" Lewis, the outstanding Jewish baseball player on the University of Wisconsin's 1903-1905 teams, returned to UW as a coach in 1912, after a six-year career as a minor-league outfielder for various teams in Iowa, Illinois, and Georgia. In 1912, Lewis took the UW baseball team on its first spring training tour and coached it to an 8-5-2 record, which led in the Western Conference, the forerunner to the Big Ten. Lewis returned to the minor leagues for the 1912 and 1913 seasons but came back to coach UW baseball from 1914 to 1917. Overall, Lewis's managerial record of 49 wins, 28 losses, and 3 ties stood as the best all-time win-loss record for UW baseball coaches who coached more than a single season. At the end of the 1917 season, Lewis returned to the minor leagues as an umpire.

Some of the most outstanding Jewish athletes on campus at this time were women. Sisters Leila and Sohnia Sinaiko and their cousin Sarah Sinaiko grew up in the Greenbush neighborhood. Their fathers

were among the first Russian Jews to settle in Madison, and they graduated from Madison's high school between 1914 and 1917. All three Sinaiko women played indoor baseball, and Leila also competed in basketball and outdoor baseball in 1919.

The Sinaikos' athletic careers at UW immediately preceded major changes to women's sports. Although there had been competitive women's sports at American universities in the 1890s, within twenty years administrators and physical education professors at the University who followed the Physical Education Department's lead came to see competitive women's sports as detrimental to women's health and reproductive systems. Leading the charge for women's intramural athletics as opposed to competitive sports was Blanche Trilling, a physical education professor who began as an assistant professor of physical education in 1912 and rose to become one of the top professors in her field over her thirty-four years at the University of Wisconsin. Although she never identified with Jewish causes while at the University, Trilling was probably the most influential Jewish faculty member at UW during that time.

BELLE AND FRIEDA FLIGELMAN

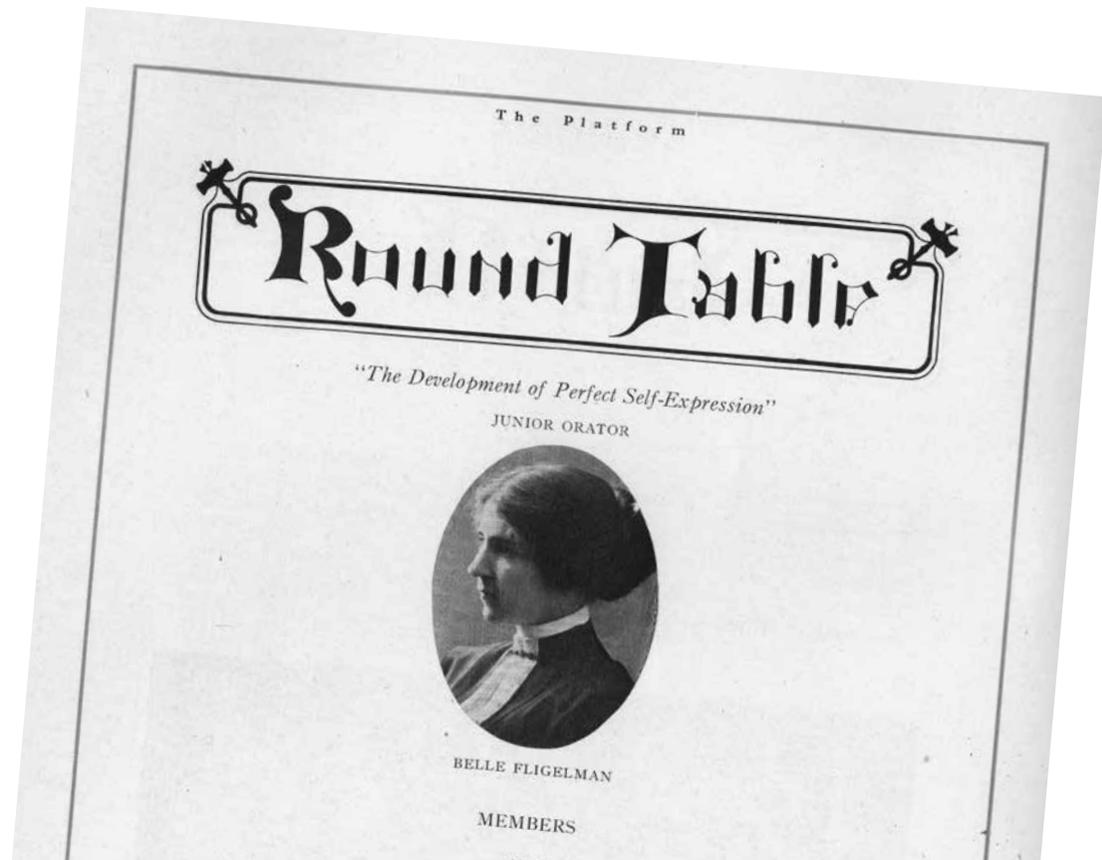
Some Jewish women competed in sports as part of a broader commitment to feminism. Belle Fligelman came to the University of Wisconsin from Helena, Montana, in 1909 and played field hockey for UW in 1911. Belle and her sister Frieda had begged their father to send them to UW instead of to a finishing school. At UW, Frieda majored in sociology, a degree she then took to Columbia University for graduate work in anthropology under Franz Boas. Although Columbia refused to grant her a doctorate, Frieda's independent scholarship established her as a pioneer in the field of sociolinguistics.

Belle Fligelman blazed a series of new trails for women at UW. She was one of the first female students to write for the *Daily Cardinal*, she served in several student government organizations, and she

became the first woman at the University of Wisconsin to speak at commencement. After a brief career in journalism in New York, she returned to her native Montana, where she went to work for Jeanette Rankin, the first woman elected to Congress. After Rankin left office, Belle Fligelman returned to Helena, where she and her husband were pillars of the local Jewish community. Fligelman remained a loyal UW alumna, writing a letter to the *Wisconsin Alumnus* magazine in 1967 to protest the University's restrictions on out-of-state admissions.

JEWISH FACULTY AND STAFF

More departments began hiring Jewish faculty members in the 1910s. However, like the handful of Jews on UW's faculty before 1911, the majority of them were employed as nontenured faculty, hired while still completing their PhD degrees or shortly after doing so. Jewish faculty members who had the ability to earn tenure had to



Wolfenson saw himself as a public intellectual more than an ivory-tower academic, and occasionally this choice prompted controversy. He served as the president of the Madison Humane Society from 1910 to 1920. In 1914, he did proofreading work for four state agencies: the Free Library Commission, the Legislative Reference Bureau, the State Printing Board, and the Revisor of Statutes. His state government work was 50 percent more lucrative than his assistant professorship at UW, which earned him a mention in a June 6, 1914, *Racine Journal-News* editorial entitled “‘Grafting’ in the State House.” At that time, he was caring for his mother and older sister, and having tried and failed to get a raise from UW, he had sought other revenue sources.

During the 1910s, Wolfenson embraced the Wisconsin Idea that “the boundaries of the University are the boundaries of the state” by giving talks, primarily on the Biblical era, at public libraries and service-organization meetings around Wisconsin. The critical attention to his career seems to have prompted Wolfenson to cut back on his state employee work, but he won election to the Madison school board in 1916. He also ran (and lost) a race for Madison City Council in 1918. In addition, Wolfenson served as one of the leaders of Madison’s Jewish Central Committee, which coordinated charitable activities among Madison’s synagogue and six Jewish mutual aid societies and worked with the Associated Charities of Madison to support indigent Jews in Madison.

Wolfenson’s interest in working in the Jewish community eventually overtook his academic career. In 1922, he left UW for a position teaching Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic at Hebrew Union College (HUC), the seminary for Reform rabbis. While at HUC, he also served as a part-time rabbi for Oheb Shalom, the Reform congregation in Sandusky, Ohio. After a year in this dual role, he left for the East Coast, where he ran Jewish orphanages in Boston and Providence.

By 1920 labor economist Selig Perlman was the faculty member who served as a mentor to Russian-Jewish immigrant and second-

generation students. Perlman grew up in Bialystok, Russia, where he participated in socialist groups while he was in gymnasias. Due to quotas on Jewish attendance at Russian universities, Perlman was a college student in Naples, Italy, when he met vacationing American socialists William English Walling and Anna Strunsky Walling in 1907. A year later, following the Czarist government’s seizure of his father’s business, Perlman came to the United States to translate Russian revolutionary literature for the Wallings. Tiring of that work, Perlman came to UW in 1908 and graduated in 1910, majoring in economics and participating in Socialist Club activities. Perlman earned his PhD from UW in 1915, while working for the federal Commission on Industrial Relations. He returned to UW as an instructor for the 1917-1918 academic year and proceeded to become one of the nation’s premier labor economists and historians while teaching in the Economics Department until shortly before his death in 1959.

Perlman’s personal experiences of juggling traditional Jewish life with academia made students from similar backgrounds seek out his advice. While a graduate student, Perlman persuaded John Commons, his advisor, to help him bring his parents to the United States. They arrived in Madison in 1914, and Perlman lived with them in Madison’s Greenbush neighborhood until he got married in 1918. Although this gesture spoke to Commons’s regard for his student, Commons showed much less sensitivity at other times. He was known to make anti-Semitic remarks in department meetings. And once Perlman was on the faculty, Commons scheduled faculty dinners on Friday nights, interfering with Perlman’s wishes to have Shabbat dinner with his family. Perlman was unable to persuade Commons to exempt him from dinner or convince him to hold the dinners on other nights of the week. To a greater degree than other Jewish faculty of this era who did not keep kosher, rarely lived with their parents, and were often American-raised, Perlman could understand the conflicts that Jewish college students from immigrant backgrounds experienced.

He advised them, well into the 1940s, to avoid careers in academia to avoid the stresses that he faced.

The only other member of Madison's Orthodox congregation who worked at UW during the 1910s was Chemistry Building janitor Abraham Felsher, who had been a druggist in his native Minsk. If an Elias Tobenkin short story is to be believed, Felsher used his scientific background to serve as an informal tutor for students who were cramming for chemistry exams. Four of Felsher's five daughters graduated from the University of Wisconsin in the 1910s and 1920s.

Future literary scholar and memoirist Ludwig Lewisohn spent the 1910-1911 academic year teaching German at UW. Lewisohn's experiences in Madison were mixed. In his memoirs and autobiographical novels, Madison comes across as an idyllic midwestern town and a positive contrast to Columbus, Ohio, where Lewisohn taught at Ohio State University for several years after leaving Madison. However, Lewisohn was not connected to Menorah during his year at UW, and at that point in his life, he was alienated from his Jewish background, even though he would become an ardent Zionist in the 1920s. Further, a letter of recommendation in Lewisohn's file indicates how he, even as a nonpracticing Jew, was viewed by his colleagues. The chair of UW's Department of German wrote his counterpart at Ohio State that Lewisohn was "a man of delightful personality and high ideals, and entirely free from those undesirable traits of character we so often associate with Jews." The "compliment" helped Lewisohn land a job at Ohio State. Similar anti-Semitic remarks surfaced in letters of recommendation for Jewish academics at universities around the world up through the 1930s.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND OTHER PROBLEMS FOR JEWISH UW STUDENTS

Anti-Semitism was on the rise in the United States and around the world after World War I. Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, sold at Ford dealerships around the world and the highest-circulation

American weekly newspaper by 1924, frequently published editorials under Ford's name that claimed that an international Jewish conspiracy was corrupting American society. Anti-Semitic actions in Europe and the United States became more common during this time, and although the University of Wisconsin was more tolerant than many universities, it was not immune from increased anti-Semitism.

Badger yearbooks from 1919 and 1920 provide examples. In the 1919 yearbook, the illustration that accompanies the list of Menorah Society members is a pair of sharp-nosed Shylocks, playing on a stage and lit from below to create shadows and make the figures look ominous. In the 1920 yearbook, the Menorah Society illustration is a fat, unattractive, big-nosed figure who is frightened by a pig into dropping his stack of schoolbooks. None of the Jewish student organizations on campus—the Menorah Society, the Jewish Students' Association, the Wisconsin Zionist Society, or the Palestine Builders—challenged the publication of the images.

There were other issues that also kept parents of Jewish UW students up at night. National publications like *B'nai B'rith Magazine*, as well as local English-language weekly Jewish newspapers, published stories about the economic opportunity that colleges provided to young Jewish men and women alongside stories that showed that colleges were profoundly un-Jewish, opening up the possibility of marrying outside the Jewish faith. As alcohol abuse was an open secret at many colleges, Jewish parents were also aware of physical dangers that their sons and daughters might encounter in college.

On January 4, 1924, the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, Milwaukee's English-language Jewish newspaper, published an editorial entitled "Bringing Judaism to the College Student." The editorial celebrated B'nai B'rith's creation of a campus Jewish center, known as the Hillel Foundation, at the rival University of Illinois. A few weeks later, Milwaukee native and UW student Norman DeNosquo wrote a letter to the *Chronicle* taking issue with the article. He contended that UW students shied away from Jewish activities because they were often carried

out under the auspices of Jewish organizations that did not understand college students and that UW's policies made it hard for students to organize functions themselves. The half-dozen Jewish professors at UW were too busy to organize activities for a few hundred Jewish students. DeNosaquo concluded his letter by contrasting a successful fundraising drive for dorms at Hebrew Union College with paltry attention to what was happening in Madison. He called for "a state-wide campaign for a community house for the Jewish students at the university."

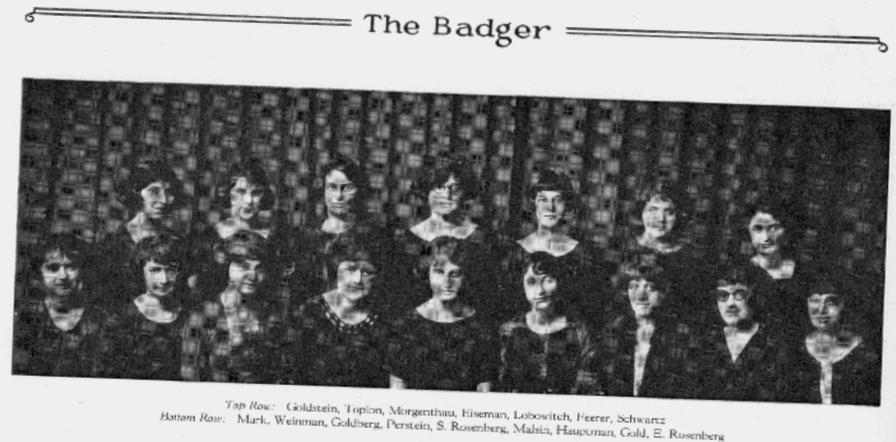
DeNosaquo's fellow Milwaukeean Bella Sisserman wrote a letter to the *Chronicle* a few weeks later about the problems Jewish women faced at UW. If she and her friends wanted to entertain on Sunday, their housemates and neighbors complained about the noise on the Christian Sabbath. If a large number of Jewish friends wanted to socialize, they would have to go to one of the Christian organizations to find a suitable room, because in the years before the Memorial Union was built there were no student unions or other spaces that students could reserve for their functions outside of student congregations of churches or Greek-letter houses. She described how that led to an unwholesome scene when a Jewish fraternity gave a dance earlier that year:

The only hall obtainable was a lodge hall, and to get to it it was necessary to climb several flights of stairs lined with beer bottle cases and empty bottles. I am sure the boys did not mean to insult us when they invited us to the dance, but I hope that never again will we have occasion to feel so embarrassed as we felt that evening when the boys escorted us up that ugly, suggestive stairway into a gaunt untidy hall.

To drive the point home to the *Chronicle's* readers, Sisserman concluded her account with a warning to parents of UW students, stating that "their daughters were humiliated by the conditions in which they found themselves that evening, that their sons or the

friends of their sons are gradually being influenced to accept a standard of morality which is less than fine."

A week later, Rose Nathenson, a Madison native and UW student, wrote the *Chronicle* to counter the grim picture that Sisserman painted. She disputed that UW students needed the quiet that Sisserman discussed, and she dismissed the idea that Jewish students were flocking to campus-area churches to socialize with each other. She



Top Row: Goldstein, Toplon, Morgenthau, Eiseman, Lobowitch, Feerer, Schwartz
Bottom Row: Mark, Weinman, Goldberg, Perstein, S. Rosenberg, Malsin, Hauptman, Gold, E. Rosenberg

Alpha Epsilon Phi

Founded: Barnard College, New York City, 1909
Number of Chapters: 18



Wisconsin, Sigma, 1921
205 N. Murray Street

Members in University



Graduate

JANE MORGENTHAU

Seniors

BESSIE GOLD
JEANNETTE GOLDSTEIN
HELEN MALSIN
FRANCES PERSTEIN

Juniors

YVETTE GOLDBERG
EVELYN HALPTMAN
SYLVIA ROSENBERG

Sophomores

CECIL EISEMAN
HELEN FEERER
ESTHER ROSENBERG

Freshmen

HELEN LABOWITZ
BERNICE MARK
BEATRICE TOPLON
FREDA WEINMAN
ROSALIND SCHWARTZ

also contended that the campus bureaucracy was not as remote as Sisserman and DeNosaquo made it out to be and stated that she was at the same dance that Sisserman wrote about and that the men who organized it had done their best and the atmosphere “was not suggestive in any way at all.” However, Nathenson agreed with the other students that UW needed some kind of Jewish center. She mentioned that Madison’s small Jewish community had tried and failed to organize such a space, so it fell to the Jews of the state to take up the cause. That fall, Wisconsin’s Hillel Foundation, the second in the country, opened in rented quarters on State Street. ❖

CHAPTER 3

“Migratory Students” and the Growing Pains of the Campus Jewish Community, 1924–1941

During the interwar years the University of Wisconsin became a major destination for Jewish students from around the United States. The number of Jewish students grew from roughly two hundred to more than a thousand out of ten thousand students on campus. Much of the growth came from UW administrators and faculty setting out to attract Jewish students facing quotas at East Coast colleges. Jewish fraternities and sororities continued to thrive, and UW’s Hillel Foundation, the second in the nation, served as a model for campus Jewish communities across the United States. However, the growth of the campus Jewish community was accompanied by rising anti-Semitism on campus. Jewish students debated how to address anti-Semitism, and Jewish students with radical political views faced opposition from their more conservative classmates and even from their fellow Jews. In a pattern that would recur on campus over the next ninety years, Jewish students occasionally divided among themselves along regional lines: “New Yorkers” versus students from Wisconsin and adjoining states. In what would be a long-term problem, non-Jews began to presume that all Jewish UW students were New Yorkers.

UW BECOMES A UNIVERSITY FOR JEWISH STUDENTS

In the early 1920s, UW completed a long shift from being a university, like most in the United States, with some Jewish faculty and students in residence to a university for Jewish students and faculty. Increasingly anti-Semitic admissions policies at major universities prevented Jewish students from attending many leading colleges, especially on the East Coast, while the University of Wisconsin took active steps to attract Jewish students to Madison and serve them once enrolled.

In 1922, A. Lawrence Lowell, the president of Harvard University, claimed that the increasing number of Jewish students there was fundamentally altering the character of Harvard. Over the objections of its Jewish students and alumni, Harvard installed a quota on Jewish admissions, in which no more than 10 percent of the incoming freshman class could be Jewish. Harvard also implemented a geographic-diversity policy, which allowed the college to limit admissions from nearby Jewish neighborhoods in favor of admitting students from areas of the United States where few Jews lived. Lowell's policy achieved its goal: Although some Jewish students from outside of the Boston area were admitted to Harvard, drastically fewer Jewish students were admitted from New York and New England (home to more than 60 percent of the Jewish population of the US at the time), and Jewish enrollment at Harvard dropped.

By the 1920s, Harvard already served as a benchmark by which other colleges measured themselves. All of the Ivy League schools, except for the University of Pennsylvania, adopted similar quotas over the next few years. Small liberal arts colleges that aspired to be like Harvard adopted similar admissions policies that established a small quota for the number of Jews who could be admitted.

Few Jewish families considered state universities in the Northeast as viable options for their children, as public universities were slow to develop there. State legislatures and parents of prospective

college students saw private colleges as gateways to the professions, while public universities were considered suitable only for training farmers and engineers. In addition, these public universities were often located in rural areas of eastern states. At the historical moment when Jewish students and parents came to see a college education as essential for success in the United States, where could Jewish students go?

The University of Wisconsin, like other state universities across the South and Midwest, saw the emerging quota system as an opportunity. High-level administrators at state universities thought of the growing numbers of talented, but excluded, Jewish students as people who could help improve the intellectual quality of their universities. In the years after World War I, UW had begun its efforts to expand beyond its traditional focus on the state of Wisconsin and remake itself as a nationally, or even internationally, respected university. UW administrators reasoned that students who were willing to travel a thousand miles from the East Coast would be intellectually motivated, and their passion could in turn attract faculty who wanted to work with exceptional undergraduates. Increasing out-of-state student enrollment could be part of the newly national vision of the University of Wisconsin.

UW administrators understood that not all aspiring undergraduates viewed academic intensity as the main factor in choosing where to enroll and that more might be required in order to attract them to Wisconsin. College life in the 1920s—membership in student organizations and the most visible social events on campus—was centered in fraternities and sororities. Because the Greek system excluded Jewish students from most fraternities and sororities, UW student-life deans understood that encouraging the establishment of multiple Jewish fraternities and sororities was a first step toward making the University a desirable destination for Jewish undergraduates. In addition to the Phi Sigma Delta and Zeta Beta Tau fraternities, founded in 1920 and 1921, and the Alpha Epsilon Phi sorority,

founded in 1921, Pi Lambda Phi fraternity began its chapter in 1923, Phi Epsilon Pi came on board in 1925, and Alpha Epsilon Pi fraternity followed in 1927. The Phi Sigma Sigma sorority began on campus in 1930. Jewish students who, like their non-Jewish peers, saw Greek life as a synonym for college life knew that they could find like-minded people at the University of Wisconsin.

The University's recruitment of and enlightened attitude toward its Jewish undergraduates, however, did not extend to Jewish graduate students. Anti-Semitic traditions in many academic disciplines meant that Jewish graduate students worked in only a few areas. Like others in the United States in those years, UW's medical school admitted only a token few Jewish students, partly with the rationale that most hospitals would not hire Jewish doctors, so medical schools should not be giving Jewish students false hope. Jewish graduate students were clustered in the areas that were experiencing rapid innovation in the 1920s and 1930s: physics, mathematics, and economics, especially labor economics.

HILLEL COMES TO MADISON

As reflected in articles and letters to the editor in the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* in the early 1920s, many parents and students did not see Jewish fraternities and sororities as the ideal of Jewish campus life. Although they provided spaces for Jews to live together and socialize, they did not hold religious services or host any systematic study of Judaism or Jewish culture. By contrast, Catholic and Protestant churches had begun developing on-campus facilities that combined religious services with social events, lectures, and sports. After the Reform movement's attempt at building a college auxiliary failed, the International Order of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish lodge and mutual aid society, would meet Jewish students' and parents' interest in creating a Jewish environment on college campuses in the form of Hillel. Like B'nai Brith activities since its founding in the mid-nineteenth

century, Hillel would be nonsectarian in religious observance and would encompass a broad definition of Jewishness.

One year after B'nai B'rith opened its first chapter at the University of Illinois, it began its second chapter of the Hillel Foundation at the University of Wisconsin for the 1924–1925 academic year. Hillel absorbed the existing Menorah Society and Palestine Builders groups, making it the only place near campus for students to learn anything related to Jewish studies. Because of the Reform background of Solomon Landman, the first Hillel rabbi, religious life at Hillel took on a distinctly Reform character, despite the ecumenical approach to Judaism in B'nai B'rith, Hillel's parent organization.

In addition to offering Sunday morning religious services, an innovation seen in some Reform temples in this era, Hillel was a place for Jewish students to socialize. Located at 508 State Street, just a block off campus, Hillel was where Jewish students, scattered in various rooming houses, dorms, fraternities, and sororities, could find each other. In a space above a luggage store, Hillel boasted of meeting rooms, a library, and a small sanctuary. The problems that Jewish students at UW had pointed out a few years before in the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, no facilities for large numbers of Jewish students to socialize or study, were now addressed by Hillel.

Much of the programming at Hillel, beyond twice-weekly mixers, focused on the nature of Jewish identity in a college setting. Speakers, whether Reform rabbis from Chicago, Milwaukee, and Des Moines or (usually non-Jewish) professors from UW and other Big Ten schools, often discussed the trials and tribulations of Jewish students on college campuses. Speakers on Jewish student life argued that Orthodox Jewish observance, including keeping Shabbat and the holidays, was impractical and obsolete on a modern college campus. However, most speakers also ridiculed Jewish students who had changed their names, undergone plastic surgery, or were otherwise seen to have denied their heritage. Student writers in Hillel publications pitied first-generation college students from traditional,

immigrant backgrounds who did not understand the social customs of the small-town Midwest, while also mocking ostentatious Jew-

ish students from wealthy, assimilated backgrounds. Advice for Jewish students through Hillel was long on criticism, but short and contradictory on ways that Jewish students should behave.

Hillel did, however, provide clear guidance for students trying to solve the concrete problem of finding housing. UW's general lack of on-campus housing meant that Jewish students found themselves at the mercy of private landlords who were free to discriminate against Jewish tenants. Landlords who wanted their properties to be listed with the University as acceptable housing for students had to meet building code standards and rent to only men or only women tenants, but the landlords were allowed to discriminate against potential tenants based on race or ethnicity. Hillel kept a directory of landlords who reliably rented to Jewish students, sparing Jewish students the difficulties of re-

peated rejection while apartment hunting.

As the initial Hillel director, Solomon Landman concentrated on meeting students' housing and socializing needs, but his approach to Jewish studies was largely confined to Jewish students' adjustment to campus life. After Landman left Madison in 1931 to pursue a career as a congregational rabbi in the New York area, Max Kadushin came to UW, where he led Hillel until 1942. Kadushin, ordained by the Conservative movement's Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS),



Solomon Landman
WHS IMAGE ID 143298

instituted more traditional Jewish learning at Hillel, including popular classes on Kabbalah, the writings on Jewish mysticism. Kadushin also was a friend of Mordecai Kaplan, a Conservative rabbi and JTS faculty member who created the Reconstructionist branch of Judaism. Kadushin gave sermons on Kaplan's ideas, and under Kadushin's guidance, Jewish students at UW formed the first campus havurah group, Alpha Beta, in 1935. Within Kaplan and Kadushin's Reconstructionist movement, the havurah—a small group of self-selected people—would complement traditional synagogue-based worship with small, leaderless groups engaged in the study of traditional texts.

Hillel had an ambivalent relationship with the Zionist movement during the 1920s and 1930s. Landman had been sympathetic to the American Council for Judaism, an organization with strong ties to the Reform movement, which saw references to Israel in traditional Judaism as extended metaphors, not as blueprints to build an actual Jewish state in Israel. Over the course of the 1920s, the American Council for Judaism became the leading anti-Zionist Jewish group in the United States. Objecting to Landman's view of Zionism, the Palestine Builders and its successor organization, Avukah (in existence from 1927 to 1942), would not hold events in conjunction with Hillel. Although Landman's successor, Kadushin, supported efforts to resettle Jews in a Jewish state in Palestine, and even as the events in Europe during the 1930s drew more Jews around the world to the Zionist cause, Avukah remained a separate organization from Hillel for its entire history at UW. Avukah sent a representative to the Hillel board, but it had its own listing in UW directories and reported its own membership numbers in surveys of campus religious groups.

ANTI-SEMITISM ON AND OFF CAMPUS

In 1926, Milwaukee native Alex Stern spent the summer before his freshman year at UW working for M. S. Dudgeon, who was the

director of the Milwaukee Public Library and who had previously run UW's Library School. Stern wanted a part-time job in the UW library system, and Dudgeon wrote him a letter of recommendation. Dudgeon then went on vacation, telling Stern to keep an eye out for a letter from UW that would acknowledge his recommendation and tell Stern how to secure a job. Instead, the letter that Stern opened stated that while Dudgeon's recommendation was stellar, UW libraries did not hire Jewish students.

Stern took the rejection letter to his friend A. Bernard Cohn, the president of a Jewish men's social club in Milwaukee called the Gymal Doled club. Cohn proceeded to send a series of angry letters to UW President Glenn Frank, Governor John J. Blaine, and Wisconsin State Treasurer Sol Levitan, who was the only Jewish statewide officeholder at that time. Frank's response—that the employment director who had sent the letter was not representing official University policy—mollified Cohn, but state newspapers somehow heard about the incident and it appeared in newspapers around the state in late September and early October of that year. Although the matter was settled by the University of Wisconsin transferring the employment director from the library to a different position and Frank declaring that the University would not discriminate against Jewish students in hiring for campus jobs, the Stern incident demonstrated that anti-Semitism was a fact at Wisconsin, as it was at nearly every other college at that time.

Another incident occurred on campus in the 1928–1929 academic year when the Apex Club was formed for the purpose of holding prom-like dances off campus. Apex's events were similar to the official proms that brought all of the UW Greek-letter associations together, except that the half-dozen Jewish fraternities and sororities were not invited to participate in the dances that the Apex Club held. By holding its events off campus, Apex thought it would be immune from UW's antidiscrimination policies. Madison's afternoon daily newspaper, the *Capital Times*, publicized the Apex Club's discriminatory policies in a series of articles that ran in January 1929. Only

after the local press called attention to the club's anti-Semitic purpose did the University shut the club down in the name of religious tolerance. As had been the case in Alex Stern's rejection a few years earlier, University administrators tolerated discrimination until the offensive practices were publicized.

Campus-area landlords' anti-Semitic policies came into the open the following academic year. Mildred Gordon, an incoming third-year student from Chicago, had signed a lease to rent a room in a Langdon Street private dorm. On arriving to move in, with her parents in tow, the building manager told her that she would not be able to live there that year; the building's policies dictated that Jewish students could rent rooms only if the rooms would otherwise remain vacant. After Gordon had signed her lease, enough non-Jewish students had signed leases to occupy all of the rooms, so her room had been rented to someone else. The building manager apologized and offered to pay Gordon's hotel bill while she looked for a different place to live. It is not known whether she took the offer or if she even enrolled that fall.

In January 1930, Gordon sued the landlord. Her lawsuit, backed by UW Regent Meta Berger, the widow of Milwaukee's Jewish Socialist Congressman Victor Berger, made the headlines of national Jewish publications like the *Forward*, which highlighted both UW's new prominence as a destination for Jewish college students and the discriminatory practices of Madison's anti-Semitic campus-area landlords. Gordon's suit charged the landlord with breach of promise, as she had signed a lease for a room that the landlord then refused to allow her to occupy. She did not contest the landlord's policy of renting to non-Jews first. Gordon lost her case and left campus without completing her degree.

The Hillel chapter on campus did not mount any effective response to these three incidents of anti-Semitism—the aggrieved students and their supporters contacted state and local newspapers to air their grievances. Although there was some coverage of the

Apex Club and the Mildred Gordon case in Hillel publications, the short-lived *Wisconsin Student Independent* newspaper (which had a majority-Jewish staff) called out anti-Semitism in ways that Solomon Landman's Hillel chapter did not. Landman and the staff of the various Hillel publications were unsure how to respond. As Hillel strove to be the center for Jewish activities on campus, people who spoke on behalf of the organization did not want to alienate either students who wanted only behind-the-scenes interventions or those who wanted forceful responses to anti-Semitism.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES COME TO THE FORE

Hillel publications in the late 1920s drew attention to different cultural styles among Jewish students from different parts of the country. As more students came to UW from the East Coast, non-Jewish students, many of whom had previously had little or no contact with Jews in their rural Wisconsin hometowns, came to identify Jewishness with stereotypes associated with New York City: straightforward forms of address, strong opinions, and loud talk. The stereotypical New York conversational style clashed with the stereotypical indirect, diplomatic, and quiet self-image of Wisconsinites and other midwesterners. Although many Jewish students from New York were reserved and introverted, and many Jewish students from midwestern cities had intense personalities, by 1929, the Jew-as-New Yorker stereotype was well-established at UW.

Hillel also called attention to the intra-Jewish conflicts that were developing at that time. In the first issue of the *Hillel Review* for the 1929-1930 academic year, Luby Bragarnick, a junior who had just transferred from Marquette University, set out to write a profile of renowned economics professor Selig Perlman. Instead of talking about himself, Perlman criticized what he saw as the bad behavior of Jewish students from New York. Addressing Jewish students' eagerness to participate in class discussions, Perlman charged:

There is no indication of the chosen people about them.... They are not one iota smarter or one bit worse, for that matter, than any other type of student. The quicker reaction of our race to stimuli is due to its long urbanized existence. And yet, the students coming from the farms, not bombarded by so many impressions, bring a newer and fresher view point.

In his criticism of Jewish students, Perlman reiterated popular prejudices that had begun to circulate at UW during this time. He used the Jewish concept of "chosenness" to imply that Jewish students were self-important. He deflated positive stereotypes of Jewish intelligence, and he concluded by valorizing rural, presumably non-Jewish students. As discussed in the previous chapter, Perlman was contending with an anti-Semitic department chair, along with the stress of being the only Russian-Jewish professor at UW at this time. The pressures that he faced to live up to anti-Semites' standards probably made him especially sensitive to Jewish students acting in ways he believed would bolster anti-Semites' claims.

Perlman's observations, and the *Hillel Review's* discussion of them, exposed the rifts within the campus Jewish community between students from the Midwest and those from the East Coast. In the *Hillel Review* and the *Daily Cardinal*, students from Wisconsin and adjoining states claimed that Jewish-Christian relations were harmonious until large numbers of Jewish students from the East came to campus, while students who had come to UW from the East Coast questioned why their midwestern counterparts were so quiet and accepting of the university's increasingly anti-Semitic climate. Jewish students from the East, like the *Wisconsin Student Independent's* Nat Leichman, urged Jewish students and Hillel to fight anti-Semitism more directly so that the bullies would back down.

By the early 1930s, stories about anti-Semitism at UW had died down. However, the popular conflation of Jewishness and New York origins would become part of campus culture, to the

consternation of Jewish students from the Midwest and the East Coast alike, for decades to follow.

THE EXPERIMENTAL COLLEGE

The Experimental College, an effort to recreate the intellectual atmosphere of a small liberal arts college within the University of Wisconsin, became another source of sectional tension between small-town Wisconsinites and students who came to UW seeking a demanding classical education. Opposition to or suspicion of the Ex-College, as it was called, often took the form of anti-radicalism and, owing to the disproportionate numbers of Jewish students who enrolled in it, outright anti-Semitism.

Educational philosopher Alexander Meiklejohn, who had come to UW from Amherst College, wanted to create an intensive liberal arts focus within the broader university. In Meiklejohn's vision, male students would enroll for two years in the Experimental College, work largely independently with professors and graduate instructors, and then complete their bachelor's degree at UW or transfer elsewhere. The University embraced Meiklejohn's idea as a way to reach out to in-state students who otherwise would attend colleges elsewhere and to bring talented out-of-state students to UW.

Meiklejohn's outreach to Wisconsin high school students was not particularly successful. Less than a third of the students who enrolled came from within the state, even though during the Experimental College's lifespan, from 1927 to 1932, more than half of the students in UW's College of Letters & Science, where the Experimental College was housed, were from Wisconsin. Moreover, at a time when Jewish students made up roughly 10 percent of UW's student population, Jewish students comprised 20 to 40 percent of Ex-College enrollments.

Experimental College students were known for radical politics and generally bohemian attitudes. David Gordon, who had been

charged with obscenity for his poem "America," which ran in the *Communist Daily Worker* in 1927, escaped prison time by agreeing to go to college at UW. While in the Experimental College, Gordon got involved with Madison's tiny Communist Party branch, culminating

This reviewer just finished reading a description of Russia, in *The Nation*, by Oswald G. Villard. Mr. Villard's brief article is nowhere near as reliable as Helen and Robert Lynd's analysis of Middletown. But even discounting the personal feeling that

is apparent in Mr. Villard's description, one cannot help but feel that even the most enthusiastic exponent of capitalism, were he to possess average intelligence, could paint so rosy a picture of money-ridden Middletown as does Mr. Villard of Russia.

The Scum of New York

"You are known by the company you keep. You can't hang around with the scum of New York and expect to be respected." These are not the words of an "exclusive" mother to her guileless son. Rather is it the advice of an aristocratic professor, Mr. F. L. Paxson, of the History department, to one of his students who does not believe in the principle of "my country right or wrong." The student (whose name we do not mention) wrote a term paper for Mr. Paxson on American intervention in Nicaragua, in which he held that America's action in Nicaragua was unjust. The paper was the product of careful and extensive research. Its writer is a good student. Thus he was reasonably annoyed when his paper was returned with the grade of "C", and he consulted with Mr. Paxson. Mr. Paxson, instead of trying to show the student where he was mistaken in his view, gave up such a course as futile. He had seen this student's name connected with the Liberal Club—a dangerous group of revolutionaries to his mind—a most disturbing element in any peaceful community—the offspring of a group that overthrew the Russian monarchy.

What this student needed was advice. After all, as an educator, he is as much concerned in guarding the student from the jungles of dangerous thought as in introducing him to the meadows of tractable knowledge. It is necessary to tell the student what type of thinking is in bad repute as well as what is respectable. We must do more than that. We must present

the dangerous thoughts in such a manner that the student will recognize them as dangerous, and instead of fondling them as a novelty or entirely succumbing to them, eschew them from his mind.

Said Mr. Paxson: "You are known by the company you keep. You can't hang around with the scum of New York and expect to be respected." That is how he hoped to show the student he was wrong. He was holding opinions of disreputable people—the scum of New York.

There is no point in mentioning that the Liberal Club is composed of students from many states, with a greater representation from Wisconsin than from any other state. Professor Paxson has a picture in his mind and he undoubtedly knows what he means.

The reason the name of the student involved is not mentioned is that he is a candidate for a degree and hopes to get an instructorship at the university. He is aware that the securing of a job rests in the hands of too many of Mr. Paxson's type. What is their view of a student's ability as a teacher, who expresses opinions not in good taste, is not even a matter of conjecture. This group is using this most fierce weapon for the suppression of independent and unorthodox thinking, and for perpetuating only their kind. That is why an honorary economics club, as the Artus, is so conspicuous for its inactivity. That is why the Liberal Club is so noticeably lacking in senior students who expect to teach, and why those who do not attend proceed so hesitantly.



in a march on Madison's Capitol Square in 1930 that was broken up by a group of UW athletes. After throwing several marchers to the ground, including UW student Lottie Blumenthal, one of the assailants was heard to say, "We are getting so damned many radical Jews here that something must be done."

Clarence Weinstock, later known as Charles Humboldt, a poet and writer for Communist journals in the mid-twentieth century, dropped out of school in New York at the age of fifteen, rode the rails around the country for a few years, and enrolled in the Experimental College in 1929 on a scholarship. In the 1930 *Badger* yearbook, Weinstock was described as "one who believes in freedom of the dress." Maurice Zolotow, who became an entertainment industry journalist and show business biographer, wrote about his time as a friend of poet Delmore Schwartz when they were both at UW during the 1931-1932 academic year. Zolotow also described how the Haywood House (named for Industrial Workers of the World leader William "Big Bill" Haywood) and Arlen House cooperatives were centers of radical political and literary activity at UW during the early 1930s.

The Jewishness and radicalism of some Experimental College students meant, in the minds of more conservative Wisconsin students, that all Jewish students were radicals, especially those from out of state. Even after the Experimental College folded in 1932, due to low enrollment amid financial problems at UW during the Great Depression, many UW students continued to assume that most Jewish students were from out of state and possessed of radical views.

JEWIS AND OTHER RADICALS IN THE 1930S

College students, and people of college age, came together in the 1930s to form multiple organizations that called for socialist and Communist answers to the economic downturn of that decade. University of Wisconsin chapters of radical student organizations like the Young Communist League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy

attracted a large contingent of Jewish students. In the wave of campus activism in the mid-1930s to the late 1930s, prominent student activists were often described as New York Jews. There was considerable overlap between the two groups, but Jews who joined left-wing groups were often alienated from any kind of traditional Jewish observance or identity and tended not to take part in Hillel, Jewish fraternities or sororities, or other activities that would have brought them into contact with nonradical or religious Jewish students. Occasionally, left-wing groups sought Hillel's support for campuswide actions, such as antiwar activity. These requests split Hillel's board; roughly half thought that it would be worthwhile for Hillel to take part in broad campus coalitions, while the other half cautioned against Communist efforts to claim support for their broader causes by using gullible campus organizations' goodwill on a few occasions.

Non-Jews occasionally fell victim to the conflation of antiradicalism and anti-Semitism. When Student League for Industrial Democracy field organizer Monroe Sweetland gave a talk at Wisconsin in 1935, it was interrupted by UW athletes who threw him into Lake Mendota, shouting anti-Semitic insults, even though Sweetland was not Jewish.

Hillel director Max Kadushin's experience in coping with the twin challenges of the New York-Wisconsin cultural clash and Jewish-identified left-wing activity made many consider him an expert on what were known as "migratory students" at midwestern universities. At a 1937 conference of Hillel directors, Kadushin criticized migratory students, particularly Communists, for their lack of interest in local ways of doing things and for creating problems for Jewish communities on campus. In his presentation Kadushin mentioned that after a great deal of effort, he had managed to talk Communist students out of publicizing the UW medical school's quotas on admitting Jewish medical students. He had feared that any attention to this policy would result in the medical school banning Jewish admissions altogether.

In 1938, in-state and out-of-state rivalries and accusations of antiradicalism and anti-Semitism manifested in the normally

of words would not have had the horrifying resonance they would today). Goodnight seemed to have internalized and rationalized the idea that New Yorkers (Jews) were Communists and deserved expulsion from UW under demeaning circumstances. By 1940, Jewish students saw that disparaging “New Yorkers” was a coded way of expressing anti-Semitic sentiments.

HOUSING ISSUES AT UW

Persistent housing discrimination was a less dramatic form of anti-Semitism than rhetorical or physical attacks, but it affected all Jewish students at UW, regardless of their politics or hometowns. Even though the University built several dorms in the 1930s, its prioritization of dorm rooms for in-state students meant that out-of-state students, many of them Jewish, needed to look for housing off campus, where many landlords continued to refuse to rent to Jewish students. In response, other landlords began to open what were sometimes known as “organized Jewish houses” that catered to Jewish women who could not count on renting apartments in the campus area. These houses (actually apartment buildings) boasted some of the amenities found in dorms, like communal lounge areas and food service, and charged a higher rent than did standard furnished college-town apartments. To a degree that probably would have been inconceivable then, these organized Jewish houses established in the 1930s in response to housing discrimination introduced the practice that led to students much later living in the well-appointed residences known as private dorms.

Fraternalities and sororities continued to be a popular housing option for Jewish students who could afford the extra costs associated with Greek-letter organizations’ busy social calendars. But Jewish fraternities and sororities came under anti-Semitic attack, even though most other fraternities and sororities were closed to

Jews. The economic collapse of the 1930s meant that fraternities and sororities often lost their leases and moved from one house to another. However, when Jewish fraternities or sororities moved into houses that had been vacated by non-Jewish Greek-letter organizations, rumors spread that the Jewish group had forced the non-Jews out.

CONDITIONS FOR JEWISH FACULTY AND STAFF

Anti-Semitic policies in many departments continued to restrict Jewish hires during this period. Most Jewish professors at UW continued to be offered only short-term, non-tenure-track appointments, with only a few obtaining permanent employment. One of the best-known Jewish lecturers to teach at UW at the time was Lionel Trilling, who later became a respected English professor at Columbia University and a prominent public intellectual. In his *Menorah Journal* story “A Light to the Nations,” he describes a Jewish professor at a midwestern university who manages to forge a connection with a shy Italian student in a composition class by quoting Dante in the original Italian. When the student learns that her instructor is Jewish and learned Dante by studying Italian literature, she becomes more focused in her studies. After Trilling taught at the University of Wisconsin for the 1927-1928 academic year, he returned to New York to work on his dissertation at Columbia.

The other prominent Jewish academic who came to UW briefly then was Milton Friedman, who taught economics during the 1940-1941 academic year. Friedman arrived at the University of Wisconsin as an associate professor, despite not yet having a PhD. Although he was already a rising star in the field, due to his work in the Roosevelt administration, the anti-Semitism he encountered at UW prompted him to leave the University and return to government service. Apparently, the economics department could only have one Jewish professor at a time, and Selig Perlman had already been there for twenty

years when Friedman was hired. Friedman went on to become one of the leading conservative intellectuals of the twentieth century.

Several Jewish refugee scholars taught at the University during this time. After fleeing his native Austria, William Ebenstein earned a PhD in political science at UW in 1938, stayed on as an instructor, and was promoted to assistant professor in 1943. Ebenstein left UW for Princeton University in 1946, on his way to becoming an expert on the subject of fascist politics. Stanislaw Ulam, a refugee from Poland, and his wife, Francoise Aron Ulam, taught in the UW math department from 1940 to 1943, when they left for Los Alamos to work on the Manhattan Project. In 1978, UW awarded Stanislaw Ulam an honorary doctorate. Adam Ulam, Stanislaw's brother, taught Slavic languages at UW during the 1943-1944 academic year as a graduate student before departing for Harvard. The Ulam brothers were the only members of their family to survive the Holocaust.

The few Jewish professors who managed to earn promotion on the tenure track worked in new fields of inquiry, like labor economics, mathematics, and the study of new political movements. Similarly, as academic staff positions increased at UW, Jewish staff members came on board for these new endeavors. By 1940, roughly a dozen Jewish staff members worked on campus, including Pro Arte Quintet manager Leon Perssion and Gerald Bartell, the first WHA Program Manager. And fourteen years after Alex Stern was denied a part-time student job in the UW library system, Louis Kaplan served as the Memorial Library head librarian. ❖

CHAPTER 4

The War Years and Postwar Developments, 1941–1960

The national climate for American Jews during and after World War II shaped what Jewish students were then experiencing at the University of Wisconsin. Although anti-Semitism continued during the war, the liberation of Nazi concentration camps revealed the end result of German policies against Jews and made unseemly the overt expression of anti-Semitic views in polite society in America. As attitudes toward Jews liberalized, quotas on student admissions and faculty hiring faded. Fraternities at UW began to pay less attention to Jewishness when recruiting pledge classes, and the University built more on-campus housing, alleviating the housing problems that earlier generations of Jewish students had to endure.

During the war, Jewish students on campus seem to have been relatively unaware of the magnitude of the ongoing destruction of European Jewry. Although the *Hillel Review* ran wire-service coverage of the war and its impact on European Jewish communities, campus Jewish activities centered on local conditions and, toward the end of the war, on support for the new state of Israel. Widespread suspicion in America that Holocaust refugees were either Nazis or



Communists prompted the few Jewish refugee students to keep a low profile on campus. In accordance with their wishes, there were few public events to showcase and assist refugee students. Like their non-Jewish counterparts, Jewish students focused on supporting the US war effort and, after the war, on returning to prewar norms of attending classes and socializing.

Even as more states began to build up their public university systems after World War II, many Jewish students continued to choose UW over less expensive colleges closer to home. For students from left-wing political backgrounds, UW was one of the few colleges to allow Communist clubs to hold events on campus (even though such groups were subject to deans' surveillance and occasional outrage from conservative state legislators). UW's growing academic status, helped in part by a wave of new Jewish faculty members, attracted students who wanted a prestigious undergraduate education. The growth of UW's Hillel Foundation and the creation of a Department of Hebrew and Semitic Studies demonstrated to students who wanted to root themselves in the Jewish world that the University of Wisconsin was a place for them.

WORLD WAR II AND IMMEDIATE POSTWAR IMPACTS

At UW, as at other American universities, one of the most immediate effects of the war was men interrupting their college careers or delaying their college plans in order to enlist in the war effort. Fraternities, including Jewish houses, felt the repercussions. All six Jewish fraternities lost their leases during the war years, and during the 1944-1945 academic year, no Jewish fraternities were active. Women on campus had always been well-represented in Jewish student organizations, however they took on new leadership roles during the war. For the first time, women served as Hillel presidents. Women also took the lead in connecting Hillel to the United Service Organizations (USO) to support the increasing number of troops stationed

at Truax Field, the site of the present-day Dane County Regional Airport and Madison Area Technical College. The Hillel War Service Committee, formed in 1942, became one of the largest committees at UW Hillel during the war years.

The War Service Committee arranged informal get-togethers, dances, and services for Jewish GIs who passed through Madison. Because most of the soldiers stationed at Truax Field and other sites in Madison were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two, Hillel became the center for the wider Jewish community's war efforts. Hillel events also introduced Jewish women at UW and Jewish men training at Truax Field to each other. In 1942, new Hillel director Rabbi Theodore Gordon performed the first two weddings to take place at Hillel, where Shirley Goldstein married Wallace Goodstein and David Swartz married Myrna Babby. Both couples had met at War Service Committee dances.

The war also came to Madison through the dozen or so refugees from Nazi Germany who enrolled at UW. At the time, a majority of Americans entertained the idea that refugees from Nazi Germany were criminals, as Nazi propaganda claimed. Although Jewish organizations encouraged refugee resettlement in the United States and provided funds to enable it, they stressed discretion in these efforts to forestall anti-immigrant sentiments. Two Jewish refugees who did become well-known at UW in this era were Kurt Goldsand (who changed his name to Curtiss Sanders while at UW) and Carl Djerassi. Sanders enlisted in the US Air Force upon graduation from UW and was shot down in 1945, as the war came to a close. UW Hillel sponsored a scholarship in his name at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Djerassi, who was already known as an up-and-coming talent among professional chemists for his work in hormone chemistry, earned his PhD while at UW, which launched him into a career in industry and at Stanford University, where he developed the birth control pill.

In line with national trends, a few veterans came to study at UW during the war as their stints in military service were completed,

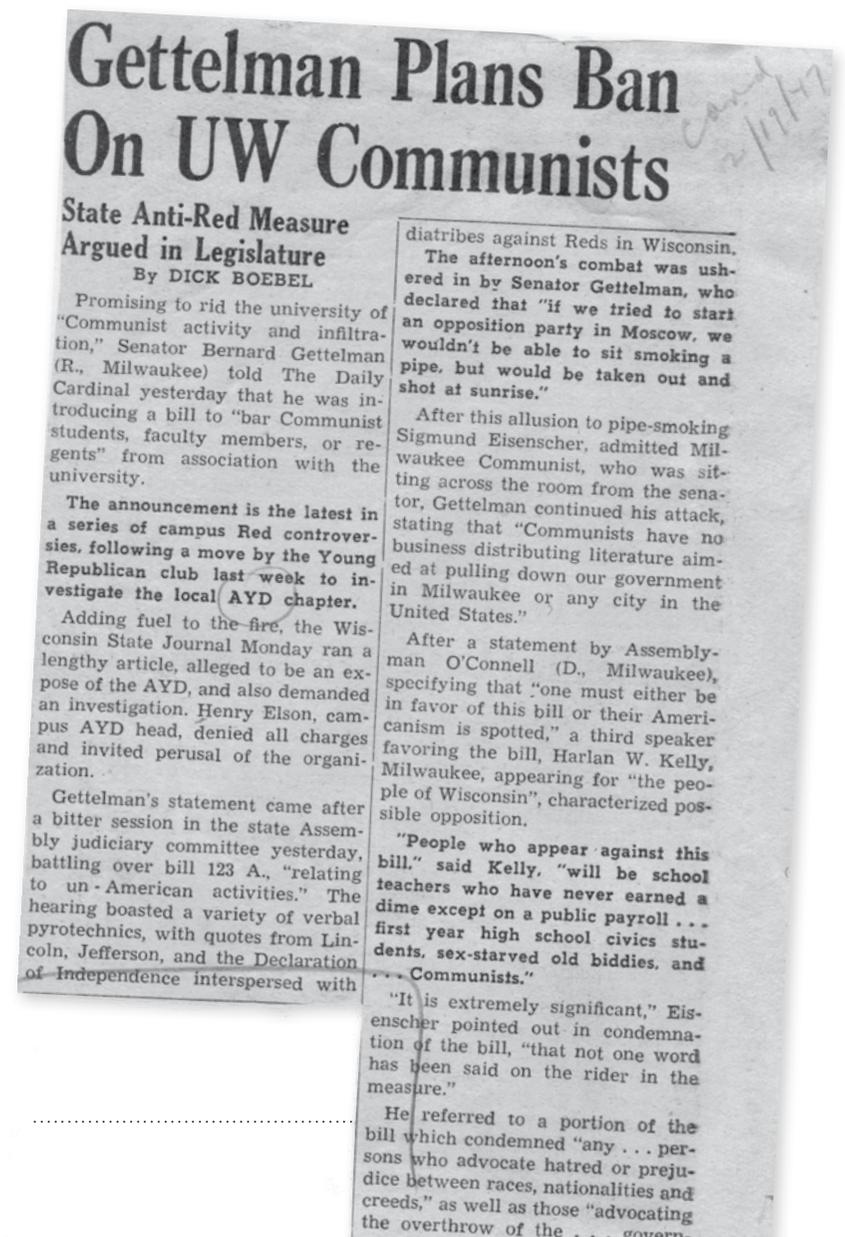
and veterans' presence on campus accelerated after the war ended. Veterans, particularly Jewish ones, found themselves in an awkward situation. Older veterans who had started families were not interested in joining fraternities or attending Hillel mixers, but few Jewish veterans joined organizations like the American Legion or Veterans of Foreign Wars—these groups were seen as Christian, politically conservative, and hostile to Jews. When Madison native Newton Woldenberg, a member of one of Madison's oldest Jewish families, returned to UW in 1943 after serving three years in the army, he wrote the Dean of Student Affairs about UW's need to organize World War II veterans on campus, stating that existing veterans' organizations like the American Legion were ideologically opposed to the liberal ideas held by many college students, particularly Jewish college students. Although the University of Wisconsin Veterans of World War II was organized in 1944, along Woldenberg's proposed lines, it failed to attract many members. In addition, its decision in 1945 to stay out of politics undermined its original progressive orientation.

Woldenberg graduated in 1945, one year before the creation of an American Veterans Committee (AVC) chapter at UW. The American Veterans Committee, from its formation during World War II, basically served the role that Woldenberg envisioned: a group for veterans with liberal ideas about postwar politics. The University of Wisconsin's AVC chapter, unlike the campus branches of other veterans' organizations, was disproportionately Jewish. The fact that most of the Jewish veterans on campus chose this group, even though there was nothing specifically Jewish about its programming, evidences how Jewish students at UW continued to embrace liberal politics and join coalitions of students who shared those views.

THE WARTIME AND POSTWAR LEFT

Like the liberal Jews who joined the AVC in large numbers, Jewish radicals sustained a series of Communist-affiliated organizations at

UW during and after World War II. From 1941 to 1956, the Young Communist League, U. W. Communist Club, Wisconsin Liberals Association, American Youth for Democracy (AYD), John Cookson Marxist Discussion Club, and Labor Youth League attracted wary attention from University administrators, and when these groups were most visible, they were attacked in state newspapers and on the floor of the Wisconsin state legislature.



Although the organizations had disproportionately Jewish memberships and a majority of their members came from out of state, it would be inaccurate to call them Jewish organizations. A 1945 article in the *AYD Newsletter* called on Britain to allow Jewish settlement in Mandate Palestine in the wake of World War II, but the organizations otherwise avoided Jewish issues. Moreover, many Jews in Madison and around the state did not identify with Jewish members of radical organizations. Bernard Gettelman, a Milwaukee state senator who was Wisconsin's only Jewish state senator in the 1940s, was one of the loudest voices in state politics seeking to ban Communist-affiliated groups from the University. The anti-religious nature of the Jewish Left in this era made it complicated for Jewish Leftists to explain their Jewishness. Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall, from a Jewish Communist background in New York, wrote in a 1990 memoir that she "assumed I was Jewish, but my parents were atheists." She went on to say that when she came to UW in 1957, her first-year roommates "were my introduction to American Judaism."

Despite Jewish Leftists' ambivalent relationship to Jewishness, all radical students from out of state were presumed to be Jewish by Wisconsinites. When the state legislature sought to cut the University's budget as a backlash to the appearance of controversial speakers on campus, it often framed the proposed cuts as ways to reduce the number of "New Yorkers" on campus. On campus and around the state, "New Yorkers" continued to be a term for Jews, and not a complimentary one. Liberal, moderate, conservative, and apolitical Jews from New York, like their peers in earlier generations, resented this perception of them and blamed their radical counterparts for ruining their reputations.

JEWISH STUDENTS IN FAIR HOUSING COALITIONS

In an October 21, 1941 letter to the editor of the *Capital Times* in support of isolationist, former UW student Charles Lindbergh, reader



A. J. Plath wrote, "We denounce Lindbergh in the press for what he said about the Jews, saying that it is intolerance. Yet, let six Jewish families buy houses in one block here in Madison and it will run down the value 20 per cent if they move in their families." Plath's letter concluded by stating, "The same can be said for the colored people." Plath's letter made clear what Jewish students had known for years: real estate was an important arena where discrimination played out.

Beginning in the early 1940s, housing issues on and near campus prompted Jewish students to join forces with black and Asian American students, who were also shut out of many housing options. Landlords who owned properties in the campus area seem to have held similar prejudices to those Plath displayed: a survey in the *Daily Cardinal* in 1942 revealed that 95 percent of the housemothers in the "organized houses" (dorm-style housing owned by private landlords) near campus believed that there was no place in the University for black, Jewish, or Asian American students. The end of the war did not affect landlords' refusal to rent to these groups. A 1946 Lions' Club study showed that Jewish, black, and Asian American students

had a hard time finding housing, due to landlords' refusal to rent to them. The study also pointed to the anti-Semitism that led to the creation of twelve Jewish rooming houses to supplement housing available in Jewish sororities.

Amid the widespread anti-Semitism in campus-area real estate, which was reported in both campus and city newspapers, an innovative new housing option was designed to try to prove that discrimination in housing was built on faulty, prejudiced assumptions. The Groves Co-op, named after economics professor and co-operative proponent Harold Groves, opened in 1943 as a house to demonstrate that Jewish, black, Japanese American, and other college women could live together peacefully. UW deans guardedly supported the idea. A major reason for the support was that branches of the US military had taken over campus dorms, which had forced more women to live off campus. (Before and after the war, UW deans in this era encouraged women to live on campus, where dorm housemothers could ensure that men stayed away from women's living spaces outside of visiting hours.) A University-sponsored co-op would be a temporary solution to this wartime dilemma. The deans tempered their support for the Groves Co-op with concerns that it would become a center for radical activity or that campus-area landlords would resent University-sponsored competition. Either outcome could result in bad press for the University, but University officials' fears did not come to pass.

An October 1944 incident involving the University of Wisconsin faculty club drew more attention to housing discrimination on the UW campus. Jewish faculty at UW, who like their counterparts at other midwestern schools in this era were reticent to speak out about prejudice and racism, were at the center of the effort to fight housing discrimination. Wartime ideas about uniting across racial lines to fight fascism overrode professors' tendencies, originating in antiradical movements in the 1910s and 1930s, to keep out of politics. When Arthur Burke, a black graduate student, was evicted from the

University Club shortly after moving into a room there, a committee of University Club members sought to reverse his expulsion. At a time when less than 5 percent of UW faculty were Jewish, one-quarter of the University Club members who urged Burke's admittance were Jews: Selig Perlman and Elizabeth Brandeis, from the Department of Economics; Ruth Wallerstein, from the English Department; and Letters & Science Junior Dean Harry Glicksman. After a month of discussion among University Club members, Burke was again allowed to rent a room there.

In fall 1944 a new student group pledged to end housing discrimination at UW. The ideals of tolerance that underlay US involvement in World War II were incompatible with racial and religious barriers in housing. The Committee for Democratic Housing brought Hillel representatives Laurence Weinstein and Frances Lipton into a coalition with a range of student religious groups—the Congregational Student Assembly, the campus YMCA and YWCA, the Episcopalian St. Francis House, the Christian Science organization, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists—as well as with the Groves Co-op, the Alpha Epsilon Phi sorority, and the Wisconsin Liberals Association (WLA). In the wider Madison community, Madison's NAACP chapter supported the coalition's efforts to end segregation in University housing facilities. Despite an impressive list of coalition partners, rifts prevented any concrete action on housing issues. Specifically, the WLA attempted to take over the organization and steer it in a more Communist direction. Amid a perception that the WLA effort had succeeded, black students and later others left the group, leaving housing discrimination unaffected.

The WLA's participation in the Committee for Democratic Housing rekindled fears of Jewish, out-of-state, Communist activity at the University of Wisconsin. Fearing Communist subversion on campus during wartime, UW deans corresponded with civilian and military intelligence agencies to determine the degree of Communist influence at UW during the war years. A 1943 letter from a UW

administrator to a naval intelligence officer noted that “the group [WLA] turned in a supplementary membership list—largely Jewish, incidentally.” The letter went on to name one member of the organization who was in the Young Communist League and mentioned that she was from Brooklyn, New York. The University also took note of possible Jewish connections among Leftist student organizations but did not follow through with any action. This kind of wink-and-nod approach to pointing out Jewish-Leftist connections persisted at UW for decades.

As University facilities and Greek-letter houses began to pursue integration, coalitions of Jewish, African American, and Asian American students pressed the University to compel off-campus landlords to rent to any students who could furnish the necessary security deposits and pay their monthly rent. The University’s power derived from the process of “approval,” which meant that landlords who met certain conditions—mostly building-code compliance and rental to men only or women only—could be listed as approved landlords by the University. Historically, landlords who refused to rent to students based on race or ethnicity could still be listed as approved as long as their apartments were up to code and single-sex. A student-faculty UW committee had crafted a policy that would withdraw UW approval of landlords who discriminated against black or Jewish students (the two groups most likely to face such discrimination), but the Board of Regents voted it down in 1950 and passed a watered-down version instead. It was not until three years later, due partly to new members of the Board of Regents, that the University began to make fair housing guidelines a factor in approval.

Although housing options for Jewish students began to open up in the 1950s, the so-called Jewish houses (marketed to Jewish women at UW but not discriminating against non-Jews) remained a popular option for Jewish women for housing near campus. Some observers questioned these arrangements, including journalist Carl Alpert, who as part of a profile of Madison for the Indianapolis *Jew-*

ish Post wrote in 1951 that many Jewish parents believed that their daughters should “live with other Jewish girls. Precisely what value there is in such association is difficult to say, since none of the houses have kosher cuisine, none light candles Friday eve, none have Jewish programs of any kind. A few put up Christmas trees in December.” Despite criticism like Alpert’s, the Jewish houses, and their successors, remained a part of informal Jewish life for decades.

INTEGRATION OF GREEK-LETTER SOCIETIES

After World War II, as membership in fraternities declined, some non-Jewish fraternities began to allow Jewish men to join. Jewish fraternities then pondered whether they should follow suit, since they also struggled to attract enough members to sustain fraternity houses, or whether they should remain exclusively Jewish. In March 1949, UW’s Phi Sigma Delta chapter made the statewide Associated Press wire by pledging Weathers Sykes, a non-Jewish black student from Chicago who had previously been a member of the first black fraternity on campus, Kappa Alpha Psi. The Phi Sigma Delta national board questioned the UW chapter’s decision, but as chapter president Alvin Friedman explained, the Phi Sigma Delta constitution was mute on the subject of pledging non-Jews, so he believed that the fraternity’s history of pledging just Jewish students was only the result of long-standing customs. A year later, Sykes returned the favor by serving on the executive committee of the United Student Jewish Appeal at UW.

The Jewish fraternities and sororities had mixed views on the issue of admitting non-Jews. *Hillel Review* ran a forum on integrating historically Jewish Greek-letter societies in its October 17, 1949, issue. Phi Sigma Delta president Art Hillman stated that Sykes had been a member and that his fraternity would continue to admit future members without taking “race, color, or creed” into account. ZBT president Warren Randy responded that the ZBT constitution restricted the UW chapter to Jewish members only. Some fraternities claimed that

their rushing was open to all, but that no non-Jewish members elected to do so. AEPi, the only Jewish sorority at UW in 1949, similarly stated that they were open to non-Jews rushing their sorority. Other Jewish fraternities and sororities were either more reluctant to pursue integration on their own or faced stronger pushback from their national organizations. A series of meetings during the 1954-1955 academic year between Greek-letter organizations, the Wisconsin Student Association, and the UW administration produced a policy that required houses to officially stop discriminating on the basis of race or religion by July 1, 1960. During the 1950s, Jewish Greek-letter organizations began admitting a few non-Jews as members. Although most UW fraternities and sororities, both Jewish and non-Jewish, excised exclusionary language from their charters, some continued to discriminate into the 1960s. The selective and secretive nature of invitations to pledge and the declining student interest in Greek life through the 1960s made the issue increasingly less relevant.

CONTINUITY AND GROWTH AT HILLEL

While Jewish students worked in campus coalitions with non-Jews and continued to assimilate into university life, Hillel continued to provide a center for religious observance. It also became more aligned with Zionism and addressed questions about what constituted Jewish life before and after World War II.

The Zionist movement on campus went through changes during the war years. Although Avukah, the national student Zionist movement, disbanded in 1942, the UW chapter that began in 1927 as a charter member of Avukah became the independent Brandeis Club in 1944. The choice of name was no accident—Elizabeth Brandeis Raushenbush, the daughter of US Supreme Court Justice and pioneering American Zionist Louis Brandeis, taught economics at UW. In 1946, the Brandeis Club affiliated with the newly founded Intercollegiate Zionist Federation of America.

Hillel became more firmly Zionist in the early 1940s. Up until that time, Hillel student leaders and directors saw Zionism as a divisive issue; however, as mainstream Jewish organizations adopted Zionist ideas during the war, Hillel followed, and Zionist activities became part of Hillel, rather than being only loosely allied with it.

On the question of Jewish life in America, one of Theodore Gordon's first acts as Hillel director was to host a symposium in November 1942 about how to handle Jewish exclusion from and assimilation into American society. Gordon's forum featured Zionist, Orthodox, Conservative, Reconstructionist, Reform, and what the *Hillel Review* called "assimilationist" speakers. Hillel member Bob Lewis, who took the assimilationist side of the argument with his non-Jewish wife, the former Martha Wells, drew the most controversy, as the Lewises basically argued for an end to any sort of Jewishness beyond nationality. The Lewises contended that if they wanted to, Jews could assimilate into American society as easily as Finns or Norwegians had. They claimed that intermarriage would be the way for Jews to fully enter American society.

Part of the argument that Jews should assimilate as much as possible sprang from the continued prevalence of anti-Semitism across the United States during World War II. On a national level, anti-Semitism was at the root of the State Department's refusal to resettle Jewish refugees in the United States, and polls indicated that roughly a quarter of Americans saw Jews as a "menace" to the United States. In Madison, UW student Richard Roth recounted bitter anti-Semitism while working in construction at Truax Field in June 1942. In a *Capital Times* story, Roth stated that his supervisor constantly singled him and another Jewish employee out for harsh treatment on the job. At one point, Roth overheard his foreman tell a coworker, "I hate kikes. I'll see to it that I get all of these kikes off the job."

The combination of anti-Semitic conditions during the war and an eagerness for Jewish students to reconnect after the war prompted record numbers of students to affiliate with Hillel. Seven hundred

students joined Hillel for the 1945-1946 academic year, roughly half of the Jewish student population of the University. More Jewish students undoubtedly attended Hillel services and other activities without officially joining.

Hillel's big challenge after the war was finding a space that could accommodate increased student interest and more kinds of activities. The second-floor rooms on State Street were showing signs of wear and tear, and they were too small to accommodate dances and large social events. In 1943, UW Hillel started raising money for a new building, a project that took thirteen years and the efforts of two Hillel directors to complete. Ultimately, Hillel broke ground on a new building in 1955, and the Behr Memorial, named after 1920s sports hero Louis Behr, became the new Hillel headquarters in 1956.

Hillel's building drive demonstrated the connections that Jewish communities around Wisconsin felt to Hillel and the future of Jewish life at UW. Working through B'nai B'rith chapters across the state, Theodore Gordon and Max Ticktin, the Hillel director who started in 1948, raised funds from large and small communities. B'nai B'rith chapters in cities with tiny Jewish populations, like Stevens Point and Eau Claire, were some of the most generous donors to Hillel. Appeals to potential donors stressed the same issues as had the students and parents who wrote to the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* in the early 1920s—Jewish students needed a place to meet and feel comfortable, and a modern Hillel could fill these needs. Donations came in not only from Wisconsin but from Jewish UW alumni across the United States, in many cases from people who had not been especially active in Hillel while in college.

JEWISH PROFESSORS AND JEWISH STUDIES

The end of World War II also saw UW departments begin to lift their implicit quotas and bans on hiring Jewish professors. Maurice Shudofsky, an associate professor of English, took on Selig Perlman's

role as an all-purpose speaker at Hillel and elsewhere on campus about Jewish issues, especially the nascent state of Israel. For the 1947-1948 academic year, the University of Wisconsin also hired associate professor of political science David Fellman, philosopher Julius Weinberg, and historian of pharmacy George Urdang. While Fellman and Weinberg were native midwesterners, Urdang was a refugee from the Holocaust who came to the US in 1938 and to Madison a year later. By the time that Urdang had been named a professor of pharmacy in 1947, he had already been directing the new American Institute for the History of Pharmacy on campus for eight years. In 1947, UW also hired Joshua Lederberg, who organized the department of medical genetics at UW and won the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1958.

George Mosse, who became one of the leading historians of Germany, and whose name graces the Humanities Building and the Center for Jewish Studies, came to UW in 1956 from the University of Iowa. In his thirty-five-year career at UW, Mosse achieved the rare combination of superstar lecturing and world-famous scholarship. In 1960, Howard Temin joined the McArdle Laboratory for Cancer Research. He became UW's second Jewish Nobel laureate in 1976.

In addition to more Jewish faculty than ever before coming to the University of Wisconsin, courses in Hebrew returned. In the early 1950s, in honor of the three hundredth anniversary of the first Jewish settlers in British North America, the Wisconsin Society for Jewish Learning came into being to promote the creation of a Hebrew and Semitic Studies department at UW. It found support from US State Department efforts to encourage the study of strategic languages, including Hebrew and Arabic. Menahem Mansoor, an Egyptian Jew who had worked as an interpreter in the Israeli diplomatic corps before earning a PhD from Johns Hopkins University, founded a department at UW in 1955 that taught courses in Biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac, alongside courses in modern Hebrew and modern Arabic.

THE ERA OF PROTEST BEGINS

On March 3, 1960, UW students demonstrated on Library Mall. The rally supported the civil rights movement, which had begun its campaign of sit-ins a month before. Addressing the roughly five hundred students who had turned out despite snow and freezing temperatures, Hillel director Max Ticktin urged the assembled students to focus on local conditions as well as the southern Jim Crow laws that the civil rights movement fought against. “I hope we do not leave here without making a judgment on the discrimination that exists in subtle ways right here in Madison,” Ticktin advised. He went on to state that restaurants, barbershops, fraternities, and sororities were sites for local discrimination. He also urged students to support the Congress on Racial Equality in their efforts to fight Jim Crow. Ticktin’s comments emphasized the connection between Judaism and movements for social change. He thus made a full-throated call for Jewish participation in wider movements for social change, unlike his predecessors, who had tolerated such participation but had confined their own personal activism exclusively to the Jewish world. As the leader of the organized Jewish community on campus, Ticktin used that authority to place Jews on the liberal side of a nascent movement that would grow exponentially during the next decade. Jewish leaders at the University of Wisconsin, both inside and outside of Hillel, would echo Ticktin’s words for years to come. ❖

CHAPTER 5

Turbulence and Alliances on Campus, 1960s to Early 1970s

In histories and memories of “the sixties” in American culture, the University of Wisconsin stands out as a center for antiwar movement activity and campus radicalism in general. The 1960s were also a period when Jewish identity at UW was most often conflated with political radicalism and out-of-state status. This led to admissions quotas for out-of-state students and vastly reduced Jewish student enrollment. At the same time, new coalitions on campus were being formed. The civil rights and antiwar movements and the fight against quotas created bonds between Jewish and black student organizations and between Jewish students and Jewish professors, who overcame their previous reluctance to be politically outspoken. The plight of Soviet Jews and the Six-Day War in Israel united Jewish students across the political spectrum, and Hillel served as both a political force and a home for the varied interests of a diverse Jewish community. As the 1970s began, Jewish women embraced the women’s rights movement and Jewish students called for a Jewish studies program.

JEWISH STUDENTS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANTIWAR MOVEMENTS

Despite there being only a small African American population at UW and in the city of Madison, the University of Wisconsin was a hotbed of civil rights movement activity, and Jewish students on campus were leaders both in national civil rights campaigns in the South and local ones in the Madison area. Jewish students like Paul Breines (who would later become a member of UW's revived Socialist Club in 1962 and 1963) took part in the 1961 Freedom Rides, where white and African American activists rode interstate buses into the segregated South to challenge the nonenforcement of Supreme Court decisions that ruled that segregation of interstate transportation facilities, including bus facilities, was unconstitutional. The riders endured arrests and brutal violence. Two of the three activists murdered in 1964's Freedom Summer, when activists volunteered to register blacks to vote in Mississippi, were Jewish, and one of them, Andrew Goodman, had attended UW for a semester in fall 1961. Records show that Jewish students from UW who took part in the 1965 Summer Community Organizational and Political Education Project of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCOPE) comprised a much higher percentage of their University's participation than Jewish students from other colleges, with 20 percent of UW's contingent coming from Jewish families, compared to 11 percent for all colleges nationwide.

Many of these UW students of Jewish background did not identify as Jewish, however; 33 percent of the University of Wisconsin's participants claimed to be atheists, as opposed to 14 percent of all college students who took part in SCOPE. But, as in the past, in Madison as well as at the southern sites of SCOPE organizing, students from New York were seen as Jewish, regardless of their religiosity. Accordingly, the civil rights movement became an important arena for Jewishness. Breines, in a 1990 memoir, recalled that he had come to Madison as a "suburban, assimilated, and sometimes self-hating Jew," but that

participation in the movement alongside other Jewish New Yorkers placed him in a "little Jewish groove" that helped him become comfortable with his Jewishness. The civil rights movement could not be classified as a Jewish student organization along the lines of Hillel or ZBT, but at UW, a community of Jewish students came together by participating in it.

Numerous students who took part in the civil rights movement were also awakened to American foreign policy in the early 1960s, specifically the increased US involvement in Southeast Asia. Although UW had a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, the largest national antiwar organization, the most important antiwar student group on campus was the Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV). In 1964, CEWV held some of the first antiwar protests at any American university, and it managed to grow by bringing together students who came to the antiwar movement with varying political philosophies, from pacifists to Communists to liberals. CEWV's model followed the coalition-building of civil rights groups like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

As CEWV-sponsored demonstrations grew in the mid-1960s, Hillel added its official endorsement to antiwar protests that individual Jewish activists had been launching for several years. Hillel's entrance into antiwar protest at UW was a departure from its previous relations with Jewish activists. During earlier periods of student protest, Hillel had kept protest movements, even those with a substantial Jewish membership, at arm's length.

Two Jewish professors in the history department, George Mosse and Harvey Goldberg, inspired many of the leaders of the antiwar movement. Mosse, who became the first Jewish member of the department when he arrived in 1956, researched and taught on the history of twentieth-century Germany. Mosse's eyewitness accounts of Weimar Germany in the 1930s, before he fled to England and eventually to the United States, resonated with students who saw the rising US presence in Vietnam as a harbinger of increased militarism at home. Although

Mosse was a liberal Democrat, he taught about the history of socialism and seemed to sympathize with UW students who wanted the US to move in a more socialist direction. Mosse, however, was not an uncritical supporter of the antiwar movement or student movements generally. He pushed his students who wanted to emulate earlier social movements to carefully examine the similarities and differences in left-wing movements in different times and places in history.

Harvey Goldberg, a historian of France who was Mosse's colleague in the history department, took a more romantic approach to the history of the Left. Goldberg, who during his undergraduate years at UW had been the chair of the social trends committee of the Wisconsin Liberals Association, the UW branch of the Communist

American Youth for Democracy, cheered on the students' direct action against the war. In lectures, Goldberg more openly compared the movements of the 1960s to earlier political revolutions, and his manner of speaking was more emphatic and theatrical than Mosse's.

Jewish students connected with Mosse's and Goldberg's cultural Jewishness, whether it was Mosse's references to his upbringing in Berlin before the Holocaust or Goldberg's New York intensity. Mosse's and Goldberg's engagement with student radicals was a far cry from the earlier days when Jewish faculty at UW distanced themselves from political movements that might show Jews in a controversial light.

Several Jewish faculty members who opposed the war came together with antiwar students at the Faculty-Student Committee to End the War in Vietnam teach-in on April 1, 1965. One-quarter of the faculty members who spoke at the teach-in were Jewish, at a time when Jews comprised less than 10 percent of the UW faculty. George Mosse was one of the representatives of the history department, and Jewish faculty from the philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and social work departments spoke as well. The teach-in marked a more open alliance between Jewish students and faculty on the political Left—an alliance that would deepen throughout the antiwar movement of the 1960s.

RICHARD WINOGRAD AND HILLEL IN THE MID-1960S

Hillel director Richard Winograd, who took over at UW in 1964, continued and expanded the work with activist coalitions that his predecessor, Max Ticktin, had pioneered by supporting the sit-in movement in 1960. Winograd, a New York City native, graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1955. During his college career, Winograd was part of multiple facets of Jewish life at the University. He was president of the historically Jewish Phi Epsilon Pi fraternity chapter, president of the UW chapter of the Intercollegiate Zionist Federation of America, an officer in the UW chapter of the Student

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"A cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam is an imperative necessity to create conditions for peaceful talks."
U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations
March 28, 1967

- WE SUPPORT THE CALL BY U THANT FOR NEW INITIATIVES TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS AMONG ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, LEADING TO A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE VIETNAM WAR.
- WE CALL UPON THE UNITED STATES, THE MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD, TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP AND END THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM NOW AND WITHOUT CONDITIONS. WE ASK OUR GOVERNMENT TO TAKE FURTHER INITIATIVES LEADING TO A STANDSTILL TRUCE.
- WE ASK NORTH VIETNAM AND THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT TO RESPOND AFFIRMATIVELY TO ANY NEW UNITED STATES INITIATIVES AND TO JOIN WITH THE U. S. IN A STANDSTILL CEASE-FIRE.
- WE ASK SOUTH VIETNAM TO RESPECT AND JOIN IN THESE STEPS.
- THIS COURSE OF ACTION PRESENTS TO THE UNITED STATES A MORAL ALTERNATIVE TO OUR STATED POLICY OF BRINGING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS BY FORCE, OR TO THE DEVASTATION OF ALL-OUT WAR, AND A MORE REALISTIC ALTERNATIVE THAN UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL.

WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH INITIATIVES NOW CAN BREAK THE IMPASSE AND LEAD TO NEGOTIATIONS AND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT PROVIDING FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS AND FOR GENUINELY DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL SOUTH VIETNAMESE CAN PARTICIPATE FREELY

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Rabbi Winograd Speaks Out On Hippies, Draft Resistance, Morals

By LARRY TEGEL
How is the hippie movement similar to religion? Should draft protesters picket induction centers? Are college morals undergoing a "revolution?"

Rabbi Richard Winograd, the young and personable director of the Hillel Foundation, Gil Langdon, has some interesting answers to these and other questions based on his personal observations and on his experience working with college students.

Winograd believes the hippie movement is a genuine response to the problems and conditions of our time, but not one that is necessarily good for society or the individual himself.

"I think it answers many legitimate questions people are asking in a simplistic way," Winograd said, but added that he rejected its emphasis on drugs, its anti-political stance and cutish characteristics.

The rabbi pointed out that the failure of many ideologies and what he called "substitute religions" such as communism to provide workable solutions to social ills has led to disillusionment.

Traditional religion, which Winograd described as having been

a state of flux for the last 150 years* also has been unable to provide adequate answers for many who have turned to the hippie movement as an alternate view of reality.

Winograd observed that elements of the hippie movement are comparable to religion in both its positive and negative aspects. Citing examples of the former, the rabbi mentioned the hippie's appreciation of beauty and the fact they've reminded us of "some of the things important in human life, such as love and gentleness."

Its negative aspect, which Winograd mentioned is also found in religious mysticism, is its desire to remove man from the problems of the world.

Asked about another group receiving much attention lately—student demonstrators—Winograd paused thoughtfully for a moment. In response to a question concerning justification of demonstrations, he answered:

"Justified is a hard term to use. Demonstrations are a form of American protest and certain causes are legitimate excuses for demonstrations. However, a demonstration does not mean a license to riot."

Careful to clarify his views,

Winograd gave an example by saying that a demonstration concerning food conditions would be a trivial matter while one concerning the CIA interviews would be legitimate.

Winograd claimed protests and demonstrations are an effective and constructive means of letting the administration and public know student opinions and desires if properly done. Referring to the University of Wisconsin he said: "I think this campus has had some of the very best conducted demonstrations anywhere in the country."

The rabbi remarked that he felt students affiliated with the draft-resistance movement were morally justified in expressing their views by picketing induction centers if they did not cause a disturbance, for example by entering and harassing officials.

When asked his reaction to an incident involving Sen. Edward Kennedy here last fall, Winograd hesitated and asked to be quoted as only saying that the incident was "unfortunate" and that the student Left missed an opportunity to meet an important issue.

On the "moral revolution," he said that his experience with college students indicates that tra-

ditional moral standards are being questioned but added in a humorous tone that this is not peculiar to the current college generation. "Morality has always been in flux," he said. This has accompanied a more liberal attitude toward life in general and a disillusionment in human values, he added.



Rabbi Winograd

—Cardinal Photo by Mark Rohrer

WHS IMAGE ID M3426

League for Industrial Democracy, and an editor of the Hillel Review. Shortly before he came back to UW as Hillel director, Winograd marched alongside Martin Luther King Jr. in 1963 in Birmingham.

Soon after Winograd arrived in Madison in 1964, Hillel and UW's Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee chapter cosponsored a concert by folk singer Pete Seeger at Hillel. The concert established a more direct link between movements for social change and Hillel than had ever been the case. Hillel in the early 1960s also brought to UW traditionally Jewish voices of the civil rights movement. Inspired by a visit to UW by neo-Hasidic Rabbi Zalman Shlomi-Schachter, a six-person Hillel delegation traveled south to participate in the march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in March 1965.

In addition to mobilizing for civil rights for African Americans, political activity at Hillel encompassed the new movement to aid Soviet Jewry. In 1965, one year after the first US demonstrations that urged the Soviet Union to allow its Jews to emigrate, Hillel organized a protest against the Soviet Union that brought four hundred

THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

"Concern for the Jews of Silence"

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Chairman

PROF. MICHAEL PETROVICH
History

Guest Speaker

DR. MOSHE DECTER, Director, Jewish Minorities Research Center, author and contributor to Commentary, Foreign Affairs, etc.

Commentary

PROF. JOHN ARMSTRONG
Political Science

Slides of Jews in USSR taken by UW Law Student, Summer, 1966, will be shown.

MONDAY, MARCH 20 Union Great Hall-8:00 p.m.

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students to the Memorial Union. Although the size of that crowd paled in comparison to the thousands of marchers who surrounded the Soviet mission to the United Nations in New York, it was still an impressive effort for a university a thousand miles west of New York. The diverse lineup of speakers included Wisconsin Attorney General Bronson La Follette and Jewish and non-Jewish professors from the economics and political science departments, who spoke as a prelude

to a screening of a 1964 documentary on Soviet Jews. The committee to Protest Russian Anti-Jewish Action assembled an unprecedented number of cosponsors for the rally and film screening: the African Union, the Israel Student Organization, SDS, the Young People's Socialist League, the Wisconsin Conservative Club, the UW chapter of the Young Americans for Freedom, the Young Democrats Club, the Young Republicans Club, the four historically Jewish fraternities and two Jewish sororities on campus, and two parties active in campus government.

Although the rally supporting Soviet Jews was a fraction of the size of the largest antiwar rallies at UW, Hillel's ability to bring together in support of the cause radical, liberal, and conservative students, as well as international student organizations and historically apolitical Greek-letter organizations, demonstrated the connections that Hillel leaders had across all sectors of the University of Wisconsin campus. Two years after the 1965 rally, a similar program brought most of the same groups together, along with two dormitory government groups and the Wisconsin Union Directorate, giving that protest even more backing than the earlier one. Protests against the Soviet Union's treatment of Jews continued through the mid-1980s. There were demonstrations whenever the Bolshoi Ballet or other Soviet cultural ambassadors came to campus, and UW often sent student delegations to larger Soviet Jewry protests in New York and Washington, DC.

1967

In 1967, a series of interconnected events brought the image of Jews at UW as radicals from the East Coast to the forefront once again. Impatient with the Johnson administration's continued war in Vietnam, the antiwar movement on campus began to focus on UW's support for the war effort, with students who considered themselves culturally Jewish (although nonreligious and unaffiliated with campus Jewish

institutions) as the de facto leaders. At the same time, Israel's Six-Day War, which drove back a coordinated attack by Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, brought Jewish students with or without connections to Jewish institutions together in solidarity. And in the background, UW administrators were debating how big the university could reasonably become.

In February 1967, Jewish-identified student radicals became front-page news across Wisconsin. UW graduate students Robert Cohen, from suburban Philadelphia, and Evan Stark, from suburban New York, were the two most prominent leaders of a protest against campus recruiters from Dow Chemical. Among Dow's products was napalm, the flammable gel that was starting to be used as part of US air attacks in the Vietnam War. Riding favorable coverage in the *Daily Cardinal*, especially in opinion pieces written by Paul Soglin (a Jewish graduate student from suburban Chicago and future mayor of Madison), Cohen and Stark motivated students to disrupt Dow on-campus interviews with a sit-in.

Throughout the antiwar protests of 1967, and despite the prominent roles that non-Jewish students from Wisconsin and throughout the Midwest played in them, local and state media treated Cohen and Stark like the people in charge, reinforcing the idea that left-wing protest was something imported to Wisconsin from the East Coast by Jews. In newspapers around Wisconsin, and in the halls of the state legislature, Cohen became a stand-in for protestors in general. "That sheeny Cohen should be paying twice as much [tuition]," said Wisconsin state assemblyman Harvey Gee, during a Wisconsin State Senate hearing on the anti-Dow protests.

Despite the hostile reaction to their February recruiting visit, recruiters from Dow Chemical returned to Madison in October 1967. The recruiters' return to campus brought out larger protests than ever, and once again Cohen, Stark, and by extension out-of-state and Jewish students were thrust into the spotlight. A month later, Cohen and Stark were expelled from UW, after the Board of Regents

charged that their political activity was interfering with their graduate work. The ruse was transparent: their professors were willing to allow Cohen and Stark to stay at UW, but the regents wanted them gone. Cohen transferred to the State University of New York at Buffalo and Stark transferred to the University of Minnesota. Although the regents believed that expelling those they believed to be in charge of the local antiwar movement would shut it down, its leaderless nature meant that antiwar protests at UW continued unabated without Cohen and Stark.

The alliances built in the antiwar movement figured prominently in UW's response to the Six-Day War in the summer of 1967. Historians of American Jewish life and the New Left (the student activists of the 1960s) often cite the Six-Day War, lasting from June 5 through June 10, 1967, as a turning point in the relationship between American Jews and the New Left. American Jews had leaned in favor of the antiwar movement, but after the Six-Day War, the New Left's sympathy for the Palestinians who came under Israeli occupation in the war's aftermath and statements from activists who resorted to anti-Semitic arguments in their anger at Israel pushed American Jews away from the New Left. However, at the University of Wisconsin this was not the case. For example, during the summer semester, a time when Hillel typically held few activities, it launched a teach-in about the Six-Day War that drew Jewish and non-Jewish students from inside and outside the antiwar movement. Robert Cohen attended Hillel's teach-in, and the *Capital Times* described him as "one of the most vocal Israeli hawks" in attendance. Hillel's teach-in attracted Jewish and Arab American students from around the campus for an open-ended discussion of the Six-Day War as it developed.

The continued visibility of the antiwar movement and its continued high level of Jewish student participation, though, meant that the backlash against out-of-state students, Jewish students in particular, also continued, and in 1967 it was felt in the area of student admissions. Although the 1960s are often remembered as a golden age of

university enrollment, as record numbers of baby boomers went off to college to pursue careers and/or to avoid the draft, administrators at universities in the mid-1960s wrestled with how to accommodate all who wanted to enter. To address Wisconsin's demands for more spots at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay was founded in 1965 and the University of Wisconsin-Parkside, halfway between Racine and Kenosha, was founded in 1968. But many in-state students still wanted to come to the original land-grant, flagship university at Madison, and out-of-state students were not attracted to the new universities. Unfortunately, the University's property in Madison was penned in by Lake Mendota on the north, the suburb of Shorewood Hills to the west, downtown Madison to the east, and a large student housing neighborhood and hospital complex to the south. In addition, Madison city ordinances prohibited the construction of any building taller than the Wisconsin State Capitol building, so upward growth was also constrained.

Applicants and parents of applicants upset that they were not admitted to the University of Wisconsin-Madison wrote their representatives in the state legislature to complain, and university officials wanted to placate the Wisconsin residents who funded the university. Over a three-month period that ended in February 1967, a UW enrollment-management committee came to focus on the 30 percent of UW students who came from out of state. In particular, UW administrators pointed out that states like New York and New Jersey, which had not had functional state university systems before World War II, were making progress on creating them in the 1960s, so students from there in search of an inexpensive, high-quality state university no longer needed to come to Wisconsin. The committee reasoned that capping out-of-state enrollment at 25 percent of admissions would open up more spots for in-state students, while still allowing the university to maintain its global reach and cosmopolitan atmosphere. In its report to UW Chancellor Robben Fleming, the committee proposed that the university create two levels of admis-

sions: “go” states and “hold” states. Applicants from Wisconsin and forty other states would be considered, as always, on a rolling basis, while applications from the remaining nine states and the District of Columbia would be held until a later date. Enrollment administrators believed that this policy would spur students in the hold states to attend the new public universities in their own states, while still encouraging students from most other states and from abroad to apply to the University of Wisconsin.

When news of the proposed policy came out, Jewish and non-Jewish faculty and administrators at UW pointed out that the nine hold states and the District of Columbia were the home states of many of the university’s Jewish students. In particular, Dean of Students Joseph Kauffman, who had worked for the Anti-Defamation League and Brandeis University before coming to UW, and Dean of the College of Letters & Science Leon Epstein, who had been a center-left activist while a student at UW in the late 1930s, opposed the policy, in part because it would drastically reduce the Jewish student population at UW and in part because Epstein wanted to continue building on existing alumni networks on the East Coast. In response to Kauffman, Epstein, and other faculty leaders, UW scrapped the proposed plan. But that was not the end of the battle over admissions.

OUT-OF-STATE ADMISSION QUOTAS

On November 29, 1967, a few weeks after Robert Cohen’s expulsion from UW, conservative Wisconsin state legislator Gordon Roseleip wrote in a letter to his friend, Regent Kenneth Greenquist, “The real question is whether the University is to be run by the regents representing the people of Wisconsin, or by Cohen and his noisy, tiresome clique of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania students.” Roseleip’s reference to Robert Cohen in connection with three East Coast states was a telling example of how “East Coast students” remained a euphemism for “Jewish students” and how influential Wisconsinites

who opposed the antiwar movement came to focus on reducing admission of Jewish students as a way to curtail the movement.

Roseleip’s statement foreshadowed two years of arguments between students and faculty, the Board of Regents, and the state legislature. Beginning in 1968, the state legislature, with input from the Board of Regents, debated reductions in the percentage of out-of-state students admitted to UW, as well as tuition increases for out-of-state students. Although rarely stated directly, making it more difficult for students to come to the University of Wisconsin from out of state was an attempt to curb Jewish enrollment.

The efforts to reduce out-of-state student enrollment came to fruition in 1969, when the regents announced that out-of-state enrollment would be limited to 15 percent of the following year’s incoming freshman class and out-of-state tuition would be increased. (Heavy lobbying by Jewish faculty and UW administrators, with assistance from non-Jewish allies, prevented a similar lid on graduate student admissions.) The student Coalition for Open Enrollment organized to bring students to Board of Regents meetings to oppose the cap on out-of-state admissions. In their presentation to the regents, coalition members argued that the timing of the new policy evidenced its targeting of Jewish and black students, given the prominence of Jewish students in the ongoing antiwar movement and the activism of black students in organizing a recent student strike that called attention to racial discrimination on campus. Like Jewish students, the majority of African American students at UW in this era came from out of state. The only regent to oppose the out-of-state restrictions was Maurice Pasch, the only Jewish member of the board.

By the fall of 1970, the Jewish student population on campus dropped to roughly 1,300, a third of what it had been in 1967. So although the University of Wisconsin–Madison’s total enrollment had grown steadily from 10,000 to 30,000 students from 1930 to 1970, during those years Jewish enrollment grew from 1,000 to 4,000 but shrank back to 1,300. Reflecting Jewish students’ resignation and

pessimism about the state of Jewish life on campus, a 1970 letter soliciting Hillel members began, "Dear friend: Remember when Jews were a struggling minority group? We still are."

JEWISH-BLACK RELATIONS

In 1969, African American students urged all UW students to support a massive walkout over private landlords' discrimination against black students; the University's expulsion of several black protesters; and the University's lack of action in recruiting black students, supporting black students on campus, or hiring African American faculty. Along with many other groups (although there were only about 500 black students enrolled at UW at the time, thousands joined in the march), Hillel backed the strike. Jewish students had a long history of supporting fair housing laws, going back to the 1930s, and as the two groups most obviously targeted by enrollment restrictions, black and Jewish students at UW found that they shared common enemies.

Hillel's support for the strike may have minimized the sort of Black Power-related anti-Semitism that showed up on other campuses in the late 1960s. Interviews and flyers promoting the walk-out and the implementation of the black students' demands in its aftermath did not include any mention of Israel-Palestinian issues or anti-Semitic attacks on Jews on campus or in the surrounding city, which distinguished the UW protests from others around the country.

Gaps between black and Jewish activists on the issue of Israel began to emerge in the early 1970s. Kwame Salter, the director of the Afro-American Community Service Center at UW, accused Israel of employing "Hitleristic tactics" against Palestinians in the wake of 1973's Yom Kippur War, and Hillel and members of Madison's Jewish community responded by criticizing Salter in editorials in local newspapers. Muslim student groups occasionally quarreled with Hillel representatives when speakers on Middle Eastern issues came to campus and at events early in the academic year when extracurricular

groups tabled in the Union and elsewhere. However, the anti-Zionist movement on campus remained ill-organized and fragmentary, unlike similar groups at other universities.

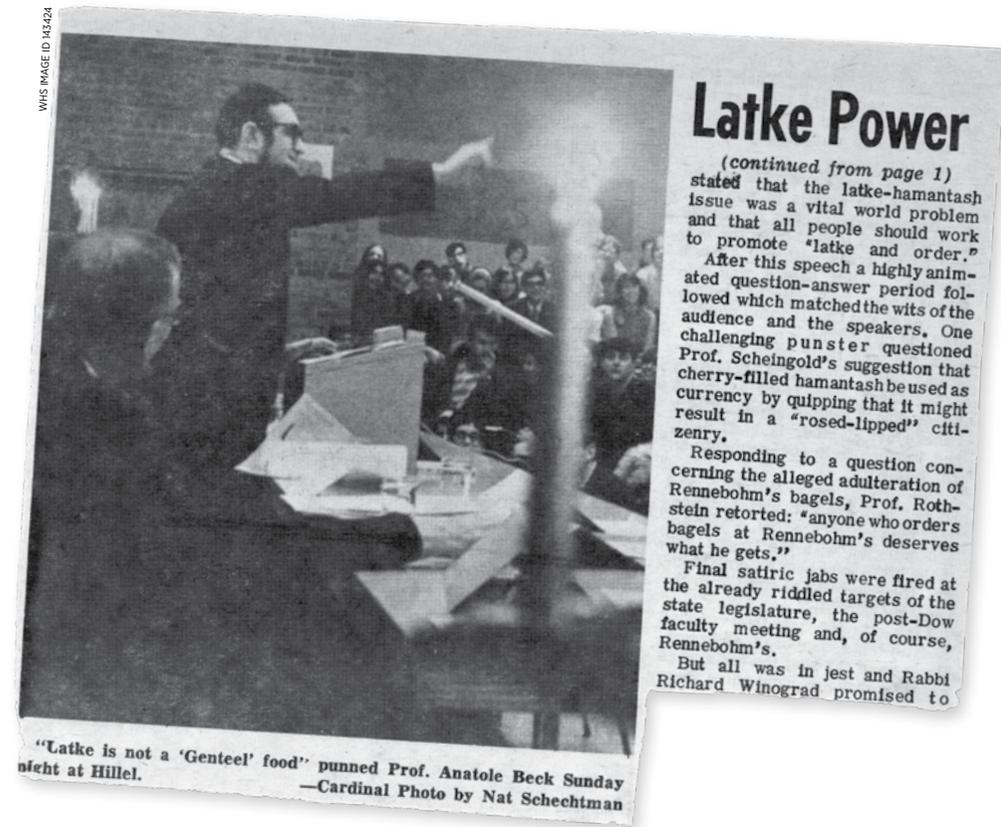


STERLING HALL

In the early morning of August 24, 1970, the blast of the Sterling Hall bombing quieted much of the campus antiwar movement. As they awoke to police and fire sirens and saw the aftermath at Sterling Hall, all but the most militant members of the antiwar movement paused to consider the limits of violent protest. Planted by the New Year's Gang, a group committed to "bringing the war home" by committing violent acts on campus and in the Madison area, a bomb meant to destroy the Army Mathematics Research Center housed in Sterling Hall killed physics graduate student Robert Fassnacht, who had gone into his office late to work on his dissertation research (after the New Year's Gang had checked the building to make sure it was vacant). Although one of the four members of the New Year's Gang—Wilmington, Delaware, native David Fine—was Jewish, the fact that two of the group's leaders, Madison natives Karleton and Dwight Armstrong, were non-Jewish kept the Sterling Hall bombing from being identified as an act perpetrated by Jewish radicals.

JEWISH INSTITUTIONAL LIFE IN THE 1960S AND 1970S

Hillel served many purposes during those tempestuous times. In addition to its political activities, Hillel assumed a role as a medical center for students injured by tear gas during demonstrations, as antiwar protests became more violent by 1970. Medical and premed students worked as medics for injured protesters. That role did not go unnoticed—Hillel came to be seen by Madison police as a center for campus radicals. On at least one occasion, Madison police lobbed tear gas into the Hillel building as students were closing up for the night. Also, students putting up flyers for Hillel events were hassled by police, even though police usually ignored such leafleting. The Hillel director's questions to police on both these matters were ignored.



In the meantime, Hillel continued to serve its institutional functions as a center for Jewish community and traditions. The Jewish professors and administrators who came to the University of Wisconsin in the 1960s had a different relationship to Judaism than did their predecessors in earlier years. Many of these new professors came from observant, even Orthodox, Jewish households. Although some faculty members joined Madison's Reform or Modern Orthodox congregations, many others looked to Hillel as their center for Jewish life. During the 1960s, Hillel sponsored book clubs for faculty members and their spouses, and in 1967 Hillel was the first sponsor of Madison's Jewish preschool, Gan HaYeled.

Faculty involvement at Hillel also contributed to a popular, lighthearted event. In 1964, Hillel director Richard Winograd brought the Latke-Hamantash debates to UW from his previous post

at the University of Chicago. The event, in which professors would give pun-filled speeches about the virtues of the iconic foods of Hanukkah and Purim, attracted hundreds of Jewish students and faculty to Hillel and front-page coverage in the *Daily Cardinal*. The mock debates, which occurred every year through the mid-1970s and occasionally thereafter, brought Jewish students and faculty together in a casual setting. The presence of Jewish faculty at services and other events at Hillel afforded Jewish students the opportunity to encounter their professors in a venue other than the classroom.

As part of its programming, Hillel also featured edgy performances by Jewish writers and actors of the time. In addition to Evan Stark's reading of Allen Ginsberg poems, Hillel hosted playwright and filmmaker Stuart Gordon in 1968. Gordon had won local notoriety for staging a performance of *Peter Pan* that featured copious nudity, prompting the Madison police to shut it down. While awaiting his court case on obscenity charges, Gordon presented a trilogy of his short films at Hillel. He and his wife, Carolyn Purdy, started Chicago's Organic Theatre and made a series of cult classic science fiction films in the 1980s and 1990s. UW students Jim Abrahams, Dick Chudnow, and brothers Jerry

and David Zucker founded the improvisational Kentucky Fried Theater at the University of Wisconsin in 1971 and performed Hillel-commissioned skits at Hillel's 1971 new student program. The group used ideas pioneered in Madison to create their 1977 *Kentucky Fried Movie* and went on to make the *Airplane* and *Naked Gun* film series.

Hillel's efforts to be a comprehensive Jewish center included work to main-



tain traditional Jewish practice at UW. In a 1965 letter to prospective students (or their parents) who wanted to find kosher food at UW, Winograd pointed out that Madison had a kosher butcher and kosher bakery, plus a nonkosher delicatessen that stocked kosher foods. He also described how the historically Jewish private dorms usually offered nonpork substitutes for dinners where pork was the main course. Winograd also called attention to Campus Hall, a newly opened women's private dorm that offered kosher food and where Jewish men who kept kosher could establish meal plans. Periodically during the 1960s and early 1970s, when student demand was strong enough to sustain it, Hillel maintained a kosher food co-op.

Rabbis from Minneapolis and Detroit who were part of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement conducted Shabbatonim (extended sessions on celebrating Shabbat) at Hillel in 1970 and 1971, visited the campus again in 1972 and 1973, and opened a Chabad House on Howard Place near campus in 1977. Led by campus-area developer Bob Levine, the Friends of Chabad-Lubavitch House brought folk singer Theodore Bikel to Madison for a concert benefitting Madison Chabad in 1977. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, Hasidic Rabbi/folksinger Shlomo Carlebach played concerts at Hillel, and Zalman Schachter, who would go on to form the neo-Hasidic Jewish Renewal movement, gave talks there to enthusiastic audiences.

The havurah movement, in which like-minded Jews came together to pray and discuss Judaism in their homes, free of traditional synagogue structures, returned to UW in the form of Kibbutz Langdon. Building on the long history of co-operative living at UW, Kibbutz Langdon introduced egalitarian Shabbat and holiday services at a time when no denominations of American Judaism ordained women as rabbis or cantors. Kibbutz Langdon was featured in an episode of the ABC religious program *Directions* in 1974, a testament to how unique it was at that time. Hannah Rosenthal, a UW alum who became one of the first women to attend the Reform Hebrew Union College, led High Holiday services at Hillel beginning in 1975.

JEWISH WOMEN AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS ON CAMPUS

Jewish women were at the forefront of the women's movement on the UW campus. Jewish women on the faculty and staff participated in large numbers in the Association of Faculty Women, the group that spearheaded equality for women on campus. At consciousness-raising meetings, which brought women together to become politically conscious and better understand women's oppression, some participants' Jewish pasts came up as the inspiration for their feminism. In some cases, Jewish women saw the feminist movement as a way to fight against the patriarchal nature of Judaism. Other women, like English professor Elaine Reuben, co-teacher of the first women's studies course at UW, saw themselves as part of a history of Jewish women participating in organizations ranging from Hadassah to the Israeli military.

As was the case with Jewish participants in other movements for social change, Jewish feminists argued about how Jewish their activism was. Ruth Bleier, a neurophysiologist who chaired the Association of Faculty Women, was quiet about her Jewish background, preferring to emphasize her Communist roots and the fact that she stood up to a House Un-American Activities Committee meeting while working in a Baltimore hospital in 1951. Other Jewish feminists saw their work as part of a broader Jewish social justice tradition.

Evelyn Torton Beck earned her PhD in comparative literature from UW in 1969 and stayed on to teach in the German, comparative literature, and women's studies departments until 1984. She taught courses that focused on Jewish writers while being one of the driving forces behind the women's studies department. Beck's research focused on the Jewish aspects of Franz Kafka's writings, and through her work translating Isaac Bashevis Singer into English she founded the Yiddish section of the Modern Language Association.

BEGINNINGS OF JEWISH STUDIES AT UW

In the 1970s, after the University created the Department of Afro-American Studies as part of the settlement of the 1969 student walk-out, Jewish students at UW began to press for a Jewish studies department. Although it was possible to take a handful of courses with Jewish content at UW, other Big Ten universities had already launched comprehensive Jewish studies programs.

However, UW administrators, smarting from the state legislature's attacks on the University as the home of out-of-state radicals, resisted the idea. They pointed to tight budgets and the availability of Jewish-learning opportunities in formal and informal settings already on campus.

By 1970, Hillel offered noncredit Jewish studies courses, led by Hillel staff, graduate students, and occasionally UW faculty who had the knowledge and time to offer noncredit classes on top of their teaching loads and research projects. Though similar to the kinds of Jewish educational opportunities that Hillel had always offered, this era's version was known as the Free Jewish University. Courses in the Free Jewish University tended to follow the pattern of other extracurricular Jewish studies classes going back to the Menorah Society in the 1910s. Classes filled up, but most students stopped attending as the pace of end-of-semester assignments took precedence over noncredit coursework.

Occasionally professors with an interest in some aspect of Jewish studies offered courses in those areas within their home disciplines, and the popularity of the courses seemed to demonstrate a desire for more. In 1971 alone, historian George Mosse taught an introductory course in modern European Jewish history, English professor Irv Saposnik taught an introductory course on American Jewish novels, and anthropologist Herb Lewis taught an intermediate-level class on African and Asian Jews in Israel. All three classes were full, with waiting lists. UW-Extension offered an eight-week evening course in

twentieth-century Jewish history that enrolled eighty students (quite a high number for an Extension course).

Even though many Jewish studies courses enrolled well, the departments that offered them did not consistently support them or the faculty who taught them. The German and comparative literature departments approved a Yiddish literature course to be taught by Evelyn Torton Beck, but despite student interest, the department claimed that budget problems prevented it from allowing the class to be held. The English department denied Saposnik tenure in 1970, after a rare public hearing that drew hundreds of his supporters to speak out. Saposnik backers claimed that his tenure denial was due to longstanding anti-Semitism in the English department, where Jewish faculty members were only accepted if they did not include Jewish literature in their research. When Mosse went on sabbatical, his course was not offered.

One major success was UW's Department of Hebrew and Semitic Studies, which from its beginnings in 1955 through the early 1970s, attracted hundreds of students to its courses in modern and ancient Hebrew, becoming the largest Hebrew program in the United States. However, the department's founder Menahem Mansoor was skeptical about UW creating a separate Jewish studies department. He questioned whether the courses would really strengthen students' Jewish identity and whether a Jewish studies department would dilute his strong Hebrew department.

In 1971, a petition launched by sophomore Michael Hoffenberg and *Attah*, a new Hillel newspaper, garnered three thousand signatures from students and a majority of Jewish faculty members urging the creation of a Jewish studies department. Outside groups, ranging from the educational journal *Change* to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency to the Anti-Defamation League, joined in support. These outside groups also brought national attention to the University of Wisconsin's abrupt change in its admissions policies for out-of-state students, the anti-Semitic sentiments expressed during the admis-

sions debate, and the resulting drop in Jewish applicants. The Anti-Defamation League suggested that a Jewish studies program would help reverse that trend, but UW administrators were unmoved.

During the debates about starting a Jewish studies program, Hillel director Richard Winograd made aliyah in 1972. Although his successor, Alan Lettovsky, also supported the Jewish studies idea, he lacked the connections on campus to help make it happen. Because of all these obstacles, a structured, official Jewish studies program, on par with other academic disciplines, would not be established at the University of Wisconsin for another two decades. When it was, it would be the efforts of people who had supported Jewish studies in the 1970s—like David Sorkin, an *Attah* writer who would later become the first director of the Center for Jewish Studies, and Laurence Weinstein, a Madison-based UW alumnus whose interest in bringing about a Jewish studies program began in the early 1970s and whose continued support culminated in the Center for Jewish Studies being established and named for him and George Mosse in 1991—that laid the groundwork. ❖

A New Kind of Jewish Community, Late 1970s to Early 2000s

By the late 1970s, the controversy over the cap on out-of-state enrollment had subsided. With the end of the antiwar protests, the University no longer publicly hailed the cap as protection against out-of-state agitators. In the absence of the acrimony and anti-Semitic rhetoric of the admission debates, Jewish students were again drawn to UW from out of state and the Jewish student population on campus grew from the reduced enrollment of roughly 1,300 in 1970 to roughly 5,000 by the early 2000s, according to UW Hillel estimates.

The composition of the student Jewish community at UW, though, substantially changed. Out-of-state Jewish students tended to be wealthier, on average, than their predecessors had been, due to the increased cost of out-of-state tuition and the high cost of housing for out-of-state students. UW continued to prioritize in-state students for housing on campus. Thus, out-of-state students had to be able to afford the pricier private dorms on State Street, like the Towers and the Statesider, which began to be seen as similar to the “Jewish houses” of earlier generations.

By the late 1980s, the stereotype that Jewish students from out of state were all political radicals had been replaced by the stereotype that all Jewish students from out of state were extremely wealthy. In Wisconsin, which suffered from the deindustrialization in the United States from the early 1970s onward, wealth was hard to come by at the time, especially outside of Madison and suburban Milwaukee. In-state and Minnesota students, due to low in-state tuition and tuition reciprocity, came from a wider variety of demographic backgrounds than did the average out-of-state student.

This new stereotype about Jewish students at UW contributed to new expressions of anti-Semitism and sudden resurgences of isolated but troubling anti-Semitic incidents on campus, many particularly targeting Jewish women, which generated national attention. However, the days of institutional anti-Semitism were over and the University responded quickly to address episodes of vandalism, harassment, and stereotyping.

Another change during this time was that UW Jewish students, faculty, and staff had far greater freedom and opportunities as to how to experience their Jewishness. With students no longer excluded from certain housing or limited to Jewish fraternities and sororities and faculty and staff no longer restricted or stigmatized, they could choose to assimilate into the campus community as many American Jews assimilated into American society. Alternatively, Jewish students could reach out socially to fellow Jews as previous students had, by joining historically Jewish Greek-letter houses or participating in Hillel activities, or they could continue the tradition of joining together in political activism for Jewish causes, such as Russian Jewry or Israel. Jews associated with the University could find each other by inserting the knowing Yiddish phrase into casual conversation, or they could take on leadership roles in the growing Jewish Federation and congregations in Madison. For observant Jews, new movements brought Orthodox services to campus. And for the first time at UW, Jewish students

could study their history, traditions, and languages as an established academic discipline at the new Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies.

JUDAISM, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF HILLEL

In the late 1970s, the first Jewish religious services for UW students were held on a regular basis outside of Hillel. Although Hillel held well-attended Shabbat and holiday services, Kibbutz Langdon and Chabad provided approaches to Judaism that departed from the Reform and Conservative services at Hillel. Kibbutz Langdon, which lasted into the early 1980s, continued to offer an egalitarian approach to Judaism and served as a center for Jewish women to see their Jewishness in feminist terms, hosting meetings of the Madison Jewish Women's Group and bringing women from the University and the Madison area together to discuss feminist approaches to Judaism.

Keeping kosher became more viable and popular at UW in the late 1970s. *Attah*, the Jewish student magazine that returned to Hillel from 1976 to 1978, ran several articles on where to buy kosher food in Madison, and a short-lived kosher meat market and grocery advertised heavily, making a play for Jewish student business. Although there was growing student interest in kosher dining, *Attah* also ran an advertisement for Madison's Bagels Forever bagel shop that urged readers to "try toasted cheese bagel burgers."

Chabad brought Orthodox Judaism to campus. Like the havurah movement, Chabad houses were becoming fixtures on American college campuses during the 1970s. Chabad, as the outreach arm of the Lubavitcher Hasidic movement, held Shabbat dinners and services for students who wanted to explore traditional Judaism. Under the leadership of Rabbi Yossi Hecht, Wisconsin Chabad began offering a program of classes alongside Hillel's long-running Free Jewish University program, from its house at 613 Howard Place, just two blocks from Hillel.

In 1989, *Genesis* (the Hillel student newspaper from 1984 to 1991) published an article about an observant Jewish mathematician's loneliness at the University of Wisconsin. His experience would have been substantially different two decades later, as Orthodox Judaism experienced a surge in popularity over the next twenty years. In 2005, Madison's Chabad House, which had moved to Regent Street in 1987, opened a campus branch on Gilman Street. Chabad activities centered on traditional Shabbat services and dinners in a homelike atmosphere. In contrast to Hillel's vision, Chabad did not offer opportunities for student leadership, but it did offer students a Birthright trip and opportunities to study traditional texts. Chabad's international fundraising network allowed students to be paid for attending its Sinai Scholars program and other Jewish educational activities.

Also in 2005, Chabad was joined by Jewish Experience Madison (JEM), a branch of the Aish Ha-Torah movement. Aish-Ha-Torah began as a yeshiva in Jerusalem in the 1970s, focused on recruiting Jews who were traveling in Israel. Like Chabad, JEM marketed itself as an organization that brought Orthodox Judaism to less observant Jews and served as a home for Jewish UW students who grew up in Orthodox homes. By 2011, Jewish Experience Madison had built a building on Langdon Street one block away from Hillel, featuring student apartments above its common areas.

Despite competition from Kibbutz Langdon and Chabad, Hillel continued to serve as the largest Jewish organization on campus. Beyond its religious services and Free Jewish University, Hillel was the campus center for movements to support Israel and the emigration of Soviet Jews. Hillel regularly held protests when speakers or performers from the Soviet Union came to campus, and it "adopted" a refusenik in the late 1970s. Although UW's left-wing student organizations were much smaller than they had been in the early 1970s, Hillel remained on guard to call out groups whose critique of Israel veered into anti-Semitism. Hillel leaders differed about the wisdom of a Palestinian

state, but Israel programming, including sing-alongs, folk dancing, and guest speakers, remained a fixture of Hillel activities.

During the 1990s, however, Hillel faced serious budgetary problems. B'nai B'rith, facing declining memberships as were other lodges and mutual aid societies, scaled back its Hillel funding. Hillels were encouraged, and later forced, to raise funds through their own networks of alumni, parents, and friends. In areas of the country where B'nai B'rith lodges still functioned, those lodges could serve as sources of support, but B'nai B'rith could not support hundreds of Hillels around the world.

In the latter part of the decade, UW Hillel realized that in order to continue operating, it needed to raise funds from the Jewish Federations of Madison and Milwaukee and from other alumni and friends of the organization. Efforts to raise money from Jewish Federations in cities where large numbers of UW students had come from—like Chicago and Minneapolis—failed. Efforts to reach out to high-income individuals foundered as well. Even the Milwaukee and Madison Federations were chary about giving more funds to Hillel, as they prioritized other local, national, and international causes.

Lacking the funds to do serious demographic research or hire a full-time development expert, Hillel began to dip into its contingency funds to stay solvent. In the 1998-1999 academic year, continued demands for student programming and a lack of major fundraising prompted a financial crisis, which in turn led to a dramatic restructuring of UW Hillel. One measure enacted was that Hillel's board would no longer be composed exclusively of Madisonians; high-level donors from around the country were urged to participate. In addition, former UW English professor Irv Saposnik, who had returned to Madison to become Hillel director in 1982, was encouraged to resign as director, and the new board brought in Andrea Lerner (later Steinberger) and Greg Steinberger, a husband-and-wife team, as the Hillel rabbi and the Hillel director. In the early 2000s, UW Hillel successfully cultivated a larger, national donor base.

Hillel's other challenge was its building. While the Behr Memorial was state of the art when it was built in the mid-1950s, the structure had begun to show considerable wear by the 1990s. An extensive, national fundraising campaign resulted in the construction of the Barbara Hochberg Center, a new three-story structure that opened in 2009 on the site of the previous Behr Memorial. In addition to chapel spaces for Reform and Conservative services, the new building had a rooftop basketball court and a restaurant with a separate entry to the street. By 2011, Hillel could boast of thirty ongoing student organizations, from a Birthright Israel program to Jewop, an award-winning a cappella group, plus connections to the wider Madison community through community service, art programs, and Madison's only kosher restaurant.

When former Hillel director Alan Lettovsky left Madison in 1982 to oversee the Hillel chapters at universities in his native Cleveland, he seemed to have left a peaceful, if somewhat sleepy, Hillel operation in Madison for his successor Irv Saposnik. However, just as the restructuring of Hillel dramatically affected the end of Saposnik's tenure as director, the beginning of his term was engulfed by major events in Israel igniting tensions on campus.

CONFLICTS ABOUT ISRAEL ON CAMPUS

In 1982, Israel's invasion of Lebanon in retaliation for attacks on Israeli territory from Southern Lebanon sparked controversy in American Jewish communities. Dovish Jews, accustomed to seeing Israel as an underdog nation surrounded by hostile neighbors, questioned the Israeli invasion of Lebanon that extended beyond the zone where the attacks originated to Beirut, Lebanon's capital. More hawkish Jews applauded Israel's muscular response and criticized the out-of-date thinking of Jewish peaceniks.

The debate about Israel's actions in Lebanon, particularly after Israeli-allied Christian groups in Lebanon massacred Palestinians in

refugee camps, came to the University of Wisconsin as it did to colleges around the world. From 1982 to 1985, newspaper articles in the *Capital Times* and in *Genesis* reported about the many Jewish students who were unsure what to think about relations between Israel, the Palestinians, and the Arab nations on Israel's borders. Hillel, in wrestling with these issues, welcomed a variety of speakers and student groups who studied and spoke about Israel.

The late 1980s were a period of unprecedented interest in and continuing conflict about Israel politics on campus. As had been the case in the wake of the Yom Kippur War, Jewish students were unified against anti-Semitic statements but battled each other about the proper American Jewish response to Israeli foreign policy.

In the fall of 1985, a group of roughly twenty Israeli, Palestinian, American (both Jewish and not), and Arab students came together to form Olive Branch, an organization housed at Hillel that encouraged peaceful relations between Jewish and Arab students at UW and in Israel. Led by Bruce Saposnik, a UW student and the son of then Hillel director Irv Saposnik, Olive Branch stood for six key principles: a return to pre-1967 Israeli borders, a cease-fire and immediate peace talks between Israeli and Palestinian diplomats, an end to Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, an immediate withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza, reparations or resettlement for Palestinian refugees, and Israeli-Palestinian peace talks serving as a prelude to more peace treaties between Israel and other Arab nations.

A counter to Olive Branch's vision emerged on campus in 1986. Students who saw Israel's occupations as a prelude to a more militarized and less Arab Israel formed a chapter of the Jewish Defense League (JDL) on campus. Founded by Brooklyn Rabbi Meir Kahane in the late 1960s, JDL began as an organization that emulated the Black Panthers, fighting for the rights of poor Jews in New York City. However, Kahane's vision of Jewish defense extended to manufacturing bombs, which in turn led to his imprisonment. Kahane spent

the 1970s and 1980s moving between Israel and New York; in Israel, his Kach political party campaigned for an end to marriages between Jews and Arabs and annexation of the lands that Israel had been occupying since 1967.

Conflicts between Olive Branch and UW's Kach branch broke out in the late 1980s. Members of Olive Branch traveled to Milwaukee in 1987 to protest Kahane's speaking appearance there. Kach supporters in Madison responded by putting flyers up on campus that called Olive Branch leaders Bruce Saposnik and Micah Kaminer, the son of an Israeli Leftist who illegally met with PLO representatives in 1986, the "gravediggers of the Jewish people."

WHS IMAGE ID 143557

The Olive Branch

presents

20 Years of Occupation Chances for Peace

A lecture by:

Reuven Kaminer

An Israeli Peace Activist

Mon. May 25, 8:00 PM

In the Memorial Union.
See Today in the Union for room number.

Kaminer is a founding editor of Israleft News Service which served (1970-1986) as one of the main sources on critical thinking and the activity of the peace movement in Israel. Kaminer served on the national steering committee of the Committee Against the War in Lebanon (CAWL) and is an activist in the Committee for Solidarity with Birzeit University.

In November, 1986, Kaminer participated in an Israeli peace delegation which met with PLO representatives in Romania. As a result, Kaminer, along with three other Israelis, Latif Dori, Yael Lotan and Eliezer Feiler, is presently under indictment for violating an amendment to Israel's "anti-terrorist" laws. The trial which is to continue on June 14, 1987 will center on the legality of the amendment designed to terminate an ongoing dialogue between members of the peace movement in Israel and legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people.

Sponsored by

WSA, the Olive Branch, Third World Coalition

WHS IMAGE ID 143558

ONLY THUS נדן נדן

REUVEN KAMINER, THE JEW WHO MEETS WITH THE PLO WHILE THE ARABS MURDER JEWISH CHILDREN

Just what Madison, Wisconsin needs. Another pathetic, self-hating Jewish academic trotskyite, like 1933 revisited, coming to town to complain about the Israelis picking on his civil liberties. What a sad specimen. Pitted by loyal Jews, disdained by real communists, laughed at by the *goyim*, and despised by Arabs. But tolerated and supported by the even more pitiable Jewish liberal establishment.

But this one is something special - an authentic traitor who met with PLO representatives in Romania in November 1986 and has since been indicted by the Israeli government under their anti-terrorist laws.

Imagine him sitting there shaking hands and sharing smarmy little jokes with the PLO leaders. The same people who arranged the murder of the 11 Israeli athletes at Munich. Who flew the hired Japanese killers into Lod Airport to massacre dozens of travelers. Who murdered the Jewish children in Maalot and Kiryat Shmona. Who arranged for the *hashashin* to murder dozens of Turkish Jews at prayer in the synagogue in Istanbul. Who murdered an 8-year-old Jewish child in Samaria last week and left his body in a cave. These are the people with whom Reuven Kaminer and his friends make common cause.

But Kaminer is only part of the story. Think about the following:

Kaminer's appearances here are co-sponsored by 'Olive Branch' and the UW-Madison Hillel Foundation. A nice interlocking directorate of self-hating Jewish fathers and sons they so well deserve:

Key activists in 'Olive Branch' are Reuven Kaminer's son, Micah Kaminer, and Bruce Iain Saposnik, son of the Hillel Foundation director, Dr Irving Saposnik. Bruce Saposnik and Micah Kaminer displayed the PLO flag, protesting in the presence of 400 Jews who came to hear Rabbi Meir Kahane at the Milwaukee Jewish Community Center on February 4, 1987. While a gang of Arabs outside the building chanted 'Death to Israel. Death to Zionism. Long live Palestine'. Meantime, in the Jewish community newspaper in Madison, Dr Irving Saposnik writes squeaky little book reviews that, just by coincidence, undercut the position of Jewish Israel and boost the cause of our Arab enemies.

Reuven Kaminer and his friends, the gravediggers of the Jewish nation.

This message is brought to the Jewish community as a public service by Kach International, the carrier of the authentic Jewish idea. Because...

NOTHING CAN STOP THE POWER
OF AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME.



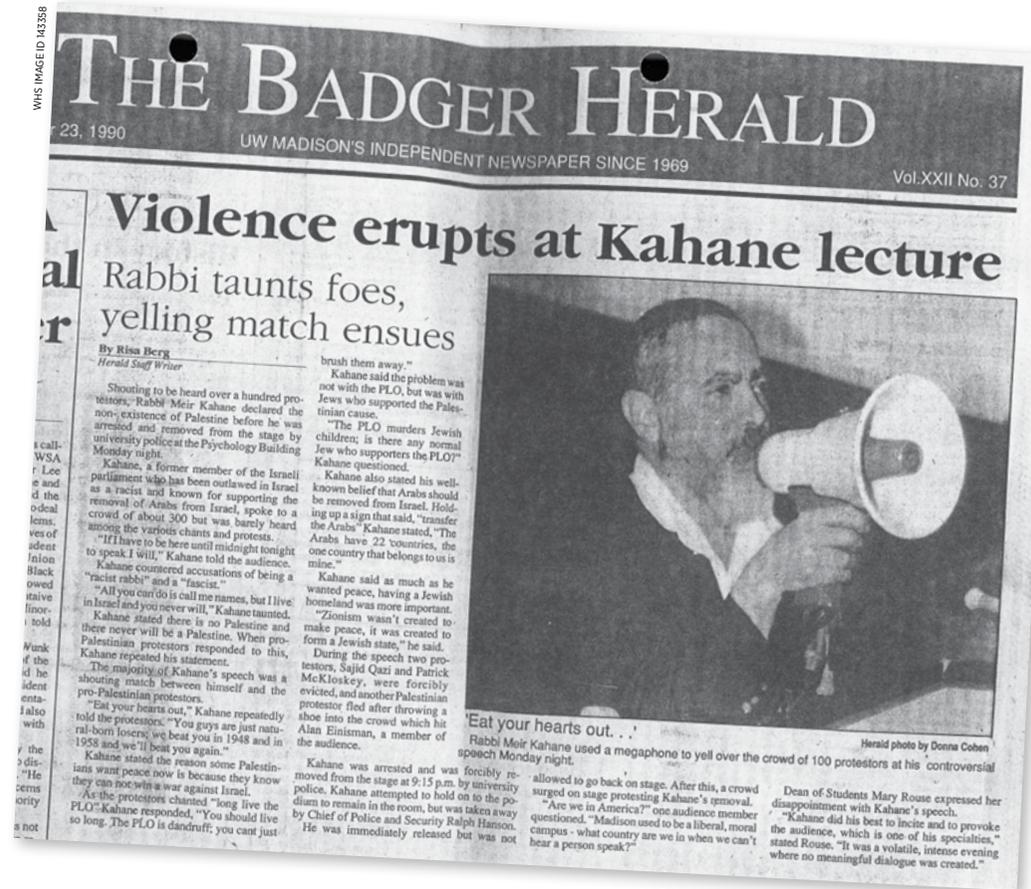
The First Intifada, an armed conflict between Israel and a coalition of Palestinian groups that began an uprising in December 1987, intensified debates about Israel issues on campus and conflicts between pro-Israel Jewish students and non-Jewish student leaders who supported the Palestinian uprising. During the summer and fall of 1989, the Wisconsin Student Assembly proposed a "sister campus"

relationship with an-Najah University in the West Bank. Although the plan won the support of UW Chancellor Donna Shalala, Jewish students fought for a thorough review of the arrangement, and the sister campus relationship never came to pass. Students in the campus Left of that era, led by African American students, equated Israeli policy in the West Bank to South African apartheid. Jewish students who supported Israel but opposed Israeli policy against the Intifada had to argue against both sides.

Conflicts about Israel further escalated when local allies of Meir Kahane resurfaced to bring him to Madison in October 1990. Funded as before by Madison-area friends of Kahane, the Zionist Organization of Madison (ZOOM) notified UW officials on October 15 that Kahane would be speaking on campus in an auditorium in the Psychology Building. Madison's Jewish Federation and synagogues immediately denounced the visit, but Kahane came and spoke to a loud audience of more than three hundred students and community members on October 22.

Chaos reigned at the talk. Freiheit, a left-wing Jewish group, joined the Arab Student Association, the International Socialist Organization, the Middle East Justice Network, the General Union of Palestinian Students, and the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom in trying to shout Kahane down. Many Jewish students opposed Kahane's talk but were less confrontational about it. A small group of students from the UW-Milwaukee chapter of Tagar, an international group of right-wing college-age Zionists, came to support Kahane. When Kahane continued to speak past the 9:00 p.m. end of the time the room was booked for, UW Dean of Students Mary Rouse told ZOOM leader Glen Bushee to unplug Kahane's microphone. At 9:15, campus and Madison police broke up the resulting shouting match. Apart from one Kahane supporter, who was hit by a protestor's flying shoe, no one was injured.

Perhaps unintentionally, Jewish groups' voicing of their near-universal opposition to Kahane's speech at an open campus forum



two days later eased some of the tensions between Jewish students and students sympathetic to the Palestinian cause on campus. At the opposite end of the spectrum, student supporters who wanted to keep Kahane's reactionary ideas alive at UW pledged to bring him back to speak again. Before that could happen, Kahane was assassinated two weeks later after giving a speech in New York. After Kahane's death, the movements associated with him faded out on campus.

NEW FORMS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Violent acts of anti-Semitism in the late 1980s and in 1990 (apparently unrelated to the issue of Israel) jarred the University, although the incidents quickly came and went. More sustained bias was reflected

in acts of stereotyping and harassment of Jewish women on campus, which occurred in extended periods from the 1980s through 2010.

In October 1987, members of the University of Wisconsin's historically non-Jewish Phi Gamma Delta chapter entered the historically Jewish ZBT house and broke up a chapter meeting. Phi Gamma Delta, or "Fiji," had just come off of probation for a racist-themed "Fiji Island" party they held the semester before. At the ZBT chapter meeting, Fiji members appeared out of nowhere and fought with members of ZBT, yelling racist and anti-Semitic slurs. For several weeks, the University investigated the fight, ultimately deciding that a few very drunk individuals who made bigoted remarks, rather than the fraternity itself, were at fault, and the fraternity was not sanctioned.

Anti-Semitism escalated to vandalism and severe harassment in a wave of extreme attacks in 1990. Between July and October of that year, at least twenty-three incidents occurred at UW, targeting Jews and Jewish institutions. Vandals broke windows at Hillel and spray-painted swastikas on Jewish fraternity and sorority houses. Individual Jews on campus reported verbal harassment. Brakes on buses used to transport campers to Camp Shalom, a day camp sponsored by the Madison Jewish Community Council that employed many UW students as counselors, were tampered with while the buses were parked in the Beth Israel Center's parking lot. Vandals spray-painted swastikas and "Rich Jews Die" on Temple Beth El's wall.

Coverage extended beyond local and state press, with the *New York Times* and Jewish community weekly papers like the *Cleveland Jewish News* running stories on anti-Semitism in Madison. The articles stressed the contrasts between the liberal image of the University of Wisconsin and the surrounding city of Madison and the overt use of Nazi symbols. Although concerned about the vandalism, Jewish leaders on campus and in the city—fraternity and sorority presidents, Hillel director Irv Saposnik, Jewish Federation director Steven Morrison, and Madison mayor and former UW student activist Paul Soglin—all stressed that the vandalism was the result of a few

WHS IMAGE ID 14321

A Surge of Anti-Semitic Crimes Jars Madison's Pride as a Liberal Haven

By DIRK JOHNSON
Special to The New York Times

MADISON, Wis., Sept. 16 — As always around the holidays, Jewish children will be asking their parents many questions this week about the meaning of Rosh ha-Shanah.

For those who attend Jewish New Year services Wednesday night at Temple Beth El here, some children will no doubt ask another question: Why are armed guards posted outside the synagogue?

Madison, a city known for its liberal tradition and appreciation of diversity, has been shaken by hate crimes in recent weeks.

"People are in disbelief that these kinds of things could happen in Madison, with its liberal, education and high level of culture," said Rabbi Jan Brahm of Beth El, who has hired off-duty police officers as guards for the city in Madison. But sadly, even wonderful societies have kooks and anti-Semites."

Hate of Homosexuals as Well

Hillel, the Jewish student center at the University of Wisconsin here, has been the target of rock throwers, Jewish fraternities and sororities, Jewish vandalism and scrawled with venomous graffiti. The brake lines were severed on a school bus for a Jewish day camp, although the damage was discovered before the bus was used. Windows were broken and trash

A city finds that education and anti-bias laws aren't enough.

was strewn on the grounds of Beth El. It is not just Jews who are targets. A week ago, a Louisiana man shot to death a 21-year-old Madison man who he claimed had made a sexual advance. The Louisiana man, who has been charged with murder, told the police he had brought a pistol to Madison because so many homosexuals lived there.

Madison has a strong human rights ordinance intended to protect homosexuals and members of minorities.

Jews number less than 5 percent of Madison's population. But the city's Soglin and County Executive Richard Phelps, are Jewish. And eight elected officials in Dane County are openly gay.

"Maybe this is some kind of backlash," said Ricardo Gonzalez, a Madison City Councilman who is gay. "Madison has been at the forefront of protecting gay people and other minorities. It wouldn't surprise me if

some people think too much progress has been made in the last few decades here."

More than 400 Madisonians, including several top government and university officials, gathered at the Hillel student center last week to express their outrage over the incidents. The university has distributed 25,000 fliers that and report them to the police.

"We're not scared, we're angry," said Howard Schneider, vice president of the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity, which has been the target of several acts of vandalism.

"College is supposed to be the best four years of your life," he said. "You're supposed to be able to tell your children about all your great memories from college. What am I going to be able to tell my children? That I would come home after class and see graffiti on my building that says, 'Jews Go Home.'"

Some Jews here, including Rabbi Brahm, have expressed concern that anti-Jewish attacks might be caused in part by a perception that Israel is responsible for the United States' difficulties in the Middle East.

'Classic Jewish Hating'

But others, like Steven H. Morrison, executive director of the Jewish Community Council, see the attacks as unrelated to current events.

"The language in the graffiti is classic Jewish hating," he said. Mr. Morrison contends that the appearance of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, who has fostered "a climate of hate."

Donna E. Shalala, the university chancellor, said she did not believe the attacks were inspired by speeches on campus.

"I don't think these cowards attend speeches," she said. "There are some hateful people out there. And we're going to catch them. And we're undergraduates who are going to act as our eyes and ears. These cowards are not going to get away with this."

The university has a strict policy that forbids hateful speech. And state law provides for harsher penalties for crimes in which the victim is attacked simply because of ethnicity, race, religion or sexual orientation.

Reurgent Pride

In a notice inviting students to gather for a talk, Hillel distributed a circular that read: "Anti-Semitism. How does it make you feel? Afraid? Worried? Frightened? Confused? Concerned? Let's talk. Come to share your feelings."

At the meeting at Hillel, some speakers said the attacks had renewed their sense of Jewish values. Gilead Mo-



Madison, Wis., has been shaken by a series of hate crimes in recent weeks. At the University of Wisconsin, the Jewish student center has been the target of rock throwers. Alex Tesis, a philosophy student, said his mother left the Soviet Union to escape anti-Semitism.



"We live in a wonderful society in Madison," said Rabbi Jan Brahm of Temple Beth El, who has hired guards for synagogue during holidays. "But sadly, even wonderful societies have kooks and anti-Semites."

sh, chairman of the Hebrew and Semitic studies department, urged students to proclaim their Jewish identity.

"Every time someone tucks their star of David into their shirt or puts it in their drawer, this is a victory for the creeps who are walking around here hitting," he said.

Steven Geizer, a 21-year-old political science major, said he was walking by a tavern on campus one night when he heard shouts like "Jew boy" directed at him.

"There has always been an assumption that prejudice was the result of ignorance, and that education would solve the problem," said Mr. Geizer. "One of the most troubling things about all of this, it seems to me, is that it shows that even people who are educated are capable of anti-Semitism."

Ian Lapp, a student who has started a group called Jewish Coalition, said a spirit of defiance had inspired many Jewish students here. "People are saying: 'We're not going to stop going to Hillel. Basically, we're not going to stop being Jewish,'" he said.

Alex Tesis, whose family emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1974, said the attacks represented the betrayal of America's promise. On the wall of Mr. Tesis' bedroom are pictures of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Albert Einstein, his two heroes.

"In order to escape the anti-Semitism of the Soviet Union, my mother was willing to take a job opening in Chicago," said Mr. Tesis, a philosophy student and an Army reservist. "It is disconcerting, to say the least, to find that we have not entirely escaped it."

At the same time, Jewish women on campus, especially sorority members, reported numerous “JAP-baiting” incidents, in which Jewish women were mocked as conforming to the “Jewish-American Princess” stereotype. Jewish sorority members were caricatured as materialistic and shallow. A member of the historically non-Jewish Alpha Phi Omega sorority was quoted in *Genesis* as saying, “During rush week, many women are discriminated against for having a so-called ‘Jappy’ look, such as wearing a baggy sweater, thermal underwear as pants, Reebok hightops, and slouch socks.” Responding to the incidents, Hillel, supported by UW student government, held a program in May 1988 at the Memorial Union on the misogynistic and racist implications of the Jewish American Princess stereotype. Supported by donations from the local Jewish Federation and individual donors in the Madison Jewish community, Rabbi Carol Glass, the Hillel rabbi at American University and an expert on gender conflicts in campus Jewish communities, spoke to a crowd of 150 students and community members.

Like the intra-Jewish debate about the relative outspokenness of Jewish students from New York compared to those from the Midwest, referring to Jewish women as “JAPs” had been a source of in-group controversy since the term was coined in the early 1960s. However, as use of the term leapt from conversations among Jewish students to the campus at large, Jewish students united against the slur and pointed to it as an example of renewed anti-Semitism in the 1980s.

Expressions of anti-Semitism at UW in the 1990s and early 2000s continued to focus on the supposed materialism of Jewish women, particularly women from out of state. In 1998, students on campus talked about a “North Face Posse” of Jewish-identified students, generally from the East Coast, who stood out by wearing the high-priced winter clothing. A year later, at least six cars with license plates from states on the East Coast were defaced with anti-Semitic graffiti. The vandals were never found and the term “North Face

Posse” faded from common use over the next few years.

By 2003, enough students were coming to the University of Wisconsin from California, and enough of them were Jewish, that the decades-old negative image of “New Yorkers” was now being applied to people from both the East and West Coasts, through the term “Coasties.” Like the “JAP” stereotypes of the 1980s and the more recent “North Face Posse” label, “Coastie” stereotypes applied overwhelmingly to women. In October 2009, two non-Jewish UW students put a video on YouTube called “The Coastie Song,” in which one of the performers referred to a “Jewish American Princess.” During the 2009-2010 academic year, UW students argued whether the term “Coastie” (as opposed to “Sconnie,” a term for in-state students) was anti-Semitic. (Not coincidentally, the “Coastie Song” performers were starting a line of “Sconnie” clothing.) Although some Jewish students did not see the “Coastie” label as an anti-Semitic slur, others looked at the “Jewish-American Princess” reference and the long history of regionally based terms standing in for “Jews” and concluded that the term “Coastie” was anti-Semitic. In the fall of 2010, the Center for Jewish Studies, in conjunction with UW Housing and the Dean of Students’ office, convened a panel on the “Coastie” issue. Panelists explored the history of off-campus housing and the reasons for private dorms with large Jewish student populations, as well as the history of Jewish stereotypes in Wisconsin folklore and slang. Although the panel was a welcome demonstration of the University’s interest in addressing the “Coastie/Sconnie” issue, since there had been no sequel to the “Coastie Song,” the controversy was already dying out by the time the panel convened.

JEWISH-BLACK RELATIONS

Anti-Semitism at the University of Wisconsin did not take place in a vacuum. Other student demographic groups, notably African American students, were also the targets of vandalism and bigotry in the

late 1980s and early 1990s. As they had done in local movements for fair housing in the 1930s and 1940s and in the national civil rights movement of the 1960s, many Jewish students worked with students of color to end racism on campus. However, coalitions between black and Jewish students were strained by two events in 1988 and 1989: a historically Jewish organization sponsoring a racist event and the Black Student Union bringing a prominent anti-Semite to campus.

In 1987, Hillel announced the creation of a campaign on campus to bring students from diverse backgrounds together. Building on a movement by campus religious leaders in Boston in the mid-1970s, the Celebrate Difference campaign created a “Covenant on Confronting Racism and Prejudice” that students would sign, in an effort to fight racism on campus. Following the Boston example, student churches and religious groups circulated the petition to their members, with Hillel coordinating the efforts. Nationally, Hillel’s efforts were successful; in 1989 the Celebrate Difference campaign won Hillel’s William Haber award, which recognizes campus or community groups that strengthen Jewish life on campus. Appropriately enough, Haber was himself a UW graduate, earning bachelor’s, master’s, and doctoral degrees in 1923, 1925, and 1927.

The effort was marred at UW, though, when the historically Jewish ZBT fraternity held a pledge event that created a gulf between African American and Jewish students. On October 20, 1988, at the Towers private dorm, already seen as a Jewish space on campus, ZBT hosted a “slave auction,” in which some pledges wore blackface makeup and Afro wigs, while their upperclassmen brothers bid on them for their services. Within five days, the story appeared in Madison newspapers and spread to national media outlets like CNN, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times*. The Interfraternity Council (IFC) suspended ZBT from attending its events for five years, later downgraded to two years, and UW convened a Committee on Student Organizations, representing students and faculty, to study videotape of the “slave auction.” On November 14, the committee

ruled that ZBT had shown poor taste, but that there would be no further punishments beyond the ban from IFC functions leveled against the fraternity or its individual members. The University’s lack of action against ZBT brought swift condemnation from Jewish groups on campus and in the broader Madison community. Black student groups were understandably outraged and called for the University to punish the fraternity and its members, but because the event took place off campus, UW ruled that the ZBT members were exercising free, if offensive, forms of speech.

The Jewish community, in turn, was outraged when the University of Wisconsin’s Black Student Union made arrangements to bring Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan to campus. Farrakhan was well-known for his inflammatory, anti-Semitic statements in print and in public lectures. As a student group, the Black Student Union was able to use UW student fees to bring Farrakhan to speak at the UW Field House on February 8, 1989. Hillel director Irv Saposnik, in particular, called attention to the hypocrisy that the Jewish Coalition—a registered student group representing Jewish students, along the lines of the Black Student Union and similar organizations for UW students from various ethnic and racial backgrounds—was rarely able to get money for its projects, but UW found it acceptable to fund Farrakhan’s appearance.

THE JEWISH TASK FORCE

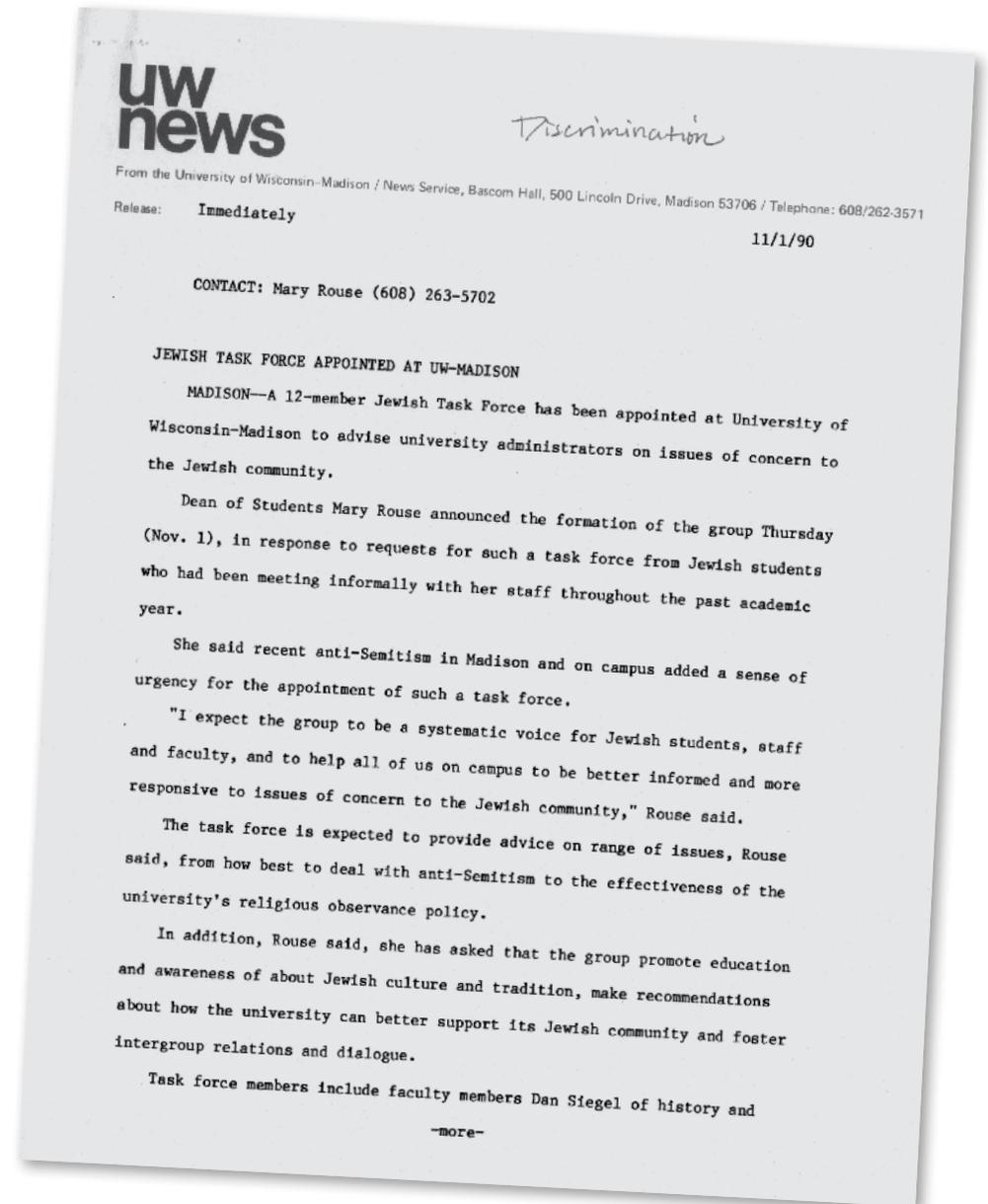
In 1989 and 1990, in the wake of Farrakhan’s speech and the rise in anti-Semitic violence on campus, Saposnik, Jewish students, and some Jewish faculty members talked to Dean of Students Mary Rouse about the difficult conditions that Jewish students faced on campus. In response, Rouse created the Jewish Task Force, composed of faculty, academic staff, administrators, students, and members of the Madison Jewish community. After discussing a variety of issues brought to the table, the Jewish Task Force voted to concentrate on three areas of

Jewish life on campus: Christmas displays in residence halls; exams scheduled on Jewish holidays; and the progress of the Jewish studies program, which had begun to be developed in 1988. The Jewish Task Force also raised the question of Jewish students' minority status on campus. Specifically, they wondered if Jewish students should have access to the Multicultural Center that was temporarily housed in the Memorial Union, and they requested that titles of Jewish interest be included in College Library's Ethnic Studies Reading Room.

By 1992, the Jewish Task Force had achieved most of its goals. Residence halls stopped erecting Christmas displays in common areas. The University made greater efforts to avoid scheduling exams on Jewish holidays and used stronger language to encourage faculty members to allow alternative test dates when it was impossible to avoid a Jewish holiday. The Jewish studies program continued to grow. However, University officials pointed out that the state had charged UW with increasing its recruitment and support of students from specific backgrounds identified as minorities: African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Budgets for the Multicultural Center and the Ethnic studies book collection, as well as some funding lines for campus groups representing students from these backgrounds, had to target students from only the five specified groups. Although Saposnik fired off an angry letter to Rouse about the University's continued underfunding of Jewish Coalition programs, eventually the two made peace and the Jewish Task Force stopped meeting by 1996.

THE MOSSE/WEINSTEIN CENTER FOR JEWISH STUDIES

The wave of racist and anti-Semitic public expression at the University of Wisconsin was part of a nationwide trend in the late 1980s, and such incidents were especially visible and troubling at campuses with a politically progressive heritage. Responding to angry students and their supporters, college presidents around the country created ethnic studies



requirements, typically consisting of one or two courses that addressed the histories and cultures of marginalized groups in the United States and the ongoing contradiction of racism within the American tradition of equality. The 1980s ethnic studies movement built on the movement

Release: Immediately

5/15/91

CONTACT: Laurence Weinstein (608) 271-1234;
Gilead Morahg (608) 262-2968

JEWISH STUDIES CENTER APPROVED

^(New) MADISON—A center for Jewish studies and the first chaired professorship in Jewish studies will be established at the University of Wisconsin-Madison this fall, it was announced Wednesday (May 15) by Chancellor Donna E. Shalala.

The University of Wisconsin Foundation received an endowment early this year from the family foundation of UW Board of Regents member Laurence Weinstein and his wife, Frances, to fund the first chair in Jewish studies. A search to fill that position will begin soon.

"Frances and I are pleased to be able to endow the chair so the Center for Jewish Studies may begin its work," said Laurence Weinstein. "UW-Madison is in a unique position to become a leader in the field, because of its world-class reputation as well as the high level of interest among faculty members from many departments."

"The scholar selected for the chair that Laurence and Frances Weinstein have endowed will provide leadership for our new Jewish studies center," said Chancellor Shalala. "The Weinsteins' generosity will enrich the intellectual and cultural life of our university community."

The broader value of Jewish and other religious studies is clear, Shalala added: "In a world growing ever smaller and more interdependent, understanding of some of the world's oldest traditions is fundamental to cooperation."

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UW recognized Jewish students' minority status on campus and the bigotry that sometimes thrust it into the spotlight by designating Jewish studies courses as among those that could fulfill UW's ethnic studies requirement. Professors across the University developed courses with a Jewish focus with their departments' encouragement. The fact that Jewish studies courses dealing with American history or culture could be used to fulfill the ethnic studies requirement substantially added to enrollments in Jewish studies classes. By 1989, UW offered thirty-three courses in Jewish studies, which together enrolled some eight hundred students.

The 1980s ethnic studies movement also provided justification for UW alumnus Laurence Weinstein and history professor George Mosse's quiet efforts in 1988 to move the University to at last create a Center for Jewish Studies. In early 1989, anticipating UW's implementation of the ethnic studies requirement for freshman students beginning that fall, twenty-one faculty members petitioned for a Jewish studies department, and in March of that year the University agreed to create it, although it made clear that funding would need to come from outside sources.

Two veterans of the early 1970s efforts to create a Jewish studies program played important roles in its foundation. Hebrew and Semitic Studies professor Gilead Morahg became the new Center's interim director and was succeeded by historian David Sorkin, who had advocated for Jewish studies in the pages of *Attah* in the early 1970s and came from Oxford University in 1992 to serve as the Weinstein Professor of History and the first full-fledged director of the Center for Jewish Studies.

Although the University of Wisconsin was one of the last major American universities to establish a Jewish studies program—by 1991, when the Center began, more than eighty universities and colleges in the United States already had Jewish studies programs up and running—the Center moved quickly to establish opportunities for both students who wanted to focus on Jewish studies as well as those

for African American studies departments in the early 1970s, but it went beyond offering such courses on campus to requiring a certain number of credits in ethnic studies courses for graduation.

who were interested in the occasional course about Jewish civilization in fields such as literature, history, politics, or languages. As an interdisciplinary program, the Center served as a place for faculty with tenure homes in social science, arts, and humanities disciplines to teach and share research in Jewish studies. The first Certificates in Jewish Studies were awarded in 1995, and by 2001 the Center offered a BA degree in Jewish Studies. Meeting the challenge of funding the Center, major donors endowed professorships in American Jewish History, Jewish education, rabbinic Judaism, Israel studies, and Eastern European Jewish literature.

At the start of the twenty-first century, the Center for Jewish Studies began collaborating with other UW departments to create international opportunities for UW students and faculty. In addition to endowing the Center alongside the Weinstein family, George Mosse's estate established the George L. Mosse Program in History in 2001. The Mosse Program, inspired by George Mosse's twenty-year joint appointment at UW and Hebrew University in Jerusalem, funds fellowships for students and faculty at UW and Hebrew University to study history, including Jewish history, at their partner university. In a similar fashion, UW alumnus and CJS Board of Visitors member Richard Sincere funded an exchange program from 2014 to 2017 between the Center for Jewish Studies and the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and North African Studies at Tel Aviv University, in which students and faculty from Tel Aviv presented research at UW and vice versa.

In addition to offering courses and scholarships for students and conferences and exchanges for faculty, the Center for Jewish Studies has reached out to the broader Madison community. Donors endowed lecture series that brought experts in Jewish studies from antiquity to the present to campus. The Conney Project on Jewish Arts has staged performances, exhibits, and conferences on aspects of Jewish art and artists in Madison and Los Angeles. The Greenfield Summer Institute, which began in 2000, has brought alumni and friends back to UW for annual multimedia celebrations of Jewish

culture. Each Institute includes lectures from UW Jewish studies and visiting faculty on a broad theme, such as "The World of Yiddish" or "Jews in America," complemented with musical performances, film screenings, and art exhibits. Music collector Sherry Mayrent donated her collection of nine thousand recordings to create the Mayrent Institute for Yiddish Culture, which has sponsored public talks, hosted interactive weekend sessions on klezmer music and Yiddish culture, and held periodic listening sessions to items in the Mayrent Collection of Yiddish Recordings.

In a time of reduced state support for higher education, donors have helped the Center for Jewish Studies enable students with an interest in Jewish studies to pursue their interests without worrying about finances. Donors have endowed scholarships that fund undergraduate and graduate study abroad and to other universities in the United States, plus a dedicated scholarship for junior-year students to study at Israeli universities. Other scholarships fund travel to archives and conferences and recognize outstanding Jewish studies research by students and recent graduates. The Center for Jewish Studies supports *Avukah*, an academic journal published by undergraduates in the field of Jewish studies, and the Jewish Studies Graduate Student Association, which hosts brown-bag lectures and colloquia on Jewish studies. Endowed fellowships have helped the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies offer students a full component of courses in Jewish studies, including a depth of offerings in Eastern European Jewish history and Yiddish language that are competitive with Jewish studies programs at any American university.

LOOKING BACK, LOOKING FORWARD

The investment that Jews at UW made in shaping their own community engendered a fierce loyalty to their "new home." Jewish faculty, staff, and administrators mentored Jewish students throughout the generations. As those students became alumni, they kept their ties

to each other and to the University. Just as UW's first Jewish student, Phillip Stein, hired one of the handful of other Jewish students who attended UW in the nineteenth century, Israel Shrimski, to work in Stein's Chicago law office, after which Shrimski helped found the Chicago chapter of the Wisconsin Alumni Association, current Jewish UW alumni have continued to work with the WAA and have taken positions on UW Hillel's board of directors and the Center for Jewish Studies Board of Visitors. Beyond their donations to UW, Jewish alumni have served as informal ambassadors of the Wisconsin Idea, encouraging their children and friends to attend the University and to take its lessons out into the world.

Despite problems with anti-Semitism that have arisen to different degrees throughout the decades, UW has continued to be a popular choice for Jewish students nationwide and now has the second-largest Jewish student population of any Big Ten university. This is due in large part to its history of diverse institutions and organizations that have given students the ability to define their Jewishness as they see fit. From Jewish co-ops to Greek-letter organizations with a Jewish heritage to private dorms, Jewish students can choose to live in any number of Jewish spaces on campus or not. The Reform and Conservative services at Hillel, as well as Chabad and JEM off campus, provide students who choose to do so the opportunity to practice Judaism across the American spectrum. For more than a hundred years, Zionist societies of different orientations have enabled Jewish students to find like-minded individuals with whom to engage with Israel and Israel-related issues in recreation, educational forums, and protests on whichever side they choose on any issue. In addition, the consistently high level of political engagement and activism on the campus throughout the years has given Jewish UW students vast opportunities to participate and become leaders in movements for social change. Over the course of 150 years, the University of Wisconsin has grown from the new home of the Jew to an enduring home for Jewish students.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For more than twenty years, my research has touched on the history of the Jewish experience at the University of Wisconsin, the city of Madison, the state of Wisconsin, and the American Midwest more generally. For guiding me toward this path, I thank the late historian Stanley Kutler, for recommending me to serve as the lecturer for UW's History 201: The American Jewish Pattern back in 1996 and 1997. Stan's encouragement prompted me to investigate local angles on national trends in American Jewish history. The enthusiastic response of the students in my 1996 section to my lecture on anti-Semitism at UW in the 1920s led me to expand the talk into a paper that I presented at the second Scholars' Conference in American Jewish History in 1998, which in turn became my article "The New York Students are the Root of the Problem," which was published in *American Jewish History* in 2001. By that time, Tony Michels was hired to be the Mosse/Weinstein Professor of American Jewish History at UW, and he has given me enthusiastic support for my research for the last two decades.

The "Coastie Song" controversy in 2009 suddenly made my research relevant to contemporary UW students. Besieged with calls from local and state media, Introduction to Judaism professor Jordan Rosenblum began directing journalists to contact me, which led to my appearance on a 2010 panel sponsored by the UW Division of Housing and the Dean of Students office that was devoted to the history and current state of relations between Jewish students, who were presumed to come from out of state, and in-state students, who were presumed not to be Jewish.

That panel led to an invitation from Center for Jewish Studies director Michael Bernard-Donals to join the Center as an Honorary Fellow, which I gratefully accepted. Michael, in turn, introduced me

to Peter Weil, a generous UW alum and member of the Center for Jewish Studies Board of Visitors, whose deep interest in the history of the Jewish experience at the University of Wisconsin has generously funded this project. Julie and Peter's generosity and enthusiasm for UW's Jewish history has inspired me through the writing, and Peter's recurring question to me when we met in Madison—"Are you finding any stories?"—has remained at the forefront of my mind.

This project has also depended on generous assistance from people outside of the Center for Jewish Studies. At the Wisconsin Historical Society, archivists Andy Kraushaar, Rick Pifer, Harry Miller, and Simone Munson fielded endless requests for one more look at boxes of unprocessed UW Hillel papers. At the University of Wisconsin Archives, David Null and Cathy Jacobs kept an eye out for new collections that might be relevant for my work and went to great lengths to help me find useful materials, and Troy Reeves helped me negotiate their oral history collections. Archivists in the American Jewish Historical Society collections at the Center for Jewish History in New York City promptly photocopied stacks of correspondence from the Marvin Lowenthal Papers. UW Hillel Executive Director Greg Steinberger gave me access to Hillel documents that were not part of their collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society and commissioned me to write a brief history of Hillel on the occasion of the dedication of their new building in 2009.

By editing and publishing my earlier work, fellow scholars gave me the confidence to write this longer work. Marc Lee Raphael and the anonymous readers at *American Jewish History* commented on and edited my first publication. Jim Danky and the late Paul Boyer encouraged me to give a talk at their Religion and Print Culture conference in 2005 and, with Chuck Cohen's editorial work, included my article on *Hillel Review* in the 1930s in their conference volume. A conversation with Rachel Kranson yielded a talk on Jewish students at UW in the 1960s at the 2014 Scholars' Conference in American Jewish History, which in turn led to my article in a special issue of

the *Journal of Jewish Identities* two years later. Thanks also to Charlie Mullen for research assistance on that article.

This project would not exist without my colleagues at the Center for Jewish Studies. Former Director Michael Bernard-Donals and former Associate Director Laurie Steinberg encouraged me at the start by making me an Honorary Fellow. Throughout the project, current Director Tony Michels has been a valuable source of information about CJS history and a good friend who's kept me on track. In the short time they've been with the Center, Associate Director Gwen Walker and Graduate Assistant Preston Atwood have contributed vital technical and logistical knowledge to this book. Former Financial Specialist Kesha Weber helped me craft a project budget, and she graciously answered my budget questions even after moving on from the Center. Former Director Simone Schweber and former Associate Director Judith Sone answered my questions through the middle phase of this project. At UW's Institute for Research in the Humanities, Directors Susan Friedman and Steve Nadler and Associate Director Ann Harris graciously let me use their office space while writing this book.

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Finally, I want to thank my wife Elissa and our sons Ari and Noah for their endless support and for their willingness to tolerate countless stories around the dinner table about Jewish college life a hundred years ago. ❖

