A history of Wisconsin State University Whitewater, 1868-1968. 1967

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M. JANETTE BOHI

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A Foreword

When history marches across the stage it inevitably carries people with it. The writer of these lines has not examined carefully the contents of the volume for which these words are intended as an introduction. But it is safe to predict that this centennial history which is so expertly done by a professional historian will be filled with two things: with names and with achievements. If any institution is to be called truly great it must be so labeled not because of the resources at its command nor because of its physical size nor its location. It will not be called great even because of its years, although, the entry of this university into her second century of life is the motivation for this volume. It will instead be called great only because great men and women, dedicated to the ideals which led to the founding of the institution, have given unselfishly of themselves to that institution and have in turn inspired the thousands of others who have entered her portals to go out into the world with similar and even greater ideals.

The writer has had a privilege enjoyed by few persons in that he has been a participant in the affairs of this university during almost half of her period of existence. Many would say that these latter years have been the most significant years in the history of Wisconsin State University—Whitewater. Those of us who have shared the stage during these latter years would be flattered to feel that this is true and that we have been a part of the cause. But history is a series of events and a procession of persons and the contribution of each must be measured in the light of time.

Any institution that has prospered for a century should pause to take inventory, for only by so doing can the sources of her strengths be determined. If we of the last four decades have learned well the lessons of our predecessors, then we have done less than our best if we have not made these years more significant than were the early years. It is well, therefore, that we review events and make this an occasion for taking renewed pride in the achievements and the sacrifices of the men and women who by their devotion to this university have been responsible for bringing us with gratitude and pride to this great day in our history.

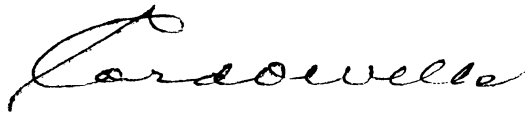


Table of Contents

Illustrations

Preface

The centennial history of an institution needs to be panoramic. Within its covers there must emerge the subtle blending of yesterday and tomorrow which gives today its decisive significance. The task of gathering the events of a century into one volume without blurring the picture, then, becomes the anxious concern of an author. The names of most of the people whose connection with this University has brought it to this hour of celebration have not been mentioned in the text; history is written that way, due to lack of space and information. The reader will sense, however, that the acclaim rendered Whitewater's leaders took root in the labors of unnamed followers—and it is the desire of this writer that the friends and relatives of that great company may take secret pride in this centennial view of time's sovereign operation upon the institution.

This presentation, like the century it seeks to portray, has been the work of many hands. To former President Walker D. Wyman, whose five-year tenure brought to a brimming conclusion Whitewater's first century, I am indebted for inspiration, encouragement, and administrative direction. Dr. Edward J. Morgan, chairman of the Department of History, read the manuscript and has granted the necessary released time from teaching duties to accomplish the writing. Dr. Donald Graham, Dean of the School of Graduate Studies, read the manuscript and offered suggestions. Dr. Gordon E. Parks, University Archivist and chairman of the Centennial Committee, has cooperated by giving of his own time and by sharing the excellent and faithful services of his assistant, Mr. John E. Riggert, who checked numerous statistics and whose hand penned several items in the Appendix. I acknowledge also the contribution of Dr. Cord O. Wells, Vice President for Academic Affairs, whose Foreword honored this volume just before he retired from forty-two years of service to the institution. Mrs. Mary Mills, Director of Public Information, has seen to such details as the format of the book. Mr. Wallace E. Zastrow, Director of Field Services, has shouldered the business end of publication. The Whitewater Historical Society graciously permitted the use of some of its materials, and the hospitality of Editor Charles B. Coe made it possible for me to handle over a century of *Whitewater Registers* in that office. Much early information has been taken from Prosper Cravath's *Early Annals of*

Whitewater and Albert Salisbury's *First Quarter Century of the State Normal School,* without which works the story herein would have been incomplete. I am especially grateful to the Whitewater Foundation for its generosity in underwriting the cost of publication and to Mr. James Hayes of NAPCO, Milwaukee, for his cooperation in the publication effort.

Finally, I am indebted to my faithful partner, Miss Judith Ann Athas, whose labor at proof reading relieved me of much drudgery, whose patience and encouragement have been a part of every line, and whose adept operation of our home produced an atmosphere of quiet stability so essential to a lengthy project. To the Whitewater community of yesterday, today, and tomorrow—to its farsighted educators, its earnest students, and its steadfast friends—is this volume respectfully dedicated.

J. B.
Aug., 1967

1

In the Beginning: Nation, State, and Village (1837-1868)

> Free horses need wide prairies. . . . Your nation is like a fine, florid youth, full of fiery impulses, and hard to restrain, his strong hand nobly championing his heart. On all sides, freely he gives, and still seeks to acquire.
>
> —MELVILLE[1]

The Middle Period of United States history unfolded a new era of beginnings. The pioneer of the Midwest found himself in circumstances akin to those of his colonial ancestors two centuries before; toward the sunset lay a new manifest destiny which his strong hand and noble heart yearned to enter, and he had to adapt the essential aspects of his fathers' civilization to the new land. Critics like Thoreau warned him that westward was not upward, and Herman Melville, whose three score and twelve years spanned the period from the Era of Good Feeling to the advent of the Gay Nineties, pointed out that there was nothing special about that age. He was right; the monuments of human endeavor which arose in the Northwest Territory and beyond were the natural results of a search for better things, not miracles in the wilderness. New frontiers might be viewed with excitement, apathy, or disdain, but they could not be ignored. When the traveling novelist said that free horses need wide prairies, he had unwittingly dipped his pen into the very essence of frontier history.

The so-called American way that developed from the manifest destiny philosophy of the Middle Period caught fire on the prairies. Everyone joined something, yet every man was for himself. It was an age of booms and busts, an age for conquering thoughts and distances. Jackson presumed to make democracy a fact as well as theory, Horace Mann translated that spirit into a language which the Massachusetts Board of Education could comprehend, and Frederick Jackson Turner wrapped it up for historians a half century later. While Europe thought no one read an American book, Washington Irving introduced Diedrich Knickerbocker and Rip Van Winkle, James Fenimore Cooper scanned sea and forest for materials to weave his

"Leatherstocking Tales," Walt Whitman "celebrated" himself and invited the masses to do the same in his poetry of democracy, and Ralph Waldo Emerson allowed his soul to rise toward the ultimate by exploring new-world possibilities. Meanwhile, Charles Goodyear was adding American know-how to the surface of India rubber products, Samuel Colt was perfecting his revolver, Elias Howe was working on his sewing machine, and Richard M. Hoe was experimenting with the steam cylinder press. On May 24, 1844 Samuel F. B. Morse sent his message from Washington to Baltimore, "What hath God wrought," and by 1850 Cyrus H. McCormick was manufacturing 3000 machines annually at Chicago, the heart of the grain belt. The canal boom turned to rails as the expanding new West vindicated American optimism.

The intellectual and scientific impulse was matched by social reform, giving new impetus to the idea of human equality and the dignity of man. Temperance crusaders took the "cold water" pledge of total abstinence and went on to ban tobacco and improper foods. Prison reforms on one hand and communal experiments on the other demonstrated man's search for a heaven on earth from both negative and positive angles. While the Mormons pushed toward Utah, the American woman took her stand at Seneca Falls, New York to declare in 1848 that all men *and women* were created equal. All crusades for perfecting society were epitomized in the anti-slavery movement which shook the country from its roots and caused to sprout new and vigorous seedlings along other paths to reform. The doctrine of progress which permeated the Middle Period made the normal school movement a logical part of things to come along with the broadening of democracy itself.

Historians of Wisconsin took pride in the state's rather unique resemblance to the national pattern of development. The author of the popular *Wisconsin Story* text said that to know Wisconsin is to know America and cited comparable industrial, agricultural, and cosmopolitan advances.[2] That part of southeastern Wisconsin which secured the second normal school in 1868 was settled mainly by migrants of New England origin, many of whom had sojourned in New York. According to Beckwith's genealogy, about ½ of Walworth County's pioneers came from New York, about ⅓ from New England directly, and about ⅙ from other places.[3] Like their fathers they came, with ax and plow, Bible and almanac, to plant in the new soil the seeds of the civilization which they knew. In like manner, too, they cleared the forests with gunpowder in the Black Hawk War of 1832 and followed the trails of the first Americans to choice sites of abode. In his plaintive dedication of an account of his life to General Henry Atkinson on the "10th Moon, 1833," Chief Black Hawk said:

> I am now an obscure member of a nation that formerly honored and respected my opinions. The path to glory is rough, and many gloomy hours obscure it. May the Great Spirit shed light on yours—and that you may never experience the humility that the power of the American government has reduced me to, is the wish of him, who, in his native forests, was once as proud and bold as yourself.[4]

So it was that while movements were congealing in the East which would one day spread a blanket of culture over the Wisconsin wilderness, the first planters were testing the virgin soil. "The charm of frontier life," wrote one historian, "offsetting its social deprivations and the cumulative burden of its toil, lay mainly in the joy which accompanies creative effort."[5]

The recorded history of Walworth County began after the Black Hawk War, when the stream of western migration was enhanced because the government extinguished Indian titles to lands in the Northwest Territory.[6] Fortunately for these early "sovereigns" of the soil, the Indians who held sway there were not fierce. Julius C. Birge, the first white child born in Whitewater, recalled that once some Winnebagoes called at their cabin, whereupon the father pointed to his wife and jestingly said to the chief, "Swap squaw?" Ostensibly oblivious to the white man's humor, the chief gave an "Umph" and disappeared, only to return the next day with his squaw, evidently to conclude the bargain. Mrs. Birge and little Julius slid through a back window and fled to a neighboring cabin.[7] Big Foot, the last of the Pottawatomie leaders, reportedly contemplated his lost cause before the signal pole in silence, then went to the partly finished cabin of a settler and bade a kind farewell to the lady of the house before joining his band for a new home in Kansas where he would remain forever uprooted.[8] History had given his country, dotted with lakes and streams and thickly wooded areas abounding in fish and game, to a new race with different aspirations, whom Kipling admonished:

> Here, where my fresh turned furrows run,
> And the deep soil glistens red,
> I will repair the wrong that was done
> To the Living and the dead.[9]

The area was perfect for men of New England and New York who looked for a combination of well drained plowland, hay land, and timber, with access to a stream where a mill to grind wheat could be erected.

Walworth County, one of 15 counties east of the Mississippi set off during the first session of the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature of 1836, consisted of five original towns—Troy, Spring Prairie, Elkhorn, Delavan, and Geneva—created by another Territorial Act of January 2, 1838. The corporate history of the county began January 7, 1839 with a meeting at

Elkhorn of the first Board of Commissioners. By vote of the citizens Elkhorn was chosen county seat because of its central location, the only obvious natural resource it possessed. The population numbered around 1800 souls, among whom were the first builders of Whitewater, the township in the northwest corner of the county. Beneath the rustling oak groves and the well-drained prairie clearings lay rich beds of limestone, and Whitewater Creek meandered through the would-be town. The white sand in the creek led the Pottawatomie to call the place WAU-BE-GAN-NAW-PO-CAT, meaning White Water.[10] When Samuel Prince arrived in July, 1837 there remained on the east bank some thirty abandoned huts of those first settlers. Whitewater was neither sufficiently settled to make a bid for the seat of government in the fall of 1838 nor was it politically able to do so (being a part of Elkhorn until 1840), but it was destined to be the leading city of Walworth County—first in agriculture, then industry, and finally as the residence of the coveted normal.

Prior to 1836 no white person had set foot within the town for settlement. Because he built the first cabin Samuel Prince, a widower from Vermont, became the founder of Whitewater. His modest dwelling twelve feet square and eight high became "bachelor's retreat" for the several men who came in the following months. The Pratts, Norman and Freeman, had left their wives at Alvah Foster's house in Fort Atkinson, at which "widow's retreat" a Pottawatomie one day invited himself to a repast of several bottles of pepper sauce, thinking it was whisky. To repay the startled hostesses for their dubious hospitality, he later returned with a pair of moccasins for Mrs. Freeman, explaining his slight of Mrs. Norman by rubbing his head vigorously to indicate that red hair did not commend itself to his idea of female beauty.[11] By the close of 1837 the northwest part of the town was sparsely settled and the long road toward development began.

During the first winter the settlers were dependent upon imports from Milwaukee by the hand of one Joe Nichols of neighboring Lima who had led the first colony of pioneers from Milwaukee into the Fort Atkinson area in 1836. It was said that no one crossed this burly sovereign who surveyed land claims and marked the tracks for future highways (including the principal streets of Whitewater). But Whitewater's Yankee capitalists, spurred by the same Puritan individualism that had driven their forebears into a wilderness, soon ceased to call at Milwaukee or Elgin, Illinois for supplies. In October, 1838 David J. Powers, builder of the first store, arrived from New England. Soon the first public meeting was called and a committee chosen to locate a mill site. Through a contact by the Pratt brothers' father with a New York doctor named James Trippe,

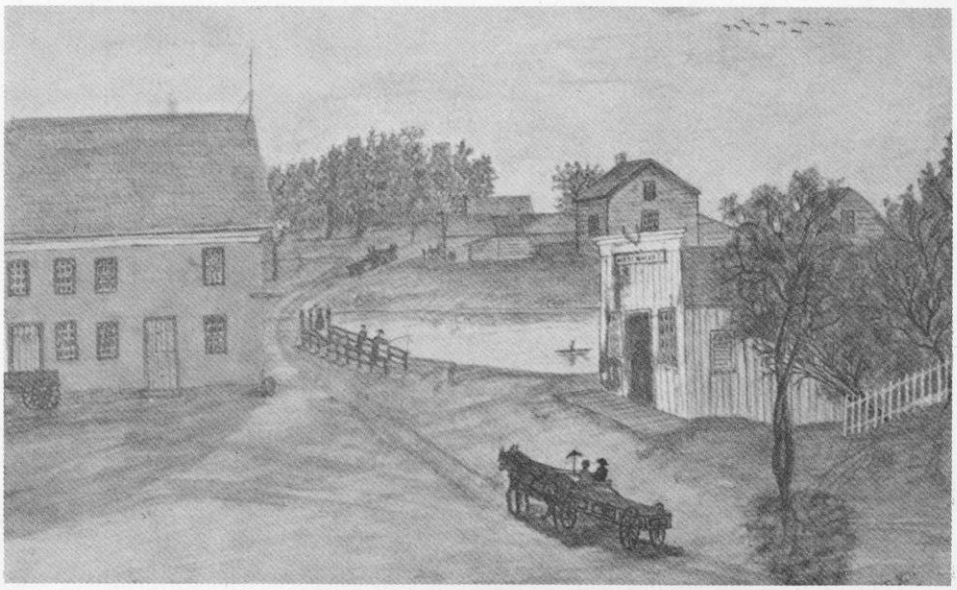
$12,000 plus Dr. Trippe's business ability made a grist mill a reality. In the spring of 1839 the Whitewater community had its first experience in cooperative effort, the means by which it would secure the Normal a generation later. The successful operation of the mill fused new industrial vigor into the community. David J. and Joseph Powers purchased some land from Dr. Trippe and in July, 1840 the Powers' House hotel was opened by a grand ball which sent the boys miles around in search for girls. The success of the enterprise was such that they were "compelled to keep people before the doors were hung."[12] Newcomers in 1840 found their mail at a local post office, which was then serving over 60 patrons. By 1844 there were 6 stores, 2 hotels, 3 smithies, 2 cabinet shops, a grocery, a grist mill, a saw mill, a law office, a wagon-maker, a tailor, a shoemaker, a gunsmith, a cooper, and 29 dwellings, supported by 102 residents (not counting women and children). The growth of Whitewater was steady and the population fanned out into every corner of the township on a first-come-first-served basis. The community was the local market for farmers 12 miles around, and tax money was spent building roads to Whitewater instead of improving the village streets.

Agriculture was the mainstay of Whitewater during its first two decades and rescued its future again after the passing of the industrial generation of the post-Civil War period. Clearings abounding with deer and prairie chickens were turned into waving fields of wheat, barley, buckwheat, oats, and corn, interspersed with quantities of twining hop vines and acres of gardens and orchards. The harvest of 1844 was taken over the five-day route to Milwaukee that winter and exchanged for household goods and "metropolitan solids" not available locally. Those progressive sovereigns of the soil soon became weary of the treks to Milwaukee, however, and began to demand an easier means of marketing, the railroad. To secure a road shares were bought and homes mortgaged—then came the "pink-eye" years of 1846–51. But in 1852 their efforts were rewarded when the Milwaukee and Mississippi Railroad was completed through Whitewater to Milton, marking the close of a 15-year pioneer period. Farmers could now get their grain to market where prices ran 50¢ higher than at Janesville, and local manufacturing was stimulated. One chronicler stated, "The whistle of the first locomotive that entered the place awoke a spirit of energy which has pervaded its business ever since, and has increased its population in three years from 800 to 1600."[13] The railroad became the Milwaukee and Prairie du Chien in 1856 and finally merged into the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul.

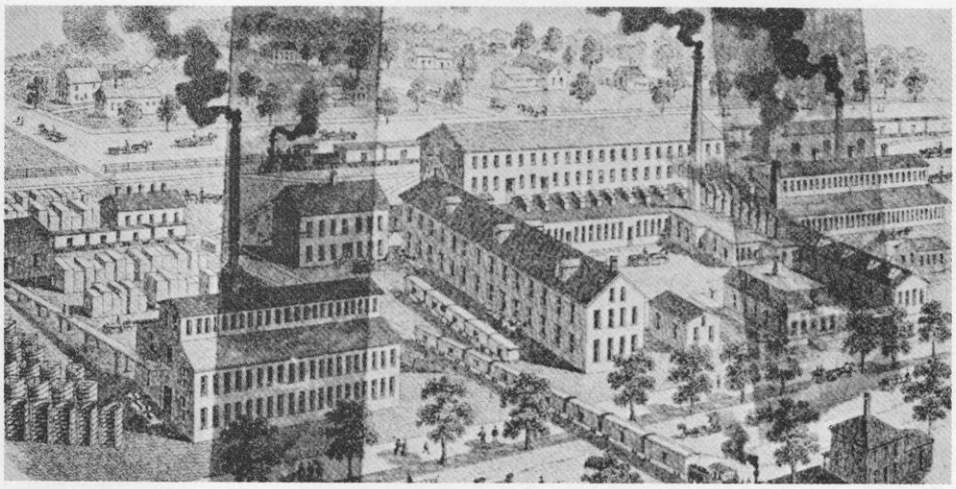
In 1839 the initial ordinaces of the place were formulated. On October 20th Dr. Trippe and most of the settlers repaired to the highest point of

Block 13 and in solemn council determined the plan of the village which they agreed should be christened according to legend. Main Street was established as a territorial road, from which stemmed the other thoroughfares, Center and Whitewater Streets. In 1840 it was set off from Elkhorn, and the following year Richmond was extracted from Whitewater, giving it the present boundaries. On September 27, 1841 an election was held at Powers House and the system of town government provided for by the Territorial Legislature the year before was adopted. After deciding that one dollar was sufficient for each day's official service, $30 for support of schools, $10 for paupers, and $50 for contingencies, the first town board was elected from the "solid men" who paid most of the taxes and felt duty-bound to serve the people. This arrangement served the political needs until 1858 when village status was achieved. In 1848 a Farmers' Vigilance Society was organized which boasted of 200 members in 1865 and recovery of all stolen horses of members. "Whitewater is not one of those precocious western towns that arise, already incorporated, amid original wilderness," wrote Dr. Leonard in 1855, "but is rather an ancient and plodding place, rejuvenated and carrying on the functions of its formerely lethargic life very much as a skeleton resurrectionized into humanity by a stroke of lightning."[14] The development of the early businesses reflected the purport of that comment.

President Albert Salisbury's sketch of Whitewater's early businesses caught the flavor of those enterprising years.[15] Besides the early grist and saw mills which were always numerous in the country where wheat was "a greater king than cotton," Whitewater had more than its share of industry. By 1841 William and Egbert Wheeler were making steel plows for $12, and three years later L. A. Winchester opened a blacksmith shop. Outside of George Dann's brickyard (which developed into the Whitewater Brick and Tile Company with no local competition by 1903), it was the implement business that put the town on the map. The first partnership for making wagons began in 1848, followed by Winchester in 1850 who, with William De Wolf and later John S. Partridge, made wagons by the carload after the Civil War. In the 1870's 5,000 wagons a year were shipped from the county's industrial metropolis, and plows were made until 1873. The death of Winchester and Partridge in 1892 brought the waning business to a close, but for many years the "Whitewater Wagon" in various styles and designs was the town's pride and joy. The largest business of all was begun by a potential farmer whose mechanical genius would not allow him to remain on the soil. George Esterly's first invention was a header that proved practicable in the far West. Next came the reapers and seeders that were popular in the 1860's



1. *Main Street Whitewater, 1856.* In those days this thoroughfare boasted of one permanent landmark — Wm. Birge's stone building on the site of old Trippe mill.



2. *The Esterly Reaper and Mower Manufactory.* This great plant on Whitewater's east side was its own metropolis at the time the Normal was founded.

THE GROWTH OF TOWN GAVE BIRTH TO GOWN

and '70's, 5,000 of the latter being turned out in 1868. In the '80's harvesters (self-binders) and mowers were sold and in 1889, the peak year, 525 paychecks were issued to employes. In 1893 the business was transferred to Minneapolis under a new organization, but the Esterly star did not rise in Minnesota. It was not easy for promoters at Whitewater to observe the success of Jerome I. Case of Racine whose million-dollar-a-year output of threshers and wagons in 1870 took his name into every state and territory west of the Mississippi; but the cultural prize went to Esterly's home town and the glory of his day committed the Whitewater normal enterprise to encompass wide prairies of achievement. For generations to come tribute was paid to those men whose "public spirit and sagacity," according to *Register* Editor E. D. Coe, "could not be excelled anywhere in the state."[16] Those Yankee puritans themselves boasted that they made "better plows for our state than Massachusetts knows how to make."[17] American optimism had spread to Walworth County.

The search for reality and the means to express it broadened the horizons of men's minds in the Middle Period of American history. Nathaniel Hawthorne's sentiments about his ancestors of Old Salem were perceptive of the transition. Knowing that they would have questioned the value of becoming a writer of stories, Hawthorne imagined one to say, "What kind of a business in life,—what mode of glorifying God, or being serviceable to mankind . . . may that be?" But while he masterfully defended his art, he admitted: "Such are the compliments bandied between my great-grandsires and myself, across the gulf of time! And yet, let them scorn me as they will, strong traits of their nature have intertwined themselves with mine. . . ."[18] Emerson, the dean of New England intellects, did not hesitate to trace the source of happiness to the perfecting of the laws of the soul, to religious sentiment which awakened the mind and created forms of worship. These ethical and aesthetic idealists of New England paid no tribute to orthodox Calvinism, but their bent on perfecting society reflected the same individualism by which the more fundamental immigrants to southeastern Wisconsin established their moral institutions. Close to soil and sky, they sensed the personal benediction of nature's one true God.

While they did not bring to Wisconsin copies of the Blue Laws, the planters of Walworth County came with definite ideas as to how God's moral laws should be respected. To the quiet church-going New Englander or New Yorker, Sunday was a holy day; and in 1839 the Wisconsin Yankees introduced into the Territorial Legislature a code entitled "Of offenses against chastity, morality and decency" which read:

> No person shall keep open his shop, warehouse or work-house, or shall do any manner of business, or work, except only works of necessity or charity, or be present at any dancing, or any public diversion, show or entertainment, or take part in any sport, game or play on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday; and every person so offending shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two dollars for each offense.[19]

Julius Birge humorously remarked that in some cases cider "was drunk on Saturday nights so that it would not work on Sunday."[20] Such an ordinance prospered among the puritan stock of the southeastern counties (until the Germans altered the lake shore area) but was not so readily enforceable in the lead region of the southwest. The temperance issue was even hotter. The Yankee element tried a drastic plan of regulation which sought to make the vendor of spirits responsible for all damage resulting from the sale of intoxicants. This unenforceable regulation was besieged by German repeal bills, which were answered by more Yankee prohibition bills. At Whitewater the fight dominated politics for years, since the majority were determined to keep the colony free from the twin curses of intemperance and irreligion. The Walworth County Temperance Society was organized in January, 1839.

The fathers of Whitewater institutionalized their faith at the commodious log residence of Deacon Prosper Cravath in Lima on July 3, 1840. Composed of 15 members, including his daughter Emily who became the mother of President Albert Salisbury, the future Congregational Church of Whitewater was founded under a presbyterian form of government. In June, 1841 the congregation began to worship in the old log schoolhouse, the scene of the beginning of most cultural attainments. The next year the Baptists organized in William Birge's barn, and in 1843 the Methodists boasted of 11 members. In 1852 the Episcopalians and Catholics established local works, and in 1868 the Universalists held a conference to discuss the formation of a society. The church life of the community was the axis of its cultural life. Not only did the denominations establish a large share of the schools in the Midwest, but the ministers were respected intellectual leaders. It has been estimated that in 1845 ⅔ of the ministers in the state were seminary graduates, a high proportion for the frontier.[21] Since the largest church in a town was the meeting place for all community events, the Whitewater Congregational Church served the Normal in that capacity. While the churches were not the cradles of the normals, they did a good deal to rock those cradles and spent much time baby sitting, occasionally to the dismay of educational leaders.

The puritanical sense of right and wrong was nowhere more distinctly

enforced than at Whitewater; in fact, Governor Doty appointed Squire I. U. Wheeler, a resident, justice of the peace for the county—"thus furnishing the settlers with ample means for enforcing obedience to the law."[22] The son of a Baptist minister, Wheeler had held many positions of public trust in New York and his judgments were rarely appealed. His keen mind kept him in office until a few days before his death in his 84th year. In 1841 the future village formed its temperance society to make it "apparent" to all newcomers that "the inhabitants were strictly temperate."[23] The crusade was successful enough from the social aspect, but the question of licenses was battled by the pro and con factions from the time Whitewater became a village in 1858, with "time out" only for the Civil War.

Like their forefathers, the founders of Whitewater made immediate provision for the education of their children. Cravath declared, "'Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined' was a cardinal article in the belief of the pioneer fathers and mothers."[24] Believing with the Puritans that education and character building went hand in hand, and bearing from the land of Horace Mann the conviction that it was necessary to the spirit of progress, the citizens organized the north half of the town into a school district even before it was separated from Richmond. On a spot at the center of the settlement the first log schoolhouse was built before the winter of 1840 had set in. Sheldon C. Powers of Troy was brought in to teach, and so successful was the operation that three years later the district system was begun. In 1844 the "little brick" schoolhouse was erected in District 1 in the north third of the settlement. Respect was demanded to the extent that in some cases the children were required to salute the teacher upon leaving the room. The second generation pastured their offspring on the bounty of this well established culture.

During the 1840's the populace kept in touch with the outside world via the *Milwaukee Sentinel,* established June 27, 1837, the third paper in the state. That Republican organ represented the more sophisticated elements of the territory, at least in their own eyes. The *Sentinel* became disgruntled about the monopoly of governmental posts by heroes of the West after Jackson appointed Henry Dodge the first governor of the Wisconsin territory, an event celebrated with unmitigated fanfare in Mineral Point. "It seems the impression has been made at Washington that an appointment to any office would not be acceptable to the people of the territory, unless the officer can get drunk, swear, or establish the fact by a tremendous oath that he has scalped a dead Indian," it complained.[25]

Despite the sensitivities of the place, however, Whitewater did not survive its first decade with reputation unscathed. For one thing, the

good people of the community, like their fathers who had once smuggled French molasses, yielded to the temptation to take timber from Uncle Sam's Bark Woods. From November to March, 1840 the resulting labors of from 150 to 200 men had been dragged across the frozen Bark River. The more pious hired men of less scruples to do this for them, and so engaged in theft by proxy.[26] Seven years later a gambling organization sold boxes of sand under the guise that the customer was getting cheap half-dollars of its own manufacture, giving Whitewater the reputation of being rough. The most interesting incident of all came out of the dancing school which was founded in 1840 by men of good will for the improvement of youth and the cultivation of the fine arts. The subscription read:

> We, the undersigned, believing in the cultivation of the more refined feelings and graces of our nature, and that a well-conducted dancing school will promote refinement in society and at the same time afford innocent amusement for the young, do agree to pay the sums set opposite our respective names toward defraying the expenses of a dancing school, . . . to be conducted according to strictest rules of propriety.[27]

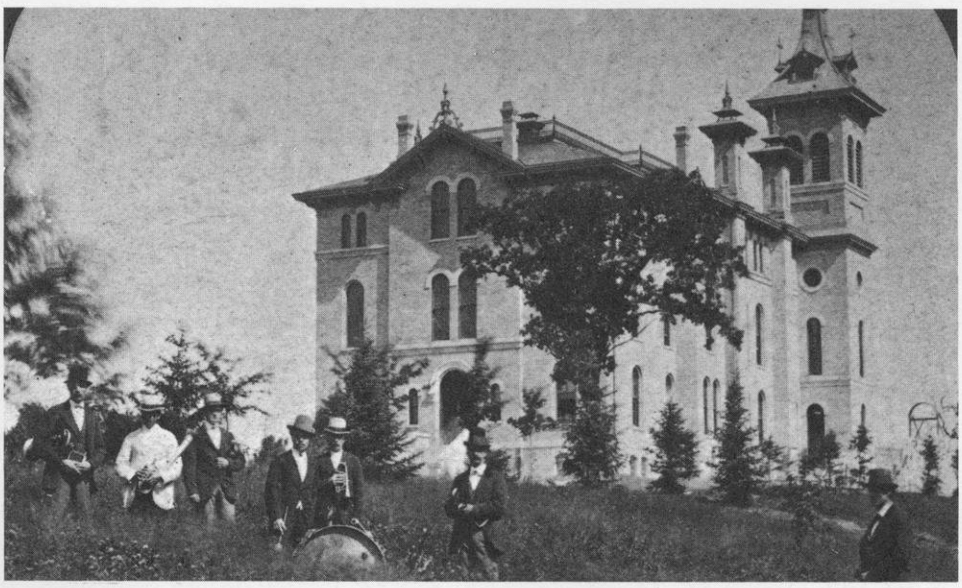
The Murrays of Beloit, a town of high reputation, were engaged as teachers and rules of temperance were established. At the close of the 1841 school a grand ball was held and merriment was at its best "when suddenly the tide of mirth was stayed, as a venturous youth, impelled by a mischief-loving spirit, dared . . . to press upon the lips of a fair young lady present an unmistakable kiss."[28] Such presumption so disheveled the propriety of one old gentleman that he ordered the young man to leave the room. When the youth refused, he obtained unsolicited assistance through the door and was next heard of filing a complaint before a Richmond justice. The attorney explained to the jury that there was no impropriety in the act itself since kissing was the first thing taught us by our mothers, since each juror had kissed and been kissed, and since the act was not forbidden either by civil or moral law. Convinced, the jury ruled that kissing was legal, "a point which from that time has remained unquestioned, this decision having long since become incorporated into the common law of this vicinity." In 1947 the Whitewater kiss was popularly revived when a University of Wisconsin professor gave it as a state radio play commemorating the 100th anniversary of the land grant to colleges and universities. The play was repeated at Whitewater on the occasion of the first open meeting of the Whitewater Historical Society on May 16, 1947. In 1962 it was again produced in Madison "to a full house which included several interested Whitewater folks" who were celebrating the city's 125th year.[29] To offset such sordid undercurrents of human nature the several churches held revival

meetings and the pioneers once more turned their attention toward laying up treasures in heaven.

By 1850 Whitewater's 1,230 citizens were comfortably nestled in their corner of Walworth County, which numbered 17,862. Among the 9 towns for which there were agricultural statistics, Whitewater stood third in the amount of improved land. There were 76 farms of 100 acres or more, with John M. Clark holding 1100 A. and Henry J. Starin 1800 A. The 148 farms included 6,637 improved acres valued @ $182,540.[30] All the basic businesses had been founded except Esterly's and the cultural necessities had been provided for. As Oak Grove Cemetery began receiving a few of the older pioneers, younger men of stamina took their places to make the 1850's a building decade. Although the town did not grow numerically (there were 228 fewer residents in 1860 than in 1850), economic stability and governmental durability were such that at the end of 1854 there were few private debts; courts, sheriffs, and constables "had little or nothing to do, and lawyers were forced to turn land agents."[31] The community was ready to launch projects of enduring significance.

Not satisfied with the Milwaukee & Mississippi Railroad which elevated Whitewater from the pioneering stage, local enthusiasm demanded a share in the Wisconsin Central project which envisioned a line that would cut diagonally across the country from Geneva in the southeast through Elkhorn and Whitewater in the northwest, then to Jefferson, Portage, and Superior. A charter was obtained in 1853 and all three towns pitched in with subscriptions—Geneva $25,000, Elkhorn $15,000, and Whitewater $40,000, indicative of the latter's prosperity. Rufus Cheney, Jr. was the local representative on the board, and almost every family took from one to five shares. Judging from the success of the Milwaukee Road, it seemed that soon Whitewater would be a booming metropolis of first-rate industrial importance. George Esterly later paid tribute to the railroad when he pointed out that in 1854 the taxable property in the town was $127,000 and by 1869 it had jumped to $1,600,000. An average annual increase of $91,553, this was an impressive improvement over the $7,000 average during the first 18 years of settlement. Arguing for more railroads, he stated that Minnesota had about as many miles of roads as Wisconsin, Iowa more than double, and Illinois six times as many, with "wealth in the same proportion."[32] It was fortunate that several roads were chartered before the panic of 1857, which caught the Wisconsin Central at Whitewater and left the enterprise with blasted hopes, unfulfilled pledges, an unfinished roadbed with 18 miles of track, and some worthless record books which were transferred to Whitewater—prophetic of the day when it would be an industrial ghost town.

3. *Metropolitan Hall, 1861.* This early "city" hall gave the "wilderness outpost" of Whitewater an air of sophistication becoming to the presence of a normal.



4. *The Original Building from the Southeast.* As it stood overlooking an oats field, Old Main symbolized the Puritan virtues of hard work and strong faith.

EARLY MEETING PLACES OF TOWN AND GOWN

A concrete indication of prosperity was that by 1855 the citizens no longer had to depend on Milwaukee for their news. The *Whitewater Gazette,* established by Henry J. Curtice, was a weekly Republican paper and lasted two years. Then on March 25, 1857 the *Register* was begun by the capable Hamilton L. and Lellemand H. Rann, the latter being a future promoter of the Normal. While it was intended to be a family paper and void of vulgarity, it had "no holy terror of a joke" and was "disposed to look upon a funny story as a sin of less magnitude than forgery or horse-stealing."[33] In 1871 E. D. Coe, the first of a continuous family line of editors, took over the paper and brought it close to the head of front-ranking weeklies in the state. Another cultural advantage was the Library Association founded in 1857, the first of several organizations for the promotion of good taste and rational enjoyment among the people. The panic sent the price of spring wheat to 45¢, barley to 35¢, oats to 25¢, potatoes to 18¢, and beef to 3¢, but Whitewater had not experienced a single crop failure up to 1858; when the crash came, therefore, "it found our business men standing upon a solid foundation."[34] About 100 buildings were erected in 1857.

The "solid foundation" made possible the conclusion of a village government despite the panic. On the evening of March 6, 1858 J. L. Pratt called to order a citizens meeting and a week later a draft for a charter was on its way to Madison. A remonstrance was sent in by those who thought the place was growing too fast, but the bill of incorporation passed the Senate and was signed by Governor Randall on April 21, 1858, exactly a decade before the Normal went into business. On May 4th the first charter election was held, the Union ticket leading. At the first meeting of the village board sidewalk relief was discussed; at the second there began the temperance war. Mr. Esterly of the committee on licenses submitted a majority report against them, and Mr. Curtice of the same committee submitted a minority report in favor. Although the latter faction was never silenced, the Whitewater mind followed Puritan lines for many years to come.

The progressive spirit of Whitewater was ostentatiously demonstrated at the pioneer festival of December 31, 1858, the community's first public celebration and reportedly the first meeting of old settlers ever held in Wisconsin. About 300 people gathered around loaded tables and listened to the glee class render "Happy New Year" and "Our Wild Wisconsin Home," a toast to "the brightest jewel in Old Virginia's early gift." Toasts were given to working men, farmers, mechanics, miners, merchants, and the pioneer women. Special recognition was made of Solomon Juneau, whose fur trading post became the nucleus of Milwaukee, the source of

supplies for the Whitewater pioneers. One old timer, comparing the place in 1838 and 1858, said, "Then beautiful adorned by nature; now more beautiful, embellished by art."[35] Here was the historical precedent for the town's later flare, "the city beautiful." The historical significance of 1858 was further perpetuated by Prosper Cravath, Jr., one of old Deacon's two sons to reach majority, who then recorded his reminiscences which became the basis for the town's early history.

The year 1860 opened with a willingness on the part of everyone to believe in the future of Whitewater. The Wisconsin Fruit Growers' Association met there, the Lincoln Wide-Awake Brigade was organized, and the Library Association debated whether or not the signs of the times indicated a dissolution of the union. A Republican Club was organized under the banner of Webster's famous words, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," whose real job was to see to the defeat of the Democrats.[36] Having a firm grip on their share of material wealth and believing in the principles for which their fathers died, they earned the following compliment:

> Old Walworth, where citizens for years had been noted the state over for a certain dignity and steadfastness of character, redeemed herself during the war from any taint of sluggish blood. No county of the state was filled with more and better practical workers for the defense and maintenance of the Union. The town of Whitewater itself was in earnest, clear to the backbone. . . .[37]

By the end of May, 1861 the Whitewater Light Infantry had been raised to its full quota, and $4,000 was subscribed on the spot. A women's relief society, formed on Thanksgiving Day, 1857 to assist the suffering caught in the hard times, did much to sustain Whitewater's name as a patriotic Union village.

To some degree the war changed the agricultural picture of the community. During the five crucial years Wisconsin produced about 100,000,000 bushels of wheat, second only to Illinois. This exhausted the soil and dairying climbed to pre-eminence. Cheese factories soon replaced the private kitchen of the farmer and the cow was substituted for the plow by many. Others turned to sheep, and the Wisconsin Wool Growers' Association was organized at Janesville in 1864. Still others found tobacco an answer to the ruinous policy of unrotated wheat, but most of that was raised in Rock and Dane Counties. A few farmers even took up sugar cane and hops, while Hanford A. Conger made his orchard a business of note in town and the Salisbury nursery at Lima encouraged everyone to plant an evergreen. The list of Whitewater valuables in crops and livestock

in 1880 amounted to over a million and a half dollars, the price of a good building on the modern campus.[38]

While the Civil War interrupted the basic pattern of life, it accentuated the puritan impulse to expand the boundaries of Whitewater's cultural prairies. Lincoln's call for a day of fasting and prayer in 1864 "was observed by many and others kept still."[39] When Lee surrendered songs were "sung by men who never tried to sing before and never dared to again," and when Lincoln died the churches were turned to houses of mourning.[40] The village felt the pride of having shared in the nation's joys and sorrows and in the triumph of ideals which squared with the Scriptures. By 1870 its 4,296 population made it twice the size of any other place in the county and gave it command of ⅙ of the human resources. Spasmodic attempts to adorn the place with an institution of higher learning were concentrated into one grand push for a pearl of superlative price, the normal school for southeastern Wisconsin.

The story of Whitewater's development during the first three decades is significant more for its similarity to the wilderness pattern than for its uniqueness. The conversion of a spot within one generation from the wastes left behind by Black Hawk to a self-supporting town happened too often in Wisconsin to make headlines, but the phenomenon did strike Alexis de Tocqueville as worthy of comment. "The same man has given his name to a wilderness which none before him had traversed, has seen the first forest tree fall and the first planter's house rise in the solitude, where a community came to group itself, a village grew, and today a vast city stretches."[41] While the frontier put its stamp upon these rapidly expanding communities and set for them a price on material progress, one generation removed them only slightly from the culture they had appreciated back East. For puritan pioneers there was no better way to express their optimism, to perpetuate material efforts, and to "bare their religion to the light of day" than to establish in their midst a center of learning which would draw all men unto them.

One Wisconsin historian who followed the migration patterns of the state explained Whitewater homogeneity quite simply. During the 1820's the lead and zinc area in the southwest drew large numbers of Scotch-Irish, Welsh, English, and Pennsylvania Dutch across the Appalachians into the midcontinent. These did not mix with the 1830 migration from New England and New York who were drawn to the open farm lands of southern Wisconsin, and who were settled before the immigrants from Germany and Scandinavia arrived in the 1860's.[42] Whitewater, like the rest of the county, did not readily assimilate the foreign elements. In 1850 it numbered 985 American-born to 245 foreign, only 96 of whom

were non-English speaking. In 1870 less than 8% of the people were non-English.[43] By virtue of both leadership and numbers, therefore, Whitewater was a New England town, destined to play its role in the following description of the state:

> The imprint of ideals cherished by the early people of New England and New York is indelible on the profile of Wisconsin. The East was drained of its brilliant youth to make a life for the new territory. Along with the immigrant, who arrived to grub and sod-bust a farm home came editors, lawyers, teachers, ministers. They were from determined, God-fearing, vital stock; instilled in mind with precepts of justice, morality, education and liberty.[44]

There was something about the interrelation of free horses and wide prairies that pointed Whitewater to the stars from the time of its first planters; and from the beginning it took special pride in straight furrows.

2

Concerning Establishment: Origins and Location (1868: Before and After)

> The man you left in New York you find again in almost impenetrable solitudes: same clothes, same attitude, same language, same habits, same pleasures.
>
> —TOCQUEVILLE[1]

Because man is the highest expression of God's creative miracle, hope springs eternal in his breast. Through institutions he has sought to perpetuate his fruitful past and to promulgate his glorious future, thus expressing his zest for life. The normal school movement was initially oriented toward Christian ethical concepts. In his Twelfth Annual Report to the Massachusetts Board of Education (1848) Horace Mann wrote: "Under the Providence of God, our means of education are the grand machinery by which the 'raw material' of human nature can be worked up. . . ."[2] In another context he declared, "Moral education is a primal necessity of social existence."[3] Mann grew up in an environment governed by poverty, hardship, and self denial. Like many of the intellectuals of his day, he broke with Calvinism in his teens, but the influence of his early training manifested itself in the moralism of his intellectual and personal temperament. To him public education was a moral obligation, a conviction that lost none of its effervescence on the way from Massachusetts to Whitewater.

The men from New England and New York who laid out the streets of southeastern Wisconsin understood Mann's language, and the same prayers ascended with the smoke of their cabins as had been uttered in Cortland County, New York. While the village of Whitewater was edging its way toward civility and refinement, the country from which its people came was advancing the normal school idea. In 1839, one year before Whitewater could boast of its log schoolhouse, the first public normal in the United States was opened at Lexington, followed in close succession by Barre and Bridgewater, all in Mann's home state. By 1850 four more

schools had been set up—Albany, Philadelphia, New Britain, Connecticut, and Ypsilanti, Michigan. At the time of Mann's death in 1859 there were normals in 9 states, and by 1870 the country was dotted with 75 institutions, of which Whitewater claimed to be the 30th.[4] When the question of building normals in Wisconsin came up, there was no debate on the virtue of the undertaking; the problems were mechanical, financial, and geographical, the latter being the most heated as towns scrambled to secure the location of such an honorable institution.

The first attempt to plant the normal idea in Wisconsin was at the constitutional convention of 1846. Not only was that constitution rejected by the people, but an amendment appropriating the income of the university lands to normal schools until a university could be established was defeated 48 to 51.[5] In the light of the future contention between the two systems of higher learning, one may conclude that the defeat originated from a pro-university faction rather than from any anti-normal sentiment. An amendment providing for county normals when the population reached 20,000 was expunged from an attempted constitution in 1847, but the victorious document of 1848 provided for the support and maintenance of common schools and allowed the residue for the support of academies and normals. Salisbury noted that part of the success of the normal school article was due to Rev. Eleazer Root, a delegate from Waukesha who had been schooled in the idea by a student of David Page of the Albany normal.[6] The most obvious way to effect the provision was to make normal instruction a part of the university system, the advent of a lengthy and revealing disputation on the nature of education—and women's rights to it. The man "left in New York" was found again in the "impenetrable solitudes" of Wisconsin.

A charter for the University of Wisconsin was drawn up in the summer of 1848, and the following January its regents had agreed to the establishment of a normal professorship "to render instruction in the art of teaching" and declared themselves in favor of making the University "the nursery of the educators of the popular mind."[7] Mr. Root, who served two years as superintendent of public instruction, pushed for a normal department patterned after Albany and enthusiastically reported in 1851: "The utility of normal instruction is conceded; it is provided for in the constitution; . . . 2,300 schools ask for it, and more than 111,000 children are in daily need of it. Action on this subject should be no longer postponed."[8] It was five years, however, before Professor Daniel Read delivered the first lectures on the art of teaching to 18 students. Meanwhile, each successive superintendent of public instruction urged the practical fulfillment of the 1849 ordinance, and in 1851 the University

regents even outlined a plan for a model school in Madison that offered to admit females; but a separate normal department did not get beyond the foundation of a building.

The lethargic approach of the University to enact its normal department authorization and the hesitation of the Legislature to aid it spurred men of vision like James Sutherland, chairman of the senate committee on education, to try another approach. In 1856 he sought to bypass the quasi normal setup in Madison by introducing a bill "to provide for normal instruction and teachers' institutes" apart from the University. Although the bill died in the Senate and the panic of 1857 threw dirt on its grave, Mr. Sutherland had pioneered in a great suggestion. Money was the problem, and an unsuccessful attempt in 1857 by the private colleges to dip into federal funds designated for the University proved the futility of that source. The denominational college bloc, led by Lawrence University and Milton Academy, refused to be discouraged and made a bid for some of the proceeds from swamp lands as had been provided by an act of Congress in 1850. The bill presented called for swamp land money to establish a "literature fund," which Sutherland's conscience would not allow him to support; but inasmuch as it had been introduced, he took it to his boarding-house and spent the night on a revision.[9] The result was a "substitute bill" which was forthrightly labeled "An act for the encouragement of academies and normal schools," which provided for a board of 9 normal school regents and designated ¼ of the swamp land fund for the said institutions. This passed the Senate on March 7, 1858 by a vote of 24 to 1, a testimony to the sagacity of the friends of public education. Unwittingly, the University by its indifference and the private colleges by their avarice had given precarious birth to the state normal system, destined to prosper long after swamp land income had been depleted. Except for a small amount of tuition in the model schools, the fund supported the system until the establishment of the Milwaukee Normal in 1885.

The bill providing for a normal school system embodied the universal sentiment of the age—united in spirit but separate in body. In providing for free tuition to "any pupil or scholar whose purpose is to fit himself as a teacher of common schools in this state," the Wisconsin Yankees were showing their faith by their works. The Board met in July, 1857 to decide on rules, a course of study, and disbursement of funds. Since there was no separate normal until 1866, for 9 years the Regents gladly carried home what they could to their local institutions engaged in teacher training. At the close of each year these "teachers' classes" were examined by the agent of the Board, one of the outstanding being Henry Barnard, the University's second chancellor who was considered by some to be "the

greatest educational scholar and reformer the United States has produced."[10] This plan of distribution, however, tended to dwarf more than enhance the normal school movement. Some pressure was put on the University to organize a true normal department, but this was not done until 1863, by which time talk of individual normals doubtless prompted the reorganization.

The remainder of this interim history of the normals centered around three factors—the Civil War (which weakened the "teachers' classes"), John G. McMynn (the Board agent in 1863 and later state superintendent), and potential coeds (who used every upheaval, local or national, to gain entrance into the educational sanctum from which tradition had barred them). In the spring of 1863 Professor Charles H. Allen, later Platteville's first president, became the director of the University's first normal department. Seventy-six ladies (which soon became about 180) made their first legal appearance on campus, much to the chagrin of the male students whose powers of protest had been decreased by the "draft" and by public sympathy for brave female office workers, matrons, and nurses during the war. Said one frustrated gentleman: "They came like an army with banners, conquering and to conquer. They came with bewitching curls, and dimpled cheeks, and flowing robes, and all the panoply of feminine adornment; and worst of all, they came to stay."[11] This was true, for the Legislature of 1866 ordered the University to open its doors to both sexes, a logical move in the light of developments at Platteville that year.

Mr. McMynn, believing that the only successful way to teach teachers was in an institution dedicated to the job, used his influence as agent in 1863 to discredit work done in colleges, academies, and high schools. He decreased the number of beneficiaries by a stiff examination, and in his first report as superintendent he publicized his ultimate intentions:

> The number of departments at present organized is seven; and the number of students examined during the present year is less than seventy. Sufficient time has elapsed since the present plan was adopted, to show that the ostensible objects of the law are unattainable under the provisions of the act. . . . The plan is defective. It makes the normal department subordinate, and does not provide for the special training of teachers.[12]

In 1865 his desire was implemented in a law providing for distinctive normals and allowing for them a liberal endowment. This led to an embarrassing situation for University officials who were seeking as their chief executive Paul Ansel Chadbourne, the learned president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College and known critic of coeducation. By compromise the ladies, together with their unpopular department, were segregated in 1869 into a separate female college at the bottom of the hill. This lasted

until the merger of 1873 which put an end to the ridiculous practice of two lectures a day on the same subject—one to ladies and one to gentlemen. Nature had dictated what the board of visitors to the University discovered in 1870: "Woman possesses a rational soul and has a Divine warrant to improve her powers."[13] Tocqueville would have nodded approval of the normal school triumph as another proof that Americans "are born equal instead of becoming so."[14]

Following the act of 1865 the race among localities in the state for location of normals began, and the Regents decided to locate one in each of the congressional districts. On February 28, 1866 it was voted to locate schools at Platteville and Whitewater; titles were transferred on May 2nd and instructions to advertise for sealed proposals for donations were given the 26th. At least 16 cities and villages had made offers of sites and funds, and nowhere in Wisconsin was there greater competition for a normal than in the southeastern Yankee section . . . in the very center of which was nestled the little village of Whitewater.

Progress at Whitewater in things educational prior to the Civil War was notable enough. In 1844 the 16 x 18 log schoolhouse was replaced by one of brick 24 x 28, and by 1852 more expansion was necessary. There was lack of unanimity, however, as to whether to build a new house or remodel the old. Some envisioned a splendid building which could accommodate collegiate and academic departments while others desired to limit the tax-supported institution to the lower grades and let those who wished a more liberal education for their children build an academy privately. The academy project got off the ground to the extent that four lots were donated, $1800 raised, and an act of incorporation procured; but agitation by those who wanted a multipurpose institution, together with the Milwaukee-Mississippi Railroad project which absorbed much financial potential, muffled the voices for higher education the remainder of the decade.

The war interrupted the next effort to establish a school for advanced grades in 1861. To be christened the Home Collegiate Institute, the proposed plan received much popular acclaim, was well outlined on paper, and might have been successful had it not been for the national emergency; but the citizens remembered the academy campaigns which fertilized their future intentions. What might have happened in the fall of 1866 had Whitewater obtained the Collegiate Institute, the Platteville centennialists may debate; what might have been the nature of the local struggle with the three progressive lakeshore towns over locations, Whitewater centennialists may ponder with some historical perception. As it was, Whitewater got the railroad in 1852 and waited until 1868 for the Normal

—and where its sprawling university now operates only occasional freight-cars meander through as reminders of the exciting glory of another day.

What had been finalized in the aspirations of men could not be put asunder by the roar of cannon, and Appomattox only put a green light to the pre-war beginnings. About two weeks before Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Grant the academy idea at Whitewater was revived and a proposition was made to build on the very site of the future Normal. On March 28, 1865 S. A. White, N. M. Littlejohn, George Esterly, J. S. Partridge, William De Wolf, and Ole Rossman became incorporators of the Whitewater Seminary.[15] Subscription books were opened, but not enough money was forthcoming to begin before the normal Regents had invited proposals for locations. A special town meeting was held on August 30th and the sum of $20,000 voted to secure a normal. The academy project, which had always turned out to be a bird in the bush, was exchanged for what seemed to be a bird in the hand. The transition from "seminary" to normal was no problem, since normals had been referred to as "teachers' seminaries" in the early days and Whitewater Methodists had proposed a seminary for religious education back in 1845. Local enthusiasm for an institution of higher learning, therefore, was rooted in two decades of vision and experimentation.

Whitewater was not alone in its vision, nor was it historically favored above its lakeshore contenders, Milwaukee, Kenosha, and Racine. Milwaukee probably had the first public school in the Wisconsin Territory, having become a flourishing Yankee village with a school district by 1836.[16] In 1859 a high school was opened and a superintendent employed to strengthen the public schools. Although the school was not permanent until 1868, superintendents with ability elevated the system to the extent that its exhibit at the Centennial Exposition induced a French commissioner to visit the place. Kenosha, a Yankee stronghold like Whitewater, produced the state's pioneer champion of the free public school system in 1843, only a few years behind Mann. Michael Frank did not agree with Horace Greeley's idea that the public welfare demanded only that all be given the opportunity for instruction in the rudiments, but felt that the public should bear expenses for a school "in which all the useful branches of science shall be taught . . . up to the higher academic studies."[17] Such a school was perfected in 1849, where some 500 pupils under seven lady teachers learned Latin and French with the common branches. The upper department trained young men and women for teaching, 25 of the 614 enrolled in 1853 having already engaged in the profession. The principal, John G. McMynn, received calls for more teachers from Wisconsin and Illinois than he could fill. Racine profited from Kenosha's experience and pro-

ceeded to surpass it in educational importance after 1853. It was blest with local leaders like Marshall M. Strong, who wrote in the Racine *Advocate* of December 3, 1843 regarding a school fund:

> The advantages of such a fund . . . are far beyond all human calculation. Its influence will not be confined to the youths alone, but it will affect the minds and character of all ages and classes. Other things being equal, it will make Racine the most literary, scientific, and moral place in the whole west. Indeed. . . . I believe Racine will raise more money in proportion to its size for the purpose of education than any other place. . . .[18]

In 1853 McMynn came from Kenosha to take charge of Racine's new high school, a teacher-training institution with all the excellent features of the early normals. Known as McMynn's Academy, the school graduated capable students who went into the districts and fed back to the Academy a superior flock of learners, giving Racine the practical lead in the demand for the southeastern Wisconsin normal. It was there also that McMynn called the first successful teachers meeting in 1855, the nucleus of the state association in 1857. It is not surprising that this cultural metropolis should protest the location of the normal at Whitewater.

Although Whitewater would have sworn to following the highest standards of public and personal ethics, the path of its success in the normal race was plainly garnished with politics. In 1863 a Whitewater lumberman, N. M. Littlejohn, went to the state Senate. The war had blocked the collegiate institute idea, and a committee of prominent citizens instructed the senator to do what he could in the Legislature to secure a school. According to his own story he proceeded as follows:

> During the 1864 session I learned that the governor would appoint three Regents to succeed those whose terms were about to expire. I told the governor that Whitewater would make an effort to secure one of the normals. I recommended the location as a very favorable one in the southern part of the state. To succeed, a resident regent would be needed, and I asked him to appoint Judge White. The governor was noncommittal and I left the executive office not certain of any success.
>
> During that session of the legislature I was boarding with Judge Hood, an influential politician. . . . Hood offered to go with me to the governor, who promised to appoint White.[19]

During the 1865 session White (who was employed in the controller's office) and Littlejohn got acquainted with other Regents who were men of the Legislature, and White lost no time conveying his convictions on the supremacy of his home town. When the issue came to a vote in 1866, Whitewater, Racine, and Platteville were finalists. Racine's Senator J. I. Case and Superintendent McMynn gave that town hope, but Whitewater took the honors 7 to 4. By the time a committee got to Whitewater to select

a site, the $25,000 goal had been promised. Bonds were issued to the amount of the tax, 250 at $100 each. Lyman Goodue took 110, White 50, and four others the remainder. Back in New York Ezra Cornell was urging his friends to invest in higher education: "I shall expect in addition to my own donations, to draw millions . . . ask no favors and the rich will lavish their bounties upon you, if they have to bribe you to accept them."[20] Tocqueville's man of New York had appeared again . . . at Whitewater.

From the first public action on August 30, 1865 until there was the sound of digging on Normal Hill October 2, 1866, Whitewater leaders organized their propaganda under two main topics, business and morals. The Rann brothers published their first argument two days after the special meeting:

> On Wednesday afternoon last, at two o'clock, our citizens met at Metropolitan Hall and voted the sum of $20,000, to be raised by tax, to aid the State in the erection of a suitable building for a Normal School, provided the Board of Regents could be induced to locate one here, which it was believed they would do if sufficient inducements should be offered. . . . We have some of the handsomest and most desirable sites in the State for such a building, and the Board of Regents will be permitted to select such as they may choose. This is as it should be, and puts the matter in precisely the shape we have all along desired to see it.[21]

Following the meeting of February, 1866 when a school was awarded to Whitewater, the *Register* encouraged local enthusiasm:

> As to the moral effect which such an institution of learning will have upon our people, we have only to say, that our readers will not lose sight of it; it is by far the most important consideration in connection with the subject; the commercial aspect, which is the one that is mainly discussed, is of no comparative importance, and ought not to weigh "so much as in the estimation of a single hair."[22]

At the meeting of acceptance on March 3rd Metropolitan Hall was jammed. William De Wolf called the meeting to order, John S. Partridge took the chair, and T. D. Weeks, later a local regent, acted as secretary. Major Rufus Cheney explained that a normal would be profitable at twice its cost, and White and Littlejohn urged upon the people the great benefits of the proposition. The plans, drawn up by the eminent architect G. P. Randall of Chicago, had been loaned to White by Superintendent McMynn for exhibition. Resolutions were adopted unanimously to carry out the offers and make good the faith of the bond holders, much to the satisfaction of the sovereigns. William De Wolf's granddaughter recalled that he was so persistent about getting the Normal that he once snatched a telegram from the hand of an opponent and shouted, "We're going to have it!"[23] On September 6, 1866 the Regents issued instructions to proceed with the build-

ing, and two weeks later the building committee chose Mr. Littlejohn to superintend the work. By the end of September three or four teams were at work grading the lot and excavating for the basement story. On October 2nd the foundation was begun. D. S. Cook recalled: "As we gathered around and watched the huge boulders lie down in their beds of cement, to sleep the dreamless sleep of ages, our hopes grew bright and our faith grew strong."[24] The walls of the basement were completed early in November, by which time the mortar froze as the masons worked it. The discovery of a fine bed of white sand nearby saved much time and money. As the building progressed the Legislature appropriated funds, so that a total of $54,390.52 was expended upon completion.[25] When the structure was finally finished in the spring of 1868 the heart of nearly every pioneer rejoiced. Samuel Prince died on April 16, 1867, a year and 5 days before the normal opened its doors, but not too soon to give his last blessing to the reality of the project.

While the good people of Whitewater rejoiced, others in the congressional district were markedly irritated by the way "the city beautiful" had shaken the political and financial bushes at Madison. Between 1865 and 1867 the press of southeastern Wisconsin turned yellow, each hometown editor pointing a muckraking finger at the neighbor who seemed ahead in the normal race. Following the announcement for sealed proposals, each locality began to publish its virtues. The Milwaukee *Sentinel* declared: "It has seemed to us . . . that independent of any local pecuniary compensation, the Board of Regents, if they do their duty by the State and the persons who are to be benefited by this school, cannot afford to locate it at any other point . . . than Milwaukee."[26] The reasons given for this bid included the central position, the advantages a city offered teachers "to learn human nature amidst the jostling crowd," a large library, and lectures. The *Register* condemned the large Milwaukee delegation to Madison to parade financial generosity as "political intrigue to warp the judgment of the Board." The Ranns spelled out their Yankee biases in terms that belied the cultural depravity of which Whitewater had been accused by the German metropolis:

> There is not a liberal institution of learning of any note, in any leading commercial city in the United States, except it be some eleemosynary institutions, like Girard College in Philadelphia, and that has never attracted much attention. And we cannot see . . . that a thorough knowledge of political finesse is an essential part of the education of our youth; that an intimate acquaintance with the "jostling crowd" of a city is calculated to improve their morals or yet their manners; that the "thorough knowledge of human nature" they may by possibility acquire by a daily observation of the corruption which becomes chronic in a city, is likely to promote that advancement in social science

> which is deemed a vital part of the education of a teacher; nor that frequent contact with proprietors and vigorous compotators of beer halls, keepers and inmates of brothels, "dutch gardens," concert saloons, and similar institutions, flourishing in Milwaukee, is calculated to give young men and women the "additional polish" assumed to be so salutary.[27]

Animosity mounted when it became clear that Whitewater had offered less money for a location than half the 16 hopefuls, including Milwaukee and Racine. The Milwaukee *News* wondered what secret virtue commended the more insignificant locality:

> From the first congressional district three bids are recorded, and the one-horse town of Whitewater, which made the lowest bid of the three, is honored as the choice of the Board, and a Normal School is now being exiled to that rural retreat.
>
> A Leglislative investigation as to the considerations which influenced the Board is suggested and would be entirely in order. Whatever those considerations were, the fact that the future usefulness of the schools has been largely deteriorated by the character of the selections made is clear and palpable.[28]

Ruffled by these vociferant insinuations, the *Register* answered:

> We regret that we are unable to satisfy the Milwaukee *News*. If this town had given 530 Democratic majority last fall, we would not now be stigmatized as a "one-horse town". . . . Whitewater is near the center of the most thriving and wealthiest district of the State; it is surrounded by an industrious and intelligent people; it has all the facilities which any town in the State possesses . . . it bid all it was asked. . . .[29]

The records show that Whitewater was the more reluctant to pull up the barracks that sheltered its pride. Milwaukee sent its city superintendent to speak at the dedicatory exercises on April 21, 1868, and the *Sentinel* that fall complimented the Normal on its good work and fine building located on the highest point "between Madison and Milwaukee." The somber *Register* thought the article underestimated President Arey and found little comfort in the reference to Normal Hill, which Whitewater claimed to be the highest point between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.[30] After World War I had laid much of the past to rest, Whitewater's President Hyer received a letter from his predecessor: "Glad to get your letter and to hear the final report on attendance. . . . How does Brother Pearse like it? Milwaukee never takes kindly to any prosperity at Whitewater."[31]

Despite the Milwaukee-Whitewater word battles, Racine was (and still is after 100 years) the latter's most potent contender. Early in 1865 there was talk of locating one state normal par excellence at Racine, which was already equipped, but Judge White's eloquence turned the tide as legislators saw a chance to locate a normal in their districts instead. Racine

still felt sure it would get the normal for the southeastern district and secured its bid by offering $3,000 more than Whitewater. When the truth came out, the Racine *Advocate* exclaimed: "We rather hope the matter may go into the courts, and be thoroughly ventilated so that we may know what inducements were offered by the Whitewater politicians. . . . It might cause a little fluttering at Madison, but we should like the facts in the case. . . ."[32] After explaining the facts regarding the collection of the tax and looking forward to completion in the following two months, the *Register* answered the *Advocate* in November, 1867:

> The continued effort to injure the future prospects of the School by ungenerous newspaper paragraphs reflects no credit upon the editor of the *Advocate* but seems supremely childish and silly, giving tokens of poor judgment and an unamiable disposition. We have no disposition to quarrel with the editor over this matter, but we dislike this constant poking of crooked sticks into places not fitted to received them.[33]

Thus was the crusading spirit of the Middle Period of American history demonstrated in the "vanguard" state; thus the normal prize fell to Whitewater—not because it necessarily deserved it, but because, in a nation of equals, hard work and strong faith meant more than the advantages of tradition.

When Old Main at last stood completed, the people in general reveled in the accomplishment. Up to the first commencement (1870) the building had cost $100,000, about $30,000 of which had been paid by the citizens. The exuberance of the fathers passed on to their children, as year after year large audiences gathered upon occasion to view the progress of the school. When President Salisbury's commencement address in 1905 bemoaned that local love had waxed cold, the *Register* answered: "There is not the slightest doubt that all the people of the place regard the Normal as a possession of the very greatest value to our city. . . . This is no less true now than it was thirty years ago."[34] The article pointed out that not everyone was friendly to the Normal from the beginning, one rather prominent citizen having treated the head of the School so insultingly that the older students proposed to lynch him. Salisbury mentioned in 1905 that the original normal investment of $28,000 had yielded something like $1,850,000 to the community. When Cornell's third president asked in 1892 where one could find an example of such splendid financeering as at that institution, President Sailsbury from Cortland County, New York could have answered, "In the impenetrable solitudes . . . at Whitewater."[35]

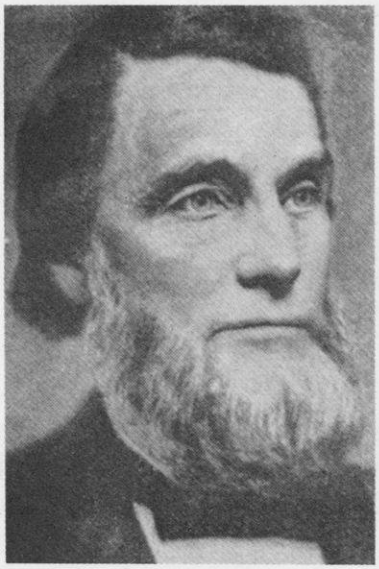
Since an organization becomes what its leader is, it was extremely important to the citizens that the man who should head the new enterprise would be the human embodiment of their creed. Professor Oliver Arey

met those standards. He was born in Wellfleet, Barnstable County, Massachusetts in 1817, the son of an alert businessman who had been a member of the Massachusetts legislature and a custom house official for many years. He had spent most of his teaching days in New York, first in Buffalo and then in Brockport. From his earliest recollections he had been surrounded by deeply religious influences which led him to oppose anything but the truth as he saw it. Professor Lewis H. Clark, '79, gave a typical review of things during the Arey regime when he stated:

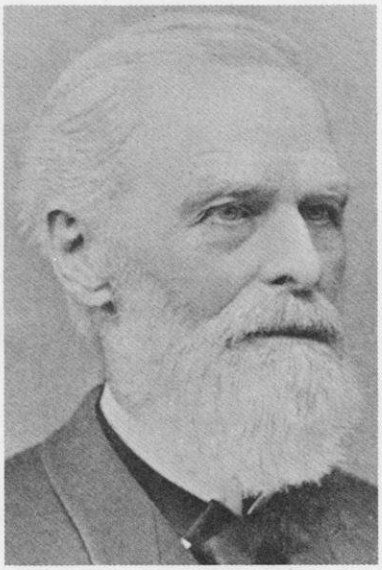
> The Whitewater State Normal School was fortunate in its first president. . . . He was a man, first. His high moral sense, often so deeply stirred by exhibitions of the mean and sordid in human nature, impressed the student greatly. He who spent four years with President Arey came forth with his moral backbone greatly stiffened. While, perhaps, the professional work required was not unlimited in quantity, or perhaps of the highest utility, there was a professional atmosphere pervading the school that made teachers of the students and imbued them with its spirit. This atmosphere in a normal school does more for the student than mere teaching can.[36]

Professor Arey and his staff began the history of the Normal in the spirit of the town's old chronicler: ". . . history, in its deepest and truest significance, is a record of the inner rather than the outward life of humanity; of the aspirations of our race for something higher and better beyond. . . ."[37]

The establishment of the School was, like the village that housed it, the result of the same consequences which produced several of its kind. It was the material expression of a generation of pioneers who almost welcomed adversity in the belief that it would, as Bradford said of the Pilgrims, make them stronger through suffering. The original motive for migration among the ancestors of the doners to the Normal was to build a model Zion in the wilderness—not a senseless utopia, but an obtainable, practical society where sacred things could be transmuted unimpaired to an aspiring, inquisitive posterity. So certain were they that a normal school would perpetuate these blessings that opinions to the contrary were denoted as sinister and below the level of common acceptance: "We are sure the school can be filled at once, and we do not hesitate to affirm that it will be one of the most successful institutes in the country. . . . The croakers will soon be dumb. . . ."[38] There was a deep satisfaction in knowing that the undertaking would fulfill the pioneer builders' vision of making all roads lead to Whitewater and would enhance the noble work of training teachers for Wisconsin's sons and daughters. Leaders continually stressed the companionship of education and democracy, as expressed by Mr. Sutherland in 1897: "It should ever be kept in mind that the public schools of our country are the people's colleges; that in them must the great mass of the people be educated, if educated at all; that knowledge and virtue are the



5. *Judge White.* S. A. White's influence was indispensable in locating the Normal.



6. *President Arey.* Oliver Arey personified all that the new Normal aspired to be.

7. *President Phelps.* Experienced and capable, W. F. Phelps forgot that he was not too old to learn.

8. *President Stearns.* J. W. Stearns restored confidence at the Normal with his quiet dignity.

LEADERS DURING THE EARLY GENERATION

foundation principles upon which our republican government rests."[39]

On Tuesday, April 21, 1868 Whitewater's friends of education participated in the dedication of the Normal and the beginning of a new epoch in the social and economic life of the village. In anticipation, the *Register* commented:

> We look upon it as an event fraught with the happiest consequences to us, as a people. It will create a new intellectual atmosphere, so to speak; and it will prove the commencement of a higher social status among us. . . . We expect every citizen will feel such an interest in the prosperity of the school that he will be disposed to aid it by every reasonable effort.[40]

Long before the hour of the service the spacious lecture room was filled to overflowing with townspeople. At 3:30 Board President William Starr opened the meeting by introducing the Whitewater glee class, after which he gave a history of the normal school fund and the location at Whitewater. President Arey read a paper on the importance of education, the progress of institutions of learning in the country, and the value of normals. He pledged himself to exert every effort to make the School a success, and the glee class followed with a dedicatory song by Mrs. Arey and Dr. Greenman reflecting the whole spirit behind the project (as well as the poetic talent of the first lady principal):

> 'Tis the mother of schools, 'tis the moral ark,
> That shall bear young lives o'er the furrows dark;
> When the torch that was lit in the Mayflower rules,
> With life-giving light in our Normal Schools.

President Allen of Platteville detailed his interest and congratulated Whitewater, and President Chadbourne of the University, doubtless with tongue in cheek, honored the exercises with a few remarks. Following comments by several other dignitaries, the audience sang "Old Hundred" and was dismissed.[41]

The *Register* thought that more honor should have been given White and Littlejohn, without whose efforts the Normal would have yet been in embryo, but these men picked up a fair share of recognition as the years passed. At the quarter-century celebration in 1893 an oil painting of White was presented to the school with a eulogy of the first local regent by Professor S. S. Rockwood:

> Judge Samuel A. White . . . has built for himself a lasting monument in the establishment of this school, a perennial fountain of thought, whose success we trust shall endure to the end. It was his work more than any other man's, that turned the hesitating scales and gave this great normal school to this beautiful city to shed perpetually its multifarious blessings not only on this community and State, but on all the States that touch its fortunate borders.[42]

In 1904 the White Memorial Library was added to Julius Birge's fountain in the once valueless triangle between two of Prosper Cravath's roads. N. M. Littlejohn made a presentation speech in which he compared that June 17th in Whitewater to the one at Bunker Hill when Joseph Warren's patriots planted the seeds of liberty in soil drenched with blood.[43] When Littlejohn died in 1916 Professor A. A. Upham said that he had heard many sermons but had never received so impressive a lesson in mortality as in the charge Littlejohn gave when master of the Masonic Lodge.[44] Considered one of the best businessmen Whitewater ever had, his flourishing lumberyard made him the logical supervisor of the normal construction. It was a universal fact that at Whitewater the builders of the town were respectors of the gown.

Success in locating a normal made Whitewater a leader in that aspect of education which the University viewed with disdain, a fact that contributed substantially to the vigorous defense of the new system by local enthusiasts. By nature the normals were committed to female training, which was evident in the enrollment statistics at Whitewater. The first term (1868–69) brought two more men than women (77 to 75), a balance which did not reoccur until 1954. To give the normal professor dignity at the University, he was assigned to teach mental philosophy, logic, rhetoric, and English literature, "to treat of the powers and capabilities of the human mind, the modes in which knowledge is acquired and communicated, the use of language in convincing and persuading men, with a special adaption of the whole to the structure and capabilities of the English language."[45] It was a constant thorn in the side of the University that funds were lost to the normals, and at the turn of the century it was discussed whether to seek the destruction of the normals or to allow them to exist as preparatory schools for the University.

But history was on the side of the normals . . . and the women. Public opinion enjoyed the idea of creating strictly professional schools, and since the normals were not dedicated to philosophy but to expedience, their protagonists had nothing to defend but their utility. The University could do little to stop the tide of coeds liberated both by the Civil War and by the invention of the typewriter by C. Latham Sholes at Milwaukee in 1867. Professor Curti told the story that when President Chadbourne refused to graduate six women in 1869 on grounds of the absurdity of calling young women "bachelors," a commencement committee found one definition to read, "An unmarried woman; Ben Johnson, Obs." Since no college president could refute Webster, the girls were granted their Ph.B.'s.[46] As far back as 1852 the Racine board of education came out with the anachronism that it favored women teachers almost exclusively.[47] Whitewater was intro-

duced to the liberal idea by Mr. McMynn himself at the 1865 meeting of the State Teachers' Association. On the second day of the convention he called a meeting of the county superintendents and invited Whitewater citizens to attend. In addition to the challenge of hearing Mr. McGuffy, who had just finished his 44th year of teaching, the people learned that educators did not consider lady teachers as nuns, shut out from the usual routine duties of women. McMynn thought it would make little difference what disputants might say . . . that women would do as they pleased about matrimony. Some concluded that a woman who went from a schoolroom to her own home continued as a teacher.[48] The fact that a model school was attached to the Normal also gave the ladies an advantage; 6 of the 9 original faculty at Whitewater were women. The University could turn to law, medicine, or the military, but the normals were in to stay as institutions of professional education. Nor was it long before the men welcomed the fair sex and considered their presence in class "as much an inducement to regular attendance as the desire to become acquainted with the hidden mysteries of nature."[49] Enrollment statistics proved that educating the girls was going to be a profitable business. It was one gratifying result of a generation of crusading which culminated in the Civil War. There would be the adjustment period of social reconstruction, and there would be those of both sexes who would shake their heads in disgust at the transition of woman in the gay nineties; but this was Tocqueville's America, the Whitewater citizen who had sojourned in New York. Horace Greeley caught the spirit of the fight for a normal school in southeastern Wisconsin and unknowingly penned the satisfaction of the little village that attained it when many years before, with the reflection of the sunset in his face, he declared:

> Each age summons its own heroes; ours demands those who will labor and if need be suffer reproach in behalf of a Social Order based on Universal Justice, not the dominion of Power over Need; on the spirit of Christianity, not the supremacy of Mammon. . . . Fortunate shall they be esteemed by future generations who are privileged to stand in Earth's noblest Thermopylae and battle for the rights, for the hopes, for the enduring good, of Humanity in all time to come. . . . Who would slumber through life ingloriously when such crowns are to be won?[50]

3

The Normal Corporation: A Teaching-Learning Partnership (1868-1885)

> Coiled up in this institution as in a spring, there is a vigor whose uncoiling may whirl the spheres.
>
> —HORACE MANN[1]

> It is that which a student breathes that makes him, rather than that he swallows.
>
> —LEWIS H. CLARK, '79[2]

The builders of the Whitewater Normal, like their fathers, believed that order and discipline were the keys to operating any venture. When Horace Mann dedicated the Bridgewater Normal in 1840 he sensed that education had sprouted wings. By 1868 leaders were confident that the normal school system was an effective answer to the need for universal education, as indicated two years later when the National Education Association assimilated as a department the American Normal School Association. Because the normals of New England and New York had succeeded, and because so much effort had been expended to locate the Whitewater institution, both the faculty (many of whom were imported from the East) and the community were determined that the new undertaking should meet with impunity the highest standards of the land. To that end professors, students, and citizens became glad stockholders in the valued enterprise.

President Arey came in January, 1868 to organize the school, and when the students arrived in April they sensed that order was heaven's first law. Recorded Salisbury: "The young men and women who gathered into this school in those early years found here a new and stimulating atmosphere. The spirit of earnestness—almost a severe earnestness—pervaded the place; and the high ideals of its administration were contagious in a remarkable degree."[3] Oliver Cromwell Arey spent his youth assimilating the virtues of a Christian home, appropriating the values of a sound education, and appreciating the ventures of a sea-faring life. Besides the lessons learned at his parents' knees, young Arey was taught at the district school by students from Dartmouth and Harvard. At the age of 14 he entered into an agreement with two other boys to refrain from the use of profane language,

the use of tobacco, alcoholic drinks, and all other habits and practices harmful to manhood. He took a turn at farming, the manufacture of salt by solar evaporation, and life at sea. At the age of 21 he left the ocean he loved and entered Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, graduating from the three-year course with first honors in 1841. He later took a degree from Union College. His forty-year teaching career began in a large district school near his home in the winter of 1841–42, where he encountered pupils older than many normal students and where they rubbed shoulders with the well-tanned character of a young professional. One rule was that no pupil could enter the school after 9:20, and embarrassing indeed was one Christmas morning when Mr. Arey allowed a discussion to detain him beyond the time of classes. Taking a short cut to the school, he peered above the brow of the hill to note an empty playground. The door was closed, and inside anxious faces awaited the precarious consequences of locking the teacher out. Young Arey seized the picket fence on either side of the walk, sprang feet first against the barred door, and landed firmly amidst the large boys who fled like rabbits to their seats. No word was spoken either by Mr. Arey or his pupils. After reading a few verses from the Bible, he commenced the day's duties with no allusion to the incident. When the coming of spring caused the young men to betake themselves to their ocean life, pupils and teacher parted with mutual respect for each other.[4] Despite a fever which struck him down at a position in Maryland, the leanness of opportunities in western New York which drove him to the cooper's trade, and a partially unfulfilled promise at Hamilton's Academy in Cleveland, Mr. Arey worked his way up to the principalship of a public school in Buffalo in 1847 and finally to the head of the Buffalo Central High School. It was there that he made a name for himself by organizing a systematic course of study and making it work by drawing out the manhood and womanhood of his pupils. In 1864 he was called to the principalship of the Albany Normal, an honor which was marred by a severe attack of typhoid fever and interrupted by a railway accident early in 1865. Never entirely recovering from a head injury, he continued two years at Albany, then took up lighter work at the Brockport, New York Normal. He had just begun to stabilize that school when Whitewater issued its call and Arey, after some hesitation about his health, yielded to the urgent appeals of Superintendent McMynn and Governor Lucius Fairchild. He found that mid-western outpost of culture so challenging and the people so cordial that he decided to accept the invitation.

Harriet Ellen Grannis Arey, the beloved lady principal who watched over both the souls and bodies of the normal girls, was born in 1819 at Cavendish, Vermont, the daughter of a merchant who could trace his

ancestry back to colonial New Haven. Her mother's people were mainly of Puritan stock, one of the early immigrants having married a daughter of Miles Standish.[5] Her early years were spent in lower Canada where she was blessed by good schools and an inquisitive teacher who read some of her rhymes to the school. Although mortified at the time, she was encouraged to write more poetry. Following the death of her mother she resided with an uncle in New Hampshire until her father brought his family to Oberlin, Ohio. She graduated from the college there in 1844, taught in Cleveland until her marriage in 1848, and wrote for several publications including the *New York Tribune*. She undertook the country's first publication devoted to the interests of the home, but impaired eyesight due to much night studying in college forced her to abandon the project. Her next job was that of lady principal at Brockport, where she took their youngest child with her into the classroom. At Whitewater the demands of the growing school left no time for literary production, but her joy was complete in the teaching of teachers.

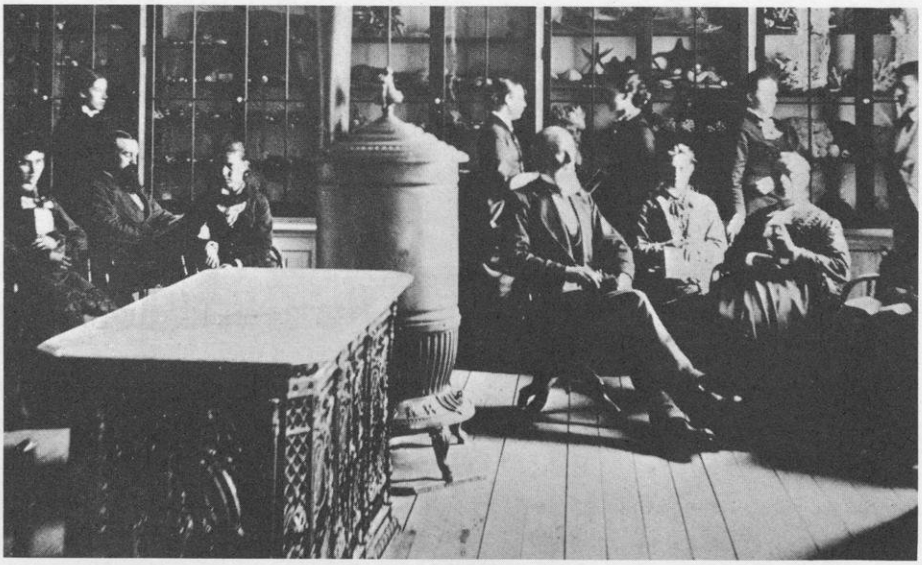
The high standards of moral and academic life so much a part of the Areys were sought in the faculty they brought to the school. Of the seven people present for the first faculty meeting, two ladies (Ada Hamilton and Emily Bryant) remained only that year. Miss Hamilton, critic in the intermediate department, had resided in Whitewater. Miss Bryant, instructor in history, grammar, and geography, came from the Schenectady high school with the reputation of a thorough scholar. J. T. Lovewell taught mathematics and Latin four years, after which his reputation took him to Yale. When Milwaukee College secured him in 1877 Whitewater people commented on the fortune of that school.[6] Dr. Harvey H. Greenman, a local dentist, taught vocal music until 1874, and Miss Virginia Deichman was the instrumental instructor until 1877. Two of the original faculty considered special by the historian-president Salisbury were Catherine H. Lilly and Sarah A. Stewart, critics in the grammar and primary departments. Both were born in New York, both attended female seminaries, and both possessed great force of character. Mrs. Anna T. Randall divided her instruction time between Whitewater and Platteville. Concerning his faculty President Arey reported in 1873 that "no sacrifice in behalf of the institutions seems too great for any one of them to make."[7]

The day following the dedication of the School the first of the 48 students to matriculate during the spring had their names placed in the student register, the first being that of Alice Harriet Arey who died 15 days later. The sorrow of placing their only daughter in Whitewater soil gave the Areys an added attachment to the place which continued throughout their long lives. In 1873 the president brought to Grove Cemetery the

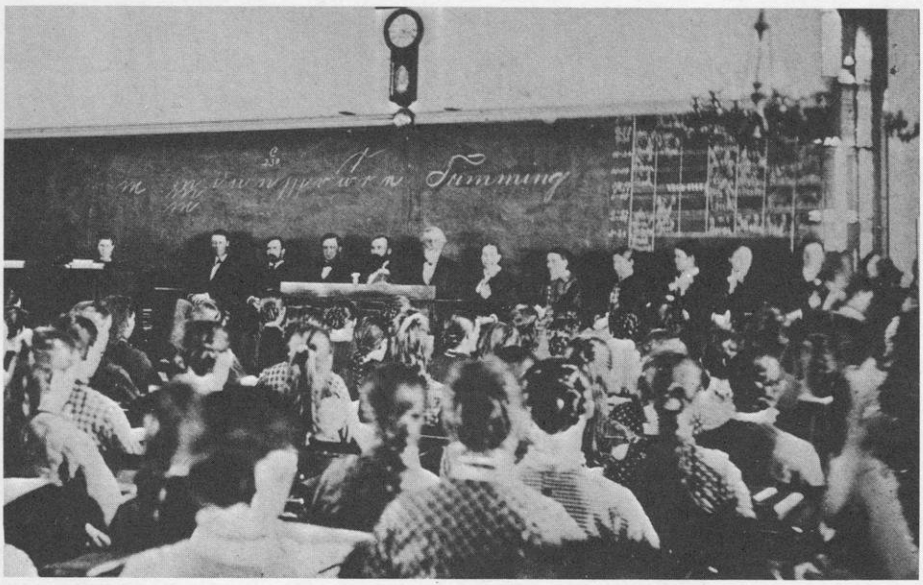
body of an infant child who had died before the family moved to Wisconsin, and in 1874 Mrs. Arey designed a monument for Alice with 16 lilies symbolizing the 16 years of her life. The motherly concern of that gracious lady for the normal girls was not superficial; nothing the Areys did was.

For over a month registration continued, each youth receiving due instruction as he came. To receive free tuition they signed the Student Declaration Book which carried at the top of each page the following solemn statement: "We do hereby declare that our purpose in entering the State Normal School is to fit ourselves for the profession of teaching, and that it is our intention to engage in teaching in the schools of this state." The ladies signed in one column and the gentlemen in the other, Mary McCutchan and Charles Brockway heading the lists. The declaration was no mere formality with the president, for penciled beside every name for which information was available was a plus or minus sign, indicating faithfulness to the pledge. Charles Brockway, one of the six graduates of the first class, merited a minus since he engaged in teaching only two years before taking up the ministry and later the practice of law. Notwithstanding the strict demands of obedience, the students set to work with gratitude for their opportunity, so that it could be said of the Areys that they gave the school "that positive character which had elements of permanence."[8] It was an honor to have been admitted to the Normal, and the procedure was cut and dried. According to the terms of admission adopted by the Regents, each assembly district was entitled to six representatives in the normal schools. Candidates were nominated by the county superintendent (or city superintendent) where the candidate resided. Although the minimum age was 16, the student register records a few at 14 and several at 15, an indication that exceptions were the rule even in those days. Sound bodily health and good moral character were prerequisites. The candidate was examined by the president in the branches required by law for a third grade certificate (except history and theory and practice of teaching), and, if found qualified, was admitted after signing the declaration book. To receive a diploma, a student had to be 19 and an academic resident for one year; those attending one term might receive a certificate of attendance from the principal.[9] In 1897 the old declaration lost pre-eminence in that it was no longer printed in the Regents' regulations, but it was 1930 before free tuition was based on residence alone.

The student's program was outlined for him according to his status upon arrival. The curriculum was simple but sufficient for a good foundation, and the year was divided into three terms of 16, 14, and 10 weeks. Initially, there were three courses: an institute course of one term, an ele-



9. *An Early Faculty Meeting.* Modern conveniences and formalities were unknown to these pioneers, but their dedication made them great educators.



10. *An Early Assembly.* Order, President Arey's "first law of heaven," was at no time more strictly observed than during morning exercises.

NORMAL BUSINESS WAS SERIOUS BUSINESS IN THOSE DAYS

mentary course of two years, and an advanced course of three years. The institute course, designed to meet the needs of teachers who wanted to familiarize themselves with the most improved methods, had a brief and unsatisfactory duration. In the fall of 1871 a six-weeks institute course was taken by 35 people at Whitewater, 12 at Platteville, and 15 at Oshkosh.[10] Interest at Whitewater was partly due to the fact that the *Register* dutifully announced every innovation, but the course was not practical. It was tried again 1872 and gathered some momentum at Whitewater in that a few attendants joined the regular classes; but the busyness of the fall teaching schedule made institute instruction a burden which few were willing to bear, and the idea was abandoned until the two-week plan of 1895. In 1873 the Regents reorganized the institute program by dividing the state into three districts and assigning a professor from each school to conduct meetings in his own district, a plan that met the legislative requirement much more effectively and gave Whitewater its introduction to Albert Salisbury that year.

The elementary and advanced courses proposed thorough drill in the branches, accompanied with instruction in the best methods of teaching them. In 1872 the Regents changed the elementary course to one year to make it more appealing, but this arrangement was unsatisfactory and lasted only two years. After a year of successful teaching, the elementary graduate could get his certificate countersigned by the state superintendent to give it the force of a five-year certificate. The advanced course was soon extended to four years and entitled the graduate to a diploma which, after a year of successful teaching, could be countersigned by the state superintendent to give it the force of a first grade state certificate. Beginning with the first term in both courses, the student had to give select readings, declamations, and criticism lessons before the school, culminating in lectures by the seniors on practice teaching. These thrice-weekly impromptu compositions did not facilitate the flow of ideas but gave the student practice in the art of communication. Mental and moral philosophy taught by the president capped the academic ladder in the advanced course, which was like the elementary except for 20 weeks of Latin instead of rhetoric. Although standardized to the hilt compared to modern diversity, the curriculum did not subordinate the individuality of the learner because of the close personal cooperation between teacher and learner. The whole academic setup was designed to be a leveling-up process, the genius of the American way of life. Above and beyond the diploma the normalite reached for excellence in the carefully outlined program, which was tested publicly at commencement. The students swallowed like substance but all breathed after their own fashion.

In the training school, a legitimate arm of the Normal from the beginning, were the primary, intermediate, and academic departments. The purpose of the first two was to provide a means for observation under experienced critics whereby the normal student could learn by doing. All three were populated by local children and each had a separate room. The academic department included the higher grades of the training school which, when possible, shared classes with the normal students.
The first catalog explained:

> The School being composed of teachers and those preparing for the work of teaching, its discipline and moral tone can be maintained at a much higher average than in ordinary schools, the pupils, in all departments working harmoniously with their teachers and finding their happiness in appropriate school duties. There are few academies where the appointments of the school room are as desirable, or the libraries and apparatus as complete as may be found here.[11]

The basic raison d'êtra of the academic department was that a community which had worked to secure a normal expected to be rewarded with an academy where its youth might prepare for college. From the time the Methodists had talked of a seminary in 1845 until the bonus was voted for the normal in 1865, Whitewater had dreamed of an advanced institution of learning. Along this line two out-of-town educators named Rev. E. N. Stowers and Professor S. R. Winchell in 1875 proposed a "Home Collegiate Institute" that aroused normal leaders to a degree. The proposed institute purported to be a complement to the Normal, not a competitor, and its leaders regretted that the Normal would take a dim view of the project "after all that Whitewater has done for that institution."[12] When the Regents made the academic departments of the normals college preparatory in 1876, the institute venture collapsed; and by the time the academic department was abolished in 1884 the city was building its own high school. Salisbury viewed the right of a locality to demand an academic department in its normal as "an embarrassment to the legitimate work of such a school" and could rejoice that its abolishment occurred before he became president.[13]

Another purpose for the academic departments was to make the normals competitive with the University. Early normal presidents pushed for academic stability, and President Arey saw in the department a chance to excel. He told the state superintendent in his annual report of 1871:

> It is asserted that academic instruction ought not to be given in the normal school course; that it is proper business of the colleges, academies and other schools of the state to do this work; that the peculiar field of influence of the normal school is to be found in imparting methods of instruction; that the normal school is not needed for other purposes. If these statements are cor-

> rect, then . . . why have not these institutions done their work? Candidates for the normal courses are frequently found completely deficient in a thorough knowledge of almost all the branches taught in the common schools.[14]

Arey pointed out that some Massachusetts normals had added two years of academic study and that some in New York offered four. He argued that a normal school was the place for a teacher to receive a complete education, even as a laywer familiarized himself with the principles of law while practicing in the courts. This attitude accounts for the emphasis on science and Latin, both of which were considered essential to mental discipline. The Whitewater department, considered the best in the system, claimed the leadership of two outstanding scholars—Professor S. S. Rockwood who brought to the department his experience as a mathematics teacher at Milton College, and Professor Joseph H. Chamberlin who became widely recognized in the field of geology.[15]

Besides the training school departments, another useful arm of the Normal was the preparatory class formed in 1871. Salisbury explained its usefulness as follows:

> The normal schools of Wisconsin have never been willing to ignore scholarship as essential to the teacher's equipment; nor have they been able to assume it as already acquired by those seeking professional training. The entrance examinations have always been rigorous; and only a minority of those applying for admission are found qualified to enter directly upon the work of the normal course. Especially is this true of those coming from the rural schools, even the best. It has been the policy of the normal schools to keep in touch with the country schools as far as possible; and so the preparatory class has been found a useful adjunct as constituting a bridge from the country schools into the normal schools.[16]

A fee of 65¢ per week made the class self-supporting. When the department was abolished in 1909 a two-year course for teachers of country schools (similar to the county training schools) was instituted. In its curricular outreach Whitewater sought to live up to the philosophy of James G. Carter who wrote in the *Boston Patriot* in 1825: ". . . the science of teaching . . . is first, in the order of nature, to be inculcated."[17]

It was assumed by the front office that those who signed the declaration book had come from homes where order and respect were a part of the daily menu; in that light, the expectations were reasonable enough. Students were asked to be in Whitewater a day or two before the opening of school to give them time to secure boarding places and to prepare themselves "to enter promptly upon the discharge of their duties."[18] They were to report to the principal's office where necessary assistance was rendered by the faculty and everything spelled out clearly. The puritanical view of human nature to which President Arey and his staff adhered made super-

vision an essential part of their responsibility. This principle was manifestly established at the outset and clearly elucidated in the first catalog:

> All necessary supervision will be held over the habits and deportment of the pupils in their boarding houses. They will be held to a strict account for the keeping of study hours, and no calls will be allowed during the time set apart for this purpose. No ladies of the Normal School will be allowed to receive calls from gentlemen after 6 o'clock in the evening, or to ride or walk with them without permission from the Principal.
>
> Such rules of upright lady-like and gentlemanly deportment will be given to the pupils as will tend to their growth in moral excellence and in that cultivation of manners which may place them as models before their pupils when they are called to teach. All pupils are expected to yield ready obedience to the regulations of the school, as it is self-evident that no others are suitable candidates for the work of teaching.[19]

Life at the Normal was an open book. At a signal from the piano the rear door of the assembly room opened and in marched the pupils of the two upper departments to join the normal students who were seated according to classes, seniors first. A hymn was sung, a portion of the Scriptures read, and a strong oral prayer rendered by the president. Following a few moments of silent prayer and another hymn, the roll was called, each senior answering for his row.[20] The examining committee of 1869 reported to Superintendent A. J. Craig: "The opening religious exercises of each day were deeply impressive; we have seldom seen a religious gathering, even in churches, more devout. . . . Just such a healthful moral and religious influence appeared to pervade the school as will assist in making successful teachers and good citizens."[21] The seating arrangement in the assembly room was conducive to a wholesome atmosphere, being equipped with a broad aisle to divide the gentlemen on the west side from the ladies on the east. It was the spirit of earnestness, indeed, and not that of romance which was fostered by the physical arrangement of things. If one were tardy, absent, or derelict of some duty, he had to present a properly written excuse to the president as an exercise in practical penmanship. Frequently mistakes in essays were written on the front blackboard and made the subject of a general exercise.[22]

The universal standard—that which becomes a teacher—was the criterion by which the social and academic ideals of morality and integrity were maintained. Anyone insisting upon carelessness was dishonorably discharged and his name ignominiously relegated to that portion of the early annual catalogs designated for the purpose. In the first catalog the following statement appeared under the heading EXPULSIONS: "Orvis C. Flanders and Minerva Richmond have been expelled for exhibiting traits of character unworthy of a teacher."[23] Whether or not Orvis and Minerva

were collaborators in the same crime can only be surmised, but President Arey had made his point. Professor Lewis H. Clark, '79, some years later recalled the atmosphere of those days: "Imagine how long a bashful young man would hesitate before he faced the chance of two refusals, that of the lady and that of Mrs. Arey. . . . However, we male students preserved our self-respect by arguing that such restraints were necessary for young ladies."[24] The president's student register for June 28, 1875 noted that Orrin F. Hall "left in a dishonorable manner."[25] Hall's misdemeanor was carelessness in a botany exam, which had been interpreted to reflect insult upon Professor Copeland and the School. A respectful letter from Hall to the faculty dated October 2, 1875 affirmed that he had no such intentions, although he confessed that his work was not always what it should have been.

Although Whitewater rules reflected the spirit of the Areys, in substance they were not unique. On September 22, 1851 at the first faculty meeting of the University of Wisconsin, feared by many to be a "godless institution" which hopefully would be balanced by the more pious normals, it was decided that the hours of study and recitations should be from six to seven and nine to twelve in the morning and from two to five and seven to nine in the afternoon and evening. Study rooms were visited by a faculty member once in the forenoon, afternoon, and evening. At the second meeting a point system of scholarship and deportment was adopted. According to the principle of innocent until proven guilty, a student began with 100 points and suffered loss throughout the term in accordance with the nature of his crime. Records kept and reported at the Friday evening faculty meeting were recorded in the chancellor's "great book" and at the close of the term debits and credits were balanced and transferred into a permanent record.[26] Penalties for absence from daily prayers, declamation, or recitation was 2 points, for unexcused tardiness 1 point, for absence from an exam 10 points, for entering a saloon or barroom 5 points, and for personal violence 50 points. Professor Curti commented on the system of values to note that fighting was five times more serious than missing an exam, and that missing a recitation was more of a crime in deportment than in scholarship. The practice of holding daily chapel meetings was early adopted and attendance of students and faculty was required. In deference to public opinion all educational pursuits bore the seal of Horace Mann himself: ". . . our law explicitly and solemnly enjoins it upon all teachers . . . to exert their best endeavors, to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth. . . ."[27]

While the normal students were expected to enthusiastically pursue

their science, literature, and methods, individual initiative and investigation were encouraged. The examining committee of 1869 found that the teachers and students, while "retaining a due reverence for authority," were "no slaves to text books."[28] The outstanding demonstration of this mutual faith within the normal corporation was an innovation known as Students' Day. The idea was doubtless President Arey's, since the practice was peculiar to his administration. One day in each term the faculty would absent themselves and the students, missing the familiar leadership, would elect their own and proceed as usual. According to the first catalog, the object was to test "their moral culture, their executive ability, and their devotion to their work."[29] The *Register* considered it "so entirely original and pleasing" as to deserve note. Not one student took advantage of his "teachers" and the whole procedure tried the confidence in the students rather than suspecting them as rogues "as so many do."[30] Salisbury referred to it as "an interesting custom" which "ought not be be allowed to pass into oblivion."[31] The catalog for 1872 even listed the student-day faculty. That it was viewed as an integral part of institutional life was proven when a woman was once elected president and many students feared that such stretching of the idea of suffrage would make the school look ridiculous.[32]

In those days of scarce money it was a blessing to sign the declaration book and get tuition free. A well-selected reference library was available, and all necessary textbooks were furnished for a dollar. Board ran from $3.00 to $3.50 a week, with the possibility of cutting expenses to $2.00 through a boarding club. Once a week Mrs. Arey met the ladies and gave them motherly talks which contained much incidental instruction in hygiene and social forms, and the girls turned in their record cards on rising, retiring, studying, care of the teeth, bathing, visiting, etc. Although there was no physical education department until 1886, a student teacher of light gymnastics was connected with the school. The administration believed that exercise gave vigor to the body and sensitivity to the brain. If anything went amiss in these assembly room exercises, President Arey was soon on hand with flashing eye and the pupils went scurrying back to their seats and the leader to the library.[33]

The village of Whitewater (it was not a city until 1885) was as anxious for the success of the Normal as were the Areys. With a view to opening the arms of the community, the *Register* announced in March, 1868:

> If any of our people, who live within walking distance of the school building, have accommodations for boarders, they will quite likely be called upon to take what they can make comfortable. . . . Those who take pupils to board should make up their minds to take them at the lowest rate that they can

> afford. . . . The success of the school will depend, very greatly, upon the cheapness of substance to pupils.[34]

In 1869 it was suggested that a good boarding house would be an investment for some capitalist, and one was operated for a while on a small scale. The urgency of filling up the eminently successful school was expressed in forceable terms: "Money hoarded up becomes valueless; knowledge laid away is equally useless."[35] The first winter term found 114 in the normal and 91 in the training school. Whitewater citizens were allowed to see the papers and judged the class to be excellent, especially the work of Misses De Laney, Conklin, and McCutchan and Messrs. Bowen and Alden, all of the future class of 1870. When the spring term opened in 1869 spirits were high, the tower was about finished, and the community was certain that theirs was the best school in the state.

A locality which watched with undisguised pride every move the Normal made, from the scheduling of a thirty-minute lunch hour to shorten the day for rural pupils to the geneologies of faculty, would certainly pounce upon any deviation from the order of things with all its occult power. When a student made the mistake of complaining to the *Register* about the discipline on the Hill, therefore, and requested the printing of his "lucubrations," he was reminded that an education embraced not only book-learning, but good morals; that self-discipline must be insisted upon since too free communication between the sexes would be destructive of the highest interests of the school; that students were supposed to enter the school for study rather than social enjoyment; that no one had compelled him to come to school, and that he could "achieve his most ardent desires . . . by absenting himself entirely" and withdrawing "into the obscurity of his native wilds."[36] According to bills presented by S. A. White in July, 1869 the citizens had donated $392.72 toward beautifying the normal grounds, and they intended to do their part to keep them unspotted from inordinate use. On the positive side, the community reveled in the public demonstrations and entertainments, especially the commencements. The first commencement found the Universalist Church packed, and the six seniors set precedent for orations, a traditional feature until the number of graduates prohibited the practice. President Arey reminded the departing class that they should fear no opposition if they stood by the things they had learned, then concluded with, "Go, and God bless you."[37] The early commencement weeks began with public examinations and included programs by the literary societies. Beginning in 1873 the gathering of alumni was an annual commencement event.

The literary societies gave the School its initial demonstration of endur-

11. *The Graham Street Barnlots of the Early Days.* During the first generation Whitewater's campus was confined to the Hill, and agricultural pursuits occupied the area where one day Hamilton Gym and the library would stand.

GRAHAM STREET HAS ALWAYS BEEN A CENTER OF ACTIVITY — THOUGH NOT ALWAYS OF THE SAME TYPE

ing vitality. The first examining committee reporting in June, 1869 stated: "We were not present at the meetings of the Literary Societies, but learned from the students that two interesting societies, one among the ladies and one among the gentlemen, met weekly."[38] Scarcely had the dedication of the building been celebrated until the men took steps to organize. Because Abraham Lincoln and the war were common topics, the name "Lincolnian" was adopted as the organization was finalized May 1, 1868.[39] Dues were 50¢ and fines were charged for overdue books from the society library. The preamble read: "Believing that reading, writing, and debate are important elements in the educational training, we, whose names are annexed unite for this purpose in a Society. . . ."[40] The first extant minutes of that body date from April 30, 1869. The ladies' preamble declared their intention to improve in elocution, composition, and debate and to enlarge their fund of general intelligence as they learned to control their tempers and seek for truth.[41] In the light of contemporary orthodoxy the 1872 topic which resolved that the future has more to do with the present than the past was decided in the negative. Society members were well informed; the ladies subscribed to the New York *Evening Post* and appointed two older members to brief the group on current events. As the chief extra-curricular pursuit of the first quarter century, the literary societies demanded the students' best.

Among the prominent organizations of the early days were the Associations (Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A.). Whitewater claimed the honor of being the first Wisconsin normal to organize these groups, which had their genesis in the Middle Period along with free public education and began as student movements with the Y.W.C.A. in 1873 at Normal, Illinois. The first annual student Y.W.C.A. convention in Wisconsin was held on campus in 1889, and as early as 1871 the town had been host to the second meeting of the state Y.M.C.A. The missionary outlook of the Areys directed the students toward the Associations, which reached their height of popularity during the Salisbury generation.

In 1874 Professor Copeland organized an Agassizean Society, the School's first club related to a discipline. He managed to so win the admiration of his students that they would wade creeks and marshes with him for hours in search of some new species of fish or snail. His deficiencies in mathematics were more than compensated by his avid love for natural science, and the society in one short year became so popular that it was included in the public sessions of the 1875 commencement. When the professor left, however, the ephemeral society disappeared and the last word from the good professor was his untimely death in 1876 from exposure in a

river when the ice broke as he was collecting specimens. Not so soon to disappear, though, was the other idea of Herbert E. Copeland.

During his short tenure Professor Copeland "organized" a baseball club, Whitewater's first attempt at intercollegiate athletics. The team went abroad to Milton and came home with a loss of 14 to 70, but the boys were convinced that with equal practice they could hold their competitors down to a reasonable score. The important result of this premature effort to enter the world of sports was that the old idea that a course of instruction should leave a student merely "a bit of brain with a spinal cord attachment" had been exploded. A new gospel of education which preached a sound mind in a sound body was seeking to make physical as well as mental athletes, and in the open air of sports the students breathed something which penetrated the soul of the institution in the gay nineties.[42]

The musical propensities of the students were limited to scheduled concerts and special programs until the 1880's. The quality of these appearances, however, gave encouraging evidence of that aspect of student energy which would one day grace the institution, thanks to Dr. Greenman. In 1875 a six-week normal music school institute was held, and young people of the area took courses from qualified teachers and participated in concerts and demonstrations that delighted the citizens. The *Register* boasted that such an institute could be found in "no other town in the northwest."[43]

On April 21, 1873 the Whitewater Normal celebrated its first anniversary, the quinquennium. With pride President Arey reported: "The State Normal School at Whitewater has passed through another year of uninterrupted prosperity. . . . The moral character of these students has been all the state can reasonably demand, and equal to that found anywhere in similar institutions."[44] The four-year-old Graham Street elms, planted by the students on May Day, 1869 under the direction of the president, suggested the future durability of the School and called attention to it as a community project. Since 1871 a new fence had marked the area where the oats field ended and learning began. The Normal bell, which cracked in 1872, was back in place by October, 1873 to sound out in the key of A that the quinquennium was only the beginning of great things.[45] The services took place in the assembly room where reports and toasts were given. A history of the School, the faculty, the literary societies, and progress in general was given. Student librarian William Showers reported 7,000 volumes in the library proper and 250 in reference, valued at $10,000. Toasts were given to the boarding house, the churches, the faculty, the president, and the students. Professor Chamberlin, who had come in 1869 and was resigning to go to Beloit College, spoke in glowing terms of Whitewater's potential. Its proximity to the Kettle Moraine Bluffs had stimulated in the

professor a growing interest in the drift problem, and after five stormy years as president of the University of Wisconsin (1887–92) he became head professor of geology at the University of Chicago. While at Whitewater he had helped found the Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences and had inspired one outstanding student, Rollin D. Salisbury, '77, who became a fellow professor at Chicago. Chamberlin later confessed (at the dedication of Old Main's new front in 1897), "Here is where I first found myself. It was not a great discovery to anyone else but it was all important to me."[46]

By 1873 the alumni, always the pride of the institution, had demonstrated their mettle. As early as the fall term of 1869 some of the students had answered the call to teach, despite the delay in graduation. Of their determination Cornelia Rogers, one of several early graduates who taught with credit at her Alma Mater, declared:

> In the upper ranks are a few strong, earnest young men who push steadily on their way. But the greater number are young women who are resolved to get an education, and who rely upon their own efforts and resources for the cost. They come to think there are no Alps too high for them to climb, and they fight bravely onward and upward . . . cheered on by the marvelous beauties, almost or quite divine, that are continually appearing before their enlarged vision. Their enthusiasm is not a fitful flame, but a quiet, steady fire.[47]

That fire was kindled anew each year by annual meetings, the first of which occurred on July 12, 1872 in the library of the Normal and gave birth to the Alumni Association. Samuel R. Alden, '70, was elected president, Winnie Cole, '71, vice president, George M. Bowen, '70, recording secretary, and Mary De Laney, '72, corresponding secretary. Those present hoped that the meeting might serve as precedent for future years.[48] From the beginning Whitewater graduates brought credit upon the institution. Charles Brockway, '70, became a successful lawyer but did not disparage what he had "breathed" at the Normal. James W. Congdon, '70, became a successful principal in La Crosse and Andrew J. Steele, '70, built up the Le Moyne Normal Institute at Memphis, Tennessee. Mary McCutchan, the first woman graduate, taught continuously after 1870 and spent 19 years in the service of Whitewater. Miss Rogers calculated that during the first quarter century 11 graduates had taught in the local normal and seven in other normals of the state. Alice Ewing, '76, broke tradition to become a medical doctor, Margaret Lyons, '74, entered law, and Rollin Salisbury, '77, made a name in geology. Distinguished alumni awards were not inaugurated until 1956, but these early stalwarts who attended the president's awesome lectures on moral philosophy got the institution's alumni program off to a practical start.

Among the blessings of the quinquennium was the arrival of two outstanding professors, Sheppard S. Rockwood and Albert Salisbury in 1871. Both were born of New York parents, both served in the army, both attended the Milton Academy, both took an interest in politics and temperance, and both sought to keep the status quo during the turbulent Phelps regime. Rockwood became assistant state superintendent in 1881, was in the newspaper business a while, and ended up as assistant chief of the U. S. Weather Bureau until the Democratic administration of 1892 unseated him. As principal of the Brodhead public schools, Salisbury had gathered a crowd of admirers who regretfully released him to assume his fortunate new position. Until he resigned in 1882 to enter the service of the American Missionary Association, he helped shape the institute work of the state and paved his own way to the presidency in 1885. The Normal had attained such a reputation by 1874 that the examining committee reported to the superintendent of public instruction: "The Whitewater Normal School is too well known in Wisconsin as a power to promote accurate scholarship and sound morality, to need a word of commendation from us."[49]

At no time did the town scrutinize shiftings on the Hill more carefully than during changes of administrations, the first of which came in the exciting year of 1876. In Philadelphia preparations were consummated for the Centennial Exhibition; at Whitewater students were writing exams that would be forwarded through Madison to the Exhibition, and the open sessions of the literary societies were bursting with festive exuberance. On June 15th the Congregational Church housed the largest crowd in history to watch President Arey present diplomas for the last time. His words to the nine graduates complemented a Puritan sermon:

> And now, stout in heart and brave in purpose, enter the school rooms of the State. There amidst the little ones who will look to you with longing eyes for direction, drop words of wisdom deep down into their hearts. Then watch the early promise and guard their growth with loving care.
>
> Thus do, waiting patiently until He who gave you your earthly work to perform summons you to the responsibilities of immortal life.[50]

A ceremony fitting for the Areys and eminently suited to the tastes of Professor Salisbury was the planting of a Norway spruce as a memorial tree. The professor delivered a well-outlined "impromptu" speech comparing the class to a tree, President Arey spoke on the significance of memorial trees, and each senior threw in a spadeful of earth as they sang (to the tune of "My Maryland") a song written by Professor Rockwood:

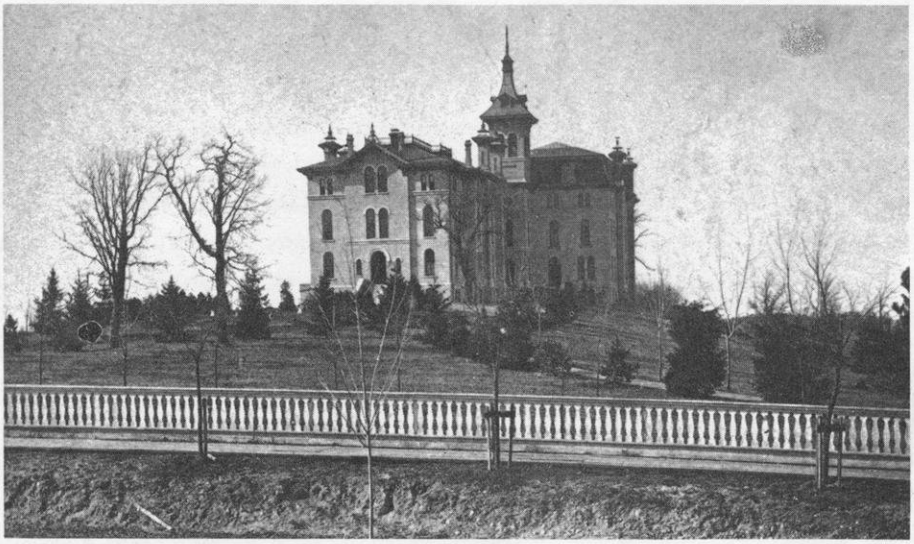
> O Lord, to Thee we bend the knee
> Around this first memorial tree;
> And while Thy grace illumes each face
> May all our hearts Thy love embrace.[51]

A material cause for celebration in 1876 was the completion of the North Wing, destined for destruction by the great fire 15 years later.

It was the first of March when the Areys announced that they would resign at the end of the school year. Surprise and regret shook the community, for it was unclear as to president's reason for leaving. Salisbury placed the blame on the Regents: "The unexpected dismissal of President Arey in 1876 subjected the Board of Regents to an amount of criticism which gave rise to a strong desire on their part to fill the place with a man of national reputation."[52] The Board, however, assumed no ostensible responsibility for the resignation. The minutes of the July 13th meeting merely stated: "Communications from the faculty, students and alumni, of the Whitewater School, respecting the resignation of President and Mrs. Arey, were presented by the President and ordered to be placed on file."[53] The Board had not met since February (meetings were semi-annual) and any discussion of the matter would have been anachronistic in July. On March 13th the town expressed appreciation for the Areys in formal resolution signed by 35 of the most prominent citizens. It was hoped that their two interests in Grove Cemetery plus the comforts of the place might induce them to remain in town, but they bought a young ladies' school at Yonkers, New York and on October 20th the students and faculty bade them good-by. Though their departure seemed abrupt, it was not so intended and was doubtless precipitated by the president's health.

The "state of the union" at Whitewater looked good in 1876. It was a thriving teachers' seminary nestled in a friendly atmosphere of a New England town come west, then twice the size of any place in the county. The clergymen of Whitewater, the editor of the *Register*, the businessmen, and the people as a whole followed Arey's philosophy that a useable intellect must harbor a high moral tone. "The vulgar sin of profanity," the *Register* had declared in 1865, "is more common than formerly in the public streets. We wish all addicted to the habit could understand how vulgar it is, and how generally it is accepted as a proof of an empty head and a weak will."[54] Whitewater watched with interest as the Normal celebrated the 250th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims in song, readings, and a hymn by Mrs. Arey, glad that there was "enough Puritan blood in this town not to allow such an occasion to pass unheeded."[55] The School was the epitome of industry's loftiest reward. Materially, too, the institution was in good shape. By 1876–77 enrollment had reached 343, not far from the peak of the century. There had been 66 graduates and 22 certifications. The first of a series of wings had been added to the building, and the School was respected for its sound curriculum.

Whitewater's last personal contact with Mr. Arey was in 1904 when, in



12. *Old Main after the North Wing Addition, 1876.* The North Wing, a monument to the Arey regime, was the only physical expansion of the first three administrations.

13. *Commencement, 1875.* Commencement exercises in the early days included a procession southeastward to the Congregational Church, already packed by townspeople.

THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION WITNESSED BOTH PHYSICAL AND ACADEMIC EXPANSION

his 87th year, walking as erect as ever, he returned to look at the graves once more and to bring a portrait of his wife. He received a standing ovation at morning exercises where he explained that he wanted to see how the Normal seed had grown. His last advice was on behalf of moral culture, the importance of seizing upon noble thoughts.[56] While no other president attempted to interfere seriously with the romantic course of nature on campus, no other was more successful in directing young hearts toward singular goals. At his summer home on Cape Cod Arey experimented with Wisconsin sweet clover and found that it would do well in New England with a little lime. Having brought so much of New England to Wisconsin, he had, in a measure, returned the favor.

The manner in which President Arey chose to conclude his regime was not conducive to local tranquility, because everyone made it his business to guard the Normal's reputation. Salisbury was correct when he said that the Board was anxious to fill the position with someone of national reputation, and when the choice fell on William Franklin Phelps, no one questioned it. Born in Auburn, New York, he was graduated from the Albany Normal School in 1845 with its first class. He was in charge of that normal's model school for seven years, after which he went to Trenton. While there he served as president of the newly organized American Normal School Association in 1858. From 1864–76 he brought the Winona, Minnesota Normal to national reputation. In 1875 he was president of the National Education Association and served as chairman of the International Congress of Educators in Philadelphia. Added to this wide experience, Phelps had force of character that seemed to fit him for the work at Whitewater, a job that he doubtless contemplated as his crowning labor for the cause of education. But the president, with 31 years of success in normal work and 54 in the business of life itself had, as Salisbury noted, "a will not much accustomed to bend to the wishes or judgment of others."[57] Like James I when he took the throne of England after having been king of Scotland twenty years, Phelps "would not be taught his office." Toward the close of his first year it became evident that the whole tone and method of the institution was changing. Salisbury wrote in 1893 that "while the administration of the school became more systematic in many ways, it became also less spontaneous and more mechanical."[58] This was the extent of Phelps' crime—he had Arey's discipline without his personal affection, and he underestimated the value of other men's foundations.

The problems with the new chief were not evident at first. In August, 1876 a number of citizens met him at Judge White's residence and found him "a very social and affable gentleman, and full of interest in all matters that concern the general prosperity and well-being of the place."[59] In addi-

tion to his numerous articles on teaching, he proved his literary skill with his delightful "Notes on Yellowstone" describing the remarkable region he visited on a vacation trip with the ill-fated General Custer. Even after he had been rejected by the community, Phelps demonstrated his ability and revealed the heart beneath the professional mask at the Memorial Day observance in 1878. He said that the story of devotion to the ideal of the great, irrepressible conflict could never be adequately told, and concluded with words which could as well have been President Arey's: "As the fragrance of the beautiful flowers which we strew over the graves of the glorious dead rises like sweet incense toward heaven, so may the prayers of every patriotic heart ascend this day to the God of nations that He will continue to defend and bless our beloved country to the last syllable of recorded time."[60]

Unfortunately Mr. Phelps, devoid of caution and impatient with obstacles, unloaded his innovations in one fell swoop upon an audience accustomed to explanations. In 1877 the great faculty turnover began, and only 4 of the 14 who began service in 1876 outlasted his turbulent regime. Such chaos made it difficult to weigh objectively the merits of the administration. Most of the new faculty were capable people, but the older members were concerned about the testimony of Whitewater in the state and were personally disturbed because the president did not see fit to carry out his program with the old blood. An example of his blunt approach appeared in a course of study for the normal schools which was presented before the N.E.A. in 1870:

> That the inefficient and worthless character of so many of these lower schools is a prolific cause of ignorance, and its increase, is proved by the fact that whenever good schools take their places a large increase of attendance at once occurs, and the "noble army" of truants and absentees is correspondingly diminished. . . . They afford the sad spectacle of ignorance engaged in the stupendous fraud of self-perpetuation at the public expense.[61]

One educator commented: "I was surprised that a man like Mr. Phelps should write such a libel upon the schools. The enemies of the common school system would want nothing better than the admission by this association of the statement . . . that we have legions of teachers engaged in teaching whose schools had better be closed. . . ."[62] The students had an immediate introduction to the Phelps method when they signed the declaration book for the 1876–77 term, for penned beneath the standard statement of intention, probably by the president himself, were the words, "We also hereby pledge ourselves faithfully to respect and obey the regulations of the school and the authority of the President, Professors, and Teachers."[63] Under President Arey the entry entitled "Supervision" was concerned with

regulations between ladies and gentlemen, pleasure walks or rides without permission, or any amusement that might interfere with study. By contrast, the Phelps catalog dropped the meticulous stipulations regarding the sexes and added a new formalism in the dogmatic statement: "As a Normal School is not designed to perform the functions of a Reform School, students are expected to regulate their conduct by such a standard as best befits those who are to become teachers. Those who are indisposed to respect the regulations of the institution faithfully and cheerfully, will be required promptly to withdraw."[64] It is interesting that this statement was carried in the catalogs until after the Salisbury regime; it was obviously his method, not his motive, that condemned Phelps.

The seething discontent with Phelps did not erupt until January, 1878 when the Board asked for his resignation. According to the report of Board Secretary W. H. Chandler, written during the summer to clarify the situation to a voracious press, the Regents discovered, within a short time after his appointment, that Phelps had created a situation of unrest which would lead to trouble.[65] A large number of students threatened to withdraw but were dissuaded by the faculty, especially Rockwook and Salisbury. At its meeting in July, 1877 the Board discussed the condition but decided to sustain Phelps. He then presented his plan for reorganization of the faculty, offering six new ladies higher salaries than had ever been paid a woman (two were given $1200 when the average was about $700).[66] Chandler admitted that the president had undertaken the work outlined for him, but he had failed to beget enthusiasm and loyalty among his faculty and students. Thus, on January 30, 1878 the Board passed a resolution tendering him a leave of absence for the rest of the school year. The committee on employment visited Whitewater on February 1st, verbally offering him five months to withdraw so as to protect his reputation and explaining that it was his failure to conform to the views of others and his insistance upon running the School as he had run other normals that made the action necessary. Instead of taking the offer, the president set out to vindicate himself by exposing what he thought to be a non-professional political ring in his faculty. It was at this point that the insubordination charges against Professors Rockwood and Salisbury were formulated. At the Board meeting on July 10th Phelps' communication was read, accusing the two men of "neglect of duty and conduct unbecoming a teacher."[67] Here Phelps made a fatal mistake, because everyone knew and loved the two men, appreciated their interest in politics (which obviously differed from his), and identified them with all that the Normal stood for. The remainder of the fuss centered around the insubordination topic and degenerated into a

bitter diatribe. In June the seven remaining people (all ladies) hired by Phelps plus Professor Kleeberger signed a resolution in support of the president:

> We feel that the cordial support which he has given us in our work here has come from one whose long connection with the Normal Schools has given him such broad and high conceptions of the ends to be attained as enable him to justly appreciate the needs and scope of this institution.
>
> Furthermore, in our opinion, the success of President Phelps' plans in this school, in the face of the many obstacles which have existed, unquestionably proves his ability, had those obstacles been removed, to place the school in the front rank of educational institutions.[68]

The Madison *Democrat,* the Milwaukee *News,* and the *Green County Reformer* were actively involved in spreading the "news" of the controversy. The *Democrat* took the opportunity to charge the Regents with looseness in keeping accounts and mismanagement of funds, an accusation that aroused Secretary Chandler as much as when Phelps accused him of wanting to be state superintendent.[69]

Phelps' pugnacious defense was, expectedly, the most erudite piece of literary endeavor that graced the pages of contemporary newsprint. He denied knowledge that the students had been on the verge of leaving the School. "Those members of the faculty," stated the irate educator, "who were aware of any such state of things and concealed the truth from their official head, equally deserve what their judicially blind and educationally dumb Board deserve, prompt official decapitation."[70] He deplored an educational situation in which some teachers joined some students against the administration, in which a "secret assassination" took place, and in which the "mob law" of students bore so much weight. He took the Board to task for the "demoralized condition" in which he found the School because of the way it had antagonized the faculty and students in disposing of Arey, and pointed out that his crime had been that he was different from President Arey. Phelps warned against arbitrary power which would remove the cornerstone of free government, referring to the Board as "that famous oligarchy" against which he fought only as a citizen of Wisconsin. When President Stearns arrived in town from Argentina everyone was anxious to bury the hatchet, but the Board had yet to fulfill its resolution to investigate the professors. In October most of the Regents were in Whitewater, the best place on the globe to find evidence to the contrary of the charges. Rockwood and Salisbury were "fully exonerated."[71]

The stormy two-year administration of the capable W. F. Phelps merely proved the futility of doing the right thing in the wrong way. He looked at the School as a formal system, unconscious of the personal element in that

tightly-knit corporation. Whitewater preferred to have its vigor uncoiled gently. It was to take expediency, gushing from the headwaters of social change, to translate the cozy little corporation into farflung realms of usefulness. Phelps returned to Winona to superintend the city schools for three years, after which he went into the real estate business—a sad commentary on his future as it had appeared in 1876.

Under the third president discipline and organization remained systematic but became less formal and rigid. John William Stearns promoted dexterously several significant curricular and physical advances and restored the original mutual confidence of regents, faculty, students, and townspeople. The latter were more than eager to cooperate with the impressive-looking young gentleman (he was 17 years younger than Phelps and 22 the junior of Arey) who came to town the first part of August:

> We have no doubt that he sincerely desires to enter upon a successful and satisfactory administration of our Normal School. In this purpose he should have the good will and honest co-operation of every citizen of Whitewater. We can afford to drop the misunderstandings and bickerings of the past and begin again with a clean sheet. . . .[72]

Stearns was everything Whitewater could hope for genealogically and academically. Born in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, he received his first academy training in Maine and then at Racine under John G. McMynn. He graudated from the ancient classical course at Harvard in 1860 with high honors and after a year in the Winona Normal and one as principal of the Canton, Illinois high school, he was for ten years professor of Latin at the University of Chicago. A man of letters, he acted as assistant editor of a Baptist journal in Chicago. In 1874 he became director of the National Normal School at Tucuman in the Argentine Republic, which added travel in South America and Europe to his experience. In Stearns, as in Arey, the New England heritage was abundantly preserved. Salisbury said of this doctor of laws: "His administration of six and one-half years was marked by broad and quickening impulses, and under him the school took on new characteristics, especially on the literary and culture side."[73]

Added to President Stearns' culture, respect for scholarship, and New England vigor was the combined talent of an unusually apt and locally acceptable faculty. Carried forward from the Arey regime was Mary De Laney, the daughter of a Baptist minister who came from New York when she was two years old. A lover of books from girlhood, she graduated from the Normal in 1872 as valedictorian and began teaching her specialty, geography, at her Alma Mater in the fall. It was said of her: "She lived on a plane bounded by purity, devotion to truth, unfailing gentleness, and thorough culture."[74] When an incurable disease robbed her of her life

after 15 years of service, W. H. Chandler of the Board of Regents wrote a glowing tribute in the Proceedings of February, 1888; and at the 1889 commencement a memorial statue of her was presented by the alumni. Mrs. Eliza M. Knapp, the daughter of a Congregational minister who once engaged Horace Mann to conduct an institute in the schools where he was superintendent, was educated in "select schools" taught by instructors from South Hadley, Massachusetts. In Whitewater she supported her two sons by teaching vocal music from 1877 to 1893 at the Normal. A third person to weather the Phelps storm was Warren Seymour Johnson, whose short career in the natural sciences was extinguished by his own genius as an inventor. A native of Vermont, that self-made man came to the School in 1877 to teach drawing and penmanship, a position for which he had qualified himself without any instruction. In 1881 he was made professor of natural science, but not before he had written a book on etymology and word analysis. He held meetings at his home which led to regular classes in German and French twice a week. Natural science held him no longer than etymology, and by 1884 he was busy in his laboratory on Milwaukee's west side perfecting his electric valve for steam heating. Like Chamberlin, Professor Johnson never forgot Whitewater and the basement room of Old Main where he experimented with an annunciator system electrically connected to classroom thermometers which recorded the temperature and reminded the janitor to open or close the damper below. Thus was born the first system of automatic heat regulation which gave Johnson international recognition that continues to date. In 1889 the German government reviewed his system of regulating room temperature and found it completely satisfactory. Later the palace of the Mikado in Japan was equipped. The king of Spain and other European royalty became Johnson customers, and a special installation was even made in the Kremlin.[75] In 1891 he returned to give a lecture on the modern applications of electricity, dispelling in 90 minutes "more of the mystery of the workings of electricity and more of the terrors of its effects . . . than can be created by newspaper men from all the snow and sleet storms between now and Christmas."[76]

These three people, together with the stalwart Rockwood and Salisbury, gave President Stearns a strong core of teachers; and the addition of Miss Conklin, Miss Rogers, and Mrs. Cooke in 1878 added local color to the faculty. Margaret E. Conklin, '73, was born in New York, entered the Normal in 1868 after having experience as a pupil and teacher in the rural schools of Wisconsin, and returned to Whitewater with considerable teaching experience and an interest in psychology which made her an excellent choice for supervisor of practice teaching. In 1883 she was drawn away by a lucrative offer as principal of a teacher-training institution in

Iowa, but after a year she returned to Milwaukee and was later called back to Whitewater for two years (1887–89) to resume the work of her friend, Mary De Laney. Cornelia E. Rogers, also a product of Wisconsin's rural schools and of the local Normal, served 28 years in the grammar and preparatory departments and as the successor of Miss Conklin in geography. It was said of her, "Miss Rogers will get the most genuine work from her pupils of any teacher I ever saw; and they all seem to enjoy it."[77] Mrs. Ada Ray Cooke grew up in Walworth County, attended Milton Academy, and was a widow with one son when she returned to her Alma Mater in 1878 to take charge of the intermediate department. For nine years she filled that position with honor, after which President Salisbury promoted her to the English department. Whitewater traditions profited from the alumni-professors who made the institution partially self-propigating.

During his tenure President Stearns added several other meritorious persons to the staff. Lyman C. Wooster, '73, successor for three years to Professor Kleeberger in natural science, later worked with Professor Chamberlain and the State and National Geographical Surveys. Mary L. Avery, who held the chair of rhetoric and English literature from 1880–87, was born in Connecticut of historic New England ancestry. Ellen J. Couch, teacher in the primary department from 1881–91, spent her early years in western Massachusetts and graduated from the Westfield Normal in 1879. Thereon B. Pray was born in New York and began his distinguished career at Whitewater as professor of mathematics in 1881. J. N. Humphrey, popular professor of Latin for 16 years and later nationally known through his pen company, came in 1881. That year also brought Harriet Salisbury, the fourth president's sister, to the principalship of the preparatory department, and Agnes Hosford, his future second wife, to teach history, penmanship and mathematics. Added to this professional roster was the service of Regent T. D. Weeks (1870–74 and 1877–89), a noted attorney who promoted the twin puritan ideals of progress in business and culture. It would be difficult to conceive of a corporation more richly endowed and closely knit than the Whitewater Normal in the days of President Stearns.

Student life during the third regime continued in the pattern that had been established by the first, except that enforced order gave way to voluntary observance of necessary rules. The unanimous action of the student body against President Phelps showed that the learning branch of the normal corporation was as cohesive as the teaching force. This was further demonstrated at 3:30 a.m., June 15, 1878 when the inhabitants about Normal Hill that were up (an old man and a cow) were surprised to see the junior and senior classes assembled on the grounds, the juniors listening and applauding while the reverend seniors engaged in rhetori-

cal exercises. They planted a class tree, a little rock-maple, and sang an ode to the rising sun, a farewell to the juniors, and "The Trumpet Will Sound in the Morning" before adjourning for breakfast.[78] The salutatory and valedictory addresses given at the 1877 commencement by Rollin Salisbury and Ada Ray Cooke were another proof of student dedication. Mrs. Cooke expressed the typical senior attitude with her conclusion: "Only one promise do we make today; that is to always work, as you have worked, for truth and right . . . teaching that

> Nothing walks with aimless feet,
> That not one life shall be destroyed,
> Or cast as rubbish to the void,
> When God hath made the pile complete."[79]

The visiting committee to Whitewater in 1879 reported to the Regents:

> The existence of a sentiment of community in the institution, appeared eminently worthy of notice. All the pupils seemed proud of the school, and conscious of its excellence. There was great loyalty to it as a common enterprise. Happy the person who as head-master of a school, is able to beget and maintain such a sentiment. Especially happy, when, as in the present case, that belief in the school is not maintained by personal extravagancies and idiosyncrasies, but by the best elements and the highest qualities of personal culture and influence. It may be well said to the parents of the commonwealth that there is no safer place for the maturing of their sons and daughters, than under the powerful public sentiment of such a school. It not only begets right impressions, but it works them into character and worthy lives.[80]

It was in the academic realm that President Stearns made his lasting contribution to the School. From the purchase of a copy of the Encyclopedia Britannica in 1879 (as authorized by the Regents in February of that year) to his suggestion of an art gallery in Normal Hall as he left in 1885, he concentrated on cultural provisions for the students. Expansion of the library and reading room was a means to that end. In the 1870's most acquisitions were either texts, children's stories, or literary works. The textbook library dated from July, 1873, at which time the executive committee of the Board was authorized to "fit up the room in the rear of the Gymnasium" and to audit bills for the same.[81] In 1876 the Board required the president of each normal to keep a complete catalog of the books in the reference library and asked the librarian to report each February on the condition of the library. At that time Whitewater had 600 volumes. In 1881–82 200 volumes were added, 400 came in the next year, and by the time Stearns left the school could boast of 1586 volumes.[82] At that time Whitewater stood at the top of the four normals in the number of general books acquired by 1883, although Oshkosh excelled in textbooks and therefore could boast of 8,899 to Whitewater's 7,285.[83] It was not until 1910

that the latter caught up with the former. The librarian, a senior student, received $200 a year, about one-fourth the wage of the average teacher. To encourage reading a club was organized in 1878 "to improve the mind . . . by reading."[84] An example of the cooperation engendered by the association was that Professor Watson paid one-half the subscription to the *Scientific American* for the use of the club. The reading room adjoining the assembly room was kept by students and was accessible at all hours of the day. Three daily newspapers (the *New York* and *Chicago Tribunes* and the Milwaukee *Sentinel*), 22 weeklies, and 20 general and professional magazines were on the tables.

Taking up where Phelps had abruptly left off, Stearns saw that classes in school economy, school management (mental science), and practice teaching were made definite requirements, so arranging the courses that those certified from the two-year curriculum would have had the full benefit of professional work. Due to his own thorough training he demanded the understanding of underlying principles, believing that "broad culture" would remove "mechanical conceptions of teaching."[85] In 1881 the Board added a half year to the elementary course which gave Stearns more time to stress philosophical comprehension of principles. Books of reference included *The Cyclopedia of Education, The Year Book of Education,* Barnard's *Journal of Education,* Calkin's *Object Lessons,* Sheldon's *Elementary Instruction,* Herbert Spencer's *Education,* and Von Buelow's *Reminiscenses of Froebel.* Practice teaching was extended in efficiency and usefulness. Concerning the college-preparatory grammar department (1876–85), the existence of which entirely encompassed his administration, Stearns declared: "It is not so generally understood as it ought to be that in the Normal School this work takes on a special character, determined by the general purpose of the school. In all the class-rooms the aim is to prepare teachers. . . . The academic work thus becomes in its spirit and intent, Normal work."[86]

Entrance examinations, a part of normal matriculation until made obsolete by the public high school, were carefully supervised. Students sometimes looked upon the dreaded exams as a method of reducing enrollment in the over-crowded elementary section, but the real purpose was to secure evidence of a knowledge of arithmetic, geography, and grammar, essential fundamentals for a teacher. Failure to pass the exams landed one in the preparatory class, a welcome substitute for packing the suitcase. Examples of questions asked in the exams of 1878 were included in the president's report to the Regents that year. A few examples may dispel any false notions of modern superiority over those pioneer souls:[87]

Arithmetic

1. Name, define and illustrate three classes of Numbers.
2. Write the year of your birth in Roman Notation, and give the laws governing the work.
3. Find the G.C.D. of 216, 360, 432, 648, and 936.
4. State and explain any three Cases in Reduction of Fractions.
7. From 5 and 7/12 Acres, and 2/3 of 6 1/4 Acres, 9 1/4–12 2/3 Roods, 3/11 of 2 and 2/11 chs., take 4 A., 25 P., 12 sq. yds.
9. After a journey my watch is 1 h. 25 min. 40 sec. too fast. How far (in deg. min. and sec.) and in what direction did I travel?

Geography

1. Name and locate the principal mountain ranges of North America.
2. Define a river basin and describe the location of the three largest basins on the globe.
4. Name the countries of Europe; also the countries of South America.
7. Describe the climate of Wisconsin.
8. Bound the Township and County in which you live.

Grammar

2. a. Write a sentence, the subject modified by a phrase, the predicate modified by two adverbs.
   b. Write a compound sentence that shall be made up of three simple sentences.
   c. Write a sentence that shall contain a relative pronoun, the subject modified by a clause.
4. Write the principal parts of do, sing, come, go, be.
5. a. Decline I, you, he.
   b. Name the interrogative pronouns.
   c. Name the relative pronouns.
   d. Compare good, little, beautiful, much, small.

Complementary to his respect for culture, President Stearns took special interest in several quasi-academic pursuits. He set up a manual training "shop" and in 1882 put Dr. W. F. Bundy, Professor Johnson's successor in natural science, in charge of a work which he felt developed the resourcefulness of the pupils and served as "a corrective to excessive bookishness."[88] Each member of the physics class spent four hours a week for 20 weeks acquiring some practical acquaintance with wood-working tools, that all, especially the young women, might be more independent and "selfhelpful." Stearns' concern for natural science reached from requests for more equipment to adding a Wisconsin bird collection to the fine museum. Along with manual training went more emphasis on drawing, and effort was made to make this work subservient both to general culture and the special needs of the common school teacher. Free-hand and object drawing was used in the preparation of lessons and recitations to give precision to the students' conceptions. Black-board drawing, a part of the practice work, gave experience in a tool that would greatly aid in expressing facts

to children. Professor Johnson stated in 1881: "Whitewater is essentially a manufacturing town and in the future is to grow in such pursuits. . . . It is the interest of all to heartily encourage the work of drawing in the public schools. . . ."[89] The famous professor missed his prophetic calculations but was his own master in the art he advocated. Finally, Stearns elevated the preparatory class to department status in 1882 under the direction of Miss Rogers. This new dignity increased the efficiency of the arrangement and lifted the morale of people who found themselves in the program by the space of two or three points. It continued to serve its purpose until 1909, salvaging for the profession many a youth who otherwise would have capsized in the perils of discouragement. The president consistently maintained that the chief object of normal schools was to elevate the character of the common schools, and any means of recruiting talent for the job was labeled "professional" in his book.

His sense of propriety in things academic caused President Stearns to decry the carelessness in terminology which confused diplomas with certificates. He did not think the term "graduation" should be used to designate completion of only two years in the school, thus robbing honor from those who had given twice as much time to preparation for teaching.[90] Whitewater thereupon adopted the term "certification" to indicate formal completion of the elementary course, and the holders were called licentiates, not graduates. While Stearns believed in the spirit of the law over the letter of it, he gave credence to the virtue of diligence and tried to clarify the terms for sake of testimony.

As for the general course of study, the president made few immediate changes. The division of the school year into two terms of 20 weeks each was well adapted to the professional needs of the students; because classes were formed twice a year, those who dropped out to teach could, within a year, work a five-month term and do a full term of work at the Normal. By 1885 a quarter system had been inaugurated in order to accommodate those who had to do farm work in the spring, a system that prevailed throughout the Salisbury regime. Stearns regretted that many holders of elementary certificates did not return to take the advanced course, but those who did profited from their greater maturity. In 1882 104 of the 226 students in the first and second year classes were not back in 1883. The president did not advocate the idea of a single three-year course, which would allow less time to explore the philosophical relationships of the fundamentals learned. He believed in right methods stemming from right thinking, and in his ability to make his approach clear lay his popularity.

Enrollment and alumni statistics also rendered credit to his administration. In 1885 the normal department numbered 343 and the model 178,

the highest total population of the first quarter century. The *Chicago Educational Weekly* took note of the prosperity of 1880, a fact which delighted the *Register*.[91] Old students were scattered from Maine to California and from Minnesota to Mexico, and four were instructors at the Normal. Of the class of 1870, four of the six were teaching, one was a minister, and one a lawyer. Of the eight ladies who graduated in 1871, seven "committed" matrimony, but the two gentlemen of the class kept it from complete professional dearth. The class of 1873, the largest to date (14), produced many teachers including Foland P. Fowler, the student-teacher in physical education under Arey who later held a prominent position in the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institute at Oakland, California. The class of 1878 produced ten teachers and one missionary, and that of 1879 gave three principals to the graded schools of Horicon, Elkhorn, and Whitewater. Of the 57 ladies up to 1880, only 15 were reported married, a clear testimony of the impact of the Normal upon the advent of the career woman. President Stearns always left the impression that he who would save his life should lose it, a scriptural application to the philosophy of education. As larger classes graduated into successful employment, the Register boasted: "The school has manifestly settled down to steady work and has begun to show a standard result of training and scholarship which will doubtless be fully and permanently maintained, and which is far more satisfactory indication of valuable school work than were the uneven and widely varying performances of the school's earlier anniversaries."[92]

In January, 1885 he resigned to accept the chair of pedagogy at the University. When it was rumored that Stearns contemplated a position in Madison, he was petitioned by a group of businessmen to remain. Townspeople saw his reflected glory in their Normal, which they beheld in the light of the rising sun as like "one of the palaces of the new Jerusalem."[93] He had come to a school confident of its past eminence and had stabilized its goings so as to bring historical continuity into focus. He had come to a community baffled by the anxious dogmatism of its educational leader and, in the opinion of the Regents, had administered affairs "with great wisdom and fidelity, drawing all students towards himself and towards their work and the school in earnest fealty and enthusiastic loyalty."[94] The normal corporation was more confident than ever that it possessed a vigor that could whirl the spheres. When he returned for the dedication of the New Front in 1897, Stearns was greeted as one who had never lost his citizenship. Only four years older than Salisbury, he lived to within two years of the latter's death. On the negative side of Stearns' professional history, the inventor-professor Johnson commented to Salisbury in 1910 that "if there is to be a department of education at all in the University,

it should have a strong head. Dr. Stearns was not the right man in the place as you know. . . ."[95] But while in Madison Stearns exerted a wide influence on Wisconsin teachers as editor of the Wisconsin *Journal of Education* and organizer of the summer school of science. It was to his credit that he did not build up a personal following at Whitewater, so that when he left all loyalties remained at the Normal.

The last six months of the 1884–85 school year were directed by Theron B. Pray, one of the three professors with masters degrees and one whose career had reflected unusual ability. It was even predicted that this thorough scholar and teacher "without any windmill attachment" might become the head of the department of public instruction.[96] At the 1885 commencement he brought to a successful close his tenure as acting president, giving the four graduates wise counsel and an expression of deep personal interest. The community felt that he performed his duties well and that not a student or patron could justly offer a word of censure. His capable management of the School put him in good stead for his position nine years later as the first president of the new Stevens Point Normal. During the remainder of his 13-year service at Whitewater Pray managed affairs when President Salisbury was gone and was active on the local board of education. Whitewater citizens indignantly contemplated the news in 1906 that the Board of Regents had asked for his resignation at Stevens Point after a dozen years there, disbelieving that he had suddenly lost his ability and deploring his lack of opportunity to plead his cause. When he died in 1920 his body was brought to Whitewater for burial, an occasion for his old friends to review the unhappy circumstances of his later life in the employment of the Calumet Tea and Coffee Company of Chicago.

Chronologically, the Whitewater Normal did not reach its quarter century until 1893, but topically the end of its first era was 1885. This initial stage of development was marked by a Puritan solemnity, carried from New England through New York to Wisconsin's Walworth County by many of the town's first planters and nourished by educators imported from the East. For a town just thirty years old the reality of having planted a normal school in its soil engendered dreams of whirling spheres around ideals of virtue and industry. This was the heritage of the Salisbury generation.

4

The Salisbury Era: A Peaceful Push Toward Maturity (1885-1912)

> Boys reach their majority at the age of twenty-one; normal schools, at twenty-five. —ALBERT SALISBURY[1]
>
> . . . if the character and qualifications of teachers be allowed to degenerate, the free schools will become pauper schools, and the pauper schools will produce pauper souls. . . . —HORACE MANN[2]

When Albert Salisbury became the fourth president of the Whitewater Normal, the seeds of every basic aspect of its institutional life had been sowed, watered, and initially cultivated. Due to the efficient leadership of Presidents Arey and Stearns the tender plants of curricular development, departmental organization, faculty obligations, student requirements, and community rapport appeared in healthy array on Normal Hill. They were of such hibred Puritan quality that the unfortunate tenure of the second administration only strengthened their durability. The twenty-six year regime of Salisbury brought nothing fundamentally new to the School but encouraged the simultaneous development of the institution as a whole. From the president's office on the third floor to the janitor's headquarters in the basement, from morning talks to senior picnics, from entrance exams to football, and from regents at Madison to residents in Whitewater, the era brought depth of root and breadth of leaf to the operation. Like America as a nation, whose excitement beyond her borders consisted of flexing her muscles in the free air of expansion and lifting the burdens of the "little brown brother," the Normal took pride in the happenings within its own walls and posed as an arena of great opportunity in "the city beautiful."

Within the structure of the institution proper safeguards against all superfluity had been erected; and clearly outlined, academically and otherwise, was the singular goal of the old declaration book, "That which becomes a teacher." Those who stepped out of line, as President Phelps seemed to do, were disqualified; those who refused to swing into line, as Professor Copeland's botany student failed to do, got a dishonorable discharge without ceremony. The narrow path through those first two decades seems quaint today; but to the fourth president, who had already

spent seven teaching years helping to mold the personality of the institution, a golden age had dawned. Proud of that which was puritan in the school but sensitive to the broader demands of society, he took both reins in hand and reaped the benefits of having found a golden mean. Like all men whose names are attached to an age, Salisbury lived at exactly the right time to exhibit his leadership—the extreme cautions of the pioneers were no longer necessary and the emergencies that accompanied the first global upheaval were not yet evident. When he seated himself in the front office in July, 1885, Albert Salisbury dedicated himself as diligently to scolding a seed company in Pennsylvania for misplacing a rose bush order as to encouraging students or debating with the Regents. His keen insight had been sharpened by experience in service during the Civil War, a three-year principalship of the Brodhead High School, nine years as Whitewater's first conductor of institutes, three years with the American Missionary Association for which he traveled 30,000 miles per year inspecting schools, and study which had produced four of his 10 publications by 1879. He based student character on the traditional standards, yet he was willing to try new methods to improve student qualifications . . . that schools managed by his graduates would not be pauper schools. Whitewater was entering into a blessing which had been enjoyed by Oshkosh from its beginning—that of a single administration for a quarter century.

Almost in sight of future Whitewater steeples, in the town of Lima, Albert Salisbury was born on January 24, 1843, the eldest of the six children of Oliver Salisbury and Emily Cravath. Both his paternal and maternal ancestors were respected Yankee pioneers, and Albert, the first white child born in Lima, never ceased to identify himself with the area of his youth. The Federation of Women's Clubs in Whitewater spoke meaningfully when it thanked him for his aid in publishing Cravath's *Annals of Whitewater* by quoting James Russell Lowell: "The soil out of which such a man as he is made is good to be born on, good to die for, and good to be buried in."[3] His parents were members of a colony which migrated about 1840 from Cortland County, New York under the leadership of his maternal grandfather, Deacon Prosper Cravath. Deacon Prosper's father, Samuel, a small man of French descent, had lived in Connecticut and moved to New York about 1801, so that the son, born in the momentous year of 1777, probably grew up in New England. The president's mother was the seventh of eleven daughters born to Deacon Prosper, whose institutional contribution to Whitewater was his part in organizing the Congregational Church where his grandson served for a lifetime. Albert's paternal great-grandfather, Thomas, lived in Rhode Island and Connecticut. His father, Oliver, was third among the dozen children of Silas Salisbury, six of whose

sons spent more or less time in the Whitewater vicinity. Oliver built the first frame house between Whitewater and Milton, to which he took his bride, Emily Cravath, in 1841. The New England heritage of the Normal could not have been more genuinely represented than by young Albert Salisbury.

His early years were those of the oldest child of a pioneer family, full of much work and little formal education. His mother, a school teacher before marriage, was his chief tutor, and his young mind was fed on Colburn's *Mental Arithmetic,* Day's *Algebra,* and the Latin texts he carried in his knapsack. From 1861 to 1863 he attended the Milton Academy in winter and did farm work in summer, after which he became a private soldier in the Army of the Cumberland under General Sheridan who was enforcing the Monroe Doctrine against Maximillian in Texas. After two years he returned to the farm and nursery business and in 1866 married his first wife, Abba Maxson. He then finished at Milton, graduating with the first college class in 1870. His educational career began with the principalship at Brodhead, from which position he was called in 1873 to become Whitewater's first institute conductor. In that position he worked with Duncan McGregor and Robert Graham, the conductors at Platteville and Oshkosh respectively, to give shape to a work which by 1881 was enrolling 4,304 teachers in 64 institutes in 56 counties.[4] Of the tributes paid Salisbury after his death, the one given before the Wisconsin Teachers Association by his friend McGregor cannot be excelled for depth of perception: "In President Salisbury we had a marked illustration of the happy combination of manhood and professional eminence; an example of the evolution of the successful teacher from manly character . . . . Graft any profession upon noble character, and success in the profession is all but certain."[5] McGregor, like Salisbury, had risen from conductor to the presidency of his normal, and was at that time Platteville's regent. Graham, who became state superintendent, collaborated with Salisbury in his book, *Orthoepy and Phonology* (1879), considered the best in its day. His native ability and association with others of stature prepared Salisbury for the professional task before him in 1885. The *Register* joyfully offered a tribute to this favorite son:

> President Salisbury comes to his new duties with the well-proved repute of a man of great intellectual gifts, of ripe scholarship and of the highest ideals of moral worth, of life, influence, effort and responsibility. He has an almost unequaled knowledge of the educational affairs and needs of our own State and besides has had a great and well-improved opportunity the past three years for helpful observation in nearly every State of the Union.
>
> His accession to the head of the school ought to work a great era in its advancement and we confidently believe that such will prove to be the case.[6]

The community, the School, and the professional world of Wisconsin waited expectantly as the new administrator took over the institution in the heyday of its youth. As Rev. F. V. Stevens said in his funeral oration, his character and career were one.[7]

Despite these commendations, however, the Salisbury administration lent no warranty to the great-man theory of history. When he came into leadership the state normals were well established as the professional arm of state education. Budgets, administrative procedures, and faculty-student rapport were based on well-defined precedents; and, of particular importance to the health of the institution, the town had begun to put most of its eggs into the Normal basket. When enrollment statistics (the barometer of normal-school efficiency) failed to be impressive, Salisbury resorted to the usual rationalization in 1904:

> While we can not be wholly indifferent to the fact that our enrollment is not as large as that of some other schools, we feel that we shall serve the interests of the schools best by keeping our eye single to the quality of our product both in scholarship and character, even though students who are looking for a "soft thing" should look elsewhere. This we believe to be the wise policy for any normal school.[8]

Salisbury's great contribution lay in his art of preserving the fundamental values already established without being obnoxiously scrupulous, and of bringing the institution to maturity without becoming distastefully adventuresome.

The community of Whitewater reveled in a man like Salisbury, large of stature and mature in judgment. Many alumni and friends said of him: "He exacted much of us because he claimed so large an ownership in us."[9] The normal corporation needed to succeed, as one by one the other businesses of the place faded into the background. After 1890 the town ceased to be thought of as industrial, a blow of great consequence to the ambitious Yankees. It was especially trying to see other localities in the state prospering to make Wisconsin outrank the nation in per capita output of machine industries.[10] "Failure of the wagon works and removal of the reaper shops had something like the effect of a great disaster, one not readily reparable," wrote Beckwith, but the retail trade and small shops were better suited to a college town anyway and made it "a goodly place to visit for such as are so fortunate as to have any noticeable acquaintance there."[11] This well-established local sentiment, which boosted the city as a place of "culture and refinement, good schools, pleasant homes and everything else that enters in making up a reliable, well-ordered community," made Salisbury the more popular as a promoter of the Whitewater Improvement Association formed just after the turn of the century.[12]

Salisbury's professional interests and accomplishments made him a colorful figure whose insights helped prepare the School for the opportunities thrust into its lap at the close of his generation. His first book, *The Geography of Wisconsin* (1876) was written during his days as institute conductor when he was traversing a large portion of the state. To celebrate the centennial in 1876 he wrote his first *Historical Sketch of Normal Instruction in Wisconsin,* improved upon for the Columbian year, 1893. The work reflected his wide knowledge of the system to which he was giving his life, and his *History of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association* (1878) led to an invitation to take part in the fiftieth anniversary celebration of that organization. State superintendent L. D. Harvey wrote him in 1902: "I have an impression that some years ago you prepared . . . a history. . . . As one of the oldest educational men in the state . . . who has had probably as much to do in shaping work in the Association as any other man in it, you are the man in the whole state to present this matter."[13] Salisbury not only prepared a paper for the jubilee session but helped with the Wisconsin Exhibit in the education department at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1903. Besides his classic *Orthoepy and Phonology* (1879), *The Duty of the State to the Feeble-Minded* (1890) reflected his broad concern about educational matters. As a traveler he had been enriched by his work with the American Missionary Association as superintendent of its schools among the freedmen in the South and Indians in the West, which required him to live two years in Atlanta and one in New York City. This touch with Dixie remained with him for life, as shown in the following letter from the librarian of the Carnegie library in Nashville: "I was very glad of your interest . . . and I assure you everything feasible is being done for the Negroes in the South. The time will come when this Library will be able to assist the Negroes in the Library way as well as it now assists them in a school way."[14] Salisbury made a state contribution in special education when he cooperated with the Wisconsin Teachers' Association in its campaign for proper provision for the care and training of the feeble minded, resulting in the institution at Chippewa Falls, and his crusade for better conditions in the country district schools added a personal touch to his administrative work. His *Historical Sketches of the First Quarter Century of the State Normal School, Whitewater* (1893) and his part in the production of Cravath's *Annals of Whitewater* (1906) gave him status as an historian. Of the latter is was said, "The work has been done not for possible compensation, but for love of his native community and a desire to commemorate the persons and events which made Whitewater one of the most attractive towns in Wisconsin."[15] His historical perspective made him a dutiful guardian of the enduring qualities of the institution.

Three other publications, two reports on "The Rural School Problem" (1897 and 1898), *The Theory of Teaching and Elementary Psychology* (1905), and *School Management* (1911), finalized his right to be the grand old man of the normal schools. "New York has a Normal School for each 96,500 pupils enrolled in the common schools, Pennsylvania has one for each 100,000 . . ., while Wisconsin has one for each 60,000," he wrote in 1897.[16] With ear to the ground and hand gently on the throttle he spoke for the system:

> The Wisconsin Normal Schools do not claim to exhibit any "novelties" in the way of administration or policy. They are not erratic nor sensational, but aim to be alert and wisely progressive. Their chief reason for existence is to meet the practical needs and demands of the commonwealth to which they belong. Their work has been adjusted to the practical demands upon them rather than to any abstract ideal of what a normal school should be; though theoretical ideals have by no means been forgotten or ignored.[17]

During the 1890's he frequently visited the normals, leaving the seniors to the tender mercies of a psychology test. In 1892 he took a two-week tour of the normals at Oswego, New York, Brooklyn, and Worcester, Massachusetts, and of Clark University and the primary schools at Springfield, Massachusetts. This broad interest made him a respected source of information among his colleagues, and the Regents also received his occasional promptings regarding the role of a good normal school:

> . . . what I am most disturbed . . . over is the inadequacy of a two years' course for properly prepared high school teaching, and the really *ignorant* state of mind in which they go out from us. Every visit of the Committee on Graduating Classes furnishes, almost unintentionally, harrowing evidences of the meager and fragmentary equipment of knowledge in even those branches which they have studied longest.[18]

After the turn of the century Salisbury's Whitewater enjoyed increased stature among its sisters, all of whom shared in the kind of trust bestowed upon the Massachusetts Agricultural College (later the University of Massachusetts) in 1873: "Let it be remembered that the College has been established to continue forever, that the good name of Massachusetts is inseparably united with it, and that its reputation ought to be as dear and sacred to every citizen of the state as that of his most intimate friend."[19]

His efficient leadership during the golden age of the normals gave Salisbury priority for significant recognition. In 1906 pressure was put upon him to become a candidate for state superintendent. When he finally accepted the *Register* printed a dozen accomplishments by way of advertising; and when he lost 906 to 188 to incumbent C. P. Cary, that faithful literary arm of the school pointed out that Salisbury triumphed overwhelmingly in Whitewater, which city was glad to keep him. In 1908 he was

granted a three-month leave of absence to join 363 American educators in a teachers' visit to Great Britain, having been nominated to the National Civic Federation to represent the Wisconsin normals. His trans-Atlantic activities were as much a part of things as when he was at his desk. The *Register* printed the long letters to his family and everyone awaited his report which the Regents authorized for publication 1909. While he had a rewarding time in Britain and was made an honorary member of the London Teachers' Association, he concluded that we must "work out our own problems in the light of our own needs and conditions" since "conditions and traditions in the older country are so different from ours."[20]

Salisbury always fought to maintain high standards and enjoyed a good deal of identification with that cause. He advised in 1896 that while normal instruction should be as cheap and accessible as possible, "there is a real danger that Normal Schools may be multiplied so rapidly as to interfere with and endanger the proper equipment and support of those already in operation. It is not wise to attempt the work of a century in one generation."[21] He made his point for Whitewater by comparing the older normals to older children in a family who, having borne the heat and burden of the day of small things, have the right to be properly nurtured and kept efficient despite the clamorings of the newest comers. He stood for cooperation on the basis of a healthy, freedom-conscious local organization, which led him to oppose a uniform calendar for all the schools in 1907. As he grew older he became more dogmatic about standards which he deemed essential to professional reputation. In 1900 President Charles McKenny of the Milwaukee normal wrote him regarding a student who was behind in some subjects of Whitewater's elementary course but who, for financial reasons, wanted to enter Milwaukee.[22] That Salisbury asserted his mind on that and other matters was documented by another letter from McKenny two years later: "I have your communication . . . regarding the admission of students from other normal schools. . . . I am not aware that in the past I have been at all negligent in this matter. . . . I think that all ought to be circumspect in this matter."[23] Another example of the president's sensitivities on regulations occurred in 1907 when he became so disturbed with the officers and executive committee of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association over the date for the annual meeting that he talked of refusing to cooperate. The Association president told the venerable administrator: "I am writing you, not to urge you to close your school . . . but that you may treat the matter in the future as unfortunate but not as an intentional or unintentional slight.[24] Salisbury took too personally the gaps in responses which resulted from complications inherent in progress; the day was at hand when authority would have to be delegated—

when it would be impossible to make all roads lead to the president's desk, an aspect of normal maturity foreign to the Salisbury generation. When he left his work behind on June 2, 1911, the day had come when events and circumstances had replaced the essentials of personality leadership in the life of Whitewater.

A significant element in the Normal's peaceful push toward maturity was the quality and cooperation of its faculty. Salisbury made the issue of faculty stability one of his early concerns:

> It cannot be denied that this school has suffered severely from the lack of that steadiness. In twenty years it has had four presidents. Beside the present president, but one member of the faculty has been such over ten years; while only one-half of the present number have been in the school over three years. And no less than sixty-four different teachers have fallen out of the faculty during the twenty years of the school's existence.[25]

The records show, however, that the president's fears were unwarranted; with only two exceptions (in the model department) he began his twenty-six year administration with the faculty of the previous year. The turnover record during the era verified the unusual stability which blest the period and freed the entire staff from the diversions of orientation. In fact, Salisbury hired 36 people in the normal department during his tenure, compared to 38 in the seven-year span of his predecessor, and most of these were individuals who energetically promoted the Salisbury Pax Romana. Professors Shutts and Upham came with the school's first telephone in 1888 and served 31 and 34 years respectively, Miss Cottrell began her quarter century that year, and Misses Hosford (1888), McCutchan (1889), and Hughes (1890) were on the job 18, 19, and 15 years respectively. Among those already in service in 1885 were T. B. Pray (who served 9 more years), J. N. Humphrey (12 more), Miss Rogers (21), Mrs. Knapp (8), Miss Parmeter (6), Mrs. Cooke (10), and Miss Couch (6). This early stability begot blessings for the next era as well. Among those hired by Salisbury after the quarter century (1893) who remained fifteen years or more were: Grace Alvord, librarian (1905, 33), Lucy Baker (1894, 43), Sarah Devlin (1895, 19), Delos O. Kinsman (1901, 15), Grace Potter (1900, 23) Nettie Sayles (1906, 22), John R. Sherrick (1897, 16) and Walter S. Watson (1895, 42).

While the puritanical traditions of the early years were less strenuously kept, they were no less ardently respected. After 1898 the declaration book became an archival piece, but the sentiments therein were an unwritten law in every classroom. Boston was still considered the hub of the universe, and Salisbury drew largely on New England for his teachers. Recalled Mrs. Robert Dickie, a devoted alumna of 1904:

> Lucy Baker was from Vermont. Professor and Mrs. Watson were from Connecticut. The Uphams were from Massachusetts. Miss Walker, an early physical education teacher, was the daughter of a New England sea captain, and before my day there was a Miss Robinson from Plymouth, Massachusetts, who taught art and was highly praised by her students.[26]

Salisbury told the Regents in 1886: "The resignation of Professor Bundy from the Science Department, and the provision of a special teacher of Drawing, bring two new members into our corps, both selected from the Alumni of the Bridgewater (Massachusetts) Normal School, a new element which it is hoped will be helpful to us all."[27] Henry Doty Maxson, conductor of institutes until Professor Pray took over in 1888, was descended on his mother's side from Edward Doten, one of the party who signed the Mayflower Compact. Professor Upham was a graduate of the Westfield, Massachusetts Normal in 1880, the customs and methods of which he detailed in morning talks. Professor Shutts' training and teaching in New York's normals gave him Yankee claim to fame which he perpetuated in his *Teachers Handbook of Arithmetic* and *Plane and Solid Geometry Suggestive Method* (1913), and by an outstanding teaching career.

Recognizing from the outset of his administration that his dutiful clan was overworked, Salisbury related the fact to Board Secretary Chandler, who told the Regents:

> At the time of my last inquiry, Miss Rogers was conducting six classes daily, Professor Pray five, and Miss Avery four classes. This, with the time needed for daily preparation, the inspection of written work and attention to rehearsals, involves a very large proportion of the twenty-four hours composing each of six days in the week, and might fairly be presumed to encroach somewhat upon the seventh, but for physical exhaustion or conscientious scruples. There should be an additional teacher employed, sufficiently versatile to relieve the persons named of a part of their work.[28]

Pleas for teachers were not quickly heeded, nor were salaries shoved forward with much enthusiasm, despite Salisbury's insistence that a livelier appreciation of merit would enhance the quality of teaching. Professor Upham got $1400 his first year with the promise of $1500 thereafter, Professor Shutts came at $1500, and the salaries of institute conductors had increased to $2,000. In 1896 Salisbury was drawing $320 a month, about the average for a normal executive. Seniority and position governed teachers' salaries, as Miss Rogers got $110 while Miss Baker was paid only $80. Men were worth more than women, a fact that did not set well with Miss Rogers in her 27th year of service. With characteristic frankness she told President Salisbury in 1905: "I want an increase of $100. I think I deserve it. I have worked long and loyally. . . . The gentlemen of our Faculty and strangers have had the plums . . . but I think it is now time

for the ladies to receive your attention. . . . I am sure that if you do your best for me that I shall get the increase. . . . You usually get what you go after."[29] At first it was customary for individual faculty members to present requests for increases to the Board via personal letters, but after the turn of the century the pleas landed on the president's desk.

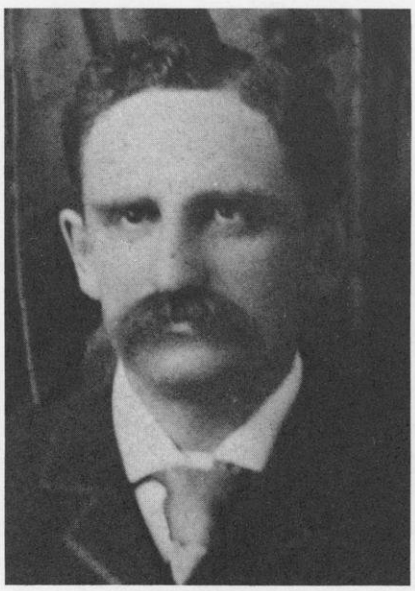
While the president spared no energy to get the best for his staff, he expected their best—and got it. When he came in 1885 there were 14 faculty; when he left his post in 1911 there were 24. They knew each other and each knew the president, which made running the institution a personal as well as a professional matter. One Saturday in September, 1888 most of them went hazelnutting and spent a pleasant and profitable day in that simple pastime.[30] Sadness, too, was shared. Salisbury had the unique misfortune of losing two of his children only a few weeks before their graduation—Winifred in May, 1897 and Albert Hosford in May, 1905. Winifred's funeral was one of the largest ever held in Whitewater; there was something touching about laying to rest a young woman of 22 in her graduating dress, and the Salisburys were unable to refrain from comment.[31] In the case of the son, the faculty passed upon and approved his work during his final illness and a posthumous diploma was granted at commencement by order of the Regents. Another example of personal affection was displayed by Miss Rogers who, in strength and weakness, considered the president her brother. "I tried to write you yesterday but my nerve gave out," she informed him in January, 1906. "Saturday afternoon I found that I must go to a hospital or die. I shall go in a few days. I do not want to resign. If you think Mr. Clark is doing all right, keep him. If not—well, do what is best for the school."[32] Soon afterward she informed her friends that if she should go she wanted no sermon—that President Salisbury knew her better than any minister and that Professor Upham should make the necessary arrangements. When the president himself was laid to rest, Professor Upham "cried like a child."[33]

In the basic test of faculty efficiency, the impact upon students, Salisbury's staff excelled. In 1878 two stalwart women entered the life of the Normal, Mrs. Cooke and Miss Rogers. Wrote Mrs. Dickie:

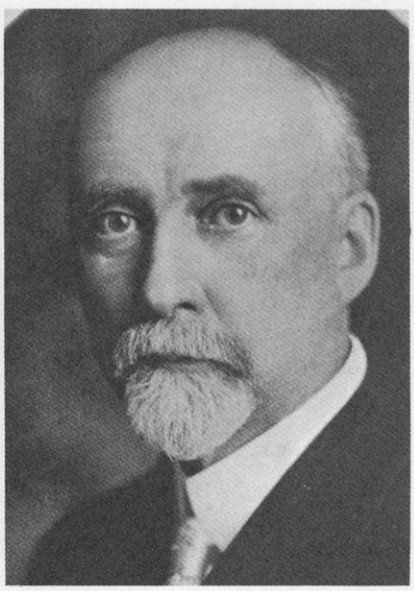
> Mrs. Ada Ray Cooke of blessed memory, mothered the girls. She had a little sewing box, where first aid could be had for the braid that our heel caught and tore loose from our street-sweeping skirts. She taught Reading and Grammar and drilled speakers for Rhetoricals. . . . Mrs. Cooke wore a little white apron—often had a crocheted shawl around her shoulders and kept a bit of crocheting or knitting to lessen the tedium of faculty meetings.[34]

A woman of insight and a product of hardship, she shared with the students in the basic realities of life. As a student and teacher she was

14. *President Salisbury.* A "favorite son" in more ways than one, Albert Salisbury figures number one in the history of the Whitewater Normal School.



15. *Professor Shutts.* A grand old man of the Salisbury generation, he was everything from coach to president.



16. *Professor Upham.* Unequalled in affection, he was second only to his chief — and "daddy" to multitudes.

SOBRIETY, SAGACITY, AND SENSITIVITY CHARACTERIZED ALL THE LEADERS OF THE SALISBURY GENERATION.

17. *Salisbury's Faculty, 1893.* First row (l. to r.): Cooke, Upham, Humphrey, Salisbury, Pray, Shutts, McCutchan; second row: Cottrell, Bateman, Hosford, Barnard, Spear, Vandewalker, Knapp, Goetsch, Hughes, Rogers.

THE SALISBURY GENERATION WAS UNIQUE FOR ITS HIGH PERCENTAGE OF OUTSTANDING TEACHERS

associated with the institution from 1874 and had heard all but 10 of the graduating orations. She resigned in 1895 and died the following year at the premature age of 47. Of Miss Rogers it was written:

> When Mrs. Cooke left, Miss Rogers said, "I cannot be Mrs. Cooke, but I will try to be as kind as I can." She planned the Girls' Boarding Club with Miss Finn as cook, and brought a great measure of relief to busy girls. . . . Miss Rogers taught Botany and Geography well. She also taught life. It was an inspiration to look upon her—her face was kind. Her hair, parted in the middle and marcelled on each side, never showed a stray lock. She wore a beautiful garnet pin; her clothes expressed her orderly mind. She had the gift of understanding. She had lived close to the soil and had an abundance of common sense. Of her it might be said, "She rests from her labors and her works do follow her; for to live in hearts we leave behind is not to die."[35]

Mary L. McCutchan, the third in a quartet of great women, came in 1889 to take over the preparatory and grammar departments. Her slogan was, "Be thankful for the half loaf; it is seldom we can have the whole one."[36] A splendid teacher and lover of learning, she made her students wish they could stay longer in her classes. The fourth noble woman, Annie Cottrell, possessed the same exacting academic standards, having taught school since the age of 17. Like many of her contemporaries she had taken a turn at principalship, had interrupted her early education to teach, and was so dedicated that the students were impelled to learn their English.

There were 16 faculty members in 1888, 12 women and 4 men. Of the latter, Professors Pray and Humphrey had been with the School since 1881 and both went from it into notable work, Pray to the presidency of Stevens Point in 1895 and Humphrey into business in 1897 with his embryonic Century Pen Company that became nationally known during the next 20 years. Around the other two revolved much of Whitewater's history. Professor Shutts was the more unimpassioned but not more contemplative; his particular contribution besides teaching was in the details of administration, while Professor Upham will be remembered for the spirit he injected into the place. George Clinton Shutts was born and educated in New York, a personification of that which made the institution a continuum during the long day between the Civil War and World War I. He was also a good competitor with the lady teachers in their bid for student affections:

> I always enjoyed Professor Shutts. He was a fatherly man, full of good advice. He and Mrs. Shutts were very hospitable. In fact, most of the mothering at Normal, after Mrs. Cooke's day, was done by men. I suppose this was because the men met life more normally than the women. They had homes and families and community life.[37]

The versatility of Mr. Shutts appeared early in his career at Whitewater, as explained in his letter to the students and faculty written from his Montana farm in 1925:

> It might be interesting to the present husky football men to know something of the beginning of athletics at the Normal.
>
> In the early '90's a group of men came into my recitation room to talk athletics. At that meeting, it was decided to organize a football team and hire a coach. At its conclusion, it was agreed to take a cross country run from the Normal to the water tower. When the rest of us reached the goal, the fleetfoot of the group sat coolly waiting for us and grimacing at our tardiness.[38]

The speedy manner in which the sport was effected attested to the felicity of planning that day. When Salisbury died Professor Shutts distinguished himself in the front office for a year while a successor was sought, the second of three instances in the history of the School that an interim head was employed. Shutts was no stranger to the task as such; in 1905 he ran for the presidency of the state teachers' association with the educational forces in southeastern Wisconsin enthusiastically behind him, and in 1909 Salisbury recommended him to the Regents for the presidency of River Falls. The people of Whitewater highly esteemed the man with the mustache who marshalled homecoming and Memorial Day parades on horseback. When the family left to take up agricultural pursuits on their land in Montana, Professor Upham wrote, "The Shuttses are gone; their places will not be filled." He told how they had arrived at 5:30 Sunday morning, August 27, 1888, and at 10:30 were in the Congregational Church where he served 31 years in the Sunday school. Mr. Upham reminded *Register* readers that Mr. Shutts was instrumental in getting the lecture course revived by visiting every home in Whitewater, that he was unexcelled in the classroom, and that as institute conductor he had worked nearly every county in the state and probably brought more students to the Normal than anyone. "We never said one word to each other which now we would wish unsaid," concluded Upham.[39] Thus did harmony reign in the day of Salisbury.

Professor Upham lagged behind his friend in early training. Born in Royalston, Massachusetts in 1853, his education consisted of 16 weeks a year at a district school until the age of 12, then 12 weeks a year in a grammar school until 15. For several years he worked in a chair shop where he developed the mechanical bent that made him an enthusiastic advocate of manual training. After two years of teaching in a district school, he went to the Westfield normal and afterward taught Latin, psychology, and political economy in a high school. It was not until he got to Whitewater that he was able to work in his chosen field, natural science. "Daddy" Upham stood next to Salisbury as a symbol of the era and in student affection: "I greatly enjoyed Professor Upham whom I had in physics course, saying that if we remembered that we could not get something for nothing . . . he would be satisfied. His comments on life taught us more than

the book. He always told us to use a little "'hoss sense'."[40] Upham was the student's aspiration, the president's unpredictable shadow, the community's learned mascot, and everyone's friend. In the *Royal Purple* of November, 1925, published to commemorate the dedication of the East Wing, he made his usual unsolicited splash:

> To the new generation of students, we gladly introduce our old friend. He was a great Daddy Upham indeed! We, as alumni, look back on our Alma Mater and are glad that the old school possessed such a man, teacher, and friend. It is because of men like Daddy Upham that this world is a better place in which to live.
>
> Hail! Daddy Upham, now in his seventy-second year. We cherish him, and he will always be remembered amongst us.[41]

The venerable gentleman with trimmed mustache and beard could bring tears and laughter simultaneously. During a morning talk in 1889 he gave a defense for cutting up angle worms by showing that training was thereby acquired in the use of the microscope which aided the progress of the world. He concluded that those people who cry out against putting live things into alcohol are not so sensitive when they use them for pickerel bait.[42] After a game "Daddy" would get up in assembly and tell "how we did it," much to the delight of the students. Once he brought down the house in the middle of Friday morning exercises by saying, "Tomorrow is President Salisbury's birthday; there will be no school!" This superfluous addendum called out tremendous applause, congratulations, and the Normal Song directed by Miss Baker.[43] It was true that he was no "ordinary individual" and that he bound the "old grad" to his alma mater. From taking an inventory of the building to directing summer school, from explaining scientific phenomena to stealing a march on the sports-minded boys by going botanizing with a bus load of pretty girls, Mr. Upham dictated his own situations. One day following an exceptionally cold spell President Salisbury asked the professor to explain why the water pipe had frozen. Mr. Upham replied, with all his scientific acumen, "Shure, an' phwats to hinder?"[44]

As a citizen none was more popular than Professor Upham, whose professorship did not prevent his being himself. He could write a funeral eulogy for the family dog, love a horse into obedience, or get an addition voted for his church with a benign humor that was devastating to opponents. Once when lecturing the building committee on present inadequacies of his church, he came out with the stark reality that for years the Congregationalists had been using a particular outdoor accommodation of the Episcopalians. With no further elaboration the incongruity of such an approach to brotherhood gripped his hearers and the addition was

approved.[45] During his tenure as mayor of Whitewater (1909–11) he likened the careless book work of his predecessors to that of a certain woman who rendered account to her husband: "Received from hubby, $50; spent it all." Educationally, he served on the local city school board and as superintendent of schools, was president of the Southern Wisconsin Teachers' Association for a number of years, and for 12 years was a member of the State Board of Examiners. Under President Hyer he spent his last three years on the Hill as vice president of the institution, the first man to bear that title. When he resigned after 34 years, the school lamented an irreparable loss while the community rejoiced that he might be seen downtown more. When he passed from the classroom in 1922 the Salisbury era had been history for a decade and the sun was sinking on the golden age of the normal schools; in fact, the very year he quietly passed away at his home on Conger Street (1927) the normals became state teachers' colleges.

The personality of the institution was reflected in the subjects taught as well as in the approaches of those who taught them. The advent of the normal school system precipitated new surveys of curricular boundaries on the part of existing colleges and universities. A primary question faced by the new intruders was whether or not they should prepare people both professionally and academically. For one thing, the question of nurturing a strictly academic curriculum in the normals, a perennial problem until the state college era dawned in 1951, involved a long tussle with the state university. Every president emphasized the importance of excellence in the professional program so that a surprising amount of Latin, English literature, and science found its way into the curricula; but repeated efforts to make the normals serve the dual purpose of training teachers and of offering a program of non-professional college work caused chronic academic schizophrenia. Movements in the latter direction date back to 1876 when the Regents resolved to make the course of study in the grammar departments fully preparatory for entrance into the state university. In 1890 an unsatisfactory arrangement was begun whereby graduates of normal schools could enter the University as juniors. In 1896 a joint committee of university and normal regents recommended a cooperative course leading to a bachelor of philosophy in pedagogy whereby two years' credit could be earned at the normals. Nothing very practical resulted, but again in 1905 the University revamped its program so that normal graduates might have up to 1½ years of credit if they had selected courses with the intent to enter the University. In 1907 a bill allowing the normals to grant degrees was defeated and another in 1909 failed after University President Charles R. Van Hise and the private colleges fought it. Meanwhile, Van Hise suggested another plan to coordinate the work of the nor-

mals and his institution whereby they would serve as its teacher-training branches and junior colleges; but to his surprise, the normals were planning an extension of their own to prepare teachers for secondary work, a service he had hoped to confine to the University. Under the guise of working for the "best interests" of the normals, a committee created by the University regents in 1908 met with one chosen by the normal regents in 1909 to work out a cooperative plan.[46] The results of that labor gave normal graduates from the German and Latin courses 60 hours toward the Bachelor of Arts degree and those from the English course 60 toward a Bachelor of Philosophy degree. While the normal catalog of 1909 announced the plan with apparent satisfaction, President Salisbury was not thrilled. Reflecting on his recent British tour he commented:

> It seems to be people of a somewhat higher stratum socially . . . who are pursuing the Three Year Courses, partly in the University and partly in the Day Training College. . . . It would thus be easy for our Wisconsin University friends to claim that British experience has led in the very direction in which they are trying to lead, the regulation of the Normal School exclusively to the training of elementary teachers. But the parallel is rather apparent than real. The Normal School is here, in a way, invading the University. But conditions, and traditions, in the older country are so different from ours, and so alien to our experience, that no general inference from them can be safely drawn.[47]

A non-professional program finally squeezed into the normals in 1911 when the Legislature passed a law authorizing them to offer two years of non-professional college work.

A secondary question concerned the degree of professional preparation —whether or not there should be concentration on elementary education to the exclusion of longer training for educational leadership. This was initially decided in 1868 with the establishment of an elementary course of two years and an advanced course of three, but was not finally settled until a law in 1936 required all courses to be four years in length. The professional curriculum was juggled as follows during the Salisbury era: in 1888 a regulation allowed high school graduates with proper credentials to enter the advanced course, the elementary course (2½ years long since 1881) was returned to two years, and a professional course of one year was added; in 1891 four-year courses were begun in English, science, Latin, or German; in 1896 a one-year course for teachers of common schools was added; in 1902 came a two-year advanced course for high school graduates; in 1909 came the popular rural course (which brought the abolishment of the original elementary course); and in 1911 five-year courses were established in English, Latin, and German for eighth-grade graduates. In 1914 the five-year program was dropped, ending the brief experiment with long courses.

The nature of the professional curriculum was influenced substantially by the multiplication of high schools. The normals tendered their cooperation in 1888 by allowing high school graduates credit for two years of normal work provided they had taken drawing, arithmetic, and United States history. Graduates of the University of Wisconsin or other colleges of equal rank, with one year teaching experience, could take the one-year professional course; persons who were not college graduates had to show three years of successful teaching experience and pass examinations for a first grade county certificate to enter the one-year course. This setup lasted until the elementary certificate was eliminated in 1910, relegating to history the problem of differentiating between certificates and diplomas which had bothered President Stearns. Concerning the academic aspect of normal training President Salisbury wrote: A normal school is not a mere trade school. Whatever belongs to the ideal education of a human being should enter efficiently, in due measure, into its curriculum. The normal school training should be a good preparation not only for teaching but also for life and for parenthood."[48] The president's support of high academic standards was a round in the long debate between the professional schools and their liberal arts contemporaries who suspicioned normal alimentation of academic excellence.

Although Salisbury estimated in 1898 that probably half the normal matriculents were high school graduates, he continued to give respectful consideration to the grassroots source of his enrollment, the common schools and the preparatory department that served as a bridge to connect them to the Normal. It was 1910 before the preparatory class, made obsolete by the growing number of high schools and the establishment of the one-year course for teachers of country schools (1896) and the rural course (1909), was abolished by the Board of Regents (except at River Falls). In 1902 the Regents established separate two-year courses for high school graduates and put the elective principle to work by allowing for 15 semester hours to be chosen in a definite concentration to prepare teachers for specialized fields. While no special work was outlined for those wishing to pursue high school teaching, a year of post graduate work was offered between 1897 and 1905. The practice of receiving special students, therefore, dates from this period.

Another adjustment in the professional program to meet practical demands was the popular rural course, an elaboration of the one-year course for teachers begun in 1896. Salisbury was delighted with the thought of serving the country schools, having observed in England that while elementary teachers were drawn from the lower middle class, they were the "moral bone and sinew" of the country. At this time educational leaders

everywhere began to direct public education toward the needs of rural communities. Before industrialization changed America into a nation of cities, the district schools of the country were crowded with pupils and were taught, in great part, by teachers of maturity and character, notwithstanding inadequate preparation. As more and more children came to attend graded schools in cities and towns, the rural schools lost half their former population and many of their best teachers. The normal schools did not alleviate the matter, since their trainees went off to the city schools where salaries were higher and accommodations more attractive. One leading educator deplored the fact that although scarcely more than one-third of the nation's children attended city schools, 55% of the money was spent there. He indicted the normal schools in the National Education Association Report for 1913: "Is it not true, Mr. Normal-School President, that we seldom recommend our best graduates for positions in the rural schools? Is it not true that the farmer has been victimized so often that he is suspicious when we ask him to pay a higher salary to obtain even a normal-school graduate?"[49] Inasmuch as Whitewater was an agricultural town, Salisbury's rural convictions received local applause along with their national acceptance.

The means by which the country schools might be redeemed had to bypass the conservatism of country taxpayers through an approach other than consolidation. One remedy was the county training school, which had come to 26 of Wisconsin's 71 counties by 1909 and had been made considerably attractive by state subsidies which covered ⅔ of their expenses. In his announcement of the rural course, which was designed to compete effectively with the county normals, Salisbury pointed out that Whitewater had always been deeply interested in the country schools and was anxious to demonstrate its ability to build up an effective corps of teachers for county superintendents. Professor Shutts, widely known as an institute conductor, gave the new program the air of professionalism it needed, while care was taken to fulfill the desires of national headquarters to train teachers who were specifically interested in rural life and problems. The N.E.A. stressed the need for training resident leaders by showing farm children that a rural organization, as well as an urban one, can supply the four great requirements of man—health, education, occupation, and society. Normal leaders were told to cease commenting about courses preparatory for rural teaching with the negative tone, "You cannot expect to receive advanced credit on many of the subjects offered in these courses."[50] The Whitewater Normal School of Rural Education met this requirement squarely in its statement of purpose which concluded: "Rural school teaching must not be considered a stepping stone to city and village work, but

an end in itself. Students must go into the country districts to teach from choice, from a knowledge of the great opportunities there opening to them."[51] The rural course required two years to complete and was in line with the standards of the majority of schools in the United States that offered the course. Graduates received a diploma and a teachers' certificate, good for three years on condition that the initial year of teaching was satisfactory and renewable for another three years by attending a normal summer term of six weeks. The model rural schoolhouse where students in the course did their practice work still stands a few miles east of town, an historic replica of the efforts of the Normal to identify itself with the community that had established it. During the half-century existence of rural training in the normals a great service was performed in the production of teachers who were proud of their department, organized their own student groups, and could not have been hired to teach anywhere else in the world. Under the direction of Mrs. I. U. Wheeler (1919–39) the department enjoyed uninhibited prosperity as another monument to the golden age of the normal schools.

Finally, the Salisbury generation sensed the professional value of pursuits not traditionally considered curricular at all. In 1893 the president stated: "A necessary corollary of the clearer apprehension of the ends of education is found in the recognition, not only theoretical but practical, of the fact, so long obscured, that music, drawing and gymnastics are not simply accomplishments, but are as truly among the essentials of education as mathematics or geography."[52] No innovations of the era were sudden, but music and gymnastics were especially engrained into the pattern of things. Vocal music had been a part of teacher training from the beginning, and the long and thorough supervision of Lucy Baker made her coming in 1894 a date to remember in the School's musical history. Various attempts to form instrumental groups were made in the gay nineties, so that by the turn of the century Salisbury's musical corollary to education was well established. The 15-year tenure of Mrs. Knapp (1877–93) gave stability to the subject and life to an art she had practiced since the age of 15. In 1886 she tried to organize a normal glee club but students had no time to spare. A permanent glee club was not born until October 15, 1903, although a "senior" choir (so called because a senior posted the bills) sang at commencements. The girls' chorus was organized in 1909, the explanation being published in poetic form beneath a picture of 17 ladies in the School's first yearbook:

> Who dared to choose from out the chaff, the gold?
> Exceeding need had made Miss Baker bold;
> Each boy in the front rows unto himself then said,
> "Am I not there?" then sadly shook his head. . . .

> Then softly whispered one, "I pray thee, then
> Read me this list that leads his fellow men."
> Miss Baker read and vanished; and that morn
> The Girls' Chorus of our school was born.[53]

Miss Edith C. Wheeler, a piano teacher who had come to Whitewater in 1904, accompanied the chorus and, as organist of the Congregational Church for over 40 years, also participated in many commencements. A few years later a boys' chorus was formed, but they were unable to compete and had to admit their dependence upon the ladies in a mixed glee club. The instrumental groups had more trouble getting started, although the School's potential in 1891 included 2 cornet players, one piccolo, a number of violinists, 5 or 6 piano thumpers, numerous bone-rattlers, and some Jewsharpers![54] It was 1912, however, before Whitewater could legitimately boast that Platteville would no longer be the "only school" with a band. In 1913 a full band was organized under Professor Lange of the geography department and soon football had adopted this permanent partner. The orchestra originated with the mandolin clubs of the 1890's, whose female artists were performing beautifully at the turn of the century in long, white, ruffled formals. On December 20, 1912 the modern orchestra was born when, led by a Mr. North of Janesville, it joined the Treble Clef (the girls' chorus) for its initial appearance before the student body. After suffering the typical ups and downs of new organizations, the orchestra was stabilized after the war. The students shared their president's feelings about music. A note in the "musical column" of the 1906 *Royal Purple* explained: "The influence of good music in the school cannot be overestimated. The teacher who introduces music in his school will have better discipline, and will himself be a better man."[55] Soon after the turn of the century the term "musical department" came into use to refer to the combined efforts of all groups that performed for the benefit of the institution.

Like music, physical education had been a part of the regular work from the beginning, but classes met irregularly before and after school and were conducted by a student teacher whose guidance consisted of suggestions from the older students. One instance recorded of those primitive days told of a young man who shocked the president by bringing to school a prodigious branch of an apple tree and asking the president to use it to chase him about the assembly room.[56] Prior to the Salisbury era one class of boys was taught to swing Indian clubs, an interesting precedent for such allusions to the untamed forest as the christening of the *Minneiska,* the formation of an Indian Chorus around 1909, and the adoption of the School's contemporary mascot, Willie Warhawk. In 1886 Whitewater

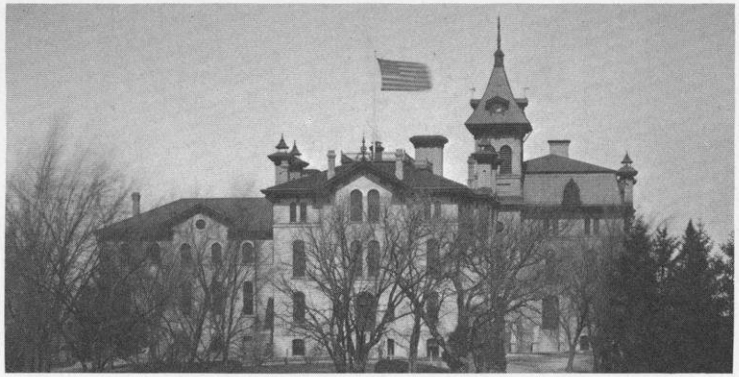
was fortunate in securing the brief services of Professor Alfred J. Andrews who, though engaged for the entire system, managed to transform normal hall into a gymnasium with such appliances for light gymnastics as Indian clubs, dumb bells, bar bells, and wands. In 1888 a regular instructor was hired and from 1889–92 Gertrude Salisbury, a daughter of the president, held the position. In his 1890 report to the Regents Salisbury pleaded for better facilities, and by December 22, 1891 the women's gymnasium, "the most perfect in its construction of any in the West," had been added to Old Main.[57] By 1894 the catalog information on the subject had been expanded into two paragraphs extolling the well equipped gym, the continuous and systematic training in light gymnastics, and the advantages to health and bodily carriage. "Each young lady," the rules stated, "is expected to provide herself with a gymnasium suit, preferably of dark flannel, consisting of a blouse and short divided skirt. If not practicable to provide this at home, the suit can be procured after arrival here, at a cost of from $2.50 to $4.00, according to quality.[58]

At first physical training was largely a subject for women, but by 1897 there had developed formal training for men and the catalog prescribed a pair of gym shoes for both sexes. By 1902 the men were required to provide themselves with suits consisting of a black jersey and grey turners' trousers. This presented another problem which was faced by Salisbury when he wrote to a prospective lady teacher in 1894:

> Do you feel any hesitation about undertaking a class of young men? The work, so far, has been altogether floor work with dumb-bells, Indian clubs, etc. We have, however, some fixed apparatus as ladders, flying rings, climbing rope, chest bars, pulleyweights, etc. . . . Have you been accustomed to the use of fixed apparatus? Can you exemplify with it yourself?[59]

The era closed before a man was appointed physical education director (1912), but in 1902 Professor Schroeder, who taught psychology and history of education, conducted a "gym" class of about 30 men who were enthusiastic about lifting bars. In 1901 the president announced that when a student was excused from gymnastics (even on doctor's orders) a study must be substituted for it. Thus physical training was added to the transcripts and a new department conceived.

The vocational subjects of drawing, manual training, and agriculture all received Salisbury's hearty blessing. In 1886 the Regents granted Whitewater a special teacher of drawing, and before long the rational mode of study based on form and dedicated to educational ends elevated the work into an "art department" which received recognition outside the normal. In 1904 an exhibition went to the ostentatious St. Louis Exposition and one was sent to the Western Drawing Teachers' Association in Milwaukee. It was an important subject in the training school, and normal



18. *The West Wing (Gymnasium).* Built in 1891, the new wing (left) stimulated Normal pride.

19. *Gymnasium Interior.* Whitewater employed "the latest" in style and equipment.

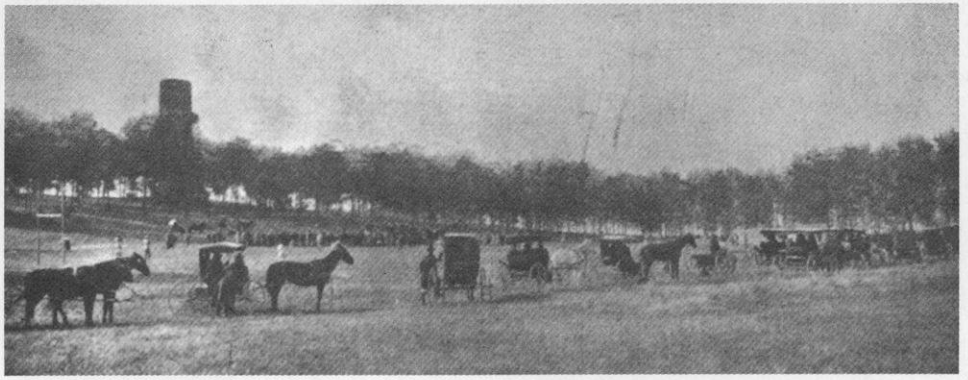
20. *The Science Laboratory.* Science has always been emphasized in the Whitewater curriculum.

21. *The Shop.* The young ladies of the Normal amazed observers by their aptitudes with tools.

THE SALISBURY GENERATION EMPHASIZED ALL PHASES OF STUDENT DEVELOPMENT

22. *The Kindergarten.* This addition to the Training School was another Salisbury dream.

23. *The School Garden.* This special interest of the president "aired" a cooperative spirit.



24. *Starin Park, 1898.* The city park with its historic tower was then the scene of the Normal's outdoor sports.

THE SALISBURY GENERATION WAS KNOWN FOR INNOVATIONS

students were required to do practice teaching in the discipline. The same was true for manual training. With practical pedagogical perception Salisbury explained: "The young woman who has learned to drive a nail properly, to saw off a board, and to smooth its surface with a jackplane, must in consequence feel an increase of self-respect and self-confidence useful to her own character as well as helpful to her work."[60] By the end of the first year the venture had secured the results hoped for; the young ladies who a few weeks before hardly knew "a plane from a drawshave" were turning out beautiful work under the direction of Professor Upham who taught the class as a labor of love.[61] Since it was adopted in the training school, the Board authorized a director of manual training (1904) to serve also as an assistant to the supervisor of practice teaching.

Agriculture received objective attention during the biennium of 1901–02 through the purchase of a five-acre tract adjacent to the school grounds to be used for an athletic field and school garden. Salisbury reported in August, 1902:

> Last spring we broke up a large piece of sward, next to the street, and started operations in gardening. The sixth grade of the model school planted a garden, each member seeding and tending a plat of his own, but all planting the same things, with a common arrangement of the beds. The wet season favored us, and the venture was a gratifying success, notwithstanding the planting on newly turned sod. The interest of the children in this work was certainly wholesome and educational in a true sense. This enterprise will be continued and expanded in the future.[62]

The tract, known to Whitewater citizens as the "White pasture," became the "newest feature of modern education." In addition to working off the energies of the children, the plat became the scene of Professors Upham and Watson's elements of agriculture class where future teachers obtained "such knowledge and training as will enable the student to give instruction in the principles of this subject in the common schools."[63] Consisting of the study of texts, laboratory work, and the care of the garden, the course was required for rural majors and could be taken as an elective by others. The garden received special attention from the president, whose family had been in the nursery business for two generations. Without descending one step from the highest pinnacle of academic deportment, Salisbury delighted in the young forest trees and flowering shrubs of the school garden to the east, as well as in the lovely south lawn of the campus. A neat board fence enclosed the garden and the rows were planted in the good earth with the same precision that ideas were infused into the soil of young minds. In 1910 Professor Upham published his text on agriculture, a memento to the days when rural life was a dominant concern of the institution.

The traditional content subjects also received a new impetus. The science laboratory, originally housed in the northwest corner of the basement and in the 1880's relegated to a narrow attic room, was expanded to twice its size and equipped with such modern accessories as a Toepler-Holtz machine, an 8-cell plunge battery, a dynamo, a dissecting microscope, and a host of other implements. Added to the affable personality of Professor Upham was a museum, begun in 1895, which housed such rare specimens as a baby seal and a bald eagle. In the nineties zoology came into its own, a subject not to the liking of the young ladies who were unable "to hold a struggling grasshopper" or "gaze calmly upon a dying bumblebee," despite Professor Upham's rational approach. The geology class went on trips to the Bluffs (Kettle Moraine), and early risers joined the bird club for pre-breakfast hikes. The Whitewater Normal was one of the pioneers in laboratory work.

Language and literature took on new vigor in 1891 as "Ich habe, du hast" joined "amo, amas, amat" in the four-year courses. Whitewater had dabbled with German for some time, and Salisbury showed his concern for student welfare in the following report to the Regents in 1886:

> Two, at least, of the Normal Schools, Oshkosh and Whitewater, have for some years tried to do something with German as a purely voluntary study, additional to the regular course. This mode of handling the subject, however, has very serious drawbacks; and I see no way to deal thoroughly with German without making it a record study, on the same basis with Latin. And I am clear in the opinion that as an alternative with Latin it is in greater demand and otherwise more valuable to the student than English Literature. . . .[64]

Both Oshkosh and Whitewater were in position to receive support for the course from the German metropolis of Milwaukee which had spilled large numbers of its Pennsylvania emigrants into the surrounding counties by that time. The subject prospered during the 1890's and by 1900 there was a German reading group consisting of about 25 ambitious students who spent time in German newspapers and quotations. By 1909 a regular German Club was organized with Professor Schroeder, Miss Wood, and "most of the feminine element of the three German classes" as members. The students of that time had their problems with the discipline a language imposes, for the school paper reported in 1902: "Appalled by the lowness of their marks, the second year German students have decided that they will already their lessons better in the future get!"[65] Under Miss Wood German continued to share in the curriculum until the Great War turned Whitewater's Yankee propensities from the enemy tongue to French and Spanish and shifted her to the position of the first dean of women. As for Latin, the man in the front office who had once tucked his text under his arm with his lunch could be expected to preserve that ancient discipline.

"We should be glad to increase the scope and depth of our work in English Literature," he wrote the Board in 1886, "but have never felt that it could be safely or wisely done at the expense of our work in Latin. We hold our Latin course . . . to be of indispensable utility in its reflex influences; hence we have never encouraged our students to make the option of English Literature. . . ."[66] There is no record of tears, however, when the position of instructor in Latin was abolished and one added in English in 1914—but times had changed, and Salisbury was gone.

The training school shared appreciably in the expansion of the era. Organized as both a school of observation and of practice, it came to be viewed as the core of normal life. Salisbury believed that there should be at least 200 pupils in the model school, and by the end of the first quarter century the supervised practice teaching begun under President Stearns was well defined. Near the close of the era a new library and annex was added which, with the women's gym and classrooms obtained in 1891, comprised the West Wing of Old Main. The annex was formally opened at a housewarming for the Normal on the evening of March 3, 1911, less than two months before the president left for the sanitarium. A special bulletin advertising the department was published to remind the city that it was about $75,000 richer in annual income through student, faculty, and Board expenses. Meanwhile, Salisbury was pushing the establishment of a kindergarten, a step toward which was taken in 1895 with tuition-free sub-primary classes for children over five who would attend. In 1900 the president reported to the Regents that the fine school at Milwaukee was good for the state as a whole, but that "every Normal School needs a working kindergarten as an adjunct to and part of its Model School."[67] When this goal was realized in 1902, Whitewater eagerly advertised its new facility.

The summer school also made its debut in the 1890's. In 1898 Salisbury informed the Regents that summer sessions for regular work, first inaugurated by the University of Chicago, seemed a wise undertaking and that Whitewater would follow the example of Oshkosh and try a session in 1899.[68] To advertise the session Salisbury pointed out that eight passenger trains daily passed through Whitewater, thus establishing the precedent that summer sessions would be commuters' sessions. In 1906 the Wisconsin railroads agreed to grant reduced rates to normalites amounting to about one-third of the regular fare. During the first two decades of operation (prior to official recognition) the sessions were under private management of the faculty and lack of funds brought a two-year suspension in 1901. In 1903 the Board became monetarily sympathetic but enrollment dropped to 82, 6 below the 1900 level. The permanence of the venture

was guaranteed in 1904 when 154 enrolled. The following year there were 203, and in 1910 the minimum qualification law swelled the ranks to 408 students, a larger group than attended the regular sessions. Fourteen teachers and two librarians were employed that year, one-third of the staff being from outside Whitewater—a precedent for using specialists "from abroad" for summer school. The town was urged to supply children for the model school, and a herd of little victims was rounded up without much trouble because of the interesting programs presented.

The legal establishment of the summer school began in earnest in 1906, and in February, 1907 six-week sessions were authorized for Oshkosh, Superior, and Whitewater. Meanwhile, Professor Watson had turned the principalship of the summer school over to "Daddy" Upham, who went to bat for the program and corralled over 200 students in 1906. The next year he aired his opinions to the Regents:

> I am unable to see any good reason why students who attend Summer School should be asked to pay tuition any more than regular Normal School students during the school year.
>
> . . . I am unable to see the justice of making the teachers of Summer School stand the deficit if there be any. The State gets nothing back from the pupils during the regular school year, while in the case of the Summer School, it gets back about half the expense of the school, and I can see no reason why the teachers should be called upon to work during the most uncomfortable part of the year and then be required to help pay the expense of the session.[69]

The good professor also deplored having to do 10 weeks' work in 6, but in 1910 the new qualification law bequeathed him such a crowd that his other problems were swallowed up in numbers. The new law required six weeks of work at a professional school for a third grade certificate, thus allowing county superintendents to accept normal school standings in place of examinations. Although Salisbury had helped push the law through the Legislature on grounds that it would stimulate prospective country teachers to enter the normal schools, he soon questioned its validity. Attendance fell to 257 in 1911, which caused Professor Upham to conclude that the only thing to be counted upon was irregularity. He commented: "I am not able to offer any very satisfactory explanation. Of course the Rock County Training School opened this summer . . . and the juggling with the Minimum Qualification Law probably had its effect."[70] The advent of the summer school wrote finis to a long and rather turbulent institute chapter, a work which had tapped the fertile resources of Salisbury's mind since 1873.

With changes in the curriculum went library development. At first Salisbury continued the policy of having a student from the junior or senior

class act as librarian, but in 1894 an additional position of stenographer-librarian was created and soon an assistant was added. Grace E. Salisbury, a daughter of the president, was librarian from 1899–1911, and Grace Alvord magnificently performed the duties of assistant for 33 years (1905–1938). Salisbury delighted to report progress in the use of the library and rejoiced in the services of trained personnel which helped make the library a more vital part of the school machinery. "We do not believe that any school in the West has had a better selected or a better used library," he told the Regents in 1900.[71] As usual, the president was speaking of quality, not quantity, for Whitewater was prone to lag behind its contemporaries in numbers of volumes.[72] In comparison with the British libraries he had seen on his visit, Salisbury rated those of the normals excellent. "In only one College in England did I see a library at all comparable to those in every Wisconsin Normal School," he wrote, and even in that one he thought the handling of the books was clumsy. "As a rule," he continued, "the libraries are insignificant in size, according to our standards; the librarian is only 'the keeper of the books' and not the director of research; and the pupils have little stimulus or guidance in forming the library habit."[73]

The evolution of library methods was an interesting complement to curricular development. From 1878 until 1895 students maintained a reading room next to the assembly room where newspapers and periodicals were available at all hours of the day. Reading Room Association records were kept and meetings were held to hear reports of committees on various rules and regulations. Such student initiative was reminiscent of the student day idea of the Arey regime. When the School began to have regular librarians in 1894 the teachers and students together kept the room a few years, until in 1900 it was announced that two trained librarians were in constant attendance to lead all students toward independent book research. The catalog stated: "As all teachers should have skill in handling books, a knowledge of the kind of material found in the leading reference books, the ability to use advantageously periodical and other literature . . . and some idea of library methods, each student is required to spend some time, each Quarter, in the library in the pursuit of this skill and knowledge."[74] In 1903 four library classes were organized, the two senior groups giving attention to library methods, choice of books, book ordering, classifying, accessioning, shelf-listing, and simple indexing. Special work was given to about 20 students who were volunteer workers. In 1909 a schedule of required reading was devised whereby sections of convenient size, each under a designated teacher, pursued different departments of literature and met for recitation 45 minutes each Monday. In 1911, with

the addition of the library-training school annex, the ultimate was achieved —two elective courses of ten weeks each for the training of librarians. This was the beginning of library science as had been outlined by Salisbury when he called for "a regular course in Library Methods . . . designed to prepare teachers . . . for the duties of School Librarians in the public schools of the state."[75] The course was offered for the first time in the summer of 1910 and drew 53 students. Being required for a second grade certificate by the minimum qualification law of that year, it occupied a regular spot on the summer curriculum. By 1909 students were working among 10,000 volumes plus 17 newspapers, 67 periodicals, 2800 pamphlets, and some 4200 pictures (all classified and furnished with a card and catalog). Since 1903 public documents had been acquired, and by 1909 there were over a thousand juvenile literature books in Red Star Library for children. As a public service the Normal published an *Index to Short Stories* in 1906 which had been prepared by Misses Salisbury and Beckwith, the librarian and kindergarten director respectively.

Carefully kept circulation records revealed some interesting deviations in professor personalities. Lucy Baker naturally read books on music, but she also checked out *The Idea of God* and *The Secret of Character Building.* Mary McCutchan, principal of the preparatory department, kept in touch with the simpler elements of human endeavor through the *Five Little Peppers* and the *Green Mountain Boys* in addition to the *Iliad* and *Ben Hur.* She occupied two pages in the circulation record of 1896, as did many others. Kate Mavity spent much time keeping up on the newest ways to teach methods, but, unlike most of her feminine kind, she sought diversion in the *Romance of the Insect World.* Cornelia Rogers found it hard to discard her beloved geography, but once she did check out a book on athletics. President Salisbury also read the *Green Mountain Boys* and ventured to *Life on the Mississippi.* George Shutts, the mathematician, read everything but that subject and delved into English and history, especially biographies of Franklin. Arthur Upham was interested in finance, Browning's Poems, and Uncle Remus stories. Walter Watson, the most avid reader of all (his record was four pages long), liked books about young people and psychology as well as the delicacies of mushrooms, microbes, and moulds. The people who guided the Normal during the Salisbury era kept themselves young in spirit, for at their feet sat a generation to be remembered for their zest for life and learning.

Historically, the enrollment question has been a major element in the development of the institution, and in no era was this more true than in Salisbury's day. Within the range of around 275 to 385 the president played a continuous game of balancing statistics with space and equip-

ment, while his sensitivity about the size of the school mounted. At the end of his first year as president he was able to report the healthy figure of 344 in the normal department, and by 1890 he counted 383.[76] By the quarter-century year of 1893, however, attendance had dropped to a low of 296. Then began again the beating of the bushes for more students, because, as Professor Pray had said before he left in 1894 to become president of Stevens Point, "The woods are full of them."[77] In 1898 the figure soared to 386 and the president handed out a record-breaking 44 diplomas before an audience so packed that he joked about rebuilding the Congregational Church. The reward was the New Front (1897), a Steinway piano, a thousand dollars worth of books, and some laboratory equipment. But no sooner had the new accommodation been dedicated than Salisbury was at work with another aspect of the enrollment dilemma, the law of supply and demand. Said the venerable educator, "It is the proper aim of the Normal Schools to so multiply trained teachers that they may become cheap enough to be within the reach of as many schools as possible, in country as well as in town. It is *impossible* to have too many Normal School graduates if the greater number is not secured by lowering the quality. . . ."[78]

This emphasis of quality over quantity served the president as a defense during enrollment declines. By 1900 ⅔ of the 407 graduates had been products of his 15-year administration to date, and he wished to accentuate that record. In a well constructed essay to the Board in 1904 he put his apologia for the town's greatest industry in an historical context:

> While the immediate environment of the Whitewater school, in point of grounds and surroundings and the character of the community, is all that could reasonably be desired, its larger environment is not wholly favorable to the maintenance of a large membership. The fact that the school is located within a triangle which has its vertices at Milwaukee, Platteville, and Oshkosh, with the State University and two or three colleges also inside the same area, causes us at times to feel that Southern Wisconsin is almost *over*-stocked with educational facilities. Under such competition, this school can not expect to become noted for the greatness of its enrollment. These conditions afford some temptation towards a competitive policy and accommodating standards for admission and graduation. But it has been the fixed policy of the school to set aside all such considerations and aim always at the best possible product in the way of carefully trained teachers.[79]

In his last days the old president saw the enrollment dip below 300 again, but he was certain that the quality had never been higher. He reportedly once said at morning exercises: "Only fine girls come to Normal. A man could be blindfolded, reach out his hand, and any girl he touches would make a fine, helpful wife."[80] Salisbury followed up this sentiment in his 1907 commencement charge to the certification class to teach for five years

and then either return and graduate or get married, concluding that he hoped they would do the latter.[81]

The personal concern of the faculty for the students began the moment they arrived in town and continued until the last graduate was settled in a position. Before the turn of the century the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. groups, together with the Christian Endeavor of the Congregational Church and the Epworth League of the Methodist church, held annual receptions for the students. After 1900 it became customary for the faculty to give a reception and entertainment, a tradition which continued until the enrollment boom of the present decade made it impractical. The preponderance of young ladies led the faculty to decide in 1890 that the school should return to the preceptress idea inaugurated by Mrs. Arey, and the ladies were divided among Mrs. Cooke, Miss Rogers, Miss Hosford, and Miss Cottrell.[82] As in the beginning, "all needful supervision" was exercised "over the manners, morals, and deportment of the students at their boarding places and elsewhere." Ladies and gentlemen were not allowed to board at the same place and students had to be with a family. The president approved the boarding places and kept a list on file in his office. Students were also "held to strict accountability for the observance of all regulations" of the institution, and those disposed to disrespect were "faithfully and cheerfully" required to withdraw.[83] Any student absent or tardy from any recitation had to present to the teacher a written excuse signed by the president. Salisbury became impetuously upset whenever the good name of the School was endangered. President McCaskill of Superior once quelled a rumor that Whitewater boys were intoxicated during a game, assuring his colleague that Superior had "the same high opinion of Whitewater" as ever.[84] That such oversight was expected was clear from the following anxious parental communication about a 15-year-old farm boy:

> We have reports from there he has been out nearly every night during the time he should be in his room, and that the boys met in his room and smoked and played cards. . . . These things I consider is the cause of his failure. Now the reason I sent my boy to Whitewater was I understood that the boys were looked after. . . . Harold was sent to you a good clean boy, had no bad habits whatever, when he left me. And I trusted him to your care. . . . I think it is the duty of the faculty to look after the boys and girls that are away from their parents' influence.[85]

There was also a rule that no minor could attend public dances without the consent of the parents.

The method by which the Salisbury regime chose to indoctrinate the students in manners and morals was by morning talks. In the early days even the half-hour sessions were regimented—three days a week the presi-

dent spoke, once a faculty member rendered account of himself, and there was one senior esssay. The president, a respected Sunday School teacher, told the students how to keep Sunday and warned against the dangers of materialism. A typical talk was that given in April, 1907:

> Although there are but a few weeks left, let us extend our range of vision, until we get a full view of our surroundings. Then if our deeper insight into the possibilities of school life reveals hidden treasures which we might long have enjoyed, but must now relinquish, let us determine to so guide and direct those who come under our charge, that they shall have clearer vision. In doing this we shall fulfill the mission of the Divine Teacher, whose purpose was expressed in these words. "I am come that ye may have life, and have it more abundantly."[86]

As to student habits, Salisbury suggested retirement at 10:30 since one could not get to sleep immediately after studying late. He suggested an early supper to avoid extreme hunger which caused overeating. He advocated a walk after supper, but preferably not toward town where the temptation to load up on candy and peanuts or to talk politics (which kept one from fresh air) would interfere. He opposed studying before supper, which was the proper time to discuss politics. He believed in the rotation of subjects during study because four hours of geography, e.g., "wears the brain on one spot" like "working a pump handle with one arm."[87] Such an innovation as the morning exercises was found in few schools of higher education similar to Whitewater, but the talks greatly impressed the local audience and sealed the whole of campus life with the stamp of earnestness. The first issue of the school paper gave two columns to the practice, and the class of 1902 confessed in their class history that they had "listened with cheerful—yes, smiling—faces to the faculty morning talks" so that the speakers would think they were doing well![88] The quality of the president's presentations so struck his old institute partner, Duncan McGregor, that he pondered before the Wisconsin Teachers' Association whether or not it would be possible to gather them for publication.[89]

Contemporary events commanded as much interest then as now. A forerunner of the modern Whitewater Forum, the lecture course, proved very popular for a while. It was not a permanent innovation probably because of the expense incurred, but some of the programs for 1902 illustrate the variety attained. Russell H. Conwell, in his fortieth year of lecturing, rendered a biography of Daniel Manin, an Italian who was "an American in spirit." Jacob Riis gave an illustrated lecture on "the Battle with the Slum." Dr. Toyokichi, an educated Japanese, spoke in English "as it should be spoken." Miss Maude Lancaster, an English telepathist, gave a program, and Brooke's Marine Band Orchestra took one date. Others spoke on science and travel, and there was a series of special lec-

tures on famous men of history. Such success in obtaining noted persons attested to the past attainments of the School, as well as to its future hopes. In 1896 Roentgen's X-ray, not a year old, was brought to Whitewater for a free exhibition. When President McKinley was shot Salisbury gave a morning talk comparing the assassinations of Lincoln and Garfield, and the rhetoricals that week featured a McKinley program.

In the classroom the students worked hard to avoid the disgrace of flunking. The bell rang at 6:00 p.m. and the streets cleared as everyone rushed to his room for four hours of study beside a kerosene lamp. So engrained into the warp and woof of student life was the practice of diligent study that the spirit persisted after the laws were relaxed. Salisbury's successor wrote:

> Students are not required to spend the time between 7:00 and 10:00 p.m. in the preparation of school work. They are expected to do so, however. In other words, the spirit of the old study hour rule is still in vogue. The bell is still rung at 7:00 o'clock to remind the students that it is time to get to work. A student whose regular work has been carried satisfactorily and whose conduct is good, is at liberty to spend the evening hours in any reasonable way. A student whose work is unsatisfactory is expected to spend three hours in study.[90]

The Salisbury generation had brought the Normal to maturity in terms of its glorious past.

From the outset the normal schools were committed to keep an open door to women, but they were not female seminaries. Salisbury was proud of Wisconsin's policy of co-education and took pleasure in the fact that at Whitewater the men were "numerous enough not to lose their identity, constituting over 30% of the whole enrollment."[91] The prescribed geographical distance between men and women in the Arey administration shrank considerably, and in 1902 there was even a new arrangement of seating in which the boys no longer had to take back seats for the fairer sex. The ideal of cooperation without entanglement was the goal, and the interchange of ideas gave the School an appealing balance. The Gentlemen's Boarding Club of the late 1890's inspired the girls to organize a similar unit at Miss Rogers' to meet the perennial problems of finance. Although the state paid half the price of a normal school education, many had to interrupt their studies to teach or work on farms. It was law in those days that a boy's time belonged to his father until he was twenty-one. Professor Kinsman told his class that he paid his father for his twentieth year so that he could attend school.[92] Lack of funds gave Salisbury another explanation for the fluctuating enrollment statistics, for few normal students were from the wealthy class. The school year was divided into quarters to facilitate opportunity to work.

Despite financial and academic hurdles, the students had prolific ideas for organizations and activities. From its initial days the Whitewater Normal had been the scene of literary activity which, like so many other developments, reached new heights during the era. It became a time-honored custom for the societies to sponsor the reception for students and faculty at the beginning of the year, and by the 1890's this had evolved into an orientation week later managed by the Girls Organization and the Normal Brotherhood. In the history of the literary societies the story of normal social life in general was unveiled. At first the Lincolnians and Young Ladies operated in quiet competition at opposite ends of the hall. In the more congenial atmosphere of the gay nineties, however, the two groups began to invade each other's sanctum. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was so interesting to the gentlemen that they decided to join the ladies in their debate of the subject, a formidable move which led to a deplorable state of affairs—more L.L.S. members were found visiting the Y.L.L.S. than were in attendance at their own meetings.[93] Such spasmodic attendance of the Lincolnians precipitated a plea from the faithful remnant: "It is a sad reality in dealing with human nature that men feel so lightly the claims of an organization which they should support. Don't leave your society, boys; if it is hot or if there is pleasure elsewhere, there is profit in the L.L.S. work."[94] This plaintive call to loyalty was an admission of weakness, the prophetic echo of a passing age; and although the societies continued to enjoy popularity for another decade and to exist (on the part of the women) until the 1920's, oratory and sports began to encroach upon the endeavor that had once reflected with distinction the temper of the institution.

The joint meetings precipitated the birth of a mixed group called the Athenaeum (1885–86), whose short life was perceptively described as follows:

> Bashful and timid young men who have never taken part in public work, shrink from making themselves ridiculous before their lady friends. The same thing might be said of the young ladies unused to such work, and as a consequence of this embarrassment and lack of freedom, the "smart alecks" come to the front too conspicuously, while the more modest . . . who need the work most retire into the background.[95]

In the late '90's another attempt was made to amalgamate the sexes by dividing the school alphabetically into two societies of equal numbers and strength. The new groups, Aureola and Philomathia by name, showered the calendar with activities, held joint contests that drew crowds of over 300 people, and even produced an orchestra and a male quartet. But before long the women in Philo had overpowered the men, and in March, 1902, President Cox resigned with 15 of his colleagues.[96] Aureola continued

as a mixed group and the men who did not wish to swell its ranks revived the Lincolnian Society, much to the delight of its loyal alumni. Wrote the president's son, Oliver, '92:

> It has been a source of regret to all Lincolnian members that the society had passed out of existence. . . . I believe that I am safe in saying that the old students have more pleasant memories connected with that society than with any one feature of our Normal experiences, and many a man today owes his ability to go before a public gathering as presiding officer to the training received there. Long life and good health to the Lincolnian Literary Society.[97]

The revival of the Lincolnians and the vigorous spirit of Aureola not only revitalized the inter-society debates but inspired the girls to credit themselves both in the eyes of President Salisbury and in the inter-normal contests of the World War I period.

The popular oratorical contests originated in the gay nineties, and the Inter-Normal Oratorical League founded in 1896 was somewhat a Whitewater offspring. It all began in 1894 when Milwaukee came to Whitewater for a big debate, followed in 1895 by a challenge to Platteville from the Lincolnians. That debate was held in the Congregational Church on May 15, 1896. Platteville won, but Whitewater, sensing that something permanent had been added to the accomplishments of the era, "placed President Salisbury on their shoulders and carried him away with the celebration."[98] The next day delegates met and organized the state association with Salisbury as Whitewater's representative. A local Oratorical Association, composed of members from the literary societies, managed the inter-society and inter-normal debates and the annual oratorical and inter-normal contests. The first debate under the auspices of the state association took place on schedule in March, 1897 at Oshkosh. The joint session of the societies was postponed for the year in order to prepare for the contest, the first indication of the dominance of the latter over the former and of the dawning day of modern forensics. When Whitewater's representative returned with the honors, President Salisbury, Professor Shutts, and Professor Watson were hoisted upon the shoulders of the young men. It was reported that "Shutts looked perfectly happy and at home, the President with his 220 pounds looked as if he could stand it if the boys could, while Watson, though much the slightest of all, looked the most unsafe." Thus the procession went normalward.[99] In May the honorable debator, William Kelley, went with Professor Humphrey to the inter-state contest at Emporia, Kansas where he placed second to Iowa.

Along with sports and the exchange of school newspapers, the oratoricals kept the normals in vibrant touch with each other and boosted their individual morales. Before the Whitewater delegates journeyed to Supe-

rior in 1908, for example, a band concert was staged in Normal Hall before about 250 people to obtain money to send the band to help Easton Johnson, '09, win the contest. The basketball team also went to do honors for Whitewater. A crowd sent this army of good will off at the depot with a bang, but the ball team was beaten and Easton won fifth place. Whitewater's young star and future lawyer rose to the occasion, however, by commenting, "I would rather get fifth place for Whitewater Normal than first place for Superior," a determination which yielded him second place at River Falls the following year.[100] Another feature of the debate age was that the normals became centers for high school district oratorical contests. Whitewater's district encompassed ten Lyceum (local) leagues: Evansville, Janesville, Milton Juction, Fort Atkinson, Poynette, Sun Prairie, Cambria, Brodhead, Fox Lake, and Lake Mills. This was the historical antecedent of the present practice of acting host to area high school debaters.

Akin to the platform was the stage, and dramatics attained its first popularity around the turn of the century. In 1902 the senior class presented pantomimes for their class day exercises and the next year the play, "The New Hamlet," was presented. This grew to be a highlight of commencement week, and soon there came the colorful campus processional. This pleasing innovation was begun in 1908 and performed on the eastern slope of the grounds before several hundred spectators. Some 250 young people, mostly women, went through artistic figures to the rhythm of marches under the direction of Miss Yeakle of the physical education department.[101] The third processional in the history of the School was the most elaborate. Twelve groups representing the twelve months were dressed in costume and did interpretations of the months. The processionals soon grew into pageants, which remained popular for the next two decades. The first such ambitious program was the Hansel and Gretel nursery tale given in 1913 before a crowd of 2,000 people seated in the Normal's open-air amphitheater, the east lawn. On the lighter side was the annual minstrel show produced jointly by faculty and students for the social and financial benefit of the school.

Throughout the period the student who was not on a committee was a rarity. The juniors decorated for commencement, an activity that began in September, and some members of that class began a Normal scrapbook which was placed in the library. In the early years of the era a prohibitionist organization was founded as a result of having sent a student to the National Inter-Collegiate Prohibition Convention at Cleveland in 1887. Student government failed to take root because faculty restrictions made voluntary organization to preserve decorum superfluous, but the young people did make their wishes known through petitions like that of 1887 to

have the west walk cleaned. Interest in politics gave birth to a Republican Club in 1888, and in 1900 about 25 young men joined the First Voters' League of the city.

By far the most significant non-academic organization was promoted in the interest of religion. Known as "the Associations," the Y.W.C.A. and Y.M.C.A. filled positions later assumed by student government groups and the denominational student groups. Ladies outnumbered gentlemen at the Normal, although the Y.M. held regular joint meetings with its predominant sister association. The first *Royal Purple* (November, 1901) gave an entire page to explaining that Whitewater claimed the honor of being the first normal in Wisconsin to organize Associations.[102] When Salisbury took office in 1885 the students were a regular part of the local city organizations. A report for January, 1886 showed 100 students present at a joint prayer meeting, one-third of the school's population. Conditions of membership stipulated connection with an evangelical church, not a difficult requirement for Salisbury's youth. It is not surprising that the campus was home to the first student Y.W.C.A. in the state. "The object of the Christian Association," recorded the first *Minneiska* (1909), "is to promote growth in grace and Christian fellowship among its members, and aggressive Christian work, especially by and for students; to train them for Christian service, and lead them to devote their lives to Jesus Christ, not only in distinctly religious pursuits, but in secular pursuits also."[103] Inspiration toward right living was the goal promoted by the devotional meetings on Tuesdays at 4:00 and Sunday afternoons at 3:00. Students led the weekday sessions and faculty or pastors spoke on Sundays. The secular aspect of their work consisted of student orientation and publication of the handbook until that service was assumed by the office of the dean of women in 1922. During the summer letters were written to prospective students, assuring them of the desirability of W.S.N.S. as a choice of school and offering assistance in securing accommodations. In 1902 the fourteenth annual state convention of the Y.W. brought 120 delegates to Whitewater. Since the youth groups of the Congregational and Methodist Churches had members in common with the Associations, both were strengthened, the latter for the day when the former had passed over the horizon of popularity. On a broader scale, the state Y.W. and Y.M. conventions kept local groups in touch with the outside world and even took them to Toronto in 1902 for the student Volunteer Convention on missions and Bible study. The Associations formed a significant link between the individual piety of the Arey regime and the broad social consciousness of the gay nineties which advanced the gospel of works. While Jane Addams was establishing Hull House and Carry Nation was putting the hatchet to saloons, the nor-

mal girls of the Y.W.C.A. were passing out popcorn to new students; on the other hand, while D. L. Moody was preaching that a better society could be generated only from better men, the faithful at Whitewater Normal were encouraging obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ as a personal Savior by the memorization of a Bible verse daily. The maturity of the Salisbury era can be seen nowhere more clearly than in the way students voluntarily associated to redeem the good of the past by clipping the briers of evil from the path of the future. In none of the state normals did this work thrive as at Whitewater, an old Puritan stronghold.

Another manifestation of mature student incentive was the advent of the *Royal Purple.* Established in 1901 as a monthly magazine by The Royal Purple Association, the self-sustaining venture gave Salisbury occasion to rejoice after a year of publication that the modest journal "has proved a creditable and useful adjunct to the life of the school."[104] The first editor, Charles B. Woodstock, had been in newspaper work and approached his task as a businessman, calling for the support of the student body, faculty, and alumni. A student was president of the *R. P.* Association and a professor headed the Board of Directors. An "Exchange" column printed criticisms and comments from other student papers. Most of the early editors were young ladies who took pride in the literary quality of the monthly. After 1913 when the paper was converted into a weekly newspaper, more space was given to current events. After ten years as a weekly, the enterprise yielded to the desire of many who missed the magazine and in 1923 began publishing both a weekly newspaper and a quarterly magazine. Only the weekly survived, because the magazine was snowed under by a host of other publications by departments, organizations, and general officials. An interesting feature of the early days was that special issues were given to important events like commencement, the declamatory contests, or the doings of the junior class.

The yearbook, called the *Minneiska* after an Indian name for Whitewater, was a late addition of the era. The first volume was published in 1909 by the junior class, but the next year the worthy seniors decided to take over and, after smoking the pipe of peace with the juniors by allowing them a share on the staff, went to work under the able direction of Professor Upham's daughter, Ethel. To the credit of the Salisbury generation, both the *Royal Purple* and the *Minneiska* have rendered continuous service to the institution despite vicissitudes beyond the control of the wigwam on the Hill.

The sports history of the Salisbury generation was an illustrious counterpart of its academic life. During the Arey regime the normal boys (if not the girls) doubtless lost more than one baseball in the oats field near

Old Main; but that was before the day of organized athletics. "The most striking change in student life in the late 1880's and the 1890's," wrote the historians of the University of Wisconsin, "was the rise of intercollegiate athletics."[105] When the normals swung into athletic activity, therefore, they were following a trend that led them into a competitive new world far distant from the archaic female seminary. The Whitewater boys began warming up for football in the late 1880's, working among themselves with whomever they could find. In November, 1889 there was a game with Delavan Academy at the city park and a small admittance fee was charged. A year later the boys met the University to give Madison its largest score on record (106–0) and Whitewater its first injection of rugged determinism.

Prior to organized sports, athletic propensities at the Normal were vindicated at open sessions and field day exercises, beginning in 1889. There were club drills, wand drills, fencing contests, dumbbell exercises, calisthenics, races, tugs of war, vaulting demonstrations, and games. Serving as a bridge connecting the old physical training department to the modern age of competitive sports, the field day contests drew large crowds and created a sympathetic atmosphere for the advent of sports. In 1891 an Athletic Club, the predecessor of the Athletic Association, began to build up the physical education department apparatus. "Then was heard the wail of the imprudent," wrote an alumnus, "among whom were some of the faculty. One of the "most conservative" was heard to say, 'Had to keep my clothes on for a week—those rings must be too fah apaht.'"[106] The field day that year was well conducted, well attended, and well rewarded by prizes authorized by Regent Johnson. President Salisbury gloried in persistence and compared the captain of the baseball club to General Taylor, of whom Santa Anna said that "the old fool didn't know when he was beaten."[107] In the spring of 1891 the football team began to practice occasionally after school, but the fire in the North Wing in April dampered interest for the season and it appeared that baseball might dominate as in the decade before. The rather unprofessional competition between the two sports was demonstrated in October, 1892 when someone disrupted practice by cutting large holes in the football. Baseball did not triumph, however, and it was 1893 before there was renewed interest in that sport.

An integral part of initiating the sports program was the adoption of the school colors, the constructive accomplishment of October, 1891. A terse report announced the decision: "To have school colors is all the rage. With becoming ceremonious dignity the school voted purple as ours."[108] In 1897, however, someone got the idea that purple did not show up well, with the following results:

25. *The Football Team, 1903.* Championships came early in Whitewater's history and have never ceased to be considered milestones in institutional accomplishment.

26. *The Band, 1907.* Music, like sports, came into its own during the Salisbury generation, thanks to dedicated teachers who went outside their fields.

THE SALISBURY GENERATION PROMOTED EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

> Royal Purple is no longer the Normal School color. For six or seven years it has followed the Normal through its victories and defeats and for that reason all were loath to change, but on several occasions of late it has proved to be unfitted for services as a school color because of its obstinacy in yielding itself for decoration purposes. It was therefore thought best to make a change; by vote of the school it was decided to adopt instead Normal red.[109]

But the change to red proved to be an unhappy one, and in 1898 the purple was returned. The school paper of 1908 uttered a rhythmic vindication of its sufficiency, even in those days when no championships had been forthcoming:

> If you ask us why our mother
> Took the purple for her choice,
> And why each loyal brother
> At its beauty should rejoice;
> 'Tis because this color choosing
> Wise monarchs wear with pride;
> And when our boys seem losing,
> The Purple turns the tide.[110]

By 1895 the sports program was off the ground. Whitewater met Madison High School on October 5th for an honorable defeat of 12–0, but a step forward was taken at that time in the practice of selling season tickets for home games. On the 11th the team went to Platteville for another beating, but on the 25th Carroll was defeated 30–0. It was said that the coach, Mr. Aspinwall, played an excellent game, catching one opponent "within a step of the goal" and throwing him "back into the field."[111] The student coaches of those days made it a practice to jump into the games where needed; the normals had no authority to hire regular athletic directors until 1912. In November Whitewater beat Stevens Point 10–0, causing the tin horns to sound in the streets. On Monday morning the School saluted the team with the Chautauquan salute, which President Salisbury said should be used on very state occasions.[112] The Whitewater Normal was ready to meet the challenges of its first official year, 1896.

Football originated, as Professor Shutts recalled, in the early '90's when a group of men came into his recitation room "to talk athletics," at which meeting it was decided to organize a football team and hire a coach.[113] President Salisbury, whose eye followed football and rhetoricals with the same scrutiny, revealed the historical importance of the new venture in a five-page letter to President Pray of Stevens Point, in which the Whitewater executive aired a patriotic defense of the entire Whitewater community. Pray, an old colleague, had written Salisbury on October 20, 1896 that the Whitewater team had played too rough and that there had been an accusation against Stevens Point in the Sunday *Sentinel.* Salisbury tried to allay the ruffled feelings of his worthy opponent by remind-

ing him that football was no "child's game" and that it was unfortunate that a biased official was in charge. As an eye-witness, Salisbury had noticed early in the first half of the game that the official had made decisions in favor of his own men, which discrimination incensed Whitewater to play rougher. Coming boldly to the point he told Pray:

> It seems to me, Mr. Pray, that I find a vein of bitterness in your letter, against Whitewater. I do not know whose phrase you are quoting, "finest people in the state," but you know the people of Whitewater very well. You know that there are all sorts of people here, good, bad, and indifferent. You know the Whitewater school. I hope the spirit of unfairness is not more regnant here than elsewhere. . . . I shall not let this matter drop here, so far as our own men are concerned; and perhaps the whole incident may bear profitable fruit for the future, even though the present situation is unfortunate and unhappy.[114]

The magnitude of the misunderstanding attested to the impact football had already made upon the life of the Normal. So popular was the game that battle ball, an imitation which could be played indoors, became popular in the winter of 1896–97. Ministers even preached sermons about "the Christian athlete" and one who had been a star in his college days invited the Whitewater eleven to tea.[115] Competition between the Normal and the local high school stimulated the spirits of both institutions.

From the beginning football had its critics, which made its defenders realize that so reckless an activity would never gain the favor of sensitive souls unless legitimated by rules, constitutions, and logic. The first football constitution for Whitewater read: "We, members of the S.N.S. and residents of the village of Whitewater, in order to form a more perfect organization for playing foot-ball in a systematic manner . . . do hereby adopt this constitution for the Whitewater Foot-ball Association."[116] Any male person over 13 could be a member if elected by a ⅔ majority. In the first issue of the *Royal Purple* (November, 1901) an irritated fan stated some "facts about foot ball" to clear up the misconception that the sport was like prize fighting. Putting to use the rhetorical propensities drawn from him when in academic garb, he explained:

> Finally, to turn from the present and transient benefits of the game to its lasting and more universal virtues, we are all reaching toward some ideal, striving for some goal defended by strong and vigilant opponents. Each must put forth untiring efforts, endure pain and weariness to attain his ideal. . . . Foot ball prepares one for just these things—trains him for life's trials by teaching him to struggle unfalteringly against great odds and attain ascendancy over all opponents, physical and spiritual, material and non-material.[117]

If football could do these things for the individuals involved, it unquestionably belonged to the program of a teacher-training institution.

Championships began early in Whitewater's football career; in 1897

Oshkosh went down 30–0, Platteville 16–0, and Beloit 4–0. A Platteville victory brought special joy to Whitewater; the *Royal Purple* of 1925 boasted that since 1896 (they preferred to forget 1895) Whitewater had scored 270 points against Platteville as opposed to its 59 against Whitewater.[118] To defeat the rough men of the West gave the pious Yankees something to write home about, although the basketball record did not render much honor to Whitewater's sturdy ancestry. Although 1898, 1900, and 1903 were the only other years of championships during the era, Whitewater did manage to defeat its chief opponent each year until 1911, when four inches of snow was blamed for the defeat.[119] A big honor came in 1898 when the local team was placed in the University of Wisconsin schedule and was complimented by the *Daily Cardinal.* The 1903 championship so moved the administration that in place of the regular morning exercises for November 12th a mass football meeting was held; and by a vote of 212 to 12 the sport was sustained by popular opinion and $80 was subscribed by the students toward its support.[120] This set a precedent for giving morning time for pep meetings prior to games. From time to time the ladies were criticized for their lack of interest, and after the popularity of the sport was established, laxity in so dominant a segment of school life was officially condemned:

> What is "the attraction" that keeps the boys at the Normal? "Foot-ball," says the athlete, "there wouldn't be a boy in school if it wasn't for foot-ball."
>
> Advice to the girls;—Uphold the Foot Ball Team and you will contribute indirectly to "the attraction" that keeps the boys in the Normal.[121]

The *Royal Purple* of 1906 tried another slant:

> Why shouldn't girls yell?
> Is it not a benefit physically?
> Is it not a demonstration of class spirit?
> Is it not an inspiration to victory?
> Is it not an indication of culture?[122]

The girls got the point and by the end of the era were proving their loyalty by organizing boosters' clubs.

After the turn of the century a series of developments enhanced the sports program. President Salisbury purchased a five-acre tract adjacent to the school grounds which saved time formerly consumed in travel to and from the city park. In 1903 the Athletic Association awarded the official "W" to four men and in 1908 the faculty passed an academic ruling requiring 75% in three full studies of current work before entering contests. Although too late to thrill Salisbury, two milestones were passed in 1913—the formation of the Normal Athletic Conference and the securing of a $10,000 appropriation by Regent Hamilton to put the athletic field into

proper condition. It was graded, a track laid out, and a concrete grandstand built "to hold as large a crowd as will ever use it." In the opinion of the *Register,* "nothing can do more for athletics than such a field; nothing can better advertise a school than athletic teams."[123] Regent Hamilton's memory was perpetuated in the christening of the field, the only sad aspect being that an old oak antedating the coming of the white man by a century was sacrificed at the altar of progress.

The impact of football broadened the sports trail to make room for baseball, basketball, and tennis on the official roster after 1900. The city had three baseball teams against which there was exciting competition before the intercollegiate day of that sport, and on the varsity level things were kept lively by faculty-senior competition. In 1909 the team appeared in new suits and the next year beat such schools as St. John's Military Academy, Carroll College, and Northwestern University. Basketball received a boon in March, 1902 when the president sanctioned a game with Milton College, but interest was slow developing and the basketball boys could obtain use of the gym for only one hour during the week. In 1909 the real tide was turned when "a glorious victory" was won over Platteville. The lasting contribution of basketball was in its by-products—the building up of healthy class rivalry, the money obtained for the Athletic Association, and the exercise given to the ladies as they adopted the sport. Although the history of tennis went back as far as football, its importance was limited to the fellowship between students it fostered and the campus rivalry it engendered. A men's tennis club, of which Professor Watson was president for years, was already active in 1898.

As the ladies had followed the men in forming a literary society, so did they in athletics. In November, 1896 they celebrated the establishment of an association by giving a reception to the faculty and the gentlemen's association. "If the ladies are as successful in their athletics as at entertaining," commented an attendant, "we bespeak for them a successful career."[124] Women faculty were honorary members, Miss Baker and Miss Mavity being initial supporters. Basketball especially interested the women, and two teams were going by 1899. The girls soon edged their way into the "basketball notes" where they emphasized high academic prerequisites. At the first of the season the games were a little complicated for the spectator, for sometimes three fouls were made before the referee had time to blow the whistle once; but the girls learned to play together and love each other while fighting for their classes.

Although Whitewater's athletic history resembled that of other schools, it bore the mark of the Salisbury generation in particular. It reflected the earnestness of the era, advanced the close cooperation between those

taught and those who did the teaching, manifested the pride which the town took in the school, and demonstrated a fair share of leadership among the sister normals. As far back as 1893 there had been a progressive look at sports. Wrote an alumnus, "Now that we have the best gymnasium of any school in the Northwest, we shall not seem optimistic in saying that the pupils who come in future years will have opportunities second to none for securing a healthy body with a well trained mind.[125] In 1901 Professors Shutts and Watson wrote to the normals requesting them to send a delegate to an athletic contest where they could arrange for an inter-normal athletic league.[126] When the Normal Athletic Conference became a reality a dozen years later, there was special rejoicing at Whitewater. In 1910 a seal was established for the purpose of distinguishing Whitewater from other schools. The emblem chosen was that of the state with the words "Whitewater State Normal" arched around it and the date of the founding at the bottom. The Minneiska of 1910 bore the seal, but others did not follow suit and it became customary to use the more simple design of Salisbury's Colorado blue spruce, the Tower, or (in recent decades) Willie Warhawk.

In addition to the advent of sports, the gay nineties lavished its vigor in other activities. Washington's birthday was observed with due patriotism, while on Halloween the town was painted red. It became a rule that two parties or picnics a year were permitted, plus the entertainments the seniors gave the juniors and the sophomores the freshmen. When both ladies and gentlemen were present, one or more chaperones were required. While there was time for parties, jokes, and peanuts, the faculty made it quite clear that study hours and the work of the literary societies should not give way except in rare cases for social and other events. Dancing, the worldly amusement which had caused the uproar in Whitewater's early village history, was an accepted entertainment in the 1890's, although dances were not allowed on school nights and it was the president's responsibility to see that parents' wishes were carried out in cases of students under age. Salisbury's standards unceasingly trumpeted the clarion call of the founders—"that which becomes a teacher"—and the well chaperoned social occasions did not conflict with such admonitions as that given to the class of 1895: "Keep thy heart with all diligence for out of it are the issues of life."[127]

When Salisbury's alumni went forth, therefore, they had imbibed a pleasant mixture of work and play. While the president was never able to boast of numbers, Whitewater graduates were numerous enough to make an impact upon the schools of the state. In his first report to the Regents in 1886 he told them that 151 had graduated from the full course and 223

had completed the elementary course.[128] Of the former, 45 had taught every year since graduation and only 7 had not taught; of the latter, 70 had taught every year since certification and 18 had not taught. Statistics for 1910, after he had served a quarter century as chief executive, showed 905 graduates (664 women and 241 men) and 699 licentiates (545 women and 154 men).[129] This meant that Salisbury had sent forth 754 of all the School's graduates and 475 of its licentiates. He took special notice of the fact that alumni were scattered from the Atlantic to the Pacific; and since the president those days acted as chief alumni officer, he caused the first alumni directory to be published in 1905. The alumni meetings during the era were dedicated to greater cooperation among the graduates and devotion to the school. Stability, culture, and service became the watchwords. One alumnus wrote from Oregon in 1907: "Isn't Arbor Day far enough away so we could contribute something in the way of shrubs or trees to the Normal lawn . . . send me a little fatherly advice and I'll take it kindly."[130] An alumna recalled:

> I cannot do justice to President Albert Salisbury for his interest in our welfare; for his high code of honor; for the ideals he held before us, and observed himself. I wonder at the thought and the struggle he put forth to turn crude youth, many of whom in that day were inexperienced with life beyond the little communities in which they had reached maturity, into upstanding men and women.[131]

When the president, the personification of the age, was gone, the alumni planned a memorial to his memory at the June meeting, 1911, of which President A. H. Yoder wrote:

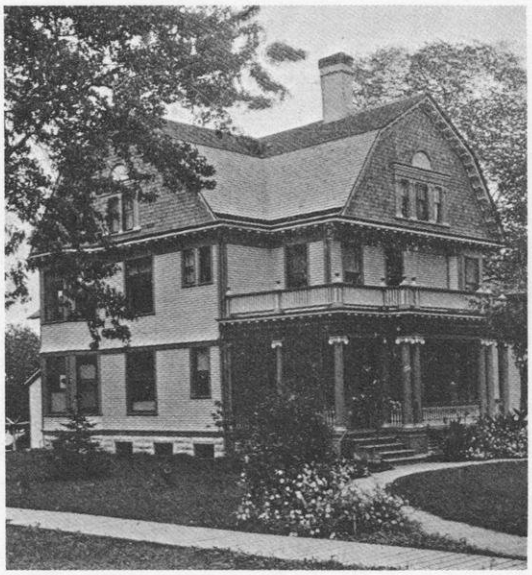
> The alumni of this institution have united to show their love and respect for him in a memorial bronze bust located on the front campus near the main entrance of the building. Forming an appropriate background is a beautiful Colorado blue spruce, which he brought from its native state and planted with his own hands. The figure faces the southeast walk as though to greet the students of the years to come as he had welcomed students for more than a quarter of a century.[132]

It was fitting that the memorial should draw attention to the School's physical plant, because that was one of his main concerns. In the erection of buildings and the planting of trees the institution put down some material roots for which the era became distinguished. Historically, town and gown had taken equal pride in the looks of the place; therefore, the Salisbury generation had the fullest cooperation of the community, a spirit that was continually nourished. An interesting duty of the Normal bell was performed on the evening of July 18, 1881 when it rang to remind the inhabitants that another night blooming cereus had opened at Mrs. Crittenden's.[133] Such attention was given the details of nature that everyone

rejoiced when the front lawn was covered with fertilizer in the fall to insure a good growth the next spring, when a beautiful revolving sprinkler added to the attractiveness of the grounds, when the president's double Chinese narcissus performed admirably, when a large tank filled with manure and dirt was constructed as a home for an Egyptian lotus of rare beauty, and when an Arbor Day celebration yielded $16 for the purchase of trees and plants to adorn the grounds, all events of 1889. By that date Salisbury had so improved the arboretum that he offered a prize to the botany student who would make out the most complete list of trees at the Normal.[134] So versed was Salisbury himself that Professor Chamberlin consulted him about the nomenclature of the U.S. Geological folios. He scolded the Methodists for destroying a rare sycamore on their lot, and one can imagine the humiliation of two women in town who boasted of transplanting their verbenas early, only to discover they had favored some catnip. The Regents looked kindly upon the campaign to beautify the campus, which by 1900 was home to over 100 species of trees and shrubs. The oak grove behind the building, destined to be the home of the log cabin in 1907 and of the little red schoolhouse in 1966, had a special place in the president's heart. Prior to 1885 the janitors had burned off the grounds to get rid of the leaves, which destroyed most of the indigenous undergrowth. Salisbury stopped the practice and tended the young burr oaks with his pocket knife.[135] With its usual modesty the *Register* reported in 1891: "No other school in the state can show anything equal to it. The worth of well kept grounds as an educational influence has such a valuable illustration that the other schools will probably get the benefit of it in time."[136] In 1908 a *Hand-Book of the Arboretum* was published, classifying over 150 species (nearly all that would survive in the climate).

As for the building program, the greatest year historically was 1891. While Salisbury was urging upon the Board the need for a gymnasium, the great fire robbed the School of its North Wing just 15 years after its erection in the centennial year of 1876. The account of the fire became a saga of student loyalty and administrative stability. It was Monday morning, April 27, 1891, and a strong, cold wind was blowing out of the northwest to annoy the ambitious students who wished to catch that last minute of study before the 8:00 o'clock bell. Then the bell rang, but it was not the Normal bell; and before the students reached the streets the words "Normal is afire!" reached their ears. H. D. Keyes, '92, immortalized the happening:

> I know not, and I care not,—this old Normal is a part of ourselves; it has entered into our lives and given us growth and wealth. The words quickened our steps, and the distance to the Normal was never more quickly covered.



27. *The Salisbury Home.* This landmark at Graham and Main yielded to the new Library.

28. *The Salisbury Memorial.* Old alumni remember him with joy, the young with respect.

29. *The Front Lawn at the turn of the Century.* The Salisbury generation went to great lengths to promote the sheer beauty of the campus.

PRESIDENT SALISBURY HAD MANY KINDS OF MEMORIALS

> Incredible as the words seemed, one glance sufficed to confirm them; for great clouds of smoke were rolling over the roof we had looked at so many times and with such a variety of feelings. We did not know how much we loved the old brick structure until we saw it in the hands of an enemy that is no respecter of places, an enemy that invades alike the mart and the school, the palace and the hut.[137]

While firemen battled with the water pressure, some attempted to tear up the seats in the assembly room and "some began to remove the doors, expecting, no doubt, if the building were burned a new one would be built to fit the old doors."[138] At 8:30 a Milwaukee resident observed that the whole fire department of that city could not save the Normal. Fortunately, the wind blew the flames away from the main structure. The tower caught, but the men on the bell floor below confined the damage wholly to its upper part. By 9:00 o'clock the fire was under control but it took two more hours of work to complete the job. The crowd of citizens who had assembled were as delighted as the Normal family that only the wing was destroyed, and the "fire boys" were honored with dinner at the Walworth Hotel. Damage ran between 10 and 15 thousand dollars. On May 6th the Regents met Governor Peck at the Walworth Hotel to settle with the insurance companies and to plan for rebuilding. It was voted to give the fire department $200 for its services and to build the gymnasium immediately.

Meanwhile, everyone worked the rest of the day to get things back under the roof, and it looked as though school would have to be suspended for the rest of the year. The next morning, however, the flag (Whitewater's first genuine banner obtained only a year before) floated from the staff on the roof and school was assembled to declare a two-day academic moratorium for housecleaning. Salisbury told the students that calamities gave opportunity to exercise forbearance, after which he read the 145th Psalm.[139] The manner in which order was restored and the esprit d' corps of the students demonstrated their affection for "Major General" Salisbury. An interesting result of the catastrophe was that the School rose to the dignity of having an "annex" which was Mrs. Camp's house on Prairie Street. At the 1891 commencement Salisbury told the graduates that no fire could burn the Normal School, a statement that was substantiated materially when the new North Wing was accompanied by the new gym before the end of the year. By way of perpetuating the memory of the fire Professor Shutts organized seven fire squads among the men after the turn of the century, and in 1906 a regular fire drill was inaugurated at the insititution.

In 1895 the next improvement, steam heating, was added to the plant. Salisbury was anxious to engage the services of the Johnson Electric Service Company, having great faith in Professor Johnson's ideas on heating

and ventilating.[140] In 1897 the New Front was added, putting a rectangle 42 x 70 across the south side of Old Main. The portico in front and the columns of Bedford stone greeted all who would enter. The east side of the basement furnished a suite of seven living rooms for the janitor and the west side became the gentlemen's cloakroom, bicycle room, etc. Upstairs the assembly room was enlarged and on the east was the new library. The celebration for the new addition brought about 700 people who watched President Salisbury speak from a platform from which he could almost see the farm on which he was born. Aside from the enlargement of the boiler rooms at the north end of the building and the addition of a large coal bin and bathrooms in 1905–06, the Normal received no more appropriations for building until almost the end of the era. In fact, the Board passed a resolution in 1902 to the effect that attendance at the normal schools should be limited to the facilities afforded by the size of the buildings.[141] On that score Salisbury had nothing to worry about. In 1911 the library and training school addition was completed, thus finishing the West Wing to its present proportions. The only other landmark of a modern nature was the president's house. Ready for occupancy in the fall of 1898, it contained adjustable book shelves and displayed from cellar to garret the practical and cultural tastes of its owner. This venerable building was razed in the summer of 1964 to make room for the present library addition, a victim of the inevitable progress of which its once proud owner was a noted exponent. Interest in the buildings and grounds made men like W. B. (Billy) Rieder, in whose hands their care rested for a record 46 years (1898–1944), an integral part of the institution.

The most unique physical addition of the era was the acquisition of the log cabin in 1907. Built by Gulick Halversen of the town of Richmond in 1846, the cabin was moved to its present site in the grove behind Old Main in the fall of 1907. It had been viewed by the president and Professor Upham, according to the memory of the latter's daughter, and there the three of them (the professor's horse, Nancy, was in the company) decided upon the virtues of the structure as an appendage for the campus. It was taken down piece by piece, and carefully labeled for reconstruction during the homecoming season. A dollar campaign was staged and homecoming invitations were acknowledged by alumni and friends in the form of donations. Typical of the response to furnish this museum of pioneer life was that of a member of Mr. Halversen's family of three girls and two boys who were born in the house; at her own expense she sent an old chair which could be traced back to 1846 and explained: "I was about five years old when we moved to the then village of Whitewater. I recall many instances of pioneer days told to me by my parents, and the many hard-

ships they endured through those days."[142] Probably the first official use of the appurtenance was on November 26th when the faculty gathered to "warm the house." Supper was served from 6:30 to 7:30, songs were sung, pieces spoken, and stories told until after 9:00—a late hour for pioneers.[143] The cabin became a kind of clubhouse for the faculty, and students loved to picnic on the grounds and roast wieners in the fireplace. In December hundreds responded to a reception held for the townspeople. One elderly lady recalled weddings, religious meetings, parties, funerals, and births at that house, and President Salisbury noted two tin lanterns which reminded him of when he stood in the barn with such a lantern so that his father might curry the horses for an early morning trip.[144] When the city celebrated its centennial in 1937 there was talk of moving the cabin to the rear of the lot west of Bassett House, property belonging to the city. Faculty, students, and alumni opposed the idea and gave evidence that, contrary to the idea of some townspeople, there was still interest in the old structure. "The log cabin is one of the first places they want to visit," President C. M. Yoder said of alumni, "and not a week passes but what we receive a request for the key that some class in the grades may go out there and take a lesson in pioneer conditions."[145] In 1955 the fifth and sixth grades took an inventory of the building and counted 23 items in the attic and 82 on the main floor. In 1962 another suggestion to move the cabin was abandoned by the Whitewater Historical Society and a bit of face-lifting was done to the landmark instead. The log cabin became another symbol of the fact that, high on the hill of time, the Salisbury generation stood waving to the past and beckoning to the future.

In 1893, according to Salisbury's calculation, the Normal came of age, and it was then that the first great celebration of its history was staged. In his editorial for the *First Quarter Century* history of the school, he explained:

> The Whitewater Normal School filled up its first quarter-century in April, 1893, and celebrated the event with considerable *eclat* in connection with the Commencement following. . . . The addresses and sketches then presented, together with much other material gathered before and since, are here offered in book form to those whose interest in the school will make it welcome as a remainder of past relations and experiences; and also as a collection of data, gathered before time's effacing finger has made it all too late, for future reference or elaboration.[146]

The celebration took place on June 22nd, the day following commencement. Alumni who had come for the occasion enjoyed a special banquet addressed by S. R. Alden, '70, Editor Coe, Professor Rockwood, Senator Weeks, and the president himself. Railroads offered reduced fares for

the week, which contributed to the unusually large crowd. This local event coincided with the Columbian Exposition at the world's fair in Chicago, out of respect for which Salisbury published his *Historical Sketch of Normal Instruction in Wisconsin.* Whitewater offered at least 25 volumes of school work for the exhibit, covering everything from the grades in the model school to Salisbury's theory of teaching. Students were urged to attend the fair, and their obedience to the invitation gave the president an excuse for the enrollment decline during the biennium: "Of the students in attendance the past year, nearly 7/8 had attended the Fair, many for a period of several weeks, and still had money left with which to continue in school," he explained.[147] To perpetuate both local and international festivities concretely, Whitewater decided to manicure its entire lawn for the first time in history.

The long tenure of Salisbury and his ability to run the School in accordance with the expectations of a community which had lost its other industries, stamped upon his generation a particular affinity between town and gown. Every catalog of the era (and for years afterward) began its general information with, "Whitewater is one of the most healthful and beautiful towns in the West." At the 70th homecoming anniversary of the town in 1907 Salisbury, who had himself recorded the history of the early industrialists of the place, conjured up the past when he reminded the old timers of

> . . . sturdy George Dann, with his brick yards and barrel factory; L. A. Winchester, the blacksmith, in the little shop down near the City Hall, smiting the anvil with his stalwart arm, but afterwards, with John S. Partridge and William DeWolf, developing a great industry—one of the captains of industry in this place; J. L. Pratt, who made our wagons until the close of the war; and, not least, George Esterly, whose mechanical genius drove him from the farm and brought him to enlist in the evolution of harvesting machinery.[148]

Then, to jerk the audience back to the present, Rev. Fairbanks spoke of another industry:

> It is a good thing, perhaps, to see marked on the wagons as they go past, "The Whitewater Wagon" or somewhere else a Whitewater plow. . . . But it is far better . . . that you can say, "There is a man educated in Whitewater. . . ." These men will be an honor to the town of Whitewater. These men will make Whitewater spoken of where other towns are never thought of. A town of great industrial enterprise, a business community of ten times the size of Whitewater, will never have the influence of a little town of less than four thousand inhabitants that has a real intellectual foundation for its greatness.[149]

George Esterly's prediction in the 1850's that if he could not get the railroad through Whitewater the town would be dead in an industrial sense

was true, but to the citizen who would look back with respect upon the Salisbury era there was no regret that the road signs were to read distinctly "Welcome to Whitewater, the College Town; Whitewater Welcomes Industry," and not "Welcome to Whitewater, the Industrial Town; Whitewater Welcomes Culture." If the business mind of the city had to disappear before the intellectual could thrive, it was a benevolent act of history to plant the latter on the site of the former.

To review what the town did for the School during the period would be to reiterate the life of the institution—the commencements where townspeople packed the Congregational Church for "the most important anniversary of the year," the open sessions of the literary societies supported by the citizens, the athletic contests where the boys battled in suits donated by businessmen and pushed to victory at the shouts of excited residents whose payment at the gate kept the Athletic Association in the black, the dedication of building projects when the good wishes of the inhabitants granted normal authorities the privilege of "showing off" the school, and, most important of all, the open homes where hospitality to the students was a year-around rule. The *Register* had supported the school, in issues large and small, from the location battle of the 1860's to the printing of the first faculty directory in 1904. When Editor E. D. Coe died in 1909 school was dismissed at two o'clock so that the faculty might attend the funeral. President Salisbury recalled that when he came to the normal in 1873 he and Professor Rockwood enjoyed visiting with him in the *Register* sanctum.[150] Throughout the era the *Register* printed a column called "Normalings" or "Normal Notes" written by a correspondent secured by the paper. In the days when books were scarce the city library had been a blessing to the Normal, and at the dedication of the White Memorial Library in 1904 Salisbury praised it as "the most artistic building in our city," a "jewel" added to its "crown."[151] That the school personnel felt a part of the town was shown in Professor Shutts' letter in 1925: "Thirty-one years of life in the normal has greatly endeared it to me and in imagination made Whitewater seem to be the center of the United States."[152]

As to the other side of the coin, President Salisbury occasionally reminded the town of its debt to the School. First in a series of such considerations was his commencement address of 1887. To prove that the investment of the past 19 years had paid rich dividends, he pointed out that the average annual enrollment for the period had been 278, of which 20–22% was Whitewater residents. He figured that the board bill for the out-of-town students amounted to $16,000 annually (with $3,000 for local students), plus other services bought to the amount of $7,000. The average faculty numbered 13, 5 of whom maintained families, so that $11,000 of

the $18,000 annual payroll was spent in Whitewater. The Board of Regents, he figured, spent $2,000 annually for supplies, which added up to $39,000 in obvious annual output. He then turned to the educational aspect of expenditures, pointing out that the 107 local resident graduates (48 from the full course @ $500 a year cost to the normal fund and 59 from the short course @ $275) had received over $40,000 in the 19 years as a clean cash gift from the state. He estimated the cash instruction gift to undergraduates at $7,000 per year and the benefits from the model school at between $30,000 and $50,000 in tax savings. His minimum estimate of annual savings was $40,000, that for 1887 being $47,000. Totaled, this amounted to over three-quarters of a million dollars, or 150%, not a bad return on an investment of $28,000! Besides all this, at least a hundred families had taken up residence in Whitewater due to the School. Salisbury noted also the social and moral benefits of sending students forth with enlarged souls and broader views of the world. "The interests of town and school are one. . . . And my effort here has been to set before you some cogent reasons why they should be such and continue such for all time to come."[153]

While his audience was probably dazzled by the figures, Salisbury told them what they already knew in essence. In 1895 the *Register* had expressed the same sentiment from the city's viewpoint: "Whatever tends to secure prestige and prosperity to the school is for the interest and advantage of this community. . . . We bespeak a large attendance of our citizens at all the public exercises. . . ."[154] After the turn of the century, Salisbury felt it expedient to again remind the people of their Normal benefits. At the commencement of 1905 he gave a kind of "state of the union" address, the first of its kind to be delivered. He reviewed the educational history of the town from the little brick school to the Normal and mentioned the pride of the town over that acquisition. Then he accused the city of apathy toward the institution: "At the inter-normal debate this month not a dozen residents were present—a thing that could not have happened even ten years ago."[155] He wondered, should another fire occur at the Normal, whether or not it would be rebuilt. He stated the accomplishments of the school since his 1887 speech and found the grand total to be $1,850,000 in benefit to the town. In 1911 figures were given once more, at which time it was estimated that not less than $73,000 was left in Whitewater annually.[156] What Salisbury did not realize was that the very maturity of the institution for which he had so zealously labored caused it to develop an independence from its surroundings which, in turn, made the town less solicitous toward it. His last great civic contribution was the management of the 70th anniversary celebration in 1907. The

Register tumbled over itself to give him recognition, and admonished its readers to "drown him with words of appreciation."[157] The total cost of the event was $2,134.34, and he managed a balance of $180.80, a happy commentary upon his executive ability and historical sensitivities.

The Salisbury era opened at a time most conducive to the aspirations of the man who led it and closed, quite markedly, soon after his death. In fact, all four of the School's first-quarter-century administrators died within four years of each other. It was an era enjoyed by a generation that loved to play and was proud of its hard work. Tradition was respected and progress glorified; it was the golden age for the normal school, an age when experimentation was carried on from home base and everything revolved around teacher training for the state. The year Salisbury died the Legislature authorized the normals to offer the first two years of college work, so that the catalog of 1911–12 could announce: "The Whitewater Normal School has added the necessary teachers and has increased its library and laboratory facilities and equipment in order to furnish the full equivalent of the work of both the freshman and sophmore years at the University of Wisconsin."[158] The new era was slated for a more streamlined system than Salisbury would have liked.

During the golden age of the normals there was progress without drastic change, a situation to which the personalities of the period conformed without stress. The faculty was one happy family, many of whom had "grown up" at the Normal together before the Salisbury regime began. Small enrollments made it possible to give the personal touch which multiplied a stockpile of records about the students. The relaxation of old rules came so gradually that their substitutes seemed to preserve all past essentials. If President Salisbury sensed things slipping from his desk, he escaped having to admit it. He, with the School he led, rejoiced because a job was being done to fulfill the American dream of exporting to the masses the appealing by-products of a democratic culture. The ideal of saving the schools of the state from being pauper schools was incentive enough for the men and women of that day. The accomplishments of that quarter century taught a lesson which was ascribed particularly to its leader in his funeral oration: "In places where he was not the master he was among the most humble of learners."[159] So the generation learned, and so it produced.

5

The Impact of Specialization: The Reign of Business Education (1912-1939)

> The educational history of a community, broadly considered, is the history of its civilization.
>
> —Joseph Schafer[1]
>
> The business of America is business.
>
> —Calvin Coolidge

History does not usually do its chroniclers the favor of falling into well defined categories, but such was the case with the great age of business (commerical) education at Whitewater. Since Albert Salisbury himself personified the traditional normal school, his death in 1911 signalized the about-face of which the adoption of commercial education into the curriculum at Whitewater in 1913 was concrete evidence. As the leader of a marching band proceeds backward down the avenue with his rhythmic brood, so Salisbury directed the progress of his Normal; but in the new era administrators found themselves astride trends which, quite beyond their control, demanded a forward march into the winds of fortune. It was an interesting coincidence that Professor Shutts, into whose hands the management of the Normal passed for a year after Salisbury's death, typified the transition. He had served the School for all but the first three years of the Salisbury administration and was thoroughly identified with that generation; but he was also a businessman at heart—an organizer, publisher, and mathematician who had directed the first bonafide class in bookkeeping at Whitewater in 1898.[2]

Because of increasing opportunities for educational institutions to express themselves in a nation shaken by a world war, challenged by hopes of prosperity, and flattened by a depression, the outreach of the state normal schools was forced to expand. Because of its particular emphasis in commercial education, Whitewater had a chance to step out in an unusually profitable fashion as these vicissitudes drove it beyond the relatively static environs of Normal Hill. Enrollment fluctuations due to World War I, curricular adjustments arising out of the transition from normal school

to teachers college in 1927, and the two-edged demand for higher standards and greater output in the thirties comprise the skeletal outline. Internally, the personal interchange of activity among students and faculty congealed into organizational patterns which could keep cultural production and consumption on a level with other items in the contemporary market place of values. The advent of the specialties in the Wisconsin normals kept them from losing their particular personalities in an age when standardization was worshiped at the shrine of conformity, and at Whitewater the challenge was to apply "that which becomes a teacher" to a subject hitherto alien to the commonwealth of culture. President Coolidge would have labeled this task succinctly—the business of Whitewater was business.

Commercial education (known as business education after the name change to state college in 1951) was as old as business itself. The early American colonists brought with them familiarity with the apprenticeship system, the custom of learning on the job which predates the Middle Ages. Simple, unorganized business required little formal training, yet in the colonial period there were two significant innovations—evening schools to give apprentices more training and the publication of textbooks on business subjects. These business teachers, like their pupils, got their training on the job and from reading books. Although the movement to establish business schools began before the Civil War with Benjamin F. Foster's Commercial School in Boston around 1827 and Bryant and Stratton's chain of schools begun in 1853, it was not until the industrial expansion thereafter that flourishing private business gave rise to schools in several cities of the East and Middle West. Commercial education, to a large degree, had to strike out on its own, since the old secondary academies, like the early normals, were primarily concerned with the training of elementary teachers and did not pamper the commercial intruder.[3] In 1878 the Business Educators' Association was formed in New York City. Private business schools soon shared the field with the new commercial public high schools, the first of which was established in 1890 at Washington D. C. The first collegiate school of business in the United States was the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce begun by the University of Pennsylvania in 1881. After about a decade Edmund J. James, director of the Wharton School (and later president of the University of Illinois), pushed the establishment of more commercial high schools, thus perpetuating the need for business colleges to supply teachers for these schools. In 1892 the Association of Business Educators was accepted as a department of the National Education Association. In 1899 the University of Chicago started a college of commerce and politics, and by 1911, 21 such schools of busi-

ness had been set up, including departments at Wisconsin, Illinois, and Michigan. Prior to the turn of the century the private business school promoted the interests of business education; the new century ushered in the age of business education in the public high school accompanied by the production of commercial teachers in the normals.

The history of the business curricula goes back much further than that of the schools which taught it. Over 1000 shorthand systems have been devised for the English language alone, and long before them the Apostle Paul had his own stenographers. Cato's speech against Catiline in the Roman Senate in 63 B.C. was recorded in a crude shorthand, and bookkeeping dates back over 4,000 years to the Old Testament.[4] Prior to the American Revolution there was a need for especially trained people to keep records and communications, and employers sought those who had been to a Latin grammar school which taught one or more "practical" subjects such as merchants' accounts and surveying.[5] In those days, too, the elementary Reading and Reckoning Schools offered penmanship, arithmetic and occasionally bookkeeping to pupils from the lower strata who were not expected to go to college. The earliest school of this type was that of a Mr. Morton in Plymouth where pupils were taught to read and write and "cast accounts." In 1710 an act was passed "for the founding and erecting of a free school for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina" and provided for the appointment of a person fit to teach "the youth of this province to write and also the principles of vulgar arithmetic and merchants' accounts."[6] Early academies such as Franklin's (1751) tended to emphasize the practical and vocational rather than college preparatory. From the Revolution until the middle of the 19th century it was a common practice to teach penmanship and arithmetic to the younger pupils and bookkeeping to the older ones in the state educational systems. In 1827 a Massachusetts law was passed requiring bookkeeping to be taught in every community with more than 500 families. As private business schools multiplied, the "big three" subjects (bookkeeping, arithmetic, and penmanship) were greeted by phonography, commercial law, theoretical bookkeeping, business forms, business correspondence, and office practice, followed by ornamental penmanship, accounting and commercial calculations, engineering and drafting, political economy, the duties of the businessman, and business correspondence. After the first successful typewriter had been marketed the schools advertised instruction in that art, which also brought shorthand into its own. By 1885 instruction on the typewriter and shorthand were joined—the advent of secretarial science and of a new career for women not given to becoming telephone operators.[7] Despite this practical popularity, however, business subjects were suspicioned by

academicians. Prior to 1900 there were only ten such subjects listed in reports and surveys of public high school offerings; by 1930 there were 33.[8] A good reason for the eventual success was the promotion by the National Education Association.

In 1895 an N.E.A. committee was appointed to prepare an outline of business-college studies, which was used especially by the private schools. In 1901 recognition of the importance of the commercial high school was acknowledged when a committee of the Association prepared a monograph on the subject. Final action in the evolutionary process was a decision at the 1905 meeting that the next logical step should be the preparation and improvement of commercial teachers.[9] Such a suggestion should have caught fire in the normals of the nation, but the response was far from immediate. Meanwhile, the University of Wisconsin was making headway in that direction (a fact not likely to inspire the normals), being among the first of American universities to establish a course in commerce (1900). Enrollment increased from 85 the first year to 217 by 1905, an indication that the course might develop into one of the strongest on campus. Not only did the success of commercial education at Madison fail to impress the normals, but pleas from the N.E.A. for more and better commercial teachers did not stir them. In 1907 some 600,000 pupils in public and private schools received instruction in the commercial branches from 10,000 to 14,000 teachers who, with few exceptions, were not trained for their job.[10] Even the educator who compiled these statistics suggested summer schools, correspondence courses, teachers' associations, and professional journals as remedies, but did not mention the normal school.

That an industrial nation should have been so tardy in recognizing the need for business teachers was due in part to a delusion that the ideals of business and education were diametrically opposed. "To the business man, the school teacher was somewhat of an 'old fogy' whose ability lay entirely in the realm of theory, and, in complementary return, the teacher frequently looked upon the man of affairs as an individual of questionable motives and little culture."[11] To the normals, therefore, which had always been sensitive about their academic standards, the rising star of commerical education was not of first magnitude. James C. Reed, Whitewater's first director of the curriculum, commented: "It seems that the other normal schools in Wisconsin had a chance to choose the subject they would select as their special work before Whitewater got a chance, and we had to take what was left. . . . No one at that time seemed to realize the importance of commercial work or to foresee its future popularity."[12] The thought of giving college credit for typewriting and shorthand caused a raising of eyebrows among serious educators of the Salisbury generation. Lucy Baker,

the venerable music teacher, once said to the noted Professor Carlson, "The students in commercial education aren't getting culture," to which the latter replied, "Seventy-five percent of their subjects are history, English, music, etc., so that if they aren't becoming cultured it isn't the fault of the commercial education department."[13]

As Wisconsin's normal pioneer in commercial education, Whitewater did not blaze a new trail but beat into popular accessibility a fair share of the national path already dictated by circumstances. The nation's collegiate program of business teacher education, started in 1898 at Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, had been taken up by 224 colleges and universities (including Whitewater) by 1913. The first normal school to inaugurate a continuous program was that at Salem, Massachusetts in 1912, but the course was limited to 40 in the freshman class and was intended to supply business teachers for Massachusetts only. It is interesting, in the light of the puritan tradition of southeastern Wisconsin, that Whitewater had the distinction of being the immediate successor to Salem; and because the program on the Hill envisioned a national outreach, the latter soon outranked its predecessor. No specialty could have done more to focus the efforts of the School in a profitable direction during the troublous era of World War I, and since the program was well established before hostilities began for America, Whitewater was spared the double shock of being shoved from the relaxed Salisbury era into new internal realities simultaneously with the external frustrations of an exploding world.

The general hesitation to adopt commercial education into the academic family probably cost Wisconsin the honor of dedicating the first normal of the national to the new venture. Salisbury had been dead one day less than a month when the normal Regents of the "vanguard state" passed the following resolution (July 1, 1911):

> Resolved, That the President of this Board appoint a Committee of three Presidents of normal schools, after the vacancies now existing have been filled, whose duty it shall be to formulate a two and three year course for the training of teachers in commercial subjects, to be given at some one of the normal schools hereafter to be determined, and to report their conclusions to the Special Committee of the Board at the February meeting in 1912.[14]

The resolution did not get off the ground the following February, but it was then that A. H. Yoder of New York City received the unanimous vote of the Board for the presidency of Whitewater. While he staged no campaign to claim the dubious honor of acquiring commercial education for his school, Yoder has been praised for bravely enduring the ridicule of being sub-standard for allowing college credit in shorthand and typing.[15] Professor Benson commented, "President Yoder was very foresighted in

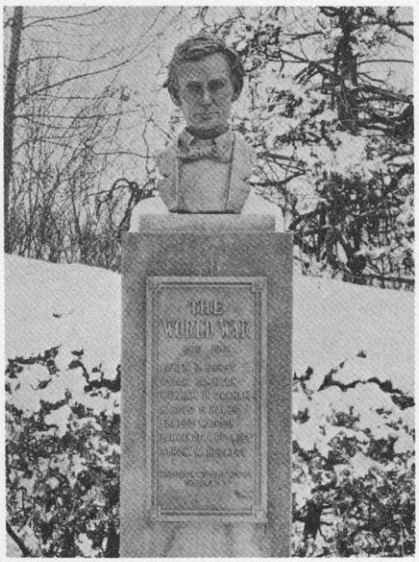
selecting this specialty, believing that there was a future in commercial as well as liberal arts education."[16] Three months after the pending resolution was introduced by Whitewater's Regent Hamilton (September, 1912), President Yoder presented to the Board a course of study to be publicized in the spring of 1913. Because of the excellency of its program, Whitewater was soon receiving calls from other states, the institution's first substantial experience in meeting out-of-state demands. Almost without realizing it, the semi-secluded Normal, whose greatest admirer had been the town that had built it, found itself on an escalator which made it part of a jostling nation bent on attaining the progressive dreams of its political leaders. In the preliminary announcement of the commercial courses at Whitewater, it was pointed out that young people could receive "a thoroughly modern education in business, preparing for a business career" or "the teaching of commercial subjects in the high schools."[17] To the young man contemplating the program the invitation seemed appealing: "After a few years of successful teaching in a good high school it is easy to step into a commercial position in the community where he has made friends and reputation. For the young man without capital there is no surer road to success."[18] It had finally dawned upon educators that commercial education in a commercial nation made sense, and statistics verified the conclusion. The number of high schools in 1900 was 20,732; in 1910 there were 41,667. In many schools more than 25% of the total enrollment was taking commercial courses.[19] In Wisconsin 65 of the largest high schools had such courses. Along with the clamor of teachers' agencies went the demand for educated men in business. Said one educator:

> There are several reasons why a new departure in Commercial Education is needed. We have come to a new stage in our commercial development. It is marked by changes in the governmental relations of business, by new extensions of our foreign trade, by the opening up of Oriental markets for our goods, by the near approach of those transformations which must result from the Panama Canal. It is marked by the beginnings of a struggle between the principle of efficiency and the principle of democracy in our industries, in which both sides are right and both must win.[20]

Nothing brought the book-laden schoolmaster and the burly factory executive to terms quicker than the advent of business education.

The Whitewater commercial curriculum originally consisted of four courses: the two-year professional course for high school graduates that led to a diploma with a teacher's certificate, the three-year professional course for high school graduates which added to the above a year of work intended to prepare the student for supervision, the two-year business course which was similar to the two-year professional course except for

30. *The Log Cabin.* This most notable replica of the Salisbury era is a silent reminder that men of every generation have respected their past.



31. *The World War I Lincoln Memorial.* Salisbury's monument was now complemented.

32. *President Yoder.* Albert H. Yoder led in the establishment of the specialty.

PRESIDENT YODER INHERITED THE SALISBURY PAX ROMANA AS WELL AS THE TRIALS OF THE FIRST WORLD CONFLICT

the omission of theory and practice, and the one-year business course open to persons of suitable age and attainments which led to a certificate of proficiency in specified subjects and which made it possible for the department to "graduate" its first class of five women and one man in 1914. Fees were $10 a year for those preparing to teach and $28 for the nonprofessional. Commercial education was intended to be a man's course, but World War I and the traditional elementary teaching emphasis at Whitewater turned it over to women. Classes opened on September 2, 1913 with 37 students (20 men and 17 women) enrolled the first six weeks. At no other time in history did the men outnumber the ladies except in 1917 when they had an advantage of 10; but after the war took its toll in 1918 women were in the ascendancy 105–20.

A revision in 1915 which nearly doubled the course offerings and emphasized various specializations within the curriculum was an early evidence of prosperity. An accounting course of two years allowed future high school teachers to specialize in that subject, and a similar shorthand course, with the prerequisite of transcribing at 100 words a minute, was open to high school graduates with two years of shorthand and one of bookkeeping. To the one-year non-professional business course was added a two-year course. A special service that proved attractive to many was that the commercial department gave thorough training in accounting and shorthand to those desiring to take government examinations for civil service. Between 1919 and 1922 choices of commercial subject majors were abolished due to the fact that 75% of the graduates had to teach in all areas. In 1921 Whitewater made all its commercial courses three years long to meet the demand of city superintendents for better qualified high school teachers. In 1923 the four-year curriculum was introduced, entirely replacing the three-year after 1926. Complementary to this Whitewater was given authority in 1925 to grant the degree of Bachelor of Education to graduates of the four-year program; thus, by virtue of its specialty, Whitewater became the first Wisconsin normal to grant college degrees. "A larger Whitewater and a more important Commercial Education Department will result," crowed the *Register*.[21] When the normals became State Teachers Colleges in 1927, Whitewater introduced a major in education and one in commercial subjects, together with at least two minors in the several other fields. Subject content and student load were adjusted to the times to make for a broader educational program for teachers. Beginning in 1932 two approaches were outlined to provide for the training of commercial teachers and continue to date—one labeled "X" for those whose training exceeds that offered in high school and one labeled "Y" for high school graduates with no further training. The celebration of

the silver anniversary of commercial education in 1938 marked a quarter century of success in terms of curricular development, making it possible for Director C. M. Yoder to state that "the graduates from the commercial teacher-training curricula are recognized on the same basis as graduates from other types of curricula in any of the State Teachers Colleges."[22] The question as to whether or not commercial education were "collegiate" was obsolescent.

Timely adaptions on the part of particular subjects within the curriculum guaranteed a basic stability to the program. Since the course of study was the child of practical necessity, it behooved leaders to keep their ears to the ground. The first great adaption for bookkeeping was when it was brought from the private business college where a half day could be spent on practice-set-instruction into the high school where much less time (a double 45-minute period at most) could be spared for it. At Whitewater bookkeeping and accounting were handled in that manner, running from 2:20–3:55.[23] In 1921 the first bookkeeping contest of its kind in the nation was inaugurated, patterned after the typing and shorthand contests begun in 1917. Short practice sets had been used in contests prior to 1921, but they were bunglesome to administer, score, and judge. Professor Carlson noted the contribution of the Whitewater contest in the history of bookkeeping:

> . . . we recognized that good instruction in bookkeeping should include more than the bookkeeping routine of a practice set. Good instruction . . . should develop principles, vocabulary, and an understanding of the "why" as well as the "how". The bookkeeping contest of 1921 at Whitewater, and the contests that followed during the next eight years, used an eight-page printed booklet with an average of about four hundred points. All answers were in short answer form. This pioneer project of a new form of bookkeeping contest examination brought in orders to Whitewater from all over the nation. I recall that we were supplying an average of thirty-five states, each year for several years, with these printed contest examination booklets.[24]

In 1925 the first standardized series of bookkeeping tests ever published for classroom use grew out of the contests. Completely revised every five years, thousands of these tests still blanket the nation's high schools annually. National norms are provided as standards for excellence. In 1928 a workbook was developed and in 1934 an improved workbook with a two-page study guide was made for each chapter of the textbook. Always sensitive to the times, Professor Carlson in 1933 advocated "A New Deal in Commercial Education," stressing personal and social values as primary and vocational training as secondary.[25] In his semi-centennial address (1963) he predicted the future of bookkeeping as follows: "Automation will pro-

duce, but it cannot think. . . . The business papers come from manual bookkeeping."[26]

Shorthand sprouted its wings in 1893 when an Englishman, John Robert Gregg, brought his light-line phonography to the United States. In 1895 he began a school in Chicago which introduced to the Midwest the system which was to account for 97% of all shorthand now taught in the nation's public high schools. From 1913–1919 two systems, the Gregg and Pitman, were offered at Whitewater; but the superiority of the light-line system gained for it rapid ascendancy and after 1919 the Pitman system was dropped. According to Professor Benson, the Gregg system originated in a church service where young Gregg sat with a friend of the family and watched him take notes on the sermon. Fascinated, he got the idea of inventing his own system and at the age of 19 printed 500 copies of *Light-Line Phonography* and sold them for 24¢.[27] Coincidentally, the silver anniversary celebration of Gregg shorthand at Chicago was in 1913, the year it came to Whitewater. In the beginning three courses were offered: an introduction to principles, dictation and translation, and advanced dictation. In 1915 a two-year program in shorthand with three new courses plus methods was inaugurated, requiring speeds of 125 words in Gregg and 175 in Pitman. As for the future of the subject Professor Benson declared: "Machine shorthand may reduce its popularity, but there will always be a well-paying job for any person who is interested in, and efficient in, shorthand."[28]

The third pillar in the structure of business education was typewriting, the formal history of which coincided with that of the Whitewater Normal itself. In a little machine shop on Milwaukee's State Street Christopher Latham Sholes, with the help of two others, designed and built the first typewriter, "perhaps Wisconsin's most important invention in its impact on society."[29] Sholes patented the machine in 1868 and, not realizing that it would revolutionize the business world, sold the rights to Remington for only $12,000 in 1873. The history of typewriting was dictated by developments in the machine. Professor Clem said that between 1890 and 1905 over one hundred kinds of typewriters were marketed, few of which were practical; likewise, during the first 25 years of typewriting there was much disagreement as to the best method to operate the machine.[30] The instructional development of typewriting grew out of practical necessity. The early practice of individual instruction went out in 1916 when the war forced the adoption of a method of teaching huge classes. The formalized lesson structure evolved between 1900 and 1930, after which standard length courses were crystallized and refined. The four-semester high school book of 250 or more period lessons and the 150 period book for the

year course persisted for many years until the development of superior teaching methods which shortened the training time.[31] Before commercial education came to Whitewater, the question as to whether typing should be done by sight or by touch had been decided in favor of the latter, making keyboard mastery necessary. The mental approach of the early days was based on the belief that a learner had to memorize the pattern of the keys so that he could visualize the keyboard in order to direct his fingers aright without looking. According to Professor Clem:

> Many memorization aids were found in books published prior to 1930 and many devices were contrived to help or to force students to memorize the keyboard pattern. These devices were more humorous than helpful. The typewriter companies made metal devices called shields that could be attached to the typewriter and covered the keyboard which already had blank keys. Teachers used all the ingenuity they possessed, contriving cardboard "aprons" which were attached to the student, old fashioned goggles with paper covering the glass, blindfolds to be tied over the student's eyes, and other ridiculous devices.[32]

Miss Clem noted that at least seven different concepts of the relationship of speed and accuracy have been held by writers of textbooks, the early emphasis being upon accuracy. She related how one student enrolled in her class after he found that Whitewater's requirements differed from his high school setup, which demanded a perfect copy of an especially difficult Lesson Seven. "Some students could master it by 'saying a prayer and writing slowly,' but this particular student got no results with that formula. He arrived at this exercise the seventh week of the first semester as he was supposed to do and spent the rest of the semester trying to produce a perfect copy of it."[33]

In addition to these three core subjects, the first catalog enumerated the following courses: commercial arithmetic (3), business English (3), commercial geography (3), penmanship (1), office practice (1), economic history (1), commercial law (1), advertising (1), and salesmanship (1). Commercial students were required to take four quarters of work in physical education and were permitted without extra fee to take one or all of the following electives: advanced civics, sociology, political science, money and banking, and preventive medicine. By 1919 offerings in all these had been increased along with greater efficiency in the three professional courses, psychology of commercial subjects, observation, and practice teaching. Requests from other states for copies of the program attested to the respect Whitewater had earned. James C. Reed, who left the directorship in 1919 to become professor of business law at the University of Pittsburgh, wrote in the Silver Anniversary Bulletin: "The commercial course put Whitewater on the map. By 1919 it was the best known Normal

School in the United States."[34] This broad statement was probably true on two counts: first, normal schools did not usually advertise themselves outside their own states since they were geared to supplying local needs; secondly, commercial education was not a local but a national interest. In 1918 Whitewater graduates were teaching in 14 states and some of the best cities of the country. Professor Reed commented: "By 1919 we were placing and replacing more than one hundred students every spring. We sent the older ones outside the state where they got higher salaries and replaced them in Wisconsin with new graduates. It was like playing a game of checkers. . . ."[35] Business education had approached its majority both nationally and locally.

The popularity of 1919 was not immediately evident, however. While President Yoder was surprised by the number of mail inquiries he had received concerning the new course, only about half of the hundred students expected in 1913 showed up. His first report to the Regents was relatively modest:

> The most important change in the Whitewater Normal School during the biennium was the establishment of a department or school for the training of teachers of commercial subjects. . . . During the first six weeks 37 students were enrolled; the total enrollment for the year was 49, and 8 students taking regular normal courses were permitted to take a small amount of elective commercial work. In organizing this new school we have been fortunate in the selection of the course of study. It gives a maximum of training in commercial subjects and a minimum of theoretical work. There is no study common to both the regular Normal and the Commercial Course except Penmanship. . . . It is already certain that this course will render real service to education in Wisconsin.[36]

Since the Legislature made no provision for funds to defray the expense of bringing the new department to the attention of the people of the state, the Normal had to proceed on its own. Following the examples of progressive chambers of commerce in Boston and New York, a few local businessmen and President Yoder organized a fund-raising plan. With the $200 forthcoming, the new course was advertised in all 71 counties of the state. Bulletins were careful to point out job opportunities with higher salaries than in any other area of special teaching, and to reiterate the comforts of being in such a town as Whitewater where the Businessmen's Association cooperated with the school by engaging students as stenographers and bookkeepers to give them practical experience and part time work.

Although the response of 1913–14 was a disappointment in the light of the advertising done, it still comprised 12% of the total enrollment (311). The following year it accounted for 29%, and by 1919 the new department claimed 52% of the total. In 1937–38 there were 537 commercial students,

68% of the 831 students.[37] The number of graduates increased from 6 in 1914 to 101 in 1938, for a total of 1571 during the first quarter century of operation.[38] The department was responsible for making Whitewater the state's fastest growing normal, a distinction repeated in the present decade. In 1920 former President Yoder wrote to his successor: "I certainly am pleased to hear of this fine attendance. Of course, you will use every effort to keep the standard as high as possible. The Commercial School has a monopoly in its field and there is no reason why the school should not maintain whatever standard it cares to set in that field."[39]

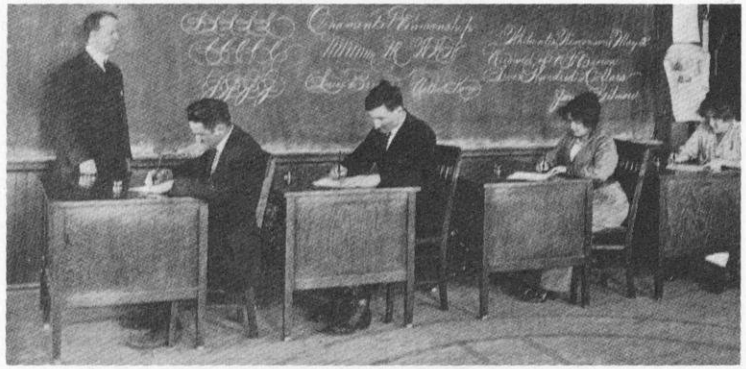
The success of the early years inspired department leaders to intensify their advertising. An effective and valuable handmaiden of the department was the highly respected *Commercial Teacher,* first published in December, 1916. In April, 1920 the name was changed to *Commercial Education,* under which title it was published until May, 1944. Begun under the able direction of Professor Reed, the publication employed the services of two outstanding editors, C. M. Yoder (1924–31) and Paul A. Carlson (1931–44), and was sponsored by faculty, alumni, or the Commercial Club. Copies were mailed four times a year to educators and libraries free of charge and were exchanged for other publications in the forty-eight states. Also on the mailing list were Hawaii, England, Australia, and Canada. The articles featured Mr. Carlson in bookkeeping, Misses Edith Bisbee and Marie Benson in shorthand, Miss Clem in typing, and Mr. C. M. Yoder in the general concerns of the field, plus many authorities from other schools.

The vitality of the department was further manifested in faculty publications. *Commercial Education* for March, 1924 carried a large advertisement for *Self-proving Business Arithmetic* by Thomas T. Goff, head of the commercial arithmetic department. Professor Goff's book displayed the practical characteristics of its author by eliminating much of the drudgery of correcting examination papers and by helping the student feel a part of his problem situations through sets similar to those in bookkeeping. In 1925 the first standardized text in bookkeeping was published by Professor Carlson and others, a volume which has carried the name of Whitewater around the world. "In at least one field Whitewater has been a national pioneer," stated the *Capital Times* in 1959. "This is the business education program which has been developed here over the years by Professor Paul A. Carlson, the author of a textbook which is in use in more than 90% of the nation's high schools."[40] In 1962 the 22nd edition of this text, *20th Century Bookkeeping and Accounting,* came out in a Canadian, Spanish, and Japanese edition. Before the South-Western Publishing Company could get around to honor Mr. Carlson in recognition of the sale of

a million copies, two million had been sold. In 1929 the Gregg Publishing Company came out with Professor Clem's text which amazed the publishers by finding a ready market in trade as well as education. The editor of the *Journal of Education* commented: "Jane E. Clem's *The Technique of Teaching Typewriting,* aside from her special achievement in this specialty, has the broadest professional vision, the noblest mission and the sanest message on Personality that I have ever read."[41] The work was the guide in the field until replaced by a second edition in 1955. Miss Clem also collaborated in the college edition of *Business and Personal Typewriting* published in 1937, and some of her survey tests were standardized and published for successive years. In shorthand Professors Edith V. Bisbee and Marie S. Benson collaborated in the publication of tests for beginning students in the 1930's. Like their colleagues, they were noted for their ability to put their subject into the broad context of life. The wave of interest in business education from 1910 to 1920 caused some national leaders to feel that the crest had been reached in 1920, but for nearly two more uninterrupted decades the business of business flourished supreme at Whitewater.[42]

Another activity which brought publicity to Whitewater was the sponsorship of the state-wide commercial contests. Begun in 1918, the contests were conducted originally in shorthand, typing, and penmanship, but were later extended to bookkeeping and rapid calculation (arithmetic). The department denied that its purpose was to advertise, however, insisting that it received its reward through the increased efficiency of the students who became teachers.[43] The contests were open to regular students in the high school and vocational schools of the state. District contests (22 in all) were held in April and the final took place at Whitewater in May. Appropriate gold medals for first-place winners in each event were provided by the Remington Typewriting Company, John Robert Gregg, Director Reed (penmanship), and the H. M. Rowe Company (bookkeeping). Later commercial arithmetic was included and medals for all the contests were provided by the Commercial Club. In addition to the contests, the day was filled with other excitement. The 112 contestants from 40 high schools in 1920 saw George Hossfeld, world champion typist of 1918, write 133 words a minute while being compelled to talk, type from dictation at 120 words per minute, and do a simple sentence at 242.[44] In 1921 J. N. Kimball, for 40 years a teacher of shorthand in New York City, owner of the best shorthand library in the world, and conductor of the international typing contests, told the packed assembly: "Forty years ago I trained the first three women in New York City to write shorthand. But it took me three months to find a position for them on Wall Street. No man

33. *The Commercial Department Office.* Director Reed (center) was an able leader.



34. *Penmanship Class.* Young men like "Chick" Agnew (first seat) doubtless preferred football.

35. *Typewriting Class.* Brawny fellows and petite ladies mastered the art together.

36. *Commercial Contest Medals.* The state-wide high school contests were important events.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION WAS WHITEWATER'S BUSINESS IN THE 20's AND 30's

wanted them in his office. Today I can place three thousand in less time than that."[45] The contest decade ended as abruptly as it had begun, the reason being that it encroached upon time and energy needed for such permanent objectives as outlined by President C. M. Yoder in 1934: "A new type of educational and teaching procedure is needed. Instruction must be given with the full purpose and objective of interpreting knowledge that it may develop wisdom on the part of the learner. Teaching must be done with the thought of mastery of principles and their application to life's contacts. . . ."[46] But those who witnessed the contest era reveled in its glory. "The state-wide commercial contests which brought many fine students to our college from all parts of the state . . . were exciting and brought the work of our college to the attention of the general public," recalled Professor H. G. Lee.[47] The annual festivity did for commercial education what corn husking bees once did for the pioneer farmers —they got acquainted, compared results, and determined to beat their neighbors next year.

The acid test of the worth of the department was its product, the alumni. It was several years before Whitewater could supply even Wisconsin's demand for teachers, while other states impatiently awaited their turn. The National Commercial Teachers' Agency of Beverly, Massachusetts advertised that "six months ago we enrolled a Whitewater Normal student just ready to go to teaching. Since January 1, we have put him in touch with six positions paying from $1800 upward."[48] Whitewater set placement records from the beginning, and the nearly 100% record in 1932 caused an influx of transfer students in 1933 which swelled the class of 1935 to 100 graduates. The secret was that these people knew how to teach and loved it. Professor Benjamin B. James, director of secondary education, commented that it was not enough for the normal school student to possess academic or even professional knowledge, but that normal school diplomas should go to those whose "teaching instincts" were discerned.[49] The total number of commercial teachers in Wisconsin in 1934–35 was 636, of which 347 were from Whitewater; of the 480 high schools in the state, only 146 had no Whitewater graduate on the staff.[50] To keep up standards Professor Carlson in 1930 started to have each member of the graduating class rate the class with reference to all-around teaching ability and teacher personality, which results were kept in his files. He was delighted that school officials came back year after year for more alumni, and he took pride in the many graudates who went on for master's degrees.[51] Miss Clem testified, "I see my Whitewater students who are successfully teaching all over the West. Several have made names for themselves that has brought honor to Whitewater."[52]

Whitewater demonstrated that the business of America was business, and it was to the credit of the institution that a vocational specialty could be absorbed into the fellowship of the traditional curricula with hardly a ripple. Even those who had doubted at first could not deny that commercial education was lifting the normal, nor could they castigate the effort as catering to the scum of the academic world. The department was allocated the east half of the first floor of Old Main, with the printing and mimeograph rooms and the museum in the basement. With characteristic modesty the *Register* announced in 1916 that students at Whitewater had the best equipped school in the United States—8 full time faculty, 9 new typewriters, new office furniture and equipment, 15 comptometers, and Professor Goff, an expert accountant.[53] The next year an Elliot Fisher bookkeeping machine costing about $700 arrived, a superhuman implement that could "do anything and do it accurately." The inventory for 1914 listed the school property at $174,569.62, nearly twice what it had been 10 years before. In 1916 Regent Hamilton asked for $80,000 for a new commercial building, but Governor Philipp and the taxpayers bowed to the dictates of high prices and Whitewater remained the only normal whose special department was not housed in a modern building.[54]

Whitewater's whole physical plant expanded in accordance with the prosperity of commercial education. The first major addition was the $50,000 men's gymnasium dedicated at the 1916 commencement. The movement to improve the facilities for physical education had begun with the push for sports in the 1890's, at which time President Salisbury and Regent Zadoc Beach had borrowed the money to purchase the White pasture until such time that the state was ready to take over. No major improvement of those grounds took place until the fall of 1912 when all the Normal boys rolled up their sleeves to grade and roll them into four tennis courts. Then in 1914 the grandstand with a capacity of 800 was built and a picture of the entire Whitewater family seated thereupon sent to the Panama Exposition.[55] In 1915 the field was christened for Regent Hamilton, and in Janurary, 1916 the building was initiated with a basketball game. It was good business to incorporate sports with commercial education. The March, 1924 supplement to *Commercial Education* gave a page to athletics, including the 1923 football record and tantalizing statistics on how it paid to combine coaching with commercial work: "Of the young men graduating last June five secured positions . . . at an average salary of $185.00 per month; the others secured straight teaching positions at an average salary of $165.00 per month."[56] Commercial education did its bit for athletics, too, having brought to campus men of action who welcomed football practice after tedious hours of labor in Miss Clem's

room. On November 7, 1925 the $250,000 East Wing was dedicated, a homecoming event celebrated by a special historical edition of the *Royal Purple*. Regent Baker presided and Mayor W. H. Fricker welcomed guests. Attorney Edward J. Dempsey of Oshkosh represented the Regents, commenting that at most educational gatherings effort is made to keep the mayor out of sight—but Whitewater had an excuse for displaying hers since he was a professor in the accounting department. President Sims of Stevens Point spoke for the sister normals, and Governor John Blaine gave the address. Special thanks was extended to Regent Baker and President Hyer for their work to obtain the addition. The school now had an auditorium that would seat a thousand people and classrooms for the rural department, home economics, bookkeeping, the school bank, English and romance languages, machine accounting, commercial mathematics, shorthand, typewriting, psychology, education, sociology, and biology, a great monument to the triumph of business education.

An interesting tributary of the business department was the commercial high school, established in 1915 as a center for practice teaching. The commercial high school course was open to eighth grade graduates desiring four years of commercial work. Sufficient electives in science, history, and modern languages were offered so that the graduate who wished to enter a liberal arts course in any college or university might do so without examination. In addition to its own properties, the school used the Normal's equipment and benefited from its trained faculty. In 1922 Normal High was accredited by the North Central Association for use in training of academic as well as commercial subjects, and in 1927 it kept pace with the state teachers college designation by assuming the title, College High. In 1923 40 young people graduated, a testimony to its early popularity. Whitewater was able to boast of a unique training school system including a rural department (a rural school was brought into the new East Wing that year), a kindergarten, six elementary grades, a junior high school, and a senior high school—all under one roof on Normal Hill! In organizing a high school Whitewater was a pioneer among Wisconsin normals and second in the state only to the University. Mr. J. U. Elmer, the principal from 1919–1952, was the respected businessman who kept the works running with profit. It was the expansion decade of the last ten years that sounded the death knell for that once useful adjunct of the institution. Its exit in 1959 was explained as follows:

> Whereas . . . the Board of Regents . . . has limited the facilities of the new campus laboratory school at Whitewater to elementary and junior high school facilities only, and
>
> Whereas the number of college students at . . . Whitewater has increased

> from 682 in 1952 to 1,407 in 1957 . . . during a period of small graduating classes from Wisconsin high schools, and
>
> Whereas the growth of the college at Whitewater will be accelerated within the next few years with increasing demand for space to accommodate the college enrollment.
>
> Now Therefore Be It Resolved That the Board declare its intent to close the College High School within a year after the completion of the new laboratory building.[57]

The low freshman enrollment in the fall of 1959 in both College High and City High made it possible for the latter to absorb the 20 people slated for the former. The faculty was, for the most part, absorbed by the College. College High alumni, among whom are prominent community leaders, still schedule reunions.

Besides the bulletins and contests, the department sponsored a club and a museum. Although commercial education was initially for young men, the ladies took over at Whitewater almost immediately. By 1915 there was a Commercial Girls' Club comprised of every young lady in the commercial course. In 1920 the girls swung into the spirit of the roaring decade by including the men, and a particular innovation was the "extension department" whereby former members who were out teaching could organize high school chapters. In 1921 the men organized an accounting club, but the wide popularity of the parent commercial club made it superfluous. Despite its enormous size, the commercial club functioned effectively and enthusiastically throughout the period. The museum was an arm of the department from the beginning, as school exhibits were received from most of the largest manufacturing concerns of the country. A Numismatics Society was organized and President A. H. Yoder built up the coin collection to include 400 current representations in copper, nickel, and silver from the chief commercial nations of the world and a type set of coins representing each of the copper, nickel, and silver coins of the United States. There was also a collection of about 300 patriotic and trade tokens, nearly one-half from Wisconsin. Early colonial and continental paper money was collected, plus 200 old bank bills from 28 states. The volume of correspondence on this subject in the Yoder papers proved the president an enthusiastic leader in the commercial field and demonstrated the outreach of the Normal. The state paid for the items, but selections were made with the precision of a private collector.

Like any successful business, the commercial education department was blest with able leaders. In the beginning President Yoder was authorized to hire three teachers—a director @ $2500, a second for $1700, and a third @ $1600. The young men chosen were all high school teachers in Illinois. Director James C. Reed, a graduate of the University of Michigan

law school, was an able organizer under whose six-year leadership all the main projects of the specialty were launched. In 1919 he left the flourishing Whitewater department for the University of Pittsburgh where he was made professor of accounting and headed a department comprising a quarter of that school's enrollment. In 1925 he wrote from Pittsburgh (where he had become head of the department of law) expressing his regret at not being able to be present for the dedication of the East Wing and his pleasure upon knowing of the success of the Normal.[58] The second teacher was Carl T. Wise, a graduate of the western Illinois normal who remained five years and taught stenography and typewriting, then commercial geography and penmanship. The third of the trio was Hugo H. Hering, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin who taught commercial arithmetic, bookkeeping, and accounting one year. In June, 1914 the Board authorized another teacher in stenography, and by 1916 Director Reed had a department of five people including the outstanding Thomas T. Goff in commercial arithmetic and Henry G. Lee in commercial economics and statistics. By the time C. M. Yoder took up Reed's work (1919) Miss Ethel Rough, Paul A. Carlson, and Miss Jane E. Clem had appeared on the scene. Miss Rough came from Nebraska in 1917 to join the department as a teacher of stenography and assistant principal of the commercial high school. When director Reed left he handed the responsibility of *Commercial Education* to her and Professor Benjamin James of the education department. Mr. Carlson arrived in the fall of 1917, but after a few months left for service overseas in the army medical corps. He returned in 1919 and taught bookkeeping and accounting until 1930 when he replaced President C. M. Yoder as director. By the early '20's he had become Mr. Bookkeeping Whitewater, a title that was expanded to "Mr. Bookkeeping U.S.A." in 1961 when he received the John Robert Gregg award. Professor Carlson served 41 years at Whitewater, 25 of which he advised Pi Omega Pi (the national honor society founded in 1923 for business education). His publications have gone around the world to bring Whitewater national recognition, and he helped develop the graduate program at Northwestern University where he served as director in the summer of 1936. In the summers of 1948 and 1953 he was visiting professor at Teachers College, Columbia. He once served as president of the Wisconsin Business Teachers Association, the United Business Education Association, the National Association of Business Teacher Training Institutions, and the National Council of Business Education. Because he had interrupted his teaching to enter the service during World War I, he was a logical choice in 1920 for service officer in the William Graham Post to enlighten ex-servicemen about their insurance problems. In 1942–43 he

was principal training consultant in Washington, and in January, 1945 the War Department asked him to head up the accounting division of a university the Army was about to establish in England, an offer he declined. So thorough was the great educator that, according to student legend, he even repeated his jokes for clarity! His concern for students led him to devote much energy to help hundreds of graduates find jobs. A scholarship fund for business education majors was established in his name by the class of 1938 as a part of the semicentennial celebration of business education in 1963. The *Capital Times* complimented the School when it commented in 1959 that Mr. Carlson had enjoyed a distinguished career "which found ample opportunity for growth and gratification at Whitewater."[59]

Professors Goff and Lee, though not exclusively commercial department personnel, rendered to it outstanding service. Besides mathematics Mr. Goff taught accounting, and Mr. Lee mixed business English with economics. The life of Professor Goff personified the successful elements of the age of business education. The topic sentences from three paragraphs written about him by Professor Carlson explain his appeal: "Mr. Goff had all the attributes of a great teacher. . . . He was a brilliant mathematician and never lost his zest for a knotty problem. . . . The welfare of our college was the daily concern of Mr. Goff during the thirty years that he served on our campus."[60] Nationally known as an educator, author, and lecturer, Goff delighted many audiences with his "fun with numbers" where he would demonstrate such things as why a paper torn in two 21 times would make a stack higher than the Woolworth Building, how the largest number that can be expressed by three figures would fill 700 books of 250 pages, why a pound of feathers weighs more than a pound of gold, and why a $50 raise each six months would amount to $50 more in five years than a $200 raise a year. His *Self-Proving Business Arithmetic* had students prove their own work, thus putting into book form "the idea that should have been there generations ago and will no doubt be used in every good arithmetic that is yet to be written."[61] Professor Lee's first contact with Whitewater was in 1909 when he wrote to President Salisbury: "I am going to attend school at Whitewater this year and will come on August 28. Would like to secure a room before I come but know of none to whom I may write. Will you kindly furnish me with two or three names of parties having rooms to rent."[62] As it turned out, the young man went to the University instead and received his bachelor's degree in 1914. He worked under John R. Commons, world authority in the field of labor, and had his undergraduate thesis published in a series edited by Commons entitled *History of American Industrial Society*. In his early years he had the distinction of having served as special assistant to the committee on

Education and Public Welfare of the Wisconsin Legislature and of having charge of the Madison office of the Federal Industrial Relations Commission for two years. He made studies of prison conditions in Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin for 8 summers. In 1928 and again in 1941 he served on a state committee which formulated a course of study for social studies for grades one to eight. His greatest service, however, was the dedication of 40 years to Whitewater students, as he himself declared: "My primary interest . . . has been that of a classroom instructor, helping youth; and I feel that if I have been of service at all to Wisconsin, it has been in the field of helping youth to find itself. My finest days have been those during which I have helped some man or woman to understand himself or herself more clearly."[63] Professor Lee's excellent command of the English language and his experience in the operations of the business world made him a valuable addition to the commercial education program and qualified him to take the place of Professor D. O. Kinsman in the field of social science. Dr. Lee passed away on August 2, 1967 at the age of 81.

When Miss Clem came to Whitewater in 1919 the school was beginning to reap the good harvest of the specialty. She told the story of her introduction to the institution as follows:

> I came to Whitewater to teach in September of 1919, succeeding a fine teacher, Miss Savage, who had made an excellent beginning on the reputation that was to make Whitewater known throughout the United States in business education. I had been teaching business subjects five years in high schools in Illinois, and had learned of Whitewater's reputation. When the position was offered to me I hesitated to accept because I felt it too great an advancement for me. But the foresightedness and faith of my high school principal became the deciding factor for me. He, too, knew of the reputation of Whitewater and said, "You will make the mistake of your lifetime if you do not go to Whitewater." How true that proved to be! I have always been grateful to him for that advice. With the help of a good president, Frank S. Hyer, and a fine director of business education, Mr. C. M. Yoder, and a helpful associate teacher of shorthand, Miss Ethel Rough, it was an enjoyable experience then, and throughout the thirty-seven years.[64]

First listed in *Who's Who in American Education* in 1933, Professor Clem, like her colleagues, made her greatest mark upon students themselves. The long tenure of many of the early instructors advertised the quality of the program. The five additions between 1920 and 1922 to continue this tradition were Miss Edith V. Bisbee (1920–43), J. M. Tice (1920–39), W. H. Fricker (1920–47), Miss Laura Hamilton (1922–50), and Miss Marie S. Benson (1922–63). Miss Bisbee took the drudgery out of learning shorthand by making the drills into games, some of which were published in 1939. Mr. Fricker came as an addition in bookkeeping, a position authorized in 1921. As a certified public accountant and one who was conscious

of improving his own training, he inspired new curricular development. Professor Tice, remembered as one "whose spirit has never aged," was in charge of penmanship and show card drawing, commercial law, and cooperative marketing. He was loved by his students and had a way of standing for his political convictions (which were not as conservative as some would have liked) so as to arouse the least opposition. Miss Hamilton was the efficient second in typewriting until transferred into English in the 1930's. A product of the school she served, she was a credit to the growing institution which mingled the interests of commercial education with the academic necessities. The long career of Miss Benson, another alumna, began with President Hyer's visit to her high school class. Like Miss Clem, she was "advised" to come to Whitewater, which advisor was a former teacher—Professor Lee! Of strong Norwegian stock, she was used to hard work when she arrived in Whitewater, having managed 23 classes for two years in a rural school. Her contribution to the literature and advancement of shorthand did not take her eyes off the student, as several contemporary professors at Whitewater can attest. In the spring of 1967 Professor Emeritus Benson was honored by Sigma Sigma Sigma Sorority as one of its three outstanding alumni in the country.

The man who directed the course of commercial education during much of the great era was Claude M. Yoder, who left a position as commercial teacher in Milwaukee to come to Whitewater. Like his successor, Director Yoder had a national reputation for his publications and lectures. He was co-author of a text entitled *Methods in Commercial Teaching,* author of many articles in professional journals, an editor of Whitewater's own *Commercial Education,* and an editor of the official journal of the National Commercial Teachers' Federation, of which organization he was president in 1925 and secretary in 1930. His only regret upon being chosen chief executive in 1930 was that the new position isolated him from the students. Under the leadership of Professor Carlson the department continued to prosper and enjoy unprecedented popularity locally and nationally. In fact, the department was so much in the ascendancy that a group of irritated young journalists in the 1950's complained: "As students on this campus we see no reason a person should be barred from typing and shorthand courses just because he doesn't belong to the commercial curriculum."[65] As old soldiers that never die, Professors Emeriti Carlson, Clem, and Benson are yet professionally active—nor are they fading away.

To President Albert H. Yoder, the chief executive who launched the age of business education and guided the institution safely through the emergencies of the First World War, goes much credit for the stability and enthusiasm characteristic of the new curriculum throughout the quar-

ter century. It was in September, 1911, only three months after Salisbury's death, that the Regents first offered the Whitewater presidency to Yoder; but in the short time allowed he could not arrange to leave his position as head of the Department of Child Welfare at the Carnegie School of Philanthrophy in New York City. The Regents' committee on the presidency continued to search for a successor to Salisbury, but finding none returned to Yoder in February, 1912.[66] His first contact with Whitewater had been via letter to Salisbury in 1909 while superintendent of the city schools of Tacoma, Washington: "If nothing happens to prevent I shall attend the Superintendents meeting in Chicago in February. If you know of any of your graduates who wish to secure a position in the West and who have had from 2 to 5 years successful experience I should be very pleased to meet them. . . ."[67] Albert Yoder had been in educational work over 20 years when he came to Whitewater, having served on both the east and west coasts. He was born in Iowa the year the Normal was founded, was graduated from the state normal school at Madison, South Dakota in 1888, took his A.B. at Indiana University, attended Clark University at Worcester, Massachusetts, completed a course in psychology at the University of Chicago, and studied pediatrics at Northwestern Medical School. While his wide travels and varied experience made him a wise administrator of the Whitewater specialty which was to be national in scope, it also gave him a professional restlessness which came out in a comment at the summer school graduation in 1919, to the effect that after two years in one school a teacher becomes a slacker, loses ambition, and ought to move on. One irritated individual who believed that longer tenures, both in teaching and business, brought the best results, complained, "How can Superintendent Cary carry out his ideas when a president of one of the oldest normals preaches against them?"[68]

On the personal side of President Yoder's administration, some of his greatest strengths worked against his popularity. His ability to judge people brought good leaders like Director Reed and Supervisor C. R. Maxwell of the training school, but his great intellect and foresight, together with his untiring drive as a worker, sometimes brought him into conflict with other strong personalities. Like President Phelps, Yoder believed that town and gown should cooperate by playing well their separate roles. From his new position in the extension division of the University of North Dakota he wrote to his successor, President Hyer:

> I am very glad to learn that you are so fortunate in the selection of a new regent. I do not know of anyone who would be a more acceptable regent than Mr. Baker. Now, if the busybodies of the great city of Whitewater will be

> kind enough to allow you to run the Normal School, things will turn out well. I am glad to hear any news from the school.[69]

The *Register* returned the compliment when it spoke with regret of President Hyer's leaving in 1930, having come "to a school at low ebb in enrollment and a faculty disrupted by the maladministration of the unlamented Albert Yoder."[70] Unlike Phelps, however, President Yoder left behind him a long list of commendable accomplishments and carried away in his heart a benevolent concern for the institution. The fact that he spent his remaining 15 active years as director of extension at the University of North Dakota proved that his "maladministration" at Whitewater was something of a misnomer. The Regents praised him for "the frank, candid, and straight-forward attitude that has uniformly marked all of his dealings with this Board, for the splendid spirit of cooperation he has always manifested, and for the high ideals which have characterized his educational work in the State of Wisconsin."[71] His continued concern for Whitewater was revealed in the numerous letters to Presidents Hyer and C. M. Yoder. His fatherly advice to the former was:

> I was very much shocked to receive the clipping from Mr. Hamilton telling me of President McCaskill's sudden death. Sutherland died suddenly in much the same way. It is partly due to the strenuous life the presidents are obliged to live. I know that you are inclined to give more of yourself than you should. I hope you will take this suggestion to heart.[72]

With a man like Albert Yoder at the helm, with its new specialty safely launched, and with the experience of nearly a half century of service behind it, the Whitewater Normal met the circumstances of the war period with businesslike efficiency. The catalog of 1916 advertised that the commercial department gave thorough preparation in both shorthand and accounting for those desiring to take the civil service examinations for U.S. government employment. After the country entered the war President Yoder led the students in their patriotic impulses by calling an assembly in June, 1917 outlining a list of things that should be done to promote economy and encourage cooperation with the Red Cross.[73] The Normal girls went to work for the Red Cross immediately, though handicapped by lack of yarn. In 1918 Whitewater was the state's Red Cross city, having secured 280% of its membership quota. The Glee Club and Treble Clef gave a concert for the benefit of the Centenary Fund of the British and Foreign Sailors Society in England, and a Whitewater instructor, Mae E. McGann, was directed by Herbert Hoover to give talks on food conservation for the Council of Defense. President Yoder encouraged students to take part in the liberty loan campaign and did all he could for it person-

ally, even to offering his services as chairman of the Walworth County League.[74] He also backed the Wisconsin Loyalty Legion by sending them names of townspeople and faculty who could draw crowds and would help in a state-wide campaign to mobilize public opinion behind the army and navy.

In the military sense, Whitewater was designated by the War Department as one of the institutions in the state to install a unit of the Students' Army Training Corps. Two bulletins were printed in September, 1919 advertising that the small Whitewater unit allowed for more individual attention, that Whitewater had a fine gymnasium and athletic field for a drill ground, that the town was unsurpassed in patriotic spirit by any other city in the state, and that strong courses would be offered including those of the commercial school with its national reputation. It was also noted that the men would be housed in barracks directly south of the gymnasium, which would give an excellent physical arrangement.[75] The barracks were to be completed by October 1st, having been authorized by the Regents in June, 1917. Both the school and the city looked forward to the project, but, unfortunately, the governor did not think Whitewater's enrollment merited the $8,000 expenditure. While President Yoder complained of the "mean trick," the boys made the Normal gym and field their world and took their meals in the domestic science rooms.[76] The war interrupted the tenure of some faculty, among them Dean of Women Charlotte Wood who went to the Philippines to participate in a service which reminded an alumna of 1916 of the modern Peace Corps.[77]

The war cheated President Yoder out of one celebration which time had ordained for him, the semicentennial in 1918. With the initial victories of commercial education already won and the promise of a bright future for the school clearly outlined, there would have been cause for a great display at the Normal. But in April, 1918 the Germans were smashing Allied lines in Flanders and General Pershing was beating the drums for a million men overseas. The simplicity of the celebration suggested by war conditions and the enthusiasm of dedicated alumni gave the modest commencement observance depth of meaning. The *Register* commented: "Probably Whitewater has never had a commencement like the one just past. . . . President Yoder called the roll of former students now serving Uncle Sam—131. . . . The class play was considered the best ever staged. . . . Laughter mingled with tears when 'Old Time Assembly Exercises' were held. Professor Hutton presided and alumni relived their past. . . ."[78] Three hundred attended the banquet, and alumni came from everywhere to hear from their older colleagues, among whom were Judge Samuel R. Alden, '70 and Rollin D. Salisbury, '77 who gave the baccaulaureate and

commencement addresses. The catalog of 1918 concluded: "May the life of the school during the next fifty years be as useful, as vigorous, and as noble as the first fifty," a benediction which remained the personal wish of Albert Yoder long after his administration had passed into history.[79]

President Yoder's successor, like President Wilson's, faced the impossible task of returning things to normalcy. The adjustments of the past years had been made with confidence as the Whitewater Normal had leaped from its cozy nest in Wisconsin's Yankeeland into an undertaking of national scope. Deliberately and carefully planned, the progressive venture had met with unprecedented success and had given the school particular usefulness in a time of distress. But now, after being shaken by a universal conflagration, America wished to return to life as it had been (or as she thought it had been) and tended to look back, to scrap the novel, and to suspicion the unfamiliar. After a time of social unrest, Red scares, and crusades, however, the golden decade of the twenties fell on its face in 1929 and the nation was forced again to forsake tradition for expediency. The Normal relied heavily upon commercial education to preserve its equilibrium during the tottering depression decade.

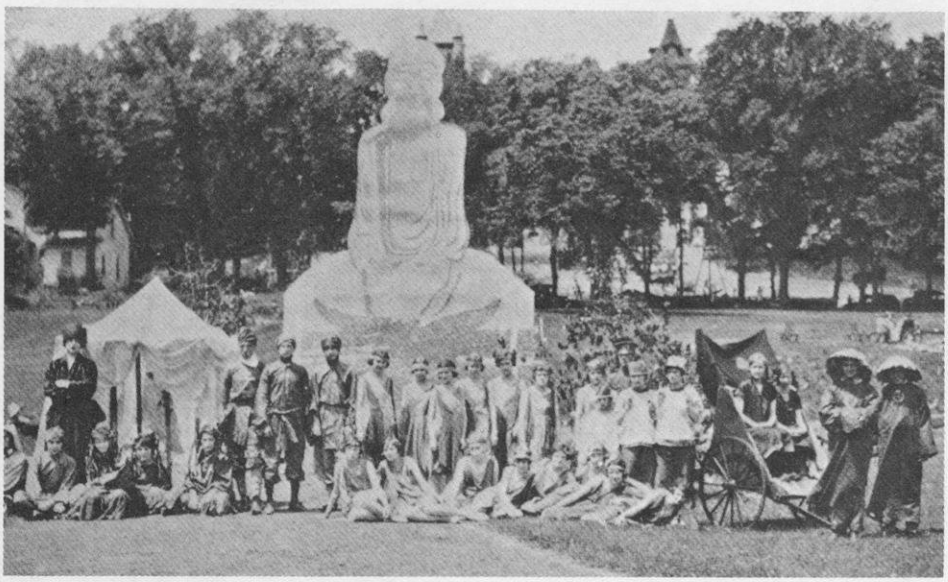
The Regents performed wisely when they chose Frank S. Hyer for the presidency in 1919. Less impetuous than Yoder but equally zealous and more sensitive to the feelings of others, Hyer was the man to mend the nets and set the school sailing with the winds of public opinion once more. Numerous faculty changes, ruffled feelings downtown, budget appeals to the Board—all these were met with quiet confidence. The new president was well known in the state through 25 years as institute conductor in over 60 counties. He had gone to Stevens Point under President Pray in 1904 where he had served as institute conductor and director of the training school. His willingness to leave that post, together with excellent description of his ability, came from the pen of his predecessor friend, Albert Yoder. Writing to an employer of the Bellingham, Washington Normal School in 1914 Yoder said:

> Because of the acquaintance which I have in the state of Washington, I have been asked by F. S. Hyer . . . to write you in his behalf. I have known Mr. Hyer since coming to this state, have visited him once, spending two days and seeing a good deal of the Training School. I saw Mr. Hyer conduct a recitation. One of Mr. Hyer's teachers was one of my teachers in Tacoma. . . . He has a good reputation as director of the Training School, being considered by many as the best Training School man in Wisconsin. I think there is some little friction between the President and Mr. Hyer. . . . I know that there is no open breach between the two. As I understand it, it is some difference of opinion in reference to the management. The work which I saw Mr. Hyer do was excellent.[80]

No doubt Yoder himself would have chosen Hyer as his successor, both because he was a good judge of men and because of his concern for Whitewater's prosperity. With Hyer people believed that normalcy had indeed returned to the Hill; and what the new leader did was much better advertised in the *Register* than were the accomplishments of the old because Whitewater gloried in the honors that came to the unassuming but capable Mr. Hyer. When he arranged an outstanding meeting for the Wisconsin Education Association in 1923 and saved the reputation of the annual programs, the school presented him with a basket of flowers, the Milwaukee Teachers' Association passed a resolution commending him, and the *Register* dubbed the close of his year as head of the organization "remarkable." In 1922 the Regents made him their representative at the meeting of the Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association meeting at Cleveland.[81] Another service on the state level performed by Hyer was his lobbying to get rid of the State Board of Education whose habit it was to slash educational budgets to please the taxpayers. Hyer wrote his friend, Governor Blaine, that the abolition of the Board would be "a step in the right direction to liberate the educational system in the State of Wisconsin from the domination of one man."[82] It seemed to the president that the Board's secretary, Edward A. Fitzpatrick, had a bureaucracy going which was not conducive to the free action necessary to progress. Even in the administration of small things like preventing a local panic when a diphtheria epidemic threatened in 1921 he was able to keep people from losing their heads because he kept his.

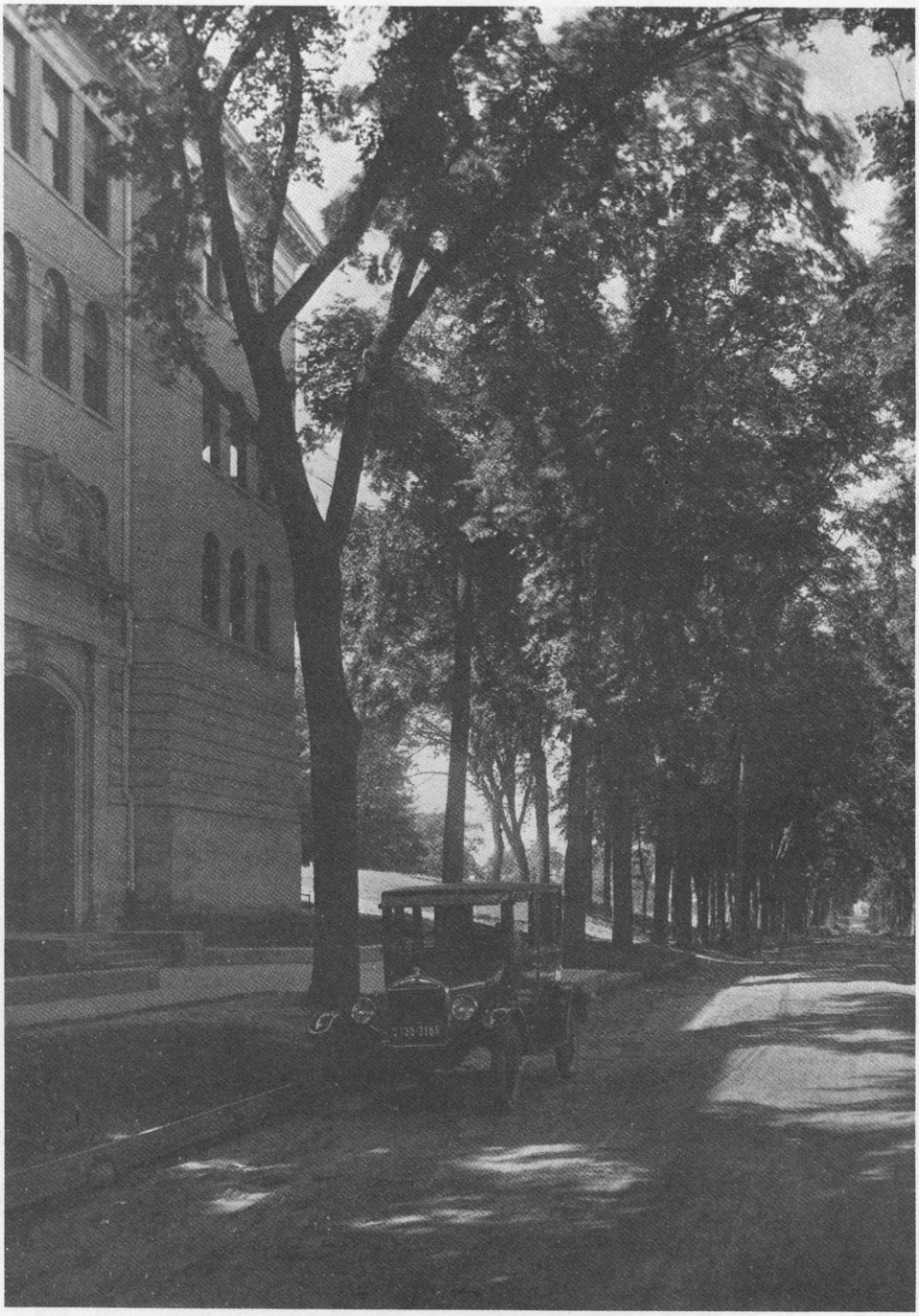
With the total enrollment of the normal and training departments reaching around a thousand during the biennium of 1923–25, several physical improvements were welcome. Concrete was put on the circle drive in front of Old Main and the kindergarten got a Victrola. The $70,000 heating and power plant was completed in 1923, which led the *Register* to comment: "No normal or other state institution can approach what Whitewater has as a heating plant. . . . Few kitchens in Whitewater are shinier than the plant."[83] In 1922 the city council had voted to allow the Normal to install an ornamental lighting system of the east side of Graham Street, giving the campus broadway a modern touch. Hyer's friend E. J. Dempsey commented in 1923: "Your school made an excellent impression on me. Frankly, I do not see how your janitor force keeps the premises in such splendid shape. . . . I found everything just as I would expect to find it in a first-class normal school being operated according to my ideas on the subject."[84] It was a great victory when Governor Blaine finally approved the 1921 legislative plans for the $250,000 East Wing in 1924. On June 10, 1925 the auditorium, the pride of the Wing, was opened to the public with

37. *President Hyer.* F. S. Hyer found his best friends among the conservatives of his day.



38. *The Pageant of the Winds.* Reflecting the expanding interest of the institution in world affairs, this section of the Pageant portrayed Asiatics at the feet of Buddha.

CONSERVATISM AND PROGRESS WERE MUTUALLY NOURISHED AT WHITEWATER DURING THE GOLDEN TWENTIES



39. *The Graham Street Entrance after 1925.* The East wing, a tribute to the success of commercial education, brought Old Main down to Graham Street — and the elms.

THE HEART OF THE CAMPUS, GRAHAM STREET, HAS ALWAYS BEEN
THE SCENE OF MEMORABLE EVENTS

the senior class play. President Hyer received final tribute for his efforts in April, 1967, when the Regents approved a suggestion of former President C. M. Yoder that the appurtenance be designated the Frank S. Hyer Auditorium. The Normal was ready to begin a new era of usefulness, but the expected enrollment did not arrive. President Hyer could then sympathize with the feeling of his predecessor who had written him in 1919: "I was never any worshiper of numbers, but the system in Wisconsin emphasizes attendance, and in order to be counted a success you must have an increase.[85]

It was ironical that the peace-loving Hyer was destined to experience the greatest administrative eruption since the case of President Phelps a half century before. His famous controversy with Professor J. R. Cotton of the public speaking department was typical of many battles between the conservative and liberal forces of an era which produced the Scopes trial, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the prohibition movement, and the Ku Klux Klan; but it was not typical of the smooth-running machine at the Whitewater Normal. Having thoroughly established himself as a friend to the city and the editor of the *Register,* it was to be expected that the issue would cast dust high over the entire community. Unlike in the Phelps case, the town was now on the side of the chief. The *Register* stated emphatically in November, 1926:

> When President Hyer goes before the Board of Regents to answer the ridiculous charges brought against him by J. R. Cotton, he may choose such citizens as he wishes to give testimony in his behalf. President Hyer has 99% of our citizens behind him in this controversy. Most of them are vehement on the subject. The Registerman has been criticized for not taking "Cotton's hide off" in view of the fine opportunity presented by the blow holes in the case he tried to make at Madison. What's the use?
>
> As an experienced newspaperman said, "That man Cotton shows all the symptoms of that familiar disease known as 'publicity hunger.' " That would appear to be an accurate diagnosis. Cotton is certainly getting the publicity he craved—probably at the expense of his regular meal ticket.[86]

The issue between Cotton and Hyer was, ostensibly, that the professor accused the president of salary discrimination for political reasons. Cotton, of liberal persuasion, had organized the Open Forum movement in Walworth County. He received support from Professor J. M. Tice, instructor in penmanship, but "Daddy" Tice was able to sacrifice dubious political victories for positive professional ones and thus maintained his "sense of social justice" on the side. On the other hand, Cotton stormed his way along unpopular paths and ended up getting fired by Milwaukee in 1945 over another salary issue.[87]

The Cotton-Hyer case, of course, involved more than two personalities

and a salary question. Rumblings of the social and political unrest of the decade had reverberated on campus since President Hyer refused to grant the Young Men's Progressive Association permission to use school facilities for meetings in 1924.[88] When Attorney P. F. LaFollette of Madison heard of the matter, he fired a letter to the Board president, P. W. Ramer of River Falls, accusing Hyer of "arbitrarily denying a fundamental right."[89] The Association's president, J. Kenneth Kyle, was wise to his cause in airing the matter before Attorney Phil LaFollette, "Fighting Bob's" younger son who had graduated from law school in 1922 and who had been steeped in politics since he and Robert Jr., at the ages of 3 and 6 respectively, sneaked down the stairs of the governor's mansion in their nightclothes to "peek at the elegant guests assembled for one of the LaFollettes' frequent soirees."[90] Mr. Ramer did not give LaFollette the answer he wanted, but declared: "I can assure you from my own experience, that when religious and political questions get going in a school it is the hardest possible condition for the school. It divides the student body and seriously interferes with what the students are there for."[91] On March 10, 1924 President Hyer appealed to the wisdom of his friend Regent Dempsey, a man who got things done even if it meant threatening to consult Santa Claus![92] Hyer explained:

> . . . I should like to know if I am really guilty of "lese majesty" in my letter to Mr. Kyle. At the time of writing my letter I had no idea that I was dealing with a matter of interest to the chairman of the Republican State Central Committee. It strikes me that Mr. LaFollette has gone a long way out of his bailiwick in his attempt to put me in a bad light with the Board of Regents. I am delighted with Mr. Ramer's reply.
>
> I have no desire to "arbitrarily deny equal fundamental right" to anybody, but without a direct order from the Board of Regents to the contrary I shall not knowingly permit the use of any of our halls for political purposes. It would be suicide to do so. I'd have a fine time here with the K.K.K. and numerous other organizations.[93]

Since both Ramer and Dempsey agreed with Hyer in substance, the matter of free expression rested uneasily until the Cotton-Hyer case of 1926 threw an explosive upon the smouldering embers of liberalism on campus.

The precipitating event of 1926 was that early in the year John C. Kachel was named local regent to replace the prominent Whitewater businessman, Jerome Baker. The *Capital Times* started the ball rolling on February 17th:

> The appointment of Mr. Kachel is a victory for the liberal element in the Whitewater normal school where there has been a controversy during the last three or four years. J. R. Cotton, head of the public speaking department and organizer of the open forum movement in Walworth County has frequently charged that he and other members of the faculty have been discriminated

> against because of their liberal views. The charges have been leveled at Frank S. Hyer, president of the normal school and retiring regent, Jerome Baker, an appointee of Gov. Philipp. Mr. Cotton and his friends including the progressive organizations of Walworth County have been strongly opposed to the reappointment of Regent Baker and have supported Mr. Kachel for the post of regent.[94]

On February 19th a meeting of the Whitewater Local of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association was called and a resolution passed denouncing the *Times* article for "conveying the impression that there are factions in our normal school" and asserting that, to their knowledge, there had been no discrimination during the administration of President Hyer.[95] Only Professors Cotton and Tice voted against the resolution. Said Tice, "I am not opposing President Hyer but I do feel that a president, in order to be successful, should treat with courtesy his most humble subordinate. 'A man's a man for a' that.'"[96] Numerous other letters to Dempsey complaining of the lack of freedom on campus and the maltreatment of Cotton were forthcoming in the summer of 1926. Letters from sympathizers and the publicity stirred up in the press brought the matter to a head by the end of the year. The University of Wisconsin's *Daily Cardinal* of December 5, 1926 presented Cotton's side as follows:

> Normal School Regent Jerome Baker, who sells bulk products at Whitewater, found that he was losing business because of the doings of the Whitewater Co-operative society. Folk of set beliefs like Editor R. K. Coe of the Whitewater Register objected to the bringing to Whitewater such "radical" speakers as Prof. E. A. Ross of the sociology department of this university, Regent Zona Gale, Editor William T. Evjue of the Capital Times and Clarence Darrow to speak before the Open Forum association. . . . This fresh Cotton fellow just had to be disciplined, that's all there was to it. . . . In various ways Prof. Cotton was discriminated against. When the rest of the school building was painted, his room was left as it was. The so-called "student" paper, the Royal Purple, printed false charges against him, but would not print a defense of him, because of faculty control. . . . Hence the charges by the professor.[97]

To answer Cotton's 18 or more charges Hyer prepared a 39-page report to be read at the hearing before the Board in December. Said the president on the paint issue: "I regret this as much as he. Every year I have endeavored to have as much done as our funds would permit. Last year our funds were exhausted when we got half through the corridor on the lower floor. . . ."[98] The hearing unearthed everything from the accusation that Cotton once had been judged incompetent by authorities of the University to teach high school English, to the assertion that Hyer had been reared a Democrat! At the hearing the room was filled with faculty (36 in all), townspeople, and friends of education statewide. The conservative atmosphere of the room, like that of Whitewater and of the American

mind in general in the 1920's, spelled Cotton's doom. Hyer did not lose his dignity and the people did not lose their faith in him.

Dust from the hearing did not settle quickly. On the business front P. P. Heyrman, manager of the Whitewater Press Company, wrote Regent Dempsey that *Register* editor Robert Coe and Hyer were friends, that Coe attacked Cotton because of this, and that Coe got to print the school paper even though the Press Company had underbid him.[99] On the student front Cotton sympathizers wrote alumni for donations to help pay his expenses. Although the Board sustained Hyer 6 to 3, Cotton was not dismissed and his fight to liberalize the educational policies of the normals continued. On the political front in April, 1927 a folder appeared on the desks of Wisconsin legislators entitled "Honesty and Democracy in Wisconsin Normal Schools," containing attacks on the Regents and President Hyer. Once more the *Register* bristled against "this Cottonesque malice" which suggested a resolution in the Assembly calling for a legislative investigation of the Whitewater Normal. "Patience has ceased to be a virtue," stormed the paper. ". . . the community demands that Cotton shall go—not soon but NOW."[100] As it turned out, Cotton's exit at the close of the term caused less disturbance than most of his moves during his nine-year tenure, while the president's successful battle for vindication distinguished him for political and social common sense in an age of triumphant conservatism.

Hyer's administration yielded him more joys than sorrows, however, and at the end only the glory appeared. At a meeting of the Board on August 5, 1930 his resignation was formally accepted and he was elected president of Stevens Point to the delight of some 50 citizens who had organized to secure their former townsman and to the regret of the Whitewater community. He performed his last personal service to the Whitewater campus on October 24, 1930, on which date a group of hemlocks were planted on the southwest corner of the campus and dedicated to Billy Rieder, chief engineer, landscape gardener, and "trouble man."[101] Hyer retired from the normal school system in 1937 and passed away twenty years later at the age of 87, a vigorous individual of great intellect, meticulous in professional details, and of strong convictions.

In matters curricular the great historical event of the Hyer administration was the authorization to grant a bachelor's degree by virtue of the commercial curriculum. Progressives in the "vanguard" state had been disturbed that Wisconsin and Washington were the only states in the country whose normals were offering four-year courses without degrees. In May, 1926 the Board gave Whitewater authority to grant a degree in education to teachers of commercial subjects in high school, and in July a resolution

was passed creating the state teachers colleges as of September 1, 1927. President Hyer explained the significance of this to the students, who could now go from the local campus to the University on the same basis as those from other collegiate institutions. The state normal system, beginning with only an elementary curriculum, had progressed to four-year courses, then to specialization, and finally to the degree-granting stage. Men of vision began to think of liberal arts, a step that was taken during the post World War II era.

As time stirred up the traditional normals and sent them forth into broader fields, their relationship with accrediting agencies was considered. This was an old question at Whitewater and one not hastily decided. In 1908 President Salisbury had written the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools regarding application for membership, but his letter had arrived too late for consideration by the executive committee. In April, 1909 Salisbury heard that it would be another year before the applications would be processed.[102] The matter was apparently dropped with no regret. In 1923 President Hyer expressed to a colleague in Oklahoma what had been the general attitude of the normals toward the Association:

> Our normal schools are state institutions and we see no reason why we should yield in any way to the dictation of an organization entirely without our state.
>
> I heard a former prominent city superintendent, now a member of the State Department of Instruction, say that he stands ready to recommend that all of the high schools of Wisconsin withdraw from the North Central Association. . . . The nine normal schools in Wisconsin have unanimously decided to decline admission this year to the Association.[103]

Relations with the American Association of Teachers Colleges likewise suffered ups and downs. Although Whitewater claimed membership in 1925, faculty preparation (15% were below the masters degree level) and health provisions prohibited full approval. In 1935 an assembly bill was introduced stating that no high school or college in Wisconsin could receive state aid if such school were attached to any accrediting agency located outside the state. President C. M. Yoder told the A.A.T.C.: "While I do not believe the bill will become a law, it does indicate that there is an increasing feeling that accrediting agencies are becoming too dictatorial."[104] He suggested that the organization ought to be "truly professional" and avoid the appearance of being an accrediting agency or of trying to ape the North Central Association. Misunderstandings between the agencies and the normals were easily forthcoming. The agencies were formed for the purpose of lifting standards, while the normals, busy with

local demands and thrilled with the development of their specializations, were satisfied to test their pudding by the eating thereof rather than by pat regulations. They were used to taking orders only from the Legislature and the Board of Regents, under which authorities they had traditionally developed. Moreover, Whitewater was blessed with a long list of stalwarts whose tenures could not be interrupted. The standards of the agencies were finally met in 1942 when the normals had matured sufficiently at their own speed.

The general curricular expansion of the commercial era foreshadowed the modern day. Professor Delos O. Kinsman (1901–16), Whitewater's first Ph.D. who had distinguished himself in the field of income tax, elevated the social studies. He had initiated social science in 1901 when he organized a civil government class, and in 1914 he introduced a new element into sociology by guiding his students into an elaborate study of Walworth County. He later published a book on Wisconsin local government, taught at Lawrence University for a decade, and concluded his career as professor of economics at the American University at Washington, D.C. Professor Harry O. Lathrop (1918–33) who taught geography and Professor Silvio G. Santayana (1929–31) who taught history and sociology comprised Whitewater's "second generation" of Ph.D.'s. In 1930 the *Register* predicted that the "charmed circle" would soon be enlarged.[105] Professor Warren C. Fischer (1922–58) added a new dimension to geography with his field trips into the Kettle Moraine and his travel parties which extended to Europe and set precedent for the world tours of today.

The English-language department was modernized by exchanging foreign language for a greater emphasis upon English. In 1914 Latin was abruptly abolished and World War I obliterated German until its renaissance a few years ago. The final sweep came in 1929 when the Board discontinued the position of foreign language teacher. The emphasis of commercial education upon social studies, vocational subjects, and good English elevated the later and opened new avenues of expression. Professor Helen M. Knosker (1916–46), whose wide interests stimulated thousands of students, secured the state's third chapter of Sigma Tau Delta in 1931. She brought to her English classes Wisconsin's poet laureate, Beulah Charmley, an added attraction to the increasing numbers of students who were electing English majors. Science, favored from the beginning by men of talent, continued to prosper as in the days of Chamberlin, Johnson, and Upham. Professor Walter S. Watson (1895–1937) made history and science partners while Professor Robert C. Clark (1922–1955) developed a process of embedding biological specimens in transparent synthetic resin and Professor Ralph J. Brooks (1922–1948) discovered three things: a new com-

pound of iron, a common base for lignins, and that if you told a class that sometimes you use a poisoned variety of alcohol in the laboratory the supply lasted longer! The traditional reverence for science and the humanities was exchanged for the practical approach of a business age. Patterns for the time when the teachers colleges would become state colleges were being formed.

The training school department broadened with the new age to explore the educational philosophy of John Dewey and the general aims of social efficiency. Helen Parkhurst, a former student of President Hyer at Stevens Point, presented the Dalton Plan at Whitewater in 1925, a system that gave pupils the lessons for a whole week and let each one work at his own speed. The work of Professor Herman H. Schroeder in psychology and history of education on the eve of the great commercial age gave the education department a running start. Professor Benjamin B. James, who came in 1914 as a sociology teacher and directed the principals' and high school teachers' courses for years, had an excellent grasp of his subject. One of his educational monographs, "An Experimental Inquiry into the Mental Calibre of Normal School Students" published by the Regents in 1922 was a classic:

> Good clothes cannot be made out of short-fiber cotton; nothing good can be made of poor material; when we find a way to make long fiber out of short fiber, we shall be able to make good cloth of poor cotton. Good teachers cannot be made out of poor material; when we find a way to make superior people out of inferior, we shall be able to make good teachers out of whatever material is sent to us, and not before; but "Who can make that straight which God has made crooked?"[106]

Another early stalwart was Nettie C. Sayles (1906–1928), director of the grammar (upper elementary) department, a branch of the training school dedicated to giving the prospective teacher a broad and general education. The primary (lower elementary) department was led by several outstanding teachers during the period, the first of whom was Grace Potter (1900–25). At Whitewater students were taught that the primary teacher had a unique opportunity to mold mind and character and to set patterns vital in the life of the child; therefore, she should be a specialist. This philosophy was expressed by Miss Potter's successsor, Florence M. Shattuck, whose brilliant career which began in 1925 was cut short on May 9, 1935 by an automobile accident. Said Miss Shattuck in a radio address emphasizing the importance of every pupil, "Who knows for what high cause this darling of the gods was born?"[107] The primary course was also blessed by the long service of Mary C. Madden (1919–1952), and of Clara L. Tutt (1934–1958) whose *Badger Tales* (1940) was an attempt to adapt Wis-

consin's historical record to the needs of children. In 1950 a second book, *Across the Shining Mountains,* recounted the westward push across the United States, and in 1960 Miss Tutt's *Carl Schurz the Patriot* gave children a taste of biography. The training school director from 1919 to 1941, William P. Roseman, lived to see the present campus school become his memorial in 1961. His long career began when he was principal of the Reedsburg school system. In 1906 when he was superintendent of schools at Watertown he had written President Salisbury for a teacher.[108] This champion of supervised practice teaching left in 1941 to help the government set up educational systems in army camps and Japanese relocation centers in Arizona and Texas. His personal interest in helping students get jobs during the 1930's was not only indicative of his value as an educator but helped save Whitewater's reputation for placement during depression days. He passed away at the age of 95 on October 29, 1964.

An important branch of training school work was the department of rural education directed by the capable, businesslike Clara L. (Mrs. I. U.) Wheeler (1919–1939). She came to the department when it was nine years old and saw it develop into a four-year curriculum for the preparation of teachers of one-room rural schools and state graded schools. After September 1, 1936 when all curricula became four years in length the subject requirements were so arranged that students pursuing the program could qualify for the county superintendent's license at the close of two years, leaving for the junior and senior years advanced training in academic and professional work. A school of observation three miles from town, a literary society composed of members of the department only (the Alpha Club), and a friendly city with a population including many retired farmers sympathetic with the aims of the course were listed as advantages to the prospective student. After the East Wing was built in 1925 pupils from the Fuller school and others were brought to campus, thus creating a precedent for consolidation (one of President Hyer's dreams) and ending the three-mile trips to the rural schoolhouse. Whitewater could then boast: "This is the only educational institution in Wisconsin and the only one in the Middle West, so far as statistics at hand show, that has all types of public school education organized under one institutional roof. Shall we make it the rendezvous of the Middle West for educational procedure? Will you meet this challenge in your department?"[109] In 1931 there were 49 pupils in the school. Mrs. Wheeler's pride in her work and her administrative ability won for her the admiration of her contemporaries. Known as "Ma" (but never so called to her face), she seldom smiled but was always saying something funny. A perceptive com-

ment on the life of this stern disciplinarian was that she "was always fearful lest someone discover the size of her sympathetic heart."[110]

The vocational courses of the period were taught exclusively for their professional value. At the beginning of the era there were two courses in drawing under Miss Flora B. Potter (1918–1940); by 1939 students in art education could take fundamentals of art, industrial art, art appreciation, and applied design. Home economics under Mrs. Mary Dempsey Fricker (1919–1961) initially featured cooking, sewing, and dressmaking, with later additions of home and social problems, clothing, and foods. While academic courses were making significant headway in their own right, only commercial education triumphed in the vocational area. The growing popularity of the high school teachers course, which emphasized English, German (until 1918), mathematics, history, and certain sciences demanded a broader curriculum and helped clear the way for a liberal arts program in the next generation.

Expansion of the library and its services complemented the academic increment. Miss Lucy Thatcher (1919–1938) brought continuity and organization to this curricular appendage, one of the first adjustments being an overdue change from the Cutter to the Dewey decimal classification system. As early as 1916 a letter to President Yoder from the University of Wisconsin Library School gave Whitewater some potent stimulation: ". . . all the normal schools in the state have either changed, or are changing soon, except possibly Milwaukee. . . . The change will probably take . . . two years, with the assistance of students.[111] In 1919 the Board allowed Whitewater $75 for student help with the task. Another adaption commensurate with the advent of secondary education was that the reference course of the Salisbury generation became a library methods course to prepare secondary teachers to assume charge of high school libraries. In addition six lessons were given by the librarian, a series expanded twelve fold by law in 1925. In 1926 Miss Edith Knilans, whose 32 years of service were highly commendable, came to strengthen an inadequate staff. The children's library under Miss Leora Harris (1929–1949) contained over 3,000 volumes in 1930 and was doing sufficient business by 1943 to demand the assistance of Mrs. Myn Coe, whose outstanding service extended to 1966. These dedicated librarians kept all learners in close communication with the realities of research.

During the age of business education the summer school program, begun on a shaky basis just after the turn of the century, expanded to the extent that summer enrollment exceeded that of regular semesters in 1921, 1930, and 1931. As many as ten credits could be earned in the early '20's, but this was reduced to eight in 1924 and to six in 1925, the year of

the lowest ebb in summer enrollment since the war. The length of the session was regulated so as to allow for six credits until 1960, when the six-weeks term was lengthened to eight and the credits extended to nine. As a special summer school feature Professor Roseman arranged for weekly lectures by county superintendents and presidents of other normals, a precedent for the modern conference and workshop.

Administrative decisions following World War I and the Great Depression had to be made apart from tradition. As the long quarter century generated an impressive share of advancements, it consumed an impressive slice of the taxpayers' budget. Money to develop and house the growing curriculum and to pay the faculty (which increased from 30 in 1913 to 50 1939) kept presidents at the door of the Legislature. President A. H. Yoder wrote to an assemblyman in 1913 regarding the bill for a new normal at Eau Claire:

> We already have more Normal Schools that we need. . . . If a new school is to be added it means further lowering of the efficiency of our Normal Schools; it means less salary and a less desirable class of instructors. Today I received the second resignation this spring. Both teachers are going to Illinois, in both cases with an increase of $200 in salary.[112]

In 1914 the director of the State Board of Public Affairs, A. N. Farmer, conducted an embarrassing survey of the cost of the average student recitation for all courses in the normal schools and found it to range from .112 at Whitewater to .061 at Milwaukee.[113] When the depression hit the immediate response of the budget-conscious Legislature was unsympathetic with the plans of the normals; in fact, the Milwaukee *Journal* of March 26, 1933 carried an article predicting that the state would be broke by July 1st.[114] Thanks to commercial education, enrollment statistics at Whitewater continually mounted during the 1930's, a fact that may have saved the institution from disaster. In September, 1935 over 80 young men and women of the 663 students were on the payroll of the National Youth Administration, the New Deal's program for student aid. In 1934 F.E.R.A. workers spent several weeks on the Hill improving the physical plant, and in 1938 W.P.A. workers erected a one-room brick addition at the north end of the men's gymnasium for tanks, filters, etc. Through those difficult days the work of training teachers went on, and the College could be thankful that it did not suffer the fate of Whitewater's famous spiritualist temple, the Morris Pratt Institute, which closed its doors in 1932 for the first time in 30 years, never to reopen them.

Both the problems and the opportunities of the era caused extracurricular life to follow serious patterns. Whitewater was among the first to have a Normal Community League, open to all girls for training in welfare and

recreation. An outstanding dramatization of the post-war humanitarian sentiment was the 1924 pageant. Directed by history professor O. A. Reetz and called "The Pageant of the Winds," the presentation brought together peoples from all over the world, as represented by the four winds, and intended to picture mankind in a closer union of understanding. At the conclusion was a final whirlwind, sweeping representatives from every nation together beneath a cross. The pageants, forerunners of the plays of the Thespian Club and the annual W.A.A. stunt night, reached their height in the golden twenties and served to engender within the entire institution a fertile spirit of cooperation.

Alumni activities displayed some of the personal warmth for which the Salisbury era was noted and added the business tone of the new age. The Alumni Register of 1926 recorded that as of June 15, 1926 Whitewater had turned out 1,124 students with certificates and 2,830 with diplomas, a total of 3,954. By 1938 commercial education alone had graduated 1,571 students. A free teachers' bureau was set up to assist the commercial graduates in locating jobs. So well did the school provide for this that the average placement of all departments ran from 99% in 1929 to 90% in 1939. The catalog of 1920 mentioned a loan fund from which worthy students who needed funds to graduate could borrow @ 6% and pay back during their first year of teaching. The Legislature in 1935 gave the Regents authority to grant scholarships to a limited number of freshmen with high secondary records. Thus began the idea of financial aid during the business age.

The school spirit of the business age reflected the zest for life which post-war hopes generated. With equal earnestness students celebrated the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims in 1921 and crowded into the auditorium in 1925 to hear Clarence Darrow speak on the causes and treatment of crime under the auspices of the Open Forum. The record of that incident by the historian Holmes accurately set down the mingling of the ages:

> A few years ago the late Clarence Darrow, noted Chicago criminal lawyer, came to Whitewater, a busy Southern Wisconsin city of 4,000 with a cultured New England visage, to speak at an open forum of the State Teachers' College. After the lecture he disappeared for two days. Later it was discovered that he had spent the time on an inspection of the Morris Pratt Institute—and departed unconvinced but mystified.[115]

Faculty-student relationships, while less personal, were no less sincere. Professor Carlson's desk was covered with expressions of gratitude for his concern for his graduates, and the ladies of the department sometimes received flowers. The biggest difference between the business age and that of Salisbury was the speed with which things were done. Local and

sectional responsibilities had stretched into state and national concerns, which gave the appearance of newness to practices which were actually traditional. Morning talks were a thing of the past, but there was a weekly assembly required of all students. According to the catalog of 1928 students who were absent from assembly more than three times in any semester would not have their credits recorded until the absences were explained and excused by the president.[116] The catalog of 1936 indicated a bit more leniency but stated that attendance was taken and that excuses for illness should be reported to the president. Slothfulness of any kind was frowned upon as much in the business age as in the more paternal Salisbury generation, though there was less emphasis on the heretical aspect of discipline and the spankings were more academic than personal. On the whole, state college students considered themselves more virtuous than their University colleagues, but President Hyer had an occasion to question this when he arose from a bed of illness on St. Patrick's Day, 1921 to stop the hair-raising pastime of a Scotch-Irish student and an opponent as they were trying to outwit each other by tying orange and green banners respectively to the top of the ten-foot flagpole above the steeple of Old Main.[117]

Following the pattern of the University a decade before, student government organizations began to function at the outset of the business age. The first dean of women, Miss Jennie B. Sherill, did not take office until in 1917, but as a faculty advisor (there was one for women and one for men) with special interest in student affairs, she cooperated with President Yoder and Charlotte Wood (destined to be the second dean) to formulate a central government. By means of a "bloodless revolution" the Girls Organization (abbreviated G.O. because it made things *go*) was established in 1913, composed of all Normal girls. The men followed in 1915 with the short-lived Normal Brotherhood, but the ladies' organization, by virtue of numbers, was pre-eminent. The G.O. and dean of women collaborated to bring Whitewater's social life to new heights of democratic, practical, and wholesome achievement. The third dean, Miss Zoe Bayliss, was chosen president of the Deans of Women and Girls in Wisconsin High Schools, Normals, and Colleges in 1925. Her rare gift for counseling was recognized by President Hyer, who wished for a dean of men also. But even the women's office was abolished for lack of funds in 1930, not to be revived until 1946. In the 1930's, under the new name of Women's Self-Government Association, the girls' organization launched big-little sister programs, saw to housing rules, planned socials for the student body, supervised freshman week, etc. The men attempted a similar council in 1938, but the tentative program did not take root. From time to time cries

went up for a student council, but the women ruled sovereignly until the 1950's. In the '30's a faculty committee known as the Student Cooperating Committee, a forerunner of the modern Student Welfare Committee, worked with the students to plan social activities. Since 1913 rhetoricals had been largely voluntary and final exams to determine standings had been replaced by written hour exams and records of daily work. Both academically and socially the students of the era cultivated self-discipline in an atmosphere where business was business.

The literary and oratorical societies of the era maintained their basic purposes despite many changes in name and structure. Two venerable literary groups, Philomathia and Aureola, both composed entirely of ladies, managed to survive through the 1920's, after which their existence was made superfluous by such organizations as the Forensic League (organized in 1923) and the Thespian Dramatic Club (begun in 1920). A third society, the Athena, existed from 1911–1914, its short life indicating the precarious existence of the time-honored societies. The Lincolnians did not see the light of day in the business era, having flickered out after 1912. That the pious societies had become anachronistic was demonstrated at the last great public appearance of Philo and Aureola in a stunt night program sponsored by the Women's Athletic Association in 1929. Eight Philo girls in raccoon coats sang, "Doing the Raccoon" and Aureola got first place for an Apache dance![118] After the war interest in the inter-normal debates, once coached by the head of the English department, received a new surge of life from a new department headed by Professor J. R. Cotton (1918–1927). The energies of the Salisbury debating club for men and the Burke club for women, pre-war offshoots from the traditional societies, were now channeled into one stream which has remained essentially constant to date. A Forensic League was organized in the fall of 1923 to promote public speaking and provide an open forum where vital public questions might be discussed. Crowds were drawn to the Normal gym to hear debates on new laws, court decisions, and government policies in general, supplemented by music from the orchestra. In 1923 Whitewater downed Milwaukee and Platteville in a double victory, making prospects bright for the state championship in 1924, the peak of Cotton's popularity. After he left the forum lost prestige and with it the Forensic League waned. The depression finished burying the League, and even the state organization went out in 1933. The art of debate continued however, under the auspices of a new organization, the Whitewater Forensic Association. In 1934 a University of Wisconsin team came to campus for an evening of argument, an historical event for Whitewater. In 1936 the nine state colleges participated in a tournament held locally, which sea-

son was consumated at St. Paul (probably the biggest regional in the United States) where Whitewater's coed debaters defeated the champions. Meanwhile, a group called the Pythian Forum Society, which existed from 1933 until the dark days of World War II, revived the discussion aspect of forensics. The sponsor was the late Professor C. H. Wellers, whose death on May 6, 1967 occurred the same weekend he was to have shared honors with Misses Edith Knilans and Clara Tutt at the new dorms named for them. He also organized a Student Speech Bureau whereby civic organizations might secure informed young speakers. The dramatic aspect of the old literary activity was assumed by the Thespian Club which took its name from King Thespus, ancient Greek forerunner of the drama. Professor Cotton got the organization interested in one-act plays and by the end of the era four major productions a year, an annual radio broadcast over WCLO, and participation in the Drama League Contest comprised the activities. An outstanding social function was the mid-winter formal held at the end of the first semester. A creative drama class gave the Club academic backing.

Like other student groups, the religious organizations of the business age were modernized in form and purpose. The Y.W.C.A., the only campus religious group at the beginning of the era, had practically faded away by 1930. The handbook became the responsibility of the Girls Organization and the dean of women in 1922. The Catholic students were first to unite under the auspices of a denomination. Known as Athanasia when organized in 1912, the group became the Catholic Girls' Society in 1916 and Mercier in 1920. In the spring of 1926 the Wesley Foundation of the Methodist Church was established, and in 1930 the Congregationalists began the Pilgrim Fellowship (later Scrooby). St. Luke's Episcopal Church was represented by the Guilders in the mid-thirties but was reorganized in 1938 as the Kemper Guild in honor of a pioneer Wisconsin missionary who had descendants living in Whitewater. In 1935 the Lutheran Student Association (L.S.A.) of the English Lutheran Church was founded, and in 1937 the Lutheran Synodical Conference Students (L.S.C.S.) was begun by the German Lutherans. No interdenominational organization rose to replace the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. until the advent of Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship in 1956–57. In 1921 the local churches launched a campus-wide reception in the Normal gym, precedent for the church night which, until recently, was given space on the freshman orientation program. During the business age materialism did not displace religion; religion got down to business.

In the social sense the old literary societies were replaced by the Greeks. During this period seven of the eleven sororities and fraternities

now extant were begun. The Alpha Sigma sorority, established in 1930, claimed kinship with the Aureola Literary Society and intended to perpetuate its goals of cultural and social excellence. Sigma Sigma Sigma came to campus in 1932, and by the end of the era Delta Sigma Epsilon and Theta Sigma Upsilon had arrived. The oldest fraternity on campus, Phi Chi Epsilon, was founded in 1921. In 1925 Alpha Lambda Delta (called Sigma Tau Gamma after 1928) was founded by a group of prominent athletes and scholastically inclined students. The third fraternity was Beta Kappa Nu (Chi Delta Rho) in 1929. To govern the Greeks two bodies were inaugurated in the thirties, the Inter-Sorority (now Panhellenic) and Inter-Fraternity Councils. It was a natural outreach of the business age that made it expedient for nationally affiliated Greek groups to invade the once provincial institution.

The *Royal Purple* newspaper and the *Minneiska* yearbook responded to the business era. On April 1, 1913 the first issue of the *Royal Purple* as a weekly was distributed, but it was at the financial mercy of subscribers. With the advent of the teachers college era, the student body voted to include payment for subscription in the initial fees at the beginning of the semester, thus ending the voluntary plan and putting the paper in step with the practice at other normals. The *Minneiska* had come a long way since 1909, as indicated by a comment of former President A. H. Yoder in 1922:

> I have just been looking over the last *Minneiska,* which Dwight Warner was kind enough to send me. I suppose it was partly because of its dedication to Miss Potter, whom I always did and do still esteem highly, but especially the reference on page 22 to my administration. It is an excellent year book, the best one I think the Normal has yet issued. It is less provincial than the ones that were issued in my day. I used to have the jim jams over the *Royal Purple* especially, and more or less over the *Minneiska,* but I am ready to admit that the publication has very faithfully reflected the institution. This issue, however, appears to be a publication of a more grown up school.[119]

The reference to Yoder's administration complimented him as a "far seeing, progressive organizer," proof that the business era revered its progenitors. In 1937 the Yearbook joined the Newspaper as a fee-supported service and the next two years it received all-American ratings.

During the period there emerged a long list of organizations specifically connected with academic pursuits. Departments were represented in the Academic Club, Alpha Club (rural education), Commercial Club, and Primary Club, all holding their share of parties, benefits, and banquets. There was a Story Tellers' League in the '20's, and the languages always had their satellite organizations—the English Club, Sprach-Und-Spielverein (until German went under with the *Lusitania*), and La Societe

Francaise. If one had special abilities and liked the idea of fraternalism, he might join Delta Psi Omega (drama), Kappa Delta Pi (education), Pi Omega Pi (commerce), or Sigma Tau Delta (English and creative writing). If he cared for none of these, he could join the Photography Club, beat a drum, or kick a football, the latter two of which offered a variety of diversions.

Music came into its own during the era. The Normal Glee Club of the 1920's, the offspring of the ancient group that once met in the old Normal Hall and sang at public entertainments, varied in size from some 30 to 90 members and began having rehearsals after school for the first time in 1926. A spring concert by the Glee Club and Treble Clef was a popular feature, and in the 1930's an A Cappella Choir siphoned some talent from the Treble Clef and Men's Chorus. Miss Baker sponsored a Choral Club for women known as the "little sister" of the Treble Clef, and when she retired in 1937 her gentleman successor was constrained by the ladies to continue it. By the end of the era a branch of the A Cappella Choir, the Madrigals, had a conducted tour of their own. Girls' sextets and men's quartets appeared and disappeared according to personnel. Instrumental music received a new infusion of life with the coming of the accomplished Sidney E. Mear (1926–39), an outstanding cornet soloist and former member of the Ringling Brothers band and of the 31st Field Artillery band during the war. The modern band had been organized in 1925 by Professor Clark of the biology department, and when Mr. Mear took over there were 30 members. In 1932 the 84-piece group had the honor of appearing before the Wisconsin Teachers Association. Because Mr. Mear could give only limited time to the band, amateur directors took charge during games. In 1940 the band passed into the hands of Professor Virgil C. Graham, who could swing a baton as freely as his writing pen. As for the orchestra, Professor Lee had organized a group in 1920 and directed it for three years; then another member of the commercial staff, Miss Bisbee, had taken over until Mr. Mear came. Another instrumental organization was the Piano Club, the only college group to belong to the Whitewater Federation of Women's Clubs. At its Bassett House headquarters the Club enjoyed the patronage of two local piano teachers, Mrs. George Ferris and Mrs. Roxa Pritchett. Begun in 1934, it took on classical flavor in 1941 by becoming Zeta Eta Theta. A promotion for all musical organizations occurred in 1931 when extracurricular music activities were put on a credit basis.

In line with the demands of the new period athletics developed its own brand of big business under the direction of the "dean of Wisconsin coaches," Charles H. ("Chick") Agnew (1919–42). What had been accomplished at Whitewater was indicated in 1913 when the first physical direc-

tor of men, James G. Fletcher, received a letter from the athletic director at Fort Atkinson: "We are just introducing physical culture and gymnasium work into the high school here, and would greatly appreciate suggestions from schools where it is already established."[120] Sports emerged from this "gymnasium work" cocoon into athletics when W. E. Schreiber became director in 1913, the year the Inter-Normal Athletic Conference was organized. With a big record behind him in football and baseball at the University of Wisconsin and with an increasing male population thanks to commercial education, prospects looked good for the new leader. Another encouragement came when "Chick" Agnew entered school and became an all conference guard on the 1914, '15, and '16 teams. After winning three championships in a row (1913, '14, and '15—the latter being in the Southern division only), Schreiber was considered for a position at the University. He remained at Whitewater, however, until the war so depleted the ranks of the team that no real effort was made to fill his place in 1918. The last honor that came to this champion was his installation into the Whitewater Hall of Fame in 1965, just a little over a month before he died at his Arizona home at the age of 92. Coach Schreiber so impressed the institution with the value of physical education that the commencement of 1916 featured physical exercises and drills instead of the traditional essays and President A. H. Yoder spoke on the merits of physical training as the oldest type of education! The president went so far as to say that food laws, shooting, and defense antedated the alphabet, that physical training was the foundation of all life, and that intellectual and spiritual needs had been overemphasized at times.[121] Athletics was an enrollment building business, and in 1917 a resolution allowing active credit for physical training courses put them on a par with other subjects. Returning servicemen found a campus hungry for victory and an iron man to lead them in triumph. "Chick" Agnew carried his many honors with dignity and his few defeats with composure. According to a summary report, his teams won 4 undisputed championships, tied twice for championships, finished second 9 times, took third 7 seasons, and never finished below third.[122] When a heart disease claimed him suddenly on August 19, 1942, the entire community, state, and several sections of the nation felt the impact. He received posthumously Whitewater's greatest athletic honor when his name was enshrined as the first member of the newly created Hall of Fame in 1963.

The good start made by Schreiber before the war was followed by several lean years, so that the 1922 championship was a momentous occasion. Graduates within 100 miles received 1500 postal cards, businessmen opened their stores for invasion, a parade featured six young ladies dressed

as widows following a coffin labeled "Milwaukee," and a big cheer was given Jolliffe and Chamberlain's store for giving 15 heavy coats to members of the team.[123] After the victory a calendar picturing the squad and Coach Agnew was sold at the local stores. In 1923 the homecoming game drew a huge crowd and featured a pep meeting, bonfire, and comic parade. Not everyone in the state was certain that these evidences of Normal spirit merited spending the taxpayers' money, however. Regent Dempsey wrote President Hyer in 1923:

> There is a strong feeling on the part of several members of the State Board of Education to the effect that our normal school athletics should be self-supporting. Personally, I do not see how it would be possible to maintain athletics . . . on a self-supporting basis. However . . . you can readily see that the members of a disinterested board may question the wisdom of appropriating money raised by taxation to finance football teams. . . . As I observe normal school athletics, I sometimes feel that we are spending much time and energy on the development of a comparatively small group of young men, some of whom are teacher training material of a very low grade, indeed.[124]

Intramural sports had not yet come into their own, and it was true that the physical benefits accrued to a minority; but sportsmen of vision were not deterred by the despised Board of Education. The team kept on playing and athletics continued as an integral part of the educational world. In 1924 a thriller against Oshkosh (14–13) charmed the homecoming audience, and in 1925 a large crowd braved a blizzard to watch Agnew's men sweep Platteville into a snowbank 12–0. The problem of scholastic averages was inescapable, though, especially in the twenties when manpower was not plentiful. When Professor Carlson took seriously his duty as a local member of the Inter-Normal Athletic Council and barred three players from the team, he awakened to find his house smeared with yellow paint.[125] Football prospered in the thirties so that in 1932 Agnew had about 50 men out, and by 1936 an overwhelmed coach with no assistants was swamped with 71 candidates at the first practice. The sport had come a long way since Professor Shutts had organized the first 19 men in the gay '90's.

Baseball, once a thriving sport that yielded a state championship in 1915, faded out completely in 1926. Those wishing outdoor exercise following the basketball season took up track, a popular choice before the war which was revived in 1920 and in which the first dual meet was held in 1921. In 1925 local cindermen took part in one of the greatest indoor track meets ever conducted in the Middle West. Before a crowd of over 5,000 in the Milwaukee Auditorium Whitewater won second in the state and Milton Schwager established a new record in the javelin toss. In 1926 Coach Agnew devoted full time to track and won the championship. Sec-

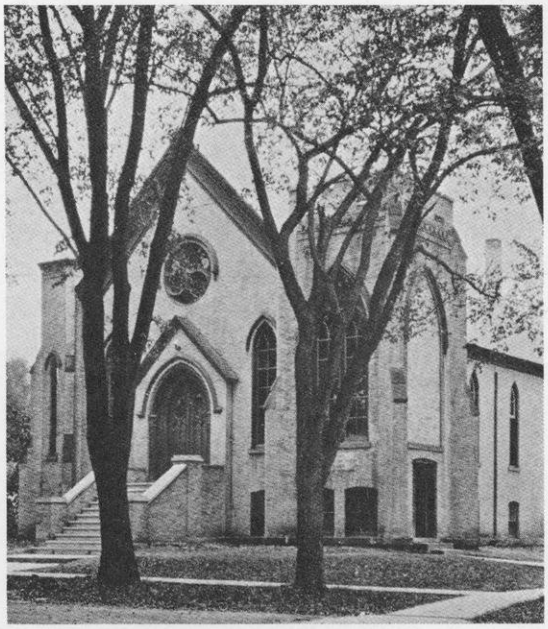
onds were achieved in 1938 and '39, to put the sport in third place on Whitewater's popularity ledger.

Basketball, the parent of intramural sports, worked its way into second place during the era. Coach Fletcher began practicing the boys in Normal Hall after a trial game with Platteville in 1913. By 1917 Coach Schreiber's five nailed Milwaukee 45–30, a great victory against that perennial champion. Then came the war; but Edward G. Lange, a geography instructor, took over physical education for men between Schreiber and Agnew (1918–19) and showed his heart for basketball by paying the boys' way to La Crosse where Whitewater's "dark horses" beat both Platteville and River Falls to rate second in the state. Toward the close of the period the consistent labor of the twenties began to bear fruit. Whitewater won seconds in 1930, 1932, and 1937; and the thirds in 1938 and 1941 were vindicated by a co-championship in 1942. Sometimes cheated for time by a long football season and constantly laboring under the shadow of the more popular gridiron, basketball demonstrated a commendable persistence which made it capable of great spirit upon short notice. Toward the close of the era, as enrollment increased and intercollegiate victories in the "big three" sports made athletics attractive to the majority, the sports program was expanded to include golf, tennis, swimming, and boxing. The intramural program was headed by the "W" Club, founded in 1921 by men who proudly wore their letters.

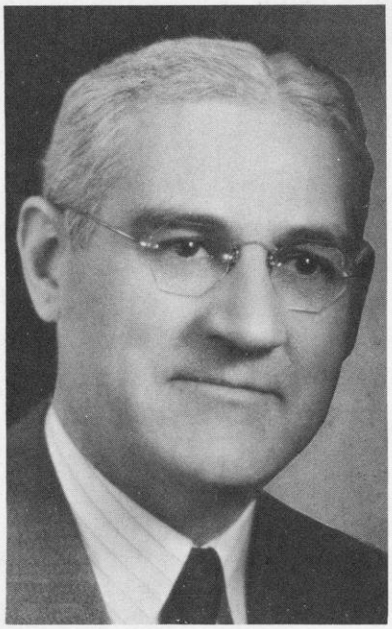
The ladies also enjoyed a share in the glorious world of sports. The Women's Athletic Association, founded in 1916, was the first athletic organization on campus and became one of the largest student groups. No sport except football escaped the roster of the athletic women of the era. Basketball was a favorite, and in 1929 the W.A.A. team surprised everyone by blossoming out in new purple middies and employing a "waterboy" to carry the cosmetics case. Hockey produced six teams in 1925, and volleyball was popular. The girls loved baseball but had to forfeit it in 1925 to practice for the Pageant. Captains' ball, a game which developed teamwork and quick thinking, was offered with regular gymnastics. An unusual venture was track, where the young ladies competed in the 75 yard dash, baseball throw, relay, high jump, soccer kick, basketball throw, and broad jump. Tennis, swimming, archery, badminton, dancing, ping-pong, and shuffle-board all had their fans. The W.A.A. play days sponsored by area colleges took women's sports beyond intramural bounds, and the annual stunt night innovation in 1928 became one of the most collegiate and entertaining performances of the School. What Coach Agnew was to the sportsman, Miss Florence A. Goodhue was to the sportswoman. Serving from 1922 to 1960, this modest lady coach sponsored the W.A.A.,

kept tab on the girls' health, served as sponsor of the Women's Self-Government Association for several years (a position similar to dean of women), was instrumental in organizing the Panhellenic Council, and rose to head the physical education department in 1952. A genuine product of Whitewater, her family name was associated with the community from its first generation and with the school since Lyman Goodhue took 110 shares in the town bonds issued in 1866 to procure the location of the Normal. Miss Goodhue entered the training school as a first grader and graduated from the advanced course in 1915. One of the early words about her came from President A. H. Yoder in a letter of recommendation to the preceptor of the University of Wisconsin Library School: "I should consider her unusually fine material of which to make a librarian. She has a good background. . . . She comes from a home of culture and refinement. She has a good personality, a sweet disposition, sufficient intelligence, and a fair amount of ambition."[126] Coming from President's Yoder's candid pen, the recommendation was not bad. The candidate's "fair amount of ambition" harvested 38 years of fruitful teaching and is still serving the institution through the Alumni Association and other means.

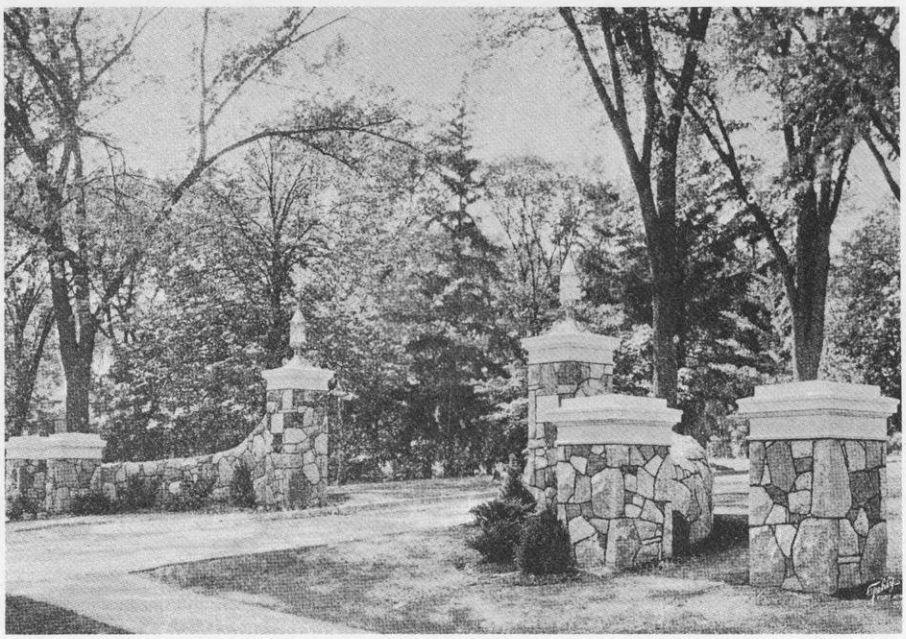
The business era witnessed the rise and fall of many organizations. In 1921 the University of Wisconsin's *Daily Cardinal* reported over 150 clubs and societies with a total membership of over 20,000 out of a student body of little more than 7,000.[127] By 1939 Whitewater had some 50 groups in a population of around 900, a ratio 2½ times greater than the 1921 University record. The speed with which an idea became an activity and then vanished was governed by the combined restless optimism and speculative genius of an age fraught with uncertainty and change. Typical of these undulations was Salisbury Hall, a student center and cafeteria incorporated by local stockholders, which operated from 1921–1925. In April, 1921 the student body took part in one of the first demonstrations of the school's history, a march down town two by two behind the band to report the crying need for a dining hall. Subscriptions were distributed and by night $6,800 of the $10,000 needed had been promised. A meeting to form a corporation was called at the old Universalist Church and plans were discussed for remodeling that building. When school began in September, Salisbury Hall was open for breakfast. In was expected that 200 would patronize the place, but that number had dwindled to 60 by the end of 1924 and the enterprise was running behind from $50 to $75 a week. In 1926 the contents was sold and the stocks declared worthless. The beauty and atmosphere of the place, the excellently served meals, and the convenience of having a place for social gatherings did not compete with the collegiate appeal of the small clubs. "We get better food



40. *Salisbury Hall.* Whitewater's first dining hall, though elegant, was an economic failure.



41. *President Yoder.* C. M. Yoder climbed high on the ladder of commercial education.



42. *The Memorial Gateway.* This new entrance to the South Lawn was a token of appreciation from the classes of 1928-1935 who wished to symbolize Whitewater's greatness.

THE SECOND PRESIDENT YODER, LIKE THE FIRST, SERVED THE INSTITUTION IN TIMES OF PEACE AND WAR

and better balanced meals at the Hall," students said, "but we miss the fellowship which we enjoy at a club which holds us once we join one."[128] Whitewater waited until 1959 for a student union that could match the spaciousness of Salisbury Hall.

The city of Whitewater shared in the ups and downs of its greatest industry. The establishment of commercial education was big news in town, and the Businessmen's Association opened offices where students received practical experience as stenographers and bookkeepers and, in the case of advanced students, earned part of their expenses. The Whitewater Commercial Club (known as the Chamber of Commerce after 1922) was formed in 1916 and a special edition of the *Register* extolled the material value of the Normal to the community:

> An educational plant may reasonably be included with the industrial plants, especially when the educational institution contains, as our state normal does, a special school for the training of teachers of commercial subjects. . . . Its raw material is students; its output is teachers. It has its own territory in which young people who wish training for teaching naturally come to Whitewater, and in which school boards looking for teachers come here to trade. . . .
>
> It brings to our city more than 400 outside students, with an average cost of schooling @ $261.00. The state spends more than $100,000 a year—thus Whitewater gets more than $200,000 a year benefit.[129]

The Whitewater Commercial and Savings Bank was incorporated at the same time commercial education came to Whitewater. Jerome Baker, local regent from 1920–26 and from 1930–35, was president of the bank from 1916–1950. In 1927 Professor C. M. Yoder, the son of a banker, was elected a director of the bank. The new students which commercial education brought to town (there were 116 in 1914–15) caused the *Register* to remind the businessmen: "You merchants who growled over the two, four, or ten dollars you were asked during the past week to give to the advertising pages of the *Royal Purple* are asked to consider these facts . . . and then you will be excused . . . while you retire somewhere and hate yourselves for narrowness and a diseased civic loyalty."[130] The merchants got the point, for in 1921 a campaign for funds to advertise the Normal in seven leading educational magazines yielded generous amounts and brought inquiries from every part of the United States, plus Greece and the Canal Zone! The town itself was not growing—in 1900 the population stood at 3,405, in 1919 at 3,224, and in 1920 at 3,215; but business was fine. At an American Legion meeting at Marshfield in 1921 Professor Carlson was talking to Judge K. M. Landis who felt that the desire of cities to become bigger was a mistake. When Mr. Carlson mentioned that he came from a small town where the newspaper reflected the feeling of many citizens when it expressed satisfaction in no population increase during the past

ten years and equal satisfaction in the advance of the community's intellectual and moral standards, Judge Landis reportedly said, "Where is that town? I may want to move there some day."[131]

While not everyone agreed with that concept of a progressive city, most people did enjoy the blessings of the cultural atmosphere. In 1916 the local Federation of Women's Clubs and the public schools joined with the Normal to plan a festival commemorating the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's death. This was to be a fitting climax in the dedication of the new gymnasium and athletic field. In 1922 the Normal pageant was so successful that the city postponed its annual Fourth of July performance, and President Hyer suggested that the two should be united. Sports further drew town and gown together. When the Normal won its first conference football championship in 1914 the businessmen were so thrilled to think that state honors had come to the city that they gave a banquet for 200 guests in honor of Coach Schreiber and the team. The following spring the School had a chance to return the compliment when the Congregational Church celebrated its 75th anniversary. Mr. Schreiber conducted games at the Saturday picnic and Professor Shutts helped marshal the Sunday School parade on Saturday morning. At the first union meeting of the local churches for the week of prayer in 1920 President Hyer gave a talk on the churches' responsibility regarding the problems of the world. The *Register* commented that a "broad-minded man such as he will wield an influence of real Christian thinking upon the minds of young people."[132] The Whitewater Lecture Association, which for years sponsored high caliber programs of music, lectures, and drama, was assisted by the faculty and students and by the advertising class which conducted the sale of tickets. In 1923 there was inaugurated a "visitor's day" which attracted increasing numbers of people to the campus on a given Saturday to observe the workings of the institution. The presence of faculty people in such civic organizations as the Federation of Women's Clubs, the Emerson Club, the Lecture Association, the churches, and many others gave them a professional touch. President Hyer was most disturbed when he discovered that some were accusing him of fighting the idea of a new city high school. He wrote to another schoolman in 1926: "Of one thing I can assure you: we do not discuss, or criticize adversely, the school system of Whitewater, its superintendent, or its teachers."[133] As Whitewater got its city high school in 1927, the Normal became a state teachers college and the two were ready to cooperate.

The town demonstrated its concern about the College in times of emergency. When the Hitt Bill to abolish three of the normals was introduced in the Assembly in 1927, a citizens meeting was held to get the

argument against such legislation before authorities. Several from Whitewater attended the hearing on the bill in April and breathed a sigh of relief when it was defeated. At the same time the Titus Bill, which advocated abolition of the Board of Regents and the appointment of a superintending board, was condemned as a political thing. The people of Whitewater believed that a fair Board would never touch the school because of its superior record in placing graduates and because of its rating in the matter of cost per student in the state (which had reduced considerably since Farmer's report in 1914). When the depression struck the Kiwanis Club supported a milk program for the children of the training school, townspeople hired students for odd jobs to help them when they could, and everyone watched enrollment figures with new interest.

In 1937 the town celebrated its centennial, an appropriate milestone for a business era. Not much could be said of smoking factories, busy intersections, or the compact thud of screeching boxcars, but there was the essence of another triumph in the voice of Mayor Howard C. Miller as he gave the welcome at the city's second homecoming:

> None will remember when this site was an "orchard of burr oak trees," a few will remember the school on the Flat Iron Park, and many will recall the days of dirt roads, hitching posts, board sidewalks and picket fences. All will remember Whitewater for its green well-kept lawns, stately wide spreading trees, its well organized public school system and the old Normal School, now the State Teachers College with a faculty of fifty-one members and an enrollment of more than eight hundred students.[134]

The town that once proudly shipped wagons and harvesters abroad had abundantly reconciled itself to the business of exporting teachers. The campus reminder to the town that the institution was doing its job was the Memorial Gateway, dedicated in 1935. President C. M. Yoder stated that the stalwart columns symbolized the "pillars of knowledge and truth in which our college excels," and the ornamental lanterns were symbols of the "torch of learning which each graduating class holds aloft for their successors to grasp."[135]

Of the many who cooperated to keep business education on the throne, none worked more faithfully than Claude M. Yoder, whose career was a personal commentary on the fortunes of the kingdom. The specialty was sizzling with the zeal of newness when Professor Yoder left his position as a commercial teacher in the Washington High School, Milwaukee and humbly assumed the office of director in 1919. His reputation grew with that of commercial education, and when President Hyer repaired to Stevens Point in 1930, all eyes turned to Mr. Yoder as his successor. Even before Hyer had left, the *Register,* not knowing what the choice of the

Regents would be, pictured Yoder as the new president and stated that "if another is chosen alumni and friends of the institution will not accept him with that prompt confidence which Professor Yoder's selection would inspire."[136] The community liked him for his participation in civic affairs, his professional status, and his educational outlook which promised to give other departments impartial attention. In 1935 he had the honor of being one of six educators selected by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation for educational work in Europe for twelve weeks. He had the joy of seeing commercial education celebrate its silver anniversary with a blaze of triumph in 1938. Despite the interruptions of World War I and the depression, business education retained its poise and ruled its kingdom wisely. The vitality which the subject maintained during the quarter century and the popularity which it gained as a stabilizer in times of crises made it, as one authority had stated, "a great link in the world's economic chain."[137] President Yoder's schedule of conventions and appointments, the dictation of a hundred letters a week, and the general demands of the front office did not keep him from a personal touch with campus life. From reporting broken furniture to the janitor to attending the Commercial Club banquet, from advising students to consoling faculty, he managed to practice that "facile diplomacy" which earned him the "love, respect, and cooperation of his subordinates."[138] He believed that life was richest when orderly; and for him the business of the campus, the nation, and the world was business.

Those were happy days for C. M. Yoder—and for business education. But, in this capricious world, as kingdoms are wont to rise, so are they destined to fall—sometimes into oblivion, sometimes into the hands of a benevolent posterity to make room for greater things. An incoming age is frequently the dictator that writes finis to passing glories, and this is what happened to President Yoder and his specialty; but happily history has allowed them the comforts of many memorials. The productive efforts of the era, the spirit of earnestness which adorned a period fraught with emergencies, and the practice of meeting those emergencies with professional courage, comprised an invaluable inheritance for the new age of adjustment.

6

The Age of Adjustment: Atoms and Analyses (1939-1955)

> It is all right to build a monumental philosophy that may move men to tears and action, but of what use is a monument built on sand and mud?
>
> —MORTON WHITE[1]

> A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore, let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.
>
> —BACON

The business age had done more to change the Whitewater State Teachers College (and the nation) than anyone would have dreamed in 1913. The local institution of the Salisbury generation had been transformed into one with a sense of national responsibility, and the incentive to try new things had brought significant social and curricular changes to the campus. Without realizing how it happened, the institution on the Hill had learned to walk in its college shoes; it had become an extrovert. All this was brought to light as new opportunities came to face it with reality in a broad national context and to give it a taste of the salty waters of an ocean of problems heretofore not unleashed by the Ulysses of time. The United States did not wish to spread her wings abroad but was anxious to see to business at home as it sought an equilibrium under the artificial rays of the New Deal. H. G. Wells perceptively described the neutral thirties when he said that every time Europe looked across the Atlantic to view the American eagle she saw only the rear end of an ostrich. In October, 1939 60% of the population thought it had been a mistake to enter the last war. The frustrations of trying to make the world safe for democracy had been replaced by the pragmatic issue of making one's paycheck sufficient for his stomach. Despite the awful setback of the depression, men had responded to their individual initiatives with a determination to build again the crumbled walls of a great America. Gutzon Borglum finished carving the heads of the four great Americans on a rocky slope in the Black Hills. Grant Wood's "American Gothic," picturing the austere approach to Iowa farm life (currently immortalized by Country Cornflakes), was the most popular painting at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition of 1933. The search for

something better than capitalism caused nearly a third of the ministers to favor socialism while they exercised their minds on the neo-orthodoxy of Reinhold Niebuhr. Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936) and John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) portrayed an impatience with the status quo. America was searching for a place to build a monument, and so busy was she that the escapades of European and Asiatic dictators seemed a part of another world.

On the Whitewater campus in 1939 business was proceeding as usual. More people (181) made the honor roll that spring semester than in the history of the School. The student handbook listed more extracurricular activities than ever before that fall, and Professor Clark came out with an "entirely different" workbook, modern in design, binding, and with eye-conditioned paper. An all-time high record was set for reserve books on September 19th when 424 volumes were put to use. A school dance orchestra was organized to help jazz hold its own, while assembly programs brought such artists as Bohumir Kryl (the first bandmaster to use only his hands to direct an orchestra) to campus. The speech department conducted broadcasts over WCLO, Janesville representing the work of every department over the air waves, an excellent outreach since 86% of the population owned radios by 1940. Professor Carlson left November 1st for Kansas to address the Kansas State Commercial Teachers' Association on recent trends in commercial education and a month later participated in the annual convention of the Southern Business Education Association at Jacksonville, Florida. The campus Greeks busily planned their inter-fraternity ball while all sorts of mixers were held by other organizations. Dr. E. H. Evans and his debators went to work on the question of the year: "Resolved, That the United States Should Maintain a Policy of Strict Neutrality Toward All Nations Outside the Western Hemisphere Involved in International or Civil War." Campus sentiment on the issue was very clear: "As an American citizen, who has enjoyed the privilege of living in this grand and glorious United States, it is your duty to fight in the defense of your country. But your map will show you that the Atlantic Ocean is the eastern boundary of the United States, not the Maginot Line!"[2] The students enjoyed a bigger and better prom than ever before that year, but the crowning glory of the annual stunt night went to Wesley Foundation for its serious portrayal of "God Bless America." Something told Whitewater—and America—that a new age had dawned, the age of adjustment.

The age of adjustment fell into three divisions: adjustment to the Second World War, adjustment to the peace, and adjustment to a new world outlook. The problem of this era was to channel the energies unleashed

during the business age into the task of feeding that part of man's nature that runs to herbs. The sentiment of neutrality soon melted before the burning reality of the European conflagration, and as early as June, 1940 some faculty members foresaw the need for radical changes on the national, local, and educational fronts. Complacent isolationism was being rejected and calls issued to prepare for war emergencies. David H. Webster, an English teacher, lashed out against the status quo in an editorial featured in the bulletin containing directions for registration that summer:

> They were wrong when they said that war would not come. . . . They were wrong when they said that America had no stake in the outcome. And they were wrong when they said that the Atlantic Ocean is an insuperable barrier against any threat to us. . . .
>
> We shall have to give up some of our liberties and many of our democratic processes of government. . . . And our school will develop the minds of warriors lest disaster and defeat develop the mind of slaves.[3]

It did not happen, however, that the institution permeated by tradition and saturated with the quiet conservatism of rural Whitewater was found immediately jumping into the fray. As the task of adjusting to the war was thrust upon the institution, however, it responded with typical American deliberation. In May, 1941 Kappa Delta Pi (the education honor fraternity under the direction of Professor Cord O. Wells) published and circulated throughout the state a bulletin entitled *National Defense and Higher Education*. During the summer of 1941 qualified refugees from Europe were invited to campus to hold open forums on the impending catastrophes of unchecked Nasism. Professor E. H. Evans offered an historical approach to the emergency: "The schools of today face a problem intensified by the international crisis. Modern channels of communication have made the teacher's role one of even greater significance than in the past. The educators of today must be interpreters of the present as well as the past, and guides to the future."[4] Realism, the happy medium between hyperpatriotism and nonchalance, was translated into the field of commercial education by Professor Carlson when he advised teachers of high school bookkeeping to consider the new bookkeeping course which stressed the personal service business, social organizations, student activities funds, bookkeeping for professional men, and bookkeeping for the farmer.[5]

With some shifting and much peering into possibilities, the determination to keep the home front intact in case a storm should break was the underlying purpose of institutional life from 1939 to the summer of 1941. Most of the *Royal Purple* was given to announcing the usual routines —good placement of commercial graduates, enrollment drops, Greek smokers, faculty replacements, and football facts. On the other hand, the

school paper soberly bowed to current realities in its editorials. "We are on the verge of a new epoch, a sweeping world change more far-reaching than the industrial revolution itself," wrote an editor in September, 1940. "We cannot look back too much; we must forge ahead with the new. We must consider America's place in this great change. We must look for her leadership in a new world of tomorrow."[6] The first issue of 1941, printed just three months before Pearl Harbor, was dedicated "to all those Whitewater men who so unselfishly gave up all they had worked and hoped for to make America stronger for us" by going into every field of military life.[7] The challenge of meeting pressures from without would be second only to that of conducting a good business within the institution.

The Whitewater mobilization story began in October, 1941 when a Defense Committee was organized as an arm of the Association of Wisconsin Teachers Colleges local to study the general factors of the national emergency. The efforts of that committee were broadcast over WCLO and publicized in bulletins and the student paper. The library organized a special study section with publications on propaganda, subversive activities, and reports on national progress. A program for the sale of defense stamps and bonds swept the campus from kindergarten to the senior class. During 1941–42 the children purchased over $500 worth of stamps and the junior high school about $550. Student health received special emphasis and a medical doctor, the first in history to belong exclusively to the College, was appointed. Dr. Zahl explained that physical fitness was a patriotic duty. From the biology department Professor Clark spoke on human conservation and Professors Lee and Randall took up economic aspects of the struggle. The Defense Committee also helped students organize forums where campus and church groups, fraternities, and sororities could discuss and clarify ideas. Upon request of the Committee, a special assembly was called December 8, 1941 to hear the president of the United States address Congress and declare war upon Japan. President Yoder urged the students to continue their studies until called into service, while he and his faculty rapidly mobilized the curriculum.

The summer session bulletin for 1942 presented a program of study surprisingly well adapted to the emergency. There were refresher courses for retraining former teachers who had been summoned back to work for the duration. More of the regular courses were offered that summer to speed up graduation, and courses required for freshmen were given so that high school graduates might begin their education immediately. Preinduction courses were offered to those aspiring to be officers, and Whitewater was one of the participating colleges in the Navy V-1 Program. Summer workshops came into their own; in 1942 one was offered in United

States social studies, one in Wisconsin social studies, a refresher workshop for rural teachers, an advanced grammar and journalism workshop, and one in natural science. In addition, seven courses were listed for the Eagle River Conservation Camp operated by the teachers colleges of the state. At the close of the session there was planned a post summer session of four weeks for students who were particularly anxious to speed up graduation.[8] The 1943 summer session ran 11 weeks with the possibility of earning 12 credits.

Besides additions to speed up teacher output, the regular curriculum was pressed into a different mold. There was new emphasis on foreign language in the high schools, and art followed a practical bent. Professor Schwalbach noted that art was being used to improve the lot of the workmen in factories, for industrial design and home planning, in occupational therapy, and in civic art programs, to mention a few.[9] Classes in history, economics, geography, and sociology were mobilized through discussion, bulletin boards, and current events. The home economics department expanded work in first aid, nutrition, home nursing, Red Cross, and knitting, and the College physician taught the medical implications. Commerce was armed with all its potential as war clouds drifted over the nation. At the beginning of 1942 it was stated: "In our special commercial course, students are preparing for specific jobs in the clerical service of the war as attaches, secretaries, and special instructors. Some of these are in the foreign service; one is in Egypt, another in Panama, and several are instructors on our vessels at sea."[10] Before the end of that year 28 of the 42 men who had carried away diplomas in June had donned one of Uncle Sam's uniforms; and of the 71 women graduates, 64 were teaching and 7 had entered business or government secretarial services. Training School Director W. E. Cannon said, "Staffing the commercial departments of the Wisconsin public schools is our peace-time function, and in war-time we consider it to be our patriotic duty as well."[11] The president even contemplated certification at the end of the junior year should the war continue, arranging a moratorium for the general subjects. Both shorthand and typing went to work for the war effort as accuracy and efficiency were stressed and Miss Clem urged special care of the typewriters. Two Whitewater alumnae helped develop a course in radio typewriting for the first group of Waves at the Naval Training Schools at the University of Wisconsin.[12] Accounting stressed skills in handling the armed forces' techniques of record keeping, as well as personnel and management. In economics Professor Lee emphasized lend-lease, inflation, the national debt, priorities, conservation, and the influence of the war on land values, plus the influence of various governments on the lives of the people. As the last meas-

ure of devotion, the commercial department sacrificed its director to the government to become principal training specialist for the Civil Service Commission in Washington.

Amidst the drive to meet the demands of the war, the College renewed its effort to attain full standing in the North Central Association. A Committee on Curriculum was organized by action of the faculty in the fall of 1941, with the intent to increase the efficiency of the whole academic program but immediately concerned with the membership standards of the North Central Association and the American Association of Teachers Colleges. The need for a school physician was satisfied in 1942 when Dr. Zahl was hired, and membership in the A.A.T.C. was then obtained. Approval by North Central came in 1943 as a birthday present to the 75-year-old institution. The May issue of *Commercial Education* labeled this "a second significant step toward demonstrating that the Teachers College deserves the national reputation it has established for itself in its specialized role in preparing commercial teachers."[13] Whitewater graduates would now have a more creditable prestige upon entering graduate school and would receive better placements in member secondary schools, especially in those not emphasizing commercial education. The adjustments that the war necessitated brought the College face to face with its national task and relegated to history the old idea that this was a state institution whose only contact with the outside world need be the University of Wisconsin.

Adjustment to a war economy brought shifts in personnel. By the end of 1942 six faculty men had answered Uncle Sam's call. Professor J. J. Chopp exchanged his chair in biology and fame as a member of the Houdini Club for travel to Bombardier Training Posts from coast to coast. In 1943 Lieut. Chopp was developing new techniques in bombardier training and bombing; one of his products was known to save some 260,000 cadet hours of training. The people of Whitewater sent him alarm clocks as part of the material supply for his inventive genius. In 1945 it was revealed that Captain Chopp had made the first enlarged model of the Norden bombsight which was used for instructional purposes and that he had submitted over 100 designs, 49 of which had been accepted by the war department.[14] Professors H. J. Randall, D. H. Webster, F. M. Ritzman, C. F. Schuller, and J. M. Green had gone to various posts to prepare for instructional service, and Professor Carlson was in Washington. An interesting development at Superior was that Whitewater's future President Williams got his first taste of college administration when that school was twice left leaderless by the entrance of President Hill into military service in 1940 and the resignation of his successor in 1943. Professor C. J. Daggett was granted

a leave of absence in 1945 to become Chief of Party for the Inter-American Educational Foundation, Tegucigalpa, Honduras. Other prominent campus leaders who had turns in service were two physical education directors (Miss Marcella Thompson and E. H. Schwager) and Professor C. O. Wells.

On the home front the faculty put their shoulders to committee work. In addition to the Defense and Curriculum Committees, a Legislative Committee promoted legislation favorable to education, another streamlined the registration process, and one on salary worked on that perennial problem. More democracy was the objective of the Policy Committee as it worked on a plan to make faculty more active in school policy. George S. Berry, the registrar, was a committee in himself as guardian of enrollment statistics, and Cord Wells, interested in academic affairs since his appointment as assistant in the junior high school in 1925, directed academic education with like precision. Soon after the war Wells was made dean of instruction which position (along with acting as registrar) he held until the present decade when his office was split and a new registrar freed him for appointment as vice president for academic affairs. Dr. Wells became "Mr. Curriculum" whose good judgment and discernment graced the institution for 42 years and whose retirement in 1967 created a large administrative vacancy. Dr. Glenn H. Nelson, director of student personnel and the armed services representative, worked to enlist some soldiers in Whitewater's commercial program. The local Chamber of Commerce offered the Armory for a dormitory, and excitement ran high among the girls as they read the September 28, 1942 issue of the *Royal Purple:*

> Attention Coeds! Maybe all your wishful dreaming of a "boy for every girl" here at Whitewater will bring results. Rumors of the possibility of having some soldier students here took new importance last week. . . .
>
> Saturday, Mayor Johnson received a telegram from Congressman Lawrence Smith in Washington asking, "Can Whitewater house 500 soldiers under one roof?"[15]

But the plan was not consumated and Whitewater had to watch Eau Claire, Stevens Point, and Oshkosh get preference because of their availability to modern air fields. Whitewater's honor came with the return of the veterans instead; by April, 1945 the College had the third largest troup in the state training under their G.I. bills.[16]

As for the student body, young hearts responded to the call for defense and much of the usual fun became business projects to win the war. The annual W.A.A. stunt night for 1942–43 was dominated by war themes, the prize going to Alpha Sigma for the presentation of "The Glory that is Ours." The proceeds were used to buy a defense bond and for the U.S.O. At other social events the W.A.A. gave defense stamps to winners of con-

tests. A sorority sent boxes to soldiers at Christmas time, and a fraternity cut semester dues so as to save money for stamps. With from 30% to 50% of their members in service, the fraternities made special studies of the various branches to determine where they could be of greatest service if called into active duty. Church groups, dramatic groups, and musical organizations kept their members informed. President Yoder bought the first war stamp corsage to get a program sponsored by the independent houses under way, and the *Royal Purple* was sent to servicemen who shared the victory of the paper's first all-American rating in 1941. When an order from the Sixth Service Command in Chicago came in March, 1943, the male student population was nearly decimated. By vote of the faculty those who had finished the eighth week were accredited with a full semester's work.[17]

Enrollment statistics, more than any other single factor, reminded the campus that a war was on. Numbers mounted on the service flag, leaving empty desks and lonely coeds. The Regents' Proceedings for July, 1942 echoed a solemn refrain, "Enrollments have dropped to less than half of the normal load; teachers for the public schools are not being trained and the situation is critical.[18] Membership at Whitewater dropped from the high of 997 in 1939 to 612 in 1942, 412 in 1943, and 339 in 1944. The 1946 statistics showed more than 300 short of the 1939 high. When the school celebrated its diamond jubilee in 1943 it had scarcely more students than at its quarter century. As in the case of the golden anniversary of the institution, war clouds prevented adequate celebration of the 75th birthday of the College. One loyal student, however, looked for silver linings and predicted:

> For surely thou hast proven thy true worth
> And earned the splendor of this jubilee.
> And when a hundred years have come and gone
> Still wilt thou wake to face the coming dawn.[19]

The war years also interrupted a promising sports program. The 1940 *Minneiska* recorded the fact that boxing, wrestling, fencing, and skiing were popular, and that the golfers had won the state championship. In 1940 Whitewater won the football championship and tied for top place the following year. Then came the sudden death of Coach Agnew on the eve of the 1942 season. Young Coach Schwager, whose distinguished career as a student made him a favorite of fans and faculty alike, ably took over the work. Then came news that the first all-conference athlete to give his life for his country had gone down in battle. Despite setbacks, Schwager's basketeers came out with a three-way tie for conference cham-

pionship in 1943. One of the vitalizing elements on campus after the war was the return to normalcy in sports.

City population had increased by only 224 souls between 1930 and 1940, but residents gloried in their small community, beautiful campus, and great war industry of manufacturing teachers. Special attention was given to the retirement of chief engineer, Billy Rieder in July 1944, and three months before the School had suffered the loss of Regent Ralph H. Dixon. The war made everyone sensitive to changes and accentuated a dread of the unknown; therefore millions of people welcomed with President Yoder a new future in the fall of 1945:

> We are indeed grateful for the opportunity of beginning the work of the current school year under peace conditions. The peoples of the world are looking forward to enduring peace. In sharing this forward look, a college of education must bear a great responsibility. . . . The greatest responsibility . . . is to direct our personal and professional accomplishments toward the development of national and world peace. Let us all strive to . . . make the greatest contribution possible toward that end.[20]

Adjustment to the peace was no less exacting than adjustment to the war. Included in Whitewater's broadened horizons was a package of elementary and high school social science texts sent to an alumnus stationed in Germany, whose job was to help "denazify" German school children by removing from their school books the Nazi propaganda and replacing it with thoughts on peace. Speakers were brought to campus to explain the problems of peace, one being a graduate of the University of Manila who had served with guerilla forces in the jungles of the Philippine Islands and whose wife, mother, and two sisters had been victims of the Japanese invasion. To commemorate V-E Day in 1946 a Washington elm was dedicated as a living memorial to the Whitewater men who had given their lives. The observance was a joint effort of the College and city, and the tree was a direct descendant of the famous elm at Cambridge, Massachusetts. These and many other activities were evidence of the growing conviction that the institution on the Hill had national and international responsibilities.

Among the immediate adjustments to the post-war decade was the coming and going of personnel. Dr. Beery left in September, 1945, and his position was filled by Mr. Schuller when he returned the following January. Professors Green and Chopp returned in November, 1945, and Mr. Schwager was back at his coaching in January, 1946. Death claimed the honorable Professor Goff in September, 1945, and the following March Miss Ethel Bjorklund, the respected critic in art education, passed away after serving 17 years. The most surprising change came when President

Yoder resigned in March, 1946, and apparently no one was more surprised than the president himself. Resignations were not new to Whitewater history, since none of its chiefs to date except Salisbury had remained until retirement; but the unfortunate Yoder case cast a particular cloud over the institution and its community. In a letter to the Board of Regents he stated his side of the unexpected turn of events:

> This letter acknowledges communication, orally delivered by your secretary . . . on Friday, March 1, 1946, of your request for my resignation from the position of president of the Wisconsin State Teachers College. . . . Inasmuch as I have never been apprised of, or counselled with, by your Board, or any officer or member thereof, concerning any reasons or explanation for such request, I am nonplussed and feel that I have no other alternative but to comply with it. . . .
>
> I must confess that it is with a crushed spirit and sincere regret that I present this my resignation from the position of President of the W.S.T.C., to which institution I have given the best years of my life over a period of more than a quarter of a century.[21]

There is no historical evidence that President Yoder failed to perform his professional duties acceptably, and there was no accusation in the simple resolution of the Board on March 5th which awarded him pay until June 30th.[22] The students' farewell in the *Royal Purple* strained to be objective but revealed the deep feelings that pervaded the campus regarding the situation:

> Sooner or later we all must give up the reins—whether our positions be humble or great. Mr. Yoder has earned his rest. . . . Mr. Yoder has devoted the best years of his life to the teaching profession. Not only has he made a great and unforgetable contribution to commercial students . . . but he has served as the steering wheel of Whitewater . . . for sixteen years. Few people can claim such a record for their life services to others.
>
> You have all been reading the newspapers. . . . But students, do not draw hasty or rash conclusions. Mr. Yoder has resigned. Mr. Williams is to be the new president. Why should we try to snoop and investigate more deeply? . . . . We are here to acquire an education—to become teachers. We are proud of our college—let's work together! . . . .
>
> We, the students of Whitewater State, extend to you, Mr. C. M. Yoder, our thanks for serving us as our president. We shall always remember you and be grateful for your contribution.[23]

It was a coincidence of history that both Albert H. and Claude M. Yoder, of no earthly kin, should serve the same institution during a world war, should resign a year thereafter, and should bear a direct relationship to the business curriculum. But their monuments, though unfinished, were not built upon sand. The latter passed away in late July, 1967.

Robert C. Williams had scarcely returned to his position in Superior's education department (following his sojourn in the front office from July,

1943 to November, 1945) when Whitewater issued its call. On March 5th, as Mr. Yoder's resignation was accepted, Dr. Williams was made acting president of the School. The next day the new head assumed his duties by inspecting the physical plant, meeting the faculty, and making plans for the immediate future. President Williams came with a rich background of experience, including a dozen years as instructor at the Iowa State Teachers College, nine years directing research for the Iowa State Department of Public Instruction, four years as head of the psychology department at Superior, and two years as acting president there. Until his appointment to Whitewater, he was instructional advisor to 244 veterans at Superior.[24] The first Whitewater president with a doctorate, he had obtained his degree from the University of Iowa in 1938.

The 1947 *Minneiska* portrayed the new lease on life which everyone felt now that the atmosphere had cleared on both local and international fronts. The illuminated Tower was pictured as a bright thrust into the heavens and the smiling faces of two new deans, Dr. Wynett Barnett (dean of women) and Dr. Cord O. Wells (dean of instruction), joined President Williams in greetings to eager readers. The arrival of Miss Barnett, the first dean of women since 1930 and soon to be Whitewater's first lady Ph.D., indicated that there would be new things in store for the girls; and with Dr. Wells in the registrar's office peace and order reigned there. A campus made quiet by the war was bulging by the fall of 1946 with determined veterans and delighted coeds to greet them. The expected enrollment boom happened, and with it came the demand for more space. President Williams was soon engaged in precipitating events that would take his administration into a new age of unprecedented expansion—but as each challenge came it was met with a quiet confidence that made its monuments permanent.

The 1946 enrollment passed the 400 mark for the first time since 1942. The college did its best to meet the physical, academic, and financial needs of the veterans (who numbered 410 of the 674 total). Housing received the attention of the Regents in June, 1946 in a resolution to enter contract with the Public Federal Housing Authority for temporary housing units for married veterans.[25] The result of this action was the celebrated "Mud Flats," termed "College Greens" for sophistication, constructed from former Truax Field barracks just behind the Hill where the College Union and neighboring dorms were to stand a few years hence. Twenty single bedroom apartments rented for $25 a month and 21 double bedroom abodes went for $30. The city provided another facility, the Armory, the first men's dorm of which the School could boast. The building, jammed to overflowing when school started in 1946, was gradually relieved as

rooms were found in private homes. The American Legion furnished gymnasium facilities and a study room large enough for all the men. Further demand for space was answered the next year when the Regents passed a resolution requesting release of $5,000 from the Post-war Building Fund for the state's share in completion of a cafeteria and recreation building at Whitewater. This was in process of being constructed when the students returned in the fall of 1947. The first floor of the new building was to be used as a cafeteria and the second as a recreation room for any school activity. Because the Federal Works Agency was unable to get equipment, the new quarters were not completed that academic year; but hopes for a brighter eating future ran high as the days of standing in line for a hamburger at the Goal Post or going downtown for dinner were numbered. The cafeteria was the eating headquarters of the campus until replaced by the Union a decade later.

To meet the academic needs of the veterans adjustments were made to give credit for attendance in Service Schools where records were available and where the training paralleled college requirements. The double summer sessions begun in 1942 were continued till 1946, with concentration on courses they needed during the second session. Academic expansion also included extension courses, a new post-war outreach launched in March, 1945 when Whitewater got permission to conduct classes at the Racine-Kenosha County Rural Normal School at Union Grove. This was an accommodation to rural education students who had begun an accelerated program in a county normal during the war, but it was stretched to encompass all students who desired to complete a two-year program. The Racine-Kenosha institution was obligated to make available its physical plant and custodial, clerical, and library staff without charge.[26] This developed into a full-scale extension program by 1948 under the direction of Dr. A. I. Winther, the new director of rural and elementary education. By 1951 15 faculty members were traveling 11,000 miles a semester to teach in 13 centers.[27] Another type of extension course was the field tour which was given college credit by the Regents in 1948. Following precedents set by Professor Shutts (who had lead a Wisconsin party to Europe in 1909) and Professor Fischer (who had done the same in 1932), the post-war world tours of Professor Clay Daggett and others have been a special attraction for two decades. President Williams was pleased to see the institution blossoming in so many directions, and he delighted to make it a convenient meeting place for athletic, speech, dramatic, and music festivals and for conferences and demonstrations for teachers and school officials. The College furnished speakers for P.T.A. meetings, judges for contests, and assistance to school librarians. In 1945 Mr. Lloyd Liedtke,

principal of the junior high school, wrote a radio script entitled, "Young Experimenters" for Station WHA, thus initiating a fruitful era of teaching science by air waves. Other stations pursued the idea of programs originating on various campuses, and WCLO even featured the junior prom in 1946. Finally, to meet the expanding academic world Whitewater adjusted its grade point system in 1946 to conform to an index of 1, allowing 3 credit points for an A, 2 for B, and 1 for C. Under the new plan students receiving an F in a prerequisite course had to repeat the course. Previously grades A, B, C, D, and E were assigned, and an E course could not be repeated. The new system remained until the four-point adoption of 1963. Starting in January, 1947 an exam week was set aside for the first time in many years.

In the post-war period the training school also conformed to new demands. In the summer of 1946 a recreation convention was held for elementary teachers under the direction of Miss Clara Tutt, the director of rural education until it was merged with elementary education in 1947. During her 23½ years she had seen the department of rural education develop from isolation to participation, whereby rural students had practically the same curriculum as other elementary students. A new kindergarten-primary department was authorized to begin in 1948, and the summer catalog of 1949 announced a reading clinic, an art clinic, a music clinic, a conference on child development, an arithmetic clinic for elementary teachers, and field studies in geography. The following year brought a workshop for school maintenance staffs, a kindergarten-primary clinic, and an audio-visual education clinic. One pleasant summer tradition begun in 1950 was the weekly Kaffee-Klatche where ideas from workshops and clinics caught fire on an informal basis. Experimentation in the field of audio-visual aids involved Whitewater in a University of Wisconsin project for the development of a sound film on the progress of rural education. A push was made to get more people in the elementary curriculum, as it was reported in 1947 that 3,500 persons were teaching on special permits. One researcher predicted that by 1953 a total of about 3400 elementary and rural teachers would have to be turned out annually for six years to meet the demand.[28] In 1946 Whitewater graduated only one person in rural state graded education, a mere 9 in elementary, and 28 in commercial education; but the next decade unfolded another story.

Fortunately, enrollment statistics took a consistent turn for the better. Although Whitewater never quite reached the 800 mark in the 1940's, the 750 average for the years 1947–49 was an encouragement in the light of the dip below 300 during the war. In the fall of 1947 290 veterans registered under a new system designed to eliminate the maximum confusion

after registration. In 1948 there were 746, the breakdown being 34 in rural, 76 in elementary, 288 in academic, and 348 in commercial.[29] This was slightly lower than 1947, which did not do much for Whitewater's ego as it trailed in sixth place among its sister institutions. The 1950 summer enrollment was 574, the fourth highest in history, which indicated the trend upward. Although statistical fortunes depended largely on the comings and goings of veterans, efforts were made to recruit high school graduates. In the fall of 1950 the six-month-old Alumni Association sponsored its first exhibition booth at the W.E.A. convention in Milwaukee, an innovation "expected to draw wide attention and favorable comment."[30] In the fall of 1950 two German students, sponsored by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and the Institute for International Education, joined the student body with fees paid by the local Lions and Kiwanis Clubs.[31] President Williams requested from the Regents a certificate of attendance for these people.

One pleasant feature about the post-war enrollment was that it presented a better balance between ladies and gentlemen than heretofore enjoyed. In 1946 the first all-school mixer sponsored by the Women's Self-Government Association was a big success and foreshadowed a new activity, Quaker Playday, which was introduced in the spring of 1950. Classes were dismissed for the afternoon and everyone adjourned for lunch, special entertainment, and games at the city park. The first "bang-up" homecoming since 1942 took place in 1946 with parade and floats, a special mention of Coach Agnew, and a wonderful game with Eau Claire in which Whitewater was defeated 20–6. In 1948 the Quakers won their homecoming game against Platteville, which added to the honor that had come to Coach Schwager the year before when he was named president of the state athletic conference. At that time the northern and southern circuits were abolished in favor of a state league with a single champion to be named on a percentage basis.[32] In 1950 Whitewater took the championship in football, while Coach Robert Weigandt was whipping the basketball boys up for a championship in 1951. After a lapse of four years the "W" Club resumed its activities in 1946. The women concentrated on basketball, swimming, hockey, and the more feminine art of modern dance. Life had returned to normal on campus.

Academic organizations multiplied in the late '40's. The English department was home base for a group of aspiring young writers who chose to call themselves the Whitewater Wits. The organization sprang into being in 1949 under the leadership of Mr. John A. Heide. Its meetings were devoted to the discussion and criticism of poetry and prose written by the members, and a literary annual called *The Tower* was begun. In January,

1948 it was announced that the Rural and Primary Clubs had united to form a junior branch of the National Association of Childhood Education, an international organization founded in 1892 composed of city and state branches of elementary teachers. New life was also fused into old groups. After a brilliant show in 1947 Pi Kappa Delta, the forensic society, was aroused from a season's slumber under the direction of Dr. J. T. von Trebra. Kappa Delta Pi, the education fraternity, received a permanent sponsor in 1946 in the person of Mr. Ruben Klumb. The Thespian dramatic club, one of the school's oldest organizations, resumed activities under Dean Barnett. Delta Psi Omega, the first honorary Greek organization on campus, cooperated with the Thespians during the '40's and in 1950 the dramatic group was accepted by Theta Alpha Phi, the national dramatic fraternity. Two pages were added to the *Royal Purple* in 1949, much to the delight of its devoted sponsor, Miss Laura Hamilton, for whose father the gymnasium and athletic field had been named. The Commercial Club, for years a leading organization, enjoyed new prestige as enrollment picked up. In 1949 a young man among the 76 commercial graduates might hope to draw as high as $3100 in salary. Since 1913 the department had issued 2,461 diplomas, with 129 in the class of 1940. The Greeks were spurred to new life as the list of pledges grew, and the Independents came to be active again. Intended for both sexes, that group ended up as the Women's Independent Association in 1948. At that time an edifice called "College House," a forerunner of dormitory life, was home to some 50 coeds. Probably the most significant of the serious groups was the new student council, elected by 73% of the student body on March 22, 1950. The Women's Self-Government Association, which had been brought up to date by amendment in 1948, now had a permanent associate. Advisor for the group was Arnold J. Lien, who had become Whitewater's first dean of men in 1949.

By 1950 there were organizations for everyone—Greeks and non-Greeks, musicians, dramatists, athletes, authors, faculty—but none for that significant part of the college family known as alumni. At the banquet held in connection with the Wisconsin teachers' convention in the fall of 1949 the idea was proposed, and in the spring action was taken, to form an Alumni Association. The *Royal Purple* of March 21st announced the first issue of the *Quaker Reporter* (known as the *Warhawk Tawk* from 1958–66 and now the *Warhawk Alumni News*), a new bulletin to be mailed to some 4,000 people.[33] Arthur G. McGraw was editor and President Williams, known for his support of alumni interests, wrote in the first issue:

> In strengthening its program of achievement the college is heartened by the potential support you represent—whether it be the organization of an

> alumni association, getting together for Homecoming, recruiting promising high school graduates for the college, supporting its need for a more adequate operating budget, assisting in the development of our building program or participating in any other movement to advance the welfare of the college—we invite your continued and active support. . . . Together we can only go forward.[34]

Immediate activities included the traditional exhibition booth at the 1950 W.E.A. convention and a membership and fund drive. In the spring of 1966 organization president Andrew Goodman greeted 11,000 alumni through the pages of the *Warhawk Tawk*, one of the most informative publications of the Whitewater family.

Increased enrollment and the return of peace bestowed upon President Williams a tenure-long building program. As early as the fall of 1945 some money was allotted Whitewater to put on paper detailed plans for a library, administration building, a student union, and a dormitory.[35] Besides the "College Greens" for veterans and the cafeteria, there had been no sound of hammer on campus since the East Wing in 1925, putting Whitewater third lowest among the state colleges in that respect.[36] The fact that it was the only college with an auditorium that could seat 100% of its enrollment was of little comfort to Whitewater fans who sat in the smallest of the state college gyms or to students who crowded into a library third lowest in square feet of floor space, in the number of volumes that could be housed, and in the number of individuals that could be seated.[37] Besides this, Whitewater was the only member of the system with no college-owned dormitories in 1948. Rising building costs in 1949 caused the state to postpone some of its plans, and the initial demand for facilities was confined to new lights on the athletic field in the fall of 1950. But soon monuments of brick and mortar were to renovate the terrain of an exploding campus, and to meet the changes business affairs began to take on new proportions. Records that had been kept for 33 years by faithful Maeta Lewerenz were turned over to administrative assistant Gordon Riley in 1952, the school's first business manager. The days were approaching when the president would no longer sign faculty petitions for office supplies.

One important celebration during the period which set the stage for a new age was the State Centennial and the 80th anniversary of the College. On January 6, 1947 Board Secretary Edgar Doudna, who was editing a textbook for schools on Wisconsin's Centennial, spoke to students and townspeople after the College band played "On Wisconsin" and the "Whitewater Loyalty Song." The next important local event was the organization of the Whitewater Historical Society which held its first open meeting May 16, 1947 in the college auditorium. A special feature was the presentation of the play, "The Whitewater Kiss" under the direction of

Dean Barnett. On April 21st an octennial program was given, the first uninhibited celebration since 1893. It gave President Williams occasion to send a word to alumni and friends, prospective students, and the community at large. "In celebrating this anniversary we are proud of the history and traditions of Whitewater State," he wrote, "and we pledge a united effort to build for an even greater institution."[38]

The last years of the era were filled with problems and triumphs common to the present decade—enrollment booms, building races, curricular additions, and preparation for broader service in a world diminished by the new technology. Everyone wished to forget war, and the taste of national prosperity made most Americans optimistic despite news from the other side of both oceans. Brave men sought to analyze the frustrations of the masses and to calm the fears of businessmen. President Williams began the year 1951 with his usual optimism: "Everything points to another great school year and we are off to a good start."[39] While some of the teachers colleges suffered a 25% enrollment decrease due to the Korean conflict, Whitewater (then third lowest in the system) declined only 10%. Dean Wells told alumni: "We are sure that each of you, wherever you are, will continue to sing the praises of your Alma Mater to the young people with whom you work. You are the salesmen upon whom we depend."[40] The student body came from more than 200 high schools at the time.

The city of Whitewater, which proudly included the 723 students in its 1950 census, had reached the grand total of 5,101 population. According to a speech given to the local Monday Club in the spring of 1951, the College was responsible for an expenditure of $826,000 in the town annually, to say nothing of its intangible cultural value.[41] With such a positive approach to its greatest industry, the sentimentalist was quite alone in his tendency to mourn the close of 99 years of passenger service to Whitewater on the Milwaukee Road on November 24, 1951. The college town was so enamored by the presence of so much culture that the editor of the *Register* took time to chide his colleague in the county seat of Elkhorn:

> The first robin of 1952 reported at a waystop called Elkhorn. They can have that uneducated bird with our blessing. We point with pride to the sage pair whose nest is on the window ledge of the East Side School third grade room where the offspring can absorb the superior educational advantages of this cultured community.[41]

But neither town nor gown had any idea what was in store for the College in the coming decade.

While the Korean War interrupted the enrollment climb for a couple of years, other developments brightened the future. In July, 1951 the state teachers colleges became state colleges, which meant that by planned

selection in the early college years students could secure basic pre-professional training for law, medicine, the ministry, nursing, engineering, and other areas. President Williams hastened to explain that the teaching emphasis would not be minimized, however: "We don't intend to let any Liberal Arts courses weaken our teacher training program," he cautioned. "In fact, we intend to make our teacher training program stronger than it is."[42] The addition of liberal arts work enabled Whitewater to produce competitors for the multiplicity of job opportunities in the post-war world. Privately endowed colleges felt the pinch in their enrollments, since many students with no intention of teaching now had a chance to attend the state college nearest their homes and accomplish their purposes for less money. The argument against the new contenders in the field of general education was that they would be cheap rivals of the University and the private colleges. The demand for elementary teachers had never been greater, however, and the state colleges remained basically teacher training institutions. At Whitewater in 1954 the ratio of liberal arts graduates to the total was 11:88; ten years later it was 36:344. It was not the distance traveled but the direction set, however, that made the transition into state college status significant. As early as 1953 Governor Walter J. Kohler was advocating a statewide university system under a new directorate which would unite the state colleges and the University. While this extreme centralization was not effected, the suggestion indicated that the sky would be the limit on innovations essential to a new era. One of the first things Whitewater did was to urge an increase in the number of doctorates on the faculty. In 1951 it ranked at the bottom of the state colleges in amount of training and years of graduate work; only 5 out of 72 people had doctorates, a decline from 1940 when there were 6 out of 53. By 1954 the ratio had gone up to about 25%, and in 1964 it was around 30%.

The building program which the age of adjustment demanded began on April 9, 1951 as President Williams lifted a spadeful of dirt at the ground breaking ceremony for the new $725,000 library. He stated that the building would be a "service station for learning materials" and that "the idea that a library is a place to keep books in isn't the whole picture."[43] The next triumph was on February 18, 1952 when ground was broken for the first women's dormitory. The ceremonies were arranged by the Women's Self-Governing Association and each sorority and the Independent Women were represented by 15 girls. The group of 75 marched behind six trumpeters from the Graham Street entrance to the site of the dorm. Designed to accommodate 130 coeds, the $384,966 building was named by faculty vote for Lucy Baker, the first of a long line of faculty people to be so honored. Regent Anderson's name was attached to the

library, with a special room dedicated to Dwight Warner, whose regency had been cut short by an untimely death. These buildings were the first of a series whose construction gave physical evidence of new frontiers. Outside of Hamilton Gym, the cafeteria, and the heating plant, they were the first to rise on the "lowlands" surrounding the Hill. At the dedication of the two buildings on October 23, 1953 Governor Kohler talked on "Wisconsin Looks Forward" and Board Director McPhee spoke on "Strengthening Our Resources." The occupation of the new library on February 26, 1953 was effected by mobilizing the college family into a relay which transported the 41,000 books from their old habitat on the third floor of the West Wing to the new edifice across the street, saving the state hundreds of dollars. President Williams led off with the first armfull of books, and afterward commented, "I'm proud of what happened and of you who did it."[44]

Although it was 1959 before more new buildings were opened, the building spirit continued with a series of remodelings which allowed new space in Old Main for offices and the departments of art, music, and science. These were the days when the new blended with the old, for there was as much of one as the other on campus. Overlooking the new library and administration building was the Tower, the landmark of the institution; from the Hill a stone's throw beyond the North Wing the log cabin looked down upon the antics of twentieth-century coeds in their new dorm. Graham Street elms still swayed in the breeze while Hamilton Field blazed with light at the touch of a switch.

In curricular matters the old and the new likewise dwelt together. Business education still ruled the roost as far as wide-spread fame was concerned, but the liberal arts curriculum had come to stay and demanded its share of the advertising. A brochure of December, 1953 featured a double page entitled, "Business Education and the Liberal Arts," the idea being that while one prepared himself in bookkeeping, billing, and calculating, he could imbibe much from the humanities. The conclusion was: "When you complete your work, you will be a well-rounded individual prepared for an interesting career. And you will be assured of a good position, for Whitewater graduates are eagerly sought by schools and offices throughout the United States, Canada, and Hawaii."[45] The term "business education" replaced "commercial education" in the '50's, indicating the broader scope of the modern curriculum. While the school was destined to venture deeply into other fields, there was a conscious effort to maintain superiority in the old specialty. In light of this emphasis business administration was inaugurated in 1952. In the gradual business shift from education to administration Whitewater was following the national post-

war trend. For one thing, the preponderance of women changed to a preponderance of men. At Whitewater in 1966, e.g., "little sister" business education graduated 37 people (30 women and 7 men), while "big brother" business administration graduated 98 (6 women and 92 men). Although the sexes were practically even when World War II broke out, the future predominence of men showed no definite signs of possibility until after 1954, by which time business administration had taken hold. The new course further broadened the institution's modern program because it was a companion to liberal arts rather than to the traditional teacher-training curricula.

As was true in the early days of business education, the new specialty had to fight the accusation of being a dumping ground for other departments. After World War II the interest of liberal arts colleges in business administration was accelerated. When Whitewater adopted the course in 1952 it was acquiescing to both the traditional and the flexible; while remaining true to its dedication to the business world which it had served 40 years, it climbed on the bandwagon of the multipurpose institutions which were becoming all things to all men in all places. By 1950 the period when any type of institution had a monopoly on the preparation of teachers had ended; finding itself in this situation, Whitewater reached into the academic bag and pulled forth a generous handful of new emphases which would keep it afloat on the sea of competition.[46] In 1957 8 out of 125 graduates received degrees in business administration, with 4 in liberal arts; in 1966 business administration claimed 98 and liberal arts 61 out of a total of 408. When the state colleges became universities in 1964 they were conforming to a present condition as well as planning for a future need. In adjusting to new demands the School was fulfilling its time-honored purpose in a new context. Professor Henry G. Lee wrote in 1951:

> As I take a final look backward and recount the growing pains and pleasures of the college, I become conscious of the fact that it has adhered to one important purpose: the providing of continued fundamental training for the sons and daughters of Wisconsin who plan to help others unlock the secrets of more satisfying and profitable living.[47]

In its broad perceptivity this statement may serve as a motto for the future as well as a review of the past.

During the years from 1951 to 1955 the extracurricular services of the College were expanded. Extension classes multiplied, larger workshops invited the attention of specialists in almost every field from mental health to maintenance, and new avenues for student expression appeared. The list of special attractions in summer school lengthened to include dramatics and music when as a summer session play and student choir were

announced for 1951. That year marked the beginning of the annual textbook and school supply exhibit for elementary teachers. In 1952 a radio education conference was held for those interested in its classroom use. In 1954 two courses in library science were offered to help teachers qualify for a state certificate, with the second series being offered in 1955. In the summer of 1954 82 children were enrolled in the campus school from kindergarten through grade six to accommodate those who needed credit in student teaching. The annual guidance conferences for teachers, principals, superintendents, school board members, community mental health clinic staff, public officials, and guidance workers on all school levels were established as a tradition.

Student life in the early 1950's also reflected the multifarious expansion of the institution. In 1953 a new student publication appeared entitled *The Whitewater Critique,* which advertised itself as "student opinion intrepidly expressed." Student opinion had changed considerably since the days when Mrs. Arey kept score cards on the girls' grooming habits and when President Salisbury checked on the boys' after-supper meanderings. Some vociferous young contemporaries, believing that their best interests were not represented by a "student" council composed exclusively of faculty, aired their disdain for the situation in 1954:

> This organization was designed to create a common meeting place where faculty and students could discuss problems relating to student welfare. But since its origin, the faculty has slowly but progressively distorted its uses until it has reached its present state of degeneration.
>
> When the committee was first created, four students and both deans were among the members. Last year the faculty voted to discontinue student representation. . . . Then . . . when new members were chosen for the committee the deans were not included.[48]

So began a continuum of student agitation for more voice in campus affairs. The *Critique's* campaign to make students "think" was reflected in another device, convocations chosen with their participation. Homecoming activities included a new attraction in 1950, the "Klumb girl" tradition, which took its name from the new homecoming faculty advisor. A fair lady, chosen by the cheerleaders, got her identity revealed at the pep rally the night before the game via some gimmick that increased interest in the festivities. Even the large number of suitcase students stayed for that weekend.

The greatest shadow over the early 1950's, the Korean War, began to take on collegiate significance by the spring of 1951. Men were urged to take the deferment exam so that they might finish their education. To those who had to leave, President Williams gave a fond farewell: "May I again request that each of you keep the college informed of your post office address whether you may be in the United States or overseas. We

wish for each of you a short and successful military career and a safe return to the things you most want to do."[49] Enrollment dropped from the 700's to the 600's, but there was no marked slowdown in the pace of things. The hope that Eisenhower would end the war and clean up the debris which seemed to conceal a host of insecurities inspired a few students to agitate for a political club. During the election of 1952 the student council sponsored a watch night to create interest in national affairs. In a mock election 69.4% of the student body voted, indicating the growing interest in politics. An all-men's convocation with representatives from the armed services was held in November, 1952 to help the students become acquainted with the current status of college people with relation to the selective service and armed service programs.

With the armistice signed in Panmunjom on July 27, 1953, enrollment returned to the 700's. By 1954 it reached 874, still short of the peak year of 1939. In August, however, President Williams was pleading for private rooms, since he knew the campus would have its highest total in 15 years. This was the beginning of the enrollment explosion that has dictated the direction of the present decade, although men in education found it difficult to fathom geometric increases. Estimated student population in the state colleges as projected in 1952 by the State Planning Committee allowed Whitewater 1400 students by 1982, embarrassingly short of the 3009 on the books by 1962.[50] Statistics multiplied about 4½ times between 1952 and 1962, making Whitewater one of the nation's fastest growing colleges of that decade (See Appendix 3). During that time a building per year was erected, seven of them dormitories. It was, therefore, more than an idealistic platitude when President Wyman declared at his inauguration, "Where lies the frontier?" The age of adjustment had not solved all the problems it had created, but it had proved that monuments built upon the foundation of necessity which reached toward public demand would endure the test of atoms and meet the expectations of analyses. The forward look of the post-war era intended to water the herbs of man's nature and to employ the entire college family and community in the business of plucking up the weeds.

7

Toward New Frontiers: The Search for Excellence (1955-1968)

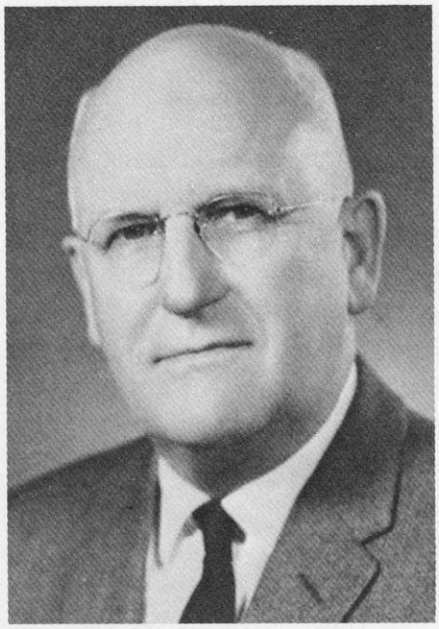
> Let our mood be experimental and our methods scientific, but let us always encourage the imaginative, the creative, the searching mind that reaches for the stars.
>
> —WALKER D. WYMAN[1]

> The university is not engaged in making ideas safe for students; it is engaged in making students safe for ideas.
>
> —CLARK KERR[2]

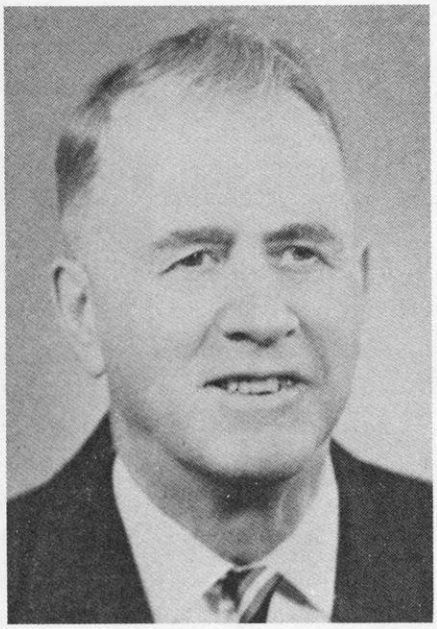
So drastic were the changes that took place at Whitewater from 1955 to the end of the century that the term "Whitewater revolution" has been coined to describe them. This was not due to an exclusive local push, for Whitewater was not unique in its sudden spurt of development. As the world became smaller and the possibility of shining one's light solely upon local endeavors became remote, the awareness of exposure to a new world of possibility drove all institutions of higher learning toward unprecedented expansion. To dissect the complications of modern society was the great task of educational research, and to meet the needs discovered was a challenge to educational visionaries who would "reach for the stars." In both the intensive and extensive assignments, therefore, American colleges and universities set their sights to discover new microscopic and telescopic means to perform best in a turbulent world of change. Because it took about ten years after the end of the Second World War for the population increase to hit the nation's campuses, 1955 was an index year for measuring the educational outlook. According to the biennial survey of education for 1954–56, there were 1,858 institutions of higher learning in the United States in 1955. While population in the country had increased 4⅓ times since 1870, enrollment had jumped more than 57 times, about 31% of the college-age Americans in attendance.[3] In 1955 1,006 students swarmed through the halls at Whitewater where 874 had mingled the year before; and the 2,000 in 1960 represented an 88% increase over the 1955 figure. The 6,322 of 1965 indicated the rapidity with which new educational frontiers were being invaded. All this called for "experimental vision" and "scientific methods" upon which rays of "creativity" could be focused.

In 1955 for the first time in the history of the school, enrollment passed the one thousand mark. The theme of the president's convocation that fall was, "I challenge you." The points were simple—get acquainted with your world (the extensive outlook), get acquainted with yourself (the intensive scrutiny), and do something about what you discover (frontier aggressiveness).[4] When President Williams uttered those words he had seven remaining years to lead the College toward the greater things he visualized. The age of adjustment had already taught the lesson that change was the ordinary menu for the educator; the remainder of his administration attested to the reality of that lesson. The building of large, complex institutions was the distinctive feature of higher education after 1955, and the burden of making them pay rested upon the chief executives. The new frontiers called for pioneers who would give themselves to original thinking and who could turn new opportunities into cash for the educational budget. Beyond guarding against deficits in dollars and cents, however, the university era condemned deficit thinking and planning.

As the cabins of the first planters were physical evidence that civilization was entering the frontier, so the building program launched between 1955 and 1962 noisily announced the arrival of the multipurpose institution that was spreading like an octopus from the Hill. Federal aid made it possible in 1956 for every state college to look forward to a student union, but while waiting for new diggings, Whitewater pursued a remodeling program. In 1957 the science laboratories and classrooms on the top floor of the Central Building received $70,651 worth of modernization. It was found that a dormitory for men was as urgent as a union, since by 1957 there were nearly 200 more men than women on campus. A half-million-dollar building, housing some 230 men, arose in tribute to Albert Salisbury in 1958. According to one suspicious observer, "It was a new and harrowing experience on campus to have so many men living together under one roof."[5] Ground was broken for the new Union on May 20, 1958, only a few days after a steeple jack ventured up the flagpole 180 feet above the ground and 230 feet above Main Street to give it a coat of paint. The thought of having the $500,000 Union thrilled President Williams. "This is a great day for Whitewater," he cheerily told the crowd as he pointed to the three other new buildings prompted by increased enrollment (Anderson Library, Lucy Baker Hall, and Salisbury Hall). "But this one is unique; it is being financed entirely by student funds for student use without a cent of cost to taxpayers."[6] A second women's dorm followed in 1960. Housing over 200 coeds, the new hall was named for Mary McCutchan, the first woman graduate who served her alma mater as a teacher in the training school and whose alert, forceful, direct, and frankly opinionated approach

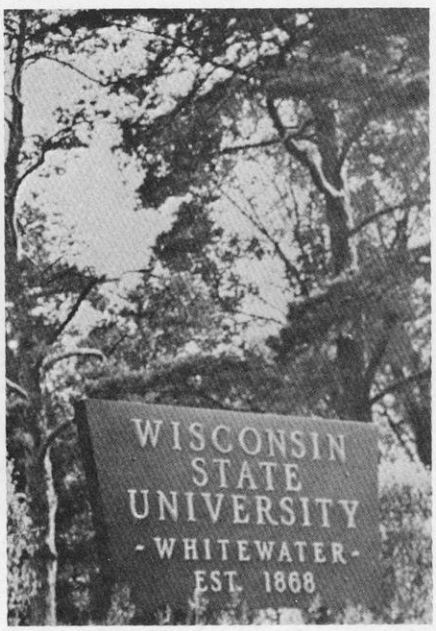


43. *President Williams.* Robert C. Williams maintained his office with precision and order.



44. *Dean Wells.* Cord O. Wells has held the most administrative titles in the School's history.

45. *President Wyman.* Walker D. Wyman directed Whitewater's expansion boom of the 1960's.



46. *University Status.* The last of three historic name changes was in July, 1964.

EXPANSION TO THE PRESENT STATUS FULFILLED THE DREAMS OF MANY RECENT LEADERS

revealed "a refreshing personality in a world of too many plastic minds."[7] The fourth building of the initial boom phase was the million-dollar W. P. Roseman Elementary School, opened in September, 1960. The purpose of the school was not only to serve as a center for observation and practice teaching, but as a laboratory where students might share in research and experimentation. The building included an industrial arts shop, a home economics laboratory, an art room, a library, a physical education room, a health center, and a little theater. For 22 years the one for whom the building was named had inspired prospective teachers and motivated children. Thus, in the space of five years, the campus had expanded its facilities more than during the first 50 years of the century.

Whitewater's history of buildings and grounds included shifts other than new buildings. In 1953 Mr. Charles Kitzman ended his tenure of over 40 years as a keeper of the physical plant. Like his colleague, Billy Rieder, Charlie Kitzman took time to meet the students and concluded that the younger generation was no worse than the older. This versatile gentleman who once directed the College High band, lived a full life into his 88th year, passing away on January 24, 1967. Another change came with the removal of the College Greens apartments in 1961 to make room for another dormitory. This marked the end of an era when returning veterans brought their families to college, built their own community, and stretched G.I. checks to cover the cost of their education. Some 350 families had taken advantage of the temporary arrangement since 1946. Before he retired President Williams had the joy of breaking ground for two more dormitories, Sayles Hall for women and White Hall for men. Nettie Sayles succeeded Mary McCutchan as director of the grammar grades and is also remembered for the scholarship created by her will; the Hon. S. A. White's name stands next to Salisbury's on Whitewater's historical roster. When President Wyman assumed his duties in the head office in 1962 he viewed the mushrooming campus and asked himself, "Where lies the frontier?"

Paths into endless new curricular frontiers were charted during the last years of the Williams administration. The break from the past was recognized by *The Capital Times* of May 7, 1959 under the headlines, "Whitewater College Charts Course for Growing Future: Tradition-Steeped School Ready to Meet Challenges." The fullpage presentation noted that President Williams, the guiding hand behind the expansion which had made the school "much more than a teachers college," advocated a stronger academic preparation for those planning to teach than for those in non-professional curricula.[8] No student could enroll in a course on teaching methods until he had a firm foundation in the content of that subject. In

the interest of specialization workshops were suggested, leaving the details to the imagination of a good administrator. With the highest budget ever appropriated for the state colleges (1956), President Williams was able to realize some of his great dreams. Workshops were held every summer on some subject of special interest to teachers, and brochures advertising special opportunities in various fields came off the press in rapid succession. By 1960 the curriculum had been broadened to include four teaching areas: kindergarten-primary, elementary, academic (with majors in English, mathematics, science, social studies, music, and speech), and business education. The liberal arts curricula included majors in business administration and the above-mentioned academic disciplines. Pre-professional courses were offered in agriculture, dentistry, engineering, forestry, law, medicine, nursing, and veterinary science.

The distinguishing feature of the last half of the Williams administration was the expansion of the traditional courses into majors and minors and the new outreach of these courses to supply the demands of the changing world. Business education continued to enjoy its reputation in classrooms and business and governmental offices throughout the world. In 1961 the first annual summer business education conference was held on campus. In 1959 business administration attracted 139 freshmen as compared to 132 in business education, 104 academic, 74 elementary, 57 kindergarten-primary, and 18 rural education.[9] The approval of the new economics major in 1956 enticed some to pursue a double major in economics and business administration. Majors in art, music, and speech opened new avenues to students who wished to do more with these subjects than to teach them in connection with another major. In art education Professor Mildred Schultze kept the *School Arts* magazine stimulated with her articles on how to be creative with yarn, decorative string, sequins, etc. Journalism was another era of outreach, and Professor Mary Mills not only published articles on English and composition but won state-wide acclaim in 1955 for her efficiency as publicity chairman of student activities at Whitewater. Out of the department of speech developed radio work, so that by the close of 1961 plans were almost complete for a campus radio station. This opened a new area of interest for speech students interested in public relations, but it extended into other avenues of creativity. Under the direction of Professor Frederic L. Sederholm, the venture has expanded from the original closed circuit broadcasting into community-wide coverage. The department of education launched a decade of study in 1958 when Professor Arnold J. Lien and a committee directed a two-year probing of the professional education program.

The greatest single step toward the university status of 1964 was the

development of graduate programs by the state colleges. Whitewater's first graduate council, chaired by Dr. Lien, met in September, 1959 to lay the groundwork for the first graduate session in the summer of 1960. The program was a cooperative effort with the University of Wisconsin, whereby a student earned his first 12 credits at the College and finished the last 12 at Madison. Leading to a master of science degree in teaching, the program was designed to improve the effectiveness of elementary and secondary teachers in the fields of business education, elementary education, history and social studies, English and speech, and science and mathematics. The 1960 session brought 32 graduate students to campus, which number had doubled by 1962. The success of the cooperative enterprise led to the development of Whitewater's own program which required the undertaking of a self-study report for preliminary accreditation by the North Central Association. Before he retired President Williams appointed a steering committee to see to that study. The program invigorated an already-expanding summer school. In 1956 690 students enrolled, with over 500 in elementary education. Two years later the number hit 1002, with nearly 700 in the elementary curriculum. In 1961 1366 students braved the elements to hit the books and were especially rewarded with the privilege of attending the first formal summer commencement in the history of the School. In 1960 the Legislature passed an act lengthening summer school from six to eight weeks, making possible the introduction of the graduate program. Some administrators began to consider lengthening the session to 12 weeks, but Whitewater was not a pioneer in that experiment.

Evidence of the push into new frontiers on campus was reflected in the activities of the alumni. With more graduates entering the alumni fold annually (there were 215 in June, 1962) than had graduated during the entire first quarter century of the school's history (there had been 209), the potential of the group mounted. The president took special interest in the alumni program throughout his tenure, and in 1955 the practice of honoring distinguished alumni at the commencement exercises was begun. By 1966 40 such persons had been honored. As the newly formed Alumni Association gained momentum during the 1950's, more elaborate plans for returning graduates at homecomings were made, membership drives were launched, and a scholarship fund was established in 1956. Fund drives usually yielded over $200, which enabled the scholarship committee to pay the first half of four $100 scholarships to new college freshmen. The alumni provision was the fourth such source of aid, the others being state legislative scholarships, the Grace Alvord scholarship (provided by the will of the gracious lady who served as assistant librarian from 1905–1938),

and the Nettie C. Sayles scholarship (provided by the will of one who was critic in the training school from 1906–1928). In 1960 a fifth, the $26,000 Helen Knosker scholarship fund, was established by Beulah Charmley in memory of her friend. Over a dozen scholarships are now awarded deserving students on honors day. Added to that provision, alumni contributed to the Salisbury Loan Fund which, until the National Defense Act of 1958, was supplemented only by the state student loan fund. The Salisbury fund was begun in 1939–40 to assist worthy students who needed financial aid in the last year of their training and grew with the size of the Alumni Association.

The student body also felt the accelerated pace of many feet. The director of the student union managed two organizations, the Student Union Board which made policies and the Student Union Activities Board which planned programs. An enlarged bookstore, more vending machines, longer dining hall lines, and more recreational activities made the Union a grand central station. The student council continued its activities of sponsoring the all-school mixer in the fall and the all-school picnic in the spring. It sent five members to the Association of College Unions Conference in Muncie, Indiana in 1961 and performed as a member of the United Council of Wisconsin State College Student Governments. No longer did students sign a declaration book to enter the halls of ivy, but they did have to take a battery of American College Tests (ACT) and endure a week of orientation. In 1956 Mrs. Anne Dahle retired after 29 years as assistant to the registrar and student admissions examiner, another faithful servant who narrowly escaped the deluge. In 1959 the Prophet Company was awarded the contract to supply food to the growing multitudes, a radical departure from the gay nineties when each student had an interview with the president to arrange for room and board. The students tested their initiative in 1962 when a building corporation that owned a large private housing operation raised rents in violation of contracts, and they aired their desire for liberalized women's hours. Rumblings against outworn rules on dress were also translated into action in the 1960's. Wrote one irritated coed: "I don't mind abiding by the rules. But, I would like to ask . . . why must the girls wear skirts to school during the winter while the fellas wear long pants? And then when summer comes the fellas switch to . . . bermudas . . . while the girls are still clad in skirts?"[10] President Williams accepted these challenges with calm deliberation. His philosophy toward students was expressed at his farewell dinner: "An institution doesn't amount to very much unless you can get in touch with its heartbeat, the people we are here to serve, the student body."[11]

By and large the increased student population was absorbed into

existing organizations, but the new groups that did appear between 1955 and 1962 mirrored the enlarged national outlook of the institution. The veterans organized in 1954 into the Campus Veterans' League and boasted 100 members by 1958. The League sponsored annually a boxing and wrestling show called Campus Confusion. The International Club (later known as the Cosmopolitan Club) was organized in 1957 to promote goodwill among nations and to create a better understanding of international problems. The girls organized into a social and service group called Campus Coeds. The Young Democrats and Young Republicans were more active than ever in the 1960 campaign and pledged themselves to keep going after the election was over. Students interested in music began a chapter in the Music Educators National Conference, a department of the National Education Association. The cheerleaders were joined by Whitewater's novel platoon of coeds who did precision marching at the football games, the Hawketts. The women in general became less athletic and more recreational by changing the name of their organization from W.A.A. to W.R.A. to keep in line with the change at the other state colleges. In the student business world, the venerable Commercial Club made way for a new organization, Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA), after being the core of activity in the department for 44 years. The Whitewater chapter took its place among 1500 others and was installed by candlelight ceremony in the auditorium on March 18, 1957. A member of the United Business Education Association, the FBLA had been organized nationally in 1941 to help teachers secure higher types of students for the nation's high school commercial departments. In 1958 a business fraternity, Beta Alpha Sigma, was founded to bring together the business world and the College. A field trip in the spring and a number of speakers from business fields aided in those goals. In 1959 the biological science formed a club, Beta Zeta Beta, which in 1960 affiliated with the national biological honor society (Beta Beta Beta).

The increased enrollment broke into new sports frontiers. The makers of the 1962 *Minneiska* were sad because Coach Forest Perkins' famous team failed to win its *third* consecutive undisputed state conference football championship in 1961! The basketball championship that spring, however, kept Whitewater on the sports map. A special program honoring the team, Coach Robert Weigandt, and the outstanding players was given in the auditorium before the student body. The track team continued to advance under Coach Rex Foster, and Coach John Rabe made wrestling popular. Director David Evans built up the band to new excellence in precision marching which livened the games at half-time.

The faculty, which doubled in number between 1955 and 1962, found

the new frontier exciting enough. In 1956 Professor Edward Morgan of the history department was named president of the Association of Wisconsin State College Faculties and worked with a joint committee of the state colleges and the University to study ways to enrich and strengthen higher education. The new faculty received the greatest welcome ever by the city in 1956 when the Chamber of Commerce, Junior Chamber, Kiwanis, and the Lions Club rolled out the welcome on get-acquainted night at the Armory. A directory of faculty members available as speakers was compiled for use of the community. In 1961 Whitewater's local chapter of the American Association of University Women was approved. With extension classes, robing for three commencements a year, battling budgets on behalf of higher education, orienting 500 new freshmen a year, serving on nine standing committees among a host of others, and researching to keep the term "excellence" above the threshold of the institution, the faculty had diversified opportunity to manifest their professional aptitudes.

As the institution expanded student facilities and activities multiplied. Many conveniences taken for granted in 1968 had been sparkling new a decade earlier. In 1955 the library received its first microfilm and microcard readers and a campus bookstore was begun. The system of pre-registration had its humble beginning in 1962 when those to be seniors in the fall signed up in May. At that time, too, a new system of registration for the summer session made it possible to complete the whole process by mail. Besides entering posture, best-dressed girl, and "Mr. Ugly" contests, students had to decide whether or not they were proficient enough to try for one of the six honor fraternities, profluent enough to join one of the dozen and a half performing or production groups, virtuous enough to participate in one of the eight religious groups, or inveterate enough to go it alone. In 1962 the contemplative person might have lost himself among the 63,346 volumes in the library, and the ambitious might have secured a job through the employment office. The new frontiers were legion; the challenge for the new age was to conquer them with credit.

The little town of Whitewater had ambivalent feelings about the new educational frontiers. Population statistics were frightening as increases at the College surpassed those of the town; and the recorded 6,380 citizens in 1960 included nearly 2,000 students and over 100 faculty and their families. Might the day come when the College would outgrow the local metropolis? Little progress was made toward providing recreational facilities for the students, but the city swelled the capacity crowds that thrilled to the joyful brilliance of Professor Raymond Light's Christmas choir, with the art and rhythm of Professor Evans' marching band at the games, and with the display of talent in the college dramatic productions. Interested

citizens lined the streets to see the Homecoming floats and visited the campus for the art displays. When the city celebrated its 125th anniversary in 1962 several students took part in the local beard-growing contest. The official insignia by the local artist, Leon Pescheret, featured the College and the city hall with a log cabin in the center. The degree to which the institution to date is an integral part of the city remains to be answered in full, but contemporary planners may take heart in the fact that the problem is very old. In 1878 an angry student who was advertised as a person who voted illegally wrote the *Register:* "If I am not a resident of Whitewater, where is my residence?"[12] The Wyman administration, like those of yesteryears, sought for good answers to such questions.

The retirement of President Robert C. Williams in 1962 brought to a close 16 eventful years of guiding Whitewater from an enrollment of under 700 to one of over 3,000, from a teachers college with the single business education emphasis to a state college with a multilateral outreach, and from a physical plant hardly stretching beyond the Hill to a campus with five dormitories, a student union, a new library, and a campus school. No president in the history of the college had seen so much change, and none had a more forward look. His address in the 1962 *Minneiska* which was dedicated to him, reflected this:

> Being associated with others who are seeking broader horizons and a richer measure of self-realization is a most stimulating experience. Out of the classroom, laboratory, library, platform and other campus activities are distilled the unique characteristics of the individual and the contributions which he will offer to the world of tomorrow.
>
> It would be my hope and desire that each of us will become increasingly aware of the significance of knowledge and its relevance to the needs of our society.[13]

Where the president's interests lay, there he appeared in person. He worked closely with the Alumni Association, was never too busy to attend the meetings within a radius of 60 miles, and was always smiling at the annual alumni banquet. He was at home in the long line that moved the 43,000 books to the new library in 1953. A friend to progress, he delighted to report news of new building appropriations to the faculty. He lifted the first spadefuls of dirt for ten buildings, eight of which were completed during his administration. A civic-minded man, the president was active in the Kiwanis Club, the Congregational Church, and on the Governor's Commission on Human Rights. Possessing a doctorate himself, he hired people with doctorates whenever possible, increasing the number from 5 to 41 during his tenure. His concern for students was expressed at his convocations each fall, a tradition established because of the impossibility of meeting all the students personally. Sports drew his enthusiastic support.

His biggest smile of the year went with the roses he presented to the homecoming queen; and when Coach Perkins' football team came forth with a second consecutive conference championship in 1960, earning the honor of being one of the top twenty small college squads in the country, Dr. Williams shared the triumph by boarding a plane with the boys for a post-season game with Arkansas State. The honors at a recognition dinner held for him on May 19, 1962 summarized his interests in the school—he received a citation from the student council, a life subscription to the *Royal Purple*, a duplicate of the key he received when he helped found a chapter of Pi Kappa Delta Speech Fraternity at his alma mater (Central College, Pella, Iowa) in 1914, a "W" blanket from the athletic department, and a program of the band concert dedicated to him. Whitewater University's new physical education building is a memorial to his interest in that aspect of student activity, and the scholarship fund established in 1962 by the Sigma Delta Pi Fraternity speaks annually of his respect for academic excellence.

Several honors came to President Williams during his tenure at Whitewater. In 1956 he was called back to Central College to receive the honorary Doctor of Laws degree as a distinguished alumnus "who has devoted his life to education" and whose "active participation in religious work at Central reflected his heritage as the son of a pioneer Baptist minister," which work was partly responsible for "the vital and extensive religious activity on the Wisconsin State College campus."[14] With reference to the president's interest in promoting religious activity, in 1952 he wrote as follows to the president of the Religious Education Association:

> I consider it an unusual honor to be invited as a sponsor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Religious Education Association, particularly since a former president of this institution, Dr. Albert Salisbury, participated in the founding of your organization. The leadership and influence of former President Salisbury still lives in our campus community and he is remembered today for his strong character and his vigorous leadership.[15]

In 1957 Williams was named to the curriculum guidance committee of the State Department of Public Instruction to represent the state college presidents in a program to plan for better Wisconsin schools. In 1960 he was elected president of the State College Council of Presidents. At the recognition dinner in 1962 Regent John K. Kyle paid tribute to him for bringing stability and prestige to the office that three previous presidents had left before reaching retirement.[16] His vision into new horizons was a part of his farewell statement. "For your friendship," he told the student body, faculty, and friends of the school, "I shall always be deeply thankful.

Under the capable leadership of my good friend and successor, Dr. Walker Wyman, good things are in store for the future."[17]

Retirement lasted only a few months for Dr. Williams, however, for in December it was announced that he would serve the state college system as coordinator of teacher recruitment beginning July 1, 1963. This part-time job was a pioneer effort that took him to various universities around the country in search of prospective teachers whom he could recommend to the state college presidents. He described the new position as "quite a challenge," and undertook it with all the enthusiasm his age would permit. Within a year he had interviewed 728 candidates at 39 universities in 20 states and traveled more than 14,000 miles.[18] Before he had completed three years in the new position, however, death claimed him on March 29, 1966 while on a brief return from a mission in Kansas. On the 31st classes were dismissed in the afternoon to honor his memory. A pioneer in the new age, a lover of frontiers, had laid down his mantle.

In the spring of 1962, just after the Campus Veterans League had presented their annual Campus Confusion, the question of who would be the new leader of the college was settled. A native of Illinois and graduate of the state institution at Normal, Dr. Wyman, like his predecessor, finished his education at the University of Iowa. When the Board of Regents chose the chairman of the history department at River Falls to fill the head administrative post, it picked a man who had already given extensive service to the state. President Wyman had been at River Falls for three decades, had served as vice president of the State Historical Society and as a member of its Board of Curators, and had enhanced his scholarly influence in the state by initiating at River Falls the first of several Area Research Centers in collaboration with the State Historical Society. When he came to Whitewater three books dealing with the western frontier bore his name: *The Wild Horse of the West, California Emigrant Letters,* and *Nothing But Prairie and Sky.* He was co-editor of *The Frontier in Perspective,* had written some 25 articles and 200 book reviews to professional periodicals, and was serving on the American Historical Association's Committee for the Teaching of History in the Schools. No sooner was he inaugurated than he was off to Washington D.C. to a meeting in connection with the teaching of history in the high schools. In 1965 he was named to the Wisconsin Foundation for the Humanities, a recent congressional creation to make use of federal funds to encourage the arts. Dr. Wyman saw in such an organization an opportunity to relate the culture of Wisconsin to the world community. In 1966 he was named to an advisory committee for the compilation of a six-volume history of Wisconsin, a six-year project sponsored by the State Historical Society. His authority on history, his love for

prairie and sky, his respect for frontiers, and his devotion to scholarship gave this man with the spirit of youth a head start on the task that faced him on July 1, 1962. "The Wymans consider the opportunity to go to Whitewater an exciting adventure in education," he commented in April, 1962. "The community is known as a friendly and beautiful place in which to live and work and we are happy to become a part of such a pleasant and significant way of life."[19]

President Wyman concerned himself with every facet of campus operation. From the "President's Corner" begun in the *Royal Purple* of October, 1962 where he met the students for weekly chats, to the "Faculty Reporter" which came off the press each month to keep its readers up on local and world news about educational matters, from the Whitewater Forum to the Whitewater Foundation, from publications on the historic West to the examination of educational procedure in Israel, he sought to fill Whitewater's cup of knowledge to overflowing. Everywhere and to everyone he explained the new frontiers in education—to the local AFL-CIO, to the Kiwanis Club, to the Regents and the governor, and to the faculty and students. The president's advice to everyone could be summarized in one word—creativity. His inaugural address of October 18, 1962 threw as much dust in the air as the horsedrawn plows and hand shovels that had gone to work on Normal Hill 96 years before. "Let our mood be experimental and our methods scientific, but let us always encourage the imaginative, the creative, the searching mind that reaches for the stars," he told his audience. "Let us challenge the great liberal tradition that the past has given to us, re-examine the present to see if what we do cannot be improved, and seek a more effective and efficient way to move into the future," he continued. "Let us seek greatness by seeking excellence in all that we do, and abide by the axiom that men of good will can solve even the most vexing of problems."[20] So stimulating was this address that numerous requests demanded reprints which were circulated in the library. It was unfortunate, in a sense, that the institution's second historian president could not spend more time in eulogy of the past, but his task summoned him to join Edwin Markham in exclaiming, "I am done with the years that were. . . ."[21] The new executive sensed the impact of the social forces that had stirred up an educational revolution which the 1960's would have to face. He embraced the entire community of learning as an enterprise in the development and communication of ability in a decision-producing world when he quoted the president of the Carnegie Foundation: "An excellent plumber is infinitely more admirable than an incompetent philosopher. The society that scorns excellence in plumbing because plumbing is a humble activity and tolerates shoddiness in philosophy

because it is an exalted activity will have neither good plumbing nor good philosophy."[22]

The new president, like the historian Salisbury before him, took special pleasure in setting up lines of direct communication with the city. "I would rather talk out our problems than shout about them," he told members of the Chamber of Commerce on January 19, 1963.[23] And, as Salisbury twice had done during his administration, President Wyman quoted statistics to show the value of the institution to the town: "The 1962–63 budget is $2,683,423 and of this around 80% goes in wages and salaries to 178 faculty and 60 secretaries and maintenance people," he began. In conclusion, he reminded the city leaders: "The generalization may be made that the college contributes in excess of $5,000,000 annually to the community, and is an important segment in the local economy. If the college costs each person in Wisconsin around 50¢ a year in taxes, and if Whitewater's share of the cost is $3100, then the college is a bargain any way you look at it."[24] The manager of a local grocery store told the presient that his gross business increased $5,000 the first week of school in the fall of 1962. It is not surprising that the president was soon voted into membership of the Chamber of Commerce. Such figures gave meaning to the traditional "Welcome Students" sign that has been draped across Main Street each September, and served to engender a mutual optimism that "a great college can be created here, somehow, sometime."[25] With the need for unprecedented building activity, Whitewater's Industrial Development Corporation erected a new sign beside the traditional one, so that since 1962 the old invitation "Welcome to Whitewater, the College Town" has shared company with: "Whitewater Welcomes Industry, Sites Available."

President Wyman personally set the pace for accepting the challenges of new frontiers. "I foresee that I shall read less and less . . . and eventually I shall talk all the time," he told an AAUW meeting early in 1963. "It is my hope that in the decade ahead this college will move from a good one to an excellent one, where other educators will come to observe and to learn." He said that he intended to reach for the stars with one hand and with the other "place a cocklebur under the saddle of every faculty member and student in the college."[26] A special meeting of the faculty was called in January, 1963 to hear the dean of the University of Wisconsin's school of education, Lindley J. Stiles, admonish them to "Reach for the Stars."[27] Always including the student body in his thinking, the new executive reportedly explained his occupation at Whitewater as follows:

> Last winter I was admitted to a hospital for minor surgery. The admission clerk asked me my occupation. I told her I was a "columnist for the *Royal Purple*, a weekly newspaper of Whitewater, Wisconsin," and she dutifully

47. *Wyman Frontiers.* As he viewed the windswept North Campus soon to be occupied with new structural evidence of a growing Whitewater, President Wyman did well to ponder, "Where lies the frontier?"

THE BOUNDARIES OF THE CAMPUS WERE FREQUENTLY SURVEYED BY THE AUTHOR OF *"NOTHING BUT PRAIRIE AND SKY"*

> recorded the fact. I regard the occupation as a very important one, but not my sole one for I do have some responsibilities in connection with the faculty of over 200 and in the spending of $2,500,000 of public money this year for your education.[28]

Having thus established a new avenue of communication with the students and feeling that the faculty and townspeople were sympathetic with his visions, Dr. Wyman faced the practical problems of the new manifest destiny he had so carefully outlined.

In the fall of 1962, for the first time in history, the Tower was lighted every night until midnight (except when games were lost and darkness prevailed as a sign of mourning). Prior to this, the beams from the top of Old Main pierced the sky only for sports victories or on special occasions—but the continuous light was necessary as a positive reminder to the world that the College was reaching for the stars. That September the sound of 3,000 feet was heard for the first time in history, with nearly 1,200 participating in freshman orientation. Classes were scheduled from 7:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., the third time in history that Whitewater had lengthened its school day (noon classes were added in 1956 and the 4:00 p.m. hour in 1957). There was a threat that the log cabin might be removed to make room for a new building, but history defeated progress on that spot and the Whitewater Historical Society announced that the cabin would be renovated where it stood. President Salisbury would have appreciated that, but he would have winced when his home at the corner of Graham and Main was razed for the new $1,800,000 library addition which took precedence on that spot in completed form in the fall of 1965.

New experiences resulting from adjustments to the new frontiers were in store for the administration. On December 12, 1962 a student demonstration over 800 strong, protesting rent hikes at the Fraternity Lane cooperative housing units to become effective the second semester, roused the president from his home to hear a petition signed by 208 students from nine of the houses. In 9° below zero weather the modern pioneer president, already active concerning the problem, appeared in fur lined cap and topcoat to address the group: "I have spent the day in Madison discussing various aspects of the problem of midyear rent increases in the eleven co-operative housing units on Fraternity Lane," he said.[29] After explaining that the College could not block rent increases but could reccmmend that students move from the premises, he assured his chilled audience that the College was re-considering its future requests for new dormitories. On the brighter side, Whitewater won its third football conference championship in the past four seasons by defeating Stevens Point on October 27, 1962. Another victory was the incorporation of the White-

water State College Foundation, a non-profit organization founded to receive and administer funds and properties contributed to the college. At Homecoming, 1962 the president was able to announce that gifts totaling $1,100 had been pledged, and in the spring following a nine-member board was named to direct the foundation. Gifts soon ran into the thousands, much to the delight of Dr. Wyman, who always spoke of the corporation as putting "the frosting on the cake of higher education." The class of '63 pioneered in establishing a class memorial within the Foundation with a check of nearly $1,000. The president praised the class for pioneering in a venture to broaden the scope of the School.

The year 1963, the last to witness the far-reaching developments on the campus as a college, was packed with excitement and innovation. At the annual honors convocation in May, President Wyman added to the list of awards a $100 scholarship to the student judged to have made the greatest contribution to the College. His address entitled "More than Excellence" challenged the audience about the dangers of mediocrity. For the summer commencement the president brought from his alma mater John A. Kinneman, professor emeritus of the Illinois State Normal University at Normal, who spoke on the values of the good society. He declared: "We must stimulate learners to an understanding of the society in which we live. . . . I am impatient for intelligent action."[30] This lecture was the first of a continuum published under the imprint, *The Whitewater Forum,* an endeavor from which much of Whitewater's second century of history will be gleaned. During the spring and summer of 1963 the School's Area Research Center, a Wyman dream realized by agreement with the State Historical Society in October, 1962, was activated. A part of a network of six centers planned at the time, it was third in the series dedicated "to encourage historical studies and enrich the resources for historical research." Embracing three counties (Walworth, Rock, and Jefferson) and including a fine collection of institutional materials, the Center invites the present generation to enjoy the past.

In the summer of 1963 the state colleges began to offer their own graduate programs. In September 3,646 people swarmed to the campus, nearly a thousand to take up business education, over 500 to pursue the liberal arts, and over 150 to follow the pre-professional curriculum. There were 10 foreign students and 375 from other states. To make it possible for so many to "reach for the stars" that year, the ancient Graham Street thoroughfare became a college mall at the request of the School so that the swarms of students could safely get from the third floor of Upham Hall to the third of Old Main in ten minutes. The faculty numbered over 200, about 25% of whom were new members. Dean of Instruction Wells, with

a sagacious approach to change begotten of experience, concluded that numbers would soon necessitate introducing the old faculty to the new. A wide-eyed community listened to the leader of the bustling institution and invited him to attend the meetings of the Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors to foster closer relationship with the school. Budget crises in higher education set the local faculty organization to work writing senators and assemblymen to agree on a system of taxation which would carry the 1963–64 biennium through the deep waters. So went the pace of life during the first two years of the Wyman administration.

Behind these scenes the forces which gave the School the right to claim university status were at work. The new president and many of his staff delighted in the university atmosphere, but neither he nor they created the circumstances which prompted the name change in July, 1964. Population statistics, together with the fact that the colleges were granting liberal arts degrees and offering 39 majors in subjects ranging from agriculture and art to political science and sociology, demanded a great thrust forward. Over 20,500 students were enrolled in the colleges at that time, with 24,000 expected in the fall. It was not surprising, therefore, that the suggestion of university status caught fire when Regent William D. McIntyre introduced it in May, 1963. The present method of operation which had emphasized institutional uniqueness and individual development was to be continued.[31] Dr. Wyman had begun already to prepare for the demands of the new designation. As the institution grew, older members of the staff were pushed into top positions where they could view wider horizons and direct the work of their departments accordingly. In 1963 Wyman had organized the work of the college into five schools or divisions: the school of arts and sciences with 11 departments, the school of education with four, the school of business and economics with three, the graduate school, and the division of student affairs with six. A director of placement services and one of public relations were named, together with an assistant to the president and a vice president. In addition to eight faculty standing committees, the president had created seven administrative committees by 1963 (which number doubled by 1965). Whitewater was honored on the eve of its university status by having the chairman of its speech department, Dr. Wynett Barnett, chosen president of the Association of Wisconsin State College Faculties. The first lady to be elected to the position, she had the further distinction of holding office as the first AWS*UF* president.

Curriculum expansion, already far into new frontiers by 1962, received new impetus from the administration. For the first time in history Whitewater made plans for a study program abroad which took students to

England in the summer of 1964 in time to celebrate the 400th birthday anniversary of Shakespeare. In 1963 business education celebrated its 50th year with a conference that drew some 280 persons to campus to hear that Whitewater ranked fifth among the nation's colleges and universities in the number of bachelor's degrees in business education awarded annually. By 1963 more than 3,000 graduates throughout the United States and a number of foreign countries had gone from Whitewater.[32] The graduate program received the blessing of the North Central Association in 1963 when preliminary accreditation for Whitewater's own master of science degree in teaching was granted. The self-study conducted for the request under the able direction of Dr. Arnold J. Lien was in itself a credit to the institution. Due to the acquisition of its own program, Whitewater's graduate enrollment jumped from about 120 in 1963 to nearly 200 in 1964.

Faculty improvement to keep pace with the graduate program and general excellence in teaching was encouraged in several ways. During the 1961–63 biennium $50,000 was allocated by the Legislature for research and institutional studies. Nine faculty took advantage of this, while 17 attended the Ford Motor Company seminar held at the University of Wisconsin on March 7, 1963. That year WSC was chosen one of 11 institutions to participate in a nationwide study of the teaching of values to prospective teachers. The Whitewater proposal was selected by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education from more than 300 submitted to the Association. A grant from the Association financed the study, which was developed by 18 faculty and written by Vice President Richard J. Brown. President Wyman hailed the fortunate selection as "an extremely significant step."[33] Such activities beyond the immediate classroom put the institution in a favorable position to make the most of the new designation.

In addition to other forms of expansion, the Whitewater campus was becoming increasingly cosmopolitan. In the fall of 1963 the 4-point grading system was adopted to conform with the other state colleges and the University. Weekly broadcasts over WFAW-FM, Fort Atkinson were begun in October, 1963. In March of that year a series of lectures by foreign guests on present day trends under the title "The Nations' Forum" was begun under the chairmanship of Dr. Margaret Donovan. A sequence to the series was a conference on teaching about Communism and the Communist world the following summer, the papers from which were prepared as the second *Whitewater Forum* volume. A study group went to Britain in the summer of 1963 and an instructor from there conducted a two-week workshop to provide opportunities for elementary teachers to explore methods of incorporating instruction in international education into the elementary curriculum. Extension courses had expanded to the

extent that teachers were driving 5,000 miles each week to conduct classes in 56 cities. That summer three professors conducted a Wisconsin studies workshop which took them to various points over the state, and the Around-the-World Field Trip conducted by Professor Clay Daggett centered upon Africa. In the fall of 1962 the marching band performed at the pre-game and halftime ceremonies at the classic meeting of the Green Bay Packers and Chicago Bears before CBS television. A closed circuit television experiment was conducted in the campus school to determine whether or not substantial use could be made of the device. Down in the first grade room Professor Olive R. Reeve asked, "Are four fish equal to four apples?" while in the auditorium upstairs faculty and student teachers observed the procedure and learned the difference between "equivalent" and "equal." In 1963 a modern arithmetic workshop was conducted in summer school by Professor Reeve. At that time the training school program was accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). The three areas improved upon since 1961 were the abolition of the two-year rural program, the substitution of one-hour practice teaching for half-day sessions, and the reorganization of course requirements involving teacher training. While 91% of Whitewater's students were Wisconsin residents, the new outreach of the early 1960's recognized the proximity of the world community. When Whitewater appointed its first director of placement, Professor Henry M. Collins, President Wyman explained: "The changing role of the college from an exclusively teacher education to a multipurpose institution preparing students for positions in industry as well as in teaching made a central placement office desirable."[34]

The College was ready to live up to the designation granted on July 1, 1964, but the quiet little town of Whitewater needed mobilization. The congenial Wyman regime encouraged new joint community ventures that helped absorb the expansion shock of the early '60's. Faculty and students who turned out for the Red Cross blood drives were inspired by the dean of student affairs who entered the two gallon club in 1962. When the Jaycees secured the college auditorium for a minstrel show in February, 1963 and were picketted by the NAACP, President Wyman answered NAACP leaders that this was not a college-sponsored program and that they would have equal right to rent the auditorium to tell their story if desired.[35] In the fall of 1962 the college drama group, the State College Players, reorganized and drew up a new constitution which included all members of the community who were interested in play production. A similar movement by the college symphony orchestra seated adult musicians together with students, giving Director William Siebers hope that the group might be able to perform major symphonic works. The city, on the other hand,

proved its historical attachment when citizens helped save the College from forfeiting $16,656 in student loans through the National Defense Student Loan fund.

"It's official: Wisconsin State University-Whitewater," ran the headlines. As the new term was applied to the nine state colleges, each interpreted the advance in the light of its individual accomplishments. Vice President Richard J. Brown explained that the word "university" implied education on new levels and related how Whitewater had been broadening its curricula to include international areas like Latin America and Russia, foreign language majors in French, Spanish, and German, and more courses in the liberal arts and pre-professional sequences. "In the long run," he concluded, "the measure of a university will be taken in terms of the kind of student that is developed, rather than in terms of academic offerings, faculty qualifications, and curriculum requirements, although each of these has an important function."[36] To launch the theme of the Whitewater Forum programs for the 1964–65 year, Dr. Brown told the freshmen that September about the functions of the University relative to change. Quoting Alfred North Whitehead who said, "Celibacy does not suit a university; it must mate itself with action," the vice president warned each freshman that he "should expect to sense the efforts of the University to shape his values while it dispenses knowledge," and that he "should recognize that the university is increasingly becoming an institution that is part and parcel of the very fiber of its society."[37]

While some area residents failed to see the necessity of converting the colleges into a university system, men of vision had been thinking along that line for some time. In March, 1963 the *Register* carried an editorial suggesting that the local Chamber of Commerce head a group to "look after" the interests of the College. "There is a lot of steam generating in Racine and Kenosha counties for an entirely new institution of higher learning, perhaps even a University," it began. "Perhaps it is the proper time to call attention to the fact that right here at Whitewater is the basic structure for a third university to fill the needs of the fast growing southeastern part of the state."[38] After the status was conferred, the *Register* reiterated its historical pride in the institution:

> During recent weeks there has been some adverse comment on the actions of the newly named Wisconsin State Universities seeking additional branch campuses in this area of the state. This is a necessity if the State Universities are not to be gobbled up by the giant University at Madison. . . .
>
> If the State Universities sit on their hands during these next few years and allow the extensions to go under the University System, they will be in such a small minority in the education field that they will be unable to compete with the other factions who seek state monies.[39]

The new status clarified for Whitewater the meaning of the adjustments to the post World War II era. It justified the movement into new frontiers and demanded a reach for the stars. At the second commencement held at Whitewater University, the 1965 midyear, the speaker reminded the graduates of their complicated tomorrow and challenged them to use their vision and courage as tools to work it for progress and peace. "Though none of us can know what it will be, we can be certain that it will not be a repetition of today or of any of the yesterdays," he said.[40] This emphasis was continued at the June commencement, when an address calling for "A Better Tomorrow" reminded the 349 seniors of their grave responsibilities.

No one was more eager to translate words into actions than the frontiersman in the front office. President Wyman had said of the future at his inauguration, quoting Edwin Markham, "I laugh, and lift hands to the year ahead, / Come on! I am ready for you!"[41] He told the faculty in his September, 1964 "state of the union" address, "If you fear change, you will not enjoy the years ahead, but if you see the 'Whitewater Revolution' as an opportunity to create, then your professional life will be filled with beady wine and the pleasures of the open road."[42] He stressed that the real challenge was not to be successful, but to be significant . . . as a total institution. After having seen the Whitewater ship of state embark on its first year's journey as a university, the president set out for Israel in October, the chairman of a seven-man survey team sent to that ancient land at the request of the State Department and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. His participation on a panel at The Milwaukee *Sentinel's* third annual Forum for Progress on April 21, 1966 paid further compliment to his vision. The administrative staff kept an eye on other schools in the country to see how they had approached their new frontiers, and President Wyman's perennial query to his faculty was, "So why can't we?"

The fall enrollment for 1964 was 4,626, exceeding even the short-range predictions of the Regents office. Director McPhee commented: "We don't know the reasons why enrollments are exceeding our estimates, but I am sure that we all are encouraged to see so many of our young people taking advantage of the opportunity to continue their educations."[43] Whitewater had the highest percentage of increase (29%), followed by Oshkosh (27%). Experts were continually baffled that the population explosion on the campuses should continue so long after 1960. The branch campus idea took on significance in the light of these figures, and President Wyman explained to Rock County officials in the summer of 1964 that a Whitewater branch there would offer the same high quality teaching that their nearly 400

young people were getting when they came to Whitewater. He envisioned that Whitewater could help furnish Rock County with a complete program in higher education from freshman to master's degree in cooperation with the local vocational school, hospital nurses training program, and adult evening classes. Such a vision has been fulfilled in the Rice Lake campus operated by Stout (1966) and the Richland Center branch operated by Platteville (1967). By 1966 the development of the new branch campuses of the University of Wisconsin at Waukesha and Janesville and the expansion of the Racine-Kenosha branch had begun to diminish freshman enrollment at Whitewater. The *Register* commented with some alarm in the summer of 1966:

> The placing of the new university sites was due to a great deal of political pressure. The value of the University sites have been recognized by the communities, and they have actively lobbied for the new institutions. They will continue to lobby for additional facilities, and this could well mean that the growth of Whitewater will be further hampered in the years ahead.[44]

As Whitewater stood on the threshold of its centennial, it could see the smoke of other cabins and sense the bounds of their aspirations in the great new educational frontier; but competition would surely lengthen its reach for the stars.

Under the new university system Whitewater students participated in numerous academic innovations. A new course, the freshman forum, was begun in 1964. Consisting of brief talks once a week on campus life, public issues, and national and global problems, it was designed to make the student think on the changing world. At their departure from freshman week activities, new students were advised to read Mortimer Adler's *Great Ideas In Great Books.* Through the efforts of the Peace Study Club, a fairly new organization dedicated to discussion of world affairs and international peace, the tradition of an international dinner was inaugurated in 1964. The Club sponsored Whitewater's first teach-in on Vietnam in May, 1965. Thirty-seven students from ten foreign countries graced the campus in 1965, and in June a three-day international conference was held to explore that dimension of higher education. Language conferences sponsored by the foreign language department included a visit to campus by the internationally-known television French teacher, Mme. Anne Slack, in the fall of 1965. While academic standards were advancing, the curriculum was being liberalized through supplementary programs, many of which were student-directed and inspired.

The education department took a lead in the forward march of the new University. Departing drastically from the traditional training school prototype, the Whitewater campus school found a new raison d'être in

research, workshops, and experimental programs. In 1964 the school of education sponsored a number of conferences on creativity and launched a foreign language education center. In addition to learning languages the pupils exchanged materials with a French school through People-to-People, an organization conceived by President Eisenhower in 1956 to promote international understanding. According to Professor Roland Durette, the program was designed "to build students' interest in geography, history, language, and culture of France," and "to create an awareness of the people in other countries."[45] In 1966 Dr. Ernella Hunziker, associate professor of art and education, received a National Defense Education Act grant to produce a series of color film strips representative of art in the Wisconsin elementary schools, to be used as a curriculum guide. In the spring of 1966 Professor Dorothy Remp's Inservice Program for teachers on the job was recognized as a program of excellence by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. The program was intended to give teachers in the field opportunity to complete their directed teaching requirement in their own classrooms and through conferences with traveling professors. The Honors Integrated Teaching (HIT) program has made it possible for honor students to work 17 weeks with children while completing their methods and evaluation courses. Another innovation has been the internship program whereby selected interns work for a semester in their assigned schools while living in the community as a regular teacher and receiving pay as they earn their practice teaching credits. Begun in 1961 as part of the Wisconsin Improvement Program, the plan was undertaken for the first time at Whitewater in 1965. Since then the professional semester plan has also made it possible for senior education majors to concentrate on their professional training during one semester and do their practice teaching on a full-day basis. This more realistic setup eliminated commuting to area schools. In 1965 the campus school faculty and the Encyclopedia Britannica began work on a three-year experimental program in the humanities, from kindergarten through eighth grade. President Wyman predicted that there would be "a steady stream of educators here to look at this pioneering program financed with the $50,000 grant for the use of audio-visual materials."[46] By 1966 these advances precipitated the division of the education department into four parts, two new divisions being educational foundations and special education. The latter was necessitated by a program for the certification of the mentally retarded which was accepted on the graduate level in 1965. A bulwark for these advances was the Educational Materials Center, a professional education library stocked with everything for the teacher.

The school of arts and sciences responded to the new designation by

creating new departments in political science, sociology and anthropology, and psychology in 1965. An American studies curriculum, destined to expand as the liberal arts program grew, crossed disciplines to obtain a broad, general approach to American life and values. In the spring of 1967 Whitewater's chairman of the local program, Dr. Paul Schumnk, was elected president of the American Studies Association of Wisconsin and Northern Illinois. The establishment of the summer tent theater in 1965 was a departure from the traditional approach to dramatics and has become a popular outlet for campus and community amateurs. Faculty committees have been constantly studying the basic studies program and the liberal arts fields in the light of the new frontiers. In the fall of 1966 three religion courses and a more varied selection in philosophy were added to the curriculum. The work in science was not only invigorated by the enthusiasm of an expanded staff in a new building, but the chemistry department pioneered by calling the first state conference between biennial meetings of the state Association. The first excellence in teaching award, underwritten by the Johnson Foundation, went to Professor R. W. Prucha, a teacher in the physics department since 1932.

A special honor came to the school of business and economics when the Wisconsin Board of Accountancy accredited Whitewater's accounting major so that graduates might be certified by the faculty as eligible to sit for the CPA examination. In 1966 a $500 scholarship and plaque were presented to the WSU-W Accounting Club by the Fontaine, McCurdy & Co. of Milwaukee, a firm that has employed a number of local graduates since 1951 and has made three donations of $150 for expansion of the accounting library. In the spring of 1966 a marketing day program was planned by the Marketing Club and the department of business administration to acquaint the business community with facilities and personnel available to them on the campus. In 1966 some 40 school business officials met on campus for a week to audit or take for an hour of graduate credit a workshop presented in cooperation with the Wisconsin Association of School Business Officials.

Another venture appurtenant to university status was the honors program begun in 1964–65. The problem of meeting the needs of the gifted student began to receive special attention soon after World War I, and by 1958 nearly 2,000 colleges and universities in the United States with enrollments of around three million were feeling the need to render special services to the gifted.[47] At Michigan State University an Honors College was established in 1956, admitting students with a 3.5 average in either their freshman or sophomore years. A director of the Whitewater program works with departments and staff in establishing proficiency tests,

special sections, and independent study. A counseling center has opened to the student body the aid of a clinical psychologist and a specialist in testing. In 1964 the national honors program committee met at Whitewater, and that summer the first seminar for superior high school students in the area was held. A common liberty offered students with first or second honors is that they may carry work beyond the 17-hour load. Great emphasis has been placed upon honors day when the faculty and seniors march in academic garb to hear a speaker extol academic excellence and to witness the presentation of awards. Over half the present scholarships (numbering over a dozen) have been initiated since 1962. A related experiment has been the Project Upward Bound, an eight-week academic program sponsored by the federal government and the Whitewater University to give young high school people with potential from financially deprived homes a taste of college life. In the summer of 1966 the local campus was host to some 150 persons of various ethnic backgrounds.

The expansion of the graduate program also justified the advance into university frontiers. Whitewater celebrated its initial university commencement (August, 1964) by granting its first master of arts in teaching degree. The first evening classes in the graduate program were offered in September, 1964, and in 1966 a full time program was begun. In August, 1965 eight degrees were granted. The early success of the program inspired the Regents to favor degrees in areas other than teaching, and President Wyman presented a plan for an expanded program to the Board in the fall of '65. The following spring three new programs were approved: the master of science in education degree in school business management, the master of arts degree for persons with undergraduate education courses, and the rather rare master's degree with a major in junior high teaching. A fourth leading to the master of science in teaching the mentally retarded was endorsed in the fall of 1966. Graduate enrollment for 1966 reached 438, bringing the average annual increase to over 100 since 1962. Whitewater's 443 summer graduate students in 1966 was second only to Superior's 508. Grants for graduate assistantships and scholarships, a part of the broader program, went into effect for the first time in September, 1966 when the first full time students arrived.

Not only has Whitewater brought the outside world to campus, but the School has gone out into the world. Dr. Carroll E. Flanagan, secondary education co-ordinator and chairman of the mathematics department, was among 32 Wisconsin educators to be recruited by the University of Wisconsin in January, 1965 to help improve Nigeria's educational system. The following September Vice President Richard Brown went to Iran as executive director of the United States Commission for Cultural and Edu-

cational Exchange. On January 10, 1965 Whitewater's 10-watt FM radio station, the second among the state universities, began broadcasting. And finally, the impact of the Whitewater revolution even prompted the Elkhorn *Independent,* the resplendent competitor of the *Register* for the first vernal robin story, to give two pages to the Whitewater story in 1964.

The building program continued apace to match enrollment increases of 500 to 1000 per year. During the first two years under university status the premises were dotted with six new dormitories, two additional dining halls, a new heating plant, a library wing capable of housing 400,000 volumes and of seating 1100 students, a humanities building, and a physical education building, with a fine arts building on the books. A $4 million high rise dormitory housing 1242 students to be completed for the 1967–68 school year was named for Dr. Cord O. Wells, whose retirement in June, 1967 concluded 42 years of service. So numerous were the new buildings that a mass open house was held in May, 1966 for four dormitories and a dining hall. In January, 1966 coeds moved from Lucy Baker Hall to Clem Hall to clear the former for offices. One thing remained constant—the log cabin retained its silent vigil among the ancient oaks. The past was also captured by a 75-bell carillon, which rang out from Old Main's historic tower for the first time on May 17, 1965. Leo P. Schleck, a 1911 alumnus who liked to hear the bell ring on the old north tower when he was a student, gave enough to complete the payment because of his "affection and respect for the school."[48] Amidst the roar of bulldozers and the steady beat of trip hammers, the carillon rendered its hourly medley. President Wyman schooled himself to love the noise of machines because they prophesied fresh tomorrows and signaled new challenges to bring social and political needs under scrutiny of scientific and academic progress.

With increased enrollment mounting numbers of alumni were thrust into their busy tomorrows—about 350 in 1964 and over 400 in 1966, not counting midyear and summer commencements. A step into university frontiers was taken on behalf of the alumni in July, 1965 when one of their number, Wallace E. Zastrow, headed a new office as alumni director. His job is to lead in the organization of new chapters, develop the University Foundation, and relate alumni activities to the growing institution. The idea of class gifts to the Whitewater Foundation took fire in 1964 when a brochure suggesting the potential of that class was circulated:

> If the 450 members of the Class of 1964 each gave $5 a year for five years, they could create a Memorial Fund of $12,500. If each gave $10 a year, the Fund would exceed $25,000 in five years. This sum could provide numerous opportunities for doing something rewarding and outstanding. At your class reunion in 1969 you might use this fund to establish scholarships or loans, make a memorial gift such as a fountain, an art treasure, a special library col-

> lection or other gifts that would enrich your Alma Mater. These gifts could make yours the most famous class ever to graduate from the college, for as the Bible says: "You shall know them by their fruits."[49]

The brochure stated that 23% of the cost of education at Whitewater comes from the students and 77% from the people, with an additional 10% needed for "extras" that neither group can provide. This was not considered too much to ask from those whose degree had increased their lifetime earning power from $100,000 to $200,000. Another significant step into new frontiers was taken in alumni affairs when the first conference for members of the Whitewater National Alumni Council was held on campus February 19, 1966. Aside from such questions as replacing homecoming with a founders' day or alumni day and the best kind of clubs and publications, the group discussed how alumni can be stimulated to develop an enrichment program for the University. At commencement time that year the Foundation presented a lasting gift to the school in the form of painted portraits of the nine presidents. Commented a board member who presented the gift to President Wyman in the presence of his only living predecessor, C. M. Yoder: "I am sure, could they return in person today, they would be both amazed and pleased. We shall know, however, that they are here in spirit, to give encouragement and guidance, to us who will carry on in ever accelerated tempo, and in keeping with the challenge of a changing world."[50] A significant difference between alumni gatherings in the 1870's and the 1960's was that the former reveled in past blessings while the latter dreamed of future glories. It has become a goal of WSU-W graduates to help Whitewater dream into existence its fondest expectations.

The university status set a broader pace for student activities. Fees for Wisconsin residents increased some $20 in 1965, but a federal grant enabled students to earn $193,129 for part-time work during that school year. Designed to aid low income families, the program employed about one out of 19 students. Housing crises brought the estimate that by 1967 4,892 students would be living in university-owned residence halls.[51] In the spring of 1966 twenty-one-year-old students in good academic and social standing were given permission to live in unrestricted housing. The Associated Women Students (A.W.S.) won a victory in wearing apparel which conformed to the new status of the school—classroom and library attire was extended to include sportswear (bermudas, slacks, culottes, etc.), with exceptions for some special activities. The ladies could not, however, leave their living quarters with their hair set in rollers![52] The Whitewater Forum and open forum speakers, symposiums, and debates filled the space once taken by Salisbury's morning talks. A freshman forum in 1964 heard

former Dean of Women Barnett speak of manners in days gone by and insist that keeping clean and being well-mannered was still a part of culture. According to her account, one old president even went so far as to declare that "one who is light of toe is usually light of head."[53] To streamline the department of student affairs, assistant deans of men and women were named in 1965, and the following year a broader scope of authority was granted the head deans and the registrar.

Student initiative on the Whitewater University campus yielded facilely to the new horizons. Two open forums on student freedom and responsibility were held in April, 1966 with President Wyman answering questions. A series of forums on the "God is Dead" theory, the new morality, student role in social change, etc. were presented. Religious ecumenicy found expression in a unique undertaking in 1964 which came to be known as the University Religious Center (now called Open House). The only experiment of its type in the state, the center impressed President Wyman as a "new dimension" to student life. In the summer of 1965 one Whitewater student participated as a team member of Operation Crossroads in Africa, the forerunner of the Peace Corps. Forum lecturers like Dr. Gerard Mertens who had once worked with the organization urged the students to "get involved" in the problems of the day. To that end the student political organizations (the Young Republicans, Young Democrats, and Young Progressives) devoted themselves to the national scene, the Peace Study Club and the International Club to the international scene, and groups like the Circle K (the college branch of Kiwanis formed in 1964) to the local scene. The Greek ladies also found practical ways to cope with human problems, from helping with cancer drives to sending Christmas toys to underprivileged children. The six fraternities vied with each other for positions of leadership, scholarship, and social excellence. The *Royal Purple* received top honors among its sister newspapers in the system in 1967, by which time it had expanded to a dozen pages or more. Forensic debaters traveled from Washington, D.C. to California in 1966 and began planning for the 1967 national convention of Pi Kappa Delta on the local campus. With the development of the computer center some business administration students began to play the "management game" to test their business sense against a machine. In 1965 new heights in the musical world of WSU-W were attained when Whitewater was granted a chapter in Phi Mu Alpha Sinfonia national professional music fraternity. A new group, the percussion ensemble, was formed in 1966, and the Meistersingers (formerly the men's chorus) under a newly organized public relations committee drew over 100 new members during the 1965–66 academic year. Education majors

training for the future were active in the student NEA and WEA organizations through the Roseman Student Education Association. The English Club, formed in 1963, sponsored an International Film Festival series in 1966.

In the world of sports Whitewater took to the air via a new corporation, the Flying Hawks. According to the *Minneiska,* membership in this club "provides a thrilling segment of higher education which enables men and women to acquire a pilot's license."[54] The club owns a plane and employs two government inspected instructors. The earthbound Ski Hawks became one of the largest campus organizations with membership over 150. One member represented the United States in the World Collegiate games in Turin, Italy in February, 1966. Coeducation has prospered in that the five lady cheerleaders have been joined by five gentlemen and the W-Club has chosen some W-ettes to assist in the sale of programs and refreshments during home football games. Although Whitewater did not win a university conference football championship until its undefeated record that took the team to Tulsa for the NAIA Champion Bowl in December, 1966, the 1965 team cheered Vilnis Ezerins all the way to the NAIA All-State team and saw him elected the most valuable player in the state. Coach Jim Toennies' cross country team explored new frontiers in 1964 by completing their most successful season in their six-year history and being invited to Omaha to compete in the NAIA meet. The next year they placed a conference first, state A.A.U. first, and NAIA eighth. In 1966 Whitewater won the championship in baseball, and Coach Rex Foster's cindermen won first place in the conference. In golf and tennis Whitewater placed second. On October 8, 1966 Coach Edgar Schwager became the seventh athlete to be inducted into the WSU-W Athletic Hall of Fame, the organization established in 1965 to honor those who have translated sports dreams into action. A new venture was the oriental military art of self defense, Karate. By December, 1965 the Karate Club instructed by the 1959 world champion numbered 140 enthusiasts. Karate, one of America's fastest growing but least understood sports, is unlike Judo, boxing, or wrestling in that there is no physical contact; it is like "a gymnastic free exercise with the added feature of two participants reacting to each other's moves."[55] The 1966 athletic spirit at Whitewater inspired reiteration of the following words from Theodore Roosevelt:

> We grow great by dreams. All big men are dreamers. They see things in the soft haze of a spring day or in the red fire of a long winter's evening. Some of us let those great dreams die, but others nourish and protect them through the bad days until they are finally translated into ACTION. It is the ability to ACT after dreaming which distinguishes success from failure.[56]

One culmination of athletic dreams was the stadium fund drive conducted under the banner, "Open the gate by '68."

Student initiative has been a prominent feature of recent years. Evaluations of the faculty and greater participation in University policies, larger student council voting percentages in campus elections, a better policy for student use of state cars, better hours for women students, and constructive discussions where student views were aired on courses and cultural enrichment have been headline items. In 1966 the Council got a new constitution ratified, the first change in student government in thirty years. Student heads of publications flew to San Francisco in October, 1965 for some new ideas from the Associated Collegiate Press Conference. In the summer of 1966 a Whitewater student joined seven others from the system for a seminar on the United Nations. President Wyman believed in harnessing the potential of young minds to help formulate policies relating to the growth and future of the school, and he sought to make them a part of his own visions which he repeatedly explained to audiences everywhere. "In the years that lie ahead," he told the local Kiwanis early in 1964, "the college must lift its eyes to the hills and see the vision of wider service than to the students on campus. We must think in terms of providing off-campus education opportunity for adults as well as for teachers; . . . of enriching the life of the larger community by conferences; of participating in the leadership which the United States is giving the under-developed areas of the world."[57] The president revealed the boundaries of his own mind when he concluded, "I hope we live to see the day when there is a Whitewater in both Peru and Nigeria as well as a thriving, vibrant institution that dares to dream under the Tower of Old Main 'on the hill.'" The role of the university, then, was to sow the good seeds of culture thickly, with a high hand that the wind might catch and spread abroad, with a sensitive hand that would make them lodge in young lives, and with a courageous hand that did not hesitate to scatter where triumph is born of struggle.

These new frontiers have stimulated the nine state universities in their forward march to keep pace with the University of Wisconsin and the world of educational competition. The race with that institution for branch campuses is not unlike the original struggle of the normals to guarantee their own prestige by eliminating the thought of additions. President A. H. Yoder advised the state not to build a new normal at Eau Claire, since there were not enough funds to properly furnish the schools already in existence. In like manner President Wyman urged the people of Wisconsin to go slowly in creating new four-year satellites of Madison at Kenosha-Racine, Green Bay, or elsewhere. He noted in 1965 that in his thirty years of experience Wisconsin's public institutions had not enjoyed adequate

budgetary support. "We're always on a starvation diet," he concluded.[58] He pointed out that 90% of Wisconsin's high school graduates are within an hour's drive from a state-supported institution of higher learning and that Wisconsin ranks first among the 16 most populous states in the ratio of schools to population. He feared that new schools would reduce quality and that we need to improve what we have. According to a 1964 estimate of 1963 assets, the state colleges were worth $100,000,000.[59] The university designation has made the institutions increasingly aware of their oneness lest their status be obliterated by reorganization which would place them under the University of Wisconsin. Historically the normal fathers fought such an idea, and today's pioneers still covet the option of individualism. One demonstration of sisterly affinity was that in 1964–65 the institutions ran on a uniform calendar for the first time. By 1966 the system had grown to 38,592, the tenth largest in the nation. To celebrate the humble beginning when normals were allocated for Platteville and Whitewater, Governor Knowles issued a proclamation designating February 28, 1966 as State University Centennial Day. President Wyman performed the duty of holding one end of Platteville's pennant, a momentary price he had to pay for the fact that Whitewater had no academy in which to house its appointed school and took two years to erect one. Following Platteville's example in 1966, the celebration of successive centennials—Whitewater in 1968, Oshkosh in 1971, River Falls in 1975, etc.—will remind the state of its rich heritage in higher education. Predictions have not been valid in these latter days, but the *State Universities Report* for April, 1966 stated that by 1975 the combined enrollment of the system will be 86,949, of which Whitewater's part will be 15,507.[60] Oliver Arey would not have dared predict to his initial 48 enrolees in the spring of 1868 what the rushing winds of time have ushered in.

With generous state and federal grants have gone responsibilities to keep pioneering and reaching for the stars. Whitewater's presidential assistant, Charles Graham, under whom federal aid to education was placed in 1965, commented, "I think that the college or university which fails to participate in this new dimension is unlikely to be able to keep abreast either in this educational program or its better public service role."[61] As the century has been filled up it has become evident that the only direction is forward, and the "city beautiful" has come to accept this inevitable fact.

Although the *Register* gave about as much space in the summer of 1964 to the solemn celebration connected with the return to Illinois of Lincoln's horse (allegedly stolen near Whitewater on July 10, 1832 while Honest Abe was waiting to be mustered out of service) as to the growing

"problem" of the University, expansion was in the minds of community leaders. At a growth conference in November, 1964 they were reminded by University officials that businessmen should be directed to realize the nature of the city's most booming industry. In the spring of 1965 several members of the Whitewater Community Action Committee visited Carbondale, Illinois to see what had been done there to meet the university enrollment boom. By way of cooperation the school has tried to ameliorate the parking congestion on city streets by promising off-street facilities on campus property, while the city has deepened well #5 to meet the needs of the population increase. The business administration department made a labor survey in May, 1965 and turned the findings over to the Industrial Development Corporation to help attract industry to Whitewater. A series of growth conferences and the inevitable outreach of buildings prompted some progressive thinking on the part of the "*Register* man," whose ancestors had always supported the industry on the Hill. An editorial of February 24, 1966 stated:

> At the heart of nearly every problem that this community is faced with of serious consequence is the growth of the Wisconsin State University-Whitewater. To those who can see the University as a mark of progress, the growth is a great advantage to the community. To those who are afraid of advancement and change, the University is a menace in our midst.
>
> We hold the view that the University growth is a good and healthy condition for this community. We feel that it is to the betterment of the city that the University be prospered during the years ahead. . . .
>
> In this frame of mind, we feel that the community should form a committee to aid the University, much the same as the other communities have formed committees to land branches, and other new campuses.[62]

As the townspeople have come to recognize the "Whitewater Revolution" as a part of their tomorrow, the positive approach of Editor Charles Coe has become basic. In an attractive bulletin explaining the purpose of the Whitewater Foundation it was stated that "the Greater Whitewater Community benefits as the University is able to provide more services of increasing quality to those who desire a continuing education."[63] The bulletin impressed its readers that the growing Whitewater of today will continue tomorrow. To provide more and better education will require a cooperative reach for the stars by students, faculty, alumni, and friends. It is good that townspeople play in the university orchestra, perform in its plays, help judge its homecoming floats, and enjoy its cultural provisions. As the centennial year has come and greater Whitewater has been invited to participate in the festivities, a broader frontier is being revealed. Never has the community held high so large a banner, because the institution has multiplied seven times in enrollment during the last dozen years. Never

has the school had occasion to express its thanksgiving to the little town which fought for its establishment a hundred years ago than at the threshold of a second century. As new social forces introduce new dynamics into higher education, the life of the whole academic community will respond, lest it be characterized by the condemnation of that disheartened Illinois teacher who reported in 1864 that the popular idea of a teacher was "somebody that can parse and cipher, has little brains and less money, feebleminded, unable to grapple with real men and women in the stirring employments of life, but on that account admirably fitted to associate with childish intellects, as being somewhat akin to them . . . a crabbed old bachelor, or dispairing old maid."[64] The stars shine upon new frontiers where man cannot yet see; but as their light appears, Whitewater will reach forth with expectancy, hopefully leaving behind a reflection of excellence.

Administratively, the Whitewater University rounded out its first century a few months early on July 1, 1967, when the Wyman administration brought to a close what its chief termed "Phase I of the Whitewater Revolution" and the institution received its third interim head in the person of Vice President Cord O. Wells. Having resigned earlier in the year to accept the position of Distinguished Professor of History at River Falls, former President Wyman has returned to the place where he had served 30 years before coming to Whitewater. Dr. Wells, named to fill the head office until a new president could be chosen, may view this appointment at the eve of his retirement as a well-deserved honor which bestowed upon the closing days of the century a blessing of historical consequence. With 42 years of service behind him, Acting President Wells will help wrap up the century in the same orderly fashion that it was unfolded; and the new administration destined to launch Whitewater's second century in the closing months of 1967 will ponder with profit the lessons history has taught.*

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* As this volume goes to press the Whitewater University anticipates "Phase II" of its "Revolution" under the direction of Dr. William L. Carter of Cincinnati, a young man of wide educational and administrative experience. He is expected to assume his post December 15, 1967, on the very eve of the centennial year.

CONCLUSION

Centennial Landmarks: Destinies and Dreams

". . . rivers are not finished till they reach the sea."[1]

"To be glad of life, because it gives you a chance to love and to work and to play and to look up at the stars. . . ."
—HENRY VAN DYKE[2]

Ninety-six years were marked by Clio between the issuing of the first and second statements above, revealing that the vital human element which generates the advancements of the ages does not change in substance. Centennial pauses for special reflection bring together an appreciation of yesterday's mighty rivers and tomorrow's unbroken galaxy of new frontiers. Whitewater's early chronicler noted that history is a record "of the inner rather than the outward life of humanity, of aspirations for something higher and better beyond. . . ."[3] To the degree that these core qualities of the institution, recognized and nourished by the fathers and sons of the first century of Whitewater's history, are preserved—to that degree will a second-century history be worth publishing.

As the mid-nineteenth century unfolded a new era of beginnings, so the mid-twentieth has ushered in a host of invitations to chart new paths of progress. Curricular decisions no longer center around the argument as to whether or not the institution should exist primarily to train teachers, but are concerned with the preservation of "the great ideas of Western civilization" as expressed by an artist's conception of Don Quixote sculptured for the new humanities building in 1966. At Whitewater new ideas are welcome, as expressed by action of the Faculty Senate: "The presentation of a speaker on campus does not imply the endorsement of him . . . but only the dedication of the University to the best American traditions of freedom of speech and thought and to the best academic traditions of freedom to teach, freedom to learn, freedom to investigate, and freedom to publish the results of investigation."[4] As President Stearns was known for his broad, quickening, and liberalizing influences in the early 1880's,

so the Wyman administration became known for its appetite for experimentation with new media, new educational approaches, and new outreaches toward the underdeveloped countries of the world. A federal grant of $69,620 under the National Defense Education Act enabled Whitewater to plan an eight-week summer institute in 1967 for elementary co-ordinators of educational media. In the spirit of the early training school supervisors who taught the Normal girls the value of a child's life, a kindergarten conference was held in October, 1966 to remind 330 administrators and teachers that "in all areas of man's knowledge there are root learnings, the beginnings of the significance of important ideas that the child will be learning the rest of his life."[5] In the fall of 1966 Whitewater opened for "the public who can go to school only after 5:00 p.m." an evening college to accommodate those wishing the opportunity. Whitewater and four sister schools have begun an in-depth study of college drop outs and means to improve undergraduate instruction, a project what would have interested President Salisbury in those days when numbers were so essential to saving face. In 1966 the Whitewater Forum, designed as an assembly for the discussion of current matters, was offered for credit. Topics ranged "from Communism to conservatism, from art to automation, from Shakespeare to Henry Adams, and have approached the situation in Vietnam from numerous points of view."[6] The thirteenth annual guidance conference in 1966 expanded into a dozen sectionals and included a tour of the Walworth County Special School. As for international outreach, the School whose bell once sounded only within the borders of Wisconsin bade farewell to its dean of the school of business and economics in January, 1967 that he might act as one of a team of educators to survey higher education in Vietnam for the State Department. The tragic death of Dean A. Donald Beattie and President James Albertson of Stevens Point in that land on March 23, 1967 was a solemn reminder of the greatest sacrifice excellence can demand. The modest summer tours sponsored by the geography department in the 1930's have expanded into global trips and programs in various capitals of the world.

As the Whitewater centennial approaches, history is repeating itself with regard to building and enrollment statistics. In 1966 the state's fastest growing institution failed to exceed predictions for the first time in the decade (only ½ of the 20% forecast), which led authorities to clamp the lid on further building unless absolutely necessary. In 1904 Salisbury had blamed the enrollment drop on the over-stocking of southeastern Wisconsin with educational institutions, which seems to be the case today. It was estimated in 1962 that practically all the population growth in Wisconsin would be urban, since farm losses would offset farm gains; in this case,

the southeastern in-migration would follow the national trend of 1950–60 when 84% of the population growth took place in metropolitan areas.[7] But the additional college population has begun to be siphoned into branch campuses and the century-old institution is sensing that enrollment cannot be the future barometer of accomplishment. The state universities are still populated largely by Wisconsin residents (88% in 1966), which means that the overall 14% increase in '66 was dependent upon the same source that led the men of the Salisbury era to "shake the bushes." One bright new source, however, is the graduate student. In the fall of 1966 the nine state institutions had 1,662 people, a 66% increase over the 1,004 of the previous year. Plans for construction of low cost housing units for married students are in the making, reminiscent of the College Greens project after World War II. By 1968 residence halls for 5,700 single students and 600 apartment units for married students at an estimated cost of $28 million should grace the premises of the state universities. By 1968 Whitewater's North Wing will have suffered destruction greater than fire to relieve the parking situation behind Old Main. Proponents of a 20,000 seat stadium have settled for a more modest goal, indicative of the enrollment slowdown as the century draws to a close. Amidst all these destinies and dreams stands the Red Schoolhouse, brought to campus in 1966 by the institution's second historian president.

At the close of Whitewater's first century its personnel are preparing for a vigorous launch into the second. Fourteen of the 477 faculty were granted leaves of absence for 1966–67 to expand their potential. Problems more demanding than those of Mrs. Arey's day when she kept record of the girls' grooming habits belong to the training and experience of the modern faculty. In September, 1966 President Wyman declared: "Welcome to the land of academic opportunity, where a highly desirable homestead awaits every staff member who can build a modest cabin and raise a crop among waiting students."[8] The president further reminded his audience that student unrest will gain momentum and that machinery effecting campus "due process" must be refined. Less concerned about when the students ate or studied and where they took their strolls after supper than was Salisbury, the front office today fears for the apathetic and indifferent youth who does not sense that he lives in a world of conflict. "We need more 'student unrest' channeled into directions that will strengthen their intellectual and spiritual muscles for adult living," President Wyman told his faculty.[9]

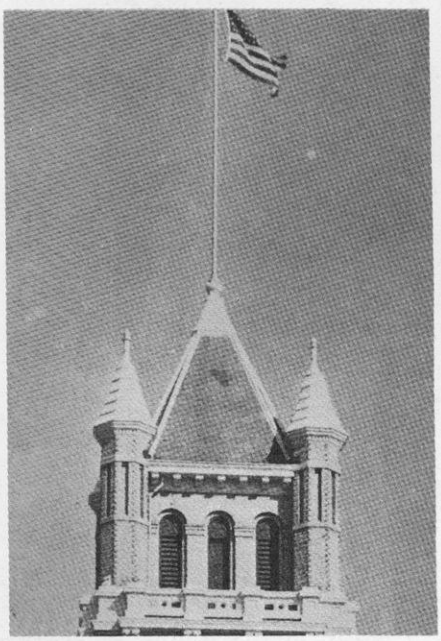
The students themselves are filling up Whitewater's hundred years under the same general headings but with sparkling new sub-topics. As once the normal ladies and gentlemen dreaded the visitations of the

Regents' examining boards and flinched under the realization that public essays were a part of graduation, so the battle for attainment continues. According to a recent study by Dean Cora Forbush, competition for grades ranked first among "great stress" items in the lives of Whitewater freshmen.[10] With probably less personal but no less professional affection for the School than at the time of the great fire of 1891, present-day students have showed their spirit by their interest in the debate about the stadium project for 1968. There remains a strong conviction, dating from Salisbury's day, that nothing can do more for a school than athletic teams, as indicated by the excitement engendered when Whitewater's championship football team had a chance to make national headlines in the NAIA bowl in December, 1966. Over 700 students boarded an 11-car train for Tulsa, the Santa Fe's largest chartered run for such an event. Though dreams outweighed destinies in that instance, the $3,000 raised through gifts to send the band to Tulsa wrote large across the School's history the academic sanction of the long-respected sport. Karate fans dream that this oriental activity may replace football, but at present the latter holds the ropes of destiny. The spirit of community helpfulness on the part of students, a distinctive characteristic of the normalites of past generations who were proud of "the city beautiful," has been organized into an annual "help day" sponsored by the Greeks since 1965. In all these things President Wyman, whose ambition was to convert dreams into destinies, breathed for the young people at this turn of the century the old Irish prayer, "May the wind always be at your back."[11]

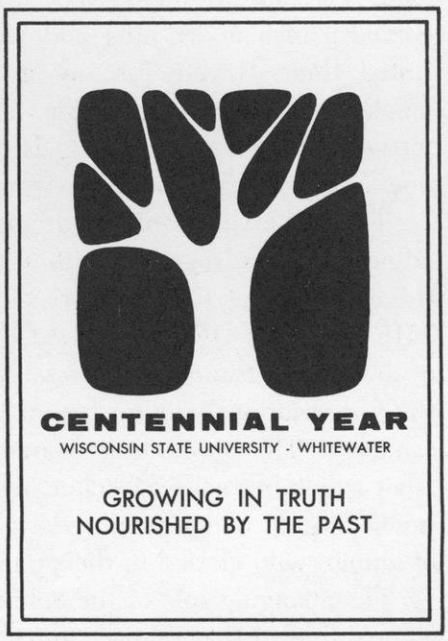
For the town of Whitewater, destinies have created dreams. The only home of a state university that is no larger than the institution it has spawned, Whitewater has learned to anticipate joyfully the influx of freshmen each fall by opening its stores, offering prizes, and sponsoring entertainment. Much has happened since Samuel Prince chopped his way into that part of the Northwest Territory drained by Whitewater Creek in 1837, but time unfolded things gently at first. The success of landing a normal school in 1866 left with the citizens a sweet taste of victory, and the aroma of its cultural benefits was the chief bait of local promoters thereafter. As the school underwent its three transformations from normal to university, the town's protective instincts were translated into projective ones. The population explosion of the present decade makes it impossible to determine the degree of success with which the city may accommodate the sprawling citadel of learning, but experience teaches that field and woodland will recede for an industry with a $6½ million annual payroll.

As the strains of the "Whitewater Alma Mater" break forth in centennial splendor, those who celebrate may review the accomplishments of 100

48. *The Centennial Proclamation, 1966.* President Wyman paid respect to the century-old fact that Whitewater had no immediate place to house its designated normal.



49. *The Tower.* "Reaching for the stars" has always been a Whitewater goal.



50. *The Whitewater Centennial Symbol and Motto.* They earmarked the event.

A CENTURY HAS BROUGHT MANY NEW THINGS TO WHITEWATER, BUT THE SAME OLD PURPOSE REMAINS — THE SEARCH FOR EXCELLENCE

years line upon line. HARK THE STRAINS OF OUR ALMA MATER! A century ago men of vision were crusading for a better society and concluded that a sure way to obtain it was to advance free public education. This meant establishing schools to train teachers and triggered a race among communities to adorn themselves with the presence of such a worthy institution. This was how it happened "in the beginning," when man "freely gave and still sought to acquire."

The race for normals among the cities of Wisconsin drew into public light some of the most stalwart local leaders whose examples beckoned the support of whole communities. FILL OUR HEARTS WITH LOYAL THOUGHTS AND TRUE. When the pioneers from New England and New York came west they brought "the same attitude, same language, same habits," to southeastern Wisconsin, the hotspot of early normal competition. With the spirit of crusaders in shining armor, Whitewater pioneers laid the foundations of Old Main with their own hands and mortgage their material possessions to do so.

The first purpose of a normal was to train worthy teachers, a fact that built within it that spring "whose uncoiling" could "whirl the spheres." Of one thing the Whitewater fathers made certain: that THE PURPLE AND THE WHITE would STAND FIRMLY FOR THE RIGHT. They welcomed a man of learning and virtue to launch the enterprise and manifested their distaste for any interruptions in the carefully constructed mechanism of the corporation. They anxiously proved that learning and virtue were the guardian angels of material progress, and that the higher one set his goals the higher he would soar into the realm of accomplishment.

The preservation of the atmosphere established during the first three administrations, together with a scrutiny into future possibilities, became the challenge of the Salisbury era. That entire generation echoed, HAIL THE SCENES OF OUR COLLEGE CAMPUS! as it proved the benefits of moral and academic richness. The distinguishing feature of the era was the appreciation built up for an institution characterized by oneness and sameness. The building of character was the most essential ingredient of "that which becomes a teacher," and the sterling qualities of a faculty composed largely of long-tenured stalwarts set the example for a generation of alumni who gloried in their purity as much as in their progress.

The changing role of the School during the business education era was comparable to that of the United States in world affairs following World War I. The past became less a reality and more a recollection as the practical demands of the business age drew out the refrain, HAIL OUR BYGONE MEMORIES THRILLING US. For the first time in its history Whitewater had become progressive in the modern sense by weighing

the future more heavily than the past on the scales of time. This period revealed more clearly than previously demonstrated that the fortunes of the institution were to be dictated more by external events than by internal beliefs, that its greatness would be measured by its ability to adapt its services to contemporary demands.

During the post-World War II era the so-called "tradition-steeped" institution proved its vitality in a world of adjustments by entering the production line of higher education as a state college. The national reputation it enjoyed as a retailer of business education teachers did not mar the vision for liberal arts possibilities, as diversification determined the wisdom of putting one's eggs in many baskets. By pulling up the fences which bound the institution to teacher training, leaders felt a whole new range of opportunities sweep into their grasp. As in the early years of the century, it became necessary to dream . . . of an expanding ALMA MATER, an enduring ALMA MATER, a creative ALMA MATER!

To perpetuate this dream of expansion, endurance, and creativity, the Whitewater Centennial Committee sponsored a contest whereby a symbol and slogan best representing the spirit of these 100 years might be devised. The symbolic tree, winning entry of Mr. Joseph Hlavacek of the art department, portrays the infinite possibilities of a well-rooted institution reaching for the stars. The winning motto, "Growing in truth—nournished by the past," submitted by Miss Virginia Rossdeutcher of the student body, suggests that dreams become destinies only as a generation equally regards the pillars of its progenitors and the potential of its posterity.

As the present eventful decade pushes toward conclusion and the year 1967 wraps the cloak of time around the first century of Whitewater's history, a bountiful frontier lies ahead. As a university the institution has an increased capacity to explore new possibilities and turn them into valuable items of exchange on a world market that cries for innovation. One hundred years has been consumed to prove that the School has been both a giver and a receiver of the permanent accomplishments of time. WHITEWATER! Above the crossroads where destinies and dreams shape these centennial landmarks, history keeps vigil.

Notes

The following chapter notes are intended to guide the interested reader into further study, as well as to perform the usual scholarly function. Mr. Riggert's Bibliographical Essay (Appendix 4) should be read in connection with the notes. Since they give an extensive coverage of the materials used in compiling this volume, it was deemed unnecessary to include a bibliography of sources.

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32. *Whitewater Register,* June 27, 1870, 4.
33. *Walworth County History,* 601.
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37. *Walworth County History,* 591.
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40. *Ibid.,* 159.
41. John A. Garraty, *The American Nation, A History of the United States* (New York: Harper & Row and American Heritage, 1966), 289, quoting Tocqueville.
42. Fred L. Holmes, *Badger Saints and Sinners* (Milwaukee: E. M. Hale & Co., 1939), 13.
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28. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1867, 2, quoting the *News.*
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Appendix 1

PRESIDENTS AND LOCAL REGENTS

WSU-W Presidents (1868–1968)

Oliver Arey (1868–1876)
W. F. Phelps (1876–1878)
J. W. Stearns (1878–1885)
Theron B. Pray (1885, January–June) . . . interim
Albert Salisbury (1885–1911)
George C. Shutts (1911–1912) . . . interim
A. H. Yoder (1912–1919)
F. S. Hyer (1919–1930)
C. M. Yoder (1930–1946)
Robert C. Williams (1946–1962)
Walker D. Wyman (1962–1967)
Cord O. Wells (July 1, 1967–) . . . interim

Local Regents (1868–1968)

S. A. White (1865–69; 1874–76)
T. D. Weeks (1870–73; 1877–88)
E. M. Johnson (1889–1894)
E. D. Coe (1895–1898)
Z. P. Beach (1899–1905)
James O. Greene (1906–1907)
Paul H. Tratt (1907–1908)
H. O. Hamilton (1908–1920)
Jerome Baker (1920–26; 1930–35)
John C. Kachel (1926–1930)
W. L. Seymour (1935–1940)
R. H. Dixon (1940–1944)
Dwight Warner (1944–1947)
Harold G. Andersen (1947–1960)
John K. Kyle (1960–1965)
Stephen H. Ambrose (1965–)

Appendix 2

LIST OF FACULTY THAT HAVE SERVED TEN YEARS OR LONGER AT WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY WHITEWATER, 1868–1968

COMPILED BY JOHN E. RIGGERT

Agnew, Charles H.	1920–1942	Director Physical Education
*Alvord, Grace	1905–1938	Assistant Librarian
†Baker, Lucy A.	1894–1937	Vocal Music
Barnett, Wynett	1946–	Chairman, Speech and Theatre Depts.
Beck, William	1958–	Mathematics
Beckwith, Mabel F.	1925–1939	Rural Course (Education)
†Benson, Marie	1922–1963	Stenography
*Bigelow, Oromel H.	1920–1952	Mathematics, Manual Training
Bisbee, Edith V.	1920–1943	Office Training
Bjorklund, Ethel	1929–1946	Art
*Brooks, Ralph J.	1922–1948	Physics, Chemistry
Brown, Richard J.	1951–	Vice President
Bushman, Franklin F.	1947–	Chairman, Music Department
Cain, Stith M.	1957–	Librarian
†Carlson, Paul A.	1917–1959	Office Training
*Chopp, J. J.	1937–	Biology
Christen, Alberta	1957–	Mathematics
*Clark, Robert C.	1923–1955	Biology
*Clem, Jane	1919–1956	Typing
Coe, Myn	1943–1966	Junior Library Assistant
*Collins, Henry A.	1940–	Placement Services
Cooke, Ada Ray	1878–1895	Reading, English, Intermediate Dept.
*Cottrell, Annie M.	1888–1913	English, Literature
Couch, Ellen J.	1881–1891	Primary Department
Crossman, Catherine	1947–	Art
†Dagget, Clay J.	1928–	Education
DeLaney, Mary	1872–1887	Geography, History
Devlin, Sarah	1895–1914	English, Rhetoric
DeWind, Henry	1952–	History
Droullard, Clayton	1955–	Dean of Students
*Elmer, J. V.	1919–1952	History, Principal College High
Evans, Edward H.	1931–1948	History, Debate
Ferguson, Jean	1947–	Fifth Grade Critic
Fisher, Rose	1921–1945	Training School
*Fisher, Warren C.	1922–1958	Geography
Flanagan, Carroll E.	1946–	Mathematics
Followell, Faye	1958–	Catalogue Librarian
Forbush, Cora M.	1956–	Dean of Women
Forster, Corinne E.	1945–	High School English Critic
Foster, Rex	1957–	Mathematics
†Fricker, Mary	1919–1961	Home Economics

* Those that have served 25 years or longer.
† Those that have served 40 years or longer.

*Fricker, W. H.	1920–1947	Bookkeeping, Accounting
*Goff, Thomas T.	1915–1945	Mathematics
*Goodhue, Florence	1922–1960	Women's Physical Education
Graham, Donald L.	1955–	Dean of Graduate School
*Graham, Virgil C.	1939–	Business Education
Grant, G. Paul	1948–	English
Greene, Alyce E.	1950–	Women's Physical Education
*Greene, Jay M.	1940–	Accounting
Halverson, Elsie M.	1895–1905	Librarian
*Hamilton, Laura	1922–1950	English, Typing
Harris, Leora	1929–1949	Librarian
Heide, John	1948–	Chairman, English Department
Hellie, James	1947–	Economics
Herdendorf, Vernon	1956–	Fourth Grade Supervisor
Hermsen, Leon P.	1957–	Business Education
*Holcombe, Florence	1919–1943	Kindergarten, English, Drama
Hood, Dorothy	1956–	Head Resident, Guidance
Hosford, Margaret	1888–1906	History, Mathematics, Prin. Prep. Dept.
Hughes, Lizzie	1890–1905	Drawing, Physiology, Penmanship
Humphrey, J. N.	1881–1897	Latin, Word Analysis
James, Benjamin	1914–1933	Education, Psychology
Kay, May Isabel	1908–1920	Teacher Intermediate Grades
Kennedy, Michael J.	1957–	History
Kinsman, Delos O.	1901–1916	History, Civics, Economics
Klumb, Ruben W.	1946–	Education, Psychology
Knapp, E. M.	1877–1893	Vocal Music
*Knilans, Edith	1926–1958	Librarian
*Knosker, Helen B.	1916–1945	English
Lathrop, Harry O.	1918–1933	Geography
Lahti, Hugo E.	1948–	Chemistry
Lahti, Maxine	1958–	Librarian
†Lee, Henry G.	1916–1956	Commercial Economics, Statistics
*Lefler, Bertha	1930–1961	Latin, Spanish, French
Liedtke, Lloyd E.	1945–	Physics
Lien, Arnold J.	1948–	Assistant to the President
Light, Raymond E.	1954–	Vocal Music
*Madden, Mary C.	1919–1952	First and Second Grade Supervisor
Martin, Norman	1958–	Librarian
McCutchan, Mary L.	1889–1908	Principal, Preparatory and Grammar Depts.
McGraw, Arthur G.	1948–	Education
Mear, S. E.	1926–1939	Band, Instrumental Music
Meyer, Henry	1955–	Biology
Mills, Mary	1952–	Public Information Office, Journalism
Miner, Ruth	1958–	Political Science
Morgan, Edward J.	1949–	Chairman, History Department
Morphew, Charles E.	1948–	Director of Summer Session
Mueller, Margaret	1954–	Kindergarten Supervisor
Nash, Reginald	1958–	Chairman, Biology Department
Pape, Miriam A.	1946–	Nurse, Health Education
Peterson, Gladys	1955–	Second Grade Supervisor
Perkins, Forrest W.	1956–	Physical Education
Potter, Flora B.	1918–1940	Drawing, Manual Arts
*Potter, Grace R.	1900–1925	Primary Education
Pray, Theron B.	1881–1894	Mathematics, Civics, Political Econ.

* Those that have served 25 years or longer.
† Those that have served 40 years or longer.

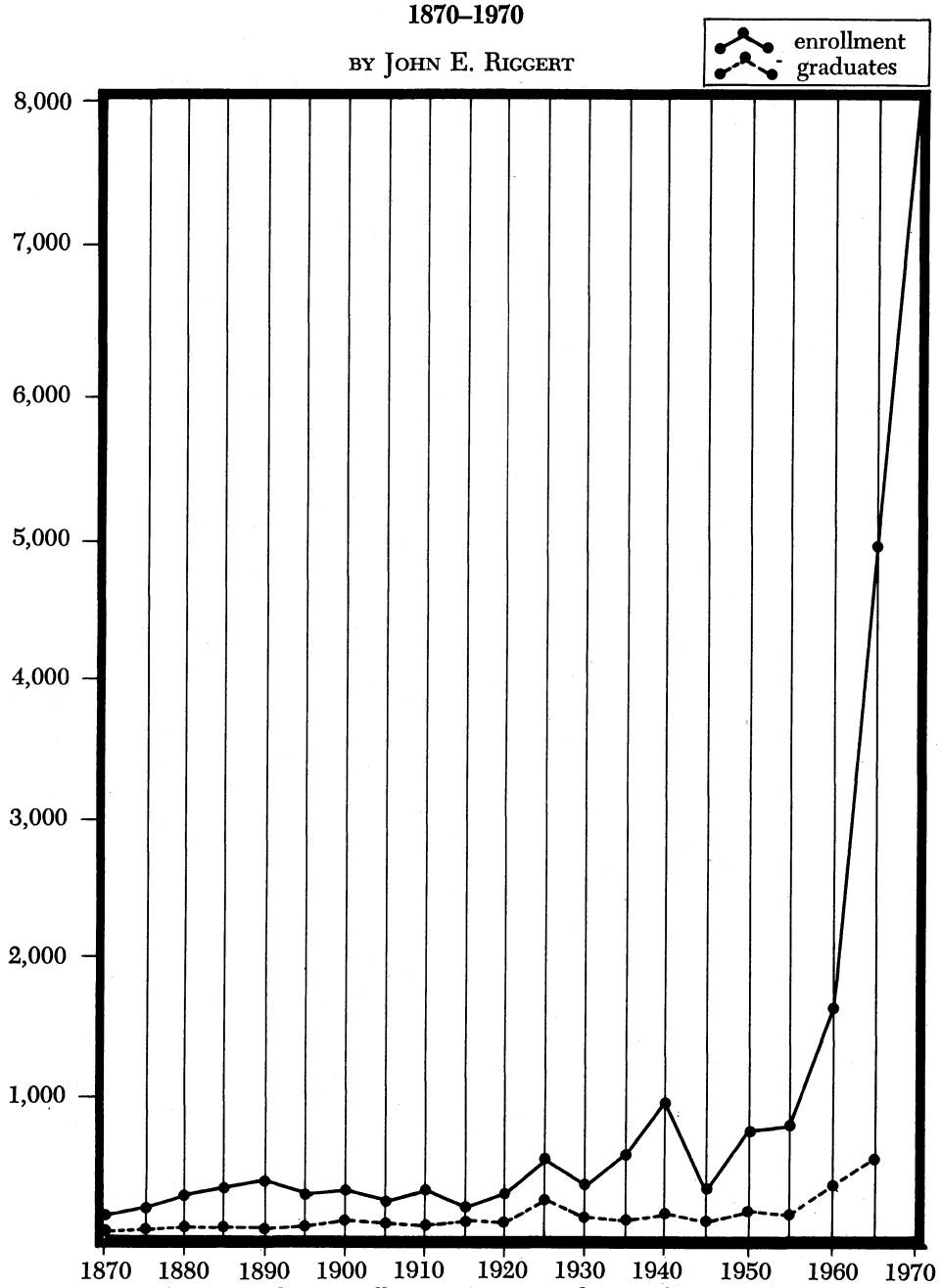
*Prucha, Rudolph W.	1932–1967	Physics
Randall, Harlan J.	1931–1942	Accounting
Rather, Dessie	1943–1963	Jr. High School Critic
Reeve, Olive R.	1951–	First Grade Supervisor
Refior, Everett L.	1955–	Economics
Remp, Dorothy E.	1945–	Sixth, Seventh Grade Critic
Rockwood, Sheppard	1871–1881	Mathematics, Elocution
*Rogers, Cornelia E.	1878–1906	History, Mathematics, Geography
Roseman, W. P.	1919–1941	Director of Practice Observation
Salisbury, Albert	1873–1883	Institute Conductor
Salisbury, Grace	1899–1911	Librarian
Saunders, David B.	1957–	English
Sayles, Nettie C.	1906–1928	Preparatory and Grammar Grades
Schaffer, I. W.	1947–	Vice-President for Student Affairs
Schmunk, Paul L.	1958–	History
Schroeder, Herman H.	1901–1913	German, Psychology, Education
*Schwager, Edgar H.	1942–	Physical Education
Schultze, Mildred	1952–	Art
Sents, Adeilt E.	1956–	History
Shaw, Everett	1958–	Business Education
Sherrick, John R.	1897–1913	Latin, Word Analysis
Sherrill, Jennie B.	1906–1919	History, Algebra, Dean of Women
*Shutts, George C.	1888–1919	Mathematics, History
Swartz, Helen C.	1957–	Third Grade Supervisor
Thatcher, Lucy	1919–1938	Librarian
Theune, Warren	1955–	Business Education
Thies, Norman W.	1957–	Business Education
Tice, J. M.	1920–1939	Penmanship
Tutt, Clara	1934–1958	Training School Critic
*Upham, Arthur A.	1888–1922	Natural Sciences
Utz, Kathryn E.	1953–	English
von Trebra, J. T.	1947–	Sociology
Vrieze, Jack W.	1952–1966	Speech, Drama
†Watson, Walter S.	1895–1937	Biology, German, Registrar
Weigandt, Robert	1950–	Physical Education
*Wellers, C. H.	1924–1957	Manual Training
†Wells, Cord O.	1925–1967	Vice-President for Academic Affairs
Wells, Opal	1926–1943	English
Wheeler, Clara L.	1919–1939	Education
White, Everett M.	1956–	Education
Wilkinson, Ruth	1938–1953	Assistant Librarian
Williams, Margaret	1931–1948	Training School Critic
Winther, A. I.	1945–	Dean School of Education
Wood, Charlotte	1909–1919	German, English, Dean of Women
Wutti, Alvin	1957–	Education
Yeakle, Juliet 1898–99,	1905–1914	Physical Education
Yoder, C. M.	1919–1930	Business Education

* Those that have served 25 years or longer.
† Those that have served 40 years or longer.

Appendix 3

GRAPH OF GRADUATE ENROLLMENT FIGURES AT WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY—WHITEWATER 1870–1970

BY JOHN E. RIGGERT



Note the tremendous enrollment increase in the 1960's, a phenomenon that almost defies representation.

Appendix 4

WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY-WHITEWATER ARCHIVES: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

BY JOHN E. RIGGERT

The University Archives is the depository for all the noncurrent records and papers of the School as well as other miscellaneous historical material. It includes not only administrative files but also various records relevant to the faculty, college publications, and student organizations. The Archives was organized in 1963 in conjunction with the State Historical Society's Area Research Center to make available the historical records of the school to the University faculty, administration, students, and interested scholars. A check list of the present holdings follows.

Related to the president's office are Albert Salisbury's letters for the years 1894 to 1898 which include correspondence with students, teachers, business and industrial leaders, and the general public. His letters received include communications from lyceum groups, professional groups, and other schools for the period 1899 to 1912. The general correspondence of Presidents A. H. Yoder, F. S. Hyer, and C. M. Yoder includes letters relating to the Normal School students and teachers from 1912 to 1962. The Board of Regents (1902–1949) and individual regents (1919–1940) are represented by correspondence files. Athletics correspondence from the period 1902 to 1940 and letters from other colleges and universities covering the years 1919 to 1942 are also included in this file. Other miscellaneous files originating from the president's office are personnel records from the period 1912–1950, commencement papers, notes for faculty meetings, budget records 1913–1963, the Cotton vs. Hyer files, and twenty-five volumes of Normal School class work which was exhibited at the Columbian Exposition.

The material from the registrar's office is both informative and numerous. Included here are the main Student Register from 1868 to 1878, general admission records 1912–1932, records of the entrance exams 1894–1932, which the students were required to take, class records from 1876 to 1914, and enrollment statistics covering the period from 1911 to 1952. Summer school statistics 1917–1961, and a volume covering the years 1868 to 1894, in which prospective students at the Normal School declared the fact that they were planning to teach, are also among the material from this office.

The publications of the School are represented by a file of all bulletins and catalogues from 1868 to the present, including copies of the *Commercial Education* journal which was published from 1921 to 1944. Files of the school newspaper, the *Royal Purple,* from 1901 to the current year and a complete set of *Minneiskas* are included in the collection. College directories from 1923 to the present and student handbooks from 1915 until they were incorporated into the general catalogue in 1951 complete the holdings in this area.

Similar records from the business office, the library, the campus school, the student body (including a very complete collection of student literary society records dating from the earliest days of the institution), and the faculty give the researcher a first-hand picture of the growth and development of the University.

Index