

# Michigan Today



Mary Sue Coleman

U-M's 13th president (see p. 10) 

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Martin Fluet: U-M Photo Services



## In Loco Parentis

Universities have always made rules to protect students, says Stanley R. Levy '55, '64 PhD, retired Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. But it wasn't until a Kentucky case in 1913 that "in place of the parents" became a legal doctrine.

The case held that it was a privilege, not a right, to attend school, Levy notes. And therefore students "surrendered rights to a university in the same way children surrendered their rights to their parents."

Universities acquired the right to investigate, control and punish the minutest behavior of students. Women students came under especially strict regulation. Chastity was the expectation in their romantic affairs, and schools banned or regulated male visitors, confined women to dormitories after curfew and required women to report where they were going when they went out in the evening or out of town. Pregnancy usually meant having to leave campus.

Coupled with sexual supervision was a policy of limiting racial interaction except in the classrooms or on certain athletic fields.

Two articles in this issue of *Michigan Today* show how these policies affected students at Michigan during an era of quick and marked change, the 1950s-60s.

In the face of dangers in society and on campuses, and of possible legal liability to universities for harm that may befall their students, such as suicides, accidental deaths and assaults, many educators, legislators and parents are now debating whether higher education should limit student freedoms that they granted in the 1960s.

# Crossing the Color Line

By Linda Robinson Walker



The Smiths with their children in the 1960s.

# In

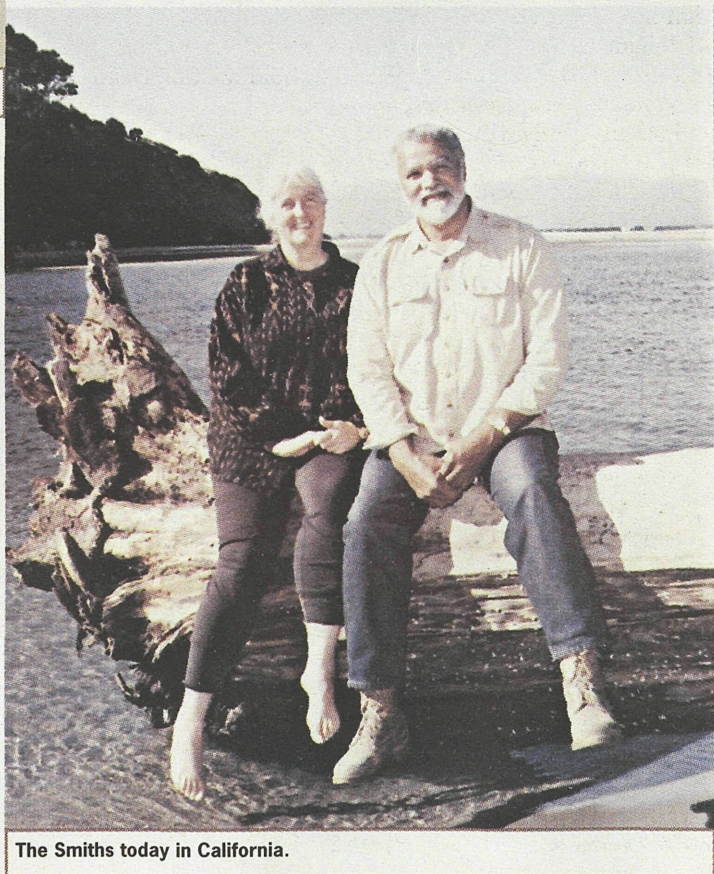
June 1955, Marj Joslyn and Will Smith completed high school in very different worlds. Marj graduated from the all-white high school in Fenton, Michigan, where her father worked for Pontiac as a tool-and-die maker and her mother as a nursing assistant in local doctors' offices. After taking her freshman year at Flint Junior College, Marj arrived in Ann Arbor in the fall of 1956.

In 1955, in Little Rock, Arkansas, Will Smith graduated from all-Black Dunbar High School. He had been raised by his grandmother, Pearl Rowan, who worked for the family of the sheriff of Pulaski County, and by his grandfather, a masseur at the all-white YMCA. Michigan had recently begun recruiting football players at Southern schools and the year before had persuaded future All-American Jim Pace '58 to come to Ann Arbor. Will and

Jim had played together at Dunbar and it was partly because Jim was at Michigan that Will became a Wolverine.

Cupid's arrows struck at a party one night on Division St. in late November 1956 when the air was chilly and fragrant with smoke from burning leaves. Will had already caught Marj's eye. She'd seen him on a sidewalk in September and recalls, "I had never seen a more handsome boy in my life." A couple months later she and some friends were invited to a party around the corner from Osterweil, her cop on the corner of Jefferson and Division. "We squeezed our way inside and found a quiet wall to stand against. Suddenly I saw the handsome boy."

Marj remembers that Will, at 6' 3", was imposing in "a dark sport coat," and that she was wearing "a long straight skirt, gray and blue plaid, and a gray cashmere sweater." Will was standing in the kitchen "surrounded by a group of



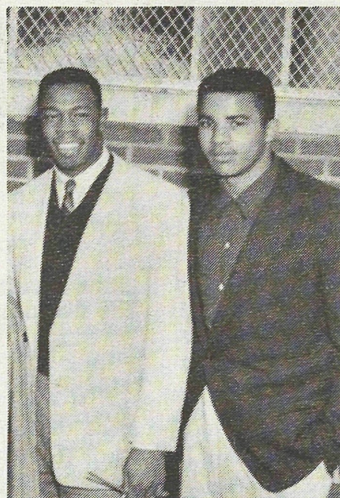
The Smiths today in California.

Photos courtesy of Will and Marj Smith

people," she recounts. "I noticed a lot of girls paying attention to him. He seemed to be well known, and I guessed from the looks of his broad shoulders that he was a football player.

"I have no memory of how, suddenly, I was standing in front of him, being introduced," she continues. "He asked me how I was classified, and I was embarrassed that I didn't know what he meant by 'classified.' He wanted to know if I was a freshman or a sophomore. Then he offered me a piece of gum, and I guess we stood there and talked for a little. He said he was too warm, it was too crowded and would I like to talk out on the front porch. When we stepped through the door, into the cool fall night, we melted into our first kiss."

This socializing was not what the University had in mind for them.



Will (right) with Jim Pace '58 during high school days in Arkansas.

## Segregation

Cultural diversity was not a goal of 1950s America. Most institutions openly discriminated by gender, race, religion and national origin. At Michigan, as at most other schools, the first line of division was sex. Male students lived in their own dormitories and could come and go as they wished. But female students, who made up about 25 percent of the student body at the time, were strictly cloistered and hedged about with hours and obligatory sign-outs for every evening and weekend absence. At Michigan in the '50s, women were under the authority of Deborah Bacon, the last person to hold the title Dean of Women. (See accompanying article.)

Students were further segregated by race in dorms, fraternities and sororities and off-campus housing. How many African Americans were at the University in the '50s? Eve Tyler Wilkins '55 thinks that in her senior year, with about 8,000 women in the student body, "50 Black women would be stretching it." An unscientific survey (official statistics were not kept) based on *Michiganensian* yearbook photos suggests that from 1950 through 1961, of all graduates—medicine to LSA—no more than 1 percent each year, ranging from about 10 to 40 individuals, were African American.

The University required all freshmen to live in dormitories and matched roommates by preference for sleeping with windows open or closed and so forth. But it also asked freshmen to provide a photograph and to state their roommate preferences by race, religion, nationality and language

spoken in the home. (When the state NAACP later asked Gov. G. Mennen Williams to take action against this practice in 1958, it cited a "discriminatory pattern of roommate assignment.")

The intention was to pair whites with whites and African Americans with African Americans, with sometimes comical results. Roger Wilkins '53, '56 LLB, '93 Doctor of Laws (Hon.), is a former journalist who is now a professor of history and American culture at George Mason University. In 1950, Wilkins was assigned an African American roommate with "light skin and straight hair" the second semester of his freshman year. The previous semester his new roommate had been placed with "a very rich Pakistani from Karachi whose father represented GE in Pakistan and a rich Indian from Bombay whose father was the GM distributor in India. It was just after partition and they had political arguments—in Hindi."

Eve Tyler Wilkins's photo was so washed out that, uncertain of her race, the dean's office had assigned her to a single room to avoid, as she puts it, "the mistake of putting a Black woman with a white one." Most Blacks were assigned to Fletcher Hall on Sybil St., down and away from Central Campus residence halls. (In the early 1930s, the University attempted to establish a separate dormitory on campus for Black women, a plan quashed by Gov. Fred W. Green, who cited state anti-discriminatory laws, according to historian John Behee in his 1974 history of Black athletes at Michigan, *Hail to the Victors!*)

About one in 25 junior and senior class women chose to live off-campus in private homes called League Houses that the dean of women's office supervised. But African American women were at the mercy of homeowners' prejudices: If the householders didn't want to rent to Blacks, the University accommodated them.

A 1952 form letter from the dean of women's office welcomed transfer students to the University. There were two versions, however. The standard (white) version urged women to visit in person because "personal selection is always the best way to assure yourself that you will be satisfied." But the other version of the letter, labeled "Referral letter to negro [sic] students," directed African American women to segregated housing where the "owners have indicated to us that they have a definite vacancy."

A couple of white homeowners did rent to African American women. Throughout the 1950s, Elizabeth Leslie, assistant dean of women, oversaw League Houses and kept frank notes. In 1952, she noted that Mrs. R. W. Hodges at 502 Elm St. and Marie Baker at 724 Church St. had integrated houses that she described as "happy"

and "highly successful." Minutes of a Housing Division, Board of Governors meeting in March 1954 state: "Miss Bacon referred to the problems of housing negro [sic] and Oriental women and stated it had taken four years to gradually break down the barriers in League Houses, but that it was being accomplished gradually, through a slow method of individual education."

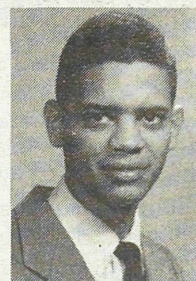
The University allowed homeowners to discriminate against Jewish students as well. Leslie's notes refer to a householder who refused to rent to two girls "she assumed" were Jewish, but weren't. Most Jewish women in off-campus housing (89 women in 1952) resided in houses on Baldwin Ave. and Washtenaw Ave. run by Mrs. H. W. Freeman.

For African Americans the segregation went well beyond housing. Roger Wilkins remembers being barred from the Union's barbershop. Eve Tyler Wilkins recalls that Cousins dress shop, long a target of protest, wouldn't let African Americans try on dresses, and that when she called to make hair appointments at Jacobsons, they "asked what my nationality was."

Joseph R. Moore '55 worked with the Student Government Council testing local businesses for discrimination. Volunteer white couples in the test would be served, then African Americans would follow and be turned away in places ranging from Howard Johnsons to the Arthur Murray Dance Studio.



Joseph R. Moore



Roger Wilkins in 1953 couldn't get a haircut in the Michigan Union barber shop.

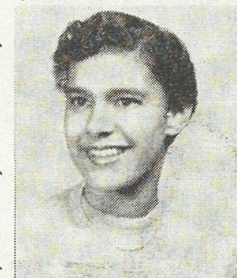
## The Courtship

In the budget-conscious world of the co-ops and in an era when students weren't allowed cars, Marj Joslyn and Will Smith spent a lot of their time on the phone—she at Osterweil and he at South Quad where he roomed with Jim Pace. Will majored in physical education, as all athletes were encouraged to do; Marj had not declared a major.

Throughout their sophomore year, 1956-57, when they did go out, Marj says it was mostly to "hang out in places like the Union coffee shop, Drakes, taking walks, going to the library, studying at Osterweil—there was no prejudice at Osterweil—mostly we were by ourselves."

Unlike many interracial couples at the University they dated openly. "I didn't notice being noticed or given the evil eye," Marj says. "I think that's because Will is loving, warm, outgoing, with no chip on his shoulder. Will never betrayed a concern about encountering opposition to our relationship, and I cued off him. I had some close white girl friends from Osterweil, a little older, my very best friends. I was so smitten with him, I felt we were the luckiest people in the world. I entered his world." The parties they did attend were mostly in the Black community. "We listened to jazz—Miles Davis's 'Round Midnight' was popular. We'd go to after-hours places in Detroit—Yusef Lateef, The Flame Show Bar and the West End."

Continued on next page



Eve Tyler Wilkins in the 1955 yearbook. "When I lived in Alice Lloyd, I once returned at curfew with my mother. We had to walk through a phalanx of necking students (the passion pit, as it was known). My mother couldn't believe it."

They may not have noticed being noticed, but the University had its eye on them and other couples like them.

### Students Under Surveillance

Assistant Dean of Women Elizabeth Leslie received in 1954 a complaint from Mrs. Freeman that some of her tenants were “dating colored boys” and that she had protested to the young women and her husband to the young men. Describing the attitudes of Freeman and other League House owners, Leslie wrote in an interoffice memo, “I would say at this time that the League House picture stands pat against the dating of whites and colored.”

The *University Regulations* handbook of 1954 asserted, “There is no elaborate procedure for searching out people or groups who deviate from the rules.” But Leslie’s memo suggests that the University had an unacknowledged procedure in place, “elaborate” or not, to monitor students who did not follow the norms on dating. In fact, anybody in the whole community, from passing motorists to dormitory maids, might take note of women’s behavior and report to Dean Bacon’s office. In one case, the dean responded to complaints by sending out a letter reprimanding the “small clusters of girls standing on the corner of Washtenaw and Cambridge, thumbing rides towards campus in the morning.”

Susan Lowy Lubow ’61 remembers, “I was wearing a kilt, selling tickets on the steps of the Union for Michigras, in the spring of 1958. The kilt came to the top of my knees. I got a note delivered there, from the dean [Bacon], for ‘inappropriate dress.’” Lubow adds, “It was like Big Brother sometimes. Nobody ever knew how she knew.”

The dean’s office instructed the housemothers to complete evaluation forms on the women in their units, forms that became part of their permanent records available to potential employers and other universities. Privy to a student’s grade point average and information about any academic difficulties, the housemothers wrote their assessments of everything from a woman’s manners and personal grooming to her morals and social adjustment.

The Health Service seemed to Susan Lowy Lubow a place that filtered the female population for pregnancy. “If you didn’t feel well,” she remembered, “the first thing you’d be asked was, ‘Are you pregnant?’” And if a girl was pregnant, she certainly didn’t go to the Health Service, Patricia Golden Steinhoff ’63 remembers, because the information would be passed on, and the dean “would get in there and throw you out.”

So the moment a Black man knocked on a white woman’s door, an entire regiment of witnesses was in place, primed to interfere, whether the two were merely friends or starry-eyed sweethearts.

Lulu (Harriet) Eaton Collins Smith ’57, ’62 MA, of Fowlerville, Michigan, met her husband Durward Collins of Houston (winner of a 1959 Hopwood prize for poetry) in the fall of her senior year. “I knew a number of interracial couples but they began cracking down on us,” she recalls. “People would just disappear. My housemother at Fletcher Hall told me I had been seen with a Negro male and asked if I was going out with him. I said yes. She said

it was her duty to get in touch with my mother. I told her my mother had already met him. I went to see Dean Bacon about a grant I was receiving and she noted that I was dating a Negro. But she gave me the grant and no trouble, probably because my mother knew.”

Lulu and Durward were married during spring break and returned to their separate residences, she to Fletcher and he to a local church’s rooming house on Brown St. for African American men.

Ann Tarnower Baum ’64 was called into the dean’s office after the housemother of Alice Lloyd relayed the fact that she and a Black male friend had gone to Detroit together. “I liked jazz,” she says, “and was friends with a mixed group, not that particular guy.” She recalls Dean Bacon telling her that her behavior would “follow me around and ‘the world will judge you.’ I wasn’t scared of her and I didn’t fear being expelled or suspended because I knew my parents would be one hundred percent supportive.”

It wasn’t just interracial dating that brought pressure on women not to deviate from unwritten rules, but also interracial friendships. Two Black women, including Eugenia C. Foree ’55, ’60 BS, in Public Health, became friends with Sandra Gaines Delson ’54, ’55 MA, and a second white woman. Near the end of the 1953 academic year, Bacon called Sandra into her office and said, according to transcripts Bacon made, “After three years in the dormitory system, we are glad to get rid of you” and further told her she was an “unconstructive citizen” because of “the group you associate with.”

Both Eugenia Foree and Sandra Gaines Delson remember their college friendship with fondness and were thankful for the chance to form bonds across racial lines. Foree says, “These friendships are what the University should have encouraged.”

The spy system extended beyond the dean of women’s office. “Among Michigan coaches, some football coaches were the least tolerant of interracial dating,” wrote John Behee in *Hail to the Victors!*, “and felt completely justified in making decisions for athletes in the social realm. They would dismiss them from the team if they insisted on dating interracially.” In addition to the dean of women’s office and the athletic department, Behee said that the Ann Arbor police in the 1940s and 50s “often felt compelled to stop and harass interracial couples.”

It is ironic that interracial dating was a natural result of University policies, since many more Black men were enrolled than Black women. The numbers were so lopsided,



Eugenia Foree in 1955. Her friendship with Sandra Gaines Delson (right) got both of them punished, they feel. “These friendships are what the University should have encouraged,” Foree says today.

Roger Wilkins—the president of his LSA senior class—says that he and fellow Black male students had strategies to “check out” the Black freshmen women before potential rivals. “I figured out the way to do it was to work at registration. Eve Tyler [his first wife] was coming through the line and she was pretty good-looking. I was a dashing young man who knew everything. I said to her, ‘May I help you?’”

### The World Against Them

At the end of their sophomore years, having dated since the preceding November, Will Smith returned to Little Rock while Marj Joslyn stayed in Ann Arbor working in the Law Library.

In the fall of 1957, her roommate, also from Fenton, returned to relay a devastating ultimatum from Marj’s parents: Choose us or Will. “My father had these liberal principles,” Marj says today, “but had never had to deal with a real Black or a Jewish person, and they hadn’t even met Will.”

She chose. Although she had registered for her junior year, her loss of family support forced Marj to drop out of school and work at the Graduate Library. Will completed his junior year, continuing the hard work that had been necessary for him “to fill in the gaps of his education in poor, segregated Arkansas schools,” Marj recalls. “When I met him, he studied at his desk with a dictionary at his elbow and he looked up the definition of every word he ran across that he did not know.”

Will kept wearing football jersey No. 75 as a right tackle for the Wolverines. He recalls that Head Coach Bennie Oosterbaan ’28 and Athletic Director Fritz Crisler “talked to” other Black players who were dating interracially “but not to me.”

But Will was punished in a way that Behee said coaches traditionally used in those days. After he began dating Marj, he never started another game: He was put in after the first play. “I played like a starter,” Will notes. And Marj points out, “He was the only person drafted into professional football from that team, but he got the honor [of starting] taken away.”

Years later, after her mother died, Marj found a letter from her faculty counselor, Eric W. Stockton, an assistant professor of English, to her mother. He wrote Mrs. Joslyn on December 16, 1957, in Marj’s sophomore year, when she still wrote her name as “Marge”:

*Both Professor [Arthur] Van Duren [chief academic counselor of LSA and assistant professor of German] and I feel extremely sorry that Marge did not come up to our expectations socially. We felt last spring that she was finally on the right track, and we still have hopes that she will find herself. It was obviously for the best, however, for her to leave the University, and Professor Van Duren urged her strongly to leave Ann Arbor. Such a move, I am happy to see, was in accordance with your own thinking.*

*Since for the time being, at least, she is rejecting her father, she is going through a state of youthful rebellion which must pass away. Her rebellion did not take a very intelligent or constructive course, and it is not going to be easy to redirect it, but that is what we must all try to do.*

Photos courtesy U-M Bentley Historical Library

Marj says she may have met with Stockton to approve her course schedule but she is sure she never discussed her relationship with Will with him or Van Buren and that no one urged her to leave town.

## Punishment

The legal justification for the University's intrusion into the private lives of its women students was the principle of *in loco parentis*. Acting in place of students' parents, the University endeavored to impose the presumed morals of "the mothers of Michigan girls," in the words of Luther Buchele, the head of Inter-Cooperative Council when Bacon was dean. Marj Joslyn's mother clearly welcomed the alliance. But the other women mentioned above, those who were not punished for dating across racial lines, were saved because their mothers had known and approved.

Dean Bacon believed she was also acting to protect the social conventions of a small Midwestern town. According to the transcript of her conversation with Sandra Gaines Delson, Bacon said, "You must also be sensitive to the coarser things and realize that those kinds of relationships do not exist, especially in the Middle West. The Midwest is very conservative. ... I am not saying if this is right or wrong, but if these friends come to your apartment next fall, this office will be informed. Your landlady and others will not appreciate such things. You are a walking symbol of the University of Michigan, and you must remember that such relationships are not expected."

Most parents and residents of Ann Arbor, not to mention the Middle West, probably would have concurred with Bacon. Women who contravened the conventions of the community were usually considered to be emotionally troubled—the clear subtext of Stockton's letter to Marj's mother.

Philip Power '60, former *Michigan Daily* staffer and U-M Regent, points out that at that time university officials nationwide in Bacon's position "deemed it appropriate to ask about women's dating, whether they were dating interracially, and about their sexual behavior."

Janet Wilkinson Frick '61 and Connie Mahonske Wheeler '61 found that out in their senior year when they moved into Cambridge Hall in 1960, a new dorm for upperclass women run on the honor system. Janet, who was dating a Black aeronautical engineer, stood talking to him at the open door of the dorm for five minutes after the 12:30 a.m. curfew.

Within days, Bacon summoned both young women to her office and gave them 24 hours to move out of their dorm. She also withdrew Wheeler's need-based tuition scholarship for women who kept their grades above a B average.

"I didn't like being kicked out," Connie Wheeler recalls. "It was a disgrace and I lost the scholarship." Frick says she was crying when she called her parents, worried what they would think. "I just called and explained, and they didn't say too much. Bacon said it was for the curfew violation, but we knew it was because of the Black man."

## Lover Conquers All

Marj Joslyn's parents finally consented to meet Will Smith in the spring of 1958. "My Dad came down with my younger sister, and we met at the Union," and Will won Mr. Joslyn over. A few months later her father brought her mother and younger sisters to dinner at the Pretzel Bell, "so she was forced into being polite, and of course, she liked him. Who could not? He was polite, very, very handsome, intelligent. It was a done deal."

Will and Marj married when they were both 20 in July 1958. William and Mary Ann Levant—he was a professor in psychology—stood up with them before a justice of the peace on Nixon Road. Marj still remembers that the judge quoted the *Book of Ruth*, "Whither thou goest, I will go...thy people shall be my people."



Marj Joslyn

Their first baby was born in the middle of Will's senior year January finals, playing havoc with his studies and their finances. Since he'd been drafted by the Chicago Bears, Will gave up his education and by April 1959, they had left Ann Arbor for Chicago, where he took a job the Bears found for him at a steel mill and worked until training camp started. The Bears soon cut him, however, and he played with the Denver Broncos and Oakland Raiders. Blocked in his career, he left football and he and Marj returned to Michigan. Will worked as a probation officer and then as director of a campus service program at Eastern Michigan University. Marj tended their two children.

Not only did the Joslyns come to accept Will, "but also the whole town of Fenton did," Marj says. Will's mother visited them when their first child was born in 1959, and when Marj "finally had the nerve to venture into Little Rock," in the 1970s, she met his family. "His whole Black community in Little Rock was very welcoming," she said. "It was a large, family-like, embracing community within the larger white-dominated world."

## Reconciliation

In the 1960s, sweeping social changes were "blowing in the wind" through the University and the nation at large. Student activism coupled with faculty dissatisfaction began to change students' status from dependent children to relatively autonomous agents in their education careers. They were persons with new rights and liberties. Dean Bacon presented her resignation to President Harlan Hatcher in fall 1961, noting that she was "not in tune with some of the changes which seem inevitable in the years ahead."

Under pressure from African American students and faculty and their supporters, the University re-examined its strategies and practices in admissions, acculturation and

interracial relationships. Opponents of the Viet Nam war initiated teach-ins and other protests.

It was a clamorous decade with passion and anger on all sides. President Robben Fleming, who took over U-M's presidency in 1967, was an adept labor negotiator who found ample opportunity to put his mediation skills to work, and Barbara Newell, the first woman to serve as vice president for student affairs, presented a new, accessible face to students.

And who did the University turn to help it bridge the gap between it and the activist students? Will Smith.

Will and Marj had moved back to Michigan in 1962, and while working he had been able to complete the degree he had abandoned with a semester to go: He obtained his bachelor's degree in psychology in 1966. (Marj completed her degree in sociology at Berkeley in 1974.)

In 1967, the University hired Smith as the second in command in the Office of Student Affairs, charged with liaison between students and University administrators. His duties included liaison with local law enforcement agencies, and he served as group leader for a Black-White encounter group. But his chief responsibility was responding to crisis situations on the U-M campus.

In 1970, at 32, Will Smith left Michigan to take a position at the new University of California at San Diego, a position like that once held by Dean Deborah Bacon, as that school's first dean of student affairs. In 1980, he chucked office work to become a lumberjack for 10 years, and then became a private consultant in mediation. Marj and Will live in Mendocino, California.

When he was at San Diego, Will Smith told an interviewer for the *Christian Science Monitor*, "It's time for parents and youth and different racial and ethnic groups to relate to each other. There are no social islands any more."

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Linda Robinson Walker '66 MSW of Ann Arbor is a novelist and freelance writer.

## We thank these U-M graduates and others who contributed to our articles on the 1950s and '60s—Ed.

**Ann Tarnower Baum** received her law degree from New York University and is now in private practice.

**Sandra Gaines Delson** has a PhD from Columbia and is a professor of communication arts at the College of Mount St. Vincent in Riverdale, New York.

The late **Faith Weinstein Dunne** '62 was a professor emerita at Dartmouth. She also taught at Harvard, Wellesley and Wesleyan.

**Janet Wilkinson Frick** earned a PhD in music education and is a teacher in Stafford County, Virginia.

**Stanley Levy**, retired as vice chancellor of student affairs at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

**Sue Lowy Lubow** runs the benefits and administration of her husband's medical office.

**Joseph R. Moore** retired from the Heidelberg Symphony Orchestra.

**Patricia Golden Steinhoff** is professor of sociology at University of Hawaii and an expert on Japanese society.

**Mary Ellen Carter Takeda** is a violist, most recently with the Kalamazoo Symphony Orchestra

**Eve Tyler Wilkins** worked in child welfare in Cleveland and NYC.

**'I measure up pretty well with almost anybody'**

# The Last Dean of Women

By Linda Robinson Walker



Deborah Bacon

Paul Jaramita: U-M Photo Services

**D**eborah Bacon relishes her reputation as a woman who could “dish it out.” The University of Michigan’s last dean of women (1950 to 1961) is now 95 and remembers her days as a campus celebrity. “There were two of us—Fritz Crisler was the other. Oh my, he was a witty man!” she says of the renowned football coach and athletic director during a recent interview at her home near Ann Arbor.

A person of powerful contrasts, Bacon could be a stickler for rules, yet often did not stand on ceremony. An example: “The rest of the staff said, ‘You can’t get away with that,’ and I said, ‘Oh, yes I can!’” What she got away with was imitating Elvis Presley at an annual Junior Girls’ Play. “They laughed like crazy. Well, it was very funny.”

Elizabeth Davenport ’56, ’72 MA, who became the dean’s business administrator in 1956, remembers the performance well: “She gyrated her hips and sang ‘Hound Dog.’ Everybody died laughing.”

Equally notorious was her fabled drive across campus in 1955 during U-M’s first panty raid. Bacon was so “mad at the students,” Davenport says, that she drove her red convertible into the fray to break it up. “She was always fortissimo, always on stage,” Davenport continues, describing with a laugh Bacon’s habit of reading the *Michigan Daily*—which was often critical of her—in the morning. “We’d hear, ‘Oh [bleep!]’ and the paper would come sailing out of her office.”

## Rebel in a Georgian Mansion

**I**t was only when she came to U-M to be interviewed that Deborah Bacon discovered that the position she was being considered for in 1950 was not professor of English, but dean of women.

At 43 she had just completed her PhD in English and Comparative Literature at Columbia and had no other job offers. Bacon figured that she’d done everything but “work on an assembly line,” she recalls, and could handle any job. She wrote in her recently completed, unpublished memoir, *Been There...; Done That*, that most of her jobs “surged towards me; I just plunged under the oncoming wave.”

Born in 1906 in Chappaqua, New York, Bacon grew up in a pillared Georgian house on 100 acres in Westchester County. Her mother, Josephine Daskam Bacon, was a prolific writer who, Bacon enumerates, “wrote everything—short stories, novels, one detective novel that wasn’t very good, and imaginative stuff, all for Scribner’s.”

Her father, Selden, left the family, including a sister and brother, when she was 6, and she didn’t see him again until her 20s. Asked if that had been hard, she says, “No, because since he was a busy lawyer, I wouldn’t have seen much of him anyway.” Among his clients was Buffalo Bill, whom he met in the 1880s when he traveled west for a tuberculosis cure.

It might seem a straight shot from that genteel world to a PhD in English, but Bacon’s life took dramatic de-

tours on roads women had little traveled. After graduating from St. Timothy’s near Baltimore, she enrolled at Smith but “cut 100 percent of my classes,” dropped out and bought a second-hand Harley-Davidson. “This was absolutely unheard of, in 1924, for a girl,” she says. Her first paying job was as public health pioneer Lillian Wald’s assistant at the Henry Street Settlement on New York’s Lower East Side.

At 20, Bacon took a job for two years at the New Jersey State Prison for Women, working with farm-gangs, producing plays and teaching inmates to read.

## From Wartime Nursing to Lewis Carroll

**A**t 23, in 1930, Bacon began training at Bellevue Hospital in New York. She chose nursing “because I knew I was a restless person and could do it anywhere.” Her first job, at Fort Yukon in the Alaska Territory with an Episcopal missionary hospital, gave her wide experience. “I did a little of everything as a nurse and drove a dog sled. That was lots of fun.”

In 1937, she studied psychiatric nursing at Bellevue and began work at New York University on a BS in public health. Upon graduation at 34, in 1941, she went to Chicago to receive obstetrical training and then took off for another kind of outback—Kentucky. “Life up in the ‘hollers’ was exactly like 18th century America, with the occasional Flivver [Model T Ford],” she says.

After the outbreak of World War II, Bacon enlisted in October 1942 in the Army Nurse Corps. She crossed the English Channel with the 103rd Evacuation Hospital a month after D-Day in 1944. Tending to the wounded and dying, Bacon endured bombing raids and witnessed the liberation of villages and towns and one concentration camp. Second Lieut. Bacon earned five battle stars as her unit followed Gen. George S. Patton’s Third Army across Europe.

Upon demobilization, Bacon put nursing behind her. “I wanted to work with words; I’d read all my life. Also, when you’ve emptied 20,000 bedpans, that’s enough. Let’s try Shakespeare.” Before returning to the United States, she spent three months in 1946 attending classes at the Sorbonne. Back in the States, supported by GI Bill educational funds (“that and the Marshall Plan were America at its best”), she enrolled at Columbia in 1947, and wrote her master’s degree thesis on the poetry of John Donne.

For her doctoral dissertation on “The Meaning of Nonsense: a Psychoanalytic Approach to Lewis Carroll,” she spent six months researching at Oxford University and underwent three years of psychoanalysis in New York. Her doctoral committee included three literary scholars and three psychoanalysts. “I had the shrewdness to talk to the literature professors about analysis and about literature with the analysts,” she says with a laugh.

## 'An Administrator Could Be Fired'

Had she not been offered the job at Michigan, Bacon was prepared to rejoin the army, which was gearing up for the Korean Conflict. Instead, she became U-M's dean of women and assistant professor of English in October 1950. "They always do that in combination," she explains, "because an administrator could be fired with two days' notice, but with an academic post, they can only fire you for cause."

Bacon says she and her four assistant deans did "everything that is done today by about seven or eight different departments." Every undergraduate woman had to live in housing under the University's supervision, whether dormitory, sorority, co-ops or private residences. Three assistant deans handled that huge job. Elsie Fuller managed the dorms, Gertrude Mulholland the hiring and training of residential staff and Elizabeth Leslie the rest. Bacon once sent Davenport, the fourth assistant dean, on a cross-country tour to look at housing at New England's best women's colleges to assess the possibility of relaxing U-M rules as these smaller, more remote campuses had done.



Bacon at the time she became dean of women in 1950.

Meanwhile Leslie struggled to force homeowners to make changes that would improve the comfort and sanitary conditions for women who lived in the approved private homes called League Houses. Her reports in Michigan's Bentley Historical Library attest to her job's endless demands.

Bacon worked hard to make residential halls "more hospitable to women," recalls Stanley R. Levy '55, '64 PhD, president of the U-M Interhouse Council during that era. She bolstered the spirits of her small

staff with impromptu parties, excursions to restaurants and meals at her house on Brooks Street.

In an era before federal financial aid, most grant and scholarship money was raised privately. "Michigan was unusual in the amount of money given to students," Levy says, "and Bacon was very generous. My bet is that not a penny was left over" at year's end. Davenport concurs: "She was big-hearted and open-handed. If somebody needed something, when she decided there was a need, she'd open her coffers."

"I had much money that the University brass never knew I had," Bacon says of her discretionary fund. "I got it in bits and scraps. Some alumnae groups would give something to the dean of women. You wouldn't find the men giving very much."

## Dossiers

The dean's office kept records on women, and the information was available to future employers and the FBI. Elizabeth Davenport, who as Bacon's successor oversaw

the office's absorption by the Office of Student Affairs, says there were itemized sheets on each woman. The University didn't let the authorities see the sheets, she adds, but staff used them to "answer questions they [investigators] asked." Among the records were reports by housemothers on such things as social adjustment and personal appearance, as well as information on any student's academic or disciplinary difficulties. Davenport believes that the Health Service occasionally reported to the dean's office on women's visits there.

In its career planning and placement functions, Bacon's office posted employment opportunities and also, at the students' request, sent recommendation letters that included "everything," Levy recalls, both good and bad evaluations.

Bacon also used the records when she wrote to the parents of each freshman woman about six to eight weeks into their first semester. "I made it a personal letter," she says. She'd tell parents, "Your daughter is here and I'm pleased to say that—and then I would have a report from the housekeeper on what kind of girl she was."

Working with so many thousands of young people inevitably meant crisis and tragedy. Bacon was very caring, Davenport says. "If a woman had to go to city police for something like rape, and tell her story, somebody went with her from the residence hall or dean's office. The police weren't allowed to interrogate girls inside the housing units."

One woman came to Bacon devastated by learning she was pregnant, Bacon recalls, and she helped her find an uncle who would take her in for the birth and let her stay in school long enough to write papers for her courses that semester. Another time she encouraged two young people to elope to avoid the wrath of their parents who, being of different Protestant denominations, pressed Bacon to help them break up the relationship.

## 'Three Feet' and 'Six Inches' Rules

For many decades the women in the League Houses—the U-M's first official women's residences—set down rules for behavior, as people living in groups usually do. The rules grew and became codified in a judicial system set up through the Michigan League and supervised by the dean of women. Throughout the 1950s, articles in the *Daily* pointed out that at Michigan women wrote and administered their own residential rules.

Bacon in her memoir describes the minuteness of the rules: "Evenings, each [woman] signed an 'Out-In' slip [telling where she was going]—to library, dates or meetings. 'In' was at 10:30 week-nights, 12:00 on Fridays."

Other rules have achieved fabled status today. Many students from the 1950s interviewed for this article mentioned the "three feet" and "six inches" rules (but no one reported seeing them written down): When a man and woman were together, they had to have at least three feet on the floor at all times or had to be six inches from each



Faith Weinstein Dunne

Photos courtesy U-M Bentley Historical Library

other. A housemother might check compliance, bearing down on them with ruler in hand.

Bacon explains why women had rules and men didn't by noting, "It was the 1950s, remember. This is the time of Doris Day. Rules had to fit Doris Day, I guess. I don't know who set them, Moses, probably. They were just given to me."

## The Dean's Edicts

Dean Bacon also had power to enact rules on her own. The *Daily* in the 1950s is full of her edicts: women may not wear Bermuda shorts to the library; women

may now stay out till midnight on weeknights when the newly built Undergraduate Library closes; women may not wear slacks to dinner in the dorms; women may stay out till 4 am for the Junior Hop.

A famous night provided an instance of Bacon's powers. John F. Kennedy was due to speak on the steps of the Michigan Union in October 1960—an address that would propose the Peace Corps. He was delayed long past midnight, and the women waiting to hear him would be late back to the dorms. Before her recent death, Faith Weinstein Dunne '62 told *Michigan Today* her memory of that night. Word went around the crowd that the women wouldn't leave before the speech, no matter what time it was, and none did. Suddenly, Dunne said, "Dean Debbie turned up and stomped up the steps, and looked out in fury at the crowd. 'Women's hours will be extended until one half hour after the candidate speaks.' A cheer went up from the men and women. My God, I thought, even she couldn't stand up against the will of the people."

Every incoming first-year woman returned a form to the University describing her preferences in a roommate. With it came the "mother's letter," a mother's summary of her daughter that could make a favorable impression on the dean but could sometimes cause a student trouble. The mother of Susan Lowy Lubow '61 reported that her daughter

*Continued on page 8*



Courtesy of Aileen Schutze '50.

*A guidebook for women, Michigan Diag, gave tips on proper garb for women: 'For class and most daytime functions, the never-tiring skirt and sweater or blouse and jacket are the thing. These, along with socks, saddle shoes and a string of pearls may cause you to look like the next ten coeds, but you're typically collegiate.... Jeans do not go to class!'*

“liked to read and be alone.” She received a letter from Bacon suggesting that there was “something socially wrong with me,” Lubow says, “because I wasn’t ‘Betty Coed.’ I’d never even got there and there was this bizarre letter.”

The long and short of it is that Dean Bacon held great power over all women students, for good or ill. She had wide discretion when it came to grants and scholarships, letters of recommendation, approval to live in cheaper off-campus housing, the contents of a woman’s file and even the final say in the nominally independent student judiciary proceedings.

Bacon found the judiciary invaluable. “There would be a chairman of women’s judiciary who was invariably a marvelous young woman, marvelous, oh, really good. And she would have about four or five on her committee, and I shoved off onto her everything but expulsion.”

### Protection or Intrusion?

In the 1960s, students began to consider the dean’s power over women unlawful. Where students began to see intrusiveness, Bacon saw protection, especially against sexually aggressive males. “Tell those men to keep their hands off my women!” she’s remembered to have burst out at a meeting of students, faculty and staff.



Peter Eckstein in 1958.

The dean’s interest in what the students saw as a woman’s private behavior infuriated students, recalls former *Daily* editor Peter Eckstein ’58. “A woman would come in and talk about her personal problems, many of which would be of a sexual nature, and Miss Bacon’s reactions were often highly insensitive.”

Bacon responds to such perceptions by noting, “You have to remember, I was thinking as a psychiatric and army nurse and as a prison worker.” Davenport concurs, noting that Bacon kept extensive records on women because she was thinking like a nurse and creating the equivalent of a medical history, “but she was too intrusive.”

### ‘A Smart, Big City Girl With a Smart, Big City Mother’

Bacon remembers expelling only one student, a “bright, smart, big city girl” with a “smart, big city” mother. The student “was just, she was impossible, at that time here,” Bacon says. “It wouldn’t matter so much now, I suppose, but this was a freshman, and she was out dating three and four foreign graduate students in a car, usually from India or Persia. I’m sure she thought they were all princes, I don’t know. She was outrageous about it, and she meant to be outrageous about it. So that one I did [expel] but she could get into another university and do very well, and probably did. But she just had such a chip

on her shoulder that you couldn’t let it be.”

Asked if Michigan sent letters to girls who dated Blacks or Indians, Bacon says, “I wouldn’t know, maybe somebody else did, but I would have sense enough not to put that on paper.”

Racial issues intensified the dean’s difficulties. Michigan enrolled very few Black women between 1950 and 1961. An informal count of graduates based on photos in the *Michiganensian* from all U-M Schools and Colleges shows fewer than 150 over that entire span. Bacon says that in her encounters with Black students, she felt “a lot of them had a very curious double chip on their shoulder, which I think they still have—that particular type. They want to be themselves, and they want to be accepted like everybody else. Now how do you do both?” Bacon’s tenure coincided with the beginnings of the civil rights movement, and students began to protest segregation and discrimination in many ways. Picketers often marched in front of the Kresge, Woolworth’s and Cousins stores to protest biased policies. “Oh, yes, they had fun,” Bacon says of the student activists. “What possible good it would do to picket Woolworth’s, I don’t know. But at least it puts you on the corner of Main, you see. Yes, there was a great deal of posturing.”

Bacon’s wide power over women’s sexual activities and relationships was to create a crisis for her and the University and to greatly reduce the University’s *in loco parentis* authority. Students sought and secured broader constitutional rights in tandem with Blacks, and the faculty, which had ceded power over students’ activities to the administration, now began to regain influence.

### The Daily controversy

On March 4, 1958, Mary Ellen Carter Takeda ’58 rose to her feet in a public meeting of the Political Issues Club and accused Bacon and the University of racial discrimination. She cited an incident in 1956, when fellow music major and friend Joseph R. Moore ’55 accompanied her to a jazz concert.

The owner of her League House residence had told Takeda that the presence of a “Negro caller” had upset the other women. Takeda charged that she had been “forced to live in University housing which did not permit me to have the callers I choose.” The *Daily* quoted her as saying, “I feel I’m entitled to have a Negro caller as well as a white caller.”

Takeda remembers that her argument “just occurred to me on the spot” and that although she was calm, her words “set up a storm. Lots of people jumped in.”

Dean Bacon replied at the meeting that the University supervised only such things as rents and the condition of the houses, and that the owner could do “what she wishes in her home. We are dealing with the feeling of a private individual and taxpayer.” But student Robert Yesner ’58 pointed out that



Mary Ellen Carter Takeda in 1958.

since the University prevented drinking in all its approved housing, it should also be able to prevent discrimination.

This gave *Daily* editor Eckstein the opportunity he’d been looking for. He had been “investigating stories that the Dean of Women’s Office was intimidating white undergraduate women if they were detected dating Black men.” He hoped that a follow-up editorial on

March 9 would bring forth other complaints and “expose the situation,” he recalls, but “reached a dead end.”

So Eckstein started a file at the newspaper for allegations of racial discrimination by the dean’s office and passed it on to his successor, Richard Taub ’59. Eventually the file came to *Daily* editor Tom Hayden ’61. Although Hayden wasn’t available to be interviewed, others remember the burgeoning of student power that changed U-M.

Patricia Golden Steinhoff ’63 calls herself “a bit player” in the drama. But in 1961, Hayden assigned her to write a story about a woman who was dating a student from India. Dean Bacon wrote to the woman’s parents to inform them of it. Hayden saw this as the “smoking gun,” Steinhoff says.

Hayden, Mary Wheeler McDade ’61, James Seder ’61, ’64 LLB, Barton Burkhalter ’62 and Nan Markel Sigal ’61 led the effort to unseat Bacon. Seder and Burkhalter were on the Student Government Council, Sigal was a *Daily* reporter and McDade was the head of the student NAACP and the daughter of Emma ’38 MPH and Albert Wheeler ’44 DPH. (The Wheelers were Ann Arbor civil rights leaders; Albert Wheeler was U-M’s first African American tenured faculty member and later became the city’s only Black mayor.)

The *Daily*’s file included about 20 testimonials asserting, among other things, that Bacon removed women from the dorm after a visit from a Black man went five minutes beyond closing time and that the house director of Hinsdale House canceled an exchange dinner with a men’s residence because “the Dean would not approve” the fact that “two Negro members of Adams House were to accompany two white girls from Hinsdale.”

It also includes a retyping of a letter dated 1956 that Bacon allegedly wrote the mother of a freshman woman. Bacon said the student made too much noise, flouted rules and “consistently dated colored boys.” She added, “Although the University of Michigan has no segregation policies, in fact rigidly supports a nonsegregation policy in its classes, its residence halls, its athletics, etc., public

opinion among the students themselves looks somewhat unfavorably at a freshman girl who continuously and conspicuously associates almost solely with individuals or groups of another race.” This was a “serious warning” for the woman to change her behavior the second semester. “If she does not, the association is terminated.”

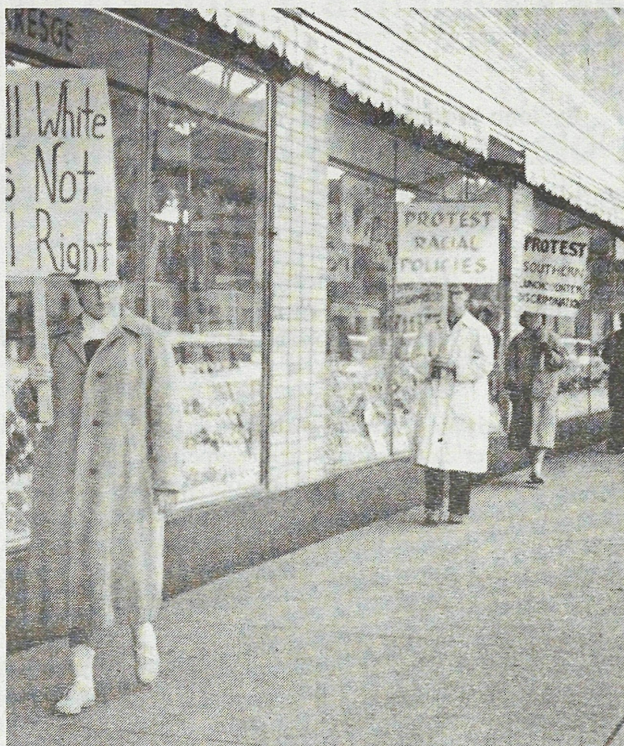
The file, now part of the U-M’s Bentley Historical Library collection, also included a six-page statement dated March 7, 1961, in which the students



A twist contest during 1963 homecoming

Photos courtesy U-M Bentley Historical Library





Picketing in Ann Arbor against racial segregation policies of stores with Southern branches. (1961 *Michiganensian*.)

Photos courtesy U-M Bentley Historical Library

charged that Dean Bacon was insensitive and discriminatory and asked U-M to give "serious attention to the idea of increased campus freedom for women."

The students intended to present their grievance directly to the Board of Regents, but it wound up in the Faculty Subcommittee on Student Relations, led by Prof. J. Philip Wernette of the Business School. The panel issued in May 1961 a report on the dean of women's office and urged a broad review of all student governance at Michigan. The panel reported that it was its "considered observation that the judgments expressed by Dean Bacon seem often to be based upon dogma, stereotypes and patent misinformation. Additionally, these judgments are apparently passed frequently in an emotional atmosphere lacking compassion for and understanding of the problems of individual students." It also noted campus concern "about the engagement of the University in the nonacademic affairs of its students."

Stanley Levy believes that Dean Bacon's actions reflected both institutional expectations and her personality. Former Regent and *Daily* staffer Philip Power '60 agrees, saying that supervising student behavior was U-M policy, but that Bacon "pushed the envelope."

That fall of 1961, the Reed Committee under Law School Prof. John W. Reed undertook its review of University-student relations. Its findings led to the abolition of sex-segregated deans' offices, the reorganization of the Office of Student Affairs to oversee all student matters and a revision of student rights.

"I don't know what happened between her and the Regents," Seder says, "but in May we were informed that she was resigning within a week." Bacon's resignation was not announced until September, however. Patricia Golden Steinhoff remembers that "the *Daily* was triumphant; we thought of ourselves as crusading journalists." A triumph

lessened for Faith Weinstein Dunne, however, by the fact that the *Daily* staff "didn't include a single Black reporter."

"Students were on a rampage and should have been," Elizabeth Davenport says of the Bacon affair. "I felt then, and since then, not ambivalent but polarized. She was dead wrong. But it was like watching a horse fall in a race. I've hurt for a long time about Deborah. But it was time for her to go, time for that role to end." Yet Davenport believes that Bacon "took the fall for the administration."

### Bacon's View of Her Departure

As for the reason for her resignation, Bacon stands behind what she wrote in her memoir, that the *Daily's* story was "factually true, emotionally one-sided." She said the paper had "opened a strident, sustained campaign against me. Editorials and/or front-page articles daily rehearsed a) the perennial male-undergraduate resentment against all Deans of Women; b) the rumor of my disapproval of the University's upcoming policy change—all residents halls to become co-educational; and c) my 'racial bigotry.'"

The main question in Bacon's mind was her strong disagreement with the Hatcher administration's plan to let undergraduate women visit men's off-campus residences, the ongoing discussions to allow co-ed dorms and the president's habit of "politely overriding" her arguments.

"In Deans' meetings and private conferences I maintained I could not hold responsibility for a policy I strongly disapproved of and over which I would have neither influence nor control," Bacon wrote. "Further, not all parents of freshman girls approved this change and expected me to support their concern.... Lastly, I resented the President and 17 other (male) Deans unanimously issuing a mandate for which I alone (who strongly disagreed) would carry sole responsibility."

In the face of the *Daily's* continuing "barrage excoriating me as a 'racial bigot,'" Bacon told the president that she was resigning. "Two such letters remained utterly unacknowledged," she wrote. But with the third she threatened to go to the *Detroit Free Press* with the story, and her resignation was finally accepted.

### An Academic at Last

At the age of 55, Deborah Bacon became a full-time academic in the English department, taking "an immediate 55 percent cut in salary." She was the second woman in a department of 100. "They had a Chinese woman and a disgraced dean—they had it covered," Bacon says. She taught literature, poetry and expository writing to freshmen and sophomores. From one of her classes, she chose seven or so "energetically bright" students to pursue special projects and to meet in her home on Thursday nights.

Hubert English, who taught in the English department with Bacon, remembers her as a hard worker with "great moral and intellectual force," and Bacon enjoyed strong support from the department's long-time chair Warner Rice. But the *Daily's* charges against her rankled and she "slowly developed a response to the campaign about my 'racial bigotry.'"

Bacon contacted the United Negro College Fund and

twice took unpaid leave to teach at St. Augustine's College, a historically Black school in Raleigh, North Carolina, as the lone white faculty member. She says the deprivation she found there reminded her of her work 35 years earlier among the Alaskan Indians. But she recalls how times were changing there, too. At a faculty dinner at a local restaurant, one of her African American colleagues turned to her and said, "About three years back, I came here for lunch. They turned the fire-hose on me!"

Bacon published an article about her North Carolina experiences in *The Michigan Quarterly Review* in 1968, the same year, at the age of 62, she resigned from the University of Michigan. Her break was total. Today, she says she last visited campus 30 years ago despite living only 15 miles away. "When I cut things, I cut them completely," she explains.

First, she moved to California and pursued scholarly interests. Assertions that Edward de Vere, the 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford, wrote Shakespeare's works had long captivated her, and she wrote *Quintessence of Dust* to add her argument for de Vere's authorship. After taking many trips throughout Asia, Africa, South America and Europe, and writing other books (the unpublished *Brothers In Exile* about *The Brothers Karamazov* and *The Man God Loved* about the biblical David), the state of Michigan lured Bacon back to a home on Lake Huron. She's met a lot of famous people on her journeys—Eva LaGallienne, Sara Delano Roosevelt, George Patton, Haile Selassie, Katherine Ann Porter, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Gertrude Stein, Margaret Mead, Rebecca West and the Shah of Iran.

Vigorous despite health problems associated with her age, Deborah Bacon displays confidence and command. During a conversation about her salary as dean, she notes she was paid "conspicuously less" than the male deans. Asked how she'd measured up with them, she responds in a way that typifies her spirit and career: "My opinion is that I usually measure up pretty well with almost anybody."

MT

### Marge Piercy '57: 'I did not back down'



The author Marge Piercy, whose 1982 novel *Braided Lives* is drawn from her campus days, told *Michigan Today* that when she was a student (1953-57) she had a "number of run-ins with Dean Bacon."

She continued: "The first came as a result of my trying to get permission to move out of the dormitories, as they were too expensive for me. I was on a tuition scholarship and working two jobs to put myself through school. She told

me that if I couldn't afford the University of Michigan, I should move back to my parents' house and go to Wayne State. I was an all-A student, so her attitude was based on social class, not on ability.

"I had a number of confrontations with her when I became the personnel secretary of the InterCooperative Council. I refused to specify race on applications for housing in the co-ops that had to be cleared through her office. I did not back down. Eventually she did.

"My impression was that she preferred a certain type of 'lady' student and that women who did not fit that model were not acceptable to her. I didn't, and wasn't."—Marge Piercy '57.

# Mary Sue Coleman is U-M's 13th president

By John Woodford

**M**ary Sue Coleman, a biochemist who had served as president of the University of Iowa since 1995, was elected as the 13<sup>th</sup> president of the University of Michigan on May 29 by an 8-0 vote of the U-M Board of Regents.

"My entire career has been spent at a number of fine public universities," Coleman said at a reception and news conference in the Michigan Union after her selection. "The presidency of the University of Michigan is the pinnacle of public higher education. I am looking forward to this opportunity to work with the faculty, staff and students of this great university."

Coleman told *Michigan Today*, "I look forward to meeting alumni from the university because in my experience, the alumni are one of the most important voices a president can have. I look forward to meeting many alumni from Michigan. One of the things I've been most struck by is the deep love and loyalty and passion many people I've spoken with express for the University."

Coleman, 58, earned her bachelor's degree in chemistry from Grinnell College and her PhD in biochemistry from the University of North Carolina. She conducted postdoctoral work at North Carolina and at the University of Texas at Austin.

Born in Kentucky, her father's home state, Coleman grew up in Cedar Falls, Iowa. Her father, Leland Wilson, was a professor of chemistry at the University of Northern Iowa there, and when Coleman was in high school, she took a college-level chemistry class he taught. Her mother taught in the city's public schools. The second of three daughters, she has a sister who is a physician and one who is an attorney.

Coleman is married to Kenneth Coleman, a political scientist specializing in Latin America. The couple wed after their graduation from Grinnell as both were headed for graduate school at North Carolina-Chapel Hill. They have one son, Jonathan, a portfolio manager for the Janus Capital Corporation in Denver.

Under Coleman's leadership, Iowa increased research funding by two-thirds and more than doubled its total annual giving. She also oversaw major construction projects in liberal arts, medicine, engineering, biology, fine arts, honors center, career center, athletics and recreation, and parking.

In addition to the presidency of Iowa, Coleman has held posts as provost and vice president for academic affairs (1993-



Mary Sue and Kenneth Coleman at the entrance to the President's House.

Martin Thet: U-M Photo Services

95) at the University of New Mexico, and vice chancellor for graduate studies and research (1992-93) and associate provost and dean of research (1990-92) at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Coleman earlier served for 19 years as a member of the biochemistry faculty and as a Cancer Center administrator at the University of Kentucky in Lexington, where her research focused on the immune system and malignancies. She also has served on boards and committees in numerous higher education areas ranging from the life sciences, athletics, health insurance, teacher education and substance-abuse prevention.

In nominating Coleman, Regent Laurence Deitch highlighted her academic and administrative accomplishments, calling her "a national leader in higher education." Coleman, he said, "was quite simply the best candidate in an extraordinary field and we are fortunate to have her."

Coleman's selection ended a six-month search by the Regents and a 16-member Universitywide Presidential Search Advisory Committee. She will assume office on Aug. 1, succeeding Prof. B. Joseph White, former dean of the Michigan Business School. White took over as interim president Jan. 1 after President Lee C. Bollinger's departure last year to lead Columbia University.

When she was asked whether she felt being Michigan's first female president put extra pressure on her, Coleman replied, "This is a hard job, a stressful job for men and women, and I think the pressures are the same."

#### Excerpts from Coleman's speeches

*Michigan Today* was close to deadline when President Mary Sue Coleman was selected to lead U-M. We will carry a feature interview with her in our fall issue. Meanwhile, readers can gain some insight into her values and thoughts from the following excerpts from her speeches at the University of Iowa.

**On public education:** Public education is foundational to democracy, precisely because it is public and accessible. Public institutions are the expression of our collective will, what we hold in common for the greater good. The "public trust" implied in higher education is reciprocal. The citizenry trusts that education will help create a better society. Public education is obligated to honor

that trust through its teaching, research, and service missions. And the citizenry is, in turn, responsible for providing the resources necessary to accomplish those missions with which it has charged public education.

**Balancing the private and the public:** Certainly individual initiative drives American society's achievements. And we uphold our private lives and our private property as sacred. They are the foundation of our character as a free country and our rights and privileges as free citizens. Yet individual achievement and personal privacy are balanced, and enhanced, by a strong tradition of public life. And public life is lived through public institutions. They are the expression of our collective will, what we hold in common for the greater good. And public institutions in turn provide the foundation for private freedoms and success, and for democracy and equality.

As we think across the broad canvas of our lives, our public institutions—our libraries, our roads and highways, our governments, our arts organizations, our parks and recreational facilities—all are integral elements of the landscape of our dreams, actions, and character. And perhaps most importantly, these public institutions do not simply benefit our individual lifestyles, but they comprise the fabric of who we are as a people. As Robert Bellah has said, our public institutions are our "patterned ways of living together."

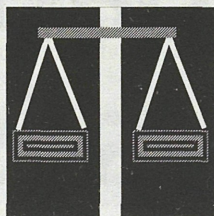
**Diversity and fairness:** Gone are the days when faculty positions were filled in back rooms with gentlemen's agreements among departmental chairs. Vacancies are advertised openly and candidates of all backgrounds are urged to apply. ... Affirmative action, as practiced in contemporary research universities, is not the rigged system that our worst critics believe it is. It simply means that institutions take positive action to diversify the pools of applicants who compete for university positions, and to ensure that applicants of different backgrounds are included in interview processes. Then the best applicant is hired. In terms of student admissions [at Iowa], affirmative action means that universities make positive efforts to welcome students of diverse backgrounds and make resources available so that, for students of all socioeconomic statuses, a university education is within reach. Were we to do less, the quality of education offered to all students would be compromised.

**Life sciences research:** There are two types of research that we need—laboratory basic research and clinical research. We are very good in this country at conceiving and carrying out basic research. And that is a quality of our country that I believe we should continue to encourage. For it is this basic research that opens doors and new avenues for us to treat and diagnose some of the most terrible diseases that afflict humans. We will see the fruits of basic research knowledge in the clinics in 10 or 20 years. But we also need to be aware of additional types of clinical research that help us make the very best decisions for use of our health care resources. I hope to encourage such activity and joint ventures.

MT

## Affirmative action is upheld in Law School admissions case

By John Woodford



**T**he 6th Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, on May 14, ruled 5-4 in favor of the U-M Law School's policy of considering race as a factor in admissions.

"This is a great day for the University of Michigan and for all of higher education, as well as for the numerous corporations, educational groups and others who filed amicus briefs in support of the University," said Interim U-M President B. Joseph White of the decision. "I am pleased that the court recognized that diversity brings educational benefits to all students. This is part of the University's historic and significant commitment to diversity in all its facets, and today's decision reaffirms our community's long-standing values. We must prepare our students to learn and to lead in the world's most diverse democracy."

The decision found that the Law School admissions policy was constitutional under guidelines established by the Supreme Court in its 1978 *Bakke* decision. The full decision of the case, *Grutter v. Bollinger*, can be found on the web at <http://www.umich.edu/~urel/admissions/legal/grutter/gru-ap-op.html>

The court noted that the Law School admissions policy, adopted by the faculty in 1992, is "virtually indistinguishable" from the Harvard Plan held out as a model in the *Bakke* decision. The court found that U-M considers each applicant as an individual in making admissions decisions, and does not shield any applicant from competing with the rest of the applicant pool.

"The record demonstrates that the Law School does not employ a quota for underrepresented minority students," the majority opinion stated. "Essentially, both the Law School's admission policy and the Harvard Plan attend to the numbers of underrepresented minority students to ensure that all students—minority and majority alike—will be able to enjoy the benefits of an academically diverse student body."

The decision reversed the finding by a federal district court judge in March 2001 that the Law School's affirmative action admissions program was illegal.

In the main dissenting opinion, Judge Danny Boggs argued that a governmental policy to "arrange social outcomes proportionally according to the race or ethnicity of citizens, remedying, where it can, any pervasive unequal distribution of wealth, education or status" might be proper for a number of countries, but "so long as the Equal Protection Clause is a part of the United States Constitution, the United States is not one of those countries."

Achieving diversity, he argued, is not a "compelling state interest sufficient to satisfy [the] strict scrutiny" required to justify "social engineering through explicit racial classifications."

The majority, in rebuttal to Boggs, argued: "While it is true that the Law School's policy is based upon its desire to achieve a diverse student body, the very reason that the Law School is in need of a program to create a diverse environment is because the discrimination faced by African Americans and other minorities throughout the educational process has not produce a diverse student body in the normal course of things. Diversity in education, at its base, is the desegregation of a historically segregated population."

While the nation awaited the 6th Circuit's ruling in the companion case challenging affirmative action in U-M's undergraduate admissions policy (*Gratz v. Bollinger*), major news media response to the Law School case was heavy. Most editorials and opinion essays supported the May ruling and U-M goals.

### Some Responses to the decision

The *Boston Globe's* editorial (May 16), "Fairness Affirmed," said Barbara Grutter's claim that the Law School should have admitted her is one that "understandably makes many people's blood boil. Gloomy jokes sum up the thinking: Pay your taxes,

stay out of trouble and some Black kid from the inner city will snatch your place in college or graduate school.... There is an irony that the courts have not addressed. White students sue when they are denied admission to particular schools. Largely ignored is the fact that many minority students face an unfair system from first grade through high school. Poor and minority students often go to underfunded schools that don't have the resources to provide a broad education."

The *Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch* (May 21) supported the dissenting opinion: "Will the U.S. Supreme Court please settle the issue of racial preferences in college admissions? ... [P]ublic universities claim that having the 'right' racial mix on campus enriches the education of all students and therefore universities should be able to exclude or accept applicants on the basis of race. As *The Dispatch* has pointed out before, a landlord would be hauled into court for turning away apartment seekers on the basis of ethnicity in the name of creating the 'right' racial mix in his building. No one should have, and no one can be trusted with, the power to discriminate on the basis of race. The Supreme Court should step in to sort out the conflicting rulings, and it should do so by declaring once and for all that whatever the benefits of educational diversity may be, they cannot trump the bedrock principle of the American founding [fathers], that all citizens must be treated equally by their government."

The *Washington Post* (May 16) said: "Nobody ought to be comfortable with government's treating people differently because of race, even if for noble purposes. The diversity of a university class is, in any event, a gauzy kind of interest, one whose benefits are diffuse and difficult to measure. Yet the courts should not underestimate diversity's importance to education in a multiethnic democratic society. This consideration makes these cases profoundly different from the other affirmative action issues the court has confronted in recent years. For the high court to insist on purely race-blind admissions would be a radical and destructive step."

In a guest editorial in the *National Review* (May 17), Roger Clegg, general council of the Center for Equal Opportunity, said: "[It is] very likely that at least four of the nine justices—only four votes are required for the Supreme Court to grant review—will be skeptical about the Sixth Circuit's

decision. Five justices have been very reluctant in recent years to allow racial and ethnic discrimination by the government or state institutions. There is also the little matter of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which flatly bars any racial and ethnic discrimination by an entity, like the University of Michigan, that gets federal money."

The *New York Times* (May 15) editorialized that the ruling "has shown that carefully tailored policies that avoid quotas can still include race as one factor among many in the admissions equation. ... The court praised the Michigan plan for its fairness and sensitivity, noting that, though race and ethnicity were potential 'plus factors,' they did not foreclose competition between minority and non-minority students."

On May 16, the *Christian Science Monitor* said: "The Michigan case—probably twinned with a similar case involving undergraduate admissions at the same university—will give the Supreme Court an opportunity to clarify matters. Ways to continue expanding educational opportunity must be found. Some states are admitting a certain percentage of top graduates from each of their high schools to their university systems. Elementary and secondary schooling also must be strengthened to prepare a wider range of young Americans for college. Whatever the courts decide, ensuring greater access to education should remain a clear national goal."

The *Michigan Daily* (May 15): "While the defense of the University's policies has primarily been the work of legal experts and faculty, the action of student intervenors proved to be a crucial element in the 6th Circuit's decision. The court explicitly mentioned the involvement of the student intervenors as a reason for overturning Judge [Bernard] Friedman's decision. Their testimony concerning the conditions in Michigan's K-12 educational system helped reveal the obstacles that many students must conquer to gain acceptance to the University. Although the cases often seem alienating and appear as though they are beyond the control of individual students, the example of the intervenors shows that active involvement can help determine a case's outcome and establish legal precedent. The use of race in admissions is now acceptable in the four states of the 6th Circuit—Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan—because of student activism and advocacy." **MT**

# Family-pattern blindness is coming into focus

By John Woodford

**M**acular degeneration is a complex inherited disease whose many forms have puzzled researchers for decades. The macula is the central area in the retina, and as it progressively degenerates, patients see things fuzzily and then lose the ability to focus and to read. It is a slow, relentless deterioration of central vision that cannot be corrected with glasses or surgery and leads to blindness. But U-M researchers and clinicians are making steady progress in understanding the genetic processes involved in this debilitating condition, and their research is offering hope to millions.

"Macular degeneration is one of the leading causes of blindness in the world," says Radha Ayyagari, a researcher at U-M's Kellogg Eye Center. "With an aging population, we will see more of this disease in the years ahead. Thirteen million people in the United States now suffer from some form of the disease,

and with a steadily aging population that number is expected to reach 45 million by 2030."

Although most people begin to notice the effects of macular disease only after the age of 60, there can be wide variation in age of onset even within a family. "One person may suffer severe vision loss in his late teens, while other family members may have 20/20 vision well into their 50s."

With no cure currently available, scientists are looking to genetic research for answers. Genes transmit early-onset macular degeneration primarily in three ways, through X-

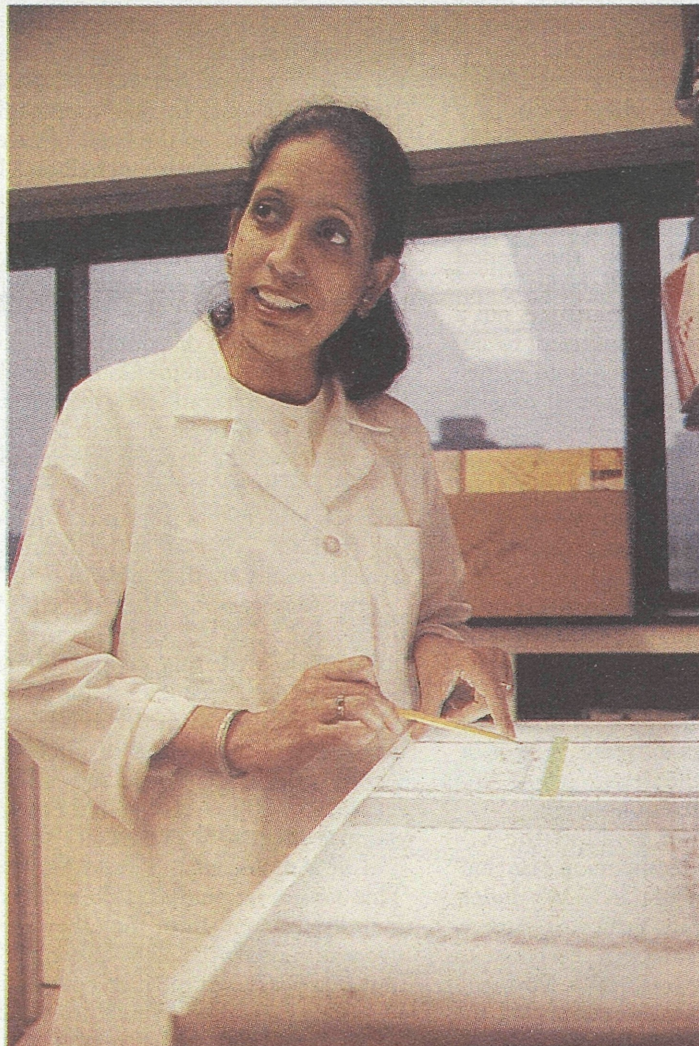


Photo by Gregory Fox

Ayyagari in her laboratory. The laboratory provides genetic testing 'for macular degenerations for which genes have been cloned,' she says. 'This helps in identifying individuals at risk before the onset of disease, and also helps individuals who are not affected discover that they are not at risk to develop disease at a later stage.' Readers who seek further information about genetic testing may call (734) 647-6347.

chromosome inheritance, dominant genes or recessive genes. "The process of transmission of age-related macular degeneration is complex," says Ayyagari, who received her doctorate in biochemistry from Osmania University in Hyderabad, India. "Perhaps it can be grasped best by focusing on X-linked transmission." Here's what happens:

## Fathers and sons

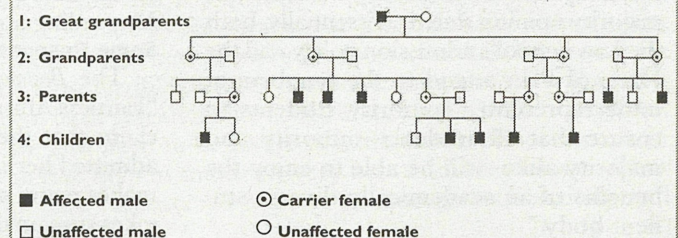
Everyone gets one set of chromosomes from each parent. Females have two XX's; males have an X and a Y. "In an X-linked disease," Ayyagari explains, "every daughter of an affected male will inherit the affected X chromosome, or the X chromosome carrying the mutation, from her father, but since she can get a good X chromosome from Mom, she has a good chance not to be affected by the disease even though she will carry it."

Sons, however, inherit only one X chromosome from their mothers and a Y chromosome from their fathers. "If the sons of a carrier female inherit the X chromosome that carries a gene associated with a disease, they will inherit that 'bad X,'" Ayyagari continues, "and therefore be more likely to inherit an X-linked disease. And fathers will pass the bad X to daughters who, in turn, don't get the disease, but pass it to the father's grandchildren. The X chromosome is not transmitted from father to son, and hence sons of an affected male do not inherit the bad X chromosome." Ayyagari adds that despite the role of the X chromosome,



The research on macular degeneration that Radha Ayyagari and Paul Sieving are conducting at Kellogg Eye Center will be featured this fall on a national broadcast "When Genes Go Wrong." American Public Television is distributing the program on public channels. For scheduling in your area, see [www.aptvs.org/](http://www.aptvs.org/) or contact your local stations.

## Family With X-linked Macular Degeneration



the disease affects men and women equally “because there are other forms of macular degeneration in addition to the X-linked form.

Families touched by macular degeneration have been playing a vital role in helping Ayyagari’s team and other Kellogg researchers study the role of genes in transmitting the hereditary forms of the disease. Four generations of seven or eight large families who suffer from the



#### X-linked macular degeneration

Photographs of the back of the eyes of two affected brothers and an affected male cousin from a family with X-linked macular disease. Arrows point to the region of the macula affected with the disease. The retina lines the back of the eye, where it records what we see and sends a signal to the brain. The macula is a small area at the center of the retina that allows us to see fine details in objects clearly. Macular degeneration makes close work, like threading a needle or reading a book, difficult or impossible. Although macular degeneration reduces central vision, it does not affect peripheral vision until late stages.

early-onset and late-onset forms have volunteered to take part in the study.

The families came from the clinical practice of Kellogg ophthalmologist Dr. Paul Sieving, who was recently named director of the National Eye Institute at the National Institutes of Health. He notes the challenges of approaching an entire family about this sort of research: “When I give a patient a diagnosis of macular degeneration it can be devastating. The knowledge that other family members may develop this disease makes it more difficult. By participating in Dr. Ayyagari’s research, family members—both those currently diagnosed and those who may be diagnosed in the future—know they are doing something positive to help.”

Ayyagari says that when physicians find patients who are beginning to lose central vision in their teens to early 40s, instead of age 60, the young patients “give us a chance to collect more information about their genetics and how the macula deteriorates over time.”

#### Disease strikes at different ages

Ayyagari is particularly interested in why members of a single family are affected at varying ages (or not at all). She uses a multigenerational chart or “pedigree” to give her an idea about the pattern of inheritance of the disease in each family. “A genetic defect obviously exists,” she says, “but something is protecting certain family members from the disease. If you can identify what stimulates the good gene, you can protect other family members.”

Referring to the generational charts on her laboratory’s wall, Ayyagari points out which family members do not show the effects of macular degeneration and which do. The chart tells how old they were when the condition emerged and the severity of the disease. Adjacent charts

show images of the interior of the eye and trace the changes in eye tissues over the course of the study.

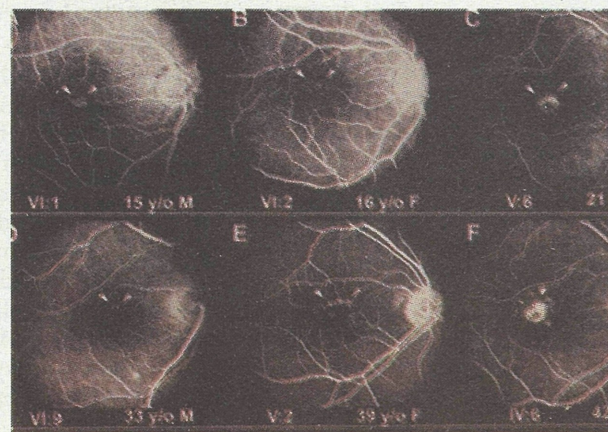
“In the images of the eye, we see a 47-year-old with severe vision loss and his brother, 51, who has 20/20 vision,” Ayyagari says as she points to the images. “But the older brother’s eye is showing subtle changes. He has the same gene defect, though so far it causes very subtle symptoms. In contrast, here is a 15-year-old relative with severe macular degeneration due to the same gene defect. Our team is studying differences among the family members. It could be that a different gene is providing protection, or it could be the influence of different environments, dietary factors, exercise patterns (whether more or less), different exposure to light and so on.”

#### Two genes are identified

Ayyagari hopes her research will lead to treatments that will delay the onset, slow the progression or prevent the disease altogether. She and her co-workers have already mapped and identified two genes associated with macular diseases by tracking them in families that carry the trait. Grants from the Michigan Life Sciences Corridor Fund, the Foundation Fighting Blindness, Research to Prevent Blindness and National Institutes of Health will help the Kellogg team attempt to clone those genes and develop an effective general therapy. Their goal is to better understand all of the biological processes involved in macular degeneration.

“We assume a defective gene is causing the disease,” Ayyagari says. “In 10 families, the likelihood is we may find 10 different genes. But sometimes the same gene may be causing the disease in more than one family. We’ll see.”

Ayyagari’s laboratory is also investigating, with the help of a large collection of families, the involvement of genes associated with the perception of red and green colors in their research on a form of macular degeneration called blue cone monochromacy. Cones are the light-receptors in the retina responsible for daylight and color vision. They



#### Early-onset macular degeneration

Another kind of photograph of the back of the eyes of affected males (M) and females (F) in a family with early-onset macular degeneration. These pictures show how macular degeneration looks in individuals of different ages within this family. Ages of these individuals are shown in the photograph. Arrows point to the region of the macula that is affected. In this family, out of 50 members studied, 28 were affected with the disease.

are most densely concentrated in the center, where visual acuity is greatest. When they work healthily, our brains can distinguish 10,000,000 different hues and focus on things near and far to the standard of 20/20 vision. Blue cone monochromacy (BCM) causes severe loss of focusing and a deficiency in color perception.

“Persons with BCM often have normal peripheral vision but cannot focus their central vision through the macula,” Ayyagari says. The macula is rich in red, green and blue cones. In BCM, the red and green cones are defective, causing those colors to be seen as grayish.

The condition is identified through tests like those taken for a driver’s license, but BCM is a much worse disability than the more common problem of “color blindness, which impairs the ability to distinguish red from green. Like macular degeneration, BCM is an X-chromosome, “pedigree disease,” Ayyagari says, which means males are much more likely to inherit it.

Ayyagari is hopeful that research will lead to a “better understanding of the molecular basis of clinical variation in affected individuals and the role of other genes in macular atrophy.”

#### Diverting the damage downstream

Greatly complicating the research task is the fact that each gene is different. “We can figure out the design of some genes, while others are still a big puzzle,” Ayyagari says. “Gene replacement is the one main hope for cure, but it’s not the only effective treatment. If we see what a specific gene does and the effects it has, we can ease or eliminate the effects of a mutant gene in other ways. We might figure out how to clear up or divert the process that the mutant gene carries out. Let’s say we have water flowing somewhere we don’t want it to. We can control or divert its flow and prevent damage downstream. In the same way, if we protect the target site downstream from the mutant gene, we can provide effective therapy even if we don’t yet know how to replace the gene.”

This diversionary tactic already works in glaucoma therapy, Ayyagari points out, “when we lower intraocular pressure to prevent the disease.”

Claims abound for dietary protection against macular degeneration. Ayyagari says that no concrete evidence shows that any single substance is significantly protective. “But there is evidence,” she says, “that vitamin A, zinc, antioxidants and other dietary factors provide some protection, and also evidence that smoking increases the risk of age-related macular degeneration.”

After identifying the gene or genes that cause macular degeneration, Ayyagari will eventually be able to develop a test to help diagnose individuals at risk. She emphasizes that “Kellogg is grateful to the families who participate in this research and share their struggles with this disease. They, more than anyone, are aware of the importance of the work we are doing. We hope by the time the children of ‘our families’ turn 40 we will have a cure.”

In addition to the many books on the subject of color and vision, readers may also consult Tom Henderson’s discussion in “The Physics Classroom” at <http://www.physicsclassroom.com/Class/light/U12L2a.html/>

UNASSUMING, SKILLFUL, SWIFT, SMART, GENTLEMANLY:

THEY ALL ADD UP TO:

# Little Mel



Photo by Peter Breggs

Wakabayashi at Seibu Canada's Westin Hotel in Toronto. He is president of Seibu Canada.

By John U. Bacon

**M**el Wakabayashi '66 is perhaps the most unlikely star in the long history of Michigan sports, and surely one of the most inspirational. Despite standing just 5 feet 5 inches, Little Mel, as he was known, led all Michigan scorers his last two years, and was named the hockey team MVP, the league MVP and an All-American his senior year. But there's a lot more to tell than that.

Wakabayashi's story began during World War II. Shortly after the US relocated more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans into squalid internment camps, the Canadian government followed suit. In 1942, relocation administrators removed Wakabayashi's Japanese-born parents, Hatsuye and Tokuzo, and their three children from their modest Vancouver home, taking their few posses-

sions from them in the process. A year later, Hatsuye gave birth to her fourth child, Mel, in the barren camp.

The government kept the Wakabayashis and the other Japanese-Canadians in the camp until the war ended. In spite of the obviously unwarranted cruelty of the move, Wakabayashi's parents rarely talked about it.

#### A negative turned positive

"And when they did," Wakabayashi recalls, "they gave it to us as a positive thing, not a negative. They'd say, 'If we were in Japan, your father would probably have to go to war and we probably wouldn't be able to eat, and we would have no shelter.'" Wakabayashi inherited his parents' remarkable ability to turn injustice into opportunity without bitterness, a trait that has served him well throughout his life.

After the war the Wakabayashi family, now with eight children, moved to Chatham, a small town of 30,000 surrounded by Ontario farmland. To support his family, Wakabayashi's father worked long hours in a local cosmetics factory. "It was very loud and smelly," Wakabayashi says. "I didn't go there very often." Although the Wakabayashis had to contend with a tight budget and a "few little [racial] incidents, it was a good life," Mel insists.

When Al Renfrew '49, U-M's coach back then, first came into contact with the family, he was struck by the depth of their community spirit. "The Wakabayashis had eight kids, and not a lot of money, I think," he says, "but they had a big New Year's party every year. Seemed like the whole town of Chatham was there."

Mel and his younger brother Herb spent whatever free time they had playing baseball, street hockey and pond hockey with a Black guy down the street named Eddie Wright. The trio formed what the white guys called the "international line" on the Chatham Junior Maroons. Mel's reputation soon preceded him. Wilf Martin '65, a future pro who played for the Regina Pats before coming to Michigan, remembers a diminutive Japanese player from Chatham "making a fool of the All-Star team in Regina." Word spread.

"Of course I dreamed of playing in the NHL one day," Wakabayashi says, "but knowing my size, I didn't think it would ever be a reality. I really didn't expect to sign any contracts, or even go to the U of M."

But other Chatham natives like Larry Babcock '63, Al Hinnegan '62 and Ron

Coristine '64 had gone to Michigan and done very well, with Babcock captaining the 1962-63 team. Wakabayashi suspects one of them—he's still not sure who—sent word to Renfrew that there was another player back home he might want to take a chance on.

In the fall of 1963, when Wakabayashi entered Canada's grade 13 to take "all these courses I didn't want to take," Renfrew came up to see one of his games. Wakabayashi had no idea the coach was in the stands—or even who he was—but he performed well enough for Renfrew to approach the young center after the game and initiate a conversation Wakabayashi remembers well.

"He asked me if I had any interest in going to Michigan. I said, 'I can't afford to go, no way, and if it is difficult to get in, that could be another problem,'" Wakabayashi recounts. "My grades were only so-so, because I concentrated on sports in high school. Well, he brought me down to Ann Arbor to see the campus and take the SAT, and I did okay."

In January 1963, Wakabayashi settled in Ann Arbor as a college student. "It was not a dream come true, because I didn't even let myself dream of it," he says. "It was just unbelievable! Obviously, it changed my whole life."

Due to freshman ineligibility, Wakabayashi could not join the team until January 1964. "The year off was really good for me because I was worried that I couldn't make the team," he says. "But seeing the players from Chatham do so well gave me a little confidence." The wide-open style of college hockey in those days suited his breakaway speed; nevertheless, he says he was surprised to make the team.

"The college game was made for him," asserts former teammate Dean Lucier '67. "He's the best player I've ever stepped on the ice with, for or against, and that includes [NHL stars] Tony Esposito and Keith Magnuson. He had tremendous team sense."

#### 'The guy you watched'

Magnuson himself, who shone for the University of Denver and the Chicago Blackhawks, puts Wakabayashi on the short list of great college players. "We only played him two times, but Wakabayashi you didn't forget," he says. "He was very quick, and could find a way to beat you if you didn't have your senses about where he was on the ice. He was the guy you watched."

One telling measure of the man is what he remembers, and what he doesn't. Although Wakabayashi scored two goals in the thrilling

upset over Denver in the 1964 championship game, he can't recall which ones they were or how he scored them. He can, however, recount in photographic detail the single penalty he received in his three years of college hockey.

"We were playing Loyola University out of Montreal at the Coliseum during my sophomore year," he says. "Another guy and I got tangled up together, he fell and I got a tripping call. Since I started playing hockey in pee wees, my coaches really banged it into my head that I was supposed to score the goals, not try to knock the big guys around and end up getting hurt or getting a penalty. I remember very clearly the feeling of sitting in that penalty box—and how much I realized I didn't like sitting in that box!"

While at Michigan, Wakabayashi never again suffered the sensation of sitting in that box, even though another man would have been sorely tempted to retaliate against the kind of cheap-shots the darting center regularly received on the ice. "I know a lot of guys took runs at me," he says philosophically, "but it really helped me in the long run, because it forced me to be aware of everyone on the ice at all times." The same uncanny game sense that helped him avoid oncoming thugs helped him become one of Michigan's craftiest scorers, too. Wakabayashi had obviously inherited his parents' ability to make the most of hostile surroundings, without bitterness.

#### **You, a hockey player? No way!**

Unlike most elite athletes, Wakabayashi didn't enjoy attracting attention. "Hockey was not as popular as football and basketball, but it got good coverage," he says. "For me it was great, because I didn't like being recognized. I liked being low-key, behind the scenes. Besides, whenever I tried to tell someone I was a hockey player, they wouldn't believe me anyway."

If Wakabayashi wasn't wild about the spotlight, he certainly enjoyed the camaraderie of his teammates, with

whom he lived all four years of college, and the extra academic assistance afforded him as an athlete. "I was never a good student," he admits. "I needed a lot of help, in psychology, physiology. You needed a 2.0 to be eligible, so I tried to keep up. A lot of people were willing to help you out."

Renfrew's teams never equaled the success they enjoyed during Wakabayashi's sophomore season, when they won the 1964 NCAA title. But that didn't stop the tiny center from becoming the team's leading scorer and MVP as a junior, and as a senior, the team captain, the Western Collegiate Hockey Association's leading scorer, the league's MVP and an All-American. By the time he graduated, the little kid from Chatham who didn't dare dream of playing for Michigan had proven beyond any doubt that he belonged.

Trying to prove himself outside Ann Arbor was tougher. Each spring Wakabayashi played baseball for fun, but was good enough to be named to the All Big Ten team as a second baseman. At former coach Don Lund's urging, the Tigers invited him down to Lakeland for spring training but didn't sign him. Whether Wakabayashi's size or his race were factors is impossible to know now, but Lund '45, a football and baseball star at Michigan and former pro baseball player, is convinced he was good enough to play in the organization.

Wakabayashi characteristically didn't give it a second thought and signed with the Red Wings instead. The NHL still had only six teams in 1967, so Wakabayashi found work in the spring of 1967 with the Memphis Red Wings in the Central Hockey League and the Johnstown Jets in the Eastern Hockey League. He proved once again that, despite his size, he could play with the big boys. The Red Wings thought so too, and invited him to join their camp in the fall of 1967.

#### **'I had the face but not the mouth'**

About the same time, however, Wakabayashi received an intriguing offer from the Japan Hockey League, then in its second year, to become the first foreigner recruited to play there. Ironically, Wakabayashi was once again the outsider, trying to prove that he belonged. "I spoke no Japanese," he says. "It was not as easy to adapt then as it is now for the foreign players. It was especially tough for me, because I had a Japanese face but not a Japanese mouth. And I didn't have an interpreter, either, so I had to learn fast."

He also had to learn how to handle playing away games on an outdoor rink in Furukawa, where the natives would throw their sake bottles at the players if they were unhappy. But that was nothing compared with the culture shock Wakabayashi encountered on the ice. "When you're brought up in Japan, you're taught not to stick out," he says. "The coaches pound the best players down to the level of the ordinary guys."

One of the most important pillars of Japanese civilization is the relationship between older mentors and their younger mentees, called *sempai-kohai*, with the *kohai* always deferring to his *sempai*. "On a hockey team," Wakabayashi explains, "sempai-kohai means the younger players have to go in the corner and get the puck. In my first year over there, when I passed the puck, very seldom would it come back to me. In North America, you want to advance the best players and bring the other players up to that level. There are advantages to the sempai-kohai system, but I don't know if the Japanese approach is always good for sport."

Regardless, Wakabayashi was good for Japan. He played 12 years in the six-team Japan Hockey League, mostly for a team called the Kokudo Bunnies. They are owned by Yoshiaki Tsutsumi, a man *Forbes* magazine once called the richest in the world. Tsutsumi owns the Seibu department store chain, the Seibu railroads, hundreds of supermarkets and thousands of real estate ventures, making him the largest landowner in Japan. He also owns 39 ski resorts, 37 golf courses and 82 Prince Hotels. Tsutsumi wields so much weight in Japan, the emperor has to make appointments with *him*.

#### **Hockey si! Baseball no!**

Tsutsumi also owns Japan's best baseball team and its two best hockey teams. These days he only watches three baseball games each season, while attending 30 hockey games.

"Baseball games are decided more in terms of individual skills, not like hockey," Tsutsumi said in a rare interview. "Hockey has more speed, and it depends more on teamwork and passing. I love watching five men working toward one goal."

Wakabayashi's playing style fit in beautifully with the Japanese ideal—he was always among the league leaders in scoring while playing for seven consecutive seasons without taking a single penalty—and his advanced skills forced the other players to improve. He was named the Bunnies' player-assistant coach in 1972, player-head coach in 1978, and head coach of the Japanese Olympic team in 1980. His younger brother, Herb, who had been a two-time All-American at Boston University before joining Mel in Japan, was selected by his peers to carry Japan's flag into 1980s opening ceremonies in Lake Placid, New York. "Walking into the Olympic Stadium in Lake Placid, with my parents in the stands," Wakabayashi says, "that was my biggest thrill."

Four years later, in 1984, Gordon (Red) Berenson '62, '66 MBA, had just been named Michigan's seventh coach and invited Wakabayashi to bring his Japanese national team to play in Ann Arbor. Although Wakabayashi's team lost 6-4, they played well and gained a measure of respect. After the game many of Wakabayashi's younger players discovered the big black-and-white photo in the Deker Hall of Fame lobby display of Wakabayashi in his prime, and had their pictures taken next to it. Remembering this, Wakabayashi's voice becomes soft. "That surprised me," he says.

When Wakabayashi reflects on the course of his life, which started in a decrepit internment camp and has wound through Chatham, Tokyo, and Lake Placid before arriving in Toronto in 1994, where he now works as president of Seibu Canada directly under the most powerful man in Japan, his thoughts return to his days in Ann Arbor, and a bunch of guys who were neither rich nor famous but changed his life forever.

"If not for Al Renfrew and the Michigan hockey team, I would probably be working with my dad in the factory in Chatham," he says. "I don't even want to think about that one." **MT**

*Freelancer John U. Bacon of Ann Arbor adapted this story from his history of U-M hockey, Blue Ice (U-M Press, 2001, \$29.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper). His stories have appeared in the annual anthology The Best American Sports Writing.*



Photo courtesy of U-M Bentley Historical Library

Little Mel and Al in 1966. Coach Renfrew scouted Wakabayashi in Chatham, Ontario, and liked the player's whole family.

Dual careers of poetry and scholarship make her a singularly lyrical thinker

# The Commuting Mind of LINDA GREGGERSON

By John Woodford

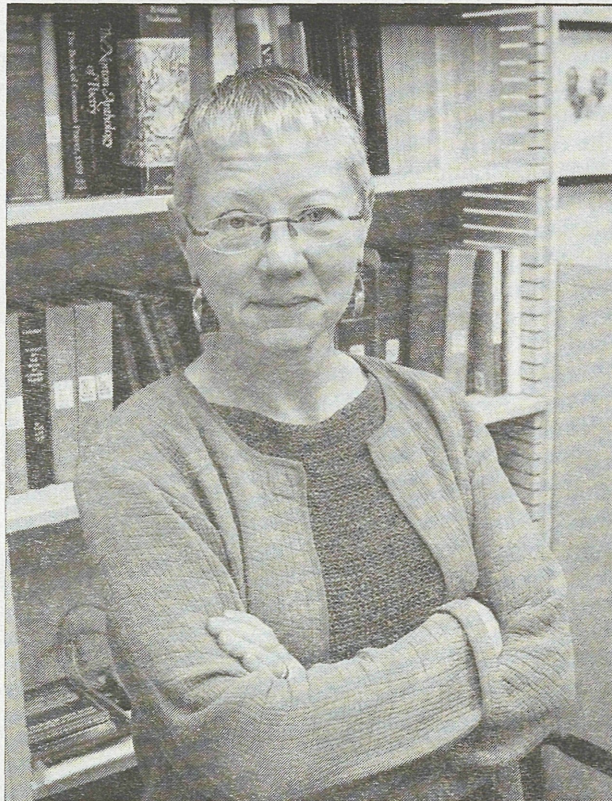
Linda Gregerson seems never to have met a contradiction that she liked; she abhors a dichotomy as strongly as nature a vacuum; show her a dualism and she'll unify it. Her power of synthesis is a big plus for a person who leads a two-fold life as an English professor specializing in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century England and an internationally acclaimed poet.

Take her view of the encounter in the mid-1600s between England's Gospel-spreading Protestant settlers in the Americas and the Algonquian Indians, part of the book she's working on, *Commonwealth of the Word: Nation and Reformation in Early Modern England*. The prevailing either/or assumption today is that one must endorse the "civilizing mission" of the settlers or condemn them for brutalizing an indigenous community.

"Of course a terrible history of brutality is attached to the way that a certain population of English worked out their own place in geopolitical history," Gregerson says. "And I'm not an apologist for that. But neither do I think a blanket condemnation of the settlers and missionaries much advances our historical understanding or our insight into contemporary struggles over collective identity. There are other, more open, questions to examine."

Questions like, how did the colonists understand the logic and logistics of conversion? What was the relation between their mission in North America and the turmoil of civil war back in England? How did the converted Algonquians adapt or alter the beliefs and ceremonies to which they were introduced?

Gregerson is examining the promotional pamphlets published in London around 1650 as part of the settlers' effort to obtain more support for the North American mission. "There's an over-the-top quality to the language in these pamphlets that caught my attention right away," she says. "Their very titles are highly metaphoric: *The Day-breaking, if not the Sun-rising of the Gospel With the Indians in*



Linda Gregerson

*New England* [1647], for instance. The authors and publishers of these pamphlets were out to show that progress was being made. But conversion was a daunting proposition, both spiritually and politically problematic, and the pamphlets inevitably reveal this."

Catholic conversion in the New World had the advantage of visible signs—vestments, sacred objects, music, ritual. "The Protestant English had thrown these rituals out the window," Gregerson says. "They propagated their faith 'by the book.'" They were doing so, in North America, however, among people who had no written language. So men like John Eliot had to teach the Bible while learning Algonquian, developing an alphabet, and translating and publishing the scriptures on

newly imported presses.

Eliot and other proselytizers were not only otherworldly, they were also pragmatic. "Eliot imported agricultural implements," Gregerson says. "He knew that farming was the only way the Algonquians could establish and protect a right to their lands under English law. Hunter-gatherers have for millenia been displaced by those who cultivate the land: It's the oldest demographic story in the book."

But here's the flip-side: Once the Indians were in settlements and had native clergy trained to "explicate the thorny moments" in the Gospels, they addressed questions to the English that Gregerson describes as "constituting a critique of Western civilization." Henry Whitfield transcribed some of those questions in his 1651 pamphlet, *The Light Appearing More and More Towards the Perfect Day*. Here are a few examples:

*What meaneth that, We cannot serve two masters?*

*When Englishmen choose Magistrates and Ministers, how do they know who be good men that they dare trust?*

*If a man be wise, and his Sachem [ruler] weak, must he yet obey him?*

*Do not the Englishmen spoil their souls, to say a thing cost them more than it did? Is it not all one [the same thing] as to steal?*

## JOHN STUBBS LOSES A HAND

Another seemingly divided soul Gregerson is attending to is the Protestant polemicist John Stubbs, who lost his right hand on the scaffold as punishment for writings that angered politicians in Queen Elizabeth I's court.

Stubbs raged in 1579 that the marital negotiations between Elizabeth and Francis, Duke of Alencon, the brother of the French king, could lead, if they married, to the pollution of the English language and of English morals and manliness. Stubbs's goal was to protect the freedom of inquiry and self-expression that he felt Protestantism should guarantee against a return of Catholic orthodoxy (an objective, Gregerson points out, that led him to ignore the considerable mingling of the French and English over the 500 years since the Norman Conquest).

This "contrary coupling," Stubbs wrote in *The Gaping Gulf*, would be "an immoral union, an uneven yoking of the clean ox to the unclean ass, a thing forbidden in the law" as laid down by St. Paul, a "more foul and more gross" union that would draw the wrath of God on England and leave the English "pressed down with the heavy loins of a worse people and beaten as with scorpions by a more vile nation."

Found guilty of "seditious writing," Stubbs forfeited his hand to the axe. Then he removed his hat with his left hand as he descended the gallows, cried, "God save the queen!" and returned bleeding to prison. And Stubbs loyally served his government for the remaining decade of his life. How could a person with such strong views, such "violent populism," as Gregerson puts it, take his punishment with such equanimity?

Gregerson's explanation is that this and similar episodes can show us today that English people like Stubbs did not experience the "ideological dissonance" that we tend to assume would be inevitable. Loyalties we imagine as contradictory today were differently configured in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. That's why it's simplistic for many scholars to lump Stubbs with the anti-monarchist camp, or to debate whether Shakespeare's history plays show him to be either for or against monarchy.

Gregerson's book will argue that it was nationalism that bridged the apparent split between monarchism and anti-monarchism in early modern English thought, that an emerging sense of nationhood embraced both monarchism and religion.

"The conventional view of social scientists," Gregerson says, "is to say that the plays, poems and prose texts I'm looking at can't be about nationalism, because national-



ism is the child of secularism and couldn't arise before the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to this view, what interests me could only be an older, simpler phenomenon, 'patriotism' without the structural imperatives of the nation state. But this view casts religion as extraneous to nationalism. When I looked at the texts, I realized that nationalism and religion were and are not separate. Nationalism is an opportunistic ideology – it adapts to its own purposes any number of conceptual and emotional structures we imagine to be at odds with it, including religion. Look at the world around us now."

## SPENSER AND THE IRISH

Another storm Gregerson rises above is whether the Elizabethan poet-politician Edmund Spenser was a hero or villain. "In the canon, Spenser is rightly presented as a great poet," says Gregerson, who wrote on Spenser and Milton in her 1995 study, *The Reformation of the Subject: Spenser, Milton and the English Protestant Epic* (Cambridge University Press). "But when students today learn that this highly conscious moral thinker was also a fervid advocate for genocide in Ireland, his reputation can seem anomalous."

Scholars or students who think they must take either a pro or anti position toward Spenser are missing what literature is for, Gregerson says. "The challenge to us is not to choose between discrediting or championing him, but to ask how a person in his era and circumstances could embrace a range of aesthetic and philosophical and practical courses we believe to be profoundly at odds. We want to understand historical difference and help our students and readers understand it. The things our era sequesters, or likes to think ought to be sequestered—the world of politics, bureaucracy and military conquest sequestered from the world of science or erotic love—were frankly interdependent in the Renaissance, different aspects of a single theoretical discourse or a single public career."

Some recent trends in anti-orthodox criticism of the roster of literary masterpieces known as "canonical texts" have upset many scholars and book lovers. But Gregerson argues that identifying the social and political embeddedness of literary texts, even when their social and political perspectives cause us consternation, is part of our continuing tribute to the power of literary imagination and literary heritage. Plays and novels and poems are uniquely able to reveal the "stress fractures in the social edifice" of the authors' time and give readers a stronger sense of the past, she says.

"It's not the business of the writer to be a figure we can use for purposes of our own self-congratulation," Gregerson adds. "Nor do writers put forth a model for us to emulate in any straightforward manner. Art puts the questions to us. It doesn't provide us with *The Five Rules By Which We Are To Live Our Lives*. That's not what literature is good for. It's to challenge us to develop a more humane awareness, not to make us homogeneous."

## 'ONE IS A RESTING PLACE AND REPRIEVE FOR THE OTHER'

While she goes about the task of opening a new way to look at perhaps the most influential era of English and early American literature, Gregerson also keeps her career as a poet at full boil.

This year, she has published her third volume of poetry, *Waterborne* (Houghton Mifflin), won an American Academy of Arts and Letters award for literature and is heading for Prague this summer for an international writers institute. Next spring, she'll be the Elliston Poet-in-Residence at the University of Cincinnati, where her predecessors include Berryman, Spender, Lowell and Frost.

"It's important to me that there be a commute between my scholarly work and my poetry," Gregerson says. "One is a resting place and reprieve for the other. The writing is so different, but the obsessions are shared. Sometimes even the subject matter is shared. For example, the pamphlets of John Eliot on the Algonquians appear in my current volume of poetry."

Another figure from the scholarly side of her life, George Wishart, also emerges in *Waterborne*. A preacher of the first Scottish Protestant church, Wishart chose in 1546 to be burned at the stake at the age of 33 rather than conform to the Roman Catholic church. He migrated into her poetry, Gregerson says, "because, I suppose, episodes like this lead me to wonder, what makes people think it better to endure the alternative—torture, death or both—than to renounce their beliefs? I spend a lot of time exploring that question." **MT**

### Gregerson's progression:

ACTING BUG BITES,  
EDITING JOB BECKONS

Linda Gregerson grew up in the small town (pop. 2,000) of Cary, Illinois, west of Chicago. It was her mother's home town and not far south of where her father grew up in Wisconsin farm country.

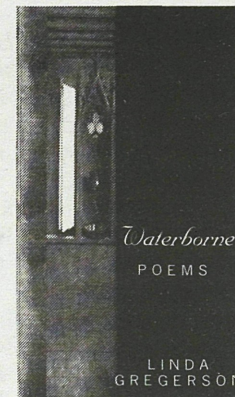
After graduating from Oberlin College in 1971, Gregerson went to Northwestern to study Shakespearean theater with Samuel Schoenbaum. Bitten by the theater bug, she left school with an MA and worked as an actor in Herman Blau's experimental theater company, Kraken.

Blau's method involved deriving scripts from long periods of improvisation, and that process has left its mark on Gregerson's writing. She had never taken a poetry class but started publishing her poetry in literary magazines and put together a portfolio of work while she was still a member of Kraken. She eventually left the company for the Writers Workshop at the University of Iowa, where she earned an MFA in 1977.

Now with her second master's degree in hand, she went to Stanford "thinking I would be sensible and write a thesis on modern poetry, but I couldn't stay away from the Renaissance. It's shattering, wonderful and messy. It feels like the center of the world to me intellectually. It's capacious. It can absorb all the new trends in literary criticism and has in fact generated two or three of the most interesting critical methods of our era. And the people in the field are great company."

While finishing her doctoral dissertation, Gregerson moved to Boston with her husband, Steven Mullaney (who also teaches in U-M's Department of English), and became a staff editor in poetry at the *Atlantic Monthly*, a position she held for six years, reading every single one of the 60,000 or so poems submitted to the publication every year.

She also taught at MIT and in Boston University's graduate creative writing program (she directed U-M's program for three years), and completed and published her first book of poetry, *Fire in the Conservatory* (Dragon Gate, 1982). **MT**



Cover image: Detail, Open window and the Eritrean and Cumean sibyls, Jan van Eyck

## GREGERSON ON HER STYLE:

"The consolidated, linear discipline of the 18<sup>th</sup> century mind is Greek to me. I like a more syncopated syntax, a quality of imagination that makes a sentence contain two voices fighting it out rather than in harmony. I like a line that breaks and frays. I use the language spoken by the people I grew up with or people you hear in on-the-street interviews on TV. But I may play that kind of talk against language from other sources."

Here is an example of her voice and technique from the first stanza of her poem "Maculate." Most of the italicized passages are adapted from the gospel of St. Luke. One of the narrator's parents is speaking:

I remember going door to door, it must  
have been nineteen  
thirty-six and half the town was out of work,

we always had the Red Cross drive in March  
(consider  
the lilies how they grow). The snowmelt

frozen hard again, and cinders on the shoveled  
walks.  
I was wearing your grandmother's boots.

(Consider the ravens, they have neither storehouse  
nor barn.)  
The grocer gave a nickel, I can see him yet,

Some people had nothing at all.  
And I came  
to Mrs. Exner's house (no thief

approacheth, neither moth). The woman  
was so bent  
with arthritis, nearly hooped

when she walked up the street with her bucket and mop  
(not Solomon  
in all his glory). The people

she cleaned for wouldn't keep a bucket in the house  
(nor  
moth). She gave me three new dollar

bills, I'll never forget it, I wanted the earth  
to swallow me up....

From *Waterborne* (Houghton Mifflin, 2002).

# Letters

## Cinderella Story

I ENJOYED reading about the Cinderella from Beijing. I studied for eight years under Tom Hilbish and now am taking 50 singers to Beijing in June 2003. I direct the Arizona Arts Chorale, which I founded seven years ago, and have actively pursued a very busy performance schedule with the Phoenix Symphony. We are an auditioned community chorale based in Scottsdale, and perform from Sept - May. I am going on my own to Beijing this May 13 and would like to discuss possible opportunities in Beijing with Tom.

Carolyn Eynon '69, '70 MM  
Scottsdale, Arizona

I'VE JUST finished reading the true Cinderella story in *Michigan Today* by Leslie Stainton and would like to know when the performance of the School of Music's *La Cenerentola* is. Looked all through the article and could not find mention of the date of performances.

Bette Ross  
Email

## Chip (Mannheim Steamroller) Davis

I ENJOYED the article in the spring issue about Chip Davis. I am curious, though. You detailed how the country group C.W. McCall gained popularity for its commercials for a regional brand of bread. But you failed to mention that Mannheim Steamroller's popularity was due, in part, to the group's music being played as bumper music on the Rush Limbaugh radio program. This is where I first heard Mannheim Steamroller. I hope the omission was merely an oversight and not a political statement.

C. Kent Frederick  
Downer's Grove, Illinois

WHEN I saw the current issue, I can't tell you how exciting it was to read. I am a big fan of Mannheim Steamroller and to read the article on Chip Davis was interesting from start to finish. I also enjoyed the recycling article. We've been buying the recycled notebooks for a while and trying to get bigger industries to follow this lead. Great issue. I enjoyed it immensely.

Susan Tessman '97  
Dearborn Heights, Michigan

JUST FINISHED the latest issue and thoroughly enjoyed it, especially the story on Chip Davis and Mannheim Steamroller. The first time I heard Fresh Aire was in a stereo shop while looking for a sound system and I

was hooked. Almost every year my daughter gives me their latest Christmas album.

Linda Love Stewart  
Email

## A Suite of Sixteen

WHEN MY husband, James W. Nunn, attended his 50th reunion at the U of M Medical School graduation in 1994, he was awarded a prize for having the most family members to graduate from the University. Starting in 1907, we have documented our family's U of M history, and found that in four generations (from 1907 to 1993), we have 14 graduates with 21 degrees, and two current students in Ann Arbor due to graduate in 2005.

We think this a notable family tradition (as recognized at the Medical School reunion) and thought it might interest you.

U-M GRADUATES - MCKINNON-NUNN LINE  
Jennie G. Newcomb '07 RN  
John D. McKinnon '08 MD  
William R. McKinnon '14 BSE, '18 MD  
Harley Newcomb '35 BSEE  
Jean McKinnon '37, '38 MS  
Margaret McKinnon (Nunn) '38, '40 MBA  
James W. Nunn '40, '44 MD  
Jennie E. (Nunn) Nelson '64  
Johann Colburn (Parker) '66 BSN, '68 MSN  
Susan L. Nunn '67  
Barbara J. Nunn '68 BS ED, '69 MS  
Gordon J. Tans '73, '76 JD  
Margaret M. Nunn Tans '75 BSN  
Michael Nelson '93 MHSA  
Brian J. Krieger 2005, COE  
Scott M. Nunn 2005, COE

Margaret McKinnon Nunn '75  
And Barbara Nunn Krieger '68  
Birmingham, Michigan

## Mixup: Virgin Queen With Child

OUCH, OUCH, ouch! I wish the compositor who stuck the Virgin Queen in Eleanor of Toledo's place had gotten the right picture, my favorite out of that magnificent exhibit. At least YOU knew which one to feature.

Tish Lehman  
Email

YOUR "Women Who Ruled" article in the Spring 2002 magazine contains several errors. In the first place, the woman in the portrait is Queen Elizabeth I of England, not Eleonora of Toledo. In the second place, the word "museum" is misspelled on the credit running up the right side of the picture. In the third place, I believe it is the "Detroit Institute of Arts," not the "Detroit Institute of Art" as stated in the article. Lastly, given the animosity between England and Spain

in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, I suspect neither woman would have found much humor in the switching of their likenesses. Off with your heads!!!!

Ed Radsack '61  
Email

*The correct painting is now on our back cover after our deserving decapitation.—Ed.*

## Critiques of Michigan Today

IN REPLY to Mr. Roy F. Deng Jr.'s letter in the spring 2002 issue about *Michigan Today*: The editing and general operation of *Michigan Today* are superb and need no further comment. However, Mr. Deng's suggestions effectively would upgrade the magazine's appearance and features. To achieve any and ultimately all of these improvements, which the editor might deem significant, a fund contributed by the readers could be established.

Helen Worth '35  
Charlottesville (Ivy), Virginia

I DISAGREE with Roy F. Deng Jr.'s criticism of *Michigan Today*. I enjoy the articles and don't feel, as he does, that they're "drifting into the feel-good issues of the 1960s." Also, I happen to like the "tired and tattered" newsprint as he calls it, and I'm not bothered by the "fuzzy" photos. The entire newspaper, including the non-slick graphics by Sherri Moore, has a wonderful informal quality that should be maintained. "High quality ads," as he suggests, should be the last thing that's incorporated.

When I came to NYC in 1960, the *Village Voice* newspaper was eight pages, interesting to read and an important "voice" in the city. Now it is almost 200 pages and has totally lost its uniqueness.

As they say: If it's not broken, don't fix it.  
Roy A Euker '58  
New York

I DISAGREE with my classmate Roy Deng Jr.'s criticism of the format and content of *Michigan Today*. The articles are current, stimulating and easy to read, even with my trifocals. I always look forward to the Letters section. My wife and I receive enough glitzy catalogues and magazines. You have a good publication. Keep it simple, please.

Casper O. Grathwohl '56, '64 Law  
Niles, Michigan

EVER SINCE I graduated, I have enjoyed receiving and reading *Michigan Today*. Despite the careful redesign of your publication some years back, I am still not too fond of the large-page-size format, the choice of newsprint material, or the small-and-thin typeface. However, I do want to say that the topics discussed are often quite fascinating, the editing is consistently well-done, and the writing itself is always outstanding!

George Chen '80 BS (ChE), '82 MSE  
(ChE)  
Los Gatos, California

JUST WANTED to say how much I enjoy your publication and to thank you for including a "Letters" section.

Susan Hinnant  
Columbia, Missouri

JUST A brief note to let you know that I always enjoy *Michigan Today*. The John Rich story was especially fun.

Peg Yerian  
Davenport, Florida

## Emerging Submerging Sport

I HAD trouble understanding a few things in your article "An Emerging Sport" by Sarah Skow re: synchronized swimming. What significance is there, if any, to being designated an "emergence sport"? If NCAA recognition is necessary for giving varsity status to synchronized swimming, how come it was a varsity sport prior to 1983, when, you said, it lost its varsity status? How could the Wolverine Invitational have drawn "varsity and club teams" if the NCAA doesn't recognize the sport?

Arnold Knepper '52  
Email

*Synchronized swimming coach Rebecca Twombly replies:*

*According to the NCAA an emerging sport is one "intended to provide additional athletics opportunities to female student-athletes. Institutions are allowed to use emerging sports to help meet the NCAA minimum sports-sponsorship requirements and also to meet the NCAA's minimum financial aid awards."*

*Essentially, this means that once the number of varsity collegiate programs has reached a certain threshold nationwide, the NCAA will sanction a championship for that sport. Currently this threshold is 40 sponsored programs. From the time it is first so designated, an emerging sport is limited to a 10-year period during which it must become a championship sport.*

*U-M had a varsity synchronized swim team until 1983. Prior to the early 1980s, the NCAA did not administer women's athletics. By 1983, the NCAA had instituted 19 women's championship events, of which synchronized swimming was not one. The NCAA now administers 87 championships in 22 sports. NCAA recognition is not required, however, for a school to recognize a sport as varsity.*

*The Maize and Blue Invitational at Michigan attracted both varsity and club level teams because the current national rules for collegiate synchronized swimming permit varsity and nonvarsity programs to compete against each other. Both varsity and club teams, including ours, compete in the US Collegiate National Championship held each March, where we placed 22d.*

## Taubman Gift

THIS LETTER registers my protest over U-M's decision to retain A. Alfred Taubman's \$30-million donation to the then-College of Architecture and Urban Planning (now the Taubman College of Architecture and Urban Planning). Taubman's donation preceded his recent conviction for price-fixing during his tenure as chairman of the board at Sotheby's.

As though the University did not have enough scandals to contend with, former U-M President Bollinger issued a statement announcing the University's decision to keep Taubman's money. [See Spring 2002, Letters—Ed.] This position is paradoxical to the U-M's claim of being a leader in higher education. It appears to me that leadership is better demonstrated by other colleges and universities when they have decided not to accept donations that may jeopardize their ethical standards. In my opinion, the University has chosen not to be a leader but a follower of A. Alfred Taubman, at the risk of alienating alumni such as myself.

I am of the opinion that the decision to keep Taubman's donation is nothing more than a blatant attempt to turn a blind eye on his illegal activity. I strongly urge the University to reconsider its actions over Taubman's donation. In so doing, the University will demonstrate that even those who give large sums of money should be held to high ethical standards.

Olumayowa Alabi '93 Arch.  
Dallas

#### Alice Inglis of the Labadie Collection

WHAT MEMORIES came back to me over half a century since I was privileged to do research with Miss Agnes Inglis in the Labadie Collection in 1949! According to "Keeping Anarchy in Order" (Spring 2002), it has moved up the academic ladder since we were lonely scholars in the fugitive left-wing documents there. I was then a socialist myself, and the Labadie Collection was my refuge from the capitalist world.

My research topic was the anarcho-syndicalist faction in Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War. A copy of my seminar report is in the Labadie Collection, but I doubt that anyone has read it in decades. Miss Inglis was more helpful to me as a young scholar than most of my professors. Thanks to my Michigan degree and passable Spanish, I later got a fellowship to pursue a PhD in Latin American history at the University of Florida. I retired from teaching to earn my law degree at Florida State 15 years ago.

I may have been one of the last students to benefit from Miss Inglis as a mentor. I remember two stories from that time. It was said that Agnes Inglis was related to (a sister of?) Laura Inglis Wilder. And that Jo Labadie, the "gentle anarchist," was employed by the US Post Office as a letter carrier. Could Julie Herrada confirm or deny these rumors?

Nelson G. Williams '50 MA  
Floral City, Florida

Labadie Curator Julie Herrada replies:

I have never heard that Agnes Inglis was related to Laura Ingalls Wilder (the correct spelling of her name). Agnes was from a wealthy Detroit family, whose name is known in these parts as benefactors of the University of Michigan. There is an Inglis House on campus which was donated (not by Agnes, but by her older brother, David) to U-M many years ago.

Jo Labadie never worked for the USPS. There is a story about a run-in with the Post Office inspector, though. Labadie used to put "little anarchist stickers" on his envelopes before mailing them, and their messages apparently offended Post Office Inspector J. J. Larmour. In 1908, Larmour refused to accept Labadie's mail unless he ceased using the stickers. Public and press outcry in support of Labadie came from all over, locally and nationally. Even Eugene V. Debs sent him a letter of support.

For more of Labadie's adventures, I highly recommend All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement by his granddaughter, Carlotta R. Anderson (Wayne State University Press, 1998).

#### Alternative Medicine

HAVING SENT a long letter to you praising your journal for articles like the one on the Institute for Social Research ["They've Got Your Number, Fall 2001—Ed."] we did not overlook that Judy Steeh's piece "Scientific Medicine Examines the Alternatives" is of opposite quality or intent to let you think it went down okay.

This misleading article keeps talking as if evidence is forthcoming or already exists, for any of the practices, especially those for which no physical and biological basis is possible. In fact close reading shows zero evidence cited for any of them. Aside from recent unwise big federal funding pushed by certain ignorant senators, claims have been made for decades that studies are being done and reliable evidence is forthcoming. This will be the trend for the future.

We are certain that none of these "alternatives" will be shown to have any real effect on health (except possibly for a few plant-derived herb substances, as has always occurred since many were refined and adopted into regular medicine). We also say that we know from wide experience that mainstream medicine is highly flawed (up to 80% unproven guesswork) and barely does more good than harm in many cases. Can't fit all article's errors here. Ask ISR about the statistical tricks. We'll just note that sprouts (always partly green) are normal food and that attention from pretty gals will help almost anyone. Female = Nature. Shame on MD's shown taking public money needed elsewhere!

Susan Mauldin '67  
Pueblo West, Colorado

#### The Joys of Copy Editing

AS A FORMER Daily staffer, I, too, winced at the "illicit" [for "elicit"—Ed.] error which Barry Silverblatt wrote about in the letters section of the Spring 2002 edition. But you can't blame sleeping proofreaders, because there aren't any proofreaders left. Proofreaders compared the original manuscript with what the typesetter produced. If there was an error in the original copy, the proof should have had the same error. The proofreader's motto was "follow the copy, even out the window."

It is the job of the copy editor to catch errors. The more copy editors a story goes through, the greater the chance of finding

and correcting errors. Today the writer using a computer is also the typesetter, and there is no proof. Errors have to be caught first by the author himself, and then his editor. Even fact checkers used on magazines should only check facts, not non-factual writing errors.

Harry Reed '52  
Email

#### Priscilla—not Patricia

PRISCILLA Hodges Johnson '46 of Signal Mountain, Tennessee, was a classmate of mine in chemistry, and I would love to reestablish contact with her. (Incidentally, you mislabeled her in one of her two letters in the most recent issue as Patricia H. Johnson but later in the same issue she is her proper name, Priscilla Hodges Johnson.

George-Anne Oliver Kelly '46

TWO LETTERS in the spring issue are very interesting to me and I would like to contact each writer. The letter "Smeaton's fine nose" from Priscilla Hodges Johnson, takes me back to 1944 when I became a novitiate Instructor in the Chemistry Department and worked with Dr. James Hodges. I would like to write Mrs. Johnson to tell her of my many memories of working with her father.

The second letter, "Lessons from diversity" from Bob Greene, makes reference to Gene Derricotte who was also a friend of mine back in those days and with whom I kept in contact up until a few years ago. I would very much like to be able to contact either or both Bob Greene or Gene Derricotte if possible. Thank you very much for any help you may be able to give me. My email address is: sbeac@acadia.net

Seward Beacom '46 MS  
Instructor, 1944-1948  
Email

We misread Ms. Johnson's handwritten signature but got it right in the Email version.—Ed.

#### U-M Leads in Care of Environment

CONGRATULATIONS to Patrick Cunningham ("Better Use of Fuels and Feet," Spring 2002) for working toward a better environment for U-M. I just bought a Toyota Hybrid Prius and I know it can make a difference not only in the environment but in my pocketbook as well (40-plus miles per gallon). I am doing my best to spread the word among my friends and maybe if enough of us make the switch, we will be able to be less dependent on OPEC.

Joyce Donen Hirschhorn '46  
Killingworth, Connecticut  
P.S. I read this issue from cover to cover. One of the best.

#### Many Ways of Getting to '6'

I CAN'T resist engaging such puzzles as the one in the sidebar of the "He's Positively Logical" article on Prof. Layman Allen (Spring 2002 issue). If one goal is to think outside the box, within the rules given I thought of many more than the proposed 12

ways to combine the numbers and mathematical operations "1 2 3 4 x / - -" and any number of parentheses to form 6. For example:

2 x 3  
(2 x 3)/1  
((-2) x 3)/(-1)  
(2 x (-3))/(-1)  
(-2) x (-3)  
((-2) x (-3))/1  
(4 x 3)/2  
((4 x 3)/2)/1  
((-4) x (-3))/2  
(((4) x (3))/2)/1  
((-4) x (3))/(-2)/1  
(((4) x (-3))/2)/1  
(((4) x (3))/(2))/(-1)  
(4/2) x 3  
(4/2) x 3/1  
((-4)/(-2)) x 3  
(((4)/(-2)) x 3)/1  
((-4)/2) x (-3)  
(((4)/2) x (-3))/1  
(4/(-2)) x (-3)  
(4-2) x 3  
(4-1) x 2  
etc.

(Some might carp at the use of "-" as a unary operator, but the instructions say only "mathematical operations.") Thank you, Michigan, for a great education.

Burt Brody '70 Ph.D.  
Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

THE TABLE below shows 15 solutions that meet the criteria described in the article, "He's Positively Logical," by Rachel Ehrenberg in the Spring 2002 issue. The problem/game description states that there are exactly 12 solutions. Why can't puzzles be Positively Logical? What's the catch? Did I cheat? Puzzles often confuse those who think too hard! [The writer presented 15 solutions that we could not reproduce here.—Ed.]

I think there might be a legal trick that Prof. Allen points out if he won't accept three of my solutions. That would further fuel my distrust of lawyers and their maneuverings! I wouldn't state that there are exactly 12 or exactly 15 solutions unless I could prove it! If a bright kid finds more, he may just become confused about why adult rules are sometimes illogical! That could be counterproductive to his incentive to solve real problems in life within the stated rules.

Don Lipke '66 UM-D  
Richmond, Texas

Prof. Layman Allen replies:

Thank you both for your interest and comments about the Math-Science Quest 1E puzzle, and congratulations on your achievement in finding eight of its 12 different solutions. That was more than virtually all the other persons who sent along sets of solutions. Although the puzzle deals with elementary arithmetic, the startling fact is that virtually nobody finds all 12 different solutions without assistance. It turns out to be extraordinarily difficult to apply abstract ideas to practical situations, and the Math Science Quest puzzles are much like such application. However,

# Michigan Today

## Dear Readers:

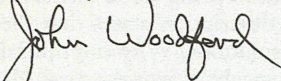
For almost 20 years *Michigan Today* has served as a window on the world of the University of Michigan for all U-M alumnae and alumni, as well as for non-alumni friends of the University. We cover U-M personalities and progress; report on campus events and controversies; and keep alive University history and traditions. We give voice to our students and graduates to reflect on current events and reminisce about their days on campus. We profile outstanding students, graduates and professors in the humanities, arts, social sciences, science and the professions.

Our readership survey a few years ago indicated that 88 percent of you are reading *Michigan Today*. We believe it is an important link between you and the University, and we would like to continue sending it three times a year free of charge to all U-M graduates and others who care about the University of Michigan. But at a time when budgets are tight and all in higher education are being asked to do more with less, we must take special steps to meet rising costs, especially those for postage and paper. In addition, while the majority of our readers indicated they are satisfied with the appearance of *Michigan Today*, we would like to be able to improve paper quality and readability.

Accordingly, we are asking you, our readers, for your help. We are asking you to contribute \$5, \$10, or whatever you feel you can give. Your voluntary subscription will help ensure that *Michigan Today* can continue to reach a wide University audience in the most appealing manner possible.

Please send your tax-deductible donation to *Michigan Today*, University of Michigan, 412 Maynard Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1399. Thank you for your generosity and, as always, your comments about *Michigan Today* are welcome. I can be reached at (734) 647-1838 or via fax at (734) 764-7084 or e-mail at [johnwood@umich.edu](mailto:johnwood@umich.edu).

Sincerely,



John Woodford  
Executive Editor

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Years(s) of degree(s) \_\_\_\_\_ Comments? Please attach on a separate paper.

3653999 AG BOA02 VPUR

*experimental science can help in making such problems as simple as most folks expect such use of arithmetic to be. That's what MSQ is really about.*

*The statement of the 1E puzzle in the article did clearly stipulate that the minus sign was to be interpreted as indicating subtraction. Several of your proposed solutions used the minus sign as a unary operator and, thus, do not qualify as solutions to the puzzle. You can find the four missing solutions by engaging in a program of experimental research as described at the following Internet site: <http://alf-learning.org/Exper-1E.htm>*

*To actually do such research on 1E and explore other such puzzles, have a look at: <http://thinkersleague.law.umich.edu/files/alf/msq-ind/msq-inta.htm>*

*Although the vast majority of folks who have written to me about the puzzle have requested to have the 12 solutions provided, I am sure that you can understand my reluctance to do that.*

## Inspiration From 9/11

DURING THE past few months, we've heard quite a few stories about the "September 11 effect" on the US economy and on the performance of specific businesses. However, I think that September 11 is being blamed for a lot of things that it has nothing to do with.

Case in point: On January 4, 2002, my father, William Retallick ('48 BSChE) and I visited Ground Zero. Dad didn't want to spend three hours in the viewing stand line, so we wandered around Manhattan instead. The viewing stand line went several blocks down the west side of Broadway. On the east side of Broadway, the sidewalks were full of people going about their business. They were not gazing

across the street to see what was going on Over There. Their resolve and sense of purpose was impressive, and we saw this all over town. Many NYC store windows displayed a small poster with the following quote from Winston Churchill:

*Never  
Never  
Never  
Give Up*

If the New Yorkers can show this kind of spirit, so can the rest of us.

Martha Retallick '79  
Email

## Wish To Update Your Files?

The Career Planning & Placement office conducts a regular review of reference letter files that have been inactive for ten years. Files that have not been used since 1992 must now be updated by July 31, 2002, to remain active. After that date, all inactive files will be deactivated and subsequently destroyed. File deactivation affects only reference letters. Transcripts and other academic materials will not be affected by the deactivation of reference letter files.

To maintain an active file, students or alumni/ae must have conducted one or more of the following transactions since 1992:

- 1) requested to send reference letters as part of an admission or employment process,
- 2) added new letters to their file,
- 3) submitted updated personal data in writing (e.g. current address, telephone, or newly acquired degree).

Please contact Career Planning and Placement's Reference Letter Center at (734) 764-7459 or by e-mail at [cp&p@umich.edu](mailto:cp&p@umich.edu) for specific questions about a file status or the update process in general.

## E-MAIL FORWARDING FOR U-M ALUMS

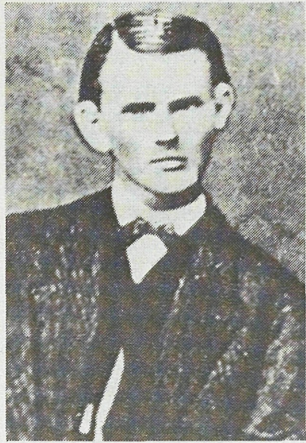
*Lifetime E-mail Forwarding* is now available to all U-M alumni/ae. The service, officially launched by the University in late 2001, automatically forwards to the e-mail address you designate, any messages sent to your personal @umich.edu e-mail address.

To use the service, you must have a U-M *username* and password.

For those who already have both (and remember them), simply go to <http://login.www.umich.edu> to sign on. The same on-line address will guide you if you've forgotten your *username* or password, or don't yet have either.

A good Q & A is available on the School of Engineering Web site at <http://www.engin.umich.edu>.

The Office of the Provost provided the funds for the start-up of Lifetime E-mail.



Jesse James

A U-M med student was almost the man who shot Jesse James

# 'Get Your Guns Boys, They're Robbing the Bank!'

By Bert Schiller



With those words, a University of Michigan student helped rouse the townspeople of Northfield, Minnesota, to fend off an attempted robbery of their bank by the James-Younger gang in September 1876.

Jesse James and his henchmen figure in many books, 35 films and countless historical articles, but the failed robbery in Northfield is the most celebrated Western episode of banditry in American history; an entire movie, *The Great Northfield Minnesota Raid* (1972), is devoted to it. And one of the heroes of the day was U-M medical student Henry M. Wheeler. The events developed like this:

After a decade of train and bank robbery, most often met with little or no resistance, every law enforcement agency in the Missouri border region was hunting the gang, so its leaders Jesse James and Cole Younger decided to branch to the north. They selected the southern Minnesota town of Northfield's First National Bank, knowing that it kept at least \$200,000 in its safe.

## Eight mounted men wearing dusters

On Sept. 7, the gang's eight men rode into town astride fine horses and wearing handsome suits covered by the long cattle-buyers' coats known as dusters. The horsemen split into three groups. Three dismounted and entered



Henry M. Wheeler

Portraits courtesy of the Northfield Historical Society

the bank, Jesse, Bob Younger and Charley Pitts. Two, Cole Younger and Clell Miller, remained near the entrance. And Frank James, Jim Younger and William Stiles *aka* Bill Chadwell kept mounted at the far end of the street.

Even though no one had ever robbed Northfield's bank, the strangers' maneuvers alarmed the townspeople. One of them was 22-year-old Henry Mason Wheeler (1877 MD), who was home for summer vacation from medical studies in Ann Arbor, helping out in his father's drug store. According to a history published in 1895, *Robber and Hero: The Story of the Northfield Bank Raid*, by George Huntington, as the gang rode into town,

Wheeler was leaning back in a chair in front of the store, chatting with friends.

"Regarding the movements of the strangers as suspicious," Huntington wrote, Wheeler rose and "followed and watched them, and had already shouted an alarm when he was driven from the street at the point of a pistol."

## 'Get out of here, Dingus!'

When Clell Miller ordered Wheeler and passersby to leave the bank's entrance, some citizens approached the bank, brandishing firearms, shovels, picks and boards. Jesse and his sidekicks in the bank looked out, saw the defenders gathering and soon heard shooting break out. James jabbed his pistol into cashier Joseph Lee Heywood's ribs and ordered him to open the safe. Heywood said he couldn't and wouldn't. Suddenly, Cole Younger burst

through the door and said, "Forget that'n! Get the hell out of here, Dingus!"

Jesse knocked the cashier to the floor and made for the door, but that wasn't enough punishment for Charley Pitts, who fatally shot Heywood through the brain as the three robbers escaped to the street. Outside, a recent Swedish immigrant who didn't understand English was shot when he didn't promptly obey the outlaws' orders to flee. These were the town's only two fatalities.

As the battle raged on the street, Wheeler ran into the Dampier hotel that kept an old Civil War rifle on hand. He grabbed some ammunition, made his way to an upstairs window and took aim at the marauders.

## Wheeler's deadly aim

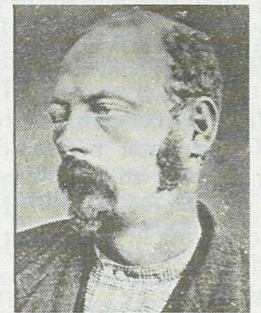
"How promptly he secured a weapon, and with what deadly execution he used it, has been duly related," the historian noted, for after an initial miss, Wheeler blasted Clell Miller out of the saddle with a mortal wound to the head. Wheeler fired again and drilled Bob Younger through the elbow.

*Had the gun been better and the ammunition more abundant, he would no doubt have given still more emphatic proof that a doctor may upon occasion make himself more useful in giving wounds than in healing them. One, at least, of those he gave that day was so far unprofessional as to leave no chance for the surgeon's services.*

(*Robber and Hero*, 1895)

Other Northfielders shot at the James gang as it zig-zagged on horseback down the street. The remnants of the gang finally rode out of town after a seven-minute gun battle. Stiles/Chadwell lay dying in the street. All three Youngers required medical attention. Pitts suffered wounds that would kill him within two weeks. Frank and Jesse James had only been winged.

*Continued on page 22*



Cole Younger

### Wheeler heads the posse

The aroused band of citizens chose young Wheeler to lead their hastily assembled posse, which abandoned the chase that evening once assured that the marauders no longer posed a threat to Northfield. But the story of Henry Wheeler and the James gang still wasn't over. Ever the enterprising medical student, and knowing that cadavers were hard to find, Wheeler and an accomplice went to the cemetery two days after the burial of Miller and Stiles, dug up the bodies and packed them in barrels for transport back to U-M Medical School. Although Wheeler had not received formal approval for using the cadavers, the town authorities looked the other way.

According to a story published in the *Michigan Alumnus*, "The bodies were kept in barrels, under water, until the reopening of school in Michigan. The barrels were labeled 'fresh paint' before being shipped to Ann Arbor." Later that fall, the family of Clell Miller showed up in Ann Arbor and demanded the body of their relative. Wheeler complied, but kept the other body for research and dissection.

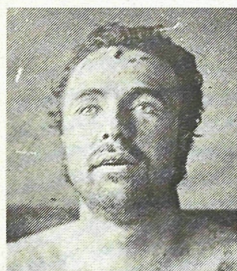
Most people are familiar with the rest of the story of the James and Younger brothers. Once clear of the posse, Jesse and Frank decided to split from the Youngers, whose wounds prevented further mounted travel. Pinkerton detectives surrounded the Youngers two weeks later in a swamp near Madelia, Minnesota. They surrendered, and each received a 25-year prison sentence.

Meanwhile, the Jameses slowly made their way to Nashville, lay low for three years, then resumed their criminal careers with a new gang. But one recruit was young outlaw-wannabe Bob Ford, who shot 34-year-old Jesse dead in 1882 for a \$10,000 bounty. Ford will forever be remembered as "the dirty little coward who shot Mr. Howard" (Jesse's alias) in St. Joseph, Missouri. Soon after, Frank James turned himself in, but no jury would convict him. He was acquitted of all crimes and lived until 1915, comforted by his passion for Shakespeare, Dickens, Keats, Byron, Hawthorne, Tennyson and the Bible.

### A surgeon, mayor and inventor

Henry Wheeler completed his studies at Michigan during the year after the Northfield raid, and in 1877 headed to Columbia University for further training. Then he returned to Northfield to marry his high school sweetheart, Adeline Murray, in 1878. She and her infant died in childbirth in 1880.

In mid 1881, Wheeler moved to Grand Forks, North Dakota, and became a prominent surgeon and tourist attraction there. At the age of 64, he was elected mayor for 1918-20.



Clell Miller



Joseph Lee Heywood

In his recent history *Faithful Unto Death* (2001), historian John Koblas quotes the following article from a Grand Forks newspaper reporter as evidence of Wheeler's lasting fame for his renowned gunplay:

*Doctor Wheeler is in danger of losing his reputation as a marksman and received many condolences yesterday over his poor aim. It was like this: A partridge looked down upon the doctor from the top of a telephone pole at the Union National Bank corner. The doctor gazed at the stray visitor and brought forth a howitzer from the depths of his hip pocket and blazed away. The bird looked at him with a surprised expression and the doctor fired another volley. The bird again looked*

*surprised and took wing and sailed away.*

Wheeler was 30 when he married his second wife, Josephine E. Connell of St. Cloud, Minnesota. She died in 1914 in the 30<sup>th</sup> year of their marriage. Eight years later, when he was 68, he married Ontario-born Mae M. McCulloch. They had a son in 1925, when the elder Wheeler was almost 72.

Wheeler was one of the most popular citizens of Grand Forks, and for more than his Northfield adventure. "He won the first organized car races there with his steam-powered 'locomobile,'" Koblas writes. And Wheeler's son, who died recently, said that despite his father's failure to hit the partridge with his handgun, he remained a sharpshooter with a rifle. "Mom said he would fill the backseat of a Cadillac before breakfast" with game, the junior Wheeler told Koblas.

Dr. Wheeler was also an inventor, Koblas says. He introduced a device for reharnessing horses in seconds rather than minutes and built a snow yacht for skimming the snowy plains, a vehicle that made the cover of *Scientific American*.

Wheeler died in 1930 at the age of 76, and his body was returned to Northfield for burial.

A traveler told Wheeler's hometown newspaper, the *Northfield News*, that he recalled passing through Grand Forks and seeing Wheeler's medical offices there. The traveler, A.D. Southworth, said Wheeler displayed a "bandit's skeleton" in his office "for educational purposes," and pointed out to visitors where the bullet had lodged in the dead man's spine. It is possible that it was the bandit Stiles's skeleton, but it wasn't the skeleton of the robber that Wheeler slew, since Clell Miller's corpse was returned to his parents before medical students could dissect it.

In any event, Wheeler told Southworth that when he returned to Ann Arbor to resume his studies, he had asked a U-M freshman to assist him in moving the cadaver into a lab. The curious youth asked where the body had come from, and Wheeler replied, "I shot him on the street when

I was home in Northfield." Whereupon, according to Wheeler's yarn, the young man withdrew from the University.

The *Northfield News* on another occasion asked Wheeler if he ever regretted killing a member of the James-Younger gang.

"Poppycock!" Wheeler told the reporter. "The man got what he deserved! By serving as my cadaver, he served a much higher purpose than he would have had he lived."

MT

Freelance writer Bert Schiller '69 of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, is an environmental consultant and a history buff.

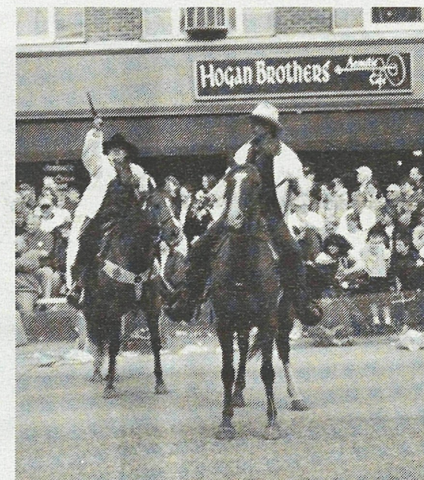


Photo by Bert Schiller

Since 1948, Northfielders have annually reenacted the famous raid and honored the residents who defended their town against the James-Younger Gang.



Over the weekend after Labor Day, the town of Northfield's Defeat of Jesse James Days Committee annually celebrates the bank raid. The featured event is a full-scale reenactment of the raid. Other events include a rodeo, truck-pull, arts and crafts show, biking, foot racing, dancing, amusement rides and professional entertainment. Information on this year's events Sept. 6-8 can be obtained at [www.defeatofjessejamesdays.org](http://www.defeatofjessejamesdays.org) or by writing to Defeat of Jesse James Days, PO Box 23, Northfield, MN 55057.

# How the automatic swim timer cleared the deck at the pool

By Jeff Mortimer

It all started when some Flounders had lunch one day in 1953.

They weren't the kind you get at the fish market, but faculty members who belonged to the water polo club of that name that was founded in 1926 and is still going strong today. Many of these professors also officiated at swimming meets, and they were lamenting the state of that particular art.

"The deck was just a mess in the days before automatic timing," says Bill Parkinson '40, '48 PhD, then an assistant and now an emeritus professor of physics and the man who wound up solving the problem. "They had two judges per lane, so in a six-lane pool there were 12 judges, and three timers per lane, so that's another 18. In addition, they had a starter, a referee, and a turn judge, so the deck was just jammed with people."

Crowded, yes, but also inefficient. "The judging and the timing were terrible," Parkinson recalls. "A swimmer could touch under water or above, or could make a brush touch, and there was also a lot of splash, so the results of the judging were not always clear-cut. And the timing was worse. It varied as much as three-tenths of a second among three watches on a lane. In three-tenths of a second, a swimmer can move two or three feet."

## A Polish attempt in 1926

Another of the lunching Flounders, Clark Hopkins, a professor of classical archaeology turned to Parkinson and said, "The last attempt to make an automatic judging system was by an engineer in Poland in 1926. He wasn't successful. Why don't you try it? I bet you can't make a system that works."

"That was enough of a challenge," says Parkinson, who set about meeting it, when he could spare time from his duties as teacher, researcher and head of the University's cyclotron laboratory.

The principal technical problem was the design of the plate a swimmer would touch to stop the timer. "What you needed at the end of the pool was an insulated switch—pool water has very high conductivity—which the swimmer would close when he touched the pad," Parkinson says. "It had to be very sensitive, so that a swimmer could come in and make a very light brush on it and still close the switch. At the same time, it couldn't respond to splashes and waves. It also had to be sensitive above and below



Canham, Parkinson and Stager in the Canham Natatorium.

water and across the width of the lane. That was the key to the whole thing—making those plates that would respond."

What Parkinson finally devised, briefly put, was a rubber pad filled with a special silicone oil, called DC-200, into which copper wires were sewn. "I probably looked up the properties of various oils in a catalog or handbook," Parkinson says, "although I really don't remember. DC-200 has excellent insulating properties; it doesn't interact with the rubber, and its density is slightly less than that of water, which allows the top portion of the plate to be above the surface of the pool."

The rubber provided insulation, the wires transmitted the information to the timing device, and the oil had the requisite density to respond to touches but not to the action of water. "It was solving the contact plate problem that prevented such a system from being developed much earlier," he says. "Once you have the plate, the electronics is trivial, it really is."

He and a few other Flounders wangled \$500 out of Athletic Director Fritz Crisler to buy some supplies and pay a couple of Parkinson's lab assistants to build the prototype after hours. Parkinson also gave his wife, Martha, a sewing machine for Christmas that could stitch the copper wire into the pad in the requisite zigzag pattern.

First they made one big plate, just to see if the idea would work at all. It did. Then they made six plates, one for each lane, and started using them in Michigan varsity dual meets in 1957. The system's challenges became more sociological than technical, and acceptance was slow in coming. Although Gus Stager, the Wolverines' men's swimming coach from 1954 to 1979, was a staunch ally, most of his colleagues were resistant to change in general, and this one in particular.

## Olympic snafu turned the tide

Until 1960, when a controversy at the Rome Olympics turned the tide, so to speak. Stager was the coach of the US swimming team and watched with dismay as the gold medal in the 100-meter freestyle was awarded to Australia's John Devitt over an American, Lance Larson.

"The films showed Larson winning," Stager says, "but the judges saw

it the other way, and the timer saw it the other way, so that's the way it went. Of course, that became a real issue here in the United States. I think everybody realized there was a need for a better system. That was the straw that broke the camel's back. There wasn't any debate or anything. It just went ahead."

Parkinson's gear was used for the Michigan high school Class A championship meet in 1961, the same year he filed for its first patent. Early in 1962, the National Collegiate Athletic Association approved its use "for all swimming events for which it is available."

Around the same time, Parkinson, Crisler and Stager met with the head of a New Jersey firm called Swim Training Supply that was interested in manufacturing the system.

"The standard royalty at that time was 5%," Parkinson says. "I was sitting next to Fritz, and he leaned over and said, sort of *sotto voce*, 'I think we ought to hold out for 10%, don't you?' So it was 10%. Back then, we never thought of patenting our research, so I signed over the patent and all the royalties to the athletic department."

The patent was finally awarded in 1966. "When you filed for a patent in those days, you protected it by delaying as long as you could in having it issued," Parkinson says. His recollection is that by the time it expired in 1983, the athletic department had realized about \$38,000 in royalties. But by that time, other companies, principally one called Colorado Timing, were producing automatic equipment that varied just enough from Parkinson's design to muddy the legal waters.

"They came along and took Bill's invention and copied some of it but improved on it," says Don Canham, who succeeded Crisler as athletic director in 1968. "That's what happens. There probably was patent infringement. I talked to the University lawyers and, in fact, to Bill, but what it amounted to is nobody wanted to go to court. The company just had so much more money to operate with than the guy the University licensed."

Besides, adds Stager, "It wasn't that much of an income for the athletic department."

Canham still can't help wondering how it might have worked out differently. "If Bill had been a better businessman or had more time, or if I had been in on it from the beginning, I would have made sure he did it differently," he says. "I was a marketer and I understood patents, but I got in on it after it had already been developed."

Parkinson's only financial regret, he says, is that "the royalties were supposed to go to the swimming program but Fritz just put them into the athletic budget. I don't think swimming benefited at all."

Except, of course, for a permanent and dramatic improvement in how races were decided and times recorded. Think how much better the judging at the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics might have been if Parkinson had been a figure skater!

MT

Jeff Mortimer is an Ann Arbor freelancer.

# PICASSO'S WAR

By Shiri Revital Bilik

In early 1937, with the Spanish Civil War well under way, Pablo Picasso set to work on a series of cartoon-like panels called "The Dream and Lie of Franco." Picasso depicted the fascist general Francisco Franco, who often portrayed himself as the savior of Spanish culture and society, as a "polyp," or cancerous growth.

Visitors to the U-M Museum of Art's upcoming show, *Picasso: Masterworks from the Collection* will get a rare look at the Franco-polyp as he appears in both of the "Dream and Lie" prints. They are among 31 pieces spanning Picasso's career from 1905 to 1968. UMMA will display them in the museum's apse and lower level from June 8 - Sept. 15.

Sean Ulmer, UMMA's curator of modern and contemporary art, and the Picasso show's curator, says the last few panels of "Dream and Lie" can be seen "inherently linked to Picasso's famous 'Guernica,'" the 1937 masterpiece commemorating the bombing of a city in Picasso's native Basque country by Nazi planes under the order of Franco. "One can see the parallels in the figures of the women who look heavenward, crying out in anguish at the horrors of the bombing," Ulmer notes.

Until the Spanish Civil War period, Picasso's politics tended toward neutrality, Ulmer says, but in pieces like "Dream and Lie" he was beginning to make bold statements about the looming specter of fascism spreading across Europe.

The pieces were originally designed as small prints to be sold at the Paris World Fair to raise money for the Spanish Republican cause. At the time of the fair, the Republicans, who were fighting for democratic rule, were exiled from Spain by Franco's troops.

According to the artist Françoise Gilot, Picasso's former lover and the inspiration of much of his portraiture work, "Dream and Lie" was Picasso's way of siding with democracy. "The pieces were not distributed very broadly," she says. "They were meant to vent his spleen, so



PICASSO THE POET

Picasso also titled a poem "The Dream and Lie of Franco" and meant it to accompany the piece. According to UMMA curator Sean Ulmer, it is as unpredictable and lively as the art itself. It begins:

*fandango of shivering owls souse of swords of evil-omened polyps scouring brush of hairs from priests' tonsures standing naked in the middle of the frying-pan—placed upon the ice cream cone of codfish fried in the scabs of his lead-ox heart— his mouth full of the chinch-bug jelly of his words ....*

And ends:  
*...cries of children cries of women cries of birds cries of flowers cries of timbers and of stones cries of bricks cries of furniture of beds of chairs of curtains of pots of cats and of papers cries of odors which claw at one another cries of smoke pricking the shoulder of the cries which stew in the cauldron and of the rain of birds which inundates the sea which gnaws the bone and breaks its teeth biting the cotton wool which the sun mops up from the plate which the purse and the pocket hide in the print which the foot leaves in the rock.*

(Reprinted from Rubin, *Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art*, 1972.)

Pablo Picasso, 'The Dream and Lie of Franco' (reversed in original), Plate 2, 1937, aquatint and etching, edition size 850, Museum Purchase.

that he could say what he had to say."

Unlike the dark and anguished "Guernica," the "Dream and Lie" series has elements of caricature and theatrics, typifying Picasso's unconventional portrayal of war.

Picasso's somewhat flexible relationship with the politics of the time echoed his complex rendering of the civil war. The Nazis classified him as a "degenerate Bolshevik" while he was living in occupied Paris during World War II. They kept his work out of the public eye except for one minor show between 1939-1945. Yet Picasso accepted patronage from Hitler's favorite sculptor, Arno Breker, and unlike some of his intellectual colleagues who were executed and exiled, Picasso did not make outward displays of resistance.

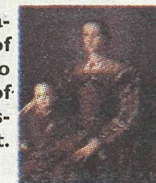
In the UMMA's "Dream and Lie" prints, however, which he completed before most of the genocidal crimes of WWII had occurred, Picasso's disdain for fascism had not yet

given way to cynicism. "The figures have an extraordinarily lively quality, communicated through his manipulation of line," Ulmer says. "The work is full of energy and excitement."

The exhibition's drawings, prints and oil paintings are drawn principally from the UMMA collection, "one of the few, if not the only, university collections with this kind of depth in its Picasso holdings," Ulmer says. "And this project will mark the first time such a large body of these works have been shown together." **MT**

Shiri Revital Bilik '02 is Michigan Today's 2001-02 intern.

Last issue we mistakenly published 'Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I' by or after George Gower (1540-1596) instead of 'Eleonora of Toledo and her son,' circa 1545, by Agnolo Bronzino (1503-1572), on loan from the Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Mrs. Ralph Harman Booth in memory of her husband, Ralph Harman Booth. The correct portrait is at right. Photograph © 1994 DIA.



## Michigan Today

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