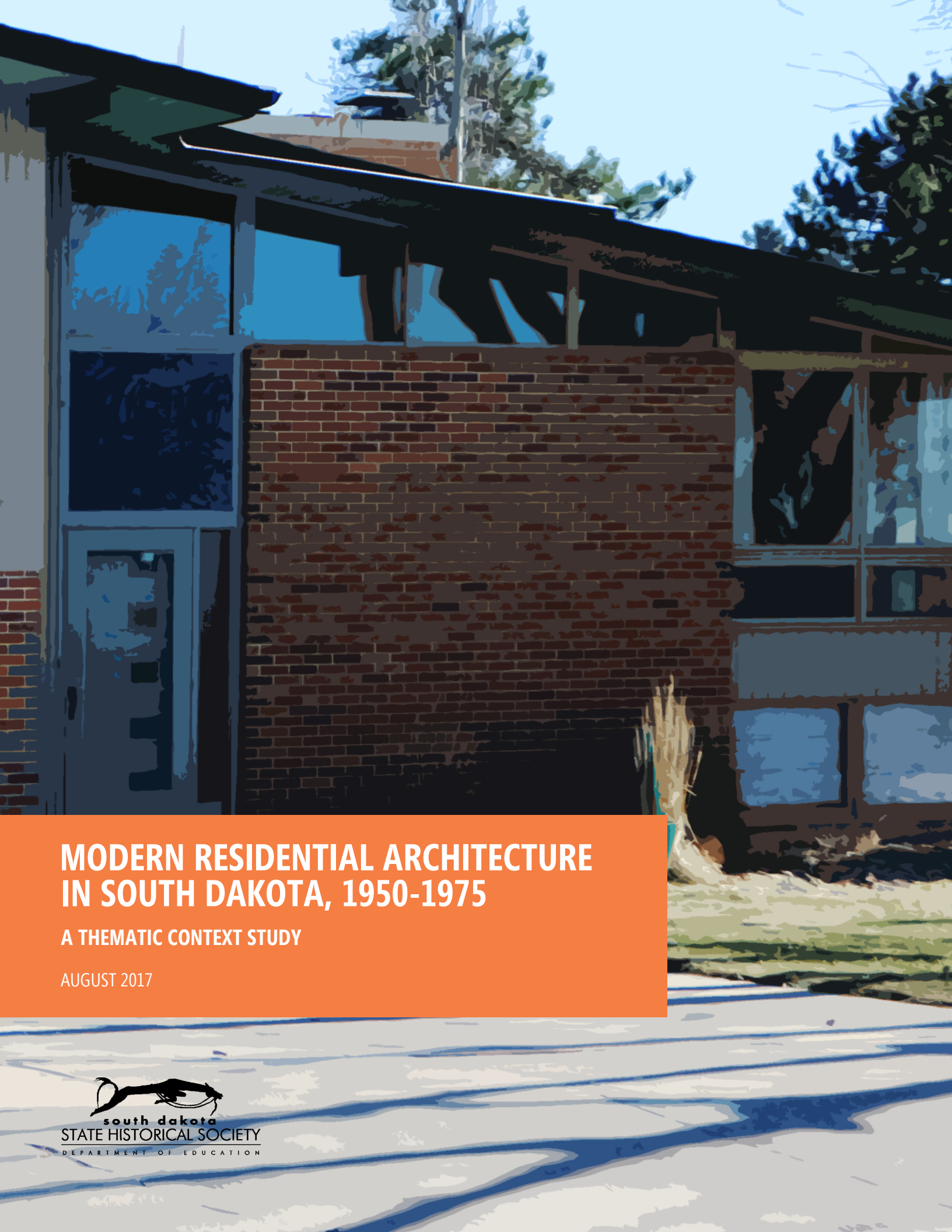

MODERN RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 1950-1975

A THEMATIC CONTEXT STUDY

AUGUST 2017

south dakota
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

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Prepared for

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

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ACRONYMS

AFB	Air Force Base
APE	Area of Potential Effects
APT	Association for Preservation Technology
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BTHL	Building Technical Heritage Library
CLG	Certified Local Government
CRA	Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc.
CRGRID	Cultural Resource Geographic Research Information Database
DWU	Dakota Wesleyan University
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
FHLB	Federal Home Loan Bank
FmHA	Farmers Housing Administration
GIS	Geographic Information System
HOLC	Home Owners' Loan Corporation
HUD	U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development
IDEA	South Dakota Industrial Development and Expansion Agency
MPDF	Multiple Property Documentation Form
NAHB	National Association of Home Builders
NAPC	National Alliance of Preservation Commissions
NHA	National Housing Act
NHPA	National Historic Preservation Act
NPS	National Park Service
NRB	Natural Resources Board
NRHP	National Register of Historic Places
PWA	Public Works Administration
REA	Rural Electrification Administration
RFC	Reconstruction Finance Corporation
SCS	Soil Conservation Service
SDCL	South Dakota Codified Law
SDCRC	South Dakota Civil Rights Council
SDHDA	South Dakota Housing Development Authority

SDREA	South Dakota Rural Electric Association
SDSU	South Dakota State University
SHPO	State Historic Preservation Office
ULI	Urban Land Institute
USACE	United States Army Corps of Engineers
USCB	United States Census Bureau
USD	University of South Dakota
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
USDOT	United States Department of Transportation
USGS	United States Geological Society
USHA	United States Housing Authority
USRS	United States Reclamation Service
VA	United States Veterans Administration
VEHP	Veterans Emergency Housing Program
WPA	Works Progress Administration

1 | BACKGROUND INFORMATION

I. Introduction

II. Project Methodology

I. INTRODUCTION

In the years following World War II, South Dakota experienced a series of economic and cultural shifts that intersected with a period of population growth and dynamic change in the state's urban and rural sectors. In between, an improved network of interstates and municipal roads connected the state, influencing trends of community growth and investment in the modern era. Such trends in turn impacted modern settlement and residential development patterns throughout South Dakota. As the state's homebuilding industry grew rapidly in the post-war period, established regional centers of Sioux Falls and Rapid City and their suburbs benefited precipitously—as did secondary markets such as Pierre, Aberdeen, Huron, and Mitchell—while South Dakota's substantial agricultural sector also witnessed considerable, if uneven, change. The result was a landscape that chronicled a dynamic period of residential growth.

These same resources now exist as a substantial part of a rich and varied state history. Much like their traditional counterparts, dwellings of this period now contribute to the distinctive architectural and historical legacy of our communities. Yet, most residential architecture from the period has largely gone unrecognized or without study by the preservation community, leaving a void in our understanding of how such resources fit into larger patterns that mark the state's history. This document, **Modern Residential Architecture in South Dakota, 1950-1975**, is the first effort to comprehensively address the state's residential development during the modern era, complementing studies previously commissioned by the South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), such as **Post-World War II Architecture in South Dakota**, completed in 2007.

Begun in June 2016, this study was prepared by Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc. (CRA) on behalf of the SHPO to promote a fuller discussion regarding the state's recent residential heritage. Although primarily designed to provide guidance to the SHPO—particularly as it relates to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and South Dakota Codified Law (SDCL) 1-19A-11.1—the information presented herein also may be applied to decision-making, planning, and preservation efforts at the local level. More broadly, the study—by placing what may still be a fresh memory to many people within context—helps us as living, functioning communities understand how our recent history stems from earlier patterns.

In total, the historic context helps us to build an ethic of understanding of residential resources from the modern era and more appropriately consider them as part of preservation planning practices. The context also supports the goals of the SHPO's **Statewide Preservation Plan, 2016-2020** to further the identification, registration, and protection of historic properties and to support local, state, and Federal project partners in planning for significant resources. With this, it should be noted that this study is a starting point or the initial effort of a continual process to be refined, modified, and added to as practitioners from throughout South Dakota continue to understand, identify, and evaluate residential resources from the modern era.

A. PURPOSE AND NEED

The National Park Service (NPS) states that "the significance of a historic property can be judged and explained only when it is evaluated within its historic context."[1] Historic contexts—through an analysis of broad patterns, themes, and events that have played a significant role in shaping a particular region or type of development—help interested parties understand a property as a product of its own time. This helps eliminate the perception that resources exist in a vacuum and promotes a fuller understanding of resources as part of larger trends. Put simply, contexts help convey the potential significance of a particular place as it relates to a community's heritage.

This particular study is essential in bridging a gap in the understanding of a substantial portion of South Dakota's built environment—residential architecture constructed between 1950 and 1975. This architecture has yet to be fully discussed within broader trends of the period, with existing narratives limited to brief entries in county survey updates and **Post World War II Architecture in South Dakota**—which by design only limitedly addressed each type of development in the state—or specialized topics discussed in documents such as the **Indian Housing in South Dakota** context study and the **Lustron Houses in South Dakota** Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPDF). Beyond such documents, the state's recent residential history has been discussed only sparingly as part of local histories, which are often commemorative texts that only briefly highlight developments from the modern era. As such, the role of modern residential architecture in South Dakota has largely been untold.

The lack of existing discussion of this period's residential architecture is particularly striking when one realizes that the number of residential resources constructed between 1950 and 1975 represents more than 20% of South Dakota's entire residential building stock. While this architecture contributes to a continuity of heritage and sense of place, much of it is not yet deemed "historic" by the 50-year consideration often applied to preservation planning efforts. Other examples are often considered subpar when viewed against more traditional (older) counterparts. As such, little has been documented, although countywide survey updates are increasingly picking up select resources dating into the mid-1960s. Moreover, of the more than 1,300 National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) listings in South Dakota, less than a dozen represent residential resources constructed between 1950 and 1975.[2]

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[1] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1997), 7.

[2] Of the 10 residential NRHP listings in South Dakota with a construction date between 1950 and 1975, 8 of the listings are associated with the *Lustron Houses in South Dakota* MPDF; the remaining listings include a residence in Vermillion and a residence in Rapid City. Data is based on a review of the NRHP database maintained by the NPS, accessed February 2017, and available at https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/BasicSearch/.

Figure 1 | Lustron District, Mitchell, South Dakota. National Register of Historic Places file photograph.

Intended to help overcome the limitations of existing discussions, this study is designed to assist the SHPO in evaluating the potential significance of mid-twentieth century residential architecture throughout the state. More specifically, the goal of this study is to meet the SHPO's need to:

- Understand the broad history of modern residential development in South Dakota within the framework of a thematic narrative;
- Define and document the relationship of modern architectural trends and the state's residential built environment;
- Begin to develop a catalog of architects, developers, and others entities involved in the housing industry during the period; and
- Map out a program for integrating such efforts into its work program, including compliance review.

B. OBJECTIVES

This historic context study was developed with the desire to further the goals and responsibilities of the SHPO in six primary areas:

- **EXPAND UPON RECENT DEVELOPMENT TRENDS**

  Developing a broader understanding of modern residential architecture complements existing information presented in developmental histories, context studies, and historic resource surveys. This also helps the SHPO cultivate an understanding of how mid-twentieth century residential architecture contributes to the continuation of the state's heritage and identity.

- **IDENTIFY AND ENHANCE THE STATUS OF RECENT RESOURCES**

  Modern architectural resources are often viewed as substandard when compared against earlier counterparts. Establishing a specialized context for residential resources from the modern era allows professionals to more fully understand, identify, and evaluate which resources are significant and representative of South Dakota's development from the period.

- **IMPROVE SHPO'S ABILITY TO ENGAGE IN REGULATORY REVIEW**

  This study establishes a basis for evaluating historic resources as part of project and compliance review, that is, Section 106 of the NHPA and State law under SDCL 1-19A-11.1. This is particularly useful in consideration of reviews in or near urban and suburban areas where a project's area of potential effects (APE) is likely to encompass mid-twentieth century residential resources.

- **PROVIDE BETTER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO MUNICIPALITIES**

  This study enhances the SHPO's ability to respond to general information requests, make individual site and district recommendations for survey updates, respond to proposed NRHP listings, and provide technical assistance and expertise in revitalization and rehabilitation efforts as they relate to residential resources from the period of study.

- **IDENTIFY AREAS FOR FUTURE STUDY AND ANALYSIS**

  While this study addresses a deficiency in current understanding of the recent built environment, it places a particular emphasis on private, single-family construction of the period. As information is refined and additional areas of interest are identified, this study provides a basis for addressing additional trends and community-specific contexts that may be worthy of their own study.

- **DEVELOP EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS**

  The material resulting from this study can also be used as a baseline to help build a culture of understanding for residential resources from the modern era. Such information can be used to complement the SHPO's strong public outreach and educational programs, including writing articles, holding workshops and lectures, and creating guidebooks and thematic tours, among other things.

C. REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

A primarily goal of this study is to facilitate the SHPO's ability to evaluate the NRHP eligibility of residential resources constructed between 1950 and 1975 as part of the agency's regulatory responsibilities by providing a framework for the consistent assessment of significance in consideration of the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation. Such responsibilities include project review under Section 106 of the NHPA, which requires Federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties (those listed in or eligible for listing in the NRHP). The SHPO plays a critical role in the Section 106 process by assisting Federal agencies in carrying out their responsibilities and providing feedback on proposed project plans and their potential to affect historic properties. The SHPO also has regulatory responsibility under SDCL 1-19A-11.1 to comment on projects with the potential to damage, destroy, or encroach on properties listed in the State or National Register of Historic Places.

D. GEOGRAPHIC LIMITS

The spatial boundary of a context study defines its geographic limits. This context study encompasses the entirety of South Dakota, inclusive of rural, urban, and suburban locations. While much of the state's residential architecture of the period was centralized in major population centers of Rapid City and Sioux Falls—as well as secondary markets such as Aberdeen, Mitchell, Vermillion, and Brookings, for example—residential development also had a dramatic impact on rural areas, which continued to comprise the largest land area. Thus, this study identifies and assesses the trends that affected continued settlement and residential development of all areas of the state, regardless of their character.

E. TEMPORAL LIMITS

The temporal limits of a context study establish the dates that it covers. This study focuses on residential development patterns starting in 1950 and ending in 1975, although significant trends of the 1930s and 1940s that impacted development during this period are also discussed as part of the study.

The selected dates provide an appropriate period within which to discuss prominent trends of the era. The date of 1950 marks the transition from the readjustment period

following World War II to a state of returned normalcy, during which communities across the state began to respond to changing demographics and cultural and economic conditions. While many studies utilize a 50-year cutoff date in consideration of the threshold typically used in considering the NRHP eligibility of resources, this study extends to the date of 1975 to provide longevity in the findings. This date also coincides with substantial changes in community planning in South Dakota, evidenced in the establishment of Model Rural Development programs and the origination of coordinated planning districts through which regional problems would be addressed during the late twentieth century.

II. PROJECT METHODOLOGY

The research, field investigations, and development of this study were completed between June 2016 and August 2017 by CRA on behalf of the SHPO. Elizabeth Almlie, Historic Preservation Specialist, served as the project coordinator for the SHPO. Alan Higgins served as the project lead for CRA. Elizabeth Heavrin and Holly Higgins also contributed to the preparation of this study, with support services provided by CRA's Geographic Information System (GIS) personnel. The study was prepared using an approach based on professional standards established by the NPS.

A. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Archival research for this project was directed at two primarily goals—analyzing the historic trends that influenced why South Dakota's residential development evolved in the way that it did and identifying how those historic trends are reflected in the built environment of the state. In addressing the former, it was critical to understand the social, cultural, economic, and political influences that affected the decisions of the state's residents and where they chose to live and work.

Informed by discussions with the SHPO, CRA undertook research of both primary and secondary resources, which unveiled broad themes related to the growth and development of South Dakota during the period. The goal of the research was not to collect every piece of documentation available but to gather a variety of materials that reflect a cross-section of the influences that affected residential development from the period 1950 to 1975. Research began with a review of information available in the files of the SHPO, which included previously completed contexts and preliminary data gathered on architects, housing, and neighborhoods of the period. This review was followed by research in state repositories in Pierre, including the State Library of South Dakota and the State Archives of the South Dakota State Historical Society. Here, regional publications and histories, research publications by universities, municipal publications and community plans, and other such documents were reviewed. Research in Pierre was complemented by regional research at repositories such as the I.D. Weeks Library at the University of South Dakota (USD) and the Hilton M. Briggs Library at South Dakota State University (SDSU), where community histories, municipal publications, trade publications, and archival materials were collected.

Complementing the research collected at state and regional repositories, CRA also completed a review of relevant United States Census Bureau (USCB) and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) records, business indexes, city directories, and other such resources that allowed for a fuller understanding of the period's trends. CRA also undertook a thorough but systematic review of selected newspapers from the era. A system of keywords was established for which newspapers were searched. The information collected during this search was catalogued in an electronic database.

The second phase of research was more specifically focused on addressing the architectural trends that influenced the design of dwellings during the period. This included research into the evolution or emergence of particular property types, architectural styles, and building forms and shifts in geographic patterns over time. Historic maps, photographs, and assessor records were reviewed, as was information recorded in the South Dakota Cultural Resource Geographic Research Information Display (CRGRID). Research also included a review of select trade journals and popular publications from the period—such as *Architectural Record* and *House & Home*—to identify broad trends of the period and also to locate any specific references to the housing industry in South Dakota.

It should be noted that two changes were made to the state's county structure after the period of study: Washabaugh County was merged into Jackson County in 1979 and Shannon County was renamed Oglala Lakota County in 1915. However, in reference to source materials, the original names are used when discussing trends of the period.

B. FIELD METHODOLOGY

While the project did not include a formal survey component, CRA completed limited field reconnaissance of selected communities in order to verify and enhance the information collected during the research phase. The reconnaissance was directed at meeting two needs—identifying residential property types, building forms, and architectural styles from the period and facilitating the development of registration requirements and integrity thresholds, grounded in practical application.

The reconnaissance included abbreviated windshield survey of scattered individual resources and neighborhoods representing a cross-section of development patterns. Since a formal survey was not included as part of the project, CRA did not complete SHPO inventory forms. CRA marked each selected site on a United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographic quadrangle map and high-resolution aerial for record-keeping purposes. CRA photographed selected properties and completed limited research, including review of assessment records, subdivision plats, and newspaper articles to develop a basic understanding of each site's context, but full archival research into potential associations of individual places and neighborhoods was not undertaken. Information collected during the reconnaissance was organized into GIS shapefiles and catalogued in table format for record-keeping purposes.

C. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

In association with the research phase of the project, CRA—in coordination with the SHPO—developed an information request that was distributed to knowledgeable persons and historic preservation, planning, and architecture professionals in South Dakota. This included representatives of Certified Local Government (CLG) communities, local historical societies, architecture firms, real estate and housing boards, and

university architecture programs. The intent of the information request was to provide the public an opportunity to comment on the study; seek information regarding the state's development from knowledgeable persons throughout the state; identify research resources known to be useful to the period of study; and allow the public an opportunity to comment on particular residential resources within their communities that may be worthy of research or documentation as part of the study. The information request distributed as part of this project is included as Appendix A.

D. LIMITATIONS

Although a substantial amount of information was reviewed in preparing this study, the investigation was limited by the availability (or lack thereof) of source material directly addressing housing trends of the period. While a variety of late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century publications address the mid-twentieth century history of South Dakota in broad terms, most texts are limited to discussion of general economic or political trends, with particular focus on how the state's rural areas evolved during the period. Few publications substantially address residential construction or otherwise comment on the intersection of population distribution and housing trends. Specific discussions of the period's housing trends are limited largely to records of the USCB and agencies such as the FHA and newspaper accounts from the state's regional centers.

E. DOCUMENT ORGANIZATION

This study is divided into seven sections that help coordinate discussion:

1. **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

   This section includes a project introduction that explains the rationale and objectives for the study. It also presents a summary of the research and field methodology.

2. **DEVELOPMENTAL CONTEXT**

   The developmental context describes the social, cultural, and economic trends that directly and indirectly influenced population patterns and where residential development occurred in South Dakota. Discussion is arranged more or less chronologically according to a broad set of associated patterns, but the breadth of the subject matter results in some overlap between discussions.

3. **ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT**

   The architectural context describes evolutions in the homebuilding industry that influenced the housing choices South Dakota's citizens had at midcentury. Specific examples referred to in this section are included solely to illustrate characteristics of the period and do not

necessarily reflect the significance of a particular resource. Likewise, exclusion from the study is not intended to diminish the significance of any individual resource or person.

4. IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION

This section presents tools for identifying and evaluating residential resources of the period within the framework of the NRHP, including a discussion of associated property types, registration requirements, and integrity thresholds.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

This section provides recommendations for how information from the study can be further integrated into the work program of the SHPO and its project partners. It also provides suggestions for additional topics to be researched in the future.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography presents materials identified and used during this study, with notations on select resources and repositories visited.

7. APPENDICES

This section includes additional information that complements the discussion presented in the body of the document.

2 | DEVELOPMENTAL CONTEXT

III. Planning for the Future, 1950-1965

IV. A Changing Society, 1950-1965

V. Patterns of Development, 1955-1970

VI. Confronting Change, 1965-1975

III. PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE, 1950-1965

A. THE LASTING IMPACT OF THE FHA

Federal housing policies that would significantly influence residential development throughout the United States and in South Dakota between 1950 and 1975 were rooted in the government's response to the Great Depression. Evolving out of two years of planning by the Hoover administration and industry professionals, the Federal Home Loan Bank Act of 1932 was the first piece of substantial legislation addressing the outfall of the housing industry in the wake of the economic crash of 1929. Intended to provide a stable footing for the housing industry, the act established a system of reserve banks under the Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLB Board), authorized to lend up to $125 million in low-interest loans to savings and loan companies.[3] While the act failed to create any lasting relief for the housing industry, it would influence the financing of millions of mid-twentieth century homes. Specifically, in evaluating policy for the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), leaders of the FHLB Board took a cue from private industry, which was transitioning to a system of fully-amortized mortgages. In contrast to the high-interest, short-term loans of the past, these mortgages allowed for regular monthly payments structured so that by the end of the loan term, the loan was completely paid off. Convinced of the solvency of a plan based on such mortgages, the FHLB Board mandated their use for all federally-chartered institutions after 1933.[4]

This financing structure would become the backbone of housing legislation under Hoover's successor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Seeking to build on past successes of the Hoover administration—chiefly the support of low-interest, fully-amortized mortgages—while overcoming the shortcomings of previous efforts that had relied heavily on private markets and failed to spark recovery in the residential construction industry, the Roosevelt administration's efforts were codified in the National Housing Act (NHA), passed on June 27, 1934.[5] Intended to "encourage improvement in housing standards and conditions, to provide a system of mutual mortgage insurance, and for other purposes," the NHA would fundamentally transform the concept of

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[3] David L. Mason, *From Buildings and Loans to Bail-Outs: A History of the American Savings and Loan Industry, 1831-1995* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 85-87.

[4] Ibid., 91-93; Susan Hoffman, *Politics and Banking: Ideas, Public Policy, and the Creation of Financial Institutions* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 156-158; David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland, *National Register Bulletin 46: Historic Residential Suburbs, Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2002), 31; Susan M. Hoffmann and Mark K. Cassell, *Mission Expansion in the Federal Home Loan Bank System* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2010), 53-54.

[5] 73rd U.S. Congress, Act of June 27, 1934, Public Law Number 479, 48 STAT 1426; U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary, 1934-1959* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1959); Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 31.

homeownership from an experience for a minority of established Americans with proven financial means to a readily-achievable goal to be experienced by all.[6] This transition was facilitated by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), authorized to provide federal insurance for mortgages—as well as home improvement loans—held by private financial institutions. While the government took on substantial risk through this arrangement, it protected lenders against potential losses from foreclosure, providing private markets with the confidence needed to again invest in residential mortgages despite the financial losses of previous years.[7]

The FHA also transformed home financing and construction industries through the standardization of lending requirements and development standards that protected the stability of home and neighborhood values.[8] Under the NHA, the Title I program guaranteed home improvement loans on single-family dwellings up to $2,500 for a 3-year term. Improvement loans on multi-family dwellings were guaranteed up to $10,000 for a 7-year term. Under the Title II program, the FHA insured mortgages on home purchases for up to 80 percent of the property value, with a maximum loan of $16,000.[9] FHA loans required a 20 percent down payment and regular monthly installments, amortized over a 20-year period. In 1938, Title II was amended to allow the FHA to insure loans with a lower down payment and an amortization period of 25 years. The amendment also relaxed credit rating evaluations and initiated the FHA's "small-house" program, providing insurance on moderately-priced new single-family residences up to $5,400 at 90 percent of a property's value.[10] The FHA also provided "production

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[6] 73rd U.S. Congress, Act of June 27, 1934, Public Law Number 479, 48 STAT 1426; Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (Washington, D.C.: Beard Books, 2002), 144-146.

[7] In support of the mortgage insurance guaranteed by the FHA, borrowers on FHA-insured mortgages paid a premium of one-half percent on top of the standard rate paid to the lender; this premium was secured in a reserve fund that indemnified lenders and allowed the FHA to be, in part, a self-supporting entity. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 145; Mason, *From Buildings and Loans to Bail-outs*, 116; Barry Checkoway, "Large Builders, Federal Housing Programmes, and Postwar Suburbanization," *in International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 4 (March 1980), 21-45; Milton Semer, Julian H. Zimmerman, Ashley Foord, and John M. Frantz, "Evolution of Federal Legislative Policy in Housing: Housing Credits," in J. Paul Mitchell, ed., *Federal Housing Programs: Past and Present* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Center for Urban Policy and Research, 1985), 69-106.

[8] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 203.

[9] U.S. Congress, *Housing in America: Its Present Status and Future Implications, A Factual Analysis of Testimony and States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948), 64-65.

[10] Mason, *From Buildings and Loans to Bail-outs*, 116; Eugene N. White, Kenneth Snowden, and Price Fishback, eds., *Housing and Mortgage Markets in Historical Perspective* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 20 and 51; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 216; Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 31 and 61-62.

Figure 2 | "Save Money—Repair Now" Advertisement
The Argus Leader (Sioux Falls) 25 November 1934.

Advertisements such as this were placed in newspapers across the state as builders and trade industries looked to capitalize on FHA financing for home improvement projects.

advances" to developers to buy land and build subdivisions so long as the development conformed to FHA standards and home buyers would qualify for FHA mortgages. This made it substantially more profitable for a developer to fully develop a subdivision instead of simply subdividing the lots and offering them for sale.[11] A final incentive, Section 207, provided for insured mortgages on low-income rental housing managed by federal or state agencies or certain types of corporations.[12]

Under the umbrella of the FHA's program, the home industry began to rebound. During the FHA's first full year of operation (1935), the agency provided insurance on approximately $319 million in investments, including $223 million in Title I (home improvement) loans and $170 million on Title II mortgages, including $60 million on new construction.[13] By the end of 1935, more than 1,150 FHA-insured modernization (home improvement) loans had been issued in South Dakota at an investment of more than $489,000. More than 200 mortgages were provided that same year, including on 44 new residences. By 1938, the more than 1,110 mortgages had been insured in South Dakota. A considerable number of these were for new construction (337), although the majority of mortgages were still for existing homes (779). The cumulative investment

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[11] Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1981), 248; Joseph B. Mason, *History of Housing in the U.S., 1930-1980* (Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1982), 13-15; Checkoway, "Large Builders, Federal Housing Programmes, and Postwar Suburbanization"; Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 238.

[12] Semer, et al., "Evolution of Federal Legislative Policy in Housing: Housing Credits."

[13] U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Third Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 28-29; U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Fourth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 8; Leo Grebler, David M. Blank, and Louis Winnick, *Capital Formation in Residential Real Estate: Trends and Prospects* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1956), 332-333.

through 1938 for FHA-insured mortgages was over $3 million. By the end of the decade, the cumulative amount of mortgages issued in the state increased to over $4.4 million, representing 1,550 mortgages. Of this total, 497 mortgages were assigned to new homes and 1,053 to existing homes (Table 1).[14] While these numbers pale in comparison to the 95,334 FHA-insured mortgages issued in California by this time—far and away representing the greatest utilization of the program—and the more than 20,000 FHA-insured mortgages recorded in seven other states, South Dakota's numbers compared favorably with its neighbors when viewed in terms of mortgages per capita (approximately 24 per 10,000 persons in South Dakota, compared to 23 per 10,000 persons in Nebraska, 17 per 10,000 persons in Iowa, and 12 per 10,000 persons in North Dakota).[15]

TABLE 1. NET INSURED FHA MORTGAGES IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 1936-1940

Cumulative through…	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
New Homes	179	216	337	497	822
Existing Homes	400	575	779	1,053	1,643

While progress was being made in stabilizing the housing market in the second half of the 1930s, U.S. involvement in World War II during the 1940s temporarily curtailed efforts of the housing industry, which shifted to government-sponsored war housing. As the war drew to an end, though, focus returned to private markets in anticipation of the millions of veterans who would return home. Fear that the still fragile housing industry would be unable to provide for returning veterans and their families ran high, with the need of veterans to find sufficient housing rising to "crisis proportions in late 1945."[16] By

[14] U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Second Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), 28-29, 49-50; U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Fifth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 68; U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Sixth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 126.

[15] U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Sixth Annual Report*, 31. There were 3,075 FHA-insured mortgages issued in Nebraska through 1939, where the 1940 population was 1.3 million; 4,444 FHA-insured mortgages issued in Iowa through 1939, where the 1940 population was 2.5 million; and 780 FHA-insured mortgages issued in North Dakota through 1939, where the 1940 population was approximately 640,000.

[16] Veterans often returned home with a distinct optimism for a stable home life that did not match reality. This optimism was largely promoted by the military and particularly the activities of the U.S. Army Division of Information and Education, established in 1941 as part of the Morale Division. This division published a series of pamphlets that promoted the idea that the returning veteran would be welcomed with an array of opportunities, including housing and education. See, for example, Joseph W. Ryan, *Samuel Stouffer and the GI Survey: Sociologists and Soldiers during the Second World War*

1946, nearly 2 million families across the country were "doubled up" or living in quarters intended for only one family. As it had done during the 1930s, the federal government again stepped in to provide relief.

In May 1946, President Harry Truman established the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program (VEHP) with the passage of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946. The VEHP provided a mechanism for the government to directly address the housing crisis that faced veterans by effectively establishing a controlled realty market designed to increase supply. The VEHP sought to achieve this supply by extending the government's wartime power to set housing priorities for veterans; establishing price ceilings on all new housing; renewing housing insurance provisions under the FHA; and raising the maximum amount of insurable mortgages.[17] In South Dakota—as well as North Dakota—maximum mortgage ceilings were set at $6,800 under the VEHP, which covered a three-bedroom house with garage. Substantial faith was placed in the program by FHA district director N.I. Blegen, who hoped it would combat rising regional labor and material costs, but the VEHP failed to have a sustained impact on the local or national housing industry.[18]

A substantially more successful housing program resulted from the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, commonly known as the "G.I. Bill of Rights." Enacted June 1944, the G.I. Bill was designed to facilitate the reintegration of veterans into civilian life by offsetting economic problems anticipated to be experienced by the veteran. The G.I. Bill offered a number of provisions, including providing low-interest, small business loans to veterans and the funding of college or vocational school education.[19] The latter was particularly important as it effectively sponsored a generation of college-bound veterans who would be more capable of achieving middle-class status. The G.I. Bill also provided a mechanism for housing, allowing veterans to secure government loans through the

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(Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2013); William Remington, "The Veterans Emergency Housing Program," in *Law and Contemporary Problems* 12:1 (Winter 1947), 143-172.

[17] Remington, "The Veterans Emergency Housing Program"; Wilson W. Wyatt, "The Veterans' Emergency Housing Program: A Report to the President from the Housing Expeditor," electronic resource, https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/files/docs/historical/eccles/029_11_0004.pdf

[18] "$6,800 Top Put on Vet Mortgages," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 July 1946. Despite an increase in FHA applications, the VEHP failed to have a long-term impact on private single-family building operations locally or throughout the United States. Problems were largely attributed to lingering material shortages and increased building costs, which placed many houses beyond the financial limits of a returning veteran.

[19] Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *The G.I. Bill: A New Deal for Veterans* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 8 and 81.

Figure 3 | Dean, Donna, and Scott Sumner, University Park, University of South Dakota, 1954.
University of South Dakota Photograph Collection: Preserving Our Past in Images, 1930-1999.

In the absence of available housing following the war, the federal government worked with universities in South Dakota to provide former military trailers as living quarters for veterans now seeking an education. Trailer communities were set up at Dakota Wesleyan (Trailer Town), South Dakota State College (Trailer Lane), and the University of South Dakota (Vets Villa and University Park). The trailer communities have since been removed from the campus landscapes.

Veterans Administration (VA) for the purchase or construction of a house.[20] The VA program in combination with FHA mortgages allowed veterans to essentially secure a mortgage covering 100 percent of a house's value, eliminating down payments. The program ultimately allowed millions of returning veterans to purchase a home while concurrently readjusting to peacetime conditions, supporting historian Kenneth Jackson's assertion that the VA program "gave official endorsement and support to the view that the sixteen million GIs of World War II should return to civilian life with a home of their own.[21]

Unlike the FHA, the VA did not provide an insured mortgage. It provided a mortgage guarantee to the lender, up to a certain percentage of the home's value. Veterans could initially secure a loan at a 20 year-amortization, with the guarantee at 50 percent of a

[20] Originally, application for VA-sponsored housing under the G.I. Bill had to be made within two years of the veteran being released from the military. This was eventually extended to five years. See, for example, U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary*.

[21] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 233; Emily Pettis, Amy Squitieri, et al., *A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing* (Washington, D.C.: Transportation Research Board, 2012), 56; Altschuler and Blumin, *The G.I. Bill*, 182; Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 31.

loan's value, up to $2,000. In 1945, VA loans were increased to a maximum value of $4,000, and the amortization period was increased to 25 years. Maximum loan values were increased to $7,500 by the Housing Act of 1950.[22] While housing initially remained hampered because of the G.I. Bill's stipulation that the purchase price of a house could not exceed appraised value—a common problem resulting from material shortages and high construction costs that drove prices upward—use of the G.I. Bill increased substantially as program terms were liberalized into the late 1940s. While FHA and VA loans accounted for only 23 percent of mortgages on owner-occupied housing across the country in 1945, they represented 44 percent of the market in 1950. The VA alone backed more than 2.5 million home loans between the G.I. Bill's passing in 1944 and 1952, but totals dropped significantly after 1952.[23]

Although the importance of VA loans diminished into the 1950s, the legacy of the FHA continued well into the period. By the 1960s, the FHA had insured approximately 2.7 million homes representing an investment of $30 billion and an additional $7 billion in home improvements loans.[24] In South Dakota, totals grew steadily through the post-war period and into the 1950s. By 1946, the FHA had insured more than 3,700 loans for South Dakotans, including more than 1,240 mortgages on new homes and 2,470 mortgages on existing homes, representing a total value of just over $11 million. Totals grew during the late 1940s as housing markets were renewed, with 8,117 FHA-insured mortgages issued by the end of 1951. By 1955, more than 13,000 home loans had been insured by the FHA in South Dakota; by the close of the decade, more than 18,000 mortgages had been insured, representing an investment of more than $175 million.[25] It should be noted that while FHA mortgages were disproportionately issued for existing homes at the start of the FHA program, by the mid-1950s the distribution began to shift. While existing homes still outnumbered new homes in most years, increasing numbers

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[22] The act also substantially liberalized terms of the program, increasing the maximum guarantee to lenders to 60 percent of the loan value, extending the amortization period to 30 years, providing eligibility to single widows of veterans and veterans who had previously taken out a VA loan but had lost their house through no personal fault, and authorizing a direct loan program in areas where VA-guaranteed mortgages were not available. Altschuler and Blumin, *The G.I. Bill*, 186.

[23] Grebler, et al., *Capital Formation in Residential Real Estate*, 146-147; Pettis, et al., *A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing*, 56.

[24] William A. Foley, Jr., *John F. Kennedy and the American City: The Urban Programs of the New Frontier, 1961-1963*, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 2005.

[25] U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947); U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Twentieth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953); U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956); U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1958).

of mortgages were issued for new homes (Table 2). As in the early days of the FHA program, South Dakota's numbers were minor compared to those seen in states such as California, New York, and Michigan where investment totaled in the billions of dollars, but they compared favorably to the state's neighbors in FHA-backed mortgages per capita (26 per 1,000 persons in South Dakota, 19 per 1,000 persons in Iowa, and 9 per 1,000 persons in North Dakota; Nebraska exceeded these at 35 per 1,000 persons).[26]

TABLE 2. NET INSURED FHA MORTGAGES IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 1946-1959[27]

Cumulative through…	1946	1950	1955	1959
New Homes	1,240	2,382	5,357	7,439
Existing Homes	2,471	4,265	7,367	9,886

Into the late 1950s and early 1960s, mortgage trends began to shift. As developers moved increasingly away from quick construction of affordable, efficient housing for veterans and new families to catering to middle- and upper-class families who wanted larger homes, the market share of FHA mortgages decreased. A *House & Home* survey of 1955 showed that trends indicated "homes [were] growing bigger and bigger and more and more expensive." Evidence of this was found in the percentage of single-family dwellings exceeding 1,000 sq ft, which jumped from 35 percent of the market in 1949 to 60 percent of the market in 1954.[28] Trends in South Dakota followed the market, with homes in Rapid City, for example, averaging 1,080 sq ft by 1954.[29] Representing the trend of declining FHA market share as homes became larger, 43 percent of FHA-backed mortgages in South Dakota were still for smaller homes (valued at $8,000 to $9,999) in 1954. Less than 8 percent of FHA mortgages were for larger homes (valued at

[26] U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960), 31. Iowa had a total of 52,772 FHA-insured mortgages through 1959 and a 1960 population of 2.7 million; North Dakota had a total of 6,017 FHA-insured mortgages through 1959 and a 1960 population of 630,000; and Nebraska had a total of 50,720 FHA-insured mortgages through 1959 and a 1960 population of 1.4 million.

[27] Totals do not include FHA mortgages for the year 1947. While it is known that 353 mortgages were issued by the FHA for housing in South Dakota that year, records do not readily distribute the yearly total between new and existing houses. It should be noted that the years 1954 and 1955 marked the only time during the decade that more mortgages were issued on new homes than existing homes: 590 new home mortgages and 536 existing home mortgages in 1954 and 757 new home mortgages and 753 existing home mortgages in 1955.

[28] Sixty-six percent of respondents in the *House & Home* survey indicated a desire for houses with three bedrooms, and 21 percent of respondents desired four bedrooms. "Houses—Bigger, Costlier," *House & Home* (February 1955), 58.

[29] Totals are based on a review of assessment data for the 2,522 extant homes constructed in Rapid City between 1950 and 1954. Rapid City assessment data accessed February 2017.

$12,000 to $17,999).[30] Despite diminished market share, though, the legacy of federal government programs by the mid-1960s was unquestionable, with the influence of the FHA perpetuated by the Housing Acts of 1948, 1949, 1950, 1954, and 1961, which supported the agency's long-term restructuring of the concept of the home as an achievable good for the masses.[31]

B. THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN COMMUNITY PLANNING

While federal programs provided many South Dakotans with the financial mechanisms necessary for home ownership, state and local planning efforts played a pivotal role in the ways in which it transformed the everyday experiences of people in South Dakota. The concept of community planning was not entirely new in the 1930s, but the utility of comprehensive planning was brought to the forefront by the flurry of government investment during the New Deal era. As the federal government sought to encourage economic recovery through a broad program of new policies and monetary investments, it became increasing clear that the government needed to understand the extent and limits of the natural and human resources of an area—as well as the goals and challenges of the people living there—for government investment to have meaningful impact at the local level. This realization prompted the National Planning Board of the Public Works Administration (PWA) to recommend the creation of a permanent national planning agency, with President Roosevelt establishing the National Resources Board (NRB) in June 1934. Forty-seven states likewise authorized state planning boards. In South Dakota, the governor established a temporary board in February 1934, which was made permanent by the state legislature in March 1935. The duties of the board were:

1. To make inquiries, investigations, and surveys concerning the natural and human resources of all sections of the state.

2. To assemble and analyze the data thus obtained and formulate plans for the conservation of such resources and for their intelligent and systematic utilization and development.

3. To make recommendations from time to time as to the best methods of such conservation, utilization, and development.

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[30] U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Federal Housing Administration* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955).

[31] These acts continued to liberalize mortgage terms, allowing for amortization periods of 30 years under the act of 1954 and 35 years under the act of 1961. In attempting to keep up with private markets, the maximum loan value was increased from $20,000 to $25,000 during the same period. 73rd U.S. Congress, Act of June 27, 1934, Public Law Number 479, 48 STAT 1426; U. S. Federal Housing Administration, *Twenty-second Annual Report*; Leo Grebler, *Housing Issues in Economic Stabilization Policy* (New York, NY: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1960), 36.

4. To draft for submission to the legislature such procedure affecting the use, development, and conservation of natural resources and the promotion of industrial and social facilities as are deemed advisable.

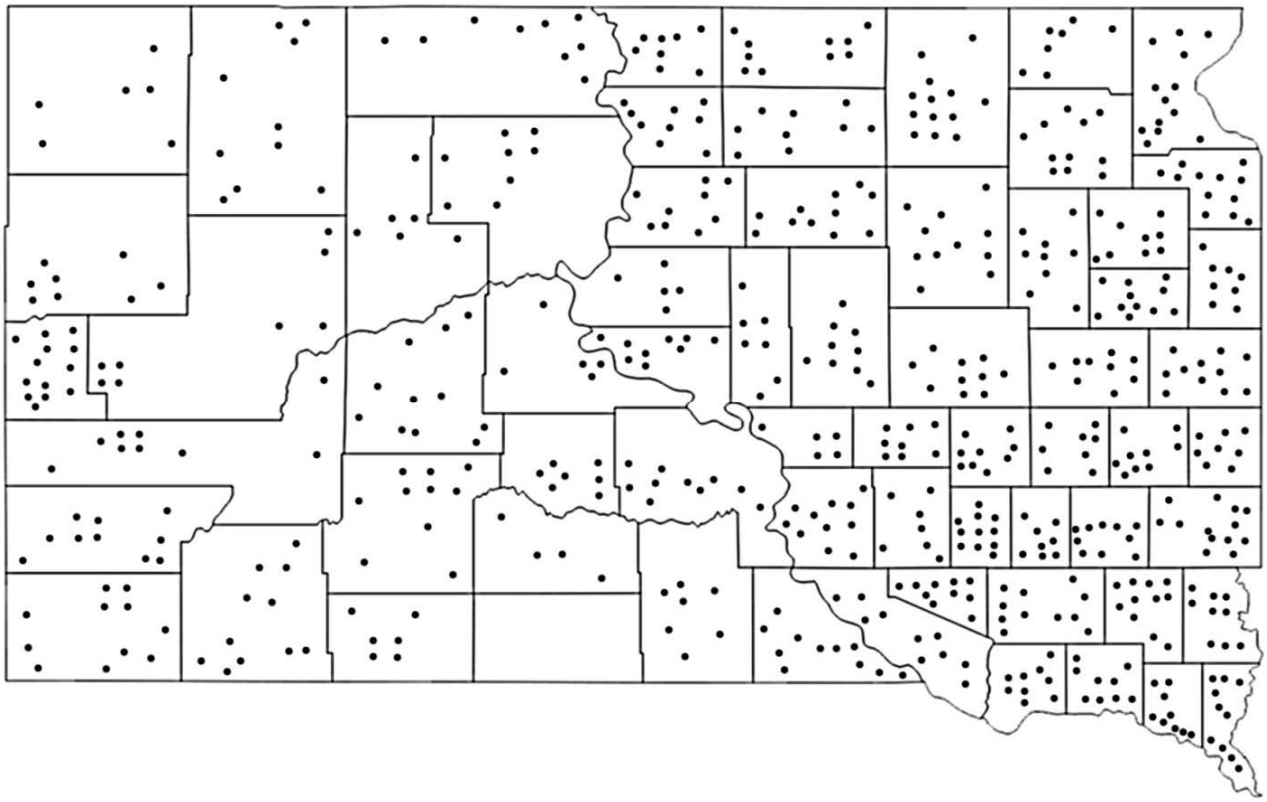
5. To promote public interest in, and understanding of, the state plans, or of research reports, and the use of other means of publicity and education as it deems advisable.

6. To confer and cooperate with Federal agencies and with the executive, legislative, or planning authorities of neighboring states and of counties and municipalities of such states for the purpose of bringing about a coordination between the development of such neighboring states, counties, or municipalities and the development of the State of South Dakota.[32]

Figure 4 | Representation on South Dakota's County Planning Boards, 1930s.

Adapted from South Dakota State Planning Board, *County Planning in South Dakota* (Brookings, South Dakota: State Planning Board, 1937).

The state board was supported by 67 county planning boards, which provided the majority of data utilized by the state board in its research and planning efforts. Each county board consisted of five or six members, including at least three farmers or stockmen and one individual from each incorporated town in order to represent the range of community interests and concerns. The county agricultural agent typically



[32] South Dakota State Planning Board, *County Planning in South Dakota* (Brookings, SD: State Planning Board, 1937), 2.

served as ex-officio corresponding secretary of the board, bringing with him vast county and planning expertise. Early efforts centered largely on rural and civic concerns, with reports generated as of 1937 addressing recreation, noxious weeds, social and economic conditions, artesian wells, dams, and public works.[33]

With the onset of World War II, large-scale planning efforts stalled as more pressing priorities were addressed. As the war's end neared, though, community leaders and businessmen increasingly came to the realization that communities throughout the state would soon be faced with new challenges ranging from industrial production to community development and expansion. As was relayed by the Sioux Falls Chamber of Commerce in 1943:

> Some day the war will end. That will be a happy day, to be sure, but the termination of fighting won't mean that we have stepped into a problem-less world. There will be problems to be solved, many of them. Already they are being discussed... not to be overlooked is the fact that each community will have its own problems of readjustment. These will be numerous and perhaps complicated.[34]

Like many states, South Dakota engaged preparation of a post-war planning study to begin the process of addressing needs for advancement in the years following the war. However, South Dakota's plan, prepared in 1944 by the State Agricultural Planning Committee, focused exclusively on rural populations and agricultural concerns. Housing was not a priority addressed by the study and it did not represent a significant effort to address broader community development needs throughout the state.[35]

It was not until 1949 when municipal governments in South Dakota were legally authorized to create planning commissions and adopt a master city plan; Huron became the first city in the state to set up a planning commission.[36] According to the enabling legislation, a city had to allow its residents to vote to authorize creation of a planning commission, and, upon approval, establish the commission (including appropriation of funding) through local ordinance. The state law outlined requirements for the appointment of personnel to the planning commission and rules for its operation. The key purpose of the planning commission, as outlined in the legislation, was the creation of a master plan for the physical development of the city. As described in the act:

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[33] Ibid.

[34] "Community Planning for Post-War Days," *The Argus Leader* (Sioux Falls), 8 June 1943.

[35] For more information on South Dakota's post-war planning study, see South Dakota Agricultural Planning Committee, *Post-War Planning Report, State of South Dakota* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota Agricultural Planning Committee), 1944.

[36] "Planning Commission's Design is a Wise One," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 8 May 1964.

> The Master Plan, with the accompanying maps, plats, charts, and descriptive and explanatory matter, shall show the Commission's recommendations for the said physical development, and may include among other things, the general location, character, and extent of streets, bridges, viaducts, parks, parkways, waterways and waterfront developments, playgrounds, airports, and other public ways, grounds, places and spaces; the general location of public schools, of public buildings and other public property; a zoning plan for the regulation of the height, area, bulk, location, and use of private and public structures and premises, and of population density as may be provided by law; the general location and extent of public utilities and terminals, whether publicly or privately owned, for water, light, power, heat, sanitation, transportation, communication, and other purposes; the acceptance, widening removal, extension, relocation, narrowing, vacation, abandonment, or change of use of any of the foregoing public ways, grounds, places, spaces, building, properties, utilities, or terminals; the general location, character, layout, and extent of community centers and neighborhood units, the general character, extent, and layout of the replanning [sic] of blighted districts and slum areas.[37]

The goal of such a master plan was "guiding and accomplishing a coordinated, adjusted, and harmonious development of the municipality which will, in accordance with existing and future needs, best promote health, safety, morals, order, convenience, prosperity, or the general welfare, as well as efficiency and economy in the process of development."[38] One of the key responsibilities of the planning commission was regulating subdivisions in accordance with the master plan, including, for example, ensuring that new streets and utilities appropriately tied into those in surrounding areas. Procedures also were outlined for review and approval of subdivision plats prior to development. These principles were reflected in documents such as the 1950 *Comprehensive City Plan for the City of Sioux Falls, South Dakota*. Developed to account for an anticipated boom in population and significant geographic expansion of the city in the coming decades, this document gave particular attention to the implementation of a new city zoning ordinance and building code and development of modern subdivisions laid out with curvilinear streets; adequate public improvements, including schools, parks, street surfacing, sewer, water, and street trees; and neighborhood organizations to promote pride in ownership.[39]

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[37] Chapter 198 (S.B. 116) Authorizing the Adoption of a Master City Plan, reproduced in "1949 Statue Provides for Planning Commission," *South Dakota Municipalities* vol. 16, no. 6 (December 1949).

[38] Ibid.

[39] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *Comprehensive City Plan for the City of Sioux Falls, South Dakota* (St. Louis, MO: Harland Bartholomew and Associates, 1950), 22-23. Updating of the zoning

Local planning processes benefitted from coordination among South Dakota's municipal leaders, who worked together to improve their communities. As the role of the federal government expanded and the state and county governments likewise took on new roles, municipal governments increasingly saw the need for collective action to keep abreast of changing policies and maintain their important role in addressing local problems at the local level. The League of South Dakota Municipalities held its first meeting in Huron in March 1926, establishing itself as a resource and a voice for South Dakota's local governments. Through a monthly bulletin and regional and statewide meetings, the League provided educational opportunities for local officials and established a legislative agenda to support the role of municipal government within the state. The four resolutions to come out of the first meeting reflect the types of issues that would characterize the League's agenda in the coming decades—that is, seeking the financial means and legal authority needed to effectively manage modern towns and cities. In 1926, the League resolved to lobby the state legislature to permit cities to issue a city tax on automobiles, authorize cities to pass zoning ordinances, allow cities to pass ordinances to make water rent a lien on a property, and increase salaries of elected city officials.[40] Two decades later, in 1947, the organization's top priority was again securing additional sources of income.[41] Other frequent concerns included the provision of appropriate water and sewer services, modern transportation facilities, and sufficient housing. Housing was a particular concern following World War II, with the 1946 annual statewide meeting focusing on the issue and featuring guest speakers N. I. Blegen, district director of the FHA, E. E. Seubert, district manager of the Civilian Production Administration, and Arthur H. Thornton, acting district manager of the U.S. Department of Commerce.[42] Through such events, the League helped local officials understand how they could take advantage of the many federal development initiatives of the period and put them in direct contact with the federal officials administering such programs to discuss their requirements, benefits, and limitations.[43]

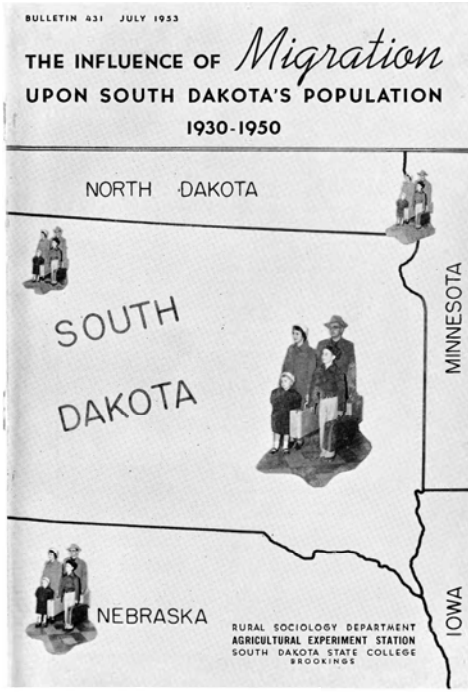

Figure 5 | South Dakota State College Bulletin, 1953.

The efforts of the League of South Dakota Municipalities were complemented by initiatives such as the development of research bulletins at South Dakota State College, which served as a vital tool for assessing and responding to evolving conditions in the modern era.

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ordinance was a significant priority of the master planning process, particularly as it related to neighborhood development, with local officials noting that the original zoning ordinance of 1928 could "no longer give assurance as to the character of a neighborhood, the time is ripe for a thorough overhauling" of process. "New Ordinance to Map Future Growth of Sioux Falls," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 13 November 1949.

[40] "City Officials to Meet Here," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 11 March 1926. Boardman's *A Study of the League of South Dakota Municipalities* identifies the first meeting as June 11, 1934, and the South Dakota Municipal League website states that it was established in 1934, but this 1926 newspaper article clearly states that an iteration of the League was founded before then. Norma Boardman, *A Study of the League of South Dakota Municipalities* (Vermillion, SD: Government Research Bureau at the University of South Dakota, 1944).

[41] "6-Point Plan is Pushed by State League," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 28 January 1947.

[42] "Housing will be Discussed by City Body," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 1 June 1946.

[43] Boardman, *A Study of the League of South Dakota Municipalities*.

Despite the work of the League and the planning authority granted to local governments by the 1949 state legislation, a 1960 survey of first and second class cities by the League of South Dakota Municipalities found that only 27 of 109 responding cities (24.7 percent) had a city zoning and/or planning ordinance in place, and only 20 of the 82 cities without such an ordinance (24.4 percent) were considering one.[44] This may be attributed, at least in part, to lack of public appreciation for the value of planning and zoning, as evidenced in Sioux Falls where it took three elections before city residents voted to establish a planning commission.[45] Part of the delay in localities establishing commissions and enacting ordinances following the 1949 legislation can also be attributed to the nature of population growth and development patterns in South Dakota. Whereas many places throughout the United States saw a flurry of planning regulations in the 1950s as population centers boomed in the years immediately following World War II, South Dakota did not witness comparable percentages of growth until the mid-1950s, perhaps diminishing the need for large-scale overhauls to planning practices until the late 1950s and 1960s.

Modern community planning efforts began in earnest in the 1960s, particularly following the Housing Act of 1954 and associated Section 701 planning assistance program and acts of the 1961 state legislature that set in motion a state planning program administered by the South Dakota Industrial Development and Expansion Agency (IDEA). Designed to give "South Dakota's cities and towns an 'orderly plan for growth'" and overcome the fact that "regional and statewide planning presently" was "almost non-existent in South Dakota," the state program—established in 1963—provided assistance to any city with a planning commission meeting statutory requirements. This allowed them to draw up comprehensive plans that addressed "physical improvements, land use, zoning, building, and subdivision codes."[46] To encourage interest in the program and community planning in general, the IDEA held a contest for cities to show how much planning work they could accomplish in a year to make communities better.

By 1964, more than 10 cities had established planning commissions meeting the statute, including Aberdeen, Brookings, Huron, Madison, Mitchell, Mobridge, Rapid City, Sioux Falls, Watertown, and Yanktown. Added to this, comprehensive planning studies were underway in Brookings, Watertown, Mitchell, Huron, Aberdeen, Vermillion, Brookings, Rapid City, Mitchell, and Minnehaha County by 1965, with municipalities working to

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[44] "Planning and Zoning in South Dakota Cities," *South Dakota Municipalities* vol. 26, no. 10 (April 1960).

[45] "Future City Planning," *South Dakota Municipalities* vol. 24, no. 12 (June 1958).

[46] Dan Perkes, "Program for Community Planning to Start Soon," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 31 August 1963.

establish modern "definitions of areas for industrial, business, and residential growth."[47] The activities of local municipalities were complemented by outreach programs throughout the state during the mid-to-late 1960s that espoused the merits of community planning, including events such as community development seminars held in Pierre and planning workshops for commissioners, realtors, contractors, and developers held in cities such as Rapid City and Sioux Falls.[48] Such continued emphasis on bringing South Dakota into the age of modern community planning provided momentum for continued activities into 1970, including the passing of new regulations—such as the new subdivision ordinance adopted by Sioux Falls in 1966—and the establishment of new planning programs in second- and third-tier communities that had long avoided local government initiatives in the face of only marginal growth.[49] This continued momentum was represented by calls for comprehensive plans in communities such as Deadwood, Belle Fourche, and Sturgis and the increasing awareness of community planning needs in communities such as Lead, where "seldom is a vacant piece of land used for the best and highest use. The result, on a city-wide basis, is unstable land values, poor traffic circulation, general sprawl and eventually, higher costs to the taxpayer." The result, as in the case of Lead, was a new generation of communities taking up "problems that cannot be ignored."[50]

C. RURAL ELECTRIFICATION AND WATER INFRASTRUCTURE

While federal, state, and local initiatives were influencing development of South Dakota's cities at mid-century, government policies also were having significant impact on life in the rural areas where the majority of South Dakotans resided. These changes—specifically as related to rural electrification and water infrastructure—were particularly significant during the period of study as they brought thousands of rural properties into the modern age, supporting their longevity amongst competing interests in urban areas and influencing decisions as they related to use of the home. Alongside the extensive use of Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) mortgages (see *IV. A Changing Society, 1950-1965*), which allowed farm owners to make improvements to their properties or otherwise construct new dwellings, such changes served as the rural counterpart to the expansion of municipal improvements happening in urban areas

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[47] Ibid.; "IDEA Pledges Staff Aid for Minnehaha Planning," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 16 December 1964; "S.D. Cities Plan Studies," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 5 March 1964; "Work Begins on Comprehensive Plan for City," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 14 August 1965; "Planning Commission's Design is a Wise One," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 8 May 1964.

[48] "Community Planning Meet Slated at Pierre," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 21 September 1965; "Slate Workshops on Community Planning," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 15 May 1968.

[49] "City Adopts Subdivision Ordinance," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 6 July 1966.

[50] "Comprehensive Community Planning Proposed for Lead," *Lead Daily Call*, 6 July 1967.

across the state, supporting the continued occupation of rural lands at high levels into the late twentieth century.

It was not until the beginning of this period when most residents of rural South Dakota began enjoying the benefits of electric power. Although President Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) in May 1935 and Congress made REA a permanent agency by passing the Rural Electrification Act in May 1936, progress was slow to come to rural South Dakota. The purpose of the REA was to provide affordable loans covering the entire cost of constructing power lines in rural areas, but few existing private power companies took advantage of the opportunity. Instead, rural electrification eventually occurred through the efforts of farmer-owned electric cooperatives. Initially, their progress was slow in South Dakota because the cooperatives lacked the authority to condemn land for the construction of power lines. Progress also was hampered by the low customer density per mile of line; most early projects were located in the southeastern portion of the state where population density was greatest.[51] Under increasing pressure from the cooperatives, the legislature passed the South Dakota Electric Cooperative Act in 1947, enabling the construction of transmission lines and greatly increasing access to power throughout the state. While only 2 percent of South Dakota's farms had power in 1930, 28 percent were on the grid by 1945 (Table 3). This number jumped to 81 percent by 1952, and 88 percent (a total of 72,826 customers) received power by 1960, ultimately reducing functional differences between urban and rural sectors. These numbers lagged behind the national rates, however, with 96 percent of all farms throughout the country served by power lines by 1960.

TABLE 3. PERCENT OF SOUTH DAKOTA FARMS SERVED BY ELECTRICITY, 1930-1960

	1930	1934	1939	1945	1952	1960
South Dakota	2	3	5	28	81	88
United States	10	11	28	46	90	96

Rural electric cooperatives, the majority of which received power from the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation's hydroelectric dams on the Missouri River, provided the impetus for growth. The first cooperative was operational by 1937, and two more came online in 1938. Great expansion followed in the next decade and a half, with 6 cooperatives formed between 1940 and 1944, 17 formed between 1945 and 1948, and 4 formed between 1949 and 1952. Farmers were not the only ones to benefit from the work of the REA cooperatives; by the early 1960s, 32 percent of their customers were not farmers, including other rural residents as well as commercial and industrial customers. Power

[51] The South Dakota Rural Electric Association (SDREA) was established in 1942 in to promote the interests of the various cooperatives throughout the state, which helped make some progress initially before the South Dakota Electric Cooperative Act.

impacted all aspects of rural life, from work on the farm, to the housewife's daily chores, to the way people enjoyed their leisure time, to the improvement of housing and support structures. Electric motors served a variety of functions, including pumping water, grinding feed, powering milking machines, and cooling milk. Inside the home, new appliances including refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and electric irons transformed daily tasks. Telephones and televisions connected rural residents to the rest of the state and nation.[52]

While electricity significantly changed life in rural South Dakota, the fate of rural populations and the farmer continued to rely, above all else, on water. The 20-inch annual rainfall line divides eastern and western South Dakota, separating those areas that typically receive enough rain each year to support Midwestern-style, corn-based agriculture from the "short grass country" of the Great Plains that is generally better suited for grazing and, through use of dry farming techniques, raising wheat and other grains. As more Americans moved to settle the arid lands of the West, including western South Dakota, in the mid to late nineteenth century, they quickly identified the need for "reclamation" projects to harness limited water resources and make the land more suitable for human occupation and use. Early private and state-funded projects targeting the storage of runoff often failed for lack of funding or engineering expertise, leading to increasing calls for federal intervention. The 1902 Reclamation Act led to the establishment of the United States Reclamation Service (USRS) to administer federal irrigation projects. The USRS was founded on several principles that continue to guide reclamation efforts to this day. While reclamation projects were, and are, federally funded and federally owned, the cost of water development projects were repaid by the end-users who benefitted from them, as well as by revenues generated by related hydroelectric projects. Most projects were administered and inspected by reclamation employees but built by private contractors, except in cases where no acceptable bids were received from the private sector.[53] Through a series of projects developed along these principles, by the mid-twentieth century irrigation was provided in western South Dakota by way of several dams and reservoirs created by the Bureau of Reclamation:

- Belle Fourche Project was composed of multiple dams, reservoirs, canals, and ditches established in the early 1900s;
- Angostura Dam and Reservoir, completed in 1949, also included a power plant;

[52] Paul C. Mathis, *Development and Growth of the REA Electrification Program in South Dakota* (Vermillion, SD: State University of South Dakota, 1962); Harry F. Thompson, *A New South Dakota History* (Sioux Falls, SD: Center for Western Studies at Augustana College, 2009), 238-239.

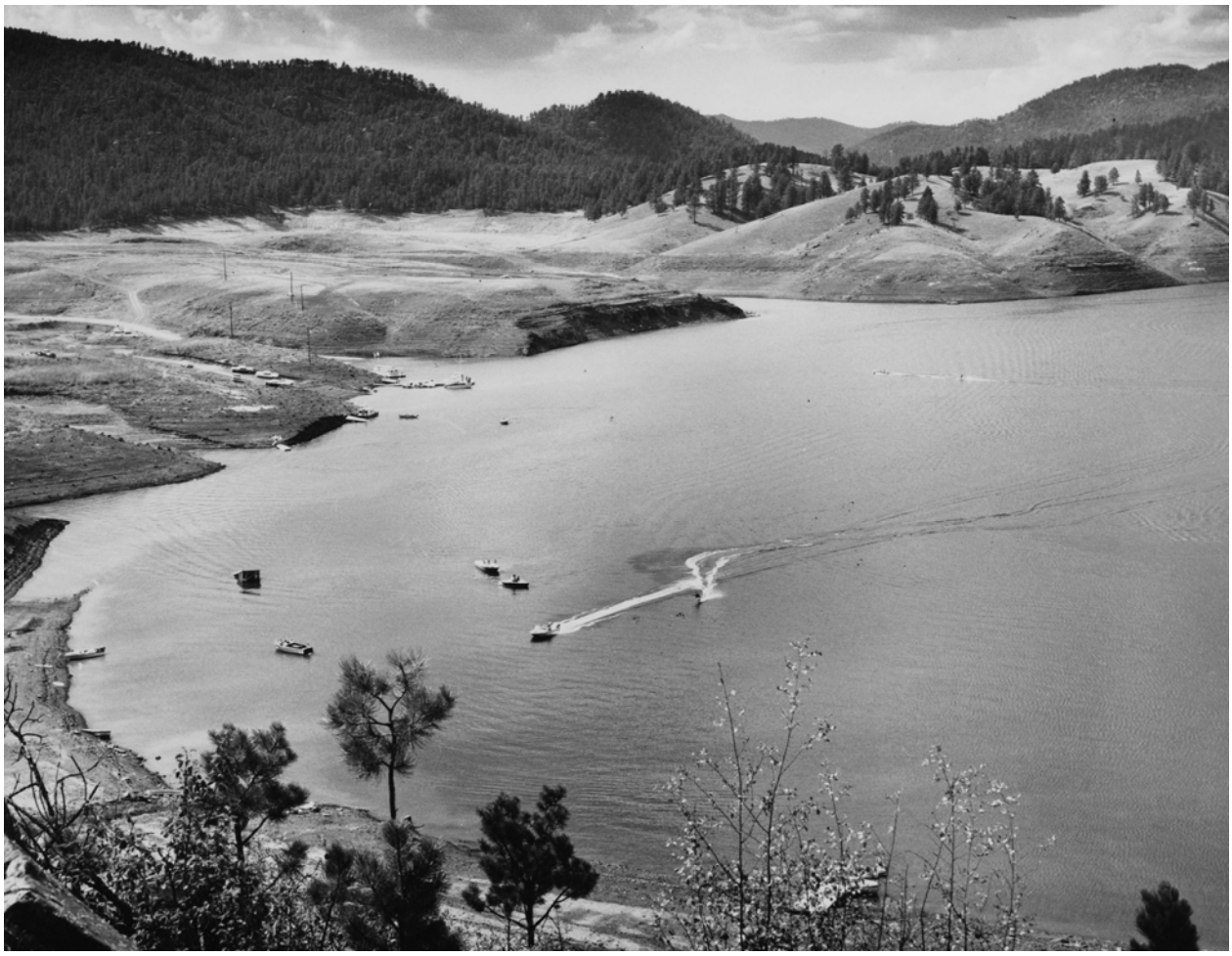
[53] Bureau of Reclamation History Program, *Brief History Bureau of Reclamation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, n.d.), 4.

- Deerfield Dam and Reservoir was constructed in 1943 to provide water for irrigation and to replace municipal water used for irrigation;
- Pactola Dam and Reservoir was completed in 1956, providing municipal water, irrigation water, and water for Ellsworth Air Force Base (AFB) near Rapid City;
- Keyhole Dam and Reservoir was completed in 1952 and provided flood protection, irrigation water, and municipal water; and
- Shadehill Dam and Reservoir was completed in 1950 to provide flood control, silt control, municipal water, and water for irrigation.[54]

In eastern South Dakota, there were plans to use waters from the Oahe Dam on the Missouri River to irrigate 750,000 acres in the James River Valley, a region that

Figure 6 | Pactola Dam, n.d.
Black Hills National Forest Historical Collection, Black Hills State University.

Dam construction across South Dakota provided much needed access to water infrastructure but also dramatically altered landscapes and influenced development patterns throughout the regions in which they were located.



[54] John P. Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State College, 1954), 39-43.

represents a transition zone between east and west. After years of planning and debate, however, this project never reached its promised potential.[55] Nevertheless, as these projects suggests, irrigation not only "reclaimed" arid western land for farming, it also provided a measure of insurance against drought and helped increase yields in marginal areas where farming generally was feasible but severely impacted by cyclical variations in precipitation. Despite government investment in a number of projects, though, by 1964, a total of 1,005 farms, representing only 2.02 percent of all farms in the state, irrigated a total of 130,050 acres, representing just 0.285 percent of all South Dakota farmland. While these numbers represented highs for South Dakota, the overall small percentage of acreage irrigated and the tendency for irrigated lands to be located on larger farms points to the capital-intensive nature of the practice for the individual farmer.[56]

While the Bureau of Reclamation pursued several individual irrigation projects in western South Dakota in the early twentieth century, a far more comprehensive water management program would have significant impact on the state in the mid-twentieth century. The Missouri Basin Project, or Pick-Sloan Plan, was a wide-ranging program established by the Flood Control Act of 1944. After several years of extreme droughts resulting in the Dust Bowl of the 1930s followed by severe flooding that caused significant damage to cities such as Omaha in 1943, the Pick-Sloan Plan was developed to include an ambitious array of projects for the management of the Missouri River and economic development of the Missouri Basin. The Missouri Basin Project merged a plan developed by Lewis A. Pick of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE), which primarily focused on flood control and navigation, with a plan developed by William G. Sloan of the Bureau of Reclamation, which primarily focused on irrigation and hydropower, in accordance with the primary objectives of their respective federal agencies. The compromise plan was forged, in large part, due to mutual opposition to the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority, similar to the Tennessee Valley Authority, which would have taken control of the region from the two agencies. The merged plan resulted in hundreds of individual projects, including the construction of five large dams for flood control and power generation on the upper Missouri River—Garrison, Oahe, Big Bend, Fort Randall, and Gavins Point—with all but Garrison located in South Dakota.[57]

A 1952 look at the South Dakota economy at mid-century identified five key areas in which South Dakotans stood to benefit from the Missouri Basin Project: (1) protection of

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[55] Herbert S. Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2004), 325-326.

[56] Arthur J. Matson, "Irrigation in South Dakota," *South Dakota Farm and Home Research*, volume XIX, No. 2 (Spring 1968).

[57] Cody L. Knutson, "Pick-Sloan Plan," in David J. Wishard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Great Plains* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska—Lincoln, 2004).

land and property and prevention of human misery through improved flood controls; (2) irrigation of thousands of acres of land; (3) generation of hydroelectric power to be used for irrigation pumping and general use in urban and rural areas; (4) implementation of modern farming practices, soil erosion prevention, and water retention to increase the productivity of the land; and (5) creation of new recreational amenities around lakes and corresponding increased tourist trade.[58] In the long run, South Dakotans benefitted most greatly from the hydroelectric plants that provided a third of the state's power by 1985, helping to keep energy rates low throughout the state, and from the recreational and tourist opportunities created at the lakes. However, it is important to note that construction of the dams also had large-scale repercussions for the landscape, claiming over a half million acres of land, including some of the most valuable land owned by Native American tribes in the state, and the promise of irrigation projects were generally unrealized.[59]

Beyond the effects to rural populations, it is important to note here that the impacts of the aforementioned dam and water infrastructure projects were critical to the sustainment of populations in communities such as Rapid City and the exponential increase in the recreation and tourism industry in South Dakota, particularly in the western part of the state. The important of these projects in these capacities was recognized early on, with the Rapid City Journal noting in 1939 that "without water, something of the horse and buggy days must cling to Rapid City."[60] In specific reference to the Deerfield Reservoir, for example, recreational visitors totaled more than 15,000 persons annually by 1952; expanded facilities on either side of the dam in the mid-1960s increased annual visitation to 39,225 persons. More than 220,000 visitors accessed the reservoir by 1970.[61] Recreational opportunities and development also were extensive in Central South Dakota, particularly in the Oahe and Big Bend areas, with headlines by the mid-1960s proclaiming that South Dakota "moves to front in various fields of recreation."[62] Added to this were record numbers of visitors to national parks in the mid-1960s, topping over 1.3 million and providing boosts to local and regional recreational facilities.[63]

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[58] University of South Dakota, Business Research Bureau, *The South Dakota Economy at Mid-Century 1900-1950* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota, 1952), 14.

[59] Schell, *History of South Dakota*, 325-326.

[60] As quoted in Christopher J. McCune, "Rapid Valley Project," 2001, electronic resource available at https://www.usbr.gov/projects/pdf.php?id=177.

[61] Ibid.

[62] David Evans, "S.D. Moves to Front in Various Fields of Recreation," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 31 January 1965; "Pierre Moves Forward with State's Larger Communities," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 31 January 1965.

[63] "National Park Attractions Show Increased Attendance," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 31 January 1965.

IV. A CHANGING SOCIETY, 1950-1965

A. POPULATION MAGNITUDE AND CHANGE

During South Dakota's early history as a territory and state, much of its population growth came from in-migration of homesteaders from other states and immigrants from Europe. The state's vast expanses of undeveloped land, large portions of which were well-suited for agriculture, attracted young people and families seeking opportunities, independence, and farm ownership. Promises of gold and other minerals attracted miners to the Black Hills region of the state, and the railroad gave birth to many small towns statewide with commercial opportunities to serve surrounding rural populations. The 1890 through 1920 census records indicate net population gains due to migration of well over 100,000 per decade, with the largest gain (174,283 people) recorded in the 1910 census.[64] This trend shifted in the 1930s, due in large part to the devastation of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression, which hit rural America particularly hard, resulting in a net population loss for South Dakota that decade. From the 1930s through the period of this study, South Dakota's demographics reflect a people on the move—from rural areas to urban centers and from the state to other parts of the country that seemed to offer greater opportunities. Despite these shifts, the state retained its decidedly agricultural character, with over half of the population living in rural areas throughout this period, and 31 percent of the population classified as rural non-farm, 24.5 percent as rural farm, and 44.6 percent urban in 1970.[65]

After reaching a population of 692,849 persons in 1930, South Dakota suffered huge losses the following decade and recovered only modestly in the post-World War II era, with the eighth-slowest growth rate in the nation in the 1950s (4.3 percent in South Dakota compared to 18.5 percent nationally)(Table 4). The state's population, which was relatively young during frontier days, was increasingly aged, with 8.5 percent over the age of 65 in 1950, compared to 8.2 percent nationally. While the post-war baby boom did result in a large increase in children under the age of 5 during this period, most age groups between 5 and 55 years of age declined; urban areas saw an increase of 97.1 percent among children under 5, while rural gains were much lower. Concurrently, a third of young people between 15 and 24 years of age left South Dakota's farms. While many moved to urban areas in South Dakota, a large number of single youths and young married people left the state during this period.[66]

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[64] Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 13.

[65] Marvin P. Riley and Eugene T. Butler, Jr., *South Dakota Population, Housing, and Farm Census Facts* (Vermillion, SD: South Dakota State University, n.d.), 10-11.

[66] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota, 1963), 13; "Recent Population Changes in South Dakota," *South Dakota Farm and Home Research* vol. III, no. 3 (Spring 1952).

TABLE 4. POPULATION CHANGE IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 1940-1970

	1940			1950			1960			1970		
	Population	% change	% of state	Population	% change	% of state	Population	% change	% of state	Population	% change	% of state
South Dakota	642,961	--	--	652,740	1.5	--	680,514	4.3	--	665,307	-2.2	--
Urban	158,087	--	24.6	216,710	37.1	33.2	267,180	23.3	39.3	296,528	11.0	44.6
Rural	484,874	--	75.4	436,030	-10.0	66.8	413,334	-5.2	60.7	368,879	-10.8	55.4

The 1960s saw further losses of 2.2 percent in the midst of an agricultural recession, and the state would not reach its 1930 population level until the mid-1980s.[67] In 1960, only 53 percent of native South Dakotans lived in South Dakota, with many living in neighboring states and large percentages living in the western states of California, Oregon, Washington, Montana, and Colorado, which were growing significantly during this period.[68] Since a substantial portion (38 percent) of those who left the state in the 1950s were young adults, South Dakota saw a declining birth rate in the 1960s, with natural increase unable to outweigh losses to out-migration during the decade.[69] This trend continued into the 1960s, which experienced a net out-migration of 92,560 people. Of this, more than 56 percent were young people who would have reached 20 to 44 years of age in the 1970s and have been most likely to purchase first-time houses. This represented a loss of 22 percent of total people of this age group, with a decline of 34 percent in rural areas.[70] The loss in rural areas was met by a significant slowdown in growth in urban areas, with Sioux Falls growing just 10.7 percent in the 1960s—down from 24.2 percent in the 1950s—and Rapid City growing just 3.4 percent in the 1960s—following explosive 67.5 percent growth in the 1950s—ultimately resulting in a net population loss in the 1960s.[71]

While out-migration remained a major concern throughout the period, shifting populations within South Dakota also had significant implications for development

[67] Riley and Butler, Jr., *South Dakota Population, Housing, and Farm Census Facts,* 9; Charles M. Rogers, *South Dakota's Challenges since 1960* (Sioux Falls, SD: Charles Rogers, 2011), 31.

[68] Marvin P. Riley, *Where Native South Dakotans Lived in 1960* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State University, 1965), 4.

[69] Edward Patrick Hogan, *The Reasons for Out-Migration of South Dakota Youth*, Ph.D. dissertation, St. Louis University, 1969, 4.

[70] Wayne R. Goeken, *Factors Influencing Manufacturing Development in South Dakota*, Master's thesis, South Dakota State University, 1980, 6.

[71] South Dakota State Planning Bureau, *Policy Plan for Economic Development in South Dakota* (Pierre, SD: State Planning Bureau, 1973), 4.

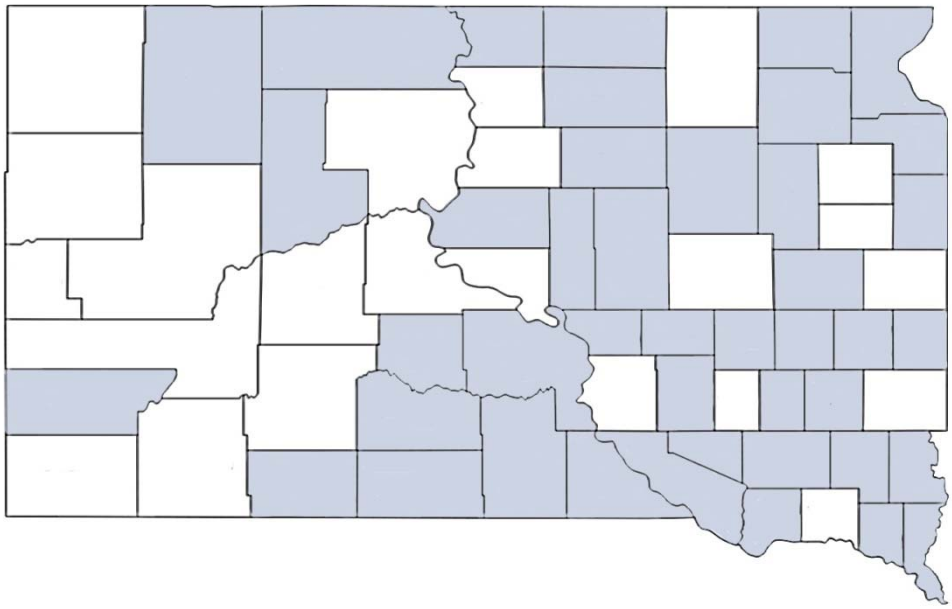

Figure 7 | Population Loss in South Dakota, 1950-1960

The immediate post-war period brought significant population change to South Dakota. By 1960, only 53 percent of native South Dakotans lived in the state. Counties witnessing a loss in population between 1950 and 1960 are shaded.

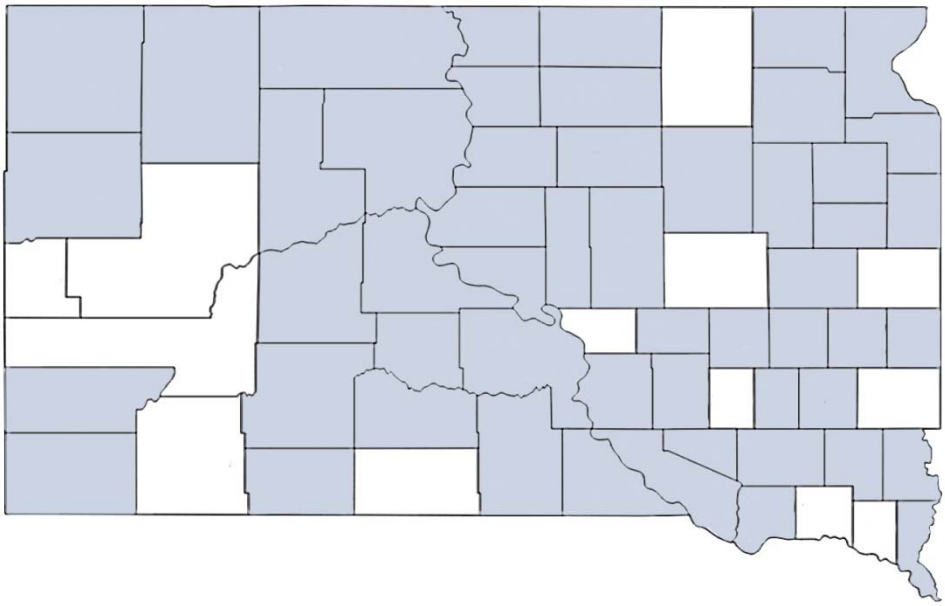

Figure 8 | Population Loss in South Dakota, 1960-1970

Nearly 100,000 people left South Dakota during the 1960s, with significant loss witnessed in rural areas. Counties showing a loss in population between 1960 and 1970 are shaded.

patterns in the state. South Dakota, unlike the nation, remained majority rural through the third quarter of the twentieth century, but the urban population—defined as incorporated places with 2,500 or more residents—grew exponentially throughout the century, matched by significant drops in both farm and non-farm rural populations. In 1900, South Dakota could claim only 40,936 urban residents of 401,570 total persons (10 percent urban). The urban population more than doubled by 1920, matched by huge population gain overall; the state then had 101,872 urban residents of 636,548 total (16 percent urban). The total population was comparatively stable in the following decades after reaching a high in 1930, but the urban population continued to grow, doubling again by 1950 (33 percent urban). This reflects decreases in both farm and rural non-farm populations—the census recorded a decrease of 87,318 farm residents and 38,815 rural non-farm residents between 1930 and 1950.[72] The 1950s saw a 23.3 percent population increase in urban areas, with the overall urban population accounting for 39.3 percent of the state's total population; this was matched by a 5.2 percent decline in rural areas.[73] Only 22 of South Dakota's 67 counties experienced growth that decade; generally these counties contained urban centers or benefitted from federal investment such as dam construction.[74] While migration accounted for much of the disparity in growth rates between urban and rural areas, urban areas also benefitted from significantly increased birth rates associated with the post-World War II baby boom, while the birth rate was up only slightly in rural areas.[75] As natural increase slowed in the 1960s and trends in agriculture continued the exodus from the state's farms, South Dakota's total population fell 2.1 percent, with 11.1 percent gains in urban areas offset by 2.5 percent losses in rural non-farm areas and 18.8 percent losses on rural farm properties.[76]

Population studies in South Dakota have focused more on the reasons for decline in rural areas than the reasons for growth in urban areas, with particular attention to the decline of small towns. Initial declines in rural areas were precipitated by the devastating effects of the Dust Bowl and Great Depression, which spurred a 21.1 percent decrease in the number of farms in the state from 1930 to 1950. Most decline was in western farms and ranches, which were particularly hard-hit by drought conditions, while eastern farms remained relatively stable. This is matched by relatively stable acreage per farm in the east during this period and dramatic increase in acreage per farm in the west, which more than doubled from 1930 to 1950, reflecting both farm

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[72] Business Research Bureau, *The South Dakota Economy at Mid-Century 1900-1950* , 3.

[73] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 16.

[74] Ibid., 14.

[75] Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 20.

[76] Donald R. Field and Robert M. Dimit, *Population Change in Incorporated Places in South Dakota, 1960-1970* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State University, 1970), 11.

consolidation and expansion of operations.[77] The agricultural economy rebounded in the 1940s, as favorable weather and high demand during World War II led to high prices and high production for farmers. However, the number of people working in agriculture was down due to the military draft and enlistments as well as higher wages in defense plant jobs that pulled people away from the farm. Concurrently, mechanization decreased the need for farm labor while encouraging expanded production and farm consolidation.[78] The use of tractors, for example, expanded from 37.2 percent in 1930 to 84.7 percent in 1950.[79] Half of all farmers in South Dakota owned a combine by the mid-1950s, and chemical herbicides and fertilizers and the introduction of hybrid varieties were used to increase yields.[80] Farm prices remained high through the end of the Korean War, when overproduction and decreased foreign demand caused prices to dip, precipitating continuing declines in numbers of farmers.[81] The trend towards more mechanization, larger farms, and fewer farm laborers continued in the following decades; from 1930 to 1973, the number of farms in South Dakota decreased from 83,200 to 43,000 (48 percent decrease), but the average farm size increased 439 acres to 1,050 acres (140 percent increase).[82]

Fewer farmers meant fewer customers for South Dakota's small towns, which existed primarily as trade centers for the surrounding rural population. Population trends and the advances in transportation that changed the ways that people conducted business led to a dramatic decline in the state's small towns beginning in the 1930s and continuing through the 1970s. Early development patterns, particularly in the more densely settled areas of eastern South Dakota, favored the establishment of many small towns, placing a trade center along railroad lines within a reasonable radius of travel from surrounding farms. Farmers naturally favored the closest trade center to conduct business. However, as automobile ownership increased and roads were improved, farmers could travel farther to sell their products and buy the goods needed to support farm life. Larger trade centers provided more competitive markets that often offered higher prices for crops, produce, and livestock and lower prices for consumables. Mail order catalogues and chain stores also offered alternatives to the local general store. With freight shipments through small town stations declining, railroads eliminated stops and eventually abandoned many branch lines. These factors all tended to favor larger trade centers, some of which grew to become "urban" places with over 2,500 residents, while disfavoring smaller trade centers, which generally declined in population and

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[77] Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 26.

[78] Harry F. Thompson, *A New South Dakota History*, 237-239.

[79] Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 27.

[80] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 327-328.

[81] Thompson, *A New South Dakota History*, 239.

[82] South Dakota State Planning Bureau, *Policy Plan for Agriculture*, 14.

sometimes disappeared altogether. From 1911 to 1956, 230 small towns were abandoned.[83] In the following decades, the construction of two interstate highways across South Dakota further exacerbated these trends. While location on or near an interstate highway did not guarantee growth—since the highway made it easy to bypass small towns in favor of larger ones with more amenities—most of the small towns that have experienced growth since the 1960s are located near I-90 or I-29.[84]

Small town population declined 11.8 percent (loss of 16,864 people) from 1940 to 1970, but losses were not even among small towns.[85] In 1950, South Dakota contained a total of 306 incorporated places, 282 of which were rural with less than 2,500 residents. Among these rural places, most larger places increased in population from 1940 to 1950 (27 of 37 places with 1,000-2,500 people increased), while most smaller places decreased in population that decade (80 of 104 places with less than 250 people decreased) (Table 5).[86] Besides population size, factors that contributed to the stability or growth of small towns included status as the county seat (from 1960 to 1970, 39.1 percent of county seats saw increases, compared to 26.8 percent of non-county seats), local schools and institutions of higher education, and availability of healthcare. Other towns benefited from proximity to urban areas, with some becoming bedroom communities to growing cities.[87] On the other hand, particularly in more isolated areas,

TABLE 5. POPULATION CHANGE IN SMALL TOWNS, 1940-1970

	1940-1950		1950-1960		1960-1970	
	# of towns	% of total	# of towns	% of total	# of towns	% of total
Increased	104	37.0	99	35.5	75	26.8
Decreased	174	62.0	179	64.1	203	72.5

[83] John E. Miller, "Small Towns in Transition after World War II," in *Papers of the 28th Annual Dakota History Conference* (Sioux Falls, SD: Augustana College, 1996), 414-417; Douglas Chittick, *Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers 1901-51* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State College, 1955), 18-19; Thompson, *A New South Dakota History*, 179.

[84] Miller, "Small Towns in Transition after World War II"; Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 333.

[85] Field and Dimit, *Population Change in Incorporated Places in South Dakota, 1960-1970*, 1.

[86] Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 16-17.

[87] Ibid., 14; Miller, "Small Towns in Transition after World War II."

particularly in more isolated areas, as small town and farm populations shrank residential development stalled and there were fewer resources to support community goods like schools, churches, and hospitals, which led to the decline or elimination of such services and precipitated further population losses.[88]

While shifts in South Dakota's urban and rural populations are essential for understanding development patterns in the modern era, it is important to remember that even throughout this period urban and rural remained two sides of the same coin. That is, South Dakota's towns and cities developed as trade centers to serve the rural population, providing markets for their agricultural products and selling the goods needed to support rural life and improvements. This relationship was recognized in the 1930s, with a pivotal study by SDSU calling attention to the fact that changes in rural populations held significant influence over the future of municipalities throughout the state:

> South Dakota towns are for the most part trading points for a rural population surrounding them. Take away the rural population and the greater number of them will disappear; increase the rural population and they will prosper and perhaps even increase in numbers.[89]

Figure 9 | Ardmore, South Dakota, c. 1910.
Ardmore Photograph Collection, South Dakota State Historical Society, Archives Department.

Small towns in South Dakota varied in their response to economic and demographic changes in the modern era. As noted, many small towns witnessed substantial population decreases or disappeared altogether. Ardmore's population, for example, dropped from 195 persons in 1940 to just 14 persons by 1970, a 93 percent decrease.

Historically, the majority of manufacturing in South Dakota existed to process farm products into consumer goods. As cities grew, increasing numbers of people worked in professional and service trades, but maintained deep roots in the rural part of the state. As recently as 2013, Rapid City was described as a "rural city" based on the collective identity and values of its residents.[90] Consequently, many South Dakotans may be more prone to identify as "East River" or "West River" rather than urban or rural.

The Missouri River forms an approximate border between two unique geographic regions of the state, with the areas east of the Missouri River generally displaying a more Midwestern character, receiving sufficient annual rainfall to support corn-based agriculture, and areas west of the Missouri River characterized by the arid climate of the Great Plains where much of the land is utilized for grazing. The East River was developed on the Midwestern grid, with farms comparably smaller than the ranches of the west, supporting a larger population and more frequent towns that serviced the surrounding agricultural population. The population density could support more community goods such as schools and churches and allowed for the quicker expansion

[88] Field and Dimit, *Population Change in Incorporated Places in South Dakota, 1960-1970* , 1.

[89] Paul Landis, *The Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers, 1901-1933* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State University, 1933), 279.

[90] Callie S. Tysdal, *Rural Renaissance: The Redevelopment of Rapid City, South Dakota*, Geography Honors Project, Macalester College, 2013.

of modern amenities such as electricity.[91] The West River features several large Indian reservations, natural features such as the Badlands that limit human occupation, and overall more dispersed settlement patterns with increasingly large farms (acre per farm doubling from 1930 to 1950) to support the types of agriculture practiced here. Consequently, the West River population never exceeded 25 percent of South Dakota's population as of 1950. The region was particularly hard hit by the losses of the 1930s, as many farmers trying to eke out a living on marginal lands could not withstand the years of drought and economic depression.[92] However, the Black Hills region, which was first settled during the gold rush of the 1870s and developed as a popular tourist destination beginning in the 1890s, saw the greatest population gains in the 1950s, with its population up 29.1 percent, compared to much more modest gains or losses in all other regions of the state.[93] Much of this growth was focused in Rapid City, the West River's largest population center, as the result of increased tourist activity and military investment in the area. While advances in transportation and electrification—and the corresponding spread of television and consumer culture—bridged some of the differences between East River and West River, as they did between rural and urban, the two regions maintained distinct differences throughout the period. In the 1960s, as earlier, agriculture and meat packing dominated the East River economy, while ranching, mining, tourism, and military spending were dominant in the west.[94] In 1973, there were 35,060 farm units in the east compared to just 8,940 in the west, but western farms averaged 2,884 acres and eastern farms averaged just 687 acres.[95] These economic differences contributed to demographic differences and differences in development patterns that shaped the regions (Figure 9 and Table 6).

B. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND EFFECTS ON SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Today the period following World War II often is idealized as one of unfettered growth and prosperity during which more and more people achieved the American dream of a middle-class lifestyle defined by a nuclear family living in a suburban household outfitted with all of the amenities of modern living. Millions of Americans did achieve this status during the period, but growth was uneven, with some states and regions

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[91] James D. McLaird, "From Bib Overalls to Cowboy Boots: East River/West River Differences in South Dakota," in *South Dakota History*, vol. 19, no. 4 (Winter 1989), 445-491; Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 31.

[92] McLaird, "From Bib Overalls to Cowboy Boots: East River/West River Differences in South Dakota"; Chittick, *Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers 1901-51* , 10; Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 26.

[93] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 17.

[94] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 350.

[95] South Dakota State Planning Bureau, *Policy Plan for Agriculture*, 13-14.

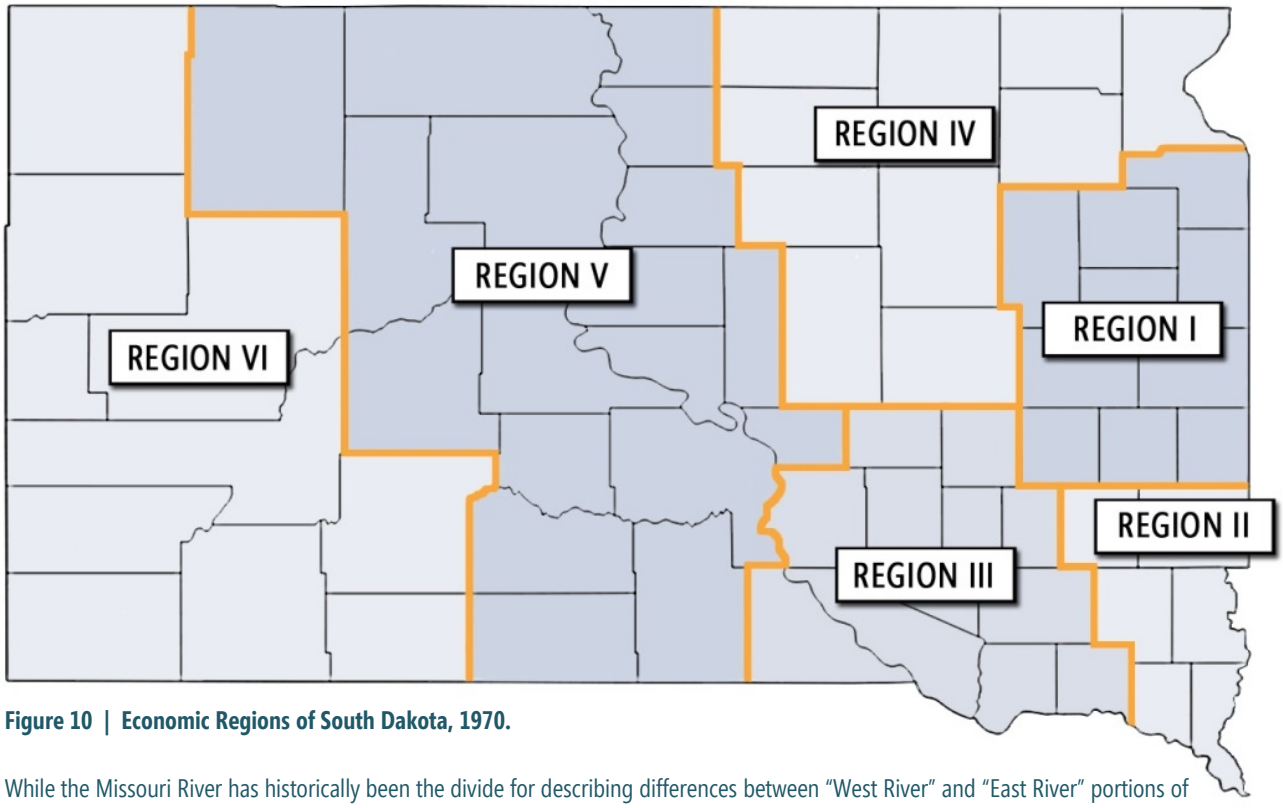

Figure 10 | Economic Regions of South Dakota, 1970.

While the Missouri River has historically been the divide for describing differences between "West River" and "East River" portions of South Dakota, the state can further be delineated into a series of subregions based on economic and physical homogeneity, including industrial, trade, and agricultural relationships, population distribution, and transportation networks within particular geographic areas. While definitions of these subregions varied between the 1930s and 1960s, six well-defined regions were developed during the study period to comply with a state emphasis (and associated Executive Order from Governor Kneip in 1970) on establishing multi-county Planning and Development Districts. These six subregions provide a means for further analyzing period trends and illustrating how population change within particular portions of the state affected subsequent settlement and development.

TABLE 6. POPULATION CHANGE IN SOUTH DAKOTA'S ECONOMIC REGIONS, 1950-1970

	1950			1960			1970		
Economic Region	Population	% change	% of state	Population	% change	% of state	Population	% change	% of state
Region I	107,418	--	16.5	105,597	-1.7	15.5	98,213	-7.0	14.7
Region II	126,390	--	19.4	139,380	10.3	20.5	146,654	5.2	22.0
Region III	109,549	--	16.8	103,184	-5.8	15.1	97,428	-5.6	14.6
Region IV	127,208	--	19.5	120,872	-5.0	17.8	115,094	-4.8	17.3
Region V	81,168	--	12.4	85,530	5.4	12.6	78,957	-7.7	11.9
Region VI	101,007	--	15.4	125,951	24.7	18.5	129,911	3.1	19.5

within states benefitting more than others from the economic and demographic trends that drove change at mid-century. While South Dakota experienced notable urban and suburban growth in the post-war years, agriculture continued to be a dominant force in the state's economy, with shifts towards electrification, mechanization, and automobile-dependence significantly changing life in rural South Dakota. Quality of life improved for many farm families, but agriculture became much less labor-intensive, contributing to dramatic population losses from rural areas. The ripple effect of such changes influenced many planning and development efforts from the 1950s through the 1970s.

Following the dramatic economic shifts of the previous decades, the post-World War II era ushered in a period of relative stability and sustained prosperity for the nation and South Dakota. Historians have noted that a trend extending to many sectors of the economy during this period was a shift toward bigness, consolidation, and efficiency—seen, for example, in the growing size of South Dakota's farms, the expansion of chain stores, the decreasing number of local trade centers, and the closing of South Dakota's one-room schoolhouses.[96] In this economy there were winners and losers, and the state's failure to provide viable employment opportunities for those displaced by such patterns of consolidation accounted for much of the outmigration seen during this period. Beyond the general population, lack of opportunities on reservations contributed to extremely high poverty rates among Native Americans.[97] Nevertheless, thousands of South Dakotans found gainful employment in an expanding professional and service sector, and many benefitted from increased government investment during this period. As agriculture's share of the state's economy decreased, economic conditions in South Dakota came to more closely resemble those of the rest of the nation.[98]

In 1953, South Dakota was the most agricultural state in the nation, deriving one-third of its income from agriculture and only 5 percent from manufacturing, which provided for an average income of $1,362 per person.[99] While this number was only 75.2 percent of the national average, it was a marked increase from the 1930s, when numbers ranged from 34.4 percent to 63.6 percent of the nationwide average income. The state's heavy dependence on agriculture contributed to variability in personal income, but throughout the 1950s the state average ranged from 68.5 percent to 85.9 percent of the national average, indicating substantial recovery since the years of the Dust Bowl and Great Depression.[100]

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[96] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 334.

[97] Ibid., 338-339.

[98] Ibid., 330.

[99] Lyle M. Bender, *The Rural Economy of South Dakota* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota Extension Service, 1956), 75.

[100] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 89.

Rates of farm mortgage foreclosures provide a useful measure of the economic strength of South Dakota's agriculture, showing how dire conditions were during the 1920s and 1930s and the extent of stabilization in the 1940s and 1950s. The period from 1921 to 1955 saw two dramatic peaks in foreclosure rates: 3,709 foreclosures involving 836,000 acres in 1924 and 3,864 foreclosures involving 850,826 acres in 1932. Between 1924 and 1937, foreclosure rates remained well over 1,000 per year, with a low of 1,749 involving 383,000 acres in 1930. The 1940s and 1950s saw dramatic improvements, with less than 20 foreclosures a year initiated since 1946, and a low of 11 foreclosures started in 1955, 5 of which were redeemed. In terms of the percentages of farms experiencing foreclosure, the West River, North Central, and South Central regions—the most arid parts of the state—experienced much higher rates in the 1920s, while foreclosures were more evenly distributed in the 1930s, with the lowest rates in the West River and Southeast. Over-optimism regarding the productive value of the land was identified as a major factor contributing to foreclosures—that is, especially in the west, many farms proved too small to be profitable. Above-average rainfall in the 1910s, a peak decade of settlement, contributed to this problem, as farmers were ill-equipped to adjust to below-average rainfall in the following decades. The increase in farm size, the return of higher rainfall rates in the 1940s, and widespread economic recovery that included higher prices for agricultural products helped bring foreclosure rates dramatically down by mid-century. However, the universally low rates after 1940 do not necessarily indicate that individual farmers were not struggling; rather, with a stronger overall agricultural economy and land market, farmers had other options, such as selling their farms, instead of foreclosure.[101]

Figure 11 | Grain Truck, Hughes County, 1950s. Highway Scenes Photograph Collection, South Dakota State Historical Society, Archives Department.

Farming activity remained a common scene throughout South Dakota at mid-century, with the vast majority of the state's land given over to agricultural pursuits. Even just outside of city limits, the landscape quickly returned to one sparsely dotted with farm buildings.

[101] Gabriel Lundy and R.L. Berry, *Economic Strength of South Dakota's Agriculture as Measured by Farm Mortgage Foreclosures 1921-55* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State College, 1957).

Into 1950, 91.4 percent of the state's land area was still devoted to farming, with farms averaging 674 acres. While the number of farms and farm population were down significantly from the highs recorded in 1930 (66,452 farms, down from 83,157, and 302,887 people living on farms, down from 390,205 persons in 1930), production was up sharply and cash farm income increased nearly five-fold from 1940 to 1950, with about two-thirds of that income coming from livestock sales. While farm costs also increased significantly during this period as farmers relied more heavily on chemical herbicides and fertilizers and on specialized machinery, high farm income allowed many to invest in mortgage reduction and farm improvements, including new home construction and home improvements, and the tenancy rate dropped from 53 percent in 1940 to 30 percent in 1950.[102]

From 1930 to 1975, the number of farms decreased from 83,200 to 43,000 (a 48 percent decline), but average size increased from 439 acres to 1,050 acres (a 140 percent increase) (Table 7). Moreover, converse to many states, despite the loss of approximately 30,000 farms between 1940 and 1975 and despite a drop in farm populations, South Dakota's total agricultural acreage actually increased by more than 6 million acres during the same period.[103] This acreage was split between the more than 35,000 farms in the East River area and the nearly 9,000 farms in the West River area. While this may suggest that farming became "big business" during this period, in 1975, 87 percent of farms remained individually or family-owned, representing 79 percent of all farm acreage; 12 percent of farms and 16 percent of acreage were owned by partnerships; and just 1 percent of farms and 4 percent of acreage were owned by corporations. Increasingly few people were employed as farm laborers. In 1954, 81.2 percent of South Dakota's farms employed no hired help, and less than 6 percent employed two men or more. Among family farmers, there was a large increase in part-owners during this period, as farm owners leased additional land to maximize their productivity and tenants acquired the capital needed to buy portions of the land that they farmed.[104]

The types of agriculture practiced varied widely across the state, affecting development patterns, farm size, and productivity. In the southeastern area, which comprised just 5.8 percent of the state's landmass but 23.8 percent of its population in 1962, livestock feeding, hogs, dairy, and poultry production prevailed. The dominant crops were corn, oats, and soybeans. The northeastern part of the state was defined by general farming, including production of wheat, flax, and barley as cash crops and corn and oats as feed

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[102] Business Research Bureau, *The South Dakota Economy at Mid-Century 1900-1950*, 22-23.

[103] U.S. Census Bureau, *1974 Census of Agriculture* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977).

[104] South Dakota State Planning Bureau, *Policy Plan for Agriculture*, 14-17; Russel L. Berry, "How Large Will They Get?" in *South Dakota Farm and Home Research* (November 1956).

TABLE 7. FARM CHARACTERISTICS IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 1970

	Farm Size			
	% of farms, Under 219 acres	% of farms, 220-499 acres	% of farms, 500-999 acres	% of farms, 1000+ acres
Region I				
Brookings	32.1	47.4	17.7	2.8
Clark	16.5	30.5	37.5	15.5
Codington	22.7	37.7	30.9	8.7
Deuel	24.0	50.4	21.3	4.3
Grant	24.6	47.0	21.1	7.3
Hamlin	21.6	43.5	30.1	4.8
Kingsbury	24.4	37.0	29.3	9.3
Lake	31.1	49.4	17.0	2.5
Miner	23.6	37.6	32.1	6.7
Moody	33.6	49.7	15.4	1.3
Region II				
Clay	37.4	43.2	17.7	1.7
Lincoln	43.8	47.0	8.8	0.4
McCook	29.0	48.7	20.6	1.7
Minnehaha	42.7	44.2	11.8	1.3
Turner	37.9	53.3	8.3	0.5
Union	42.5	45.0	11.1	1.4
Region III				
Aurora	15.1	29.7	38.4	16.8
Bon Homme	29.6	54.5	14.7	1.2
Brule	13.6	16.7	31.6	38.1
Charles Mix	22.0	36.2	30.9	10.9
Davison	28.3	39.5	26.0	6.2
Douglas	22.8	42.2	32.8	2.2
Gregory	18.5	32.2	28.1	21.2
Hanson	22.4	48.3	24.5	4.8
Hutchinson	22.5	54.7	20.9	1.9
Jerauld	22.8	24.6	31.3	21.3
Sanborn	20.5	32.4	32.2	14.9
Yankton	36.3	48.0	13.8	1.9

	Farm Size			
	% of farms, Under 219 acres	% of farms, 220-499 acres	% of farms, 500-999 acres	% of farms, 1000+ acres
Region IV				
Beadle	21.7	25.3	34.1	18.9
Brown	19.9	22.1	33.4	24.6
Day	20.3	35.6	32.4	11.7
Edmunds	12.6	12.2	36.3	38.9
Faulk	12.7	14.1	25.1	48.1
Hand	13.8	12.6	29.7	43.9
McPherson	7.7	15.7	36.4	40.2
Marshall	17.2	28.1	35.8	18.9
Roberts	22.8	42.4	27.0	7.8
Spink	14.0	18.6	34.4	33.0
Region V				
Buffalo	1.9	11.4	23.8	62.9
Campbell	10.0	11.1	38.3	40.6
Corson	10.5	10.4	16.7	62.4
Dewey	14.5	8.3	19.8	57.4
Haakon	11.0	4.9	11.8	72.3
Hughes	18.1	9.0	16.0	56.9
Hyde	7.6	6.0	19.9	66.5
Jones	13.0	11.8	15.9	59.3
Lyman	12.2	11.2	19.3	57.3
Mellette	15.2	7.3	12.0	65.5
Perkins	8.7	6.0	12.3	73.0
Potter	10.1	11.2	28.5	50.2
Stanley	14.8	4.7	10.0	70.5
Sully	8.2	10.8	17.5	63.5
Todd	11.6	10.5	19.7	58.2
Tripp	14.0	16.7	27.5	41.8
Walworth	15.6	14.2	28.8	41.4
Zeibach	36.0	8.8	7.5	71.5
Region VI				
Bennett	16.5	8.9	16.5	58.1
Butte	24.5	22.2	16.5	36.8
Custer	28.8	15.0	13.1	43.1
Fall River	9.8	8.6	17.1	64.5
Harding	6.7	3.3	9.6	80.4
Jackson	7.8	2.8	8.5	80.9
Lawrence	36.1	24.7	16.0	23.2
Meade	13.4	8.8	13.9	63.9
Pennington	29.0	10.7	16.6	43.7
Shannon	28.2	6.5	13.7	51.6

crops. The North and South James River areas and the North and South Central areas, located to either side of the 20-inch rainfall line, were generally considered the western corn belt fringe and the transition zones between the intensive farming of the east and the grazing of the west. Each region specialized in its unique mix of feed and cash crop cultivation, livestock feeding, and grazing, depending on local geographic and climatic conditions. The Range area of the west was dominated by cattle and sheep grazing, with pockets of wheat production, particularly where irrigation was employed.[105]

Despite their differences, each region experienced dramatic changes around mid-century. In the eastern part of the state, tractors, combines, hay balers, forage harvesters, and a multitude of other specialized labor-saving equipment increased efficiency and decreased the need for farm labor, although farm size in southeastern South Dakota grew at a smaller rate than other parts of the state. In the western rangelands, investment by out-of-state ranchers contributed to the trend towards bigger and bigger ranches for running cattle herds. Irrigation projects of the Missouri Basin Project promised to increase yields in the transitional lands in the central part of the state, particularly the James River Valley. No South Dakota farmer could fully escape the impacts of natural fluctuations in the state's climate that tended to bring drought conditions approximately every 20 years. While South Dakotans disagreed about the role that the federal government should play in providing agricultural price supports and subsidies, they all faced the difficult reality that as production increased prices generally fell, leaving many to feel that, no matter how efficiently they operated, they had little control over their economic fortunes.[106] Many did agree, however, that attracting new industries and taking other steps to strengthen the state's economy overall was just as important to the fates of South Dakota's farmers as to the thousands who left agriculture.[107]

Throughout South Dakota's history, agriculture had been the driving force of the state's economy. Even those individuals who were not directly employed in farming were heavily dependent on the fortunes of the state's farmers. Trade centers were established as places for farmers to sell the fruits of their labors and purchase the goods needed to sustain life on the farm. Industries developed to process the crops and livestock that the state's farmers produced. Even as mechanization made farm work less labor intensive and increasing numbers of people moved to urban areas, agriculture remained South Dakota's dominant industry. In 1940, 48.2 percent of South Dakota's labor force was employed in agriculture, with only 4.6 percent working in manufacturing. While many people left agriculture in the following decades, with only 40.4 percent employed in this sector in 1950 and 30.5 percent in 1960, manufacturing grew slowly, employing only 5.0

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[105] Bender, *The Rural Economy of South Dakota*, 83.

[106] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 327-329.

[107] Bender, *The Rural Economy of South Dakota*.

percent of the workforce in 1950 and 6.6 percent in 1960. Throughout the period, over half of those employed in manufacturing worked in the field of food and kindred products.[108] While the number of food manufacturers declined from 1939 to 1958, the number of employees, payroll, and value added through manufacture increased; during the period, food-related manufacturing saw a 278 percent increase in value added per worker, higher than any other major industry.[109] In 1949, a quarter of the people working in Sioux Falls were employed in manufacturing, with two-thirds of these workers employed by 14 meat processing, baking, and dairy companies.[110] In 1958, the John Morrell & Co. beef, pork, and lamb processors, employed 3,500 of South Dakota's 13,000 manufacturing workers.[111] No other manufacturing sector stood out as particularly significant to the economy of the state in terms of number of employees or value added, with food-related manufacturing accounting for 64 percent of all industrial employees and 71 percent of all industrial value by 1958. Non-food-related manufacturing was spread among a variety of industries, with printing and publishing, lumber and wood products, and stone, clay, and glass products all of secondary importance from 1939 to 1958.[112]

The state's business and political leaders recognized the value of building a more diverse economy. Many accepted that agriculture probably always would be the state's primary industry, but they recognized that agriculture was changing and that the shift to larger farms and a smaller agricultural workforce was likely to continue. Other employment opportunities were needed to stop the flow of young people out of the state and maintain a healthy local economy with strong local trade centers. This not only would benefit the residents of the state's growing cities, but also support the state's farmers by providing a local market for perishable, high-value farm goods like milk, eggs, fruits, and vegetables, while also offering opportunities for off-farm employment to provide the supplemental income needed for some small family farms to maintain their land.[113]

In the 1950s, Joseph J. Foss became the first governor of South Dakota to place strong emphasis on attracting new jobs and industry to the state. He held a two-day industrial development conference in Huron in 1955, which led to the development of the South Dakota Industrial Development and Expansion Agency to attract outside businesses to locate here. Government efforts to promote the state were matched by efforts by the

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[108] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*.

[109] V.E. Montgomery, *Manufacturing in South Dakota 1939-1958* (Vermillion, SD: State University of South Dakota, 1962), 22.

[110] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *Comprehensive City Plan for the City of Sioux Falls*.

[111] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 331.

[112] Montgomery, *Manufacturing in South Dakota 1939-1958*, 22.

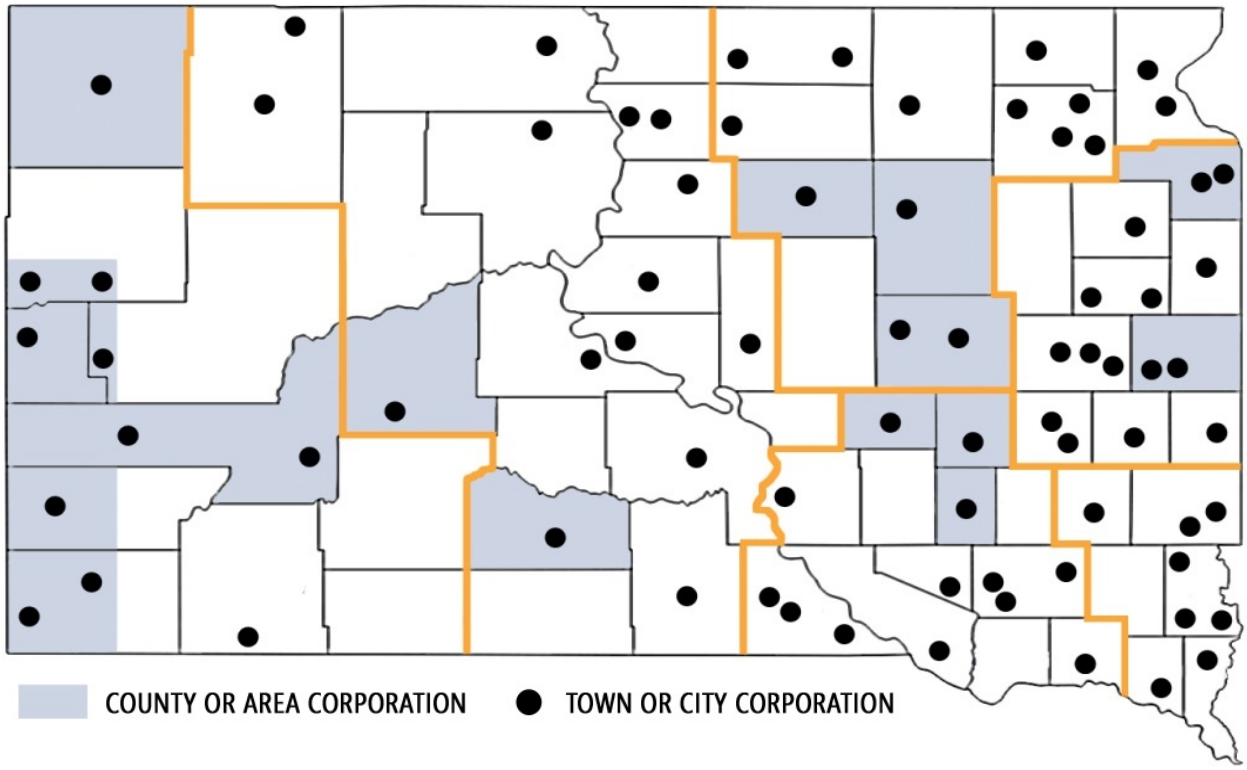
[113] Bender, *The Rural Economy of South Dakota*.

Greater South Dakota Association representing the private sector.[114] A 1950 bulletin on industrial development in South Dakota published by the Business Research Bureau of the University of South Dakota provided guidance for making the case for industrial expansion in the state. It noted that the destructive power of the atomic bomb pointed to the need for de-centralized industrial development for security purposes, so that attacks on America's large urban areas would not wipe out the vast majority of the country's productive potential. This contributed to a trend toward building industrial plants in smaller cities and towns and in the middle part of the country. An ever-improving transportation network and the availability of plentiful, inexpensive power from the hydroelectric plants of the Missouri Basin Project contributed to the attractiveness of the region. Boosters were encouraged to carefully consider the growth potential of a new industry and to seek companies that were well-suited to the natural, capital, and human resources of the region. Arguments focused on the location of production materials, labor force, sites, industrial fuel, transportation facilities, market, distribution facilities, power, water, living conditions, laws and regulations, tax structure, and climate were considered most likely to win over potential employers.[115]

Figure 12 | City and Area Development Corporations in South Dakota, 1970.

The first development corporation designed to attract industry was established in 1947 in Watertown, but city, county, and area corporations exploded in number following formation of the IDEA in 1955.

While progress was slow, manufacturing continued to increase in South Dakota throughout the period of this study. In the 1960s, South Dakota benefited from the national trend toward locating manufacturing facilities outside of urban centers, which



[114] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 331-332.

[115] Business Research Bureau, *Industrial Development in South Dakota* (Vermillion, South Dakota: University of South Dakota, 1950).

saw a 3.4 percent increase in manufacturing in non-metropolitan areas compared to a 1.7 percent increase in metropolitan areas across the country. In South Dakota, employment in manufacturing increased by 20 percent in the 1960s and 49 percent from 1970 to 1977. Notably, over 70 percent of this increase was in durable goods, indicating that the economy was diversifying away from foodstuffs. However, in real numbers, gains in the manufacturing population were far smaller than losses in agricultural employment during this period, out-migration continued to be a considerable problem for the state, and manufacturing growth (in terms of the working population) was limited compared to expansion in other sectors of the state economy, including, for example, professional and service work and business services (Tables 8 and 9).[116]

TABLE 8. EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH DAKOTA INDUSTRIES, 1950-1960

	Percentage of the Population		
Industry	1950	1960	% change
Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries	40.6	30.6	-10
Mining	1.1	1.0	-0.1
Construction	6.2	6.4	0.2
Manufacturing	4.9	6.6	1.7
Transportation, Communications, and Utilities	5.4	5.1	-0.3
Wholesale and Retail	17.8	18.9	1.1
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	2.0	2.8	0.8
Services	15.4	20.7	5.3
Public Administration	3.9	4.7	0.8

TABLE 9. REGIONAL EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY, 1970

	Percentage of the Population					
Industry	Region I	Region II	Region III	Region IV	Region V	Region VI
Agriculture, Forestry, Fisheries	27.4	12.7	28.0	25.7	31.3	12.8
Mining	.4	.2	.1	00	.1	4.3
Construction	5.5	5.4	6.0	6.0	8.1	7.0
Manufacturing	4.7	12.9	5.0	5.6	1.8	7.2
Transportation, Communications, and Utilities	4.1	6.3	3.6	5.2	4.1	5.3
Wholesale and Retail	19.6	23.5	21.0	20.9	16.7	21.6
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	3.3	4.4	2.5	3.0	2.8	3.5
Services	31.0	30.8	29.8	28.3	26.8	31.7
Public Administration	4.0	3.8	4.0	5.3	8.3	6.6

[116] Goeken, *Factors Influencing Manufacturing Development in South Dakota*.

Beyond agriculture and manufacturing, federal government investment provided an important boon to the South Dakota economy in the mid-twentieth century. The construction of four dams on the Missouri River under the Missouri Basin Project employed hundreds in the late 1940s and 1950s. Overall, construction costs of the Missouri Basin Project approached $1.5 billion between the mid-1940s and mid-1960s; although not all of this money was spent in South Dakota, the state benefitted greatly from this investment.[117] Of course, such projects also substantially contributed to the state's swelling tourism industry, which further boosted growth during the period. Ellsworth AFB was established in 1941 as the Rapid City Army Air Base to serve as a training center for B-17 Flying Fortress bombing units. The base, renamed in honor of Brig. Gen. Richard E. Ellsworth in 1953, grew to become the Black Hills' largest employer and helped spur the explosive expansion of Rapid City in the 1950s. In the early 1960s, three underground complexes each containing three Titan intercontinental ballistic missiles were constructed near Hermosa, Wicksville, and Sturgis and operated from Ellsworth. Soon after, 150 Minutemen missiles were installed at installations near Belle Fourche, Union Center, and Wall, again with central command at Ellsworth. Construction of these complexes employed thousands, and their ongoing operation employed hundreds of military personnel, significantly boosting the local economy.[118] Smaller federal investments also had meaningful local impact. In 1949, for example, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) located its headquarters for the Dakotas and Nebraska in Aberdeen, which in turn sparked additional federal agencies to establish offices in the area. In 1970, the Earth Resources Observation Systems Data Center opened near Garretson, generating about 500 jobs.[119]

From 1951 to 1961, personal income in the state rose from $932 million to $1.29 billion, including a huge increase in wages from government work (from $93 million to $165 million) during this period due, in part, to some of the investments mentioned above. Per capita personal income rose from $1,293 to $2,213 from 1955 to 1965. Farm proprietor's income fell from $348 million to $238 million and farm wages fell from $32 million to $21 million during the decade. Thus, income growth in the state represents significant growth in non-farming trades and professions. Some of the most significant gains were seen in contract construction (from $29 million to $87 million), wholesale and retail trade (from $95 million to $144 million), and service industries (form $37 million to $65 million), all closely related to the expansion and growth of the urban population and service class.[120]

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[117] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 325.

[118] Ibid., 326-327.

[119] Leo A. Daly Company, *Aberdeen Comprehensive Plan Report Number 1: Background Studies* (Omaha, NE: Leo A. Daly, 1967), 15; Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 333.

[120] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 78-79.

C. DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND HOMEOWNERSHIP

A significant driving force for residential development in the post-World War II era was the growing number and size of families emerging from the 1946 to 1964 baby boom. Before the war, South Dakota saw a steady decrease in the number of children under 5 years per 1,000 women aged 15-44 years, declining from 728.7 in 1890 to 401.9 in 1940. A sharp increase in 1950 brought totals to 572.7 per 1,000 women. Adjusted to account only for married women, this number was 798.3 per 1,000 in 1950, up from 687.7 per 1,000 in 1940. The increase in absolute numbers of children under 5 was 99.2 percent in urban areas, 29.7 percent in rural-non-farm areas, and only 5.7 percent on farms. However, the ratio of children under 5 years per 1,000 women aged 15-44 years on farms remained higher—847.1 per 1,000 compared to 743.6 per 1,000 in urban areas.[121]

Increases in the number of young children were matched by increases in the number of children under age 15 as a percentage of the total population, rising from 27.8 percent in 1940 to 29.2 percent in 1950 and 33.6 percent (representing the significant impact of the baby boom) in 1960, with numbers falling back to about 29 percent in 1970. Notably, due in large part to the outmigration trends among young adults noted earlier, the percentage of the population over 65 years also grew steadily: 6.9 percent in 1940, 8.5 percent in 1950, 10.5 percent in 1960, and 12.1 percent in 1970.[122] South Dakota's numbers outpaced national averages in both categories. Thus, in 1960 and 1970, over 40 percent of the population was not in their productive prime, with serious implications for the state's economy, housing market, and provision of services. Further, these two segments of the population were increasingly geographically divided, with young families concentrated in urban areas, creating increased pressures for housing, schools, and other related construction in cities, and older adults concentrated in rural areas, with an unmet need for sufficient retirement housing in South Dakota's small towns.

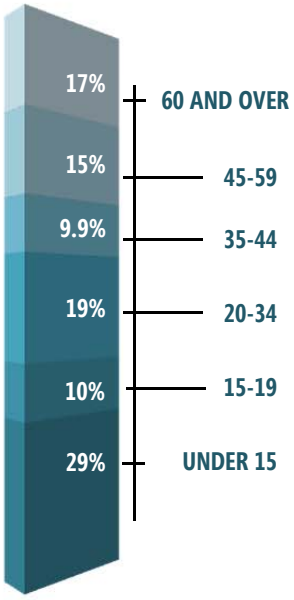

Figure 13 | Population Distribution, 1970.

By 1970, the population of South Dakota began to even out between young and old, with those less than 35 years of age hovering under 60 percent of the population.

Census records provide demographic statistics by "white" and "non-white." Rural white family size decreased from 1930 to 1950, while urban family size decreased in 1940 but then increased in 1950, making urban and farm rural white families about equal in size: state average for all locations decreased from 4.28 persons in 1930 to 3.41 persons in 1950, while rural farm families decreased from 4.66 persons to 3.41 persons; rural non-farm families decreased from 3.82 persons to 3.13 persons; and urban families decreased from 3.99 persons to 3.90 persons. Non-white (predominantly Native American) family size increased during this period from 4.93 persons to 5.02 persons, with gains in rural farm areas (mostly on reservations) and small decreases elsewhere.[123]

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[121] Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 54.

[122] Frank Hobbs and Nicole Stoops, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002).

[123] Johansen, *Population Trends in Relation to Resources Development in South Dakota*, 54.

While, on average, women were having larger families in the post-war era, more women also were working outside the home, including a significant number of mothers. While South Dakota's male workforce decreased 13.7 percent between 1930 and 1960, reflecting a reduced population and significant demographic shifts during that period, the female workforce increased 93.9 percent from 37,276 women to 72,268 women.[124] In 1960, 72,268 of 229,673 females over 14 years of age were in the labor force, representing 31.5 percent of women in this age range, up from 23.7 percent in 1950. Of these working women, 42,423 were married with their husband present (28 percent of such women), and 11,570 had children under age 6 (19.3 percent of such women. The largest portion of working women were aged 45 to 64 years (25,534), with numbers fairly evenly distributed among the 18 to 24, 25 to 34, and 35 to 44 age groups (11,879, 11,414, and 13,853 women, respectively).[125]

The formation of new households during the period had direct implications for the housing market (Table 11). By 1970, there were more than 200,000 households in the state, with a substantial increase (14.5 percent) in urban households during the 1960s. Increases were particularly dramatic in secondary population centers, corresponding with substantial increases in population, with Aberdeen (19.7 percent), Brookings (27.1 percent), Madison (19.8 percent), Spearfish (41.9 percent), Vermillion (50.2 percent), and Yankton (28.3 percent) all well above the average statewide increase. As a result of diminishing populations, the number of rural households across the state decreased by nearly 5 percent period during the same period.[126] Increasing numbers of households meant increasing numbers of dwellings. South Dakota contained 194,573 dwelling units in 1950 (182,978 occupied), up from 179,744 in 1940. While 10 percent of rural farm houses were vacated between 1940 and 1950—matched by an 8 percent decrease in the number of farms—the number of houses in towns increased by 9

TABLE 10. FAMILIES BY ECONOMIC REGION, 1970

	Region I	Region II	Region III	Region IV	Region V	Region VI
Population	98,213	146,654	97,428	115,094	78,957	129,911
Number of Families	24,292	35,916	23,769	28,186	18,634	31,144

[124] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 57.

[125] Richard Beatty, *County Basic Data for South Dakota* (Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota, 1954); Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 67, 70.

[126] U.S. Census Bureau, *Nineteenth Decennial Census of the United States (1970)* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972).

This panoramic aerial view shows a portion of the vast new residential construction in Huron. A great deal of new construction in this area is planned for 1963.

Huron Residential Construction Progresses at Phenominal Rate

While residential home building has been developing rapidly in new areas pictured above, in the vicinity of Madison and Washington schools, many new homes have been and are being built throughout the city

New apartment buildings are located on the western edge of the city and current plans project future developments both south and west of the highway 37-14 truck route.

Huron home developers are anticipating one of the biggest new home construction years in history in 1963.

Figure 14 | "Huron Residential Construction Progresses at Phenomenal Rate." The Daily Plainsman (Huron), 26 April 1963.

As the number of families increased throughout the state—particularly during the 1960s—new residential construction followed. Proclamations such as this one from Huron were common throughout the state as communities witnessed new levels of growth and development.

percent and the number of houses in cities increased by 47 percent. These numbers represent a significant housing boom in South Dakota's cities, with 14.2 percent of all houses that existed in the state in 1950 built since 1940. The average value of an owner-occupied house was $5,410, with the average dwelling unit containing 5 rooms and averaging 3.1 people per unit. In 1950, 38 percent of housing units had hot running water, 41.4 percent had central heating, 73.6 percent had mechanical refrigeration, and 96.1 percent had radio. By 1980, there were nearly 270,000 housing units in the state, approximately 90 percent (242,523 units) of which were occupied. While overall statistics represent the breadth of the residential building boom during the period, they also evidence fluctuations of the period—characterized by steadiness during the 1950s and 1960s, with particularly high rates of construction coming in the 1970s, surpassing combined totals of the 1950s and 1960s—as well as the general trend toward urban areas in new construction, even if totals varied considerably per decade and by ownership type (Tables 11 and 12).

TABLE 11. HOUSING UNITS CONSTRUCTED 1940-1980

	Built 1940s			Built 1950s			Built 1960s			Built 1970s		
	# of dwelling units	% change from previous decade	% of 1940s total	# of dwelling units	% change from previous decade	% of 1950s totals	# of dwelling units	% change from previous decade	% of 1960s total	# of dwelling units	% change from previous decade	# of 1970s total
South Dakota	19,898	--	--	32,856	65	--	35,371	6.5	--	71,843	103	--
Urban	11,927	--	59.9	21,156	77	64.4	19,580	-7.4	55.4	37,150	89	51.7
Rural	7,971	--	40.1	11,700	46	35.6	15,791	35	44.6	34,693	119	48.3

TABLE 12. OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS CONSTRUCTED 1940-1980

	Built 1940s			Built 1950s			Built 1960s			Built 1970s		
	# of dwellings	% change from previous decade	% of 1940s total	# of dwellings	% change from previous decade	% of 1950s total	# of dwellings	% change from previous decade	% of 1960s total	# of dwellings	% change from previous decade	% of 1970s total
South Dakota	11,284	--	--	22,482	99	--	23,158	3.0	--	42,093	81	--
Urban	6,592	--		14,623	121	65.0	12,381	-15	53.5	17,864	44	42.4
Rural	4,692	--		7,859	67	35.0	10,777	37	46.5	24,229	124	57.6

Historically, South Dakotans have enjoyed a high rate of homeownership. From a high of 71.5 percent in 1900, rates dropped throughout the first part of the twentieth century, reaching a low of 45.0 percent in 1940 following the devastation of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression. Numbers rebounded significantly after World War II, however, reaching 62.2 percent in 1950, 67.2 percent in 1960, and 69.6 percent in 1970, significantly exceeding the national averages each year (43.6 percent in 1940, 55.0 percent in 1950, 61.9 percent in 1960, and 62.9 percent in 1970).[127] While the rural population decreased during this period, the rate of rural homeownership increased at a greater rate than that in urban areas. While the rates for urban, rural nonfarm, and rural farm areas differed by less than 6 percent in 1940 (all with low rates in the 40-50 percentile), rural gains were nearly 10 percent higher than urban gains in the 1950s (56.8 percent urban, 65.2 percent rural nonfarm, 65.0 percent farm), with farms again outpacing urban areas by nearly 10 percent in the 1960s (62.8 percent urban, 68.1 percent rural nonfarm, 72.4 percent farm) (Table 13).

[127] Hobbs and Stoops, *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*.

Part of this disparity results from the significant push for home and farm ownership in rural areas as South Dakota's economy recovered in the 1940s. Farmer's Home Administration Farm Ownership Loans were established by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937 with the goal of assisting tenants, farm laborers, and sharecroppers to purchase family-sized farm units, thereby reducing tenancy. In 1950, 30 percent of South Dakota's farms were operated by tenants, down from 53 percent in 1940 and representing the lowest percentage since 1910. A small but significant percentage—4.53 percent or 554 of 12,228—of farm ownerships achieved in this period were attributable to the FmHA program.[128] It should be considered, however, given the extent of outmigration from rural areas during the period, that these rates also reflect, at least in part, a large number of renters leaving rural areas, in addition to some tenants purchasing their own homes.[129]

TABLE 13. HOME OWNERSHIP IN SOUTH DAKOTA BY 1980

	Occupied Housing Units		Owner-occupied Housing Units		Renter-occupied Housing Units	
	# of dwellings	% of total	# of dwellings	% of total	# of dwellings	% of total
South Dakota	242,523	--	168,002	69.3	74,521	30.7
Urban	117,693	--	72,325	61.5	45,368	38.5
Rural	124,830	--	95,677	76.6	29,153	23.4

D. AUTOMOBILE AGE

While South Dakota's railroads experienced devastating decline during the economic retraction of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression, they rebounded significantly during World War II, serving as a primary means of moving troops and freight cargos for the war effort. Rail travel also became more efficient with the transition to diesel locomotives, removing the need for frequent stops at coaling towers and water tanks, and the shift to telephone and radio communications, removing the need for telegraph services. Concurrently, widespread automobile ownership and the improvement of local roads made it easier for farmers to take their products to larger trade centers. This, matched with decreasing numbers of farmers in South Dakota during this period, greatly diminished the demand for rail service to smaller rural communities, leading to the closure of many small-town stations. Between 1931 and 1951, approximately 12,200

[128] C. M. Johnson, "From Tenancy to Farm Ownership," *South Dakota Farm and Home Research*, vol. IV, no. 2 (Winter 1953).

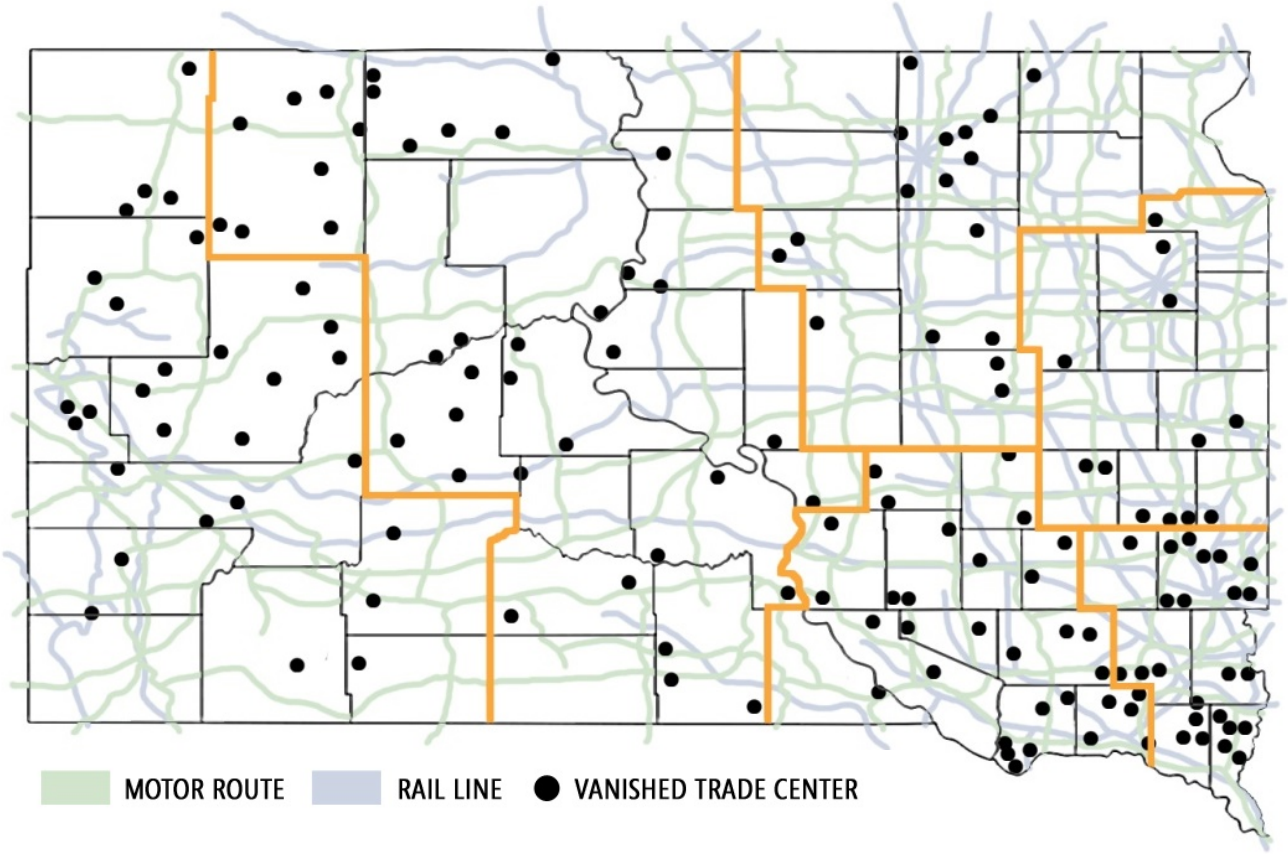
[129] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 234-235.

miles of weekly train service were discontinued.[130] The advent of the interstate highway system and the expanding airline industry further diminished demand for passenger, freight, and mail service. This led to the abandonment of thousands of miles of track on South Dakota's branch lines in the 1960s and 1970s, resulting in a skeletal system connecting Sioux Falls, Mitchell, Huron, Watertown, Aberdeen, Pierre, and Rapid City by the late 1990s.[131]

Figure 15 | Rail Network, Major Motor Routes, and Vanished Trade Centers, 1950.

By mid-century, the state's fragmented rail system was being replaced by a network of highways and roads. While proximity to new infrastructure was not the only indicator of a community's potential for survival, those distanced from improved roads were more apt to struggle, as evidenced by the number of trade centers that disappeared from 1930 to 1950.

In place of the railroads, a much improved network of highways and municipal roads was carved out of the landscape into the mid-twentieth century in response to increasing automobile usage, substantially affecting development patterns throughout the state. South Dakota had consistently ranked among the top states for car ownership since the early 1900s. By 1930, 86.5 percent of South Dakota's farms had an automobile compared to just 58 percent nationally; 20 percent of farms in the state also had a truck. Automobile registrations had exploded between 1911 and 1921, rising from 7,050 to 110,997, and this number continued to increase in the following decades—with temporary dips during the depression and war years—to nearly double by 1950 (more



[130] Chittick, *Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers 1901-51*, 34.

[131] Mark Hufstetler and Michael Bedeau, *South Dakota's Railroads: An Historic Context* (Butte, MT: Renewable Technologies, Inc., 1998).

than 216,000 registrations). Between 1921 and 1951, the number of trucks increased from 8,277 to more than 73,000. By 1960, more than 225,000 automobiles and 97,000 trucks were registered in South Dakota, and, by 1970, totals surpassed 290,000 and 130,000, respectively.[132]

Concurrent with increasing automobile use, expenditures on construction and maintenance of roads increased during the period of study in response to planning studies of the 1940s—when construction funds were limited to military needs—and federal actions such as the passing of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944, which substantiated the need for a considerable post-war highway construction program across the country. Initially, progress stalled in the aftermath of the war period, as reflected in Governor George T. Mickelson's statement that "South Dakota, from the highway standpoint, is plagued with small population, large mileage and limited revenues."[133] Yet, planning moved forward, largely on the back of the Interim Committee on Highways, established during the 1940s to undertake studies related to the establishment of a state trunk system of primary roads connecting South Dakota's primary trade centers; secondary, county, and township roads would then connect the countryside to this primary transportation network. Presenting its findings to the state legislature, the committee proposed a substantial 10-year plan and made calls for increased revenue to support a modern transportation system in the post-war period:

> With approximately 6,000 miles of State Highway Trunk System, it is no small job to build and maintain this system (with as small a population as we have); and additional funds must be made available to the Highway Commission if it is to carry out any reasonable program...[134]

Yet, despite the committee's recommendations, the legislature failed to take action. It would not be until the 1950s and the increased emphasis on local cooperation placed on state highway departments by the federal government in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1950 that substantial improvements and expansion would come to South Dakota's highway network. Such impetus came in the form of state legislature appropriations of $1.5 million beginning in 1951 and subsequent Federal-Aid Highway Acts of 1952 and 1954, which increased national allotments for highway development and improvement and placed additional power within the states to move forward with secondary projects.[135] By fiscal year 1957, South Dakota was receiving in excess of $22.5

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[132] Federal Highway Administration, "Motor-vehicle Registrations, by State, 1900-1995," electronic resource, available at https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/ohim/summary95/section2.html.

[133] Gentry Stanley, *History of the South Dakota Highway Department, 1941-1960*, Master's thesis Augustana College, 1969, 27.

[134] Ibid., 28.

[135] Beyond the federal momentum provided to states, South Dakota's highway construction program was bolstered in the 1950s by the state's ability to become debt free for the first time since the 1910s.

million for expenditures on more than 600 miles of highways, including important cross-state linkages of Interstate 90—which connected Minnesota and Wyoming by way of South Dakota—and Interstate 29—which connected Sioux Falls with Sioux City, Iowa.[136] Expenditures by the Department of Highways rose dramatically during the period, from $23 million in 1955 to more than $58 million by 1964.[137] Such linkages were increasingly important for the state's rapidly expanding tourism industry (particularly in the Black Hills region), providing efficient access across diverse landscapes; fringe industries that required on modern trucking and transportation routes, and burgeoning universities that worked diligently to attract a student mass in a period of intense competition and campus growth.

Figure 16 | Interstate 29 Dedication at Beresford, 1962. Highway Dept. Photograph Collection, South Dakota State Historical Society, Archives Department.

TABLE 14. STATE HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION EXPENDITURES, 1955-1964

	Construction	Total (inclusive of maintenance)
1955	$16.0 million	$23.0 million
1956	$17.6 million	$24.1 million
1957	$27.3 million	$30.9 million
1958	$22.4 million	$27.2 million
1959	$30.6 million	$35.3 million
1960	$37.0 million	$41.9 million
1961	$44.7 million	$49.7 million
1962	$47.4 million	$52.1 million
1963	$39.4 million	$44.5 million
1964	$52.2 million	$58.5 million

On the wave of increased state expenditures, a much expanded state highway system emerged, with 5,950 miles on the state trunk highway system in 1940, 6,081 miles in 1950, 7,161 miles in 1960, and 8,427 miles in 1970. Increase in automobile use and the accompanying improvement and expansion of transportation infrastructure in turn facilitated continuing trends of population concentration in primary and secondary markets such as Sioux Falls and Rapid City, as well as intermediate communities such as Mitchell, Aberdeen, and Vermillion. As previously discussed, the combination of the development of a reliable road network and widespread ownership of automobiles also had significant impact on life in rural South Dakota. With most farmers owning a vehicle, they could travel further to take their crops to market and purchase goods, allowing them to shop around for the best deals rather than conducting the majority of their business in whatever town happened to be closest. This new economy favored the growth of some towns and the decline of others, irrevocably changing small town South

With this, the hesitancy to fund a large-scale statewide program began to dissipate. Stanley, *History of the South Dakota Highway Department, 1941-1960*, 36.

[136] Ibid., 38.

[137] V.E. Montgomery, *The Construction Industry in South Dakota* (Vermillion, SD: State University of South Dakota, 1966), 19.

Figure 17 | Road Construction Along the Countryside, 1962. Highway Scenes Photograph Collection, South Dakota State Historical Society, Archives Department.

Road construction brought instant landscape-level change to an area, forever transforming not only development trends but also business patterns.

Dakota forever as entire communities disappeared from the map in an age of rapid transportation growth.[138]

Car ownership also increased the viability and appeal of suburban living, contributing to the growth of suburbs, fragmentation of the rural fringe, and transformation of some small towns into bedroom communities for nearby urban areas. Along with the new residential development in these areas came shopping centers, drive-ins, service stations, motor lodges, and a whole host of mid-twentieth century commercial development geared to the passing motorist. Unquestionably, the automobile and the improved transportation network fundamentally altered the landscape of South Dakota, fueled shifting geographies, and fed the growth of a few communities at the expense of many. By the end of the period, modern society's relationship with the automobile was nearly circular by the mid-to-late twentieth century, with automobiles facilitating new development rings at the edges of a community, which, in turn, necessitated continued reliance on the automobile as part of everyday life.

The relationship was inevitable, however, as communities across the state realized that their livelihood was directly tied to the availability of an improved transportation network that not only facilitated movement between regional markets within and beyond the state's borders but also spurred new development needed to sustain population and economic growth. Such realization was reflected in Aberdeen, for

[138] Schell, *History of South Dakota, Fourth Edition, Revised*, 332; Thompson, *A New South Dakota History* , 179; Chittick, *Growth and Decline of South Dakota Trade Centers 1901-51*, 35-36.

example, where the local chamber of commerce routinely engaged the State Highway Commission alongside "representatives of other communities in an effort to establish an atmosphere of cooperation in strengthening highways in northeast South Dakota. Particularly important were improvements to Highways 281 and 12, which were improved as four-lane divided highways between Aberdeen and regional communities.[139] Of course, the relationship was still a precarious one, balanced by the recognized need for transportation improvements and the protection of personal interest. Such was evidenced in ongoing discussions of the improvement of Dakota Street in Aberdeen in the early-to-mid 1970s, with local homeowners taking up charge against an expanded highway that threatened the core:

> In order to protect their investments in their homes, the residents of Dakota St. intend to pursue this matter with the federal government and in the courts and we are confident that the building of a federal highway through the residential areas of Aberdeen will not be permitted.[140]

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[139] "Highway Committee," *Aberdeen Daily News*, 28 December 1967.

[140] "State Aid Promised for Dakota Street," *Aberdeen Daily News*, 23 March 1972.

V. PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT, 1950-1970

A. GENERAL TRENDS IN REGIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

As illustrated by population and demographic trends, the study period was one of substantial growth in urban areas, matched by decline in rural areas and many small towns. Thus, it is not surprising that the five fastest growing counties in South Dakota from 1940 to 1950 included Pennington County, including Rapid City, which grew 43.1 percent; Meade County, located immediately north of Rapid City and including part of Ellsworth AFB, which grew 18.3 percent; Minnehaha County, including Sioux Falls, which grew 22.9 percent; Fall River County, including Hot Springs, which grew 29.1 percent, largely in response to expansion at the state and VA hospitals at Hot Springs and the development of the U.S. Army's Black Hills Ordnance Depot at Igloo in 1941; and Hughes County, including Pierre, which grew 22.4 percent. The counties containing the cities of Huron, Brookings, Aberdeen, Vermillion, Watertown, and Mitchell also grew significantly.[141] Forty-seven of the state's 66 counties lost population during this period. A growing urban population required additional housing, contributing to a residential building boom in these areas. In the five fastest growing counties, the percentage of residences constructed between 1940 and 1950 well exceeded the state average of 14.2 percent, with 36.2 percent in Pennington County, 34.9 percent in Fall River County, 23.7 percent in Minnehaha County, 20.6 percent in Meade County, and 16.3 percent in Hughes County.[142]

Into the 1960s, several counties with urban centers continued to see population growth, but in most, including Minnehaha County (Sioux Falls), the growth was due only to natural increase, which outpaced out-migration. Only three counties saw growth due to in-migration, including, most notably, Pennington County (Rapid City), which gained 8,268 residents through migration. Hughes County (Pierre) gained 2,152 residents through migration, and Stanley (Fort Pierre) gained 1,349 residents through migration, with both counties benefitting greatly from construction of the Oahe Dam on the Missouri River and the expansion of state government during the period.[143] The explosive expansion of Rapid City, in particular, is highlighted by the increase in building permit valuations over five-year spans of time from 1948 to 1962, rising from $18.2 million between 1948 and 1952 to $28.7 million between 1953 and 1957 and almost doubling to $54.9 million between 1958 and 1962. Construction growth in Sioux Falls was steadier, if less dramatic, during this period, increasing from $33.3 million to $46.4

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[141] Michael Zimny, "Igloo, South Dakota: The Utopia that War Built," South Dakota Public Broadcasting, electronic resource available at http://www.sdpb.org/blogs/arts-and-culture/igloo-south-dakota-the-utopia-that-war-built/

[142] Beatty, *County Basic Data for South Dakota*, 4 and 9.

[143] Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 24-25.

million to $51.2 million. Whereas Rapid City totals trailed off during the late 1960s, though, Sioux Falls surged, at $33.7 million to $74.5 million, respectively (Table 15).[144]

TABLE 15. PERMIT VALUATIONS FOR SELECTED POPULATION CENTERS, 1956-1970[145]

	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970
Aberdeen	$9.7 million	$18.2 million	$18.7 million
Brookings	$12.6 million	$14.1 million	$21.3 million
Huron	$6.7 million	$8.9 million	$10.3 million
Mitchell	$7.2 million	$8.1 million	$8.6 million
Pierre	$6.1 million	$11.5 million	$10.6 million
Rapid City	$46.5 million	$35.3 million	$33.7 million
Sioux Falls	$47.9 million	$49.6 million	$74.5 million
Watertown	$8.7 million	$5.8 million	$10.6 million
Yankton	$5.5 million	$12.2 million	$11.3 million

A comparison of the 1953 and 1971 Rapid City East and Rapid City West topographic maps provides vivid illustration of the expansion of the period in the state's major population center. Interstate 90 was constructed to the north of the city, which led to much construction between the interstate and the former northern edge of urban development. Large sections of land were developed to the southeast; these neighborhoods connected into the city grid, but exhibited some curvilinear streets and modified grid patterns within the development, responding to broader trends in residential development during this period. Three large trailer parks were constructed in the vicinity to the east and southeast of the South Dakota School of Mines, and several subdivisions were established in the open land between the east edge of the city and the airport. In the western part of Rapid City, across the ridgeline that separates the city, the portion of settled land nearly doubled from 1954 to 1971, with several new amenities such as schools also constructed during the period (Figure 18).[146]

With expanding areas of development, came new concerns. As early as 1953, *South Dakota Municipalities* recognized annexation as a key issue facing South Dakota's cities. In the wake of residential expansion following World War II, there were a growing

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[144] Ibid., 225; Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1972*, 232-233.

[145] Adapted from Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1972*.

[146] United States Geological Survey, Rapid City East, South Dakota, 7.5-minute series topographical quadrangle, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of the Interior, 1953); United States Geological Survey, Rapid City East, South Dakota, 7.5-minute series topographical quadrangle, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of the Interior, 1971); United States Geological Survey, Rapid City West, South Dakota, 7.5-minute series topographical quadrangle, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of the Interior, 1953); United States Geological Survey, Rapid City West, South Dakota, 7.5-minute series topographical quadrangle, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of the Interior, 1971).

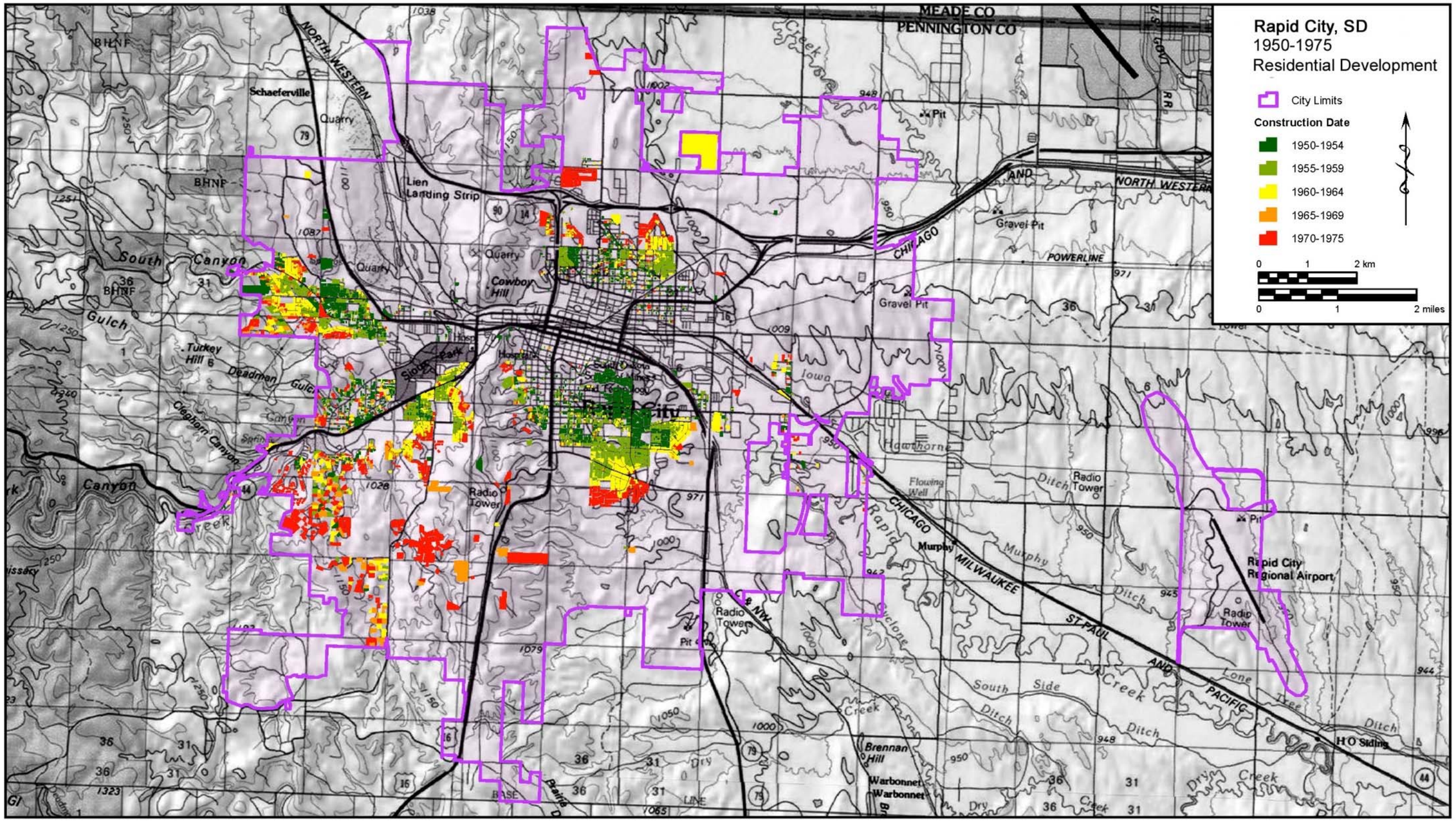

Figure 18 | Residential Construction in Rapid City, South Dakota, 1950-1975.
Imagery is based on a review of assessment data for the 10,476 extant homes constructed in Rapid City between 1950 and 1975. Rapid City assessment data accessed February 2017.

number of residents living on the fringes of urban areas, outside of city limits. The author of the article viewed such individuals in parasitic terms:

> By moving just beyond the corporate limits, these people evade their responsibilities as citizens and taxpayers and yet reap the social, economic, and other benefits which our municipalities provide... Basically most people move from the city to be relieved of the tax burden. Yet most of them continue to work, attend church, seek entertainment, and do business within the city...If they share in the advantages, they should also share in the costs.[147]

While cities had a strong incentive to annex surrounding areas where growing populations were enjoying urban amenities, county governments and residents of such areas were disincentivized to favor annexation as it meant decreased tax revenues for counties and increased taxes for residents. Two of the three legal mechanisms for annexation required either citizen or county initiative: a petition to the city from two-thirds of the voters and two-thirds of the owners in the area in question asking the governing body to pass a resolution for annexation, or acceptance by the county of a petition from the city requesting annexation. If the land was "laid off and platted" the city could pass a resolution for annexation without consent of the owners, but there was legal precedent for narrowly defining "laid off and platted" that made it difficult for cities to take this route. Thus arose an advocated need for an impartial process for deciding matters of annexation in the interest of the general public good, with suggestions that putting the matter in the hands of the courts might provide such a balanced mechanism.[148] However, this approach was not adopted, and city and county governments continued to struggle with issues regarding annexation and conflicting interests into the 1970s. A 1973 petition by the City of Sioux Falls to annex 4,000 acres in Minnehaha County, for example, was rejected by the County Board of Commissioners because it would have cut Brandon-Valley School District revenues by 14 percent while reducing enrollment by only 1.9 percent.[149] Despite these difficulties, communities such as Sioux Falls made more than 100 annexations during the period of this study, each ranging from just a few acres to several hundred acres in size (Table 16) (Figure 19).[150] Annexation was similarly essential to the success of South Dakota's other growing municipalities as urban populations boomed in this period.

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[147] John F. Green, "South Dakota Municipalities and their Problem of Annexation," in *South Dakota Municipalities* vol. 19, no. 10 (April 1953), 119.

[148] Ibid.

[149] David H. Smith and Marynel Jorgenson, "City Amends Annexation Plan after County Denial," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 4 April 1973.

[150] City of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, "Annexations," electronic resource, available at http://www.siouxfalls.org/planning-building/planning/long-range/annexations.

TABLE 16. CITY OF SIOUX FALLS ANNEXATIONS, 1950-1975[151]

	Number of annexations	Smallest acreage	Largest acreage	Average acreage
1950	0	--	--	--
1951	0	--	--	--
1952	3	11.7	31.5	22.0
1953	4	4.6	29.8	17.2
1954	9	1.4	51.7	13.2
1955	12	0.34	2,122.5	183.2
1956	9	0.26	30.4	15.7
1957	1	3.5	3.5	3.5
1958	8	0.18	47.1	12.1
1959	3	4.1	26.8	13.5
1960	4	0.05	17.2	7.2
1961	4	0.61	11.4	4.7
1962	2	3.3	18.1	10.7
1963	5	0.26	24.0	8.9
1964	17	1.2	206.9	45.6
1965	5	4.9	986.9	219.3
1966	3	6.9	34.4	23.2
1967	5	2.9	716.2	213.9
1968	2	3.7	46.7	25.2
1969	11	7.1	411.5	94.5
1970	6	8.0	303.5	99.8
1971	5	4.0	34.1	20.9
1972	10	0.71	164.8	29.5
1973	23	2.2	653.9	166.6
1974	9	10.0	117.7	60.8
1975	1	239.5	239.5	239.5

The suburbanization of previously rural areas did not always occur through outward expansion of the central urban center; in other cases, small villages and towns surrounding a large urban center experienced marked growth beginning in mid-century, becoming suburban bedroom communities for the nearby city center. Such trends are perhaps best reflected in the evolution of community of Brandon. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Brandon was a small village of about 50 people located to the east of Sioux Falls. During the first half of the twentieth century, it gradually increased to 203 people, complete with most of the businesses and amenities associated with small town life, and a stop on a passenger train line offering daily service to and from Sioux Falls. In 1955, the character of Brandon changed significantly when Harold Lee subdivided an 80-acre parcel inherited from his father, creating 195 lots that he offered for $200 for residential development. The success of the subdivision, known as Brandon Acres, inspired Ivan Wyum and Frank Allen to purchase and subdivide a 40-acre tract to create the Fleetwood Addition, where they initially sold lots for $800

[151] Based on a review of data available from the City of Sioux Falls for the 161 annexations made between 1950 and 1975. Data accessed February 2017.

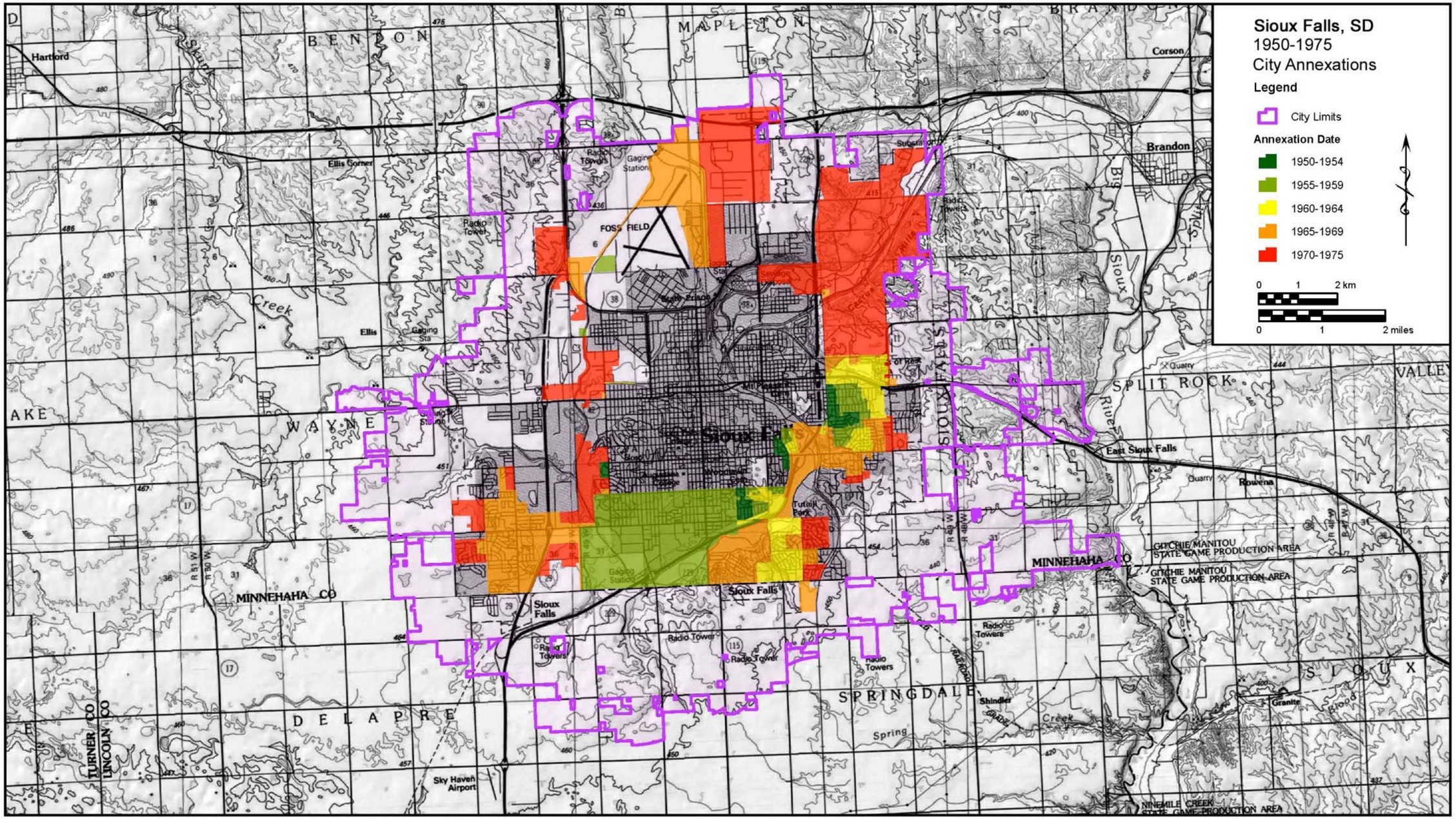

Figure 19 | Annexations by the City of Sioux Falls, 1950-1975.
Imagery is based on a review of data available from the City of Sioux Falls for the 161 annexations made between 1950 and 1975. Data accessed February 2017.

beginning in 1959. Wyum later constructed 50 houses on speculation and sold some lots to Van Buskirk Construction for development. The subdivision had its own central water system and, though originally utilizing septic tanks, was developed so that it could be easily connected to a central sewer system when such was constructed in the mid-1960s. Park Addition, one of the first subdivisions in the state with underground electrical conduits and fuel lines, was platted in 1961 by F. M. Rosemore of Sioux Falls. General contractor Don Sherwood built several houses in the neighborhood before the slumping real estate market resulted in acquisition of the property by Pipestone Federal Savings and Loan in 1964, which finished several houses and further developed the utility infrastructure of the neighborhood. Eventually, several other builders completed the development of the addition. Ames Subdivision followed in 1974, and three additional subdivisions followed in 1978, offering houses at a variety of price points. The city has become the largest suburb of Sioux Falls, with 48 recorded additions between 1978 and 2003, when the population reached 6,698 persons.[152]

Of course, the residential building boom of the period was not confined to Sioux Falls, Rapid City, and their environs. Newspapers from across the state touted notable, if not record, numbers in the post-war years, with cyclical ups and downs throughout the period. In Watertown, for example, permits were issued for 114 new homes valued at $388,667 in 1946, after no new residential permits were issued from 1942 to 1945.[153] Brookings boasted 71 new homes valued at $749,650 in 1955.[154] Aberdeen issued $1 million in residential building permits in 1957, part of an impressive $8 million in

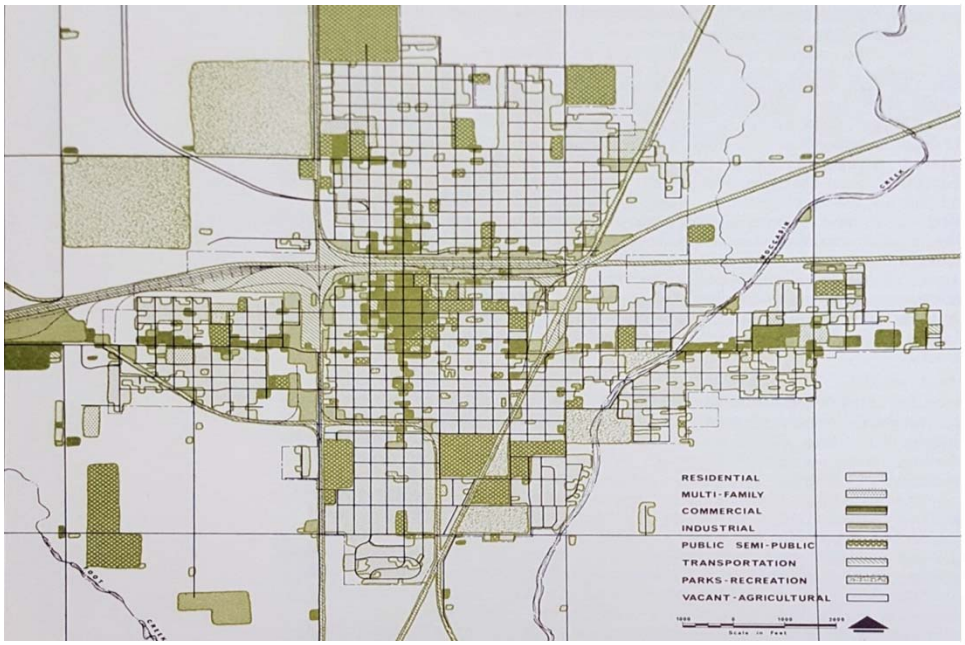

Figure 20 | Aberdeen Land Use Study, 1966.
Aberdeen Comprehensive Plan: Background Studies (Omaha, Nebraska: Leo Daly, 1966).

As communities such as Aberdeen began to witness increasingly substantial development during the period, pressure mounted for the development of comprehensive planning documents designed to regulate growth.

[152] Brandon Historical Society, *Brandon History* (Brandon, SD: Brandon Historical Society, 2003), 36.

[153] "Watertown Permits Pass $500,000 Mark," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 13 September 1946.

[154] "Year of Building is Anticipated at Brookings," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 21 February 1956.

planned construction spending that included commercial development, improvements to the city water and sewer systems, and substantial investment in education.[155] In 1962, "a substantial although not spectacular year for...construction in Huron," the city issued permits for 45 new residences valued at $707,000.[156] Communities such as Mitchell ran features in the newspaper touting civic improvements, industrial investments, and commercial opportunities, in addition to new housing stock, that made for an ideal balance of small town values and the conveniences of modern living, resulting in "a happier family life" in communities throughout the state.[157]

While residential housing was overwhelmingly concentrated in the state's principal population centers of Sioux Falls and Rapid City as well as scattered second and third-tier trade centers, the state continued to be defined by its rural character. As has been noted, though, this rural character was being redefined during a period of rapid expansion in the state's transportation network, redistribution of population between urban, suburban, and rural areas, and restructuring of agricultural market organization to include fewer but larger farms:

> Farms and ranches are getting larger. This increase in size has been greatest in the range area for South Dakota. Growth has also been rapid in the central and northern areas of the state. In the eastern area the growth has been quite slow. As farms and ranches become larger, neighbors become more distant. The local school, the church, the local stores, and trade centers all feel the effects of growing farms.[158]

Evolution of the concept of farming as a business during the period brought changes to these farms. Certainly, while new residential construction was found throughout rural areas in enclaves along state and county roads and at the periphery of communities—blending rural and urban areas—the greatest indicator of change was on individual properties. As farming moved away from traditional models, the importance of the domestic lot—characterized by the house and a series of support structures with discrete functions (e.g., a privy or smokehouse)—diminished as new technologies made such arrangements functionally obsolete. In addition, the period brought substantial new residential construction to the state's farms, spurred largely by the availability of funding under the rural housing program of the FmHA. With rural housing funds to be used by farmers, ranchers, and other rural residents of communities totaling not more than 5,000 persons, the FmHA provided a ready mechanism for South Dakota's rural populations to rehabilitate or replace outdated homes. While individual totals were

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[155] "Aberdeen Sets Sights on Big Improvements," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 21 January 1957.

[156] "Huron Enjoys Excellent Construction Year During 1962," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 30 December 1962.

[157] "Mitchell—A Good Place Keeps Pace with Progress," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 21 October 1960.

[158] Russell L. Berry, "South Dakota's Farms and Ranches How Large Will They Get?"

significantly less than those experienced in urban areas such as Sioux Falls and Rapid City, rural housing on the whole reflected a significant investment. FmHA loans increased from 1,253 active borrowers (non-rental properties) in 1965 to 2,988 borrow in 1970 to 5,293 borrowers in 1975.[159] By the early 1970s, yearly loan totals exceeded $45 million as the state's rural residents sought "attractive modern homes [that] make living more enjoyable."[160] The effect was that by 1980, 50,027 (or 35 percent) of all rural dwellings (farm and non-farm) were constructed between 1940 and 1974; 9,122 (or 26 percent) of all rural farm dwellings were built during the same period.[161]

B. REGION-SPECIFIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

As has been noted, the period from 1950 to 1975 was marked by substantial but even growth and development. Such was marked by a continuation of uneven geographic shifts that had begun in the post-Depression years, with urban centers and second-tier regional markets witnessing the most growth while small towns and rural areas—which still accounted for the majority of the state's landmass—witnessed population loss and only isolated new development. Population growth and resultant residential development fluctuated in direct correlation to an area's proximity to primary and secondary markets, with outlying counties and agricultural markets distanced from developed centers susceptible to a period of stagnation. Such is markedly evidenced by settlement trends between 1960 and 1970 (see Figure 8). Of the 13 counties that witnessed growth during this period, 8 were home to a core development market: Brown (Aberdeen), Beadle (Huron), Davison (Mitchell), Minnehaha (Sioux Falls), Brookings (Brookings), Clay (Vermillion), Yankton (Yankton), Pennington (Rapid City). Two additional counties—Lawrence and Meade—lay within the Rapid City sphere of influence and benefited from this proximity. The remaining three counties that witnessed growth during the period—Buffalo, Todd, and Shannon—were predominately occupied by Native American populations. The remaining 53 counties failed to attract new populations and, likewise, substantial residential investment.

Specific discussion of each of the state's six economic regions follows.

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[159] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Farmers Home Administration, Housing Program Statistics: 1950-1975* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978).

[160] "Loan Programs Aid Rural Areas in Two Counties," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 16 July 1973; "FHA Loans Reach Record High in 1971," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 11 February 1972.

[161] U.S. Census Bureau, *Twentieth Decennial Census of the United States* (1980) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982).

ECONOMIC REGION I

Table 17 presents the population and housing data for the 10 constituent counties that comprise Economic Region I. Occupying an area of approximately 6,800 square miles, Region I remained a strong producer of goods such as corn, wheat, oats, and barley, although livestock provided the greatest income to the region's largely agricultural sector. While population loss was constant throughout the region, losses were stabilized by the diversification of industry during the 1960s and 1970s in communities such as Brookings, Watertown, and Madison, which drew in new settlement and development.

Growth also was supported by the presence of SDSU, which consistently propped up Brookings' population and spurred new development throughout the community; 14 percent of the Brookings County population lived in university housing in 1970. Despite a population loss of more than 10,500 persons between 1940 and 1975, approximately 13,000 new residences were constructed throughout the region; however, the region had the second lowest totals for the period, largely attributable to its predominately rural character, which alleviated development pressures associated with more densely populated areas of the state. The housing that was constructed during the period was heavily concentrated in established second and third-tier population centers, with more than half of region's housing constructed in Brookings (2,908 dwellings), Watertown (2,535 dwellings), Madison (857 dwellings), and Milbank (735 dwellings).[162]

TABLE 17. REGION I GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, 1940-1975[163]

	1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969		1970-1975	
	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed
Region I	-1095	2,261	-1,821	3,311	-7,732	3,877	59	3,573
Brookings	1,291	567	2,195	899	2,112	1,349	547	1,152
Clark	-586	72	-1,235	51	-1,619	113	-186	141
Codington	1,930	560	1,276	909	-1,080	852	1,384	852
Deuel	-761	112	-907	156	-1,096	168	-65	178
Grant	-319	270	-320	309	-908	282	435	390
Hamlin	-504	86	-755	184	-1,131	172	325	158
Kingsbury	-869	157	-735	173	-1,570	216	-633	189
Lake	-620	184	-28	344	-308	446	-846	279
Miner	-568	42	-870	81	-944	102	-386	85
Moody	-89	211	-442	205	-1,188	177	-516	149

[162] U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, South Dakota* (1980) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982); U.S. Census Bureau, *Twentieth Decennial Census of the United States*.

[163] Housing totals in tables 17 through 22 reflect extant dwelling units as of 1980. U.S. Census Bureau, *Twentieth Decennial Census of the United States*.

ECONOMIC REGION II

Table 18 presents the population and housing data for the six counties that comprise Economic Region II. While occupying the smallest geographic area at just over 3,400 square miles, Economic Region II witnessed the second-most growth during the period and was the most densely populated (42.7 persons per square mile in 1970). In total, just under 25 percent of the state's total population resided in Economic Region II by the end of the study period. Such substantial growth was, however, nearly exclusively a product of rampant population increases in Sioux Falls (Minnehaha County), which evolved as the state's largest city and principal trade center. Additional growth was concentrated in Vermillion (Clay County), the home of USD—approximately 10 percent of the county's population was housed in university housing by 1970—but otherwise was dispersed throughout the region with no other substantial growth centers.[164]

While surrounding agricultural areas witnessed population loss almost without exception, losses were minimized by proximity to Sioux Falls, which provided a ready market for livestock products and the corn, soybeans, oats, and wheat grown throughout the region. Rampant growth spurred by the availability of opportunities in Sioux Falls brought heavy residential development to the region, with more than 30,000 residences constructed between 1940 and 1975. Notably, more than 20,000 of these dwellings were located in Sioux Falls, which experienced more residential growth than any other community in the state during the period. While considerably less than totals in Sioux Falls, nearly 2,000 dwellings were constructed in Vermillion during the period, nearly tripling the city's residential building stock.[165]

TABLE 18. REGION II GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, 1940-1975

	1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969		1970-1975	
	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed
Region II	11,192	5,530	12,990	8,596	7,274	8,707	8,796	7,419
Clay	1,401	294	-183	483	2,113	935	228	564
Lincoln	-404	249	-396	381	-610	366	253	508
McCook	-965	103	-560	191	-1,022	172	-401	189
Minnehaha	13,213	4,518	15,665	6,982	8,634	6,583	8,687	5,390
Turner	-1,170	150	-941	237	-1287	244	-597	269
Union	-883	216	-595	322	-554	407	626	499

[164] U.S. Census Bureau, *Nineteenth Decennial Census of the United States*.

[165] U.S. Census Bureau, *Census of Housing, Detailed Housing Characteristics, South Dakota* (1980) (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982); U.S. Census Bureau, *Twentieth Decennial Census of the United States*.

ECONOMIC REGION III

Table 19 presents the population and housing data for the 12 counties that comprise Economic Region III. Totaling 7,909 square miles, Economic Region III benefited from construction under the Pick-Sloan Plan during the 1950s, which resulted in the completion of the Fort Randall and Gavins Point dams, both of which provided vital reservoir waters for irrigation, produced hydroelectric power for the region, and created recreational opportunities that drew in populations and supported the growing tourism industry. A predominately rural area (more than 70 percent of the population), Economic Region III as a whole witnessed consistent outmigration during the period, with growth limited largely to the region's only two principal population centers—Yankton (Yankton County) and Mitchell (Davison County).

The region's agricultural base was balanced by industrial growth at Yankton, Mitchell, and Springfield, with state government and private institutions such as Dakota Wesleyan University (DWU) also influencing settlement and concentrating incoming populations in established urban centers at the expense of outlying areas. The combination of outmigration and the region's rural character marked the region as the one of the least residential growth during the period. Of the 12,114 dwellings constructed between 1940 and 1975, more than one-third were located in Mitchell and Yankton, with the remainder principally scattered between communities such as Springfield, Lake Andes, and Chamberlain.[166]

TABLE 19. REGION III GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, 1940-1975

	1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969		1970-1975	
	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed
Region III	-2,260	1,959	-6,365	2,980	-5,756	3,992	-2,254	3,183
Aurora	-367	62	-271	82	-566	121	-181	70
Bon Homme	-801	184	-211	200	-652	229	-750	210
Brule	-119	82	243	260	-449	271	-165	222
Charles Mix	2,109	165	-3,773	299	-1,791	278	235	377
Davison	1,186	507	159	499	638	928	643	833
Douglas	-712	41	-523	98	-544	137	-163	86
Gregory	-998	151	-1,157	204	-689	290	-335	165
Hanson	-504	38	-312	60	-803	85	10	72
Hutchinson	-1,245	225	-338	363	-706	480	-593	238
Jerauld	-276	36	-428	63	-738	75	-233	69
Sanborn	-612	43	-501	76	-944	100	-250	57
Yankton	79	425	747	776	1,488	998	-472	784

[166] Ibid.

ECONOMIC REGION IV

Table 20 presents the population and housing data for the 10 counties that comprise Economic Region IV. Occupying the northeastern corner of the state, Economic Region IV totals 12,153 square miles and has historically been dominated by livestock production and farm goods, including wheat, sorghum, corn, and barley. The region witnessed severe outmigration during the period, losing more than 15,000 residents between 1940 and 1975. Only Brown County—with the principal population center of Aberdeen—consistently posted positive gains. In Beadle County, Huron witnessed slight but steady population growth, although the county overall fluctuated considerably. Settlement and resultant residential development in these areas were supported by the presence of colleges, trade schools, and government offices at Aberdeen and a sizeable commercial and industrial core at Huron, which drew in populations from the surrounding countryside.

While the region witnessed the most residential development outside of those areas dominated by Sioux Falls and Rapid City, most of this growth corresponded directly with the influx of new populations in the trade centers of Aberdeen and Huron. Of the 15,788 residences constructed between 1940 and 1975, more than 5,000 were built in Aberdeen; an additional 2,200 dwellings were constructed in Huron, and another 1,000 were split between Sisseton (on the Lake Traverse Reservation in Roberts County) and Redfield (the county seat of Spink County).[167]

TABLE 20. REGION IV GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, 1940-1975

	1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969		1970-1975	
	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed
Region IV	-1,476	2,841	-6,336	3,838	-5778	4,911	-1,555	4,198
Beadle	1,434	491	600	854	-805	825	-410	704
Brown	2,941	1,191	1,489	1,471	2,814	2,219	804	1,668
Day	-1,271	177	-1,778	177	-1,803	250	-221	279
Edmunds	-539	128	-1,196	158	-531	252	152	215
Faulk	-416	46	-355	103	-504	112	-209	94
Hand	-17	97	-437	190	-829	164	-554	148
McPherson	-1,282	160	-1,250	167	-799	143	-463	109
Marshall	-1,045	123	-1,172	146	-698	242	-250	168
Roberts	-958	327	-1,739	354	-1,512	384	173	478
Spink	-323	101	-498	218	-1,111	320	-577	335

[167] Ibid.

ECONOMIC REGION V

Table 21 presents the population and housing data for the 18 counties that comprise Economic Region V. Dominating central South Dakota and stretching from the state's borders to the north and south, the region occupies the largest landmass at more than 25,000 square miles. Unlike most other rural areas, livestock outpaced diversified farming, resulting in a different schematic of land uses. Several of the counties in the region comprise lands of the Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Rosebud, Lower Brule, and Crow Creek Reservations. Like Region III, Region V was impacted by the construction of multiple dams along the Missouri River, which supported the region's economy and agricultural pursuits through flood control, irrigation, and hydroelectric power. Construction of the dams also boosted local populations for a period during the 1950s, but normal cycles of growth and migration returned to the region following and nearly every county witnessed a decrease in population during the 1960s. Despite the large land area covered by the region, just 14,863 dwellings were constructed during the 35 year period from 1940 to 1975; although, unlike most regions, there was a fairly even distribution between counties in housing gains during the period. Outside of the 2,766 dwellings constructed in Pierre and the 1,600 residences split between Mobridge (Walworth County) and Winner (Tripp County), the remaining 10,000 dwellings were distributed throughout the geography of the entire region.[168]

TABLE 21. REGION V GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, 1940-1975

	1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969		1970-1975	
	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed
Region V	-4,581	2,032	4,414	3,527	-6,573	5,404	2,340	3,932
Buffalo	-238	23	-68	49	192	126	25	132
Campbell	-795	84	-515	116	-665	68	-322	38
Corson	-587	108	-370	200	-804	453	523	215
Dewey	-793	120	341	250	-87	406	231	289
Haakon	-348	85	136	141	-501	116	-50	142
Hughes	1,487	356	4,614	835	-1,093	929	1,543	1,020
Hyde	-302	50	-209	109	-87	125	540	62
Jones	-228	72	-215	84	-184	141	-189	65
Lyman	-473	91	-144	132	-368	333	-74	193
Mellette	-1,061	66	-382	113	-244	180	-98	86
Perkins	191	197	-799	219	-1,208	244	-58	231
Potter	74	104	238	135	-477	179	-256	165
Stanley	96	59	2,030	131	-1,628	198	30	162
Sully	45	54	-106	63	-245	102	-223	119
Todd	-956	102	-97	183	1,945	914	844	269
Tripp	-798	212	-378	313	-590	397	-241	272
Walworth	374	210	449	349	-255	373	92	296
Ziebach	-269	39	-111	105	-274	120	23	176

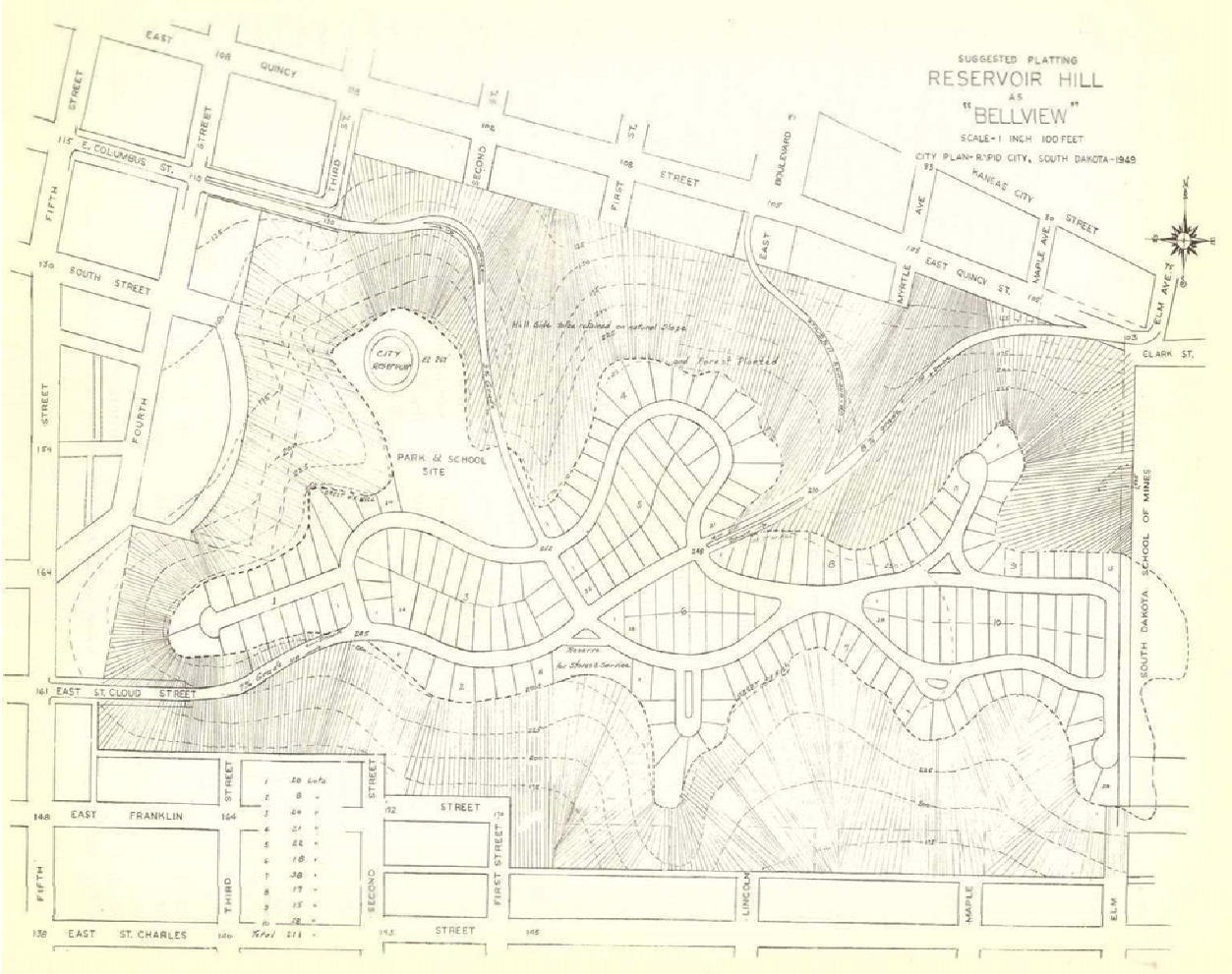
[168] Ibid.

ECONOMIC REGION VI

Table 22 presents the population and housing data for the 10 counties that comprise Economic Region VI. Located in the southwestern corner of the state and totaling approximately 20,500 square miles, the region has historically occupied a different place in the state's economy than other regions as a result of its setting in the Black Hills, with multiple national forests, parks, and monuments and countless recreational opportunities supporting a large tourism base. Mining and forestry, which were all but absent in most regions, were particularly important to the economy of Region VI. The area also was characterized by population trends that varied significantly from most other regions during the period. Like Region II—dominated by Sioux Falls—Region VI witnessed consistent population growth during the period. However, unlike in Region II (where population increases were limited to the urban center), while the most substantial growth was in the principal population center of Rapid City (Pennington County), surrounding areas in Pennington County and adjacent counties likewise benefited during the period as suburban growth extended outward from the core.

Figure 21 | "Bellview" Subdivision Plan, 1949. City Plan, Rapid City, South Dakota (Minneapolis, Minnesota: A.C. Godward, 1949).

The pressures of population growth forced communities such as Rapid City to accommodate development in previously untapped locations as suburban growth stretched beyond the limits of the urban core.



Population influx in and around Rapid City was due in large part to the presence of Ellsworth AFB, the State Cement Plant, the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, and a diversified business and industrial core, as well as ample recreational opportunities. Populations also increased substantially in secondary trade centers of Spearfish, Deadwood, and Lead in Lawrence County, Belle Fourche in Butte County, and Sturgis in Meade County, supporting region-wide population stability, particularly during the growth cycles of the 1950s and 1970s: "Tourist business, general attraction of the region and additional employment opportunities are forces which will combine to maintain growth rate and increase current trend toward urbanization."[169]

Growth in Spearfish, in particular, was related to a number of factors, including the presence of Black Hills State University (known as Black Hills Teachers Collage from 1941 to 1964), which topped 2,000 students for the first time in 1968; location of small industries in the community; and the quality of life supported by recreational opportunities in the region. Sizeable growth also was experienced at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, which occupied Shannon County. In response to the rampant growth, more housing was constructed in Region VI between 1940 and 1975 than in any other area of South Dakota, with totals surpassing 32,800 units. Of course, more than half (18,402 units) of the housing located in Rapid City and an additional 5,000 units were located at Ellsworth AFB (900) in Meade County; Belle Fourche (946) in Butte County; Box Elder (754) in Meade and Pennington counties; Hot Springs (878) in Fall River County; and Lead (418) and Spearfish(1,141) in Lawrence County.[170]

TABLE 22. REGION VI GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT, 1940-1975

	1940-1949		1950-1959		1960-1969		1970-1975	
	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed	Population change	Housing units constructed
Region VI	10,399	5,275	25,460	10,577	3,211	8,591	11,839	8,441
Bennett	-587	109	-343	136	35	207	349	193
Butte	157	314	431	455	-767	477	365	343
Custer	-506	283	-611	308	-208	275	332	299
Fall River	2,350	671	249	441	-3,183	275	233	423
Harding	-721	72	89	100	-516	82	-88	69
Jackson	-187	102	217	118	-454	171	88	255
Lawrence	-2,445	574	427	573	378	986	-551	760
Meade	1,781	411	528	850	4,574	1,389	2,164	925
Pennington	10,254	2,578	24,142	7,139	1,154	4,214	6,583	4,471
Shannon	303	161	331	457	2,198	515	2,364	703

[169] "Citizens Must 'Get Ball Rolling' on Improvements for Deadwood," *Lead Daily Call* (22 October 1968).

[170] Ibid.; Business Research Bureau, *South Dakota Economic and Business Abstract 1939-1962*, 17.

VI. CONFRONTING CHANGE, 1965-1975

A. BALANCING NEEDS

By the mid-to-late 1960s, the state of South Dakota was moving past the initial period of transition that followed World War II and into the midst of a second wave of growth and development. Continued growth brought with it a number of concerns, including how best to house new populations, address dilapidated housing in rural and urban areas, and support declining rural centers that still dominated the state's considerable landmass. While communities had initially hesitated during the 1940s and 1950s to proactively embrace large-scale planning as a means to addressing such issues, by the 1960s, municipalities throughout South Dakota—and particularly those that were more densely developed—were well aware that they could no longer avoid coordinating and planning for growth in a meaningful way. Such is reflected, for example, in Aberdeen's 1960s plan, which proclaimed that "clearly Aberdeen has learned the value of future anticipation."[171] Balancing continued growth with community needs became a mainstay of the late 1960s and early 1970s as cities, towns, and counties recognized the merits of community planning in promoting economic stability, appropriate land use, and a consistent quality of life. In total, no less than 50 planning documents were produced for individual communities and counties throughout South Dakota during the period. Added to this were dozens of updates to zoning and subdivision ordinances designed to reframe the desires of individual communities as they looked toward the future of South Dakota in the late twentieth century. Comprehensive plans became emblematic of the period's planning efforts, with communities addressing housing, transportation, parks and recreation, agriculture, business and industry, and utilities as part of far-reaching efforts to designate major land use areas, develop transportation plans, and secure balanced, sound development.

Even more symbolic of the period was a new emphasis on reaching beyond community boundaries to engage regional planning efforts that made the most use of limited resources. While regional planning efforts were on the rise throughout the country, they made particular sense in South Dakota, where entire geographies shared similar economic patterns and often revolved around a singular trade center or two. The need for regional planning is perhaps best reflected in the opening statements of the *Comprehensive Plan for the Greater Sioux Falls Region*, prepared in 1969:

> It [regional planning] is an approach to the solving of problems which cannot be handled by a single unit of government alone, because their solution also involves adjacent or contiguous units of government. The need for such planning has been brought about by certain important changes, which have far-reaching impacts on the problems faced by local

[171] Leo A. Daly Company, *Aberdeen Comprehensive Plan Report*, 16.

governments. These changes include: unprecedented population growth; generation of mass recreational needs and pursuits' increasingly intensive use and consumption of natural resources; development of private water supply and sewage disposal systems; and development of limited highway systems and mass automotive transportation.

Regional planning has also evolved because smaller communities are beginning to realize that there are certain decisions concerning their own development, which to be made effectively and successfully must be made with the knowledge of what adjacent communities are intending to do.[172]

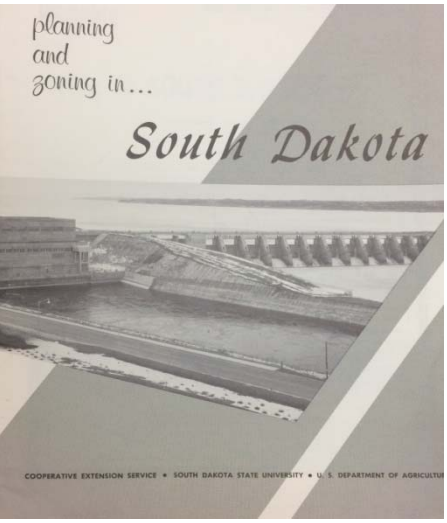


Figure 22 | "Planning and Zoning in South Dakota."

Community planning came to the forefront in the 1960s as municipalities confronted issues resulting from unbalanced growth during the preceding decades.

Part of the momentum for regional planning efforts during the period originated with the state. As previously discussed, the first attempt to create a state-level planning agency in South Dakota had occurred during the 1930s. That year the South Dakota legislature established the State Planning Board to encourage economic development and wise use of limited economic resources. The board was poorly funded, exerted little influence, and eventually failed. After another failed attempt at integrated state-level planning in 1949, the concept finally gained traction in South Dakota during the 1960s. The state legislature took the first step toward modern planning by establishing IDEA in 1961 to assist local governments in applying for grants from the federal government, including the comprehensive planning grants provided for under the Housing Act of 1954. This was followed in 1966 by Governor Nils Boe's establishment of the State Planning Agency as part of the governor's office; the legislature passed a bill giving the agency the power to develop a Comprehensive State Plan and review the plans of other state departments and agencies. The State Planning Agency did not replace IDEA; rather, the Director of IDEA was a member of the State Planning Agency board, along with individuals representing diverse aspects of state government, including the State Budget Officer; the Director of Farm, Fish, and Parks; the Director of Highways; and the Executive Director of Charities and Corrections.[173]

Notably, the State Planning Agency recognized the importance of the role of local communities in guiding the future of the state. A 1970 document describing the role of the State Planning Agency warned against a top-down approach to planning. Embracing "New Federalism," it stressed the primacy of local government for identifying and addressing local issues. Hence, state law required that all counties have county planning commissions and enabled cities to create city planning commissions, if so desired. Importantly, the State Planning Agency also encouraged a regional approach of coordinated planning among counties with similar characteristics that were facing similar issues. Recognizing that plans must reflect the goals and desires of those they

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[172] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *A Comprehensive Plan for the Greater Sioux Falls Region* (St. Louis, MO: Harland Bartholomew and Associates, 1969), 1.

[173] South Dakota State Planning Agency, *The South Dakota State Planning Agency* (Pierre,SD: South Dakota State Planning Agency, 1970).

are meant to serve, citizen involvement also was stressed, and the state plan was envisioned as being a composite of local plans so as to capture the diversity of the state's communities and people.[174]

The establishment of the State Planning Agency and the recommendations it put forth for cooperative planning legitimized perceptions of the economic and political climate that gave impetus to a regional approach to planning in South Dakota in the late 1960s and 1970s. First, an ever-shrinking rural population left many counties and small towns with a decreased tax base, illuminating the need for counties facing similar issues to pool resources to address the needs of local citizens. Secondly, while there was an increasing array of grant moneys available from federal agencies—principally the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and the U.S. Department of Transportation (USDOT) during this period—they required demonstrated planning efforts and professional administration to meet their often complex requirements. The Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1967 and A-95, a 1969 directive of the Bureau of the Budget, bolstered efforts of entities such as the State Planning Agency by establishing mechanisms for state and local governments to better work together and manage federal grants, including empowering state governors to create multi-county planning districts.[175]

Regional planning and development districts would be formally implemented in South Dakota under the Model Rural Development program of the 1970s. This program evolved from a proposal by South Dakota Governor Frank L. Farrar (1969-1971) and Director of State Planning Clell D. Ellwood in 1970 based on the Model Cities program, a federal aid program that was part of President Johnson's "War on Poverty" aimed at reducing poverty through smart city planning. The principles of the Model Cities program were adapted and strengthened to specifically target issues relevant to development and quality of life in South Dakota's predominately rural areas. A state-administered platform, the rural development program facilitated local project planning and implementation making use of grants from a variety of federal agencies. Regional planning and development districts were considered appropriate project proponents and grant recipients under the structure of the program, which was designed to address a wide variety of issues affecting life in rural areas, including the physical environment (natural resources, water quality, and air quality), housing, transportation, education, workforce and economic development, recreation and culture, crime reduction, health, and social service and public assistance. Insomuch as housing was concerned, it was primarily directed as addressing "the crisis that exists" in "delapidated [sic] housing in rural as well as urban areas." While it shared goals with agencies such as HUD, the

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[174] Ibid.

[175] George W. White and Robert H. Watrel, "The Establishment and Reterritorialization of Planning Districts in South Dakota as a Response to Economic Challenges," in *Journal of Regional Analysis*, vol. V, no. 2 (2013), 107-112.

Model Rural Development Provides Hope For Rebirth Of Dying South Dakota Towns

Figure 23 | "Model Rural Development Provides Hope for Rebirth of Dying South Dakota Towns." The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 19 September 1972.

Communities throughout the South Dakota placed their hopes in the merits of the Model Rural Development program as the key to stabilizing and reinvigorating the state's rural economy.

program recognized the need to come at rural problems from a uniquely rural perspective.[176]

To implement the provisions of the Model Rural Development program and achieve its prescribed goals, Governor Farrar issued an executive order in December 1970 calling for the creation of six multi-county planning and development districts. The districts were delineated based on newspaper circulation, minimum traffic volumes, district trade areas, and state economic areas. The first district, composed of 10 counties located in the east-central portion of the state and headquartered in Watertown, was established in July 1971 to serve as a pilot district for the Model Rural Development program. The five other districts were rolled out at six-month intervals from 1972 to 1974. The districts originally were established to meet the requirements for receiving 701 Comprehensive Planning Assistance from HUD, but also met the requirements of other federal agencies granting funds, such as the U.S. Department of Commerce's Economic Development Administration. As such, all of the planning districts also functioned as economic development districts and three served as councils of government. While each district established its own structure, they all shared the common goal of providing technical and professional assistance to help members obtain federal grants. Over time, their services expanded to include planning in a wide variety of areas affecting the health of communities during the late twentieth century, including rural development, land use, utilities, emergency preparedness, and recreation, among others.[177]

B. FAIR HOUSING

The expansive residential development of the period did not guarantee that quality housing was available to all South Dakotans.[178] Ingrained constructs of discrimination had carried into the modern era, with both FHA and VA-backed mortgages essentially unavailable to a generation of minority populations. Such discrimination was largely the product of practices put in place in the 1930s under the HOLC, which had established a

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[176] Clell D. Ellwood, *South Dakota Model Rural Development Program* (Pierre, SD: State Planning Agency, 1970).

[177] White and Watrel, "The Establishment and Reterritorialization of Planning Districts in South Dakota as a Response to Economic Challenges."

[178] This discussion focuses on private markets. Housing on Native American reservations is specifically excluded. For detailed discussion of reservation housing, see U.S. West Research, Inc., *Indian Housing in South Dakota, 1946-1975* (Salt Lake City, UT: U.S. West Research, Inc., 2000).

tiered system of ratings for proposed government-backed mortgages in the years following the Great Depression. Housing could fall into one of four categories: the first tier was generally assigned to housing in well-established, upper-class communities; the second tier was typically associated with working- and middle-class communities that remained stable and desirable; the third tier was assigned to housing in or near racially-mixed areas; and the fourth tier was reserved for housing in areas that were not considered to be stable or desirable. More often than not, housing of the fourth tier was associated with older neighborhoods and those occupied by minority populations. These areas were outlined in red on plan maps by the HOLC and lenders, forever associating to the term "redlining" with a system of prescribed discrimination in housing toward certain population groups. Of the more than 1 million housing units ultimately refinanced by the HOLC during the 1930s, less than 2.5 percent were for non-whites.[179]

While the HOLC normalized a system of "redlining," policies of discrimination were essentially codified in the financing structure of the FHA. In providing guidelines for developers and evaluating the potential for government-backed mortgages, the FHA took into account a number of considerations. Among these was the concept of market stability and its relationship to economic and racial homogeneity, which the FHA viewed as providing a certain level of security on investments during a period of uncertainty: "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes."[180] Combined with the FHA's recommendation that developers use restrictive covenants to support neighborhood stability, the FHA effectively ingrained a bias against minorities in a generation of government-backed housing. With the FHA serving as a model for the private market during a time of industry recovery, discriminatory practices trickled down to affect nearly all forms of housing, regardless of the funding mechanism.[181] Legal cracks would be made in the system of discrimination starting with the 1948 *Shelly v. Kraemer* decision that ruled enforcement of racial covenants unconstitutional, but barriers to open housing continued into the 1950s and 1960s as a result of privatized discrimination.

While South Dakota certainly experienced discrimination in private housing, the extent of such practices varied considerably from other states. This is largely a function of the demographics and population distribution of South Dakota through mid-century, with

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[179] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Understanding Fair Housing," February 1973, 4.

[180] Gregory Squires, *Capital and Communities in Black and White: The Intersections of Race, Class, and Uneven Development* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994), 68; U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure under Title II of the National Housing Act* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938).

[181] Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 55; James A. Kushner: *Apartheid in America: A Historical and Legal Analysis of Contemporary Racial Segregation in the United States* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1980), 16-30.

minority populations comprising only a small subset of the state's total people. Of the state's total population, approximately 96 percent was white. Approximately 3.8 percent of the population was Native American, while less than 1 percent was comprised of African American, Japanese, Chinese, and other populations. Moreover, beyond populations on the state's reservations, minorities were concentrated primarily in Sioux Falls and Rapid City, as well as unincorporated areas in surrounding Meade and Pennington County.[182] Such trends continued into the end of the study period. While the Native American population grew to become 6.5 percent of the population by 1980, for example, minority populations outside of reservations still totaled only 2.6 percent of South Dakota's population.[183] Thus, while examples of discrimination were readily found in certain areas of life—for example, public accommodations—instances of discrimination in housing were more limited than in other states.[184]

Discrimination was perhaps most common in housing in Rapid City and other locales west of the Missouri River, where African American servicemen encountered particular difficulties in attaining housing in the vicinity of Ellsworth AFB. As was relayed by the South Dakota Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in their study of Rapid City:

> The story that repeated itself, monotonously, in the Advisory Committee meeting was essentially as follows: A Negro airman and his family come to Rapid City without suspecting that widespread discriminatory practices exist in regard to housing; initial inquiries reveal that local residents and real estate agencies neither rent nor sell decent housing property to Negroes; a short stay is made at the base BOQ, followed by one of several undesirable alternatives. The normal choices, apart from base housing, are as follows: (1) renting unsanitary, cramped, unsafe, and dilapidated quarters at exorbitant prices; (2) buying a trailer; (3) breaking up the family by sending the wife and children 'back home'; and (4) rarely, 'lucking out'

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[182] U.S. Census Bureau, *Eighteenth Decennial Census of the United States, Census of Population: 1960, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 43, South Dakota* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).

[183] L.L. Baer and M.A. Bennett, *American Indians in South Dakota: A Profile* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1987), 1.

[184] See, for example, "Discrimination Noted in R.C.," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 17 February 1959, which noted rampant discrimination in tourist court accommodations, and "'Discrimination' Against Indians Aired in State," *Deadwood Pioneer-Times*, 8 May 1959, which noted instances of discrimination against Indian populations in legal proceedings, schools, and public accommodations at Rosebud and Rapid City being investigated by the South Dakota Civil Rights Advisory Committee. Issues were so rampant in Rapid City, for example, that news of discrimination in public accommodations made its way to the *New York Times*, which published an article in October 1962 calling South Dakota "a pocket of Northern resistance to legal efforts to erase racial discrimination in public places." See "Color Bar Firm in South Dakota," *New York Times*, 22 October 1962.

> by finding some half-way decent place to live, at high prices, and usually within a relatively segregated area. Even those airmen of sufficiently high rank to qualify for base housing frequently must experience one of the above alternatives before government quarters, which are in very limited supply, become available.'[185]

Such issues led to the establishment of the South Dakota Civil Rights Council (SDCRC) in 1961 and the first calls for a fair housing bill to end discrimination based on race, color, or creed in 1963, but the movement was slow to gain momentum in the state.[186] By 1967, however, the topic was being more widely discussed, due, in part, to the desires of some to take action on the issue at the state level before the federal government imposed their own fair housing legislation.

A series of February 1967 articles in *The Argus-Leader* highlighted the need for a fair housing law in the state. A recent seminar of the World Council of Churches urged passage of a bill to end racial discrimination in housing, citing problems encountered by both African American and Native American South Dakotans. Discrimination was taking many forms, including denying non-white populations the opportunity to rent homes in certain areas, charging people of color higher rent than that charged of white tenants, and higher expectations for care and upkeep of housing for non-white residents.[187]

day I was home and the phone rang. I answered and he says, 'This is the sales manager of Private Homes, Inc. I'm sorry, we won't be able to sell you a house. So I said, ' Oh, have you stopped building or don't you have any available or what?' He says, 'No, that's not it. We just won't be able to sell you a house.' I said, 'Well, you must have some reason for not wanting to sell us a house.' And he just hung up the phone. He didn't say another word. So I was a little disgusted and I dialed again and I got the manager and he says, 'I'm sorry, but we can't sell houses over here to you people. It's not my fault or anything -- we just can't sell a house to you.' And so we didn't bother trying to get another house -- we just waited until we got on base housing and we moved out there."

Figure 24 | Account from *Negro Airmen in a Northern Community: Discrimination in Rapid City, South Dakota.*

While discrimination was not reported as pervasively in South Dakota as it was in many other states, accounts of discrimination against servicemen at Ellsworth AFB reached national media.

[185] South Dakota Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Negro Airmen in a Northern Community: Discrimination in Rapid City, South Dakota* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1963), 31.

[186] "Fair Housing Bill Will Be Sought in South Dakota," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 7 October 1963.

[187] "Fair Housing Law in S.D. Said Needed," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 24 February 1967.

Conditions were particularly poor in Rapid City, where over half of the owners contacted by a telephone survey reported that they would not rent to African Americans.[188] Despite lobbying efforts by groups such as the World Council of Churches and the SCRC, though, no committee in the state legislature was willing to take up such a bill at that time.[189]

Taking up action on its own, by late 1967, the SDCRC was working to draft a fair housing bill and seeking sponsors to introduce it during the 1968 legislative session.[190] However, by March 1968, the federal Fair Housing Act had passed the Senate and was up for debate in the U.S. House of Representatives, leading the SDCRC to scale back its efforts pushing for state action until it was clear what would happen at the federal level.[191] Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, popularly known as the Fair Housing Act, was passed by Congress in April 1968, prohibiting discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of housing based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, ending the push for action on the matter at the state level.[192] While the SDCRC continued its work to encourage fair housing following passage of the landmark federal law—with the SDCRC's fair housing committee headed by Charles Powell of Spearfish, Joe Boone of Rapid City, and Agnes Goes of Pine Ridge—the organization dropped its large-scale push for a state fair housing law and instead allocated its efforts elsewhere, including improving conditions in the penal system and enabling individual municipalities to pass their own anti-discriminatory ordinances.[193]

C. LOW-INCOME HOUSING AND URBAN RENEWAL

The housing conditions of low-income populations had long been a concern, rising to prominence as a social issue during the early twentieth century. During the Great Depression, conversations shifted, though, as the combination of pervasive personal income loss, diminished farm markets, and a collapsing housing industry redefined the need for affordable housing to not only include traditionally low-income populations but also working- and middle-class populations displaced by the economy. Reacting to the situation, the federal government provided the framework for new programs directed at affordable housing, which were codified in the Housing Act of 1937. Among other

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[188] "Fair Housing Bill Planned by Council," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 17 December 1967.

[189] "Fair Housing Law in S.D. Said Needed," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 24 February 1967; "SDCRC to Ask Air Housing Legislation," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 3 December 1966.

[190] "Fair Housing Bill Planned by Council," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 17 December 1967.

[191] "State CR Council Awaits Fair Housing Bill Action," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 19 March 1968.

[192] "Title VIII: Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity," U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, electronic resource, available at http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/fair_housing_equal_opp/progdesc/title8.

[193] "S.D. Rights Council OK's Resolution," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 15 December 1969.

things, this act established the United States Housing Authority (USHA) to oversee federal directives related to the housing of low-income populations. Under the USHA, local communities were given the ability to establish local housing authorities for the purpose of acquiring private property for clearance (the clearing of "slums") and redevelopment, including construction of public housing.[194] Significantly, in directly linking the ability to clear "slums" with the ability to construct such housing, the act essentially codified housing for low-income populations as an urban issue.

The housing of low-income populations remained a primarily urban issue into the modern era, with provisions of the Housing Act of 1949 highlighting the need for prolonged "slum clearance" efforts throughout the country. Authorizing $1 billion for communities across the country, the act also sought to recast public perception of the government's housing program, rebranding its "slum clearance" initiatives as "urban renewal." Under the Housing Act of 1954, provisions were modified to reinforce the fact that redevelopment areas were to primarily residential in area and to require local communities to develop detailed work programs before applying for funding.[195] The Housing Acts of 1954 and 1959 also shifted the emphasis of the government program from the construction of public housing to the provision of publicly-assisted housing, with the intent of encouraging involvement by private industry. Among the most important of the HUD programs were Section 221(d)(3) and Section 236, which spurred the construction of government-subsidized housing and allowed for federally-backed loans to be made to non-profit organizations, cooperatives, and private developers, so long as the housing met certain provisions for low- and moderate-income groups.[196] Under the impetus of such provisions, redevelopment authorities began to multiply exponentially throughout the country. Nationwide, more than 70 cities would have such authorities by 1955; yet, none were in South Dakota.

South Dakota's absence from many of the government's low-income and urban renewal programs would not change until the late 1960s. This is principally a result of the fact that such issues evolved as intricate economic considerations amidst a complex picture

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[194] For a more comprehensive discussion of low-income housing, see, for example, J. Rosie Tighe and Elizabeth J. Mueller, ed., *The Affordable Housing Reader* (New York, NY: Rutledge, 2013); Timothy L. McDonnell, *The Wagner Housing Act: A Case Study of the Legislative Process* (Chicago, IL: Loyola University Press, 1957); Martin Anderson, *The Federal Bulldozer* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1964).

[195] While the original intent of the housing act was to provide redevelopment that was primarily residential, the provisions of the Housing Acts of 1954, 1959, and 1961 ultimately opened up opportunities for cleared land to increasingly be used in the development of facilities such as hospitals and universities.

[196] For additional discussion, see, for example, Charles L. Edson, "Affordable Housing: An Intimate History," in Tim Iglesias and Rochelle E. Lento, eds., *The Legal Guide to Affordable Housing Development* (Chicago, IL: ABA Forum on Affordable Housing and Community Development Law, 2011); Gerald Sazama, "A Brief History of Affordable Housing Cooperatives in the United States," January 1996.

of what it meant to be a low-income family in South Dakota. At a basic level, much of the government's urban-based programming simply was not applicable in the state. A natural consequence of geography, population distribution, and economic opportunities, higher percentages of low-income populations tended to be disproportionately located in rural areas. In 1970, 14.8 percent of all families in South Dakota had an income below poverty level. Urban areas fared better percentage-wise, with only 9.1 percent of all urban families below poverty level, ranging from 0.5 percent in Union County to 13.4 percent in Shannon County. On the other hand, 20.1 percent of all rural families had an income below poverty level, as did 18.2 percent of all rural nonfarm families. Within this, though, there was significant variation throughout the state. For example, for rural farm families, 11 counties (16.4 percent) were characterized by significant poverty levels, 19 counties (28.4 percent) had high poverty levels, 31 (46.2 percent) experienced moderate poverty, and 6 (8.9 percent) were characterized by low poverty levels. Individual counties ranged from 0 percent (Stanley County) to 37.1 percent (Shannon County). For rural nonfarm families, totals ranged from 4.1 percent in Walworth County to 84 percent in Washabaugh County. On the whole, Economic Regions III and V had higher percentages of low-income rural families than the remainder of the state (Tables 23-25).[197]

TABLE 23. RURAL FARM FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, TOP 20 COUNTIES, 1970

County	Percent	Number of families	Economic Region
Shannon	37.1	95	VI
Charles Mix	33.0	330	III
Day	33.0	300	IV
Yankton	31.4	289	III
Dewey	31.1	112	V
McCook	30.8	286	II
Haakon	29.7	85	V
Aurora	29.5	157	III
Gregory	29.4	209	III
Hutchinson	29.0	318	III
Hughes	29.0	60	V
Ziebach	28.2	79	V
Brule	27.4	143	III
Washabaugh	26.8	49	VI
Corson	26.7	113	V
Jerauld	26.6	102	III
Hyde	26.5	68	V
Marshall	24.3	158	IV
Bennett	23.9	62	VI
Sully	23.7	70	V

[197] Marco Montoya, Robert T. Wagner, and Robert M. Dimit, *South Dakota Low Income Families and Migration* (Brookings, SD: South Dakota State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1975), 4-5 and 9-10.

TABLE 24. RURAL NON-FARM FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, TOP 20 COUNTIES, 1970

County	Percent	Number of families	Economic Region
Washabaugh	84.0	100	VI
Shannon	59.7	364	VI
Buffalo	58.2	113	V
Ziebach	56.7	144	V
Todd	45.7	464	V
Mellette	39.8	138	V
Corson	36.3	224	V
Dewey	32.1	232	V
Brule	30.4	97	III
Bennett	28.7	126	VI
Sanborn	25.6	116	III
Hyde	24.6	89	V
Harding	24.3	27	VI
Charles Mix	24.1	345	III
Roberts	23.9	361	IV
Hutchinson	22.1	361	III
McPherson	21.9	177	IV
Grant	21.1	93	I
Campbell	21.1	90	V
Turner	21.0	281	II

TABLE 25. URBAN FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, TOP 20 COUNTIES, 1970

County	Percent	Number of families	Economic Region
Shannon	13.4	199	VI
Sully	10.7	60	V
Brookings	9.8	262	I
Brule	9.3	55	III
Clay	8.8	238	II
Walworth	8.8	169	V
Brown	8.7	531	IV
Pennington	8.6	1,295	VI
Lake	7.4	213	I
Beadle	6.8	243	IV
Davison	6.5	272	III
Fall River	6.0	102	VI
Tripp	5.8	116	V
Minnehaha	5.7	1,327	II
Codington	5.2	249	I
Yankton	5.2	212	III
Butte	5.1	104	VI
Roberts	4.7	136	IV
Grant	4.3	97	I
Lawrence	3.9	168	VI

The nature of low-income population distribution in the state meant that most areas simply were not eligible for applicable government programming. Where efforts were made, they were directed most often at the state's Native American populations. Such is evidenced by the Oglala Sioux Housing Authority's work at Pine Ridge in 1962. Ultimately comprised of 150 low-rent units designed by Sioux Falls architect Evan Lucas, the housing program was made available through a federal loan of $1.3 million, which was to be paid off through rent profits over a 30-year period. The program represented the first time in the country where public housing was furnished under a rent-reimbursed program at a reservation.[198] A particularly unique initiative of the era was the Basin HUD project of North and South Dakota, first proposed in 1971. Designed to be a model for the rest of the country, the program represented the first time that a HUD project was directed at rural areas. The program was to provide low-income housing for elderly populations (62 or older) with incomes of less than $4,000 and families with incomes under $6,000 as part of the interstate project, which included 11 counties in South Dakota: Custer, Fall River, Jackson, Bennett, Washabaugh, Shannon, Butte, Lawrence, Harding, Meade, and Pennington. Under HUD, the project required that each county set up a local housing authority to make a survey of individual needs prior to acquiring funds. Ultimately, this requirement stalled out the program as only Meade and Pennington counties had established such authorities.[199]

Urban renewal initiatives were rushed to the forefront in 1972 in response to crisis in Rapid City. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) had constructed the Canyon Lake Dam during the 1930s, establishing a 40-acre lake upstream from Rapid City. With the passage of the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968, the Soil Conservation Service (SCS) delineated a flood zone for Rapid City and through early 1972 the city had purchased three blocks of residences, removing 22 families along Rapid Creek to begin the creation of a greenway along the creek. The project was cut short, however, by the flood of 1972.[200] Brought on by over 14 inches of rain, flood waters cascaded through the Black Hills, destroying buildings upstream from Canyon Lake Dam. By midnight of June 9, the flood waters of Rapid Creek crested the weakened dam, releasing a torrent of water on Rapid City. A third of the city was below 5 to 10 feet of water. Many blocks along Rapid Creek were virtually demolished, leaving 600 homes and 35 businesses destroyed, over 900 homes and 242 businesses damaged, and 3,000 residents without homes.[201]

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[198] "30 Dwellings To Be Completed in 1962," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls) 19 December 1961.

[199] "Lawrence County Board to Probe Low-Cost Housing," *Lead Daily Call*, 9 September 1971.

[200] U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Historical Vignette: The Rapid City Flood, June 1972*, electronic document available at http://www.nwo.usace.army.mil/Media/Fact-Sheets/Fact-Sheet-Article-View/Article/581806/historical-vignette-the-rapid-city-flood-june-1972/.

[201] F. Richard Ciccone, "Flood Survivors Continue Burials, Search For Dead," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 14 June 1972; Helene Duhamel, "Remembering Rapid City's 1972 Flood," *KOTA Territory News*, electronic document available at http://www.kotatv.com/content/news/Remembering-Rapid-Citys-

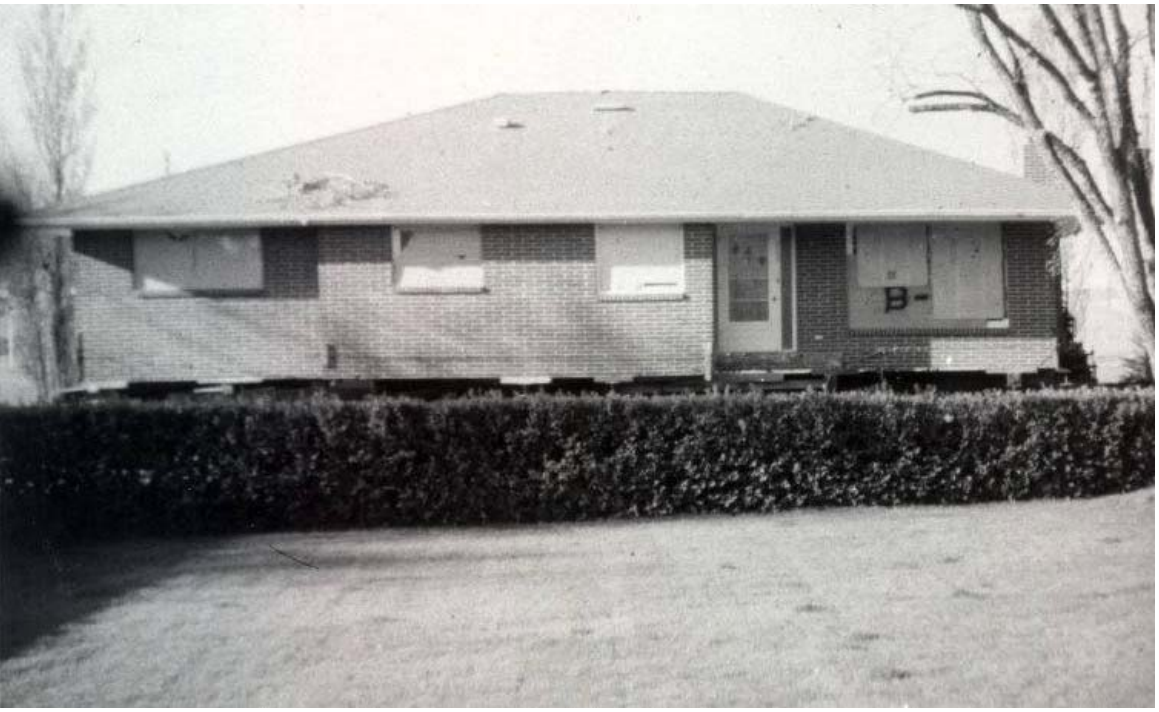

Figure 25 | Boarded-up mid-twentieth century house after the flood, 1972. Rapid City Public Library.

Figure 26 | Mid-twentieth century house on flooded Rapid Creek, 1972. Soil Conservation Service, Rapid City Public Library.

1972-flood-382389621.html; "We Remember: 1972 Flood Still Resonates in Rapid City 44 Years Later," *Rapid City Journal*, 9 June 2016.

In response to the immediate crisis, HUD provided $300,000 to Rapid City to develop its urban renewal plan for the Rapid Creek floodplain. Under the city's urban renewal plan, the USACE built levees and improved the channel of Rapid Creek to provide future protection for existing developments in the vicinity of its path. The greenway was finished as part of the project, ultimately totaling seven miles. The city and HUD, after purchasing the tracts along its length, developed the area with recreational facilities and parks, including baseball fields, an enlarged golf course, handball courts, tennis courts, bicycle trails, and nature trails, so that only green ways and recreational areas would be affected by future floods.[202] Notably, as part of the project, 48 houses that had been damaged by flood waters were moved to new sites and renovated as low-income housing. Robert Rosenheim, regional HUD administrator, proclaimed the project as "the best example yet [in the country] of the new federalism—cooperation between three bodies of government and the transfer of decision-making to the local level."[203]

Into the early to mid 1970s, additional opportunities for low-income housing (particularly under the guise of urban renewal) came to South Dakota, largely a response to the establishment of individual housing authorities in places like Rapid City and Sioux Falls and the formation of the South Dakota Housing Development Authority (SDHDA) in July 1973. Projects of the era included, for example, redevelopment of an 11-block area in Sioux Falls, which included low-income elderly housing, and construction of The Village, a 50-unit complex for low-income elderly residents in Redfield.[204] Establishment of the SDHDA was particularly important. Founded with the purpose "to provide sanitary, decent, and safe residential housing" to low- and moderate-income groups, the SDHDA set out to eradicate the shortage of appropriate housing that contributed to "the creation and persistence of slums, blight, and substandard housing… has been a major contributing factor to the determination of the quality of the environment and living conditions" for a large part of the population. Programming was accomplished through the provision of construction loans and long-term mortgage loans for the financing of rental properties and low-income homeownership; the authority also functioned as a statewide redevelopment commission, eligible for federal housing funds, and worked with the State Planning Agency to prepare "The State Plan in Housing."[205]

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[202] "Greenway Planned on Rapid City Flood Plain," *Minneapolis Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), 4 February 1973; Harley Sorensen, "Rapid City: After Flood, New Vigor," *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), 5 June 1977; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Historical Vignette: The Rapid City Flood, June 1972*, electronic document available at http://www.nwo.usace.army.mil/Media/Fact-Sheets/Fact-Sheet-Article-View/Article/581806/historical-vignette-the-rapid-city-flood-june-1972/.

[203] "Rapid City Sets Housing Model," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 18 August 1975.

[204] "Redfield's Elderly Citizens," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 12 November 1972.

[205] South Dakota Housing Development Authority, *Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1974* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota Housing Development Authority, 1975).

The authority's first project was initiated in 1973. Built under HUD Section 221(d)(3), Rolling Hills Townhouses in Sioux Falls provided 40 units in 12 buildings.[206] Additional housing was provided in the city under Section 235, which provided for homes to be built by private contractors and financed by private lenders for the purpose of housing low-income families. During 1970 and 1971, 316 families in Sioux Falls purchased new homes under this program and 38 purchased rehabilitated homes.[207] Ultimately, $11.25 million was provided in construction loans for rental and cooperative housing projects insured by the FHA by December 1973. Importantly, the SDHDA recognized the necessity of addressing low-income rural populations as well. By the end of 1973, $4.28 million was provided in construction loans for construction financing under FmHA projects, marking the SDHDA as the first state housing authority to use its financing power in conjunction with FmHA rental housing.[208] The diversification of the authority's

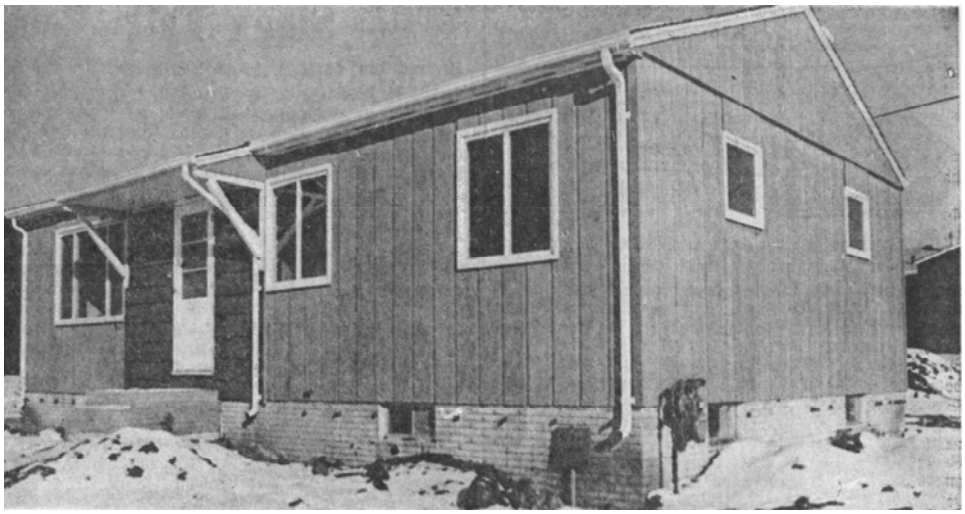

Figure 27 | Section 235 Housing in Sioux Falls.
The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 17 December 1972.

Example of the low-income housing constructed under Section 235 by private contractors in Sioux Falls.

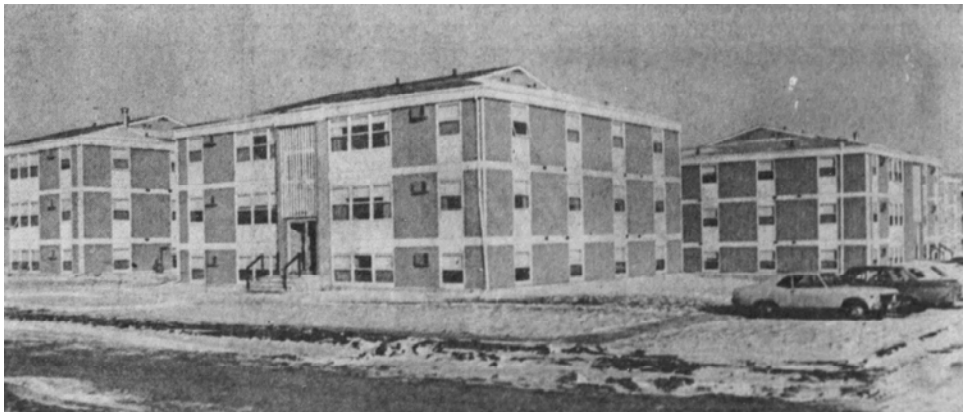

Figure 28 | Meadowland Apartments, Sioux Falls.
The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 17 December 1972.

One of the first multi-family housing units in South Dakota constructed under Section 236.

[206] "Low-Income Housing Contract in City First in South Dakota," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 28 November 1973.

[207] Phyllis Wiepking, Sioux Falls Assisted Housing Projects Vital to Community," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 17 December 1972.

[208] South Dakota Housing Development Authority, *Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1974.*

programming also was represented by its implementation of the Single-Family Homeownership Mortgage Purchase Program in October 1974, designed to diffuse affordable housing from urban centers, increase the supply of mortgage capital during a period of limited private financing and high interest rates, and move beyond rental housing to provide low- and moderate-income populations with opportunities for homeownership. As of 1975, the SDHDA had purchased 894 mortgages and provided 411 newly originated loans.[209]

[209] South Dakota Housing Development Authority, *Annual Report FY '75* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota Housing Development Authority, 1976).

3 | ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

VII. Building and Selling Housing

VIII. The Modern House

VII. BUILDING AND SELLING HOUSING

A. THE HOMEBUILDING INDUSTRY

Changes ushered in during the modern era not only affected the extent and nature of residential development but also shifted the roles and responsibilities of those involved in the process of designing and building houses, reflecting a natural progression of trends from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historically, the homebuilding industry had been defined by the efforts of the subdivider and the homebuilder, which carried out the subdividing of land and building of homes, respectively, as related but distinct functions. These entities typically operated on a small-scale within a finite geography, with most builders constructing only a handful or two of houses per year.[210] Into the 1910s, functions of the homebuilding industry increasingly came together, spurring the rise of the community builder, which rose to prominence in an era of advances in organized city planning. In contrast to the subdivider and homebuilder, the community builder foreshadowed post-World War II trends, typically operating on a larger scale and overseeing all aspects of development, either through in-house or retained expertise in specialty fields such as architecture and landscape architecture.[211]

Into the 1920s, a new subset of builders-developers known as operative builders emerged, taking from the community builder the concept of vertical integration of services to increasingly control the entire residential development process. Lacking the cohesive foresight offered by community builders, though, developments by operative builders reacted to the availability of financing, with most constructed in phases, each successive section dependent upon the mortgage market. With the establishment of the FHA in the 1930s—which provided a level of stability and certainty wrapped up nearly entirely in government-backed mortgage funding—the operative builder's livelihood became inherently dependent upon the availability of FHA-approved financing. Especially successful were those builders that worked to improve their scale of production and operations, particularly in capitalizing on the availability of government priorities and mortgage ratings into the war era. Such builders came to hold an increasingly influential role in the market.

It was in the wake of World War II and the readjustment period—characterized by severe housing shortages and a need for immediate construction—that processes of land development and homebuilding would fully coalesce, bringing to the forefront the

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[210] Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*.

[211] Ibid. An important distinction, the community builder differed from previous entities in engaging carefully-planned designs for neighborhoods alongside other community considerations, such as schools and green spaces, and encouraged the use of planning mechanisms such as zoning and subdivision regulations to protect investments.

operative builder and its counterpart, the merchant builder. Building ahead of demand rather than waiting to meet customer-specific desires and replacing concern for phased construction with an emphasis on efficiency in an age of available financing and eager homeowners, merchant builders acquired large tracts of land, installed streets and services, and built and sold homes to a generation of homeowners. Through economies of scale, adaptation of modern construction techniques, and curation of a particular business acumen, these developers—the "new giants" of the industry—spurred production on a grand level.[212]

As builders looked to capitalize on efficiencies and a desperate housing market, the number of medium- and large-scale developers across the country exploded. Whereas only 100 builders across the country produced as many as 100 houses per year prior to the war, by 1949, the number jumped to 720 such builders.[213] Moreover, while "small builders"—those that built less than 25 houses per year—still represented approximately 96 percent of the national homebuilding industry in 1949, operative and merchant builders were responsible for 80 percent of all housing production in the country by 1949. By 1959, it was estimated that 1 percent of builders were responsible for one-third of all new housing and the top 10 percent of builders were responsible for two-thirds of all new housing.[214]

Figure 29 | Advertisement for Robert Peterson & Sons, 1954. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 23 May 1954.

Marketing for Robert Peterson & Sons evolved in response to the firm's growth. Original (1930s) ads noted the firm as "realtors," while 1940s ads referred to them as "realtors and community builders." By the 1950s, the firm was self-described as "realtors and developers."

The growth of operative and merchant builders is represented in the evolution of the Sioux Fall-based firm of Robert Peterson and Sons, established in 1938 by Robert Peterson, who had previously served in the State Legislature from 1933 to 1935 and as lieutenant governor from 1935 to 1937. Transitioning out of government, Peterson recognized the potential for the housing market in the age of FHA financing and began a small realty firm with his twin sons. Into the 1940s, Peterson grew his firm, extending beyond simply being a real estate agent and taking on small developments. In the years after World War II, he capitalized on the need for housing, maximized his connections in Sioux Falls, and used his intuition to anticipate needs of a growing population. In 1947, Robert Peterson and Sons opened up the southwestern portion of Sioux Falls to development, platting and developing the Park Ridge addition in the vicinity of where the veterans' hospital would be constructed in the future. From there, Peterson went on to develop addition after addition, including Hayward Heights, Howard Woods, and Country Club Heights, the latter east of Minnehaha Country Club. The growth of the firm was such that it earned the company a spot in the book *Successful Real Estate Ideas* for its marketing practices as it worked to build a "greater Sioux Falls." While Robert Peterson would retire in the 1950s, the firm would continue under his sons into the mid-1970s.[215]

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[212] Sherman Maisel, *Housebuilding in Transition: Based on Studies in the San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1953).

[213] Ibid., 13-22.

[214] Ibid.; "Builders by Size," *Architectural Forum* vol. 90, no. 4 (April 1949), 82-101.

The rise of the merchant builder and the concentration of homebuilding in the hands of a few large-scale firms during the period also was evidenced in Rapid City between 1950 and 1964, the city's primary building boom. Of the 5,672 single-family dwellings constructing during this period, 1,442 units or more than 25 percent of all housing was built by a single developer, Private Homes, Inc. Secondary developers also played a substantial role in the market, with nearly 700 units (12.1 percent) constructed by Martin Hoefer Construction, Inc. and more than 450 dwellings (8 percent) built by RECO Master Craft Homes. Thus, more than 45 percent of all housing during the 14-year period was produced by three builders (Table 26).[216]

TABLE 26. RESIDENTIAL BUILDERS IN RAPID CITY, 1950-1964

	1950-1954		1955-1960[217]		1961-1964	
	Total	% of all housing	Total	% of all housing	Total	% of all housing
All builders	2,129	100	2,497	100	1,246	100
Private Homes, Inc.	479	22.5	570	22.8	271	21.7
Marcoe Construction	188	8.8	66	2.6	--	--
Gale Goodwin	33	1.6	75	3.0	--	--
Walter Quinn Construction	92	4.3	21	0.8	--	--
Lee Arnold Construction	61	2.9	80	3.2	2	0.2
Martin Hoefer Construction	85	4.0	340	13.6	265	21.3
Hufford Construction	--	--	27	1.1	--	--
Midwestern Homes	--	--	111	4.4	42	3.4
Myhren's Cashway	--	--	165	6.6	--	--
RECO Master Craft	--	--	247	9.9	210	16.9
Jaehn Construction	--	--	27	1.1	73	5.9
Taylor & Strnad	--	--	23	0.9	18	1.4

While the period witnessed the emergence of such merchant builders, the homebuilding industry in states like South Dakota—characterized by a limited population base and a dispersed network of small communities—was not, however, a straight line reflection of period trends in the domination of large-scale developers. In many ways, the homebuilding industry was more complicated in its reliance on a variety of players. In fact, of the homebuilders in South Dakota as of 1961, only 15 were considered merchant

[215] David H. Smith, "Hayward Heights Subdivision Future Location of Hospital, Home for Aged, Residences," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 28 May 1950; Ralph Green, "Commercial Construction in S.W. Area of City Due to Start in Fall," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 May 1953; "Peterson Realty Firm Developing New Areas in S.F.," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 23 May 1954; "Former Lt. Gov. Peterson Dies in Sioux Falls," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 3 September 1968; "Robert Peterson, Past Lieutenant Governor, Dies," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 4 September 1968; Prentice-Hall Real Estate Service, *Successful Real Estate Ideas* (New York, NY: Prentice-Hall, 1951), 219.

[216] Totals are based on a review of 1950-1964 issues of the *Rapid City Market Guide and Business Survey, 1950*, produced annually by the *Rapid City Journal*.

[217] Residential totals for 1956 are unavailable and thus excluded from this tally.

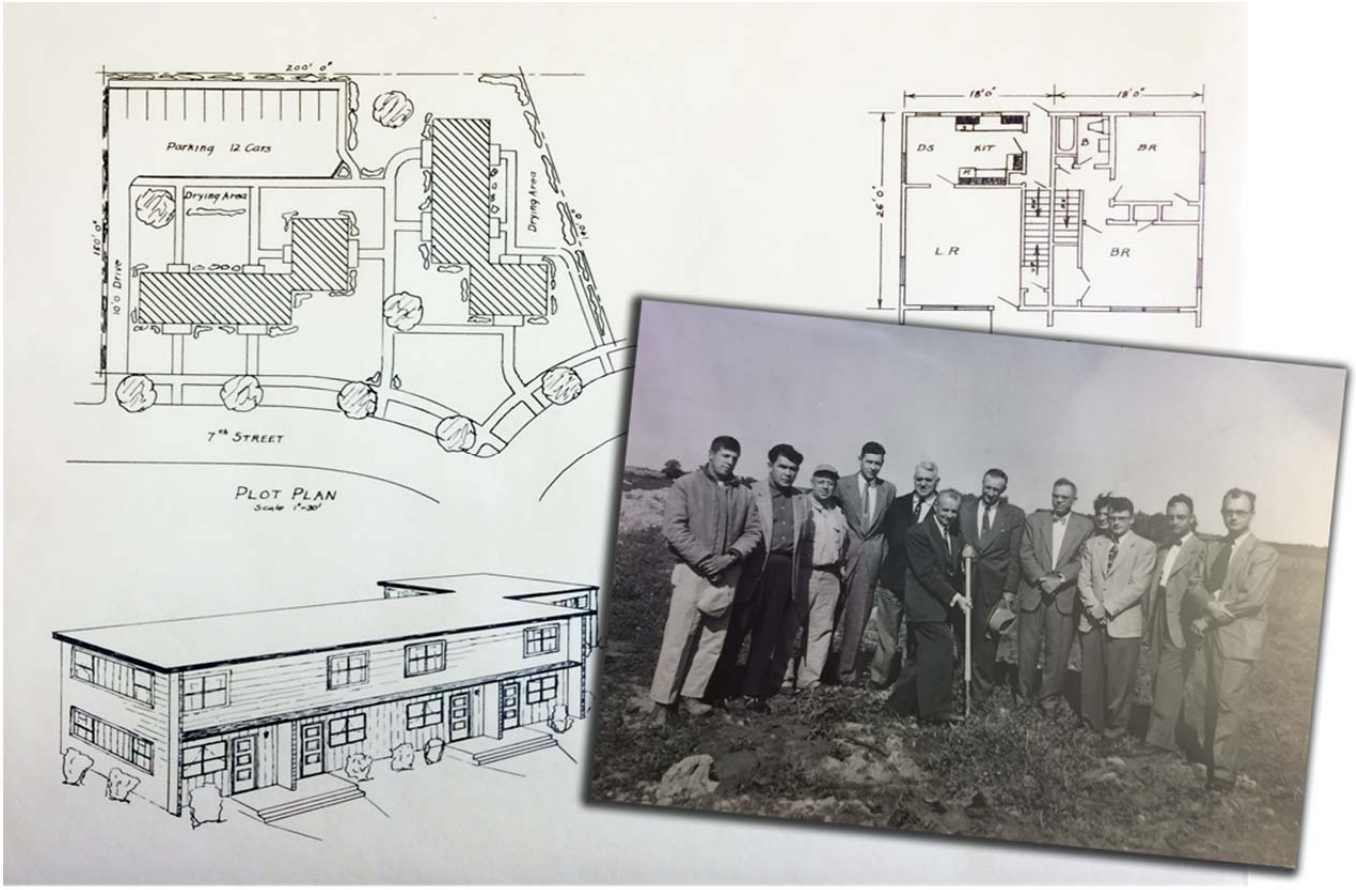

Figure 30 | Faculty Housing Company, Inc. Designs and Groundbreaking, 1950s. South Dakota State University, Hilton M. Briggs Library, Archives and Special Collections.

builders, while 87 were classified as smaller operations; South Dakota had the fourth lowest number of merchant builders in the country.[218] As such, small-scale builders and developers remained substantially relevant during the period, particularly in limited regional markets where large-scale corporate developers did not exist to respond to demand or in second- and third-tier growth centers where large tracts of housing were not appropriate in the local market. A particularly unique example of this was the establishment of Faculty Housing Company, Inc. in Brookings. Organized in 1952 by a group of faculty members at SDSU, the development company set out to overcome the limitations of a small market where large-scale developers did not exist. Purchasing land near the university, the company coordinated development of the College View addition, intended to provide 2 apartment buildings and 22 individual dwellings to support university faculty.[219]

Small-scale developers also continued to provide small pocket subdivisions on vacant land at the core of established population centers such as Sioux Falls and Rapid City,

[218] "How Many Homebuilders are there Now?" *House & Home* (September 1961), 79.

[219] "Faculty Housing Company, Inc. Records," MA 70, unpublished manuscripts, South Dakota State University, Hilton M. Briggs Library, Archives and Special Collections, Brookings, South Dakota.

blurring the boundaries between phased construction of the early twentieth century and the more pervasive growth of the mid-twentieth century. On the opposite end of the spectrum were those not inherently in the building industry that rose to take advantage of housing needs in the modern era, providing financial backing and development support for certain types of endeavors. Such is reflected in the activities of Sheldon F. Reese, a grain dealer and enterprising businessman who added apartment construction to his portfolio starting in the 1940s. Reese would ultimately develop units in Huron, Aberdeen, Mitchell, Sioux Falls, and Rapid City through his subsidiaries, Northwest Realty and Acme Construction Company.[220]

As builders and developers evolved during the period, so too did their impact on a community. A developer's initial investment in the community became an increasingly critical indicator of the longevity of a neighborhood. Large-scale builders—as well as smaller developers who wanted to remain competitive—had to concern themselves with issues that would affect the long-term stability of the community if they wished to find a ready and willing client base, with developers increasingly responsible for selling the concept of the home and a certain lifestyle as much as the physical space of the house. In support of this, developers increasingly integrated various service lines inward. While small-scale builders employed real estate agents and often hired architects on a contract-specific basis, large-scale builders often opted for total integration, incorporating professional services typically handled by a variety of entities—builders, architects, financial lenders, interior designers, and real estate agents—under the singular umbrella of the developer. Through this vertical integration and the accompanying adaptation of a streamlined development process, such developers could increasingly give attention to all elements of a community—from achieving economies of construction to providing attractive places to live—the total of which translated into salability.

The maturation of the building industry and efforts to "promote ownership of better homes" through developer investment was complemented by the establishment and activities of trade organizations such as local affiliates of the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), an organization deadened to "help builders do a better job and to make it easier for average families to own their own homes."[221] In South Dakota, the Home Builders Association of the Sioux Empire was the first to be established, organizing in 1956 to coordinate the activities of homebuilders throughout the city during a period of expansive growth and development. The Black Hills Home Builders Association followed in 1973. In 1975, the South Dakota Home Builders Association was established as a state chapter of the NAHB to coordinate the efforts of regional associations. By 1983 it would have more than 350 builders as members; membership

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[220] "Reese Receives Honor Degree," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 18 May 1975.

[221] "Home Building Shatters All World Marks," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 16 September 1956.

jumped to more than 600 firms by 1999. Other regional associations formed into the 1990s, including the Northern Hills (Spearfish, Sturgis, Lead-Deadwood, and Belle Fourche), Watertown, and Brookings chapters by 1999, but most local associations were not established until the 2000s.[222]

For those outside of the fold of a developer, industry shifts in the modern era brought changes. Architects in particular were affected by evolving processes as well as larger transitions in housing during the period. Like the remainder of the building industry, architects had faced a tumultuous time during the Great Depression and World War II and continuing into the readjustment period, with their role in residential design diminished during a period of efficient construction that intersected with a period of material shortages and cost concerns. While individual paid commissions remained as isolated ventures, many architects took work with developers to come up with a few basic designs that could then be duplicated throughout a development or otherwise minimally manipulated for future endeavors, with architects essentially giving their work out.[223] Into the 1950s, though, architects found their stride in working alongside developers as merchant builders increasingly ingrained professional design services in-house to meet varied homeowner demand for aesthetically-pleasing housing and well-thought out floor plans, particularly in upper-middle and upper class developments. The value of architects to residential developers was captured in the 1960 version of the *Community Builder's Handbook*:

> Successful builders find that the architect is an essential member of their development team. In this era of large-scale development for residential construction, operative builders must offer purchasers more than a merely well-built structure on a good lot. They must offer an architecturally pleasing house with a good floor plan well adapted to the topographic features of the lot and in good relationship to other houses. Builders are finding that a talented architect also provides them with aids other than a house plan and an elevation design.[224]

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[222] "Sioux Falls Business News Home Builders Association Organized," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 1 January 1956. This article notes that a chapter was established in Rapid City prior to the formation of the Sioux Empire association, but all materials for the Black Hills Home Builders Association note that it was established in 1973. It is likely that a smaller, city-based chapter was formed in 1955, which then evolved into the regional chapter founded in 1973. "Francis Elected HBA President," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 31 August 1982; Mark Mowry, "Regional Homebuilders Association Formed," *Daily Queen City Mail* (Spearfish), 7 March 1987.

[223] Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*.

[224] Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builder's Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1960), 26.

Such concepts were reinforced locally by Harold Spitznagel, Sioux Falls architect, who expressed the merits of builders retaining architects rather than trying to replace them, noting that he had "known lumbermen who thought that they were architects but" he had "never known an architect who thought he was a lumberman."[225]

In South Dakota, the dynamic of builder and architect played out in various ways. For example, the integration of builder services and architectural services were reflected in the residential redevelopment of the Otanka Farm at Tuthill Park in Sioux Falls. Recognizing the benefits of employing a dedicated architect whose careful eye could enhance the quality of the development, Gateway, Inc.—a development company formed by residential builders Ray Bennett, Alan Bergeson, Ralph, Halvor, and Arnold Teslow—retained the services of prolific architect Ward Whitwam.[226] Of course, into the 1950s and 1960s, individual commissions re-emerged as a big part of business as the state moved increasingly beyond the limitations of the readjustment period. Architect-designed houses remained among the most innovative of the period, reflecting the evolution of architectural theory in the modern era that left many architects with a sense that architecture could provide better means of living. Such thoughts spurred experimentation in design and construction that intersected with the home industry in the integration of indoor-outdoor space, use of alternate materials, and shifting of the interior plan. As such, while architects such as Whitwam worked alongside builders in the development of certain communities, it was often the individual commissions—such as the Naused residence in Sioux Falls and the Kibbee residence in Mitchell, in the case of Whitwam—that came to most represent their portfolio of residential design.[227]

Figure 31 | Ward Whitwam Residence, Sioux Falls.
CRA photograph.

While architects frequently worked alongside builders on particular developments, their most notable works were nearly always individual dwellings constructed for a particular client. Ward Whitwam's personal residence (above) is among the most noteworthy in his portfolio.

[225] "State Lumbermen Hold First Session; 800 Are Expected," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 16 April 1952.

[226] "Farm South of Tuthill Park to Be Housing Development," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 21 November 1963.

[227] Tom Reasoner, AIA, "Ward Whitwam, FAIA," *Architecture South Dakota* vol. 3, no. 1 (2011), 62-63.

B. SELLING HOUSING IN THE MODERN ERA

In the highly-competitive marketplace of the modern era, the sale and promotion of housing and new subdivisions was at the forefront of most development considerations. Certainly, if developers failed to attract clientele—and particularly the desired clientele—it could not only impair the sustainability of the development but also the developer's entire business model. During this period, every aspect of the development process became an opportunity to exploit the merits of the development; even the crafting of subdivision names became a marketing tool. While unique names did emerge during the period, subdivision naming conventions often evolved from generic descriptors that sought to evoke perceptions of country living, particularly in the highly-romanticized concept of fringe development. Terms such as "Estates," "Farms," "Woods," "Village," and "Acres" were often appended to local geographically-linked wordage or otherwise used in vague, corporate-produced names that could be equally applied to any development throughout the country. Such is reflected, for example, in the naming of Western Acres, Green Acres, Bridle Acres, and Melody Acres, all developed in Mitchell between 1968 and 1972, and the establishment of subdivisions bearing the names of Rolling Hills and Valley View in both Sioux Falls and Rapid City.[228]

The best mechanism for capturing local audiences was the newspaper. This was particularly true in a post-war world where newspapers provided a major aid to the still recovering housing industry by running multi-page real estate and building news sections or "house and home" features highlighting local trends and new developments. While newspaper advertisements had been well in place since the early twentieth century, they underwent a dramatic transformation during the period as marketing in the housing industry evolved into a sophisticated business amidst increasing competition. Gone were the days of reliance on simple text-based advertisements, particularly for middle- and upper-class housing. In their place, marketing campaigns engaged quarter, half, and full-page call-outs in regional newspapers that relayed a carefully articulated message designed to attract a specific clientele. The construction industry worked tirelessly to sell the modern middle-class lifestyle to the masses, presenting a vision of life in a new home where "everything is so new...everything is so wonderful!"[229] Starting in 1960, for example, the Home Builders Association of Sioux Falls ran regular features in *The Argus-Leader*, introduced under the banner "HOME OWNERSHIP CAN AND SHOULD BE WITHIN THE REACH OF EVERY AMERICAN FAMILY."[230] Increasingly geared toward blurring the lines between a physical house and the romanticized lifestyle of the period, such campaigns utilized language related to concepts of family life, realization of the American dream, and homemaking and often

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[228] [Advertisement—Home Sites At Auction], *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 27 September 1967.

[229] "Everything is so new...Everything is so wonderful!" *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 18 June 1961.

[230] "Home Ownership Can and Should be within the Reach of Every American Family," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 4 February 1960.

incorporated photographs and illustrations offering glimpses of a development and its housing stock alongside phrases such as "gracious living" and "modern conveniences." Taken together, marketing of the period became the product of a very deliberate process designed to sell a very specific image.

While advertising got the buyer to the door in the modern area, the model home was the mechanism by which a developer secured a sale. The concept of the model home had been borne in the early twentieth century, in part out of the Better Homes for America program and in part as an outgrowth of home shows and corporate events and advertising campaigns for manufacturers. Model homes became showcase pieces at local home shows and events such as the World's Fair, showing how the latest technologies and conveniences could be integrated into the modern home. Into the modern era, though, model home construction took on new meaning and importance as it became fully ingrained in marketing practices, acting, essentially as a physical storefront with which to capture an audience and convey the merits of a development and its housing. Situated on a carefully manicured lawn, professionally decorated, and outfitted with carefully-placed furniture and up-to-date appliances, developers used model homes not only to sell a house but also to sell the lifestyle that homeowners envisioned they could achieve in that particular development.[231]

Figure 32 | William B. Lee Co. Model Home Advertisement. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 16 September 1956.

In 1956, Sioux Falls held its first "Parade of Homes" event filled with model homes such as the "Westernaire," built by William B. Lee Co. as a "modern home designed for modern living."

Model homes also facilitated the aforementioned shift in housing production during the period, with developers selling a concept based entirely on an idealized finished product. In doing this, developers catered to their clients by utilizing the basic plan reflected in the model and allowing the client to choose basic features such as interior colors, bathroom tiles, and carpeting or select building components from a packet of previously conceived exterior elements such as siding materials and applied ornamentation. In some instances—particularly into the 1950s and 1960s—certain developers also allowed clients to suggest basic alterations or plan modifications. The premise of selling a house based on a concept was particularly important during Parade of Homes events held during National Home Week, the first of which was organized in 1948 (see *VIII. The Modern Home* for more information on National Home Week and Parade of Homes). Parade of Homes events were particularly popular with the modern consumer and provided a valuable outlet for many regional developers to put their good—the house—in front of a large audience. In some cases, attendance at a single house would exceed 10,000 persons over the course of a few days.[232]

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[231] James A. Jacobs, *Detached America: Building Houses in Postwar Suburbia* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015).

[232] Ibid.; Samuel Dodd, *Merchandising the Postwar Model House at the Parade of Homes*, Master's thesis, University of Texas, 2009; "Builders Look Ahead to 1962 Parade of Homes," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 28 September 1961.

Of course, developers also recognized the importance of takeaway promotional items, lest a home seeker forget the merits of a development. Complementing the model homes, informational pamphlets and fliers were designed to further promote specific subdivisions and the primary tenets that made it the best place to live in the modern era. Comprehensively illustrated with photographs, illustrations, and floor plans, such pamphlets summarized the standard housing types available in the development and described how each type had been carefully planned to meet the needs of the modern family. Details regarding house size, the number of bedrooms and bathrooms, and the modern conveniences incorporated into each home were called out, intended to convince the home seeker that that particular house had been crafted specifically to meet his or her needs.

VIII. THE MODERN HOUSE

A. MASS PRODUCTION, PREFABRICATION, AND TECHNOLOGY

During the early twentieth century, house construction had been carried out in a traditional manner, with skilled craftsmen working on a singular property from start to finish to provide the finished product to the soon-to-be-homeowner. In the modern era, though, the demand for housing dictated a different methodology. In this, comparisons were drawn with mass production in the automobile industry, with the assembly line transferred to the building site as housing construction evolved from a singular endeavor of a singular crew to a carefully coordinated production process whereby discrete tasks were assigned to specific work crews—for example, framing, plumbing, and electrical crews—who moved through houses one by one, followed by the next crew, with staggered construction allowing for the concurrent build-out of multiple houses. Such processes were complemented by the utilization of production techniques that had been developed during the early twentieth century but perfected in war industries. Here, industrial processes had facilitated advances in standardization and mass production, which, in turn, allowed for improvements in the introduction of sheet materials of standardized dimensions such as plywood and gypsum board that facilitated efficient, concurrent construction. Those that were particularly successful in capitalizing upon transitions in the industry were those that possessed a certain business prowess, which facilitated a developer's ability to work with product and material suppliers to achieve the best costs, purchase items in bulk, and use materials effectively and efficiently. In addition, the ability to sustain and absorb the financial burdens associated with medium- and large-scale development became a critical aspect of longevity in the building industry.

Most symbolic of the increased reliance on standardization during the period—with particular reference to the need to provide a ready supply of economical housing for veterans and newly-established families—was the manufacture of prefabricated housing, which maximized production rates and material use made possible through assembly line techniques and built upon the popularization of mail order kits from companies such as Aladdin and Sears, Roebuck and Company in preceding decades. Prefabrication's rise to prominence was fueled by the critical housing shortage following World War II, including in Sioux Falls where C.L. Engebreston, a veteran of the local real estate industry, noted that "we have nothing to be proud of in our record of building in Sioux Falls since the war... maybe these prefabs are the solution."[233] Government housing experts likewise believed in the potential for prefabrication, with Wilson Wyatt—Housing Expeditor for the Office of War Mobilization under President Truman—looking to the prefabricated industry as the answer to housing shortages. Wyatt would set production goals of 250,000 units in 1946 and 600,000 units in 1947,

[233] "Engebretson Will Build Prefabs Here," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 31 August 1947.

ultimately spurring the growth of firms such as the Lustron Corporation, which expanded operations on the back of heavy government capitalization.[234]

Of course, early production processes were imperfect, as evidenced by the experience of R.J. McNerney, lumberman of Sioux Falls, who noted that the first prefabricated unit he put up ended up costing him more in production than the maximum ceiling for which the house could be sold under government priorities for veterans.[235] Other problems persisted as a result of lingering material shortages, which local businessmen in places like Huron decried as hampering the prefabricated housing industry, with claims that South Dakota was being treated unfairly in the release of building materials.[236] Such issues were occurring throughout the country, with problems exacerbated by a general uncertainness on the part of the public regarding certain prefabricated forms or, in other instances, the inability of a manufacturer to keep up with housing demand. The effect was such that production totals ran drastically short compared to government expectations—only 37,200 units of the anticipated 250,000 were produced nationally in 1946—and "by 1949 it was clear to many that the dreams of prefabrication spurred by the spectacularly successful war factories were not going to bring a revolution in housing."[237]

Despite the shortcomings that ultimately plagued the industry, though, advances continued to be made in prefabrication into the 1950s, with successful companies such as National Homes and Gunnison/U.S. Steel Homes providing thousands of houses across the country each year. By 1955, more than 80 prefabricated manufacturers were in operation, with 93,000 prefabricated houses erected throughout the country, representing 8 percent of all new housing.[238] While prefabricated manufacturers sold homes directly to the consumer, the more typical path was for housing to be distributed through local dealers, many of which were small- or medium-scale operative builders or real estate agents. Sales likewise often trickled down through local lumber dealers, particularly in smaller markets. In South Dakota, Gunnison Homes and National Homes had the largest distributions, supported by local suppliers such as Dakota Construction Company—awarded a Gunnison franchise in 1953—and Kennedy and Brown Realty Company—authorized as a National Homes dealer in 1953—both of Sioux Falls.

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[234] Barry James Sullivan, *Industrialization in the Building Industry* (New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1980), 19.

[235] "Legion Group Urges Removal of Controls for Building Industry," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 8 November 1946.

[236] "New Pre-Fab Houses Shown," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 19 October 1947; "S.D. Vets Demand Release of Brakes on Home Construction," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 8 November 1946.

[237] Alan Hess, *The Ranch House* (New York, NY: H.N. Abrams, 2004), 52-54.

[238] Glenn H. Beyer, *Housing: A Factual Analysis* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1958), 105; "What's New in Prefabrication?" *House & Home* vol. 8, no. 6 (December 1955), 102; "Mass Production Enters Housing," *Aberdeen Daily News*, 2 October 1956.

Authorized dealers were essentially responsible for carrying the workload and demonstrating to the manufacturer that they could deliver a certain stream of orders. Equally important, dealers were expected to have an intimate understanding of the product, local building code, and zoning regulations and possess the business savvy to successfully market and sale the housing in their respective geographies.[239]

Figure 33 | Kennedy & Brown Advertisement for the 1956 Model National Home. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 23 March 1956.

239 "Dakota Construction Awarded Dealership," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 30 May 1953; "New National Homes Viewed," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 26 November 1955.

Following are brief descriptions of the Lustron Corporation, Gunnison Homes, Inc./U.S. Steel Homes, and National Homes Corporation, which represent the majority of prefabricated housing constructed in South Dakota during the period. These are not, however, the only prefabricated housing types found in the state. For example, Techbuilt houses—packaged modernistic homes built on a post and beam framework and advertised as the "prize package of home owners" by Techbuilt Houses, Inc. of Cambridge, Massachusetts—are known to have been constructed in South Dakota.[240]

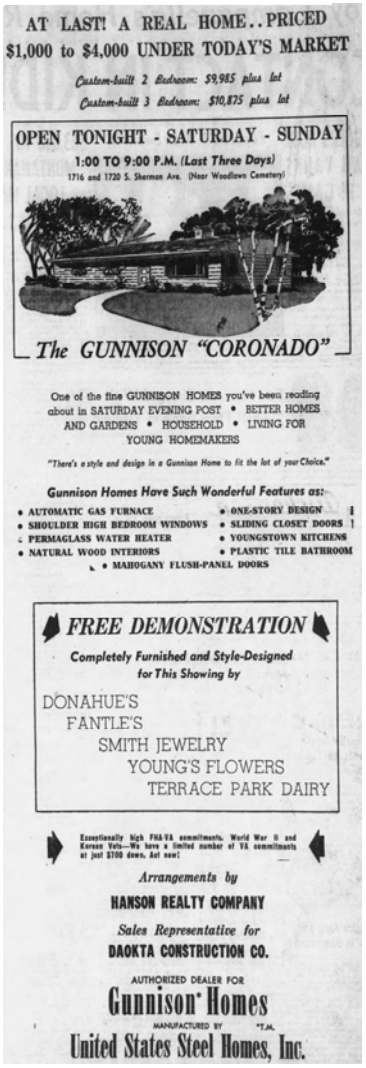
LUSTRON CORPORATION. Founded in Columbus, Ohio by Carl Strandlund in 1947, the Lustron Corporation rose to prominence on government-supported financing, with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) loaning the company $37 million to expand operations. Providing an interesting solution to the modern housing dilemma, the company manufactured prefabricated steel-frame houses clad in porcelain-enameled steel panels from its factory in Ohio. Each house—complete with 3,300 parts—was shipped to a customer's location and built over the course of two weeks. One of the more colorful features of the landscape, Lustrons were offered with exterior panels in four colors: Dove Grey, Maize Yellow, Surf Blue, and

Figure 34 | Lustron House, Sioux Falls, South Dakota. CRA photograph.

[240] "Factory-Built Homes Gain," *Deadwood Pioneer-Times*, 20 January 1955; "Techbuilt Houses Go on Display," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 7 April 1956; [Advertisement], *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 13 April 1956.

Desert Tan. Eight models were available, with the two-bedroom Westchester Deluxe the most common. By 1949, the Lustron Corporation had 234 dealers in 35 states, including South Dakota; however, problems plagued the company, including its inability to keep up with market demand. Lustrons also had a high price point; at $9,000—not inclusive of the land, assembly costs, or other improvements—Lustrons were one of the more expensive prefabricated options. Ultimately, such problems forced the company into bankruptcy and the factory closed in May 1950 with only 2,680 houses produced.[241] As relayed in newspapers throughout the country under a heading of "The Lustron Fiasco," the company's failure didn't "mean the prefabricated housing industry has failed... but the evident collapse of the government's bright dream does seem to mean there'll be no spectacular catapulting of the industry onto a level with the motor makers."[242]

Figure 35 | Advertisement for the 1953 Model Gunnison Home. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 2 October 1953.


AT LAST! A REAL HOME..PRICED $1,000 to $4,000 UNDER TODAY'S MARKET

Custom-built 2 Bedroom: $9,985 plus lot

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The GUNNISON "CORONADO"

One of the fine GUNNISON HOMES you've been reading about in SATURDAY EVENING POST • BETTER HOMES AND GARDENS • HOUSEHOLD • LIVING FOR YOUNG HOMEMAKERS

"There's a style and design in a Gunnison Home to fit the lot of your Choice."

Gunnison Homes Have Such Wonderful Features as:

- AUTOMATIC GAS FURNACE
- SHOULDER HIGH BEDROOM WINDOWS
- PERMAGLASS WATER HEATER
- NATURAL WOOD INTERIORS
- ONE-STORY DESIGN
- SLIDING CLOSET DOORS
- YOUNGSTOWN KITCHENS
- PLASTIC TILE BATHROOM
- MAHOGANY FLUSH-PANEL DOORS

FREE DEMONSTRATION

Completely Furnished and Style-Designed for This Showing by

DONAHUE'S
FANTLE'S
SMITH JEWELRY
YOUNG'S FLOWERS
TERRACE PARK DAIRY

Exceptionally high FHA-VA commitments. World War II and Korean Vets—We have a limited number of VA commitments at just $700 down. Act now!

Arrangements by

HANSON REALTY COMPANY

Sales Representative for

DAOKTA CONSTRUCTION CO.

AUTHORIZED DEALER FOR

Gunnison* Homes

MANUFACTURED BY *T.M.

United States Steel Homes, Inc.

GUNNISON/U.S. STEEL HOMES. Based in New Albany, Indiana, Gunnison Homes, Inc. was founded in 1935 by Foster Gunnison, who perfected the use of stressed plywood skin panels in commercial housing. This method of construction is best described by the Forest Products Laboratory of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), which routinely tested advances in wood building materials from the 1930s onward and developed the stressed-skin model:

> Fundamentally, the system uses panels made of framing members to which plywood sheets or other facing materials are bonded either by glue-nailing or glueing [sic] by other types of pressure. The gluing of these skins causes them and the framing members to act as an integral unit: therefore, under loading, the skins are stressed. The use of the skins, structurally, allows a reduction in size of the framing material, and the elimination of sheathing and interior finishing materials reduces the weight of the construction considerably.[243]

While Gunnison had sold more than 5,000 homes prior to 1940, his real success came after the war, following a majority stake purchase of the company by U.S. Steel Corporation in 1944. Promoted as being under a roof in a single day, Gunnison's houses of stressed skin panels were widely popular in the modern era, undercutting a conventional house's price by as much as 25 percent. Gunnison's basic model was the most popular, available in five sizes with three possible façade configurations. By 1950, 14 different models were available, including an affordable or "thrift" model, with a low-end price of $5,200. Having built what *Saturday*

[241] For a comprehensive discussion of the Lustron Corporation and Lustrons in South Dakota, see Michelle C. Saxman, "The Lustron Home: An Experiment in Steel," in *South Dakota History* vol. 36, no. 4 (Winter 2006), 336-366, and Michelle C. Saxman-Rogers, "Lustron Houses in South Dakota," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 1998.

[242] "The Lustron Fiasco," *Lead Daily Call*, 23 February 1950.

[243] Otto Heyer and R.F. Blomquist, *Stressed-Skin Panel Performance after Twenty-five Years of Service* (Madison, WI: Forest Products Laboratory, 1964), 1.

Evening Post once called "one of the most experienced and promising companies" in the prefabricated housing industry, Foster Gunnison retired in 1953. The company continued on as U.S. Steel Homes before ending production in 1974.[244]

NATIONAL HOMES CORPORATION. Founded by three former Gunnison Homes employees, National Homes Corporation was established in 1940; on the back of a strong national reputation and advertising campaign, it would become one of the most successful prefabricated housing manufacturers in the country. Originally, the company produced stressed skin panelized single-family dwellings for war workers, with 7,500 houses manufactured between 1941 and 1946. After the war, the company converted its operations for the public market, producing housing averaging between $7,000 and $10,000. Sales were particularly strong following the company's introduction of its version of the "thrift" model, which sold for just over $5,000. National Homes grew quickly, acquiring multiple other manufacturers, introducing a national network of sales representatives, and producing more than 25 different models. Notably, National Homes recognized the importance of high-quality design and frequently collaborated with regional architects: Royal Barry Willis of Boston designed Cape Cod models; Emil Schmidlia of East Orange, New Jersey worked on Colonial and French models; Reginal Roberts of San Antonio drafted Southwest models; and Charles Goodman of Washington, D.C., designed Contemporary models. By 1959, 1 out of every 33 single-family, non-farm, privately-financed house in the United States was produced by National Homes, and, by 1963, the company exceeded 250,000 sales. In 1973, the company transitioned out of the prefabricated home business, although it continued to produce parts into the 1980s.[245]

Other examples of prefabricated housing were historically found in South Dakota as well but in more limited quantities. While not their primary purpose, Quonset huts were used as makeshift public and private housing across the country during the war period and readjustment period. Evolving from the British designs of the Nissen hut, invented in 1916 in the midst of World War I, Quonset huts were manufactured in large numbers starting in 1941 for use by the U.S. Navy. Characterized by a large semi-circular cross-section made possible by an arched steel frame, Quonset huts provided an all-purpose form that could be adapted for barracks, offices, classrooms, housing, and commercial

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[244] Douglas Knerr, *Suburban Steel: The Magnificent Failure of the Lustron Corporation* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2004), 48-50; Cynthia E. Johnson, *House in a Box: Prefabricated Housing in the Jackson Purchase Cultural Landscape Region, 1900 to 1960* (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Heritage Council, 2006), 23 and 56.

[245] "New National Homes Show Benefits of Long Planning," *The Indianapolis Star*, 11 October 1959; "In 1956... the 100,000th National Home," *Time* vol. 40, no. 4 (January 23, 1956), 126; Colin Davies, *The Prefabricated Home* (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 2005), 56; Robert Lasch, "Prefabs Can Look Like Other Houses," *Popular Science* vol. 160, no. 3 (March 1952), 157-160.

purposes. Following the war, surplus units were either disassembled or relocated and adapted for other purposes.[246] In South Dakota, such use was primarily confined to college campuses where housing for returning-veterans-turned-students remained limited. For example, Quonset huts were used at Northern State Teachers College in Aberdeen starting in 1945 and at Huron College starting in 1945 and continuing into the early 1950s.[247] Instances of Quonset hut use for private housing were more limited, although they did occur. In Rapid City, for example, Quonset huts were used to help offset the housing shortage starting in 1946.[248]

One of the more interesting concepts was the Transa-House, manufactured by Transa-Housing, Inc. The Transa-House rose to popularity during a short period in the 1950s as a demountable self-contained housing unit favored by the federal government. At its core, the Transa-House was comprised of a center, fixed section resembling a trailer and measuring roughly 8 ft by 38 ft. At either side, panels unfolded outward to form rooms. When assembled, the Transa-House formed a 500 sq ft house complete with built-in bathroom, kitchen, living and dining space, and two small bedrooms.[249] While use of the

Figure 36 | Construction of a Transa-House at Pierre by the BIA, c. 1955.
Department of the Interior. Bureau of Indian Affairs. Pierre Agency, 1954-1972, National Archives and Records Administration.

[246] Julie Decker and Chris Chiei, *Quonset Hut: Metal Living for a Modern Age* (New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), 5-13; Michelle L. Dennis, *Post-World War II Architecture in South Dakota* (2007), 59.

[247] Herb Bechtold, "S.D. Vets Muddle Over Future Plans," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 11 August 1946.

[248] "Rapid City Housing Plan Gets Setback," *Deadwood Pioneer-Times*, 6 April 1946.

[249] James Joseph, "Fold-Up Homes Travel with You," *Science and Mechanics* (October 1952), 65-70.

Transa-House was fairly limited, it provided a convenient, economical housing for substantial housing in isolated areas and was used by entities such as the Bureau of Reclamation and BIA in the vicinity of dam construction projects and other similar undertakings. In South Dakota, the Transa-House was used by the BIA near Pierre, for example, in the mid-1950s.[250]

Isolated examples of other prefabricated or manufactured dwellings exist in South Dakota, but they are rare. Such housing includes, for example, geodesic domes constructed from kits by manufacturers such as Dyna Dome. Characterized by a hemispherical arrangement comprised of triangular elements that form a rigid structure, the geodesic dome was popularized by R. Buckminster Fuller during the 1940s and later, during the 1960s, at the New York City World's Fair. Offering the greatest volume for the least surface area, geodesic domes were used for various types of construction. Residential adaptations were rare and often cast in a naturalistic aesthetic. Only isolated examples are known to exist in South Dakota, including, for example, a dwelling constructed by J.D. Thompson—a physics professor at Augustana College in Sioux Falls—and his students for the benefit of the Thompson family; and the dwelling and original art studio of internationally-recognized artist Dick Termes of Spearfish, who constructed the first of his geodesic dwellings in 1972 after meeting Buckminster Fuller.[251]

Figure 37 | Geodesic Dome in Hughes County, c. 1980. State Historic Preservation Office Photograph Collection, South Dakota State Historical Society, Archives Department.

[250] Christine E. Pfaff, *The Bureau of Reclamation's Architectural Legacy: 1902 to 1955* (Denver, CO: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, 2007), 193-195.

[251] Shirley Schemmel, "Modified Geodesic Dome Home Built on Lesson from Nature," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 16 April 1974; "The Black Hills as Home and Artwork: Q&A with Dick Termes," *MOVAInternational*, June 2016, electronic resource, available at http://movainternational.com/black-hills-artwork-dick-termes/.

While no traditional prefabricated housing manufacturers appear to have had facilities in South Dakota during the period, the state was part of the mobile home industry, which represented a distinct subsection of the prefabricated or manufactured market.[252] Originally referred to as "trailer houses," the mobile home rose to popularity during the mid-twentieth century alongside more traditional housing forms as a more economical alternative:

> A revolution occurred in the mobile home industry after World War II. Changes in the market at the time produced radical changes in design, construction and size of the mobile home. A tremendous boom in sales began in 1945 and has continued through 1970 and actually has benefited from economic recessions during this period.[253]

Mobile homes evolved rapidly during the 1950s and 1960s—increasing in size and improving aesthetics—to become a considerable part of the permanent housing market. Like other forms of prefabricated housing, mobile homes were produced in a factory on an assembly-line approach and integrated a combination of conventional construction materials with the key element, a steel undercarriage that supported transportation. By 1970, more than one-third of new single-family homes sold in the country were mobile homes, representing the housing of more than 5 million people.[254] While South Dakota was not one of the top manufacturers of mobile homes, it did share a part of the market. By the end of the 1960s, approximately 1,700 mobile homes were being produced in the state each year.[255] The manufacturing of mobile homes in the state dates to the 1950s and was concentrated primarily in Rapid City. Facilities here included New Moon Homes and Rushmore Homes, both established in 1956, and Champion Home Builder Company and Rapid Travlers, both of which opened facilities in 1958. Additional facilities, such as that of Knecht Industries, opened in the 1970s as the industry transitioned to modular housing.[256] While fewer in number, additional factories were located throughout the state, including, for example, Butler's of Britton, a franchise of the Hart Mobile Home Corporation that opened in Britton in 1958; the Chizashay

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[252] The statement that there were no prefabricated manufacturers in South Dakota is based on a review of period catalogues, including, for example, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, C*atalogue of House Building Construction Systems* (Ottawa, Canada: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1960), detailing "all the known construction methods of single family dwellings."

[253] South Dakota Local Government Study Commission, *Taxation of Mobile Homes in South Dakota* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota State Legislative Research Council, 1970), 1.

[254] Sylvia Porter, "Mobile Housing Takes Off," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 21 December 1970.

[255] National Research Council, *Housing Technology Alternatives for Use in Planning Post-Disaster Housing-Assistance Programs* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1972), B-14.

[256] "Rapid City Damaged by Hailstorm," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 15 July 1959; National Research Council, *Housing Technology Alternatives*.

Mobile Home Factory in Watertown; and Town and Country Mobile Homes in Canton, which opened in 1973.[257]

The use of mobile homes in South Dakota was extensive in both individual settings and dedicated communities or "mobile home parks." By the mid-1960s, mobile home parks had developed in smaller markets such as Yankton, Glenham, Whitewood, and Aberdeen, as well as Sioux Falls and Rapid City.[258] Among the communities in the vicinity of Rapid City was Northern Heights Mobile Park, developed on the edge of the city by the Boeing Company for the benefit of construction workers and personnel at the Minutemen II Intercontinental Ballistic Missile Launch Facility.[259] Mobile homes were so prevalent in some communities—such as Minnehaha County—that municipal leaders were taking up the issue of drafting specific zoning ordinances designed to limit their geography into the late 1970s.[260]

Figure 38 | Northern Heights Mobile Park, c. 1963.
Rapid City Market Guide and Business Survey, 1963 (Rapid City, South Dakota: Rapid City Journal, 1963)

B. MATERIAL TREATMENTS

Evolutions in technology and building methods during the modern era prompted not only changes in the use of existing materials but also the integration of new materials into the homebuilding industry. Certainly, one of the most evident features of modern housing during the period was the introduction of new material treatments, which, alongside the adaptation of housing forms, played a substantial role in the perception of residential architecture in South Dakota. Such trends equally affected the use of traditional materials such as wood, brick and stone—which were reconfigured and adapted—and manufactured products such as aluminum, concrete, and synthetics—

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[257] "New Industry for Britton," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 2 February 1958; "Wild Wind Rips S.D.," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 7 July 1963; "Mobile Home Plant to Open in Canton," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 31 May 1973.

[258] [Advertisement] "South Dakota Mobile Home Association," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 2 October 1966.

[259] Mead & Hunt, Inc., *Minuteman Missile National Historic Site, South Dakota* (Omaha, NE: Mead & Hunt, Inc., 2003); Rapid City Journal, *Rapid City Market Guide and Business Survey, 1963*, 7.

[260] Tom Graves, "Proposed Mobile Home Zoning Requirements Create Dispute in Minnehaha County," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 15 June 1974.

which came to prominence during a period of innovation. Below is a brief discussion of commonly used materials from the period, presented in alphabetical order.[261]

ALUMINUM. Manufactured aluminum building products had their start in the 1920s, rising to popularity as a lightweight trim material; however, production processes were costly and, for a period, aluminum was a more expensive material than steel. During the war, though, industries substantially improved the manufacture of aluminum materials—particularly in response to the needs of the aircraft industry that required large quantities of aluminum for lightweight aircraft—with new alloy compositions that made the material cheaper but also stronger. With the close of the war, aluminum manufacturers that had invested heavily in production of the material worked to translate innovations into other products, including construction materials. Extruded aluminum components became an integral component of window and door assemblies and curtain wall construction.[262] Perhaps most significantly, though, aluminum siding was heavily marketed as a building material in the modern era for both new construction and as a replacement cladding material for older houses. While aluminum siding had been invented in the 1930s, it was not until the modern era that aluminum siding began to influence the market. New houses of the period did incorporate aluminum siding—particularly into the 1960s—but aluminum siding found its worth in the renovation industry. Undoubtedly, on the back of a generation of modernization programs, countless houses across the country were renovated with a new aluminum cladding at the urging of a substantial industry marketing campaign. Such is reflected in advertisements by General Builders Supply Co. of Sioux Falls, authorized dealers of Alside aluminum siding, proclaimed as the "new miracle of [the] atomic age."[263]

Figure 39 | Alside Aluminum Siding Advertisement, 1949. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 1 August 1949.

Aluminum siding was marketed heavily during the modern era. This ad, for example, notes that aluminum siding on old homes "will actually increase the value of your home. It will lend permanent beauty..." For new homes, Alside's products were advertised as "the new 'miracle' siding" that would reduce maintenance costs.

CONCRETE. Poured concrete and concrete block have long been used by the construction industry, particularly in the setting of foundation and basement walls. Concrete block, in particular, became popular during the early twentieth century following improvements in the manufacturing process and the standardization of unit sizes, which facilitated storage, transport, and construction. The introduction of lightweight aggregates during the period further spurred rampant use of the material. The result was a massive industry, with hundreds of thousands of houses

[261] The intent of this discussion is to focus on the most commonly used materials in residential construction during the period. For a more comprehensive discussion of all building materials and their applications, see Thomas C. Jester, ed., *Twentieth-century Building Materials: History and Conservation* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation Institute, 2014) and Donald Friedman, *Historical Building Construction: Design, Materials and Technology* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010).

[262] Jester, *Twentieth-century Building Materials*, 13-15.

[263] [Advertisement], *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 8 August 1949.

founded on concrete blocks during the 1920s and 1930s. With the boom in housing production following World War II, concrete block production likewise spiked, surpassing a yearly production of 1.5 billion units in 1951.[264] Whereas during the early twentieth century, concrete blocks were commonly "faced," that is, manufactured with a decorative surface, during the period of study concrete blocks were left plain as a more compatible element of modern architecture; simple treatment also reflected the economic concerns of the era's construction. Concrete block also was commonly used during the period in the assembly of decorative screen walls, which became an economical means of interjecting a stylistic architectural element into a streamlined form. Such screen walls are commonly found at entrances or in the framing of carports.[265] Concrete block also was frequently used in the setting of backyard patios. In rare instances, poured and cast concrete was used for decorative elements, counters, and floors in high-style Contemporary architecture of the period, but the extent of its use in such dwellings in South Dakota is unknown.[266]

Much of the concrete material used in South Dakota originated at the South Dakota Cement Plant outside of Rapid City, which was established in the 1920s and expanded several times over during the post-World War II period in response to increased transportation infrastructure, public building construction, and "the constantly expanding number of residences throughout South Dakota."[267] Concrete material production was big business in South Dakota during the study period, although most such materials were used in civic and commercial architecture of the period. Numerous firms were located throughout the state, including Aberdeen Block Co., Watertown Cement Products Co., Brookings Concrete Products Co., Norlin Concrete Products Co., and Josten Concrete Products Co. Of all the concrete product manufacturers in South Dakota, the most significant was perhaps Gage Bros. Concrete of Sioux Falls. Founded in 1917 as the Gage Concrete Products Co., the company rose to prominence during the 1940s and 1950s and was heavily

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[264] Thomas C. Jester, *Twentieth-century Building Materials: History and Conservation* (Los Angeles, California: Getty Conservation Institute, 2014), 46-51.

[265] Anthony Rubano, "The Grille is Gone: The Rise and Fall of Screen Block," in Deborah Slaton and William G. Foulks, ed., *Preserving the Recent Past 2* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2000), 3-89-3-101.

[266] Concrete is known to have been used on the interior of high-style homes of the period. In the 1960s, for example, the National Concrete Masonry Association, National Ready-Mixed Concrete Association and Portland Cement Association sponsored the nationwide Horizon Homes program to promote the merits of concrete in housing and highlight the flexibility of concrete as a residential building material on both the interior and exterior. However, no examples from the program are known to be located in South Dakota.

[267] V.E. Montgomery, *The South Dakota Cement Plant* (Vermillion, SD: Business Research Bureau, State University of South Dakota, 1959), 15.

advertised as the leading producer of concrete products in the upper Midwest. In residential architecture, the company's work was primarily related to the use of concrete block for basement walls, setting "the new standard of excellence in home construction... a basement constructed of Gage Brothers concrete blocks."[268] The company also produced decorative block for interior and exterior screen walls and manufactured products such as Bes-Stone, a modular masonry unit intended to mimic the appearance of split stone construction.

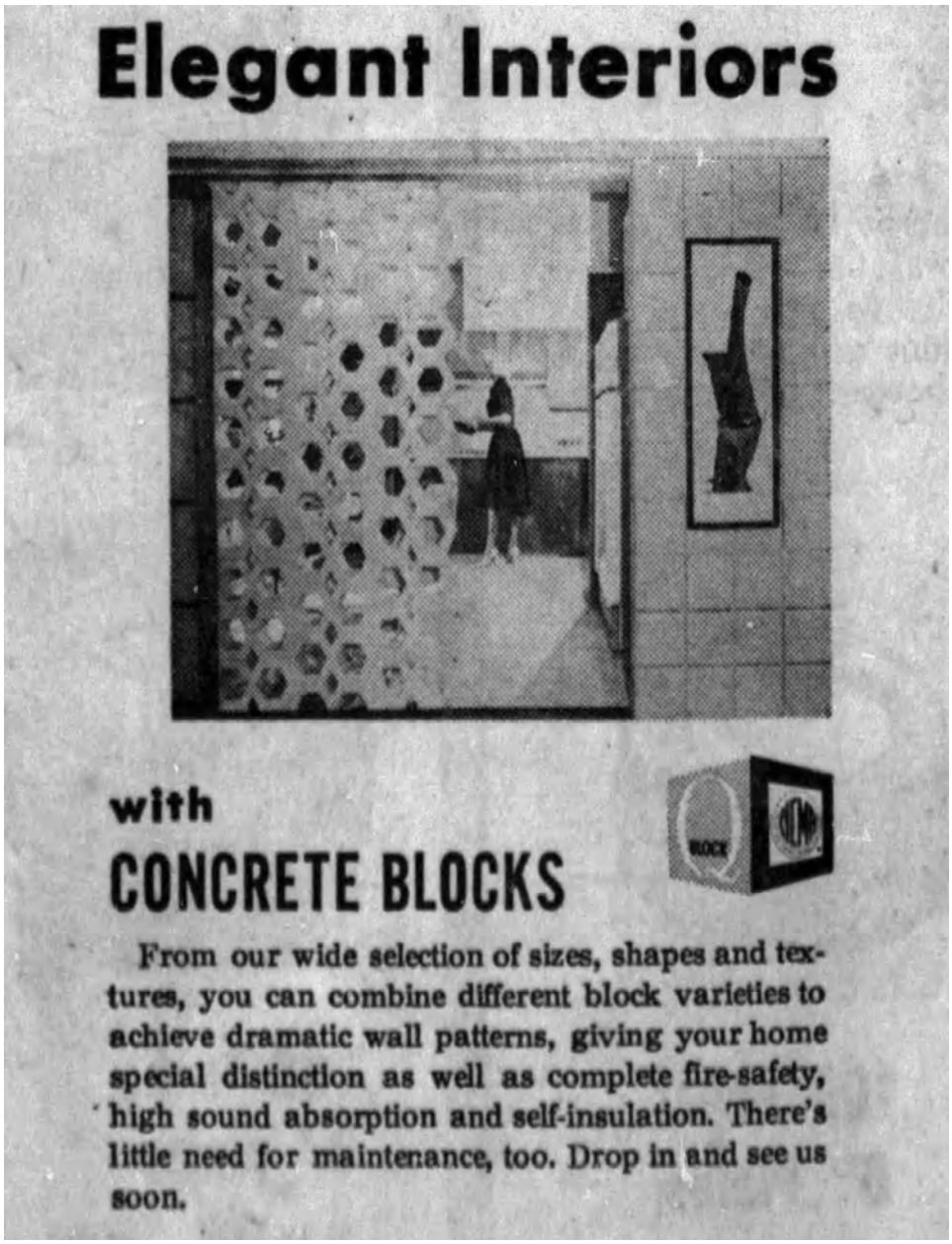

Figure 40 | Advertisement for Gage Bros. Concrete Block.
The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 4 June 1964.

While most of the company's products were marketed for exterior use and structural needs, Gage Bros. also produced decorative concrete block used in both exterior and interior applications in residential settings.

[268] [Advertisement], *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 June 1965; "William Gage Succumbs," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 June 1960; "Concrete Products Association Names Albert Gage Head," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 27 February 1954.

FIBERBOARD/HARDBOARD. Fiberboard generally refers to any construction panel comprised of wood or vegetable fibers. Characterized as a homogeneous material of a single-layer of interlaced fibers, fiberboard was produced in various densities and thicknesses as insulation board, medium-density board, and hardboard. While developed during the mid-nineteenth century, fiberboard was not widely utilized until the early-to-mid-twentieth century. Treated to prevent pest infiltration and deter organic growth, fiberboard was commonly used as an insulation material on interior walls and ceilings. Hardboard materials were commonly used as an exterior finishing material in both prefabricated dwellings and traditional dwellings. The most common hardboard was manufactured by the Mason Fiber Corporation, which first began to manufacture high-density hardboards (Masonite) in the 1920s. Hardboard tile by manufacturers such as Celotex also was used in kitchens and bathrooms beginning in the 1940s.[269]

GLASS. Glass was incorporated into a variety of residential door and window assemblies during the study period, including picture, awning, double-hung, casement, and sliding sash windows. The modern era introduced new manufacturing processes that perfected the use of materials such as plate glass, with the float process—through which grinding and polishing were eliminated—introduced in 1959 and subsequently used by companies such as Pittsburgh Plate Glass. This process allowed for larger and thicker sheets of glass with greater strength and clarity than was previously available. While used extensively in commercial markets, plate glass also was used extensively in domestic architecture

Figure 41 | House in Palo Verde Estates, Rapid City, c. 1955. CRA photograph.

Advances in the production of glass allowed for the integration of full banks of windows, transforming entire elevations into transparent expanses. This was particularly desirable in high-style residences and those afforded open views of the surrounding landscape.

[269] Jester, *Twentieth-century Building Materials*), 89-90.

during the mid-twentieth century. Its use is particularly notable in high-style Contemporary dwellings that often incorporated banks of plate glass in the design of clerestory windows and full-height transparent window walls that allowed for natural light to penetrate deep into the home and blurred the lines between indoor and outdoor spaces. Plate glass was also produced as insulating glass, comprised of two sheets of glass separated by a sealed air space. Insulating glass was introduced into the residential market in the 1960s to help maintain thermal comfort. While occasionally used in picture window assemblies that absorbed large amounts of heat, the use of insulating glass was limited until the 1970s and 1980s.[270]

GYPSUM BOARD. The use of gypsum board (sheetrock, wallboard, drywall) revolutionized the housing industry, providing a less-labor intensive and overall cheaper means of finishing interior partitions. While gypsum board was developed in the late nineteenth century and used regularly beginning in the 1920s, it was not until the modern era—and particularly during the readjustment period when material freezes limited the use of lumber and other materials—when it was used in large quantities in the residential industry. Generally comprised of a gypsum base wrapped in paper, gypsum board provided a lightweight, fire-resistant means of covering large expanses of wall and became a common material in low-cost housing of the 1940s and 1950s because of its cost effectiveness.[271]

MASONRY VENEER. Masonry veneers had been used as early as the late nineteenth century but increased in popularity during the early-to-mid-twentieth century, particularly once industrial finishing processes were improved for stone veneers. While a variety of materials were used on commercial and civic buildings, residences most often featured a brick, limestone, or sandstone veneer. Brick veneers were typically laid in a single wythe while stone veneers were cut thin—commonly 1.5 to 2 inches—and provided in non-load-bearing panels typically measuring 3 to 4 sq ft. Masonry veneers were applied either to an entire dwelling or, as was more in South Dakota, used as a skirt along the lower third of a house or as an accent material; fully-veneered dwellings are the exception in most South Dakota markets during this period but are more common in architect-designed dwellings. Stone veneers are found in a variety of finishes, including, for example, rock-faced, honed, and hammered. To maintain their integrity, veneers were set on a mortar bed and tied into the structural framing, most commonly with steel anchors. Masonry veneers also were found in dwelling interiors, commonly framing fireplaces or built-in planters, for example.[272]

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[270] Ibid., 151-153.

[271] Ibid., 236-238.

[272] Ibid., 136-140; "Stone Can Be Used Inside House, Too," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 28 May 1959.

Figure 42 | House in University Addition, Mitchell, c. 1951.
CRA photograph.

Houses with full masonry veneers are not common in most locales in South Dakota. More common are dwellings that utilize a combination of materials, such as brick veneer and hardboard.

PLYWOOD. Plywood—a manufactured or engineered product in which pieces of veneer are laminated or glued to one another to create a strong substrate—was standardized as a building product in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly through the work of the Douglas Fir Plywood Association. By the early 1930s, the 4 x 8 ft panel now accepted as the standard was in place, with plywood receiving material approval from the FHA in 1938. This approval facilitated the proliferation of platform framing and the widespread use of plywood for subflooring and wall sheathing. Manufacturing processes were improved in the war industries of the 1940s, resulting in stronger bonds and moldable plywood materials that could be adapted to complex shapes. In the modern era, plywood was used extensively in the framing of dwellings. It also was utilized for flush doors and, more limitedly, as prefinished stressed-skin panels for interior and exterior spaces.[273] Plywood also was utilized as exterior sidings, most commonly in the form of T1-11 sidings.

SIMULATED MASONRY. Simulated masonry products rose to prominence in the 1930s as a facing material for either sections of a house—such as the skirt—or an entire dwelling as an alternative to true stone masonry. Simulated masonry products—a molded form comprised of aggregate, cement, hardeners, and, typically, quartz—provided ease of application, represented a significantly more affordable alternative than true masonry, and offered a homeowner the perception of a stone house, effectively serving the same aesthetic purpose. Of course, simulated masonry's popularity was not just as a product for new houses as an

[273] Jester, *Twentieth-century Building Materials*), 101-103.

entire generation of homeowners used simulated masonry as a renovation product, resulting in thousands of re-cladded homes. While a variety of simulated masonry products were manufactured, Permastone—produced in Columbus, Ohio—and Formstone—produced in Baltimore, Maryland—were the most widely recognized. Simulated masonry was widely popular during the 1950s and 1960s, but its use trailed off into the 1970s.[274]

VINYL. Vinyl was used in a variety of applications during the modern era, including, among other things, vinyl tile and vinyl siding. Vinyl tile was introduced to markets in the 1920s but was not widely used until the modern era. In the late 1940s, the cost of manufacturing vinyl decreased significantly, allowing for broader adaptation of vinyl materials. Vinyl flooring tile—either as vinyl asbestos or vinyl composition tile—rose to prominence during the period, both in roll and tile forms.[275] Vinyl siding was introduced to market in the 1950s but suffered from inconsistencies and deficiencies in manufacturing during its early years. It was not until the 1970s that vinyl siding become an increasingly common element of the built environment, with manufacturers widely promoting the material as a durable, flexible, easy-to-maintain alternative to aluminum siding.

C. GENERAL CONSTRUCTION TRENDS

Housing underwent a significant transition during a relatively short period of time in the 20-year period between 1950 and 1975, reacting to evolving economic, cultural, and architectural forces. During and just after the war, mass production, new materials, and standardization had ruled as the speed and cost of construction prevailed as the overwhelming concerns in a period characterized by high material and labor costs. The resultant architecture—which extended into the 1950s—was a streamlined variation, with details and features requiring time, expertise, or additional materials substantially eliminated in order to expedite the completion of housing. Stripped-down one-story dwellings that were simple and efficient—and relatively cheap—came to dominate the landscape for much of the public. However, as the country increasingly moved away from the readjustment period and into the mid-1950s, new trends evolved as a new generation of housing was constructed throughout South Dakota. Growing numbers of young married couples, increasing numbers of children, and improved economies afforded opportunities for people to make a first-time purchase on a home much different from even those of the immediate post-war period or otherwise "trade up" from an older dwelling to one that offered more space and convenience. From rural areas to subdivisions on the fringes of communities such as Aberdeen, Rapid City, and

[274] Ibid., 143-148; Ann Milkovich McKee, "Stonewalling America: Simulated Stone Products," in *CRM* vol. 18, no. 8 (1995), 30-33.

[275] Jester, *Twentieth-century Building Materials*, 136-140.

Sioux Falls, Ranch houses, split-levels, bi-levels, and their various iterations came to dominate the landscape, shrouded in a variety of styles and motifs, from revival-inspired recasts to modernistic designs.

At the outset of the study period, trends were still responding to the effects of World War II and the readjustment period, with emergent housing reflecting lingering material shortages, high labor and material costs, and a shortage of affordable units, which demanded an emphasis on efficiency, economics, and quantity. Economic considerations were further spurred by ceilings on VA mortgages through the G.I. Bill, for example, which restricted veterans to a small pool of dwellings under $8,000. By early 1949, only "seven to eight percent of the 50,000 potential GI home builders in South Dakota" had taken out G.I. loans, with high housing costs attributed as the primary factor.[276] The result was a period of economical residential construction extending from the mid-1940s through the early 1950s in South Dakota, with the primary challenge of the modern era being the ability of industry to provide functional, appropriate housing that could be constructed within the means of industry limitations and the average family.

Much housing during this initial period was directly influenced by the work of the FHA. *Property Standards: Requirements for Mortgage Insurance Under Title II of the National Housing Act*, published in 1935, was the first of the FHA's more significant publications. Evolving from *Recommended Minimum Requirements for Small Dwelling Construction*—developed by the Commerce Bureau's Standard Building Code Committee in 1922 and updated in 1933, the standards were intended to reduce mortgage risk and improve housing. This was followed in 1937 by *Minimum Construction Requirements for New Construction*, which focused more substantially on construction materials and techniques and effectively became the standard default for all housing in areas where no local code enforcement existed or there were deficiencies in existing code, resulting, essentially, in the codifying of FHA policy and its preference for modern, efficient housing[277] Localized versions of the document were prepared by the FHA's state offices, intended to address variations in local construction practices, although, deviations from standard language were typically minimal; South Dakota's version of the document was published in 1939.[278] Particularly significant, in 1936, the FHA had established plans for five basic housing types meeting the minimum requirements necessary to receive FHA-insured mortgages. Plans were distributed

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[276] "Huronians Show Interest in FHA's Program for Lower-Cost Housing; Valuation, Loan Setup Explained," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 17 February 1949.

[277] Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 149.

[278] United States Federal Housing Administration, *Minimum Construction Standards for New Dwellings located in the State of South Dakota* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939).

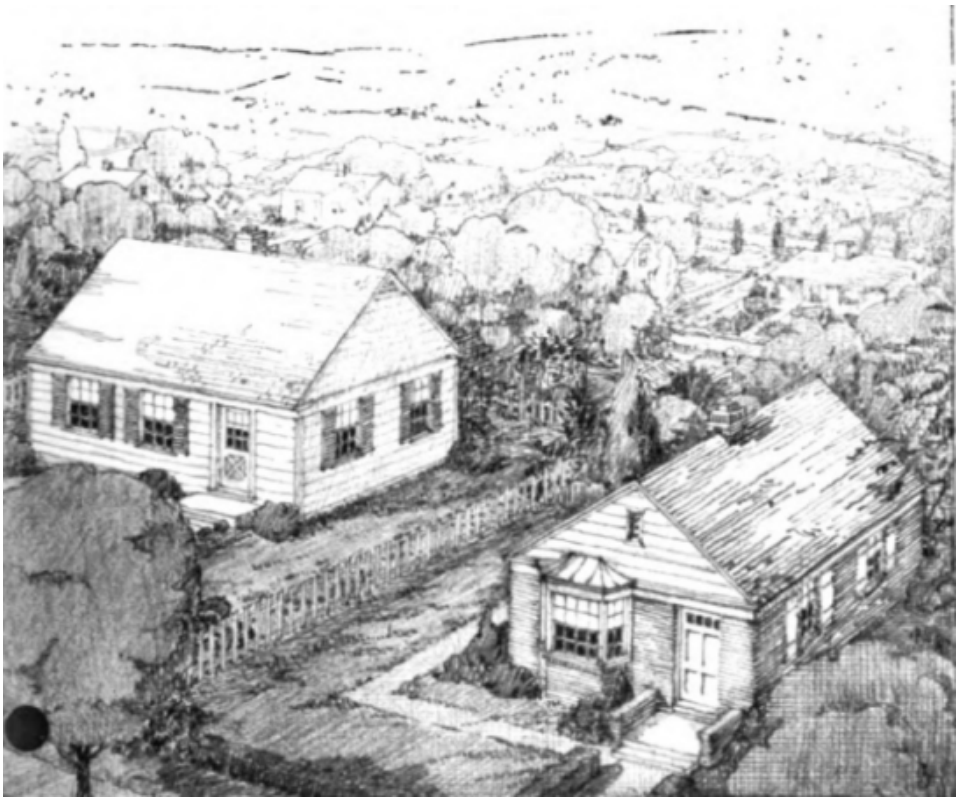

Figure 43 | Sketches from the FHA's Principles of Planning Small Houses, 1940.
Principles of Planning Small Houses (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940).

FHA publications were highly-illustrative, providing examples for everything from how rooms could be shifted to meet needs to how proper siting could help maintain a pleasant aesthetic.

through the FHA's publication *Principles of Planning Small Houses*, which included elevations and floor plans depicting the minimal forms that, for the sake of cost efficiency, eliminated unnecessary features. Dubbed the "FHA minimum house," the variants proposed by the FHA ranged from roughly 530 to 900 sq ft of space. Updates to *Principles of Planning Small Houses* in 1940 introduced new variants into the FHA's proposed design program, intended to provide more flexibility than the agency's original models. The new variations focused more on the prescriptive needs of the space (i.e., size of rooms) than the aesthetics, with considerable deviations allowed in materials, ornamentation, roof types, and porch locations, for example. Larger footprints also were proposed as part of the updates.[279]

While the FHA's small housing program was simply intended to provide a set of minimum guidelines to be met, architects and builders across the country latched on to the specific tenets of FHA housing, particularly in consideration of the FHA's "economy housing program," initiated in 1949 to spur "encouragement of mass production throughout the country of lower-priced homes for that great portion of the public who have moderate incomes."[280] Such programs were widely promoted, including in South

[279] Barbara Miller Lane, *Houses for a New World: Builders and Buyers in American Suburbs, 1945-1965* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 35-36.

[280] "Low-Cost Housing Meeting Scheduled at S.F. Chamber," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 2 February 1949.

Dakota, where N.I. Blegen, FHA district director for North and South Dakota, organized meetings in communities throughout the state following a regional meeting in Sioux Falls in February 1949 to promote the merits of the FHA's economy program. The regional meeting, chaired by Sioux Falls Mayor C.M. Whitfield, was particularly important, with 120 housing industry representatives in attendance, setting the stage for all subsequent discussions and calling on all parties involved in the housing industry to actively participate in statewide efforts to improve housing:[281]

Figure 44 | Millard Subdivision Housing, Sioux Falls, c. 1950. CRA photograph.

Long stretches of economical small housing emerged in South Dakota's population centers during the readjustment period in response to the availability of FHA financing.

> ...the fullest possibly direct participation of representatives of local industry, government, labor, and finance. For example, local home builders, realtors and materials suppliers will be requested to discuss at the meeting, either in the form of scheduled addresses or as participants in panel discussions and forums, their own plans for producing good housing in the lower price and rental brackets. Municipal officials will be requested to discuss ways and means by which production of lower-cost housing can be facilitated through code, planning, and utility authorities. Representatives of government agencies, particularly the FHA and Veterans administration [sic], will be asked to outline the facilities available within their respective programs...[282]

The merits of the program introduced by the FHA made much economic sense to those builders who had suffered through the depression years and were seeking to recapture business. Integrating mass production techniques and principles of standardization and economies of scale, builders throughout South Dakota began to construct groupings of economical housing based on FHA plans, which "offered the most house for the least money while meeting minimum property requirements" of the agency, with four such houses completed in Aberdeen and 20 houses underway in Rapid City by mid-February 1949.[283] The prevalence of economical housing was particularly important in Sioux Falls, which progressed "farther and farther from the small town class" through the opening of new subdivisions, providing sites for hundreds of new homes; in 1949, for example, 407 permits were issued for residential construction.[284] Of course, the trend of economical housing also affected other residential trends. An unusual phenomenon, basement houses emerged in communities like Sioux Falls during the period, with 160

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[281] "Construction Meeting Here Wednesday," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 6 February 1949; "120 Discuss New Housing Program Here," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 February 1949.

[282] "Low-Cost Housing Meeting Scheduled at S.F. Chamber," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 2 February 1949.

[283] "Huronians Show Interest in FHA's Program for Lower-Cost Housing; Valuation, Loan Setup Explained," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 17 February 1949.

[284] "City to Extend Services in 1950," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 1 January 1950; "1950 Record Housing Year in S.F.," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 31 December 1950.

permits for such issued between 1930 and 1950, "largely constructed in a few areas where low-income families have built their own homes." Located partially below ground, these houses were intended to be the first stage of a one- or two-story dwelling, which would be finished after economic conditions improved. However, many such houses were never finished. By 1950, 138 of the 160 basement houses in Sioux Falls remained incomplete.[285]

While not all small housing of the period ultimately reflected the exact forms of the FHA program, widespread promotion of the FHA's housing prompted a whole generation of minimal housing, with architects and builders focusing exclusively on functional and practical concerns. In this, basements and complicated rooflines were given over to slab construction and a generation of side-gabled housing forms wrapped in a rigid shell that sheltered a simple, rectangular floor plan that provided for maximum use of space with minimum interruptions. Ornamentation went by the wayside. Small porches or stoops were common, as were picture windows—a ubiquitous component of the modern era. Standardized materials and units ruled in construction, with plywood and concrete block the dominant materials. On the exterior, houses—in most instances—were wrapped in clapboard, Masonite, or other siding; many of these houses were later re-clad in aluminum or vinyl siding. Brick was exceedingly rare in most economical housing in South Dakota communities, even into the 1950s and 1960s. While automobile use proliferated during the period, garages were typically excluded from such housing, with detached or attached garages constructed later depending on the means of the family.

Into the 1950s, as the country increasingly moved away from the need for a quick stockpile of economical housing, the housing industry underwent a transition with home seekers becoming more than simply end users; they became a diverse pool of sophisticated consumers that desired more substantial homes with modern floor plans, materials, and conveniences, all of which had not been possible for the majority of the public during the 1940s and early 1950s. Perhaps most significantly, into the mid-1950s and away from years of forced frugality and housing shortages, the consumer was given an important thing—personal choice. Into the study period, as the housing crunch subsided and personal economies improved, home seekers were provided the freedom to search for a home that met their particular needs, not just simply choose a house for the sake of having a home. Such important transitions evolved the philosophy of the homebuilding industry, requiring builders to be increasingly responsive to the specific desires and needs of the homeowner should they wish to have a successful business amidst an increasingly competitive market, even if increased attention meant additional costs for the builder, which in turn raised the price of housing, with builders throughout South Dakota "finding it requires more promotion to sell new housing, and promotion

[285] "One-Sixth of Sioux Falls Living Units Substandard, Board Finds," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 4 June 1950.

costs money." Such concerns led some in Sioux Falls, for example, to wonder if housing was becoming too expensive for the average homebuyer into the mid-1950s.[286]

Intersecting with changes in tastes, lifestyles, and incomes, these trends contributed to an increasing average house size. The national average square footage increased from 912 sq ft in 1948 to 1,092 sq ft in 1958, and the average number of rooms rose from 5.4 to 5.8 as post-war lifestyles promoted new expectations regarding the number and size of rooms necessary in a proper home.[287] Mirroring national trends, homes in South Dakota steadily became larger into the 1950s, with builders able to move beyond focusing on economical construction to a more direct concern for consumer needs. This was particularly true into the late 1950s and early 1960s, with builders noting that "people aren't going for the small stuff so much."[288] Such trends were evidenced by the homebuilding industry in Rapid City, which was one of the largest markets in the state. Newly-constructed single-family homes in the city already averaged more than 1,000 sq ft by the late 1940s, but home size grew quickly—even if unsteadily—in the period to a high point in the 1960s. The average house jumped from 1,090.8 sq ft in 1950 to 1,142.8 sq ft in 1956 and to 1,196.6 sq ft in 1960. Significant increases occurred in the 1960s, with single-family dwellings growing from an average of 1,210.1 sq ft in 1962 to 1,550.7 sq ft (a 42 percent increase since 1950) in 1969 before dropping to an average of 1,293.2 sq ft between 1970 and 1975 (Table 27).[289] During this same period homes were more likely to be planned for economy of space and comfort and with a concern for the growing family rather than as places of shelter or protection. As a result, increasing numbers of four-bedroom houses were being constructed during the period, particularly into the late 1950s. In Rapid City, for example, singly-family homes averaged 2.58 bedrooms in 1950 but averaged more than 3 bedrooms per house by 1957.

Figure 45 | Brookfield Estates, Sioux Falls, c. 1950s.
CRA photograph.

Beyond being larger than housing of the readjustment period, modest housing of the mid-1950s to mid-1960s continued to carry forward preceding trends of a simple forms and a fairly standard material palette.

The transition toward larger housing moved South Dakota and the country away from the FHA "minimum house" in modest construction of the period, although the unintended homogeneity promulgated by the influence of FHA mortgages continued into the period. Basic house plans, styles, and materials were repeated throughout neighborhoods—particularly in working- and lower-middle-class subdivisions—with the one-story Compact and Massed Ranch forms the most evident feature of the South Dakota suburban landscape as houses were lengthened and extended to accommodate

[286] Vern Loen, "Are S.F. Homes Too Expensive?" *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 24 July 1956.

[287] U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Annual Report: Housing and Home Finance Agency* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 100.

[288] David H. Smith, "Construction Booming in S.F.," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 21 June 1962.

[289] Totals are based on a review of data for the 10,476 extant single-family homes constructed in Rapid City between 1950 and 1975. Rapid City assessment data accessed February 2017.

TABLE 27. SINGLE-FAMILY CONSTRUCTION TRENDS IN RAPID CITY, 1950-1975

	Total new dwellings	Average sq ft	Average bedrooms	Average bathrooms
1950	573	1,090.8	2.58	1.43
1951	406	1,137.4	2.74	1.40
1952	488	1,096.2	2.65	1.41
1953	431	1,046.7	2.74	1.62
1954	624	1,052.6	2.73	1.31
1955	637	1,096.2	2.93	1.48
1956	457	1,142.8	2.98	1.58
1957	310	1,171.5	3.06	1.48
1958	555	1,142.3	3.12	1.51
1959	761	1,157.2	3.13	1.53
1960	602	1,196.6	3.11	1.57
1961	796	1,197.1	3.22	1.58
1962	442	1,210.1	3.10	1.59
1963	305	1,181.7	3.11	1.56
1964	155	1,270.8	3.21	1.76
1965	134	1,466.9	3.00	1.83
1966	85	1,517.9	3.23	1.90
1967	93	1,533.4	3.31	1.93
1968	85	1,536.5	3.28	2.00
1969	109	1,550.7	3.29	1.89
1970	351	1,104.9	3.04	1.43
1971	242	1,295.8	3.28	1.91
1972	490	1,281.9	3.21	1.84
1973	502	1,424.8	3.26	1.99
1974	380	1,382.6	3.27	2.01
1975	463	1,268.9	3.30	1.86

additional space as the home size increased.[290] Trends of preceding years carried forward, with platform framing dominating construction. Modest housing in South Dakota was most often finished with vertical siding, Masonite, or aluminum and occasionally included a masonry accent or skirt. Applied ornamentation and slight shifts in massing provided variation, even if minimal, and aluminum and steel windows became common in most housing of the period.

Middle-, upper-middle, and upper-class housing was characterized by more diverse trends, particularly into the late 1950s and moving forward. Whereas modest housing generally conformed to an expected model—even if there was subtle variation—of what a modern house was to look like, other housing was subject to more interpretation. This is particularly true in larger markets such as Rapid City and Sioux Falls where there is substantial variation from neighborhood to neighborhood, which correlated with the economic status of the occupants, the period of construction, and

[290] Statewide, the average new home for which a FHA loan was received was 896 sq ft. Of course, this was a full 200 sq ft smaller than the average home in Rapid City during the same period, evidencing the tendency of smaller homes to be located in secondary markets and isolated settings. "Average FHA Insured Loan is Described," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 7 June 1955.

the topography of the immediate setting. Writing about circumstances in Sioux Falls in 1954, for example, building inspector E.G. Becker noted that trends toward upper-middle class housing was resulting in better housing:

> A few years ago, 95 per cent of the homes were built to be sold. Today not many houses are being built for speculation."
>
> Significantly enough, about one-third of the residential construction begun in Sioux Falls last year was of the better or more expensive type, as distinguished from strictly economy-style homes.
>
> Permit lists reflect a heavy local trend toward dwellings costing from $15,000 to $18,000 or more, with three bedrooms or other features making them above average in quality.[291]

The variation that characterized middle- and upper-class housing of the period is perhaps best reflected in a series on "unusual" new housing in Sioux Falls during the period that appeared in *The Argus-Leader*. To the writer, Ralph Green, the outcome of this series was the realization that "there is no such thing as the city's 'best house,'" but there was significant variation resulting from "growth and progressiveness."[292] Certainly, coverage of housing of the period illustrated that housing depended substantially upon a number of interrelated factors, including location in the city, the character of the lot, the size of the family, the socioeconomic status of the family, and the daily needs of the primary consumer of the modern American home—the housewife.

Figure 46 | "Unusual Sioux Falls Homes" Series. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 17 August 1952.

In 1952 and 1953, staff writer Ralph Green covered "unusual homes" in Sioux Falls, the total of which illustrate prevailing housing design and planning trends of the period.

Sioux Falls Homes: NO. 1 IN NEW SERIES

llions Plan Carefully for Pleasant Living

[291] David H. Smith, "Home Building Continues High Here," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 January 1954.

[292] Ralph Green, "Superior Features in 'Best' Sioux falls Home," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 24 May 1953.

D. SPACE PLANNING AND THE MODERN HOUSE

The use of space in and around a home evolved significantly during the study period—perhaps even more so than exterior appearance. A significant reason for this was the promotion of FHA policies and guidelines, which, essentially redefined concepts such as "modern," "attractive," and "aesthetics" to be synonymous with modern space planning rather than architectural design. In its desire to promote an affordable and functional but pleasant space for the modern American family, the FHA effectively used space planning as the answer. For example, in describing how to achieve an attractive, modern home in the readjustment period, the FHA framed its answer entirely without reference to traditional concepts of design: "It is important that a maximum amount of usable space, with as much comfort, convenience, and privacy as possible, be obtained for a minimum amount of money." Going further, in promoting the merits of "modern design," the FHA spoke exclusively in terms of plan:

> The basic characteristics of modern design... lie in the attempt made to create a plan which will provide functional relation between rooms arranged to suit present-day modes of living, to facilitate efficient housekeeping, and to permit an economical use of materials; to permit the exterior treatment to be dictated primarily by the plan and to be an expression thereof, regardless of traditional concepts; and to use materials efficiently, economically, and directly...[293]

The result of such discussion—widely promoted by the FHA through its outreach programs and publications—was that the concept of the modern house was specifically detached from traditional concepts of aesthetics and design and how those influenced the appearance of a dwelling. In their place, the FHA's language provided the first widespread momentum for modern concepts in planning, with openness and flexibility taking on increasing importance through the maximization of use of space.

However, new constructs of interior space went well beyond just being attached to the provisions of the FHA. Evolutions in space planning had been underway since the early twentieth century as evidenced in forms such as the bungalow, which relaxed the rigid constraints of models dating to the nineteenth century. Such trends continued to influence the redefinition of space in an era of FHA promotion of open, flexible planning. While space planning studies in home planning had been conducted since the 1920s and 1930s, sociologists, builders, and architects took an increasing interest in understanding how occupants of the home—men, women, and children—interacted with their home and how individual members of the home interacted with each other. Such studies are reflected in texts such as *The House and the Art of Its Design*, which

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[293] "Modernism in Design of Dwellings More than Transitory Movement," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 7 June 1941.

encouraged designers to consider the needs of distinct types of spaces—private, semiprivate, operative, and social—and the interrelationship between them.[294] In this, the text promoted the utilization of clustered zones of living activities, which could be distributed in various ways depending on the size of the home and the needs of the family (Table 28). Of course, as previously noted, the modern house had more bedrooms, more bathrooms, and more space to be designed.

TABLE 28. RECOMMENDED CLUSTERED LIVING ZONES FOR MODERN HOMES[295]

No. of zones (based on the size of the house)	Type of Zone	Functions
Two	Private	Bedrooms and bathrooms
	Group	All other functions
Three	Private	Bedrooms and bathrooms
	Operative	Cooking and dining
	Passive	Living and study
Four	Private	Bedrooms and bathrooms
	Operative	Cooking, dining, and play
	Buffer	Halls, storage, and garage
	Passive	Living room, study, and library
Five	Private	Family bedrooms and bathrooms
	Private	Servants' bedrooms and bathrooms
	Active	Playrooms and nurseries
	Operative	Kitchen and pantry
	Passive	Dining, living, and study

Such considerations accelerated the dramatic transformation of interior space to a model based on functional and flexible areas adapted to modern lifestyles. Dashing previous constructs of space that promoted many-roomed houses and formalized floor plans, new designs focused on convenience, comfort, and practicality, with an emphasis placed on simplicity, open social spaces that blended into one another, and private quiet space. Moving beyond the days of the immediate post-war housing market, theories of space planning were further revised and refined as architects and builders—in looking to meet the need of an ever-sophisticated homebuyer—gave increasing attention to the delineation and use of the space within and around a home as floor plans became more complex. This intersected with the increasingly casual, consumerist lifestyle of modern America, which was mesmerized by the contemporary lifestyle promoted widely in popular culture of the era. The result was a generation of homes that were more likely to be planned for economical use of space and concerns for a growing family rather

[294] Robert Woods Kennedy, *The House and the Art of its Design* (New York, NY: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1953), 111-124.

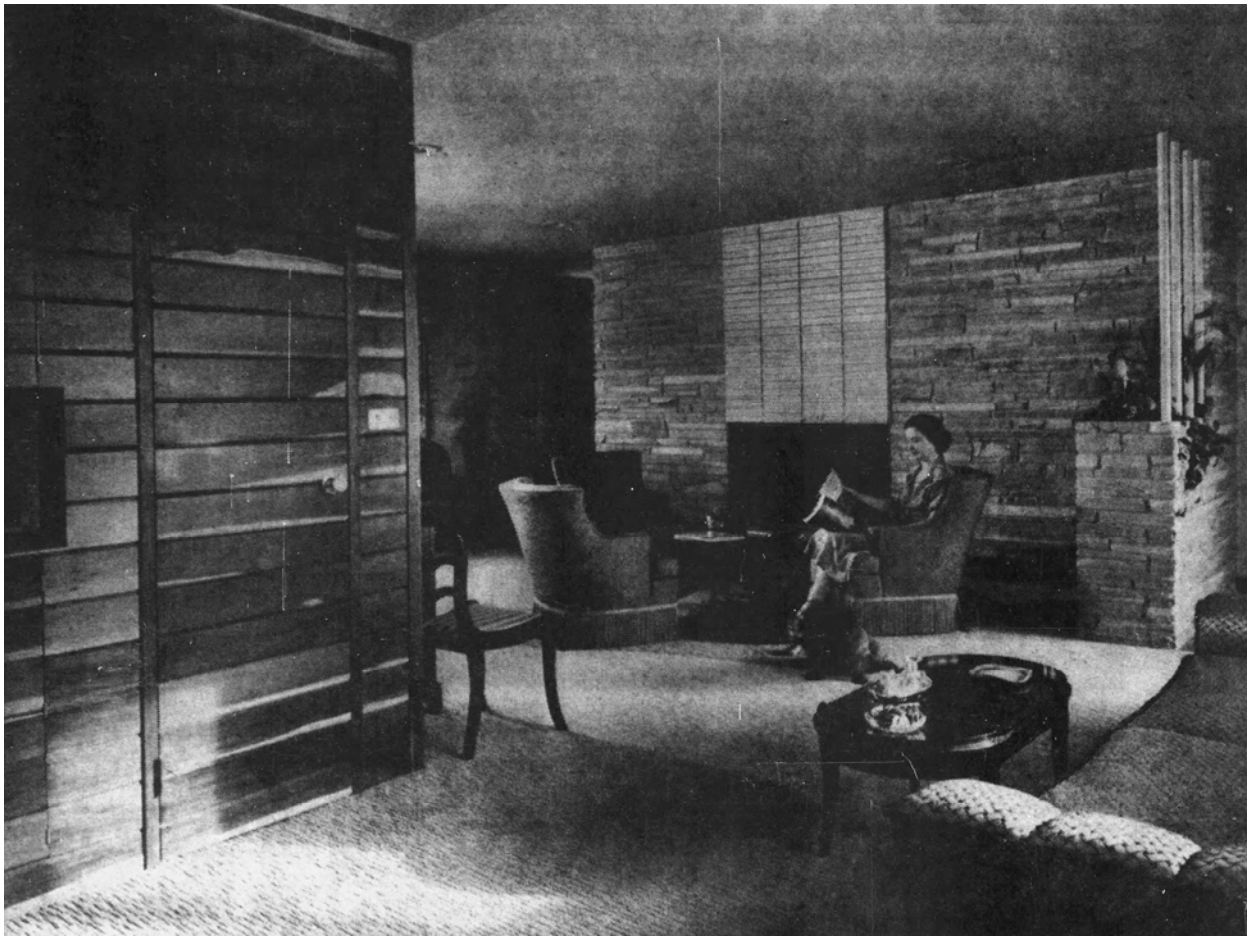
[295] Ibid., 127.

than as places of protective shelter away from the harms of society. The emphasis on efficiency and flexibility is evidenced, for example, in the home of H.L. Caplan of Sioux Falls, which was noted for its "floor plan that takes full advantage of the foyer which gives access to living room, den, and kitchen... All of the rooms are large and the area of by the home is extensive but, due to the functional floor plan, wasted steps are at a minimum."[296]

Through re-defining of space and modern constructs of use of the home, dominant public spaces such as the living room (and/or family room) and dining room were often integrated as a singular, flexible space with a close-knit circulation and minimal obstructions, which encouraged interaction and use; integration of the kitchen within this open arrangement varied considerably between houses as some retained distinct spaces for food preparation while others were blended into the larger dynamic space. Particular attention was given to space such as the family room, which was increasingly important to growing families and provided a much-desired area for children to play away from the daily activities of the house.[297] Certainly, as noted by A.M. Tidemann,

Figure 47 | Gaylord White Home, Sioux Falls, 1952.
The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 12 October 1952.

Open, flexible spaces that flowed into one another were a dominant element of the period, even if the character of these spaces varied significantly from house to house.



[296] Ralph Green, "Caplan Home Unusually Spacious," *The Argus-Leader*, 19 April 1953.

[297] Kennedy, *The House and the Art of its Design*, 87; Wright, *Building the Dream*, 253-255.

executive secretary of the Home Builders Association of Sioux Falls, home seekers in South Dakota were "demanding more space and more innovations such as family rooms and patios."[298] Private spaces such as the bedrooms retained their stature in the house as sacred space, typically separated from the remainder of the home's functions. They were most often tucked away at the opposite end of the home as in a Ranch house or placed on their own floor as in a Split-level and typically sheltered by full walls and doors.

Delineation and use of space within and around the home also was impacted by the influence of recreational planning during the period, with combined indoor-outdoor living widely promoted as part of the modern lifestyle. During the modern era, most homes transitioned away from forms oriented with the narrow side to the street and the primary mass extending deep into the lot, which had long characterized the orientation of homes. Homes were now more likely to be oriented with the broadside to the street, establishing frontages of 50 to 100 ft or more to accommodate the versatile floor plans that compartmentalized open social spaces from private spaces in the new linear forms.[299] Often times, living rooms or family rooms were moved to the back of the house, taking advantage of outdoor patios, terraces, and seating areas in the backyard offered through the incorporation of glass patio doors, which effectively extended the functional floor space of the home; as preference for dedicated personal space and privacy shifted inward and away from the street, areas at the rear of the house became the primary point of social interaction. Such trends were effectively illustrated in the design of one of the homes for the 1962 Parade of Homes in Sioux Falls, a "most distinguished" entry:

> Particularly striking is the living-dining area on the south. Reached from the dining room through sliding glass doors is a terrazzo patio, which gives an unusual touch to this spacious area and serves to link indoor and outdoor atmospheres. The big living room has a picture-casement-window combination.[300]

With the shift toward the rear and the resultant de-emphasis on the front yard—which shrank during the period as setbacks were limited to allow for more space at the rear—the front porch was diminished, its importance as a social outlet greatly reduced in an age where people drove through neighborhoods at high speeds. Once a feature of primary importance in home design and the social life of a neighborhood that received a considerable amount of design attention and served as the point of arrival and

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[298] David H. Smith, "Construction Booming in S.F.," *The Argus-Leader*, 21 June 1962.

[299] Emily Pettis et al., *A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing*, 120-121.

[300] "Distinguished Home Will Be seen Here," *The Argus-Leader*, 20 September 1962.

transition from exterior to interior, the porch was reduced in size and prominence—and perhaps most importantly, function—during the modern era in response to the emergence of backyard social space. The result was that in many instances, the front porch emerged as nothing more than a simple concrete slab, with the function "moved around to the back and turned into a patio for outdoor cooking."[301]

In responding to modern needs and perception of space, housing of the period also increasingly responded to the need to accommodate an automobile. It is important to note that in South Dakota there is substantial variation in how this evolved. Much upper-middle and upper-class housing of the period increasingly incorporated a garage or carport as a necessity, which fundamentally altered the plan of the traditional single-family house; however, most modest housing and even a lot of middle-class dwellings of the period did not include an integrated space for the family automobile. By 1955, for example, only 39 percent of newly-constructed homes insured by the FHA in the state of

TABLE 29. DWELLINGS WITH ATTACHED GARAGES, RAPID CITY, 1950-1975[302]

Year	Attached garages	Total new dwellings	% with garages
1950	110	573	19.2
1951	101	406	24.9
1952	126	488	25.8
1953	108	431	25.1
1954	158	624	25.3
1955	184	637	28.9
1956	130	457	28.5
1957	97	310	31.3
1958	158	555	28.5
1959	228	761	30.0
1960	210	602	34.9
1961	280	796	35.2
1962	154	442	34.8
1963	126	305	41.3
1964	71	155	45.8
1965	61	134	45.5
1966	39	85	45.9
1967	43	93	46.2
1968	43	85	50.1
1969	61	109	56.0
1970	82	351	23.4
1971	86	242	35.5
1972	217	490	44.3
1973	251	502	50.0
1974	195	380	51.3
1975	204	463	44.1

[301] "Front Porch Sitter Thing of Past?" *The Argus-Leader*, 19 July 1962.

[302] Totals are based on a review of data for the 10,476 extant single-family homes constructed in Rapid City between 1950 and 1975. Rapid City assessment data accessed February 2017.

South Dakota had garages. This divergence from many other locations in the country is further represented by trends in Rapid City, where, for example, it wasn't until the mid-1960s that more than 40 percent of dwellings consistently included an attached garage; moreover, it was only in the years 1968, 1969, 1973, and 1974 that more than 50 percent had an attached garage (Table 29).[303]

Where present, integration of the garage (or carport) as an integral component of the home varied significantly in it placement and configuration (see Figures 48-50) and was often complemented by the addition of a secondary entrance in or near the garage, allowing the homeowner to move freely from vehicle to house. Many garages also featured a secondary entry that opened into the backyard, facilitating the use of tools and equipment stored in the garage at the rear of the property. Detached garages, where located, remained in traditional locations, offset toward one side at the rear of the lot. Of course, regardless of whether a house featured an integrated garage, the increasing importance of the automobile had implications beyond the dwelling, with the driveway and its placement becoming a critical component of the overall design of the property. Many houses shifted toward the driveway, either in moving the primary entrance closer to the driveway or shifting the picture window to be on the driveway side of a house so that a family could look out to see who was visiting.[304]

It is imperative to note that evolving trends in space planning were not arbitrary constructs of the period but were based on an inherent understanding of consumer preference, particularly as it related to the housewife and the family. This is true even if the public did not internalize their preferences as some sort of formal "good house planning."[305] In this, the importance of the women and their influence in the design of the modern house cannot be understated. Even if males were typically the primary purchasers of the home during an era of certain domestic expectations, the quintessential characteristics of the home were directly and specifically a primary outcome of a woman's input in many circumstances: "...while men design and build our

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[303] It is important to note that, as previously described, FHA loans were increasingly used for modest housing of the period and represented but a small portion of emerging middle- and particularly upper-middle class housing, which helps explain part of the low totals. However, the same study of FHA mortgages also showed that 75 percent of all existing homes purchased in South Dakota had a garage, which likely indicates that many builders chose to eliminate the garage from original construction and leave it to the homebuyer to construct a garage at a later date if so desired. "Average FHA Insured Loan is Described," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 7 June 1955.

[304] Girling and Helphand, *Yard, Street, Park, 30-33;* Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 252-253.

[305] Jacobs, *Detached America: Building Houses in Postwar Suburbia*.

Figure 48 | Residence in Knollwood Heights, Rapid City, 1972.
CRA photograph.

Figure 49 | Residence in Sioux Park, Rapid City, 1958.
CRA photograph.

Figure 50 | Residence in Sioux Park, Rapid City, 1955.
CRA photograph.

homes it is the women who really bring and develop real meaning in our homelife [sic]."[306] This is perhaps best reflected in the hosting of the Women's Congress on Housing, first held in 1956. Conceived by Albert Cole, FHA administrator, the Women's Congress was the result of outreach by the FHA "asking housewives to send in their ideas as to what they would like to have in an ideal home."[307] The purpose was reinforced at a congressional hearing of April 1956:

> The housing industry is undergoing a revolution, he [Albert Cole] pointed out. Men and women from all walks of life, with more leisure time than ever before, are tired of giving unrewarding hours of service to the house. "They want the house to give service to them," he said.
>
> "New homes must be fitted more and more to the new patterns for living," the Housing Administrator said. "Every new house that does not take these new patterns into account will be obsolete long before it is old or even middle aged"...
>
> "We must separate the superficial from the fundamental," he said. "We must know whether families really get more service out of single-story houses, out of split-level houses, or open-design houses."[308]

Out of this desire came the three-day Women's Congress on Housing conference in Washington, D.C., during which 103 female representatives from throughout the country worked alongside architects and builders to design the ideal home. The experience is best summarized in the words of Mrs. George Day, delegate of Huron, South Dakota:[309]

> We were assigned to 10 tables according to our geographical location. There were women from every section at the tenth table. It was instructive and surprising to find the differences and similarities of the different regions.
>
> That Monday morning we discussed interior planning and the things an average family does in a home and what rooms or space should be

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[306] "Women's Congress on Housing," in U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates*, vol. 102, pt. 17 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), A2777.

[307] "Report on Meeting by Mrs. George Day," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 13 May 1956.

[308] "Women's Congress on Housing," in U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates*, vol. 102, pt. 17 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), A3226.

[309] Mrs. Day is the only known representative from South Dakota at the original Women's Congress. "Beadle County Farmwife is Invited to Attend Washington Housing Study; May Not Go," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 8 April 1956.

> allowed for those things, and why... We talked of both minimum and desirable space not only for cooking, eating, sleeping, laundering, etc., but also for entertaining, relaxing, hobbies and the like.
>
> In the afternoon we talked of basic rooms, in relation to access to road or street, yard, sun, breezes, etc. Also with an eye to privacy, convenience, noise control and group activities. Also taken under consideration were the hows, whys, and wherefores of ceiling heights, electrical outlets, furnace replacement, lights, cupboards, and other storage space and garages.
>
> Tuesday we worked on the exterior appearance: Windows, roof types, one or two stories, split levels, size of lot, play areas, distance of house from roadways, fencing and plantings. Other things we talked about were neighborhood and community planning, including the newer street patterns, curved streets versus straight, dead end streets, traffic problems, primary and secondary schools, shopping facilities, churches, play centers for all ages. As one lady said in summing up, 'we discoursed, discussed and at times were close to just plain cussing, as we aired our ideas on the thing that is nearest to all women, their home.
>
> We told WHY [original emphasis] we thought our ideas were sound and workable. Then our ideas were torn apart and reassembled with others. We really worked very hard at it..."[310]

Each discussion group's recommendation varied considerably, a reflection of both personal preferences and geographical differences in the needs of housing. Mrs. Day's table—representing the states of Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wyoming, and Nebraska—espoused the merits of an emphasis on "family living and family living areas, both indoors and outdoors" and the "utmost in individuality" in both interiors and exteriors, with such individuality being achieved in both homes and the lots. Notably, the group agreed that the FHA's minimum standards were too low with regard to room sizes and a number of other features.[311]

The resultant designs of the congress—intended to satisfy all of the requirements of the modern family—were published in government reports, journals, and periodicals, representing the preference for "three bedrooms, one and a half bathrooms, a spacious family room off the kitchen." In addition, "most wanted garages, but when faced with

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[310] Theda Nelle Scott, "Spring Council Meeting to be Next Thursday; Mrs. Day Tells of Trip," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 20 May 1956.

[311] "Report of Women's Congress of Housing—Part III," in U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates*, vol. 102, pt. 17 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), A3394.

costs, they were willing to eliminate a garage for the time being and add it later."[312] Three models also were chosen for construction, located in what was determined to be the "ideal mid-American location"—Munster, Indiana. The three homes included two Ranch houses—one with a basement and one without—and a split-level. Designed to address all the desires of the homeowner, the completed homes reflected prevailing trends of space planning and use of the home, validating the direction that housing had been moving toward in its inclusion of certain specialized places, separation of private and public space, and an overwhelming trend toward function. "They did it... They did it!" was the overwhelming response of visitors to the model homes, an indication of approval to modern design theory.[313] The success and influence of the Women's Congress was such that it continued in subsequent years, with women continuing to convene in Washington, D.C. to discuss housing trends and consumer preference, particularly as it related to use of space. The Women's Congress' influence also was evident in the invited participation of its members in reviewing future iterations of FHA publications, including *Minimum Property Standards*, alongside review by more traditional audiences such as the NAHB and its local associations.[314]

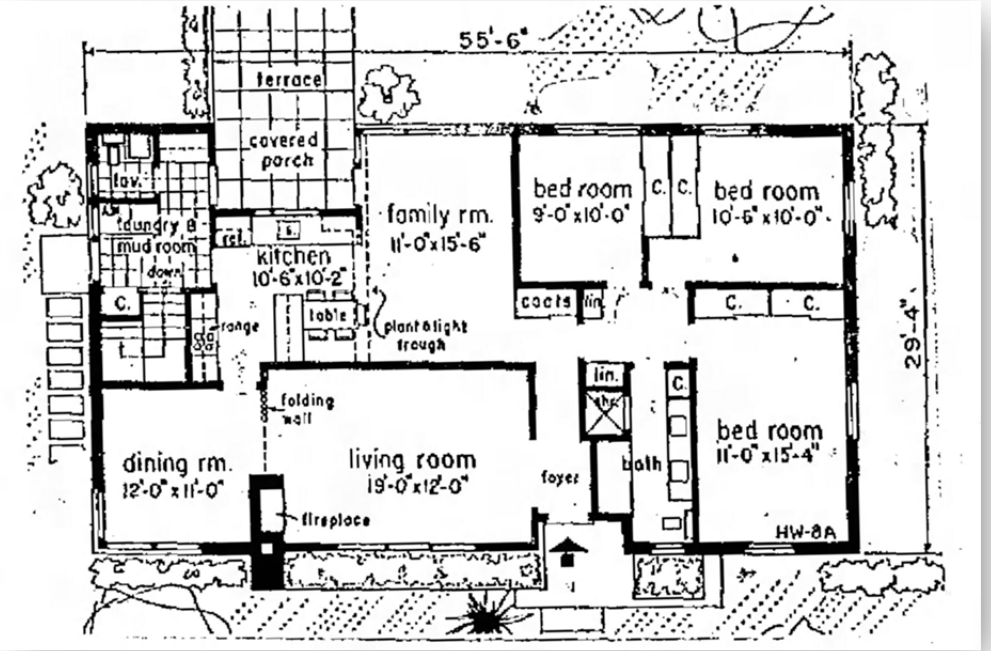

Figure 51 | Model Floor Plan Based on the Women's Congress, 1956.
Daily Plainsman (Huron), 17 July 1956.

The Women's Congress provided tremendous insight into the use of the modern home by the housewife and family, which subsequently influenced homebuilding trends across the country. This floor plan (and accompanying elevations), based on the congress, were distributed via house and home features in newspapers across the country.

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[312] David Bareuther, "Design Based on Conference in Washington," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 17 July 1956.

[313] "3500 See Congress Homes," *The Hammond Times* (Hammond, Indiana), 23 December 1956.

[314] U.S. Federal Housing Administration, *Review of Minimum Property Standards for One and Two Living Units* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), 3.

E. POPULARIZATION OF HOME DESIGNS AND TRENDS

An important topic in the modern era, housing represented more than just a place to live. For veterans who had returned from war seeking a normalized existence and for other citizens shaped by experiences of the Great Depression, war, and an acute housing shortage, housing represented a return to normalcy. It represented the chance to start anew, whether in the purchase of a first-time home for millions of families or in the "trading up" from an older home to one that more appropriately met the perceived needs of the modern family. Housing represented "much more than bricks and mortar, nails and lumber. It is your sure investment in your family's happiness and welfare."[315] Housing and its design were a constant topic of the period, capturing the imagination of home seekers across the country that viewed the home as something more than just a physical house. As captured by *House & Home* magazine in 1954:

> A house is not only Home, Sweet Home, it is something to look at, ready about, talk about, fix up, improve and even to stay in. Just as popular desires and aspirations in the twenties centered around the auto, so American desires and aspirations now seem oriented back to the home...[316]

This idea of the house as a universal good was promoted heavily by the homebuilding industry, architects, interior designers, government administrators, and the popular press, spurring a generation of promotional efforts designed to champion the benefits of the modern house. Often blurring the line between a family's needs and its wants, such efforts held substantial influence over housing trends of the period, impacting the popularization of everything from architectural styles to new trends in homemaking as housing increasingly evolved as an indicator of personal socioeconomic status. While a variety of influences were integral to promoting evolving concepts of the period, among the most significant were the (1) design precedents; (2) FHA's guidelines; (3) popular press; (4) trade journals; (5) home plan books; (6) National Home Week; and (7) regional home shows.

DESIGN PRECEDENTS. Housing of the post-1950 era evolved from a long line of design precedents that incrementally shifted dwellings away from traditions of the late nineteenth century. Among the most important of these—but certainly not the only precedents—were the nationwide small house movement beginning in the 1910s and the residential work of Frank Lloyd Wright starting in the 1920s. In regard to the former, a "small house movement" emerged in the 1910s, intended to encourage affordable housing that would in turn increase the number of homeowners, thought to promote

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[315] "Opens Today," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 September 1950.

[316] Gilbert Burck and Sanford Parker, "The Changing Market for Housing," *House & Home* (March 1954), 130-133.

healthier, stronger communities. Modest cottage-form dwellings became the standard for single-family mass market development. Bungalows, in particular, emerged as a contemporary housing option that represented a break with the past in its accessibility for the average family. This pragmatic divergence from the past was complemented by a functional distinction in its interior arrangement, with open floor plans promoting shared family space and compartmentalization of private bedrooms—a trend that would proliferate in the modern era.

Figure 52 | Architects' Small House Service Bureau Model. *How to Plan Finance and Build Your Own Home* (Minneapolis, MN: Architect's Small House Service Bureau of Minnesota, Inc., 1921).

While the bureau produced two-story plans, most of its work was characterized by compact, one-story cottage and linear forms.

The small house movement was bolstered in the 1920s by efforts such as the Architects' Small House Service Bureau, a consortium of private architects that supported the development of modest, affordable single-family homes. The Bureau—operational from 1919 to 1941—was intended to promote the ability of both the homeowner and the homebuilder to maximize living space and funds—a theme that would re-emerge in the goals of the FHA. As noted by the bureau:

> The planning and building of the small home has always been a difficult problem with the home-builder. It is a matter of the utmost importance that small home builders receive full value for every dollar invested in his building operation.[317]

In this, the bureau promoted simple designs that eliminated complicated massing and form forms in an effort to encourage efficiency in design, supporting the prevailing theory of the era that "simplicity is a good rule in all house design, but it is absolutely essential in the design of the small house."[318] Efficient room arrangements were strongly encouraged as being of benefit to the builder (in saving costs) and the homeowner (in saving housekeeping time). It was in such influences that the Minimal Traditional form of the post-World War II era, promulgated by FHA policies. Notably, though, ornamentation remained in small houses during the early twentieth century, retaining

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[317] The Architects' Small House Service Bureau was a professional service of practicing architects. Working through regional bureaus, the architects prepared ready-to-use-plans and also provided technical assistance. Under the bureau's guidelines, a "small house" was considered a home including six rooms or less. Architect's Small House Service Bureau of Minnesota, Inc., *How to Plan Finance and Build Your Own Home* (Minneapolis, MN: Architect's Small House Service Bureau of Minnesota, Inc., 1921), 4. Often related to the bureau is the Better Homes in America program. This program was not driven by architects but instead was a private group launched by the editor of the women's magazine *The Delineator* and supported by Herbert Hoover, then U.S. Secretary of Commerce. While this program also supported homeownership for the masses, it also was more broadly driven by social order and justice in housing. Lisa Tucker, ed., *American Architects and the Single-Family Home: Lessons Learned from the Architects' Small House Service Bureau* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 18.

[318] "Simplicity is Keynote of the Small House," *Daily Deadwood-Pioneer*, 14 July 1926.

decorative shutters, window trim, pergolas, and other such features that accentuated the dwelling.[319]

With regard to Wright, it was in the 1950s and 1960s that the influence of his 1920s and 1930s residential architecture was evidenced in the landscape. While numerous architects influenced the inflection of Modernism in residential design, it was the naturalistic appeal of Wright's version of architecture that had the broadest impact. Particularly important was his work of the 1930s and his experimentation with Usonian dwellings, which incorporated low-lying, horizontal forms in a modest dwelling designed to meet the needs of every man. Integrating interior and outdoor spaces, masonry hearths, large expanses of glass, and open floor plans, the basic tenets of his program would be adapted and incorporated into the Ranch form of the modern era, even if in a rationalized, mass-marketed way that reduced design elements to their simplest execution. As has been noted by architectural historian William Curtis:

> It was no accident that Wright's formula should have been adopted so rapidly by building contractors and cheap home catalogues. For its free-plan interiors and exterior patios captured precisely the ethos of an emergent middle-class suburban experience.[320]

FHA GUIDELINES. As has been noted, the impact of the FHA on modern housing was profound.[321] Through its program of mortgage insurance and its requirement of agency approval, the FHA essentially regulated the design of housing. This was particularly true during the early years of the FHA program, when the agency's design program—as espoused by documents such as *Principles of Small Houses*—was directed by the "Better Homes ideal of the modest bungalow on a standard-size tract of land."[322] These

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[319] Wright, *Building the Dream*, 200.

[320] Joy Monica Malnar, *Sensory Design* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 35-36); William J.R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (New York, NY: Phaidon Press, 2013).

[321] The FHA's influence is reflected in its extensive record of publications during the period, which facilitated incorporation of the government's standards for home construction and neighborhood development into homebuilding practices across the country. Such publications are numerous and include, for example, *Minimum Construction Requirements for New Construction* (1937), P*lanning Neighborhoods for Small Houses* (1936), *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (1938), *Subdivision Development* (1940), and *Successful Subdivisions* (1940), which effectively served as a master text for the homebuilding and financing industry in the period just before and after World War II. The principles in such documents were carried into the 1950s and 1960s through multiple revisions of documents such as *Minimum Property Requirements for One and Two Living Units*, drafted and updated in discussion with builders, architects, engineers, manufacturers, and entities such as the NAHB.

[322] Jeffrey Hornstein, *A Nation of Realtors: A Cultural History of the Twentieth-century American Middle Class* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 151; Keller Easterling, *Organization Space: Landscapes, Highways, and Houses in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 175-189.

concepts were formalized in the five housing types developed by the FHA in 1936, designed to provide "a maximum accommodation with a minimum of means," complementing the program goals set by the Architects' Small House Service Bureau a decade-and-a-half earlier.

Notably, beyond influencing the size of the home, FHA provisions also substantially impacted housing design. Given the FHA's need to minimize risk in its mortgage portfolio, the agency strongly discouraged "progressive" or Modern designs, which were viewed as being a risk to a development given their nonconformity with traditional models of housing. Such houses were given a lower rating score, effectively eliminating their presence in tract developments of the period. Endlessly frustrating to progressives, "most 'modern' architects who have encountered F.H.A. processing agree that the most disheartening aspect of the situation is official insistence on routine planning with which they are family and a complete unwillingness to try anything new."[323] The result was a nearly universal reliance on modest, singular forms—such as the Minimal Traditional—that represented a prepackaged notion of conventional design, which could be distributed and adapted throughout the country. Over time, as house size increased, the innocuous Ranch house would serve this same role.

While the opening up of "accelerated construction of flat-roofed modern houses" was touted as a result of pending changes to FHA policies in 1949, it was not until the mid-1950s that government provisions would be substantially be modified to allow for contemporary residential architecture divergent from traditional precepts.[324] Recognizing the frustration on the part of architects who had long cited the prejudice against Modern architecture and its rising popularity in public markets, incoming FHA chief underwriter Dell Bowser noted in 1954 that:

> It's time for a new look at FHA. You have trouble financing it [Modern architecture] so builders shy away. But many lenders are changing their minds. We're in an evolution. My observation is that the younger generation is very susceptible to contemporary homes.[325]

The release of the FHA's inherent bias against Modern architecture was not a clean break because it often depended on the specific reviewer but the overall trend was toward recognition of good design, regardless of stylistic tendencies. As a result, into the 1950s and 1960s, modernistic designs began to increasingly find their way into many middle-class developments that were dependent upon the availability of FHA

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[323] "Apartment Boom," *Architectural Forum* (January 1950), 104-105.

[324] "'Modern Designs' Approved by FHA," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 25 July 1949.

[325] "FHA Starts a Big Shakeup of Its Underwriting," *House & Home* (May 1954), 170-171.

Figure 53 | Residence in Leisure Acres, Rapid City, c. 1960s. CRA photograph.

FHA flexibility in allowing for "modern" architecture spurred integration of Contemporary-style injections into modest housing of the period, as evidenced here in the elongated slope of the roof.

mortgages. This modernism provided an everyday counterpart to the highly-stylized individual commissions of the period, which were typically associated with higher-end construction and did not rely on FHA-backed mortgages.

POPULAR PRESS. The popular press was particularly influential in popularizing evolutions in housing and style adaptation during the era, with an entire generation of domestic and shelter magazines devoting considerable page space to the latest trends in home design. These magazines held tremendous influence over the general public—and particularly the housewife—in helping them determine what a modern house should look like, how its spaces should be organized, and how the house should function. Magazines such as *Better Homes & Gardens* and *House Beautiful*—as well as broader publications such as *Woman's Home Companion* and *McCall's*—routinely included dozens of articles on everything from homemaking to the benefits of modern appliances to the newest trends in architectural treatments, with carefully-crafted photographs and advertisements that encouraged housing consumers—and particularly the housewife—to imagine their families in a modern dwelling with the latest conveniences.[326] Such images increasingly blurred the lines between perceived

[326] Alexandra Staub, *Conflicted Identities: Housing and the Politics of Cultural Representation* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 76-78; Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women's Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms* (London: Macmillan, 1993), 192. Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 132-134; Lane, *Houses for a New World*, 32; Clifford E.

needs and wants in housing of the period and promulgated discussions about the place of the modernity and tradition in domestic architecture. While much coverage continued to espouse an architecture that was "sensitive to needs and contemporary living patterns" by being both "modern and rooted in tradition," it was Contemporary architecture of the period that often attracted the most attention, stretching the home seeker's imagination about the concept of the modern house.[327]

Magazines such as *Better Homes & Gardens* also directly engaged housing design of the period, which held tremendous influence in this dispersion of trends. In 1954, the magazine introduced the "Home for All America," a Ranch house that was designed with adaptability to all geographies across the country. Promoting the home through a special issue laced with photographs of the housewife and children using the home, the magazine perpetuated the idea of the Ranch house as the modern home for the masses and ingrained constructs of domesticity and the nuclear family. Even more influential, in 1955, *Better Homes & Gardens* introduce the concept of the "Idea Home," which embodied the characteristics that the magazine's editors felt addressed "the problems that beset every family in building—from the first planning stage through years, perhaps, of making the home complete."[328] Each year, the "Idea Home" was constructed by local builders in communities across the country and opened for tours before being sold.

In South Dakota, houses were routinely constructed in Sioux Falls and Rapid City. For example, the first year of the program, the "Idea Home" was built in Sioux Falls by Loonan Lumber Company. Incorporating post and beam construction, the home included the "best features of many styles in a sensible plan for modern living" and provided "a maximum of window area and outdoor living space."[329] The 1956 version of the "Idea Home" in Rapid City was particularly well advertised:

> It's here in the Black Hills...direct from the pages of the September issue of Better Homes and Gardens Magazine...the dramatic "IDEA HOME for 1956" with its basic plan adapted to Western South Dakota living. Here are individual features most desired by homemakers from New York to California. New ideas for complete livability and convenience; new ideas in

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Clark, Jr., "Ranch-house Suburbia: Ideals and Realities," in Lary May, ed., *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War* (Chicago, IL: University of Minnesota, 1989).

[327] Talbot Hamlin, "Modern Is As Modern Does: An Introduction to the Intelligent Appraisal of Modern House Design," *House and Garden* (October 1945), 84.

[328] "Better Homes and Gardens 1956 Idea Home," *Lead Daily Call*, 16 August 1956.

[329] "Idea Home Opening on Saturday," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 9 September 1955.

Presenting

SOUTH DAKOTA'S EXCLUSIVE SHOWING OF

The Better Homes & Gardens

IDEA HOME OF THE YEAR

Featuring top quality products from these suppliers

Built by
LOONAN LUMBER CO.

Furnishings and Hot Point Appliances by
DONAHUE FURNITURE CO.

General Contractors
SWIFT BROS. CONST. CO.

Woodwork by
CURTIS COMPANIES, INC.

Heating and Air-Conditioning by
BAETE-FORSETH SHEET METAL SHOP

Plumbing by
ECONOMY PLUMBING

Electrical Wiring by
ELTON ELECTRIC

Painting by
PAY'S ART STORE

Landscaping by
DONALD E. JOHNSON

York Furnace and Air Conditioner by
RALPH LARSON CO.

Ceramic and Clay Tile by
RAY G. SYVERSON

Excavation by
KELLEY BROS.

Poured Concrete by
NORLIN CONCRETE PRODUCTS

Concrete Block by
GAGE BROS. CONCRETE PRODUCTS

Built-up Roofing by
HOWARD & KEPNER, INC.

Brickwork by
HENRY BANKS

Rubber Floor Tile by
ELLIOT & ANDERSON

Paint and Plate Glass by
PITTSBURG PLATE GLASS CO.

Certified Adequate Wiring by
NORTHERN STATES POWER CO.

Electronic Modulite Controls by
MINNEAPOLIS HONEYWELL

Colored Bathroom Fixtures by
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Rand Duo-Temp. Hot Water Heater by
THE GAS COMPANY

Holcomb & Hoke Fol Door by
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N. W. BELL TELEPHONE CO.

Builders Hardware by
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Linens and Towels by
SHRIVER'S, INC.

Flowers by
YOUNG'S FLOWERS

Book Displays by
S. F. BOOK & STATIONERY

GRAND OPENING!

Saturday, Sept. 10th-10 a.m.

OPEN HOUSE DAILY - 10 AM TO 9 PM
SATURDAY, SEPT. 10 TO SEPT. 25

located at...
33rd & Carter Place

The most important model-home program in America! Built in over 100 cities. The 1955 home is yours to visit, to build, to take as inspiration, detail by detail. It's the many ways you can use it that makes it . . . .

THE IDEA HOME OF THE YEAR!

YOU ARE INVITED!

Figure 54 | 1955 Better Homes & Gardens Idea Home, Sioux Falls.
The Argus Leader (Sioux Falls), 9 September 1955.

> decoration and color; new trends in furnishings. Ideas you'll want to see and take home![330]

The influence of the program in disseminating popular housing trends was such that some builders of the period even advertised their houses as "a Better Homes & Gardens type of home," whether or not they were actually a reflection of the magazine's "Idea Home" program.[331]

TRADE JOURNALS. New concepts of the period were likewise shared through publications of the homebuilding and architectural industries, which became important outlets for sharing trends from across the country and illustrating how varied entities were addressing universal problems in modern housing. Broad architectural publications such as *Architectural Forum*, *Progressive Architecture*, and *Architectural Record* were critical in disseminating projects from leading architects of the period—including, for example, South Dakota's premier architect Harold Spitznagel of Sioux Falls—but *House & Home* magazine was particularly important as it was dedicated solely to residential architecture.[332] The magazine covered a diverse geography and a broad array of topics, addressing everything from trends in FHA financing to prefabrication to material adaptation and stylistic influences.

HOME PLAN BOOKS. Modern housing also was disseminated through home plan books, first popularized during the mid-nineteenth century. During the study period, plan books through multiple outlets, including local lumber dealers; dedicated plan services such as National Plan Service and Home Building Plan Service, and magazines such as *Better Homes & Gardens*, which published *Fiver Star Homes* and *Home Building Ideas*, and *Popular Mechanics*, which published *Your Home*.[333] Although plans varied considerably by publication, each such plan book sought to provide multiple options for the family, whether in modest economical housing or stylized luxury models. Filled with dozens of plans and illustrations and accompanied by text that explained the rationale behind each design—and why it was the perfect fit for the modern family—home plan books were widely popular, with wide distribution extending into the mid-1950s as

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[330] "Opening Saturday," *Deadwood Pioneer-Times*, 16 August 1956.

[331] [Advertisement], *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 12 October 1961.

[332] Spitznagel authorized multiple articles for and his designs were featured in multiple pieces for publications such as *Architectural Forum*, *Architectural Record*, *Progressive Architecture*, and *Better Homes and Gardens*. "Citizen of the Week," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 12 April 1959.

[333] Robert Gutman, *The Design of American Housing: A Reappraisal of the Architect's Role* (New York, NY: National Endowment for the Arts, 1985); "New Books at Huron Library," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 27 May 1957.

home construction picked up throughout South Dakota.[334] Particularly popular was the use of plan books in combination with customization services by local lumber companies. For example, Lampert's in Huron, J.F. Anderson Lumber Co. in Mitchell, and Ward Lumber Co. in Sioux Falls all offered in-house custom drafting services that a home seeker could use to modify a standard home plan to meet his or her particular needs.[335]

NATIONAL HOME WEEK. A tremendously important component of the homebuilding industry during the study period was "National Home Week" and the associated "Parade of Homes" concept. Conceived in 1948 by the editor of *American Builder*, National Home Week was pitched to the NAHB as a nationwide program of "simultaneous demonstrations of homes in every major center," with the intent of concentrating the efforts of homebuilders and the attention of the home seeker. Uniting industry professionals throughout the country, the National Home Week program promoted the housing industry on a scale never before seen. In addition to special events held across the nation where local builders would hold concurrent open houses for their model homes, local and regional newspapers dedicated special sections to housing, designed to encourage homeownership as integral to modern society:[336]

> National Home Week is important to every citizen, young or old. It brings with it the reminder that our country is one place where National Home Week can still be celebrated. It is a place where the home is an important part of daily life. It is a place where representative government will continue as long as the citizen continues to own his home—big stake in the American way of life.[337]

Particularly important to National Home Week and the dispersion of housing trends was the formalization of the "Parade of Homes," a coordinated effort by the NAHB and local homebuilders' associations to put captivated audiences in front of the newest housing in a particular locale through an official event.[338] Officially, the goal was to encourage homeownership by persons who currently did not own a home; an unspoken goal, the event also was indirectly designed to encourage homeowners to find dissatisfaction in their current dwellings and thus want a new home. As previously discussed, the Parade

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[334] "Busy Year of Building is Anticipated at Brookings," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 21 February 1956.

[335] "New Home Plans for Sale," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 3 April 1958; "We Invite You to Explore the Anderson Home," *Daily Republic* (Mitchell), 21 March 1967; [Advertisement], *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 30 March 1966.

[336] Jacobs, *Detached America: Building Houses in Postwar Suburbia*.

[337] "National Home Week!" *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 10 September 1951.

[338] Jacobs, *Detached America: Building Houses in Postwar Suburbia*.

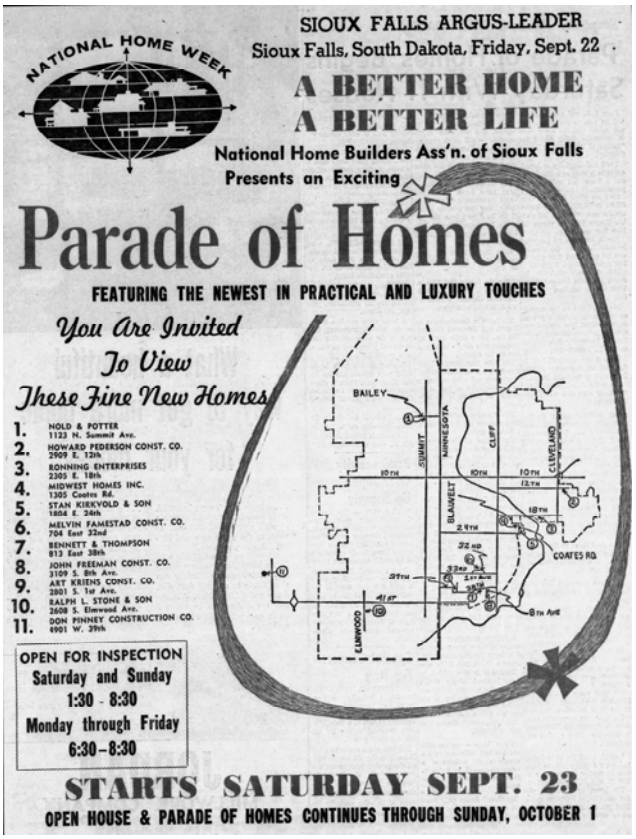

Figure 55 | 1961 Parade of Homes Advertisement. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 22 September 1961.

Figure 56 | 1962 Parade of Homes Advertisement. The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls), 28 September 1962.

of Homes, essentially a coordinated series of open houses, was carried out in two formats. Either the local association would select a specific tract for the event with builders paying a fee to construct a model home on location or individual sites throughout a community would be selected for inclusion on a "parade" map, which was highly publicized in local newspapers. In both cases, the public was invited to visit the homes on display and take in the latest in home planning and design.

In South Dakota, the second format was the most common.[339] Parade of Homes events began in the state in the mid-1950s, following the establishment of local homebuilders' associations in communities such as Sioux Falls and Rapid City. Sioux Falls held its first Parade of Homes in 1956, with 10 model homes on display:

> You are invited to attend the largest, most exciting open house ever stages in Sioux Falls, or in the Sioux Empire. You will see ten, yes ten, beautiful

[339] The second format—where the local association selected houses throughout the community—is believed to have been used exclusively in South Dakota; however, it was not possible to conclusively verify this in association with this study.

> brand new homes...featuring the latest in building design and modern planning...yours to see, yours to inspect, yours to select.[340]

Parades in subsequent years continued with a dozen or so homes open to the public, attracting crowds in excess of 15,000 persons into the study period. The importance of the event was readily apparent to its organizers, who recognized the boon to the local homebuilding industry:

> The Parade of Homes is an extremely important function of the association and is a service to the general public. Persons interested in buying a home or building will find it to their advantage to take advantage of the Parade by closely examining the homes on display to determine what they want in a new home.[341]

HOME SHOWS. Like the Parade of Homes associated with National Home Week, home shows were demonstration-based events designed to put captivated consumers in front of a concentration of homebuilding professionals and product representatives through an official event. Home shows were, however, broader in their inclusion of displays ranging from homemaking to appliances to prefabricated building components. In South Dakota, home shows were generally confined to Sioux Falls and Rapid City. In Sioux Falls, the Sioux Empire Show for Modern Living began in the 1960s as a large exhibition-style event filled with product and material demonstrations for everything from "ready-built fireplaces, novel bathroom fixtures, model pools, folding awnings and exciting landscape plans" alongside innovative model homes demonstrating the use of materials.[342] Home shows in Rapid City were likewise large expositions, although the Black Hills Home Show was not established until more than a decade after those in Sioux Falls, with the first show held in 1973.[343] Components of the home show—for example, materials demonstrations and model home displays—also were more limitedly incorporated into events such as the South Dakota State Fair, although such features do not appear to have occurred with any regular occurrence.[344] Regional mobile home shows also were common in South Dakota during the period. While these more often took the form of a large-scale advertising and marketing event by a

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[340] "1956 Parade of Homes," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 16 September 1956; "Parade of Homes Starts Today," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 16 September 1956.

[341] "Home Builders Assn. Now Over 6 Years Old," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 28 September 1962.

[342] "Show to Offer Novel Ideas for Home Improvements," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 28 March 1960.

[343] The home shows discussed here should not be confused with the farm and home shows that were common throughout South Dakota's small communities and rural regions of the period. The latter were more typical of county fairs than exhibitions dedicated to the home, with agricultural displays, livestock shows, discussions on homemaking, and daily schedules of entertainment.

[344] "Newberger's '52 Model Home," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 27 August 1952.

particular distributor, they often incorporated some of the theatrics associated with the more traditional home shows, which featured various sources of entertainment and giveaways to draw the largest crowds possible. One distributor—Anderson Mobile Homes of Sioux Falls—event gave away free ponies to purchasers as part of its home show extravaganza.[345]

[345] [Advertisement], *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 15 June 1963.

IX. THE MODERN DEVELOPMENT

A. GENERAL TRENDS IN LAND DEVELOPMENT

As previously noted, post-1950 residential development in South Dakota was pervasive, affecting all areas of the state whether rural, urban, or suburban. Isolated infill in established neighborhoods was common as residences of years prior were replaced by modern counterparts, as was the construction of new dwellings on rural properties, either replacing an earlier residence or built as a secondary dwelling. However, the most visible symbol of the period and the impact of the post-1950 population growth in the state was the modern subdivision in the state's population centers, inclusive of second- and third-tier growth centers.

The character of the modern subdivision evolved substantially during the period, reacting in response to policies and provisions of the FHA and community planning initiatives and changing practices of a rapidly maturing homebuilding industry. During the readjustment period following World War II, builders throughout the state worked to maximize the provisions of the FHA and VA in providing for much-needed housing at a rapid pace—at least to the extent controllable by local industry. As with the form and style of housing during this period, the FHA was tremendously influential in affecting of emerging developments, essentially underwriting the character of an entire generation of subdivisions through its supply of government-backed mortgages. Builders wishing to utilize this supply—either through construction advances for a development or through the provision of FHA mortgages to homebuyers—were irrevocably tied to the FHA and its guidelines, with the agency granted far-reaching power to regulate what type of housing was being built and where it was being established.

Through an integrated design review process, the FHA was able to inject its preferences into developments of the period, lest the agency withhold its backing. In speaking on the increasing tendency of South Dakota builders to comply with this review process, N.I Blegen, district director for the state, noted:

> One highlight in the current upswing in home building is the greater attention being paid to the planning of land for greater future home owning satisfaction. More and more plans for subdivisions are being submitted to FHA for analysis before any attempt is made to develop the properties. The hit-or-miss developments and purely speculative attempts are a definite thing of the past.
>
> Prospective home owners today are realizing they are being offered more per dollar of outlay in a home and are demanding—and getting—more satisfaction from the neighborhoods in which they locate. This desirable condition has been brought about in some measure through FHA's

> insistence that properties with FHA insured mortgages be well located in desirable and well-served communities. Many of the requests for FHA subdivision analysts are coming from outlying communities.[346]

Documents such as the FHA's *Planning Neighborhoods for Small Houses*—first published in 1936 and revised through the 1960s—effectively served as the official guidebook for builders of the period alongside publications such as the Urban Land Institute (ULI) *Community Builder's Handbook*. Such documents emphasized the creation of aesthetically-pleasing developments of organized space structured along curvilinear street networks. And, while following their requirements was technically only required for FHA-backed developments, the basic principles were ingrained by an entire generation of homebuilders, even where FHA financing was not desired.[347] The acceptance of government-backed guidelines by local industry in South Dakota was influenced, in part, by the lack of comprehensive community planning ordinances until the late 1950s and 1960s. Where subdivision regulations did exist, they often ran parallel with written intent of the FHA guidelines—to promote neighborhood stability—even if the individual requirements differed.

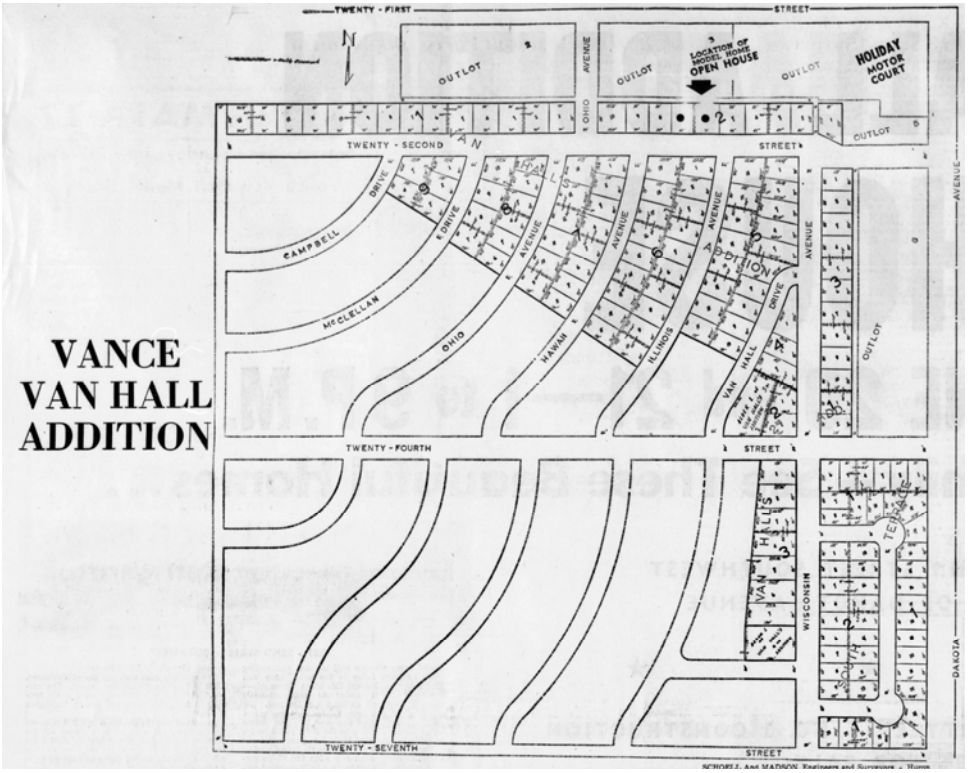

Figure 57 | Subdivision Plan for Vance Van Hall Addition, Huron, 1964. Daily Plainsman (Huron), 19 June 1964.

The development plan for the Vance Van Hall Addition in Huron illustrates prevailing principles in subdivision development of the period in its inclusion of long blocks of housing situated along a curvilinear street network.

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[346] "Further Boom Seen for Home Building in S.D.," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 15 September 1940.

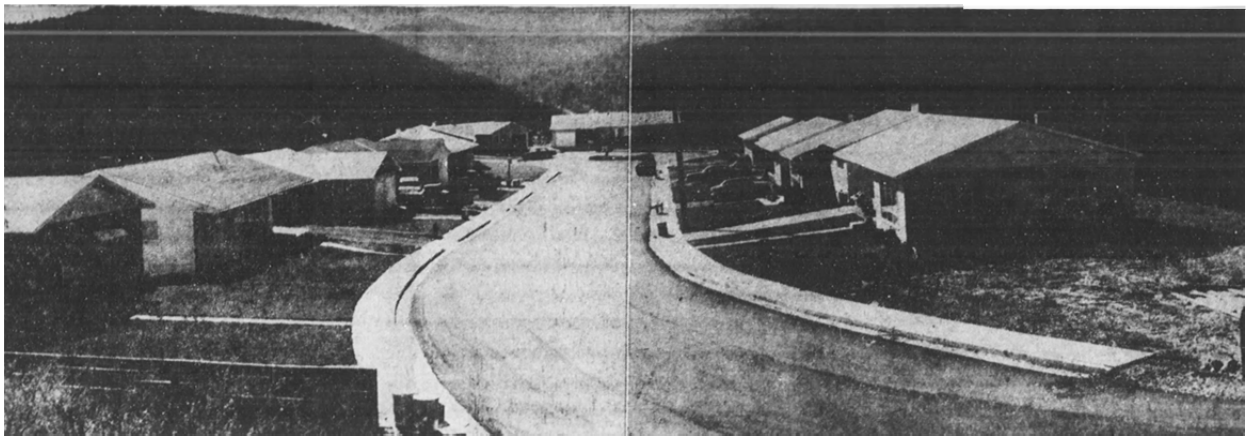
[347] Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders*, 67-70, 185-186; Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builder's Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1947); Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*, 51.

To minimize the agency's risk, builders were required to submit their plans to the FHA for approval prior to receiving government-backed financing or authorizations that allowed a development's housing to be eligible for FHA-insured mortgages, with ratings based on a development's ability to promote economic stability, provide protection from negative influences, and provide access to adequate transportation infrastructure, among other considerations.[348] The influence of the FHA and its role in subdivision development is reflected in the review of a proposed project in Lead by builder Peter Nisick. Having submitted his plans to the FHA for review and approval, concerns were raised about the approach by E.L. Keck, construction examiner for the Sioux Falls office of the FHA. Specifically, the plan was deemed to be "contrary to the accepted ideas of land planning" given that the topography was less than ideal—according to FHA standards—for a development and required Nisick to use modified split-level floor plans in an otherwise typical one-story form. A meeting was called with city commission members, local financiers, city attorneys, and FHA representatives to review the proposed development location and find an alternative solution to design problems in keeping with FHA guidelines. Reviewing the site and "noting the terrain and the accepted building methods," though, the FHA determined that "the proposed project was feasible and that the type of building proposed was necessary." The FHA did, though, recommend an alternate arrangement to the housing to provide a consistent aesthetic and facilitate the development of streets and sewers.[349]

It is important to note, though, that despite the influence of the FHA, builders held tremendous influence of the eventual character of the development and its relationship to larger patterns of the community. While influenced by the FHA, the location of a development and its basic character (e.g., economical housing versus high-end housing) was ultimately the choice of the developer. In this, the builder formed the basis for the subdivision in consideration of the underlying economic return desired. Builders effectively worked backwards, determining the type of construction and refinement of

Figure 58 | Nisick Heights, Lead, 1963.
Black Hills Weekly (Lead), 30 October 1963.

Described as the "pride of Lead," Nisick Heights was characterized as jutting "like a lofty peninsula into a sea of ponderosa pine and spruce.



[348] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 207.

[349] "Discuss Proposed Subdivision," *Lead Daily Call*, 29 May 1950.

the development based on the anticipated price of the finished dwelling. These in turn impacted the developer's decision-making process as it related to selecting a piece of land that made the most economical sense. Of course, anticipated desirability also was important in site selection if a builder wished to find a ready market of buyers. Proximity to primary transportation routes was particularly critical, as was separation from incompatible land uses such as industrial development.

The layout and distribution of a development also depended on economics. Builders determined the number of dwellings necessary to receive the return of profit desired, with the number impacting the number, size and shape of individual lots, the pattern of streets, and development densities. Of course, such considerations also had to comply with emerging requirements in modern zoning in South Dakota, which were designed to provide "visual and social benefits...from the relief of the monotony of the common stereotype tract subdivision."[350] While early-twentieth century developments had commonly evolved as a series of smaller plats, trends of the modern era generally dictated developing as much land as possible at tone time to take advantage of economies of scale. Topography played a significant role in this decision. Flat areas typically allowed for the most dwellings in the least space for the least cost as there was minimal land alteration required, but this was not an option in many communities in South Dakota. For example, in portions of Sioux Falls and Pierre, the hilly terrain substantially impacted the nature of residential development, with developments of the period required to be responsive to the landscape, ultimately influencing the number

Figure 59 | Leisure Acres, Rapid City, 1950s.
CRA photograph.

South Dakota's unique topography meant that many developments required variations that diverged from traditional planning concepts and guidelines of the period as espoused by the FHA.

[350] Mary Lee Lampy, "Use of Land in Minnehaha to be Governed by Zoning," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 6 September 1967.

and arrangement of lots within a particular area. Notably, though, such areas were typically more visually interesting than their flat counterparts and became highly sought after as unique settings for custom developments.

The overall design aesthetic of a subdivision also was affected by ideologies espoused by the FHA and prevailing community planning principles. Placement of individual houses was given considerable attention, with orientation, setback, and spacing all influencing the overall spatial relationships in development; these in turn dictated the organization and hierarchy of space as evidenced in front and back yards, fences, utilities, and landscaping. Beyond the basic components of the development, infrastructure improvements varied considerably from subdivision to subdivision, dependent on economic considerations and the character of the development. For example, the presence of sidewalks—or lack thereof—in Huron became a major point of contention in the city, with "modern residential developments, increased use of cars and inconsistent city policy" creating "a sidewalk problem" as a result of their elimination from many subdivisions of the period.[351]

While development considerations were important in influencing the character of all subdivisions, they were particularly critical in the growing number of middle-class neighborhoods. Such subdivisions were the primary target of an increasingly competitive homebuilding industry from the 1950s onward. As home buyers matured as consumers, single-family detached housing in a pleasing community became an important socioeconomic indicator of the period and developers recognized this. Desiring to attract the desired clientele and thus achieve the economic return desired, homebuilders were fundamentally required to consider street frontages, lot sizes, setbacks, house size, and community amenities in creating and marketing the desired lifestyle so highly sought after during the period (Figures 60 and 61). Perceived quality of life prevailed as a primary concern for the homebuyer in these developments and builders often protected this through covenants designed to protect the physical character that dictated those perceptions. As previously noted (see *VI. Confronting Change, 1965-1975*), such covenants also had larger implications, often restricting the socioeconomic and cultural character of an area.

B. DEVELOPMENT CHARACTERISTICS

The character of the modern community repeatedly evolved during the period. During the readjustment period and into the early 1950s—prior to the principal building boom in South Dakota—new subdivisions tended to follow traditional development patterns. An emphasis on economical construction and the immediate need for housing effectively tied most builders to the gridded plats of years prior, where established

[351] Ed Trandahl, "Sidewalk Problem Reflection of Changing, Growing Times," *Daily Plainsman* (Huron), 13 July 1964.

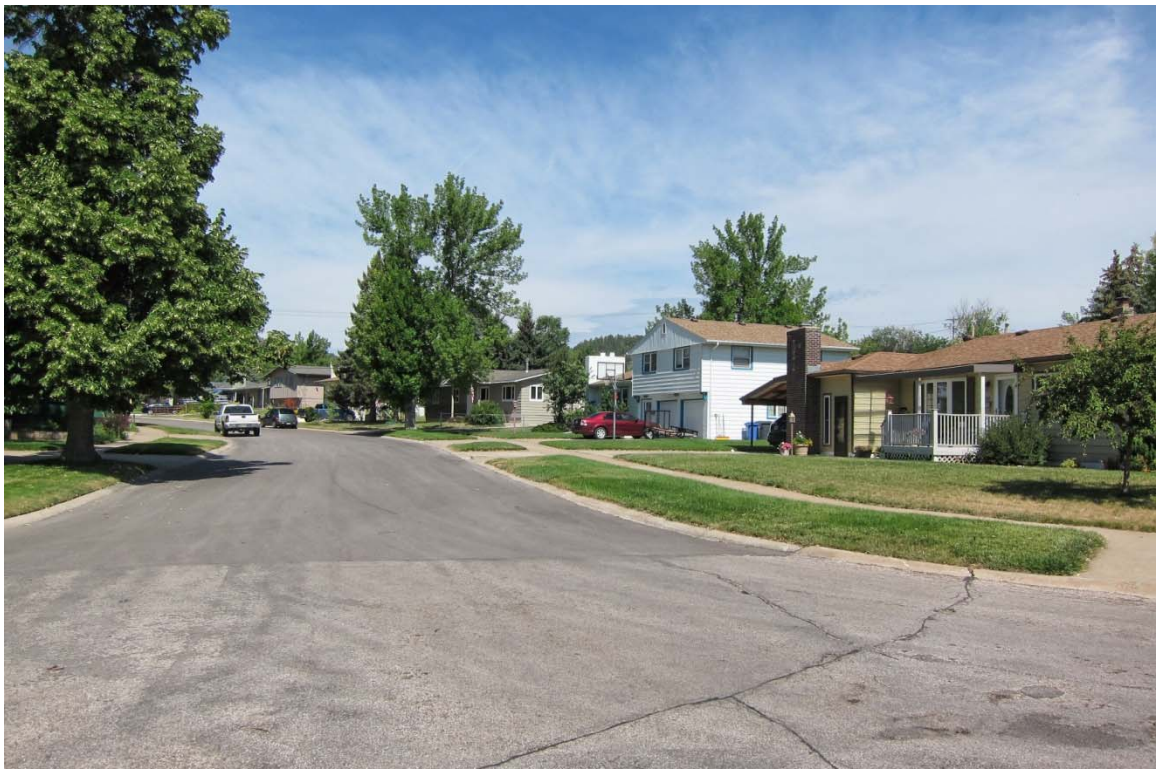


Figure 60 | Marcoe Heights, Rapid City, 1950s-1960s.
CRA photograph.

Modest developments of the period typically occurred on cleared land and featured properties with minimal front yards and closely set dwellings oriented to the street network.

Figure 61 | Canyon Lake Heights, Rapid City, 1950s-1960s.
CRA photograph.

Custom developments commonly integrated a vegetative canopy and featured properties setback

infrastructure and city services facilitated development of linear tracts of housing; access to established schools, churches, and other community goods also made sense in an era of limited new construction. Many builders took advantage of land near community centers and re-platted subdivisions that had remained vacant or otherwise filed new plats conforming to rectilinear grids that placed new development—often Minimal Traditional or Compact Ranch forms—alongside earlier housing that differed substantially in character.

Moving beyond the readjustment period and into the 1950s, housing developments responded to FHA provisions and the new emphasis on economics of scale, which pushed the industry toward standardized—and often speculative—tract development. With FHA guidelines as the ruling order of the day, these developments were characteristically defined by their long stretches of housing and continuity of design. Builders were encouraged to utilize arrangements of carefully-sited dwellings oriented to the streetscape, with conformity to expected patterns of setback and orientation in the establishment of an aesthetically-pleasing neighborhood. It is important to note, though, that use of curvilinear streets—as widely promoted by the FHA and ULI—varied considerably during the period. In places such as Sioux Falls, for example, variations in topography often necessitated the continued use of linear or gridded developments into the period, as large-scale curvilinear arrangements were substantially more expensive given the terrain of the community; curvilinear plans were more characteristic of upper-middle and upper-class custom developments rather than these tract arrangements. This trend also carried forward in other communities given the compact nature of limited growth centers, as evidenced in places such as Mitchell and Huron where many middle-class mid-century developments continued to generally conform to the established grid.

These developments varied substantially in size—ranging from a small cluster to a neighborhood of 100 or more dwellings—reacting in response to economic considerations and the needs of the local community. Principal population centers and second-tier growth centers were inherently more likely to feature larger developments, while third- and fourth-tier communities typically witnessed the establishment of only small developments. For example, the previously described Nisick Heights, developed in Lead in 1963, was defined as the community's "first big housing development since World War II" even though it included just 13 dwellings. On the opposite end, development of Hilltop Heights in Sioux Falls began in 1959 with approximately 200 dwellings, with 200 additional lots later offered for sale.[352]

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[352] "Ultra-modern Nisick Heights, Pride of Lead," *Black Hills Weekly* (Lead), 30 October 1963; "3 Men with a Dream," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 9 July 1959; "Aerial View of Sioux Falls," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 25 September 1955.

Figure 62 | South Boulevard Addition, Rapid City, 1953-1956.
CRA photograph.

The rhythmic regularity of many tract developments resulted in a striking—and perhaps stark—character in many mid-twentieth century housing developments, which often was made more intense by the open street networks and large expanses of asphalt.

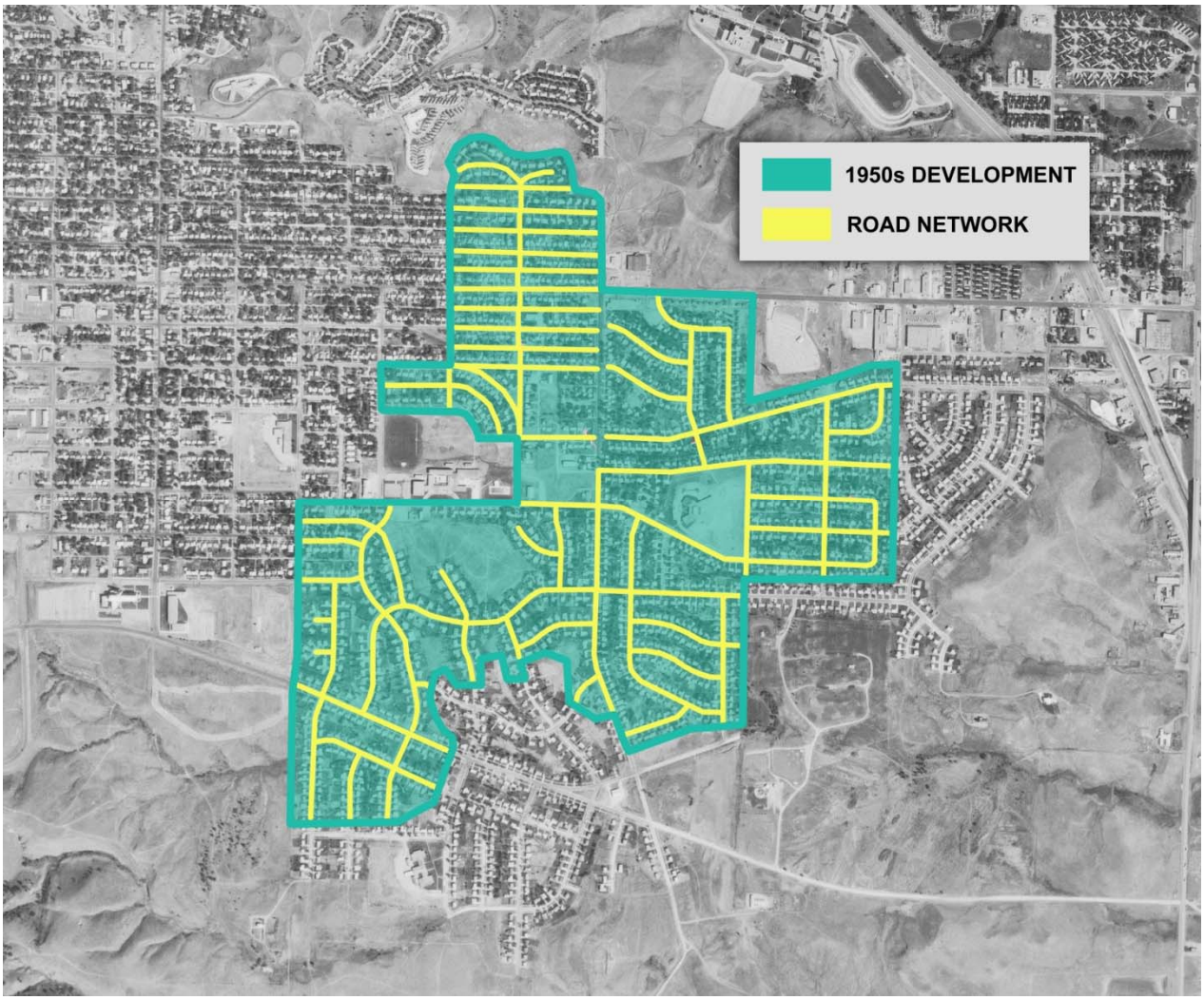
The nature of tract developments—typically employing only a limited variety of housing models—resulted in a certain degree of homogeneity that, while much maligned, created striking patterns on the landscape in their regularity. Largely defined by the provisions of the FHA, a distinct visual hierarchy characterized these neighborhoods, with a rhythmic continuity found in street arrangements and the spatial organization of the lot, as defined by setback, massing, and spacing. A sense of openness typically prevailed, with wide streets and open front lawns defining most tract developments, particularly before vegetation matured. While middle-class developments typically featured dwellings that were more distinguished and were characterized by efforts aimed at complementary landscaping of the home lot—in reflection of the increased attention builders gave to middle-class developers in an age of perceptions and the house as an indicator of socioeconomic status—the overall aesthetic of tract development, regardless of housing characteristics, was that of a carefully-crafted idea of what a modern community should look like, with each individual component inherently related to the other.

While many such developments remained closely linked with the traditional grid as noted, it was during the mid-1950s and into the 1960s that developments increasingly moved outward as available land at the core was all but eliminated. Securing vacant land, builders transformed blank expanses into entire residential communities complete

with housing and infrastructure, "gobbling up the countryside" in the process.[353] These areas witnessed the maturation of community planning principles such as the integration of curvilinear streets, street plantings, and an efficient arrangement of housing as trends of the past were all but forgotten with the movement of housing outward. The locations for these developments were impacted by a variety of factors, including the expansion of the modern transportation network, which allowed for development in previously isolated areas that now were made convenient in the automobile age. In such areas, residential development—and particularly the presence of multiple subdivisions—often spurred the growth of complementary community assets such as schools, commercial nodes, and churches, which moved outward alongside housing to accommodate emergent population center within the community. In most instances, such services were the result of organic growth following natural trends in population distribution but some residential developments also specifically allocated for such assets in establishing a planned community.

Figure 63 | Rapid City, 1971.
USGS aerial imagery,
20 August 1971.

The highlighted area on the east side of Rapid City all developed during the 1950s. This area shows the transition between utilization of the traditional grid at the northern end (c. 1950), and curvilinear networks to the south and east (c. 1955-1959).



[353] "Optimistic Farm outlook," *The Argus-Leader* (Sioux Falls), 2 May 1957.

Diverging from tract developments of the period, custom subdivisions provided a more distinguished alternative, particularly into the 1960s as personal economics returned. A builder's willingness to cater to consumer preference across all socioeconomic levels was integral to the growth of custom developments. While they typically adhered to prevailing theories of modern subdivision planning, they were crafted in a more refined way than tract developments of the period, with additional emphasis placed on establishing a carefully articulated design. Equal attention was given to the individual homes and the totality of the development with the housing and the landscape often inherently linked in defining the aesthetic in a custom subdivision. These developments were more likely to embrace natural topography and landscaping to highlight specific views, natural features such as creeks and wooded areas, and manmade features such as golf courses and parks, all of which were marketable assets. For example, at Aberdeen, Recreation, Inc. developed a residential area alongside Prairiewood Golf Club, with its golf course, swimming pool, tennis courts, and other such amenities offered to residents in the accompanying development.[354] Such considerations were complemented by the housing, with custom developments typically including higher-end housing that featured more substantial variation in architectural styling and materiality than housing of tract developments. While modest Ranch houses of the period often incorporated inflections of Contemporary architecture, for example, highly-stylized Contemporary dwellings were more likely to be found in custom developments as were stylized interpretations of traditional revival styles.

[354] "Prairiewood Member Campaign Continues," *Aberdeen Daily News*, 6 September 1970.

4 | IDENTIFICATION & EVALUATION

X. Surveying Residential Architecture

XI. Housing Forms and Architectural Styles

XII. Evaluating Significance

XIII. Integrity and Registration Requirements

X. SURVEYING RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

The following section is intended to provide guidance for survey of residential architecture constructed between 1950 and 1975, with particular emphasis on surveys completed for compliance purposes under SDCL 1-19A-11.1 and Section 106 of the NHPA. Community-level planning surveys completed in association with CLG-sponsored projects and countywide surveys sponsored by the SHPO typically apply their own threshold for inclusion in such surveys and are thus not addressed specifically in this document. Furthermore, the guidance in this section focuses on methodologies associated with survey and documentation of collectives (e.g., subdivisions and planned communities). It is anticipated that isolated individual residential resources dating between 1950 and 1975 that are located on rural farmsteads or are examples of infill in older neighborhoods, for example, will be documented according to standard survey protocol and assessed for potential significance as their respective types.

It is important to note that in all subsequent discussions, "resource" refers to any building or structure that is 50 years of age or older, and "historic property" specifically refers to a resource that is eligible for or listed in the NRHP.

A. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Because of the sheer number of resources often involved, the survey and evaluation of residential architecture dating between 1950 and 1975 has the potential to greatly increase the necessary time and monetary effort associated with a compliance survey, particularly when an APE encompasses an area in or near a regional population center. **This context document provides a first step in facilitating an understanding of these resources by providing baseline information on important trends and themes associated with residential development of the period, which can help streamline efforts to develop localized contexts that help convey how a particular place does or does not fall within significant statewide patterns**. With this, it is important to note that this document has focused on single-family private construction of the era. Detailed discussion of public housing, multi-family housing, and other such forms of housing has not been included in this study. As such, additional investigation of these resource types will be warranted by any survey in which they are located.

Secondly, guidance in this section relates primary to developments associated with common residential architecture of the period. While rare, collectives of high-style residences do exist. Typically, such neighborhoods are unique and generally not as difficult to research or determine potential significance. **It is the neighborhood or subdivision of common forms—such as tract Ranch houses—that require special consideration in survey methodologies and development of a local context to appropriately and accurately evaluate potential significance without the researcher being bogged down in extraneous tasks that bear no meaning to final evaluations**.

Finally, consideration of project timelines is important. Surveys associated with compliance projects are typically carried out in consideration of a project's anticipated date of construction. Thus, all resources that will become 50 years of age by the scheduled date of a project are typically surveyed. As such, given the lag in time commonly experienced between the completion of environmental studies and construction, projects now may very well extend into the 1970s. **While these resources are presently less than 50 years of age, this document provides sufficient contextual information to allow for appropriate evaluation of resources dating to the mid-1970s**. If large concentrations of resources post-dating the mid-1970s are identified as part of an integral component of a development falling within the 50-year threshold, additional investigation of such resources may be necessary to appropriately assess their significance within the context of local residential development patterns.

B. PROPOSED METHODOLOGY

Concentrations of residential architecture constructed between 1950 and 1975 with identifiable relationships that are identified as part of a survey project should be addressed as a single unit—the historic district—in relation to the neighborhood, subdivision, or planned development. In most circumstances, housing of the period is associated with a particular planned arrangement and often reflects the cohesive vision of a single builder or development company, regardless of the architectural distinction of the development. Most represent common trends and share a cohesive identity conveyed in architectural styles and forms, street networks, lot layout and arrangement, and the inclusion of community amenities. As such, the essential survey element is the development, not the individual house. It is in the development that trends and themes associated with modern era development are most likely to be conveyed and significance is likely to be found.

In consideration of this, it is most efficient to treat a development as a single resource (the historic district) during the survey process rather than as a collection of unrelated components, each of which would otherwise be surveyed and assessed, resulting in considerable expenditures of time and money. **This is to the benefit of all parties involved—the researcher, the reviewer, and the project sponsor (e.g., lead federal agency or local community)—as it places a priority on allowing for meaningful assessment of potential historic properties (those listed in or eligible for listing in the NRHP) while limiting repetitious documentation of resources that are clearly not individually significant and are otherwise being documented simply for the sake of documentation**. Certainly, documenting and assessing individual houses in this context does not make sense for the researcher or the reviewer as it is in the totality of the development where conclusions regarding relationships to period trends or particular themes will likely be made.

In consideration of this approach, the following discussion provides recommendations for carrying out a compliance survey in which modern era residential development is located in the APE for a project.

1. **DISCUSS YOUR PROJECT WITH SHPO**

   Begin by discussing your project with the SHPO. A considerable amount of data is available in the SHPO's files related to architects, developers, and builders of the period, as well as specific developments located throughout the state. Coordinating with SHPO and discussing the areas anticipated to be surveyed may reveal previously collected information that is useful to your project.

2. **COMPLETE PRELIMINARY BACKGROUND RESEARCH**

   Prior to beginning field survey in areas with anticipated or known residential architecture of the period, it is recommended that you review tax data, historic cartographic resources, and aerial photographs that include the area to be surveyed. Conducting preliminary research can help identify related concentrations of residential resources as part of a specific subdivision or planned development and provide a basic understanding of historic landscape-level features such as street networks. Review of such data can also help identify associated features of the community—such as a transportation corridor or commercial node—that may have been pivotal in influencing formation of the development. Cultivating this understanding prior to completing the field survey will facilitate and enhance on-the-ground documentation and assessment of a particular development's individual components.

3. **CONDUCT THE FIELD SURVEY**

   Completing a field survey is a multi-step process that results in a final survey record of a particular place. In the context of this document and its recommendations, this process includes developing an overall record for the subdivision, development, or neighborhood as a potential historic district, with supplemental baseline information for individual components.

   - **PHOTOGRAPH EACH INDIVIDUAL DWELLING.** It is recommended that a single photograph be collected for each individual resource in the potential district, regardless of architectural merit or integrity. While all photographs are not necessarily needed for reporting and some methodologies recommend excluding certain resources from documentation if they do not meet a particular standard, gathering such photographs minimizes the potential for the SHPO to ask for additional documentation illustrating particular characteristics of a

potential district or clarification regarding why certain resources were excluded. It also allows the SHPO to develop database records for individual resources, as required by the SHPO's compliance standards. For compliance purposes, having a photograph of every resource also facilitates the ability to assess potential effects of an undertaking to specific components of the district, should it be found to be eligible for listing in the NRHP.

- **PHOTOGRAPH COMMUNITY ASSETS.** Community assets such as recreational areas, schools, and churches that are related to the potential district being evaluated should be recorded. At least one photograph of each such resource should be collected but additional photographs may be necessary depending on the resource, its scale, and its relationship to the potential district.

- **PHOTOGRAPH VIEWS AND LANDSCAPE FEATURES.** Researchers need to collect representative overviews of the potential district, including representative streetscapes showing circulation patterns, patterns of setback and orientation, and landscape features such as sidewalks, planting strips, and entry markers. Natural features such as wooded lots, creeks, or variations in topography that are integral to the feeling of the district should be recorded as well. The number of photographs will be dependent on the size and character of the district.

- **IDENTIFY INDIVIDUALLY SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES, IF ANY.** As part of recordation of the potential district, researchers should identify if any individual resources within its boundaries have the potential to be individually significant, either architecturally or because of historical associations. If any such resources are identified, the researcher should complete supplemental documentation to allow for recordation to a standard level and individual assessment of eligibility.

4. COMPLETE NECESSARY RESEARCH

This document provides a statewide context for understanding the trends that resulted in the modern residential built environment in South Dakota. As part of compliance surveys, developing a local context will be critical to understanding the history of a particular community, identifying how it fits within or diverges from statewide patterns, and connecting it to the important themes of the period. Developing this context will allow a researcher to better define the potential significance and assess the key characteristics of a particular district in consideration of its history and evolution over time. It also

allows the researcher to better understand the district in comparison to similar developments of the period that might share a common context.

The following list of resources provides a guide for where relevant research may be identified in South Dakota. It is not intended to be comprehensive and absence from this list does not preclude the need to identify other resources that may be relevant to a particular project. Likewise, reviewing all such resources is not necessary for any particular study. The reviewer should carefully consider the level of research warranted depending on the goals of the study and nature of the resource. In addition, it is important to note that fieldwork may offer the opportunity to discuss the history of a particular community with property owners who may be aware of construction dates or early associations of the development.

- **AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHS**. Aerial photographs are incredibly useful in understanding the evolution of a particular community over time. Aerial photographs are available for many communities from the late 1930s to the 1970s and can be used to illustrate residential development over time or the emergence of important transportation networks, for example. Aerial photographs can be found through local universities, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) EarthExplorer at EarthExplorer.USGS.gov.

- **AIA FILES**. If you know the name of a particular architect involved in the design of housing within a district, the South Dakota chapter of the American Institute of Architects may be able to provide historical information related to its members. In addition, the national AIA office maintains a Historical Directory of Architects, through which you can find biographical statements related to members of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. The Historical Directory of Architects is available at public.aia.org/sites/hdoaa/wiki/Wiki Pages/Find Names.aspx.

- **ARCHITECT/BUILDER COLLECTIONS**. Firms, family members, and other entities may hold papers or drawings related to particular architects and builders. Such documents could include plans, specifications, photographs, correspondence, and newspaper clippings.

- **CENSUS RECORDS**. Historical records of the U.S. Census can be located online through the U.S. Census Bureau and are useful for understanding the demographics of the local community as well as the composition of housing. Census data can also be visually explored at socialexplorer.com or downloaded at the National Historical Geographic Information System at nhgis.org.

- **CITY DIRECTORIES**. City directories can be used to locate information on original occupants within a particular development, which may help a researcher understand the socioeconomic status of the community's residents. City directories are available at local libraries throughout the state and at the South Dakota State Library in Pierre.

- **COMMEMORATIVE TEXTS**. Many communities throughout South Dakota produced commemorative texts celebrating local histories in the 1970s and 1980s. While these publications typically deal with historical anecdotes related to earlier periods of history, some also include information on community evolution in the 1950s and 1960s. These texts are commonly found at local libraries.

- **MAGAZINES/TRADE CATALOGUES**. Popular and industry magazines covered residential architecture and trends extensively during the period of study. Such magazines include popular publications such as *Better Homes and Gardens* and *House Beautiful*, while industry publications include but are not limited to *House & Home* and *Architectural Forum*. Such publications include contemporary articles related to everything from construction to homemaking, as well as advertisements for things like prefabricated housing, and are useful in understanding the broader context of the period. Archived copies of such magazines are often available through interlibrary loan and many back issues are also available through the online library of USModernist, located at USModernist.org. Trade catalogue and house plan books also may serve as valuable resources for discerning period trends. While some such publications may be located in local repositories, a number of pre-1964 materials are also available through the Association for Preservation Technology's (APT) Building Technical Heritage Library (BTHL), located at archive.org.

- **NEWSPAPERS COLLECTIONS**. Local and regional newspapers are critical research sources that provide contemporaneous coverage of local real estate and housing trends. Whether through house and home sections, advertisements, editorials, or articles, newspapers provide invaluable information and help the researcher understand local conversations surrounding particular developments and regional trends. Newspaper collections are available on microfilm locally through universities and libraries, and a large number of newspapers from the period of study are available through NewspaperArchive.com, GenealogyBank.com, and Newspapers.com.

- **PLANS AND RELATED COMMUNITY DOCUMENTS**. Comprehensive plans, development plans, local ordinances and regulations, building permits, and other such resources are useful in understanding how a particular area fits into larger development patterns of a particular municipality, county, or region. Of particular importance, subdivision plats should be identified for any potential district in order to better understand the original planned character of the development. Copies of restrictive covenants originally filed with certain subdivisions also may be available. Records such as subdivision plats and covenants are typically available through the county clerk or register, while builder permits may be located through municipal building departments. Copies of historical planning documents may be located at county planning departments or through interlibrary loan.

- **TAX RECORDS/ASSESSMENT DATA**. Tax records, assessment data, and other building-level data is available through local assessor and equalization offices throughout the state. While the level of data available varies considerably between locales, basic information—such as construction dates—can be located, which is useful in understanding how quickly a district was built-out over time. Some communities also retain data related to building additions and other alterations, which can be useful in understanding how a community has evolved since its original development.

- **UNIVERSITY COLLECTIONS**. Universities such as SDSU and the USD have extensive primary and secondary source collections that may be useful in researching development trends in a particular location. In addition, university archives house collections related to important individuals and organizations within a particular region as well as historical photographs and cartographic resources such as Sanborn Fire Insurance maps and highway maps.

5. PREPARE THE SURVEY REPORT AND ASSOCIATED MATERIALS

The following guidance is intended to provide researchers with a means for appropriately and accurately presenting a potential historic district in a survey report as part of a compliance project. This guidance is not intended to deal with other components of the reporting process. All standard procedures presented in *South Dakota Guidelines for Compliance with the National Historic Preservation Act and South Dakota Codified Law 1-19A-11.1* should be followed as appropriate.

As with the survey, the accompanying report materials should specifically address modern era subdivisions, neighborhoods, and developments as a

singular property—the historic district. For each potential district, the following information should be provided:

- **IDENTIFICATION OF THE PARTICULAR SUBTYPE**: Each residential district can be defined as one of several subtypes—tract development, custom development, or planned community development—in consideration of its characteristics and the survey report should identify the district as an example of its respective type and how it meets that definition. Consideration of the original plan is important as is an understanding of how the district has evolved over time. It is important to note that it may be possible for multiple smaller districts to be present within a larger development area. Research is critical to informing the identification of the appropriate subtype.

- **BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION**. A statement describing the boundary of the district being evaluated should be developed, including a rationale for how the boundary was identified. Generally, boundaries should be drawn in consideration of the extent of the original development and associated additions that contribute to the significance of the original and retain sufficient integrity; location and concentration of contributing and non-contributing resources; location and relationship of associated features such as recreational areas and schools; and established boundary markers such as transportation corridors and entry signs.

- **DESCRIPTION OF SETTING**. It is important to discuss the setting of the district as this historically impacted the physical characteristics of the overall development. The setting also can provide clues for the presence of the district, through, for example, the influence of nearby landscape features such as transportation corridors, commercial development, or a particular industry.

- **DISCUSSION OF LANDSCAPE-LEVEL FEATURES**. Documentation needs to include a description of landscape-level features and design elements that are important to the cohesive identity of the district. These include but are not limited to street layout, sidewalks, lot sizes and shapes, setbacks, vegetation and tree canopy, and natural features (such as wooded lots or a creek) that may be important to the design aesthetic. The relationship of individual components in defining the character of the district should also be considered and discussed, and information on related community assets such as commercial development, schools, or churches historically associated with build-out of the district should be discussed.

- **NOTATIONS ON INDIVIDUALLY ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES**. If any resources within the district are identified that appear to be potentially eligible individually, they need to be noted in the description. If no such resources are identified, a simple statement indicating that no individually eligible resources were identified is sufficient.

- **SUMMARY OF HOUSING**. A concise narrative summary of common housing forms, types, and styles is necessary for understanding the character of the district. The summary also should include a discussion of common materials, architectural features, and alterations within the district as well as common characteristics at the lot level, including, for example, formal or informal landscaping, inclusion of garages or carports, setback, and orientation.

  It also is important that the summary include a tally of the total number of resources and a breakdown of resources by type or form. The typology used depends on the character of the district. For example, in a tract development of repetitious housing forms that vary only slightly, it may be appropriate to identify the number of related resources based on individual variations in footprint or massing. For custom developments that include a substantial variety of housing types, it may be most appropriate to include a breakdown of resources by housing form or style. Notes on concentrations of specific types or distribution within the district should be included.

  It is recommended that this breakdown be included in a tabular format that also presents a single photograph of each resource, an estimated construction date, a map reference, and a preliminary assessment of whether a resource would be contributing or non-contributing to the historic district.

- **CONTEXT STATEMENT**. Evaluating the potential significance of a historic district begins with placing it within its appropriate context so that it can be better understood as a product of a particular period. Each historic district should be accompanied by a historic context statement that relays the history of the development and conveys its place within the local context to facilitate evaluation of its significance in consideration of its associations and character. Comparative analysis with other districts of a similar character and period may prove useful. Development of the context should be directly tied to the aspect or theme with which the district is associated. For example, if a tract development of standardized housing is being presented, it is not necessary to develop a context related to custom subdivisions or high-style architect-designed houses.

- **NRHP EVALUATION**. In consideration of the discussion of the district's character and housing as well as the context statement, an evaluation of the district's eligibility for listing in the NRHP should be prepared. This evaluation should specifically provide an assessment of eligibility under each of the four NRHP Criteria for Evaluation (A-D) as well as any applicable Criteria Considerations and present an assessment of integrity, as appropriate. The evaluation should be discussed in consideration of the registration requirements presented in this document (see *XIII. Integrity and Registration Requirements*).

- **PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS**. Beyond the photograph of each resource included in the summary table, photographs showing representative views from throughout the district should be included in the report and keyed to discussions of the landscape-level features. Inclusion of additional photographic documentation of individual resources is not necessary unless individually eligible resources or particularly important community assets are identified.

  At minimum, discussions and evaluations of historic districts should include a map delineating the identified boundary and the resource number for each individual resource, which is keyed to the summary table. At the researcher's discretion, they may choose to color code individual properties to illustrate the preliminary assessment of contributing and non-contributing status.

- **INVENTORY FORMS**. An inventory form should be prepared for the historic district as a singular entity. In addition, an individual form should be prepared for each primary resource (e.g., single-family dwelling or school) within the potential district so that the property can be recorded in the SHPO's CRGRID. Where present, detached garages and other outbuildings should be recorded on the same form as their associated primary resource. At minimum, each individual record must include survey data and surveyor; location; property name; construction date; physical notes; and determination of eligibility. The physical description can be a shorthand reference to a particular style/form if the associated district-level form identifies a certain typology applicable to the potential district.

For compliance projects, if the evaluation identifies that an eligible historic district is present, the report should provide an assessment of potential effect in consideration of the proposed project. This assessment of potential effect should be drafted in consideration of the totality of the historic district as well as any individual resources or components of the district that are directly impacted by a project or specifically located within its APE.

XI. HOUSING FORMS AND ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Nearly a decade ago, the National Association for Preservation Commissions (NAPC) noted:

> Lack of a standardized nomenclature is one of the most often cited difficulties [in addressing modern era resources]. Many, if not most, post-War architectural styles are not included in most survey manuals and survey forms; or when they are included, regional differences often mean that the same resource would be called by different names in different parts of the country. To quote one commission staff person who called the NAPC office recently, 'I'd be happy to survey the stuff, I just don't know what to call it, and when I go to my books, I get four different answers.' The diversity of post-War architecture makes finding a consistent nomenclature particularly challenging.[355]

In South Dakota, modern era housing forms and styles were first formally addressed in 2000 in preparation of *Architectural History of South Dakota*. This document identified Minimal Traditional, Ranch, Split-level, and Lustron as styles and Prefabricated Houses and Mobile Home as forms. Prepared in 2007, *Post-World War II Architecture in South Dakota* stopped short of providing detailed discussion of housing forms and architectural styles but mentions Minimal Traditional, Minimal Tract, Ranch, and Split-level by name without identifying distinguishing characteristics.[356] Since then, modern housing forms and styles have been addressed in South Dakota only sparingly as part of countywide surveys and survey updates for specific portions of certain municipalities.

This section is intended to provide additional clarification regarding specific housing forms and styles associated with residential architecture constructed between 1950 and 1975. Brief discussions of the most common housing forms and architectural styles found in South Dakota during the study period follow. Representative photographs are included to help illustrate common characteristics; however, these are not numbered sequentially as figures. While traditional styles such as Tudor Revival, Craftsman, and Colonial Revival and modernistic styles such as Art Moderne and the International Style continued to varying degrees into the post-1950 period, they are not included as their primary influence predates the period of study. It also is important to note that the period was marked by the trend of applying certain motifs to housing forms such as the Ranch house. Application of such motifs included incorporating isolated elements reminiscent of a particular theme—such as Rustic architecture or Storybook

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[355] Drane Wilkinson, "Reconciling with the Recent Past," *The Alliance Review* (July-August 2008), 3.

[356] Stephen Rogers and Lynda B. Schwan, *Architectural History in South Dakota* (Pierre, SD: South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office, 2000); Michelle Dennis, *Post-World War II Architecture in South Dakota* (Pierre, SD: State Historic Preservation Office, 2007).

architecture—but did not constituent development of a dedicated style as the character of properties with such motifs is still primarily defined by the underlying form. As such, these variations are not considered here as separate forms or styles.

Finally, it should be noted that this list is not intended to be all-inclusive of every style or form that may be identified. It only addresses those most commonly found in post-1950 residential developments. Additional architectural styles and housing forms (e.g., A-frame and Geodesic Dome) may be identified as part of a survey and should be accounted for in the documentation. The following resources may be useful in addressing other styles and forms identified as part of a survey:

- **A Field Guide to American Houses (Revised): The Definitive Guide to Identifying and Understanding America's Domestic Architect**.
  Virginia Savage McAlester
- **A Field Guide to Contemporary American Architecture**.
  Carole Rifkind
- **American House Styles: A Concise Guide**.
  John Milnes Baker
- **The Visual Dictionary of American Domestic Architecture**.
  Rachel Carley
- **American Architecture since 1780: A Guide to the Styles**.
  Marcus Wiffen
- **American Homes: An Illustrate Encyclopedia of Domestic Architecture**.
  Lester Walker

A. MINIMAL TRADITIONAL (c. 1930s-1950s)

Classification: Form
Design: Builder/Developer
Typical Location: Transitional or Tract Development

The Minimal Traditional dwelling is rooted in the economies of the 1930s, which ushered in the establishment of the FHA and an era of government-sponsored efficiency in housing.[357] It came to prominence during the war era and readjustment period, with efficiency in both cost and time dictated by an intense housing shortage. The housing form can be considered a transitional one situated between the early twentieth century when stylized dwellings were popular and the casual forms of the mid-twentieth century. This transitional period represented a new discourse in housing.

In a world searching for normalcy, the moderately-priced Minimal Traditional form—an outgrowth of the far-reaching small house movement of the 1910s and 1920s—combined traditional cottage forms that provided an established aesthetic with informal living spaces and modern materials that leaned toward the future. Proliferation of the form is largely attributable to the FHA and its guidelines for the minimum houses that would be eligible for insured mortgages, which were characteristically compact, one-story rectilinear dwellings that featured bedrooms, living room, and kitchen under a simplified roofline.

Common characteristics include:

- Compact form with boxy appearance
- Typically one-story
- Square or rectangular footprint typical
- Occasionally features a small wing or ell
- Low-pitched roof, typically side- or cross-gabled
- Typically frame construction, originally with wood or Masonite siding
- Façade commonly has a picture window
- Commonly features a small concrete stoop at façade entry
- Little ornamentation or embellishments

[357] It is recognized that in some locations "American Small House" has been applied to what was historically referred to as the Minimal Traditional form. However, it is the view of the author that the "small house" terminology is more appropriately used in reference to a broader movement extending from the 1910s to the 1950s, during which there was a distinct effort to encourage affordable housing for the masses as part of a strong society; the Minimal Traditional is a subtype within this movement.

B. RANCH HOUSE (c. 1940s-1975+)

Classification: Form
Design: Builder/Developer or Architect
Typical Location: Infill, Isolated Rural, or Transitional, Tract, or Custom Development

The most common element of the post-war landscape, the Ranch house broadly refers to a one-story residence with linear massing and horizontal emphasis; on the interior, it is defined by an informal arrangement rooted in modern space planning and integrates indoor-outdoor spaces. The modern Ranch house evolved out of 1930s designs by California architects—most notably Cliff May—who adapted the basic form of historic southwestern ranch dwellings to create an efficient, contemporary variation for the modern age. Such designs were distributed widely throughout the country in magazines and trade publications, with the form capturing the attention of both home seekers and home builders.

To home seekers, the Ranch house represented the informal contemporary lifestyles that made sense in modern America and provided convenient space for the growing family. To builders, the Ranch house represented a simple form that lent itself to standardized construction, which made it ideal for economical, repetitious construction in tract developments. The form also was easily adaptable, both in accommodating additions and in the application of various motifs—such as Colonial Revival, Swiss Chalet, and Storybook—that could be used to provide artificial decoration to the otherwise simple form. While the form began appearing in the 1940s, it was not until the population boom and socioeconomic climate of the 1950s that the Ranch house made sense on a large scale. Multiple subtypes of the Ranch house evolved over time, each of which possesses its own characteristics. These subtypes generally correspond to the outward appearance or footprint of a house, although there is substantial variation in treatments among developments of the period. The Ranch house is most commonly found in the Compact, Linear, Massed, and L-plan subtypes.

By definition, all Ranch variants are one-story. Other common characteristics include:

COMPACT RANCH

- Commonly set close together on small lots
- Simple rectilinear plan and massing (many prefabricated models)
- Low-pitched roof, typically side-gabled
- Concrete stoops are common
- Decorative and architectural treatments are sparse
- One primary material is common
- May include a non-integral carport or single-stall garage

LINEAR RANCH

- Typically set on larger lots with wide frontages
- Strong horizontal emphasis but may include a truncated ell
- Asymmetrical façade treatment
- Low-pitched roof, typically side-gabled or hipped
- Application of motifs common although ornamentation is minimalist
- Includes a narrow, linear front porch or concrete stoop
- Picture window and paired/banded windows are common
- Combination of materials is typical
- Integrated carport or garage is common
- Patios, courtyards, or gardens are common at rear

MASSED RANCH

- May be placed on small or large lots
- Footprint appears roughly square from the façade
- Low-pitched roof, most often hipped
- Picture window and paired windows are common
- Concrete stoops are common
- Garage stalls commonly not visible from façade

L-PLAN RANCH

- Typically set on larger lots with wide frontages
- Plan defined by prominent front-facing ell
- Low-pitched roof, typically cross-gabled or hipped
- Application of motifs common although ornamentation is minimalist
- Includes a narrow, linear front porch or concrete stoop
- Picture window and paired/banded windows are common
- Combination of materials is typical
- Integrated garage is common in the ell

C. SPLIT-LEVEL (c. 1950s-1970)

Classification: Form
Design: Builder/Developer or Architect
Typical Location: Tract Development or Custom Development

The Split-level (also known as a tri-level) provided a visually-distinguished alternative to the pervasive one-story Ranch house. Originating in the 1930s, the Split-level evolved out of studies considering how floor plans could be adapted to serve modern needs. While Split-level forms continued through the 1940s, they were not widely built until the 1950s when they rose to popularity in meeting the needs of both the homebuilder and the homebuyer.

During the period, developers increasingly realized the cost benefits of adapting housing to existing topography rather than adjusting the landscape to create flat lots for housing. In areas with hilly terrain, builders embraced the Split-level form by splitting linear dwellings near the middle and integrating one side into the slope. The approach was particularly useful in dealing with problematic hillside lots that did not work for Ranch houses and was commonly found in communities like Sioux Falls, where the topography varied substantially. The appeal of the form became so pervasive that in some areas builders even artificially altered a site's topography to accommodate it.

For the public, the Split-level form rose to popularity because it appropriately met the modern family's need for distinct interior spaces. While the Ranch house allowed for the separation of spaces at either end of the house, the Split-level—characterized by a one-story unit connected to a two-story unit at mid-level—provided levels of distinct space, staggered one-half-level apart. The lower level typically included the noisy spaces of the house, including utility areas, a den, and the garage, while the middle floor included the dining area, living room, and kitchen. The upper floor was reserved as private, quite space and housed the bedrooms.

Common characteristics include:

- Two-story section connected at mid-level to a one-story section
- Combination of exterior materials is common
- Each section may be housed under a separate roof or a singular sloping roof
- Separate roofs are low-pitched, typically gabled or hipped
- Horizontal emphasis in windows
- Commonly features a Colonial Revival motif or Contemporary applications
- Three distinct levels of space on the interior, signified by entry at mid-level
- Lower level typically houses a garage

D. BI-LEVEL (c. 1950s-1970)

Classification: Form
Design: Builder/Developer or Architect
Typical Location: Tract Development or Custom Development

In the gap between the Split-level and Ranch house emerged the Bi-level (or split-foyer or raised basement Ranch), a form created by dividing only the entryway rather than the entire dwelling. In the Bi-level, the front door leads to a two-story landing set between two distinct floors, staggered one-half-level apart. While not as popular as the Ranch house or the Split-level, the Bi-level appealed to consumers of both, offering the privacy and separation of space found in the Split-level but the linear, singular form of the Ranch house.

The Bi-level symbolized a modern alternative to the two-story homes of years prior. As in the Split-level, interior spaces were separated based on the family's needs. The upper level was generally dedicated to the kitchen, living room, and bedrooms, while the lower level—typically located partially below ground—housed the family room, utility space, and, where present, a garage.

Common characteristics include:

- Linear massing
- Horizontal emphasis
- Appears as a singular mass under one roof
- Raised basement, with windows near grade
- Upper-story windows are commonly stout and high on the wall
- Combination of materials is common
- May feature a projecting upper façade
- Chimneys are not prominent
- Garage is integrated at the lower level and typically located at and accessed from the side

E. MASSED TWO-STORY (c. 1940s-1975+)

Classification: Form
Design: Builder/Developer or Architect
Typical Location: Infill, Tract Development, or Custom Development

Two-story houses remained popular into the post-war period as a vernacular housing form, particularly into the 1960s and 1970s as architecture returned to favoring traditional forms and motifs. In the modern era, the massed two-story form retained the standard two-story rectangular form but large front porches of years prior were replaced with a narrow, linear porch or concrete stoop set at the entrance.

Two-story forms provided better natural zoning and privacy for discrete activities than the Ranch house or even the Split- and Bi-level forms. The two-story massed house also provided additional space but typically at a higher cost. Houses are typically informal variations on previous models rather than academic interpretations of the past. Massed two-story dwellings commonly exhibit Colonial Revival motifs or are Contemporary interpretations of the form.

Common characteristics include:

- Two-story, rectangular massing
- Shallow- or moderately-pitched roof, almost exclusively side-gabled
- Overhanging eave at front façade is common
- Double-hung sashes and picture windows are common
- Commonly of a single cladding material but may feature different materials on each floor
- Chimney is located at the end of the house or at center
- Garage is commonly housed in a separate one-story section or at one end of the dwelling on the first floor

F. MOBILE/MANUFACTUERED HOME (c. 1940s-1975+)

Classification: Form
Design: Builder/Developer
Typical Location: Isolated Rural or Tract Development

Mobile homes are prefabricated housing units that are assembled in factories. The quintessential feature of the mobile home is the prefabricated structure situated on a transport frame. The form rose to popularity in the modern era as an affordable alternative to traditional housing. While the housing form is inherently mobile, most mobile homes were moved only once during their lifetime, from the distributor to the site. While many mobile homes retain their transport frame, they are often hidden behind a metal skirt that conceals their transitory nature.

Mobile homes evolved more akin to automobiles than other housing forms. Early models were often streamlined like an automobile and featured slightly rounded or flat roofs with fins at one end. Over time, however, the form was simplified and refined to reflect a more permanent appearance, with most late models featuring a gable roof structure similar to traditional dwellings. During the period, mobile homes progressed from fairly narrow models to the double-wide and then triple. Toward the end of the period, mobile homes gave way to one-story modular housing. Rather than being towed, modular homes are carried on flat-bed trucks to the building site and then placed on a foundation. While more permanent than mobile homes and while modular housing can be found in multi-story varieties, the one-story basic model's rectilinear form and simple nature still recall the character of their predecessors in the mobile home industry.

Common characteristics include:

- Prefabricated form
- Long, narrow structure
- Concrete block foundation with metal skirting
- Aluminum and vinyl siding are prevalent
- Metal frame windows and doors on early models
- Vinyl windows and doors on later models
- Early models typically have a flat or rounded roof
- Later models have gabled roofs

G. CONTEMPORARY (c. 1950s-1975+)

Classification: Style
Design: Architect
Typical Location: Infill, Isolated, or Custom Development

Emerging from important transitions in architecture during the period, Contemporary style dwellings represent the adaptation of high-style design principles. While Ranch houses with Contemporary elements exist, true Contemporary style dwellings are highly stylized and are typically architect-designed. While traditional residential architectural styles were defined primarily by their applied ornamentation, Contemporary style residences are more appropriately defined by their use of space and forms and the inherent relationship between the two. While there is significant variation among Contemporary dwellings, this emphasis is always the same.

Incorporating modern forms, materials, and arrangements, the Contemporary style dwelling appealed to progressive young families and stylistically-conscious housing consumers that desired something more articulated than a basic form. The word "contemporary" was often used during the study period to differentiate these stylized buildings from more traditional forms. Functionality of interior space and its relationship to outward appearance was critical as was integration of indoor-outdoor spaces through open floor plans, large expanses of glass, and carefully-crafted exterior areas.

Common characteristics include:

- May be one-story, two-story, or a split-level variation
- Visual interest and texture in materials and shapes rather than ornamentation
- Horizontal volumes are common
- Asymmetrical façade treatments
- Flat, gabled, and elongated slope roofs are common
- Broad, open eaves
- Mixed materials are typical
- Large expanses of plate glass are common
- Banded windows are common
- Chimneys are commonly treated as an architectural element
- Features such as concrete block screen walls and exposed rafters
- Integration of indoor-outdoor spaces and exterior living areas

H. BUILDER MODERN (c. 1960s-1975+)

Classification: Style
Design: Builder/Developer
Typical Location: Infill, Isolated, Rural, Tract Development, or Custom Development

Builder Modern dwellings derive from the work of builders and contractors who increasingly integrated design services into their skill set during the late twentieth century. These builders often took accepted modern forms such as the Ranch house and Split-level and adapted and reconceived them, often in unexpected ways. Modern materials and designs prevailed, although they were typically less refined in their application than in architect-designed dwellings.

For many, the Builder Modern dwelling provided an affordable alternative to high-priced architect-designed houses, with contractors offering combined design and construction services. Adapting principles of high-style architecture but in vernacularized ways, Builder Modern houses provided homebuyers with another alternative for a distinct dwelling that diverged from common undistinguished forms of the period.

Common characteristics include:

- One-story and multi-story variants
- Lack of reference to historic styles or forms
- Accepted modern forms used to create unique arrangements
- Building masses and voids are often juxtaposed
- Rooflines on several levels, often incorporates multiple types of roofs
- Windows are commonly varied in size, shape, and type
- Brick and stone veneers and pressed wood sidings are common

I. SHED STYLE (c. 1960s-1975+)

Classification: Style
Design: Builder/Developer or Architect
Typical Location: Custom Development

The Shed Style was first popularized in 1965 after construction of the Sea Ranch Lodge condominium in California. Following, the Shed Style dispersed throughout the country, although it never was a dominant architectural style. The style reached its peak in the 1970s during the energy crisis because its basic form easily accommodated passive solar collectors and south-facing clerestory windows were easy to integrate beneath the steep roof slopes. While used sparingly in residential architecture (and lodge architecture, for example), the Shed Style fell out of favor quickly because of its jarring form and because of the high maintenance costs typically associated with the wood exteriors that characterized most examples.

Common characteristics include:

- Strong lines in verticals, horizontals, and angles
- Juxtaposed volumetric massing
- Triangles and trapezoids dominate in elevations
- Intersecting gable and/or shed roofs
- Seamless wall/roof intersections
- Windows of various sizes and types
- Recessed or obscured façade entry
- Large areas of blank wall surface, particularly on side elevations
- Commonly clad in wood siding

J. NEO-ECLECTIC (c. 1960s-1975+)

Classification: Style
Design: Builder/Developer or Architect
Typical Location: Tract Development and Custom Development

Into the late 1960s and early 1970s, public tastes began to transition toward traditional architecture, partly as a rejection of the simplicity of the mid-twentieth century and partly in reference to the sweeping wave of nostalgia that emerged throughout the country in the years before the Bicentennial. Emerging from this renewed emphasis on tradition was Neo-Eclectic architecture in which houses incorporated a variety of architectural features from historical styles such as the Tudor Revival, Neoclassical, and Queen Anne. However, Neo-Eclectic architecture did not assemble details in traditional ways. Instead, details from a variety of styles were often exaggerated or otherwise combined in ways that would not be found on true historic forms. While this movement started slowly in the 1960s, it spread rapidly into the 1970s and 1980s and remains popular to present.

Unlike most styles, Neo-Eclectic architecture was not led by architects but popularized by builders and contractors who often created "pick and choose" packages or pattern books from which prospective homeowners could pick the individual elements they desired and combine them in one dwelling. While these dwellings were broadly characterized as reflecting—and even emulating—traditional considerations, the finished forms rarely represented anything close to historic architecture because of their scale and modern features such as exaggerated entrances and prominent garages. Subtypes of the Neo-Eclectic style include but are not limited to Neo-Colonial, Neo-Classical Revival, French Provincial, Neo-Victorian, Neo-Tudor, and Mansard.

Common characteristics include:

- Typically two stories or more
- Historic stylistic elements are imitated in modern materials
- Details from several historic styles are combined in non-traditional ways
- Features and ornamentation are often exaggerated
- Brick and stone veneers and vinyl and composite materials are common
- High-pitched roofs with multiple gables or hips
- Earthy colors in paints and finishes
- Elaborate or accentuated entrances
- Multiple garage stalls

K. OTHER FORMS (c. 1941-1975+)

There are three additional forms that are defined almost exclusively by their shape: Quonset Hut, A-Frame, and Geodesic Dome. Used for a variety of property types, each of these forms occurs only rarely in residential architecture, usually as standalone examples distinct from other residential development.

QUONSET HUT (c. 1941-c.1960)

Common characteristics include:

- Semi-circular cross-section
- Structural steel ribs
- Corrugated steel skin
- Metal windows
- May have shed dormers and/or false front

A-FRAME (c. 1950-c.1975+)

Common characteristics include:

- Prominent, steeply-pitched roof
- Eaves reach near or to grade
- Rectangular plan
- Banks of windows on façade and rear elevation
- Walls clad in board or T1-11 siding
- Porches and decks

GEODESIC DOME (c. 1960-c.1975+)

Common characteristics include:

- Dome shape established by wood or metal triangular frames
- Roof structure clad in wood or asphalt shingles
- Walls clad in rough or unfinished board or T1-11 siding
- Windows, dormers, and skylights In various shapes and sizes
- Wood decks and/or shallow wings to expand footprint

XII. EVALUATING SIGNIFICANCE

The primary purpose of this context document is to better assist the SHPO in assessing residential architecture constructed between 1950 and 1975 for eligibility for listing in the NRHP or State Register of Historic Places as part of its review requirements for compliance projects under SDCL 1-19A-11.1 and Section 106 of the NHPA; the document also is intended to assist contractors carrying out survey and compliance projects in assessing this architecture for the NRHP. This document expands upon and complements documents such as *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* and *Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* by providing recommendations for evaluating significance that are contextually specific to South Dakota and the theme of this study.[358]

In South Dakota, the guidelines for the State Register are found in SD Administrative Rule 24:52:06:01, Criteria for listing on State Register. Properties eligible for the State Register must meet at least one of four criteria. Cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for the State Register unless they also meet one of eight criteria considerations (see SD Administrative Rules 4:52:06:02).

CRITERION 1. Properties that are associated with events that have made significant contributions in the broad patterns of local, regional, or state history, including settlement, agriculture, commerce, and transportation.

CRITERION 2. Properties that are associated with the livings of persons significant in the past of this state or the past of a region of this state.

CRITERION 3. Properties that represent distinctive types, periods, or methods of construction; they represent the work of a master; they possess high artistic values; or they represent cultural or regional building patterns.

CRITERION 4. Properties that are associated with prehistoric or historic archaeology.

For the purposes of survey and compliance projects under Section 106, properties are evaluated in consideration of established guidelines for determining significance, codified in the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation. These criteria have been established by the NPS to identify buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts that are significant in

[358] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1997); Ames and McClelland, *Historic Residential Suburbs*.

American history, architecture, and/or culture. Significance may be found under one or more of the following criteria:

CRITERION A. Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to broad patterns of our history.

CRITERION B. Properties that are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past.

CRITERION C. Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

CRITERION D. Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.

In order to be eligible for the NRHP under one or more of the criteria, a property generally must be at least 50 years of age and possess sufficient integrity to convey its historic character and significance. Additional discussion of integrity and registration thresholds for the NRHP is provided in *XIII. Integrity and Registration Requirements*.

The following recommendations for evaluating significance are rooted in two property types associated with *Modern Residential Architecture in South Dakota, 1950-1975*: the "Post-1950 Residential Development" and the "Single-family Residential Dwelling." To evaluate resources for NRHP eligibility within this context, **researchers should assess the significance of developments as historic districts and dwellings as individual properties** in relation to the trends and themes related to residential architecture in South Dakota as presented in this document.

It is anticipated that the vast majority of properties evaluated for eligibility under this context will be evaluated for significance at the local level. In all instances, specific links must be drawn between the modern residential architecture in South Dakota between 1950 and 1975 and local development trends in the particular community in which the property being evaluated is located. To establish significance beyond the local level, the specific influence of a particular property must be explicitly detailed and comparative analysis with similar properties beyond the local context must be presented.

A. EVALUATING INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES

The Single-family Residential Dwelling was the icon of the mid-twentieth century, representing not only a home but also the evolution of socioeconomic, cultural, and architectural trends, which influenced a generation of housing. In consideration of the

Single-family Residential Dwelling as an individual resource under the NRHP, there are four applicable subtypes with which a property may be associated:

PREFABRICATED HOUSE. Prefabricated Houses are those that were designed and produced by a prefabrication company in a factory and then shipped to individual builders. Mobile homes also are considered Prefabricated Houses in the context of this document.

TRACT HOUSE. Tract Houses are those that were typically designed and constructed by a builder or developer. They are always located in a development of repetitious property types. Tract Houses were constructed in hundreds of developments during the period, with individual models within a particular subdivision varying only minimally from their neighbors.

SPECULATIVE HOUSE. Speculative Houses are those designed and constructed without a specific buyer in mind. Differing from Tract Houses, Speculative Houses are not characterized by repetitious designs and may be located beyond the boundaries of a Tract Development, either as infill or in rural settings, for example,.

CUSTOM HOUSE. Custom Houses are those that were designed by an architect or builder for a specific client. This does not include customized versions of standard models in Tract Developments. Custom Houses are more likely to be associated with high-style designs or particularly well-executed examples of common forms.

While all single-family dwellings of the period can be considered to be broadly associated with post-1950 residential architecture in South Dakota, mere occurrence during this period or vague association with developmental trends of the period is not sufficient to warrant eligibility for listing in the NRHP. Eligible individual resources must clearly and explicitly demonstrate association with a particular theme or trend that is important in the local context and be a distinguished example within that context. Specific guidance for each of the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation follows.

CRITERION A. ASSOCIATION WITH IMPORTANT EVENTS

Given the pattern and scale of events related to residential development in South Dakota between 1950 and 1975, individual resources generally will not demonstrate sufficient significance to evidence important, distinguishable associations with broad trends of residential growth and development. However, individual resources may qualify for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A if they can satisfactorily demonstrate association with a particular event or pattern of events associated with residential development in the local or regional context. For example, a property could be found eligible under Criterion A with significance in **Agriculture** if it were shown to be a noteworthy example that evidences important trends in the evolution of farmstead development during the period or with significance in **Ethnic History** and/or **Social History** if it were demonstrated to illustrate important trends in fair

housing during the period that are not otherwise represented on a large-scale through district-level developments of the period. Important questions to consider in evaluating a property under Criterion A include but are not limited to:

- What is the relative importance of the property in consideration of the specific event or pattern of events with which it is associated?
- Are the trends evidenced also identifiable through similar individual properties or historic districts that reflect the trends on a broader scale?
- Is the property able to reflect the trends with which it is associated in a particularly unique way?

CRITERION B. ASSOCIATION WITH SIGNIFICANT PERSONS

Individual properties could be found to be eligible under Criterion B if research demonstrates a specific relationship between a property and a particular individual who made important contributions to local history. However, these contributions must be specifically documented and found to be associated with the presented historic contexts. For example, an individual property could be found to be eligible under Criterion B with areas of significance in **Ethnic Heritage** and **Social History** if the property was directly associated with an individual that was critically important to local fair housing campaigns and served as that person's base of operations for improving local housing conditions. Important questions to consider in evaluating a property under Criterion B include but are not limited to:

- What is the relative importance of the individual with which the property is associated?
- What is the relationship between the person's significant contributions and the property being evaluated?
- What is the relationship of the property to the period during which the individual achieved significance?
- How does the property compare to other properties also associated with the individual?

Additional guidance on demonstrating sufficient significance under Criterion B can be found in *National Register Bulletin 32: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties Associated with Significant Persons*.[359]

[359] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 32: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties Associated with Significant Persons* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, n.d.).

CRITERION C. ASSOCIATION WITH DESIGN

Individual properties are most likely to be evaluated under Criterion C for **Architecture**. Properties must be either an excellent representative example of a particular style, type or form; reflect innovative construction, design, or material techniques; or be the work of a local master. If being evaluated as an excellent example of a particular style, form, or type within the local community, a property must display the requisite character-defining features associated with that style, form, or type. Broad association and representation of period trends is not sufficient to warrant eligibility. Comparison with other properties displaying similar characteristics must be provided to establish the property as a distinguished example in the local context. For prefabricated or standardized housing forms and types, the standard is higher. Such dwellings relied on methods of mass production and material conformity that resulted in their mass distribution. As such, individual examples rarely possess sufficient architectural significance to warrant listing in the NRHP. An early example that influenced future trends or represented innovation in design may be eligible if it retains the features necessary to convey such innovations. Other innovative forms that were less prolific may be found to be individually eligible in representing a unique system or approach. For example, all intact Lustrons in South Dakota have previously been determined significant and eligible for listing in the NRHP. A model home used to test particular innovations or methods for a particular industry also may be considered eligible if it can be shown to have had influence on a company's practices.

Individual properties also may be eligible under Criterion C for their high artistic value or as the work of a master. High-style examples could, for example, demonstrate the influence of Contemporary architecture or could be a particularly well-executed example of a Ranch house that shows a distinguished rationale and complexity in planning. Comparison with similar examples in the same context is particularly critical in establishing a resource as a distinguished example of high artistic value. Properties also may be considered eligible as the work of a master architect, builder, or craftsman. Tract houses by operative and merchant builders do not qualify by nature of their repetitious construction, even if they are indicative of a particular style or form. This typically includes tract house designs by architects, which were intended to be reproduced in multiples. Variations between such houses are typically minor and cannot be demonstrated to be a distinguished example of a particular master's work. In such circumstances, tracts of houses should be evaluated as a historic district rather than as individual properties.

Most properties that qualify for their artistic merit or as the work of a master will be one-of-a-kind houses designed as individual commissions for private clients; they will likely by architect-designed houses or highly-customized dwellings by a significant builder or craftsman. For the latter, the architect or builder responsible for the design must be demonstrated to be particularly significant within the local

context to be considered a master. While his or her influence does not need to extend beyond the local community, the master must be demonstrated to have been influential within the local design context or otherwise recognized for contributions to architecture and/or homebuilding. Individual properties should have more than broad association with the master. They should be reflective of a particularly phase or aspect of a master's work and indicative of his or her architectural skill set. Evidence must be provided to show that a particular property was designed by the entity with which it is being associated. Evidence that can be used to demonstrate this association includes but is not limited to the following:

- An original plan or elevation drawings for the property
- Original design or construction specifications
- Documentation in periodicals, journals, or newspapers
- Correspondence related to the design and construction of the property

CRITERION D. INFORMATION POTENTIAL

Criterion D or the potential to yield information important in history or prehistory is typically associated with archaeological resources and is only rarely used in the context of buildings and structures. Under general circumstances, Criterion D could be used for a building or structure that incorporates a unique structural system or rare use of materials where there is no other historical record (e.g., construction drawings or patented systems) to otherwise document the information. However, given the extent of documentation available related to construction and material technologies of the period, such situations will be rare.

B. EVALUATING HISTORIC DISTRICTS

As noted, Post-1950 Residential Developments in South Dakota should be evaluated for eligibility as historic districts. "Historic district" refers to a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of buildings, structures, sites, and/or objects that are united historically and/or aesthetically and share a common context. Historic districts derive their significance from the totality of the development, which is defined by the interrelationship of individual components that work together to convey important associations, themes, or trends.

In considering residential developments as historic districts, there are four specific subtypes with which a property may be associated:

TRANSITIONAL SUBDIVISION. Transitional Subdivisions were typically platted prior to 1955 and are usually located within or adjacent to the community core. These subdivisions are either a continuation of older plats that remained partially undeveloped until after World War II or new plats that were built out on remaining vacant land. These subdivisions typically were established on a traditional grid and

made use of existing plats, street layout, and municipal services, which made them attractive to builders who could save development costs. These developments often blurred the line between early-twentieth century developments and those of the late 1950s and 1960s.

TRACT SUBDIVISION. Tract Subdivisions were the primary means of residential development for much of the post-1950 period. Typically developed by an operative or merchant builder, Tract Subdivisions often were built on speculation and then advertised widely to attain a mass of homeowners. Tract Subdivisions varied considerably in size, ranging from a handful of dwellings to hundreds of houses. These developments were commonly developed in consideration of FHA requirements, through which financing for a ready stream of buyers was found. They are commonly characterized by a high degree of cohesiveness and homogeneity as conveyed in limited variation between individual dwellings and repetitious lot arrangements.

CUSTOM SUBDIVISION. Custom Subdivisions prevailed in the late 1950s and 1960s as the return of personal economies and the alleviation of housing shortages intersected to give housing consumers greater choice. This prompted homebuilders to be increasingly responsive to the particular needs and desires of home seekers, which moved developers away from standardized tract developments. Custom Subdivisions typically feature greater variety in housing forms and styles and are often distinguished by refined site design, lot layout, and integration of features such as topography, natural settings, and manmade elements like golf courses.

PLANNED DEVELOPMENT. Planned Developments are cohesively-designed, closely-linked arrangements of housing intended to function in a certain way. These may include, for example, a planned community that integrates housing, commercial nodes, and community assets; a cooperative housing development; or a mobile home park.

While all historic districts of the period can be considered to be broadly associated with post-1950 residential architecture in South Dakota, mere occurrence during this period or vague association with developmental trends of the period is not sufficient to warrant eligibility for listing in the NRHP. Eligible historic districts must clearly and explicitly demonstrate association with a particular theme or trend that is important in the local context and the total of individual resources within the historic district must be associated with the particular context under which it is significant. Specific guidance for each of the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation follows.

CRITERION A. ASSOCIATION WITH IMPORTANT EVENTS

Because Post-1950 Residential Developments are likely to be comprised of dwellings with a shared context and characterized by a singular identity, **significant**

associations with specific events or patterns of events under Criterion A are more likely to be evident in historic districts than in individual properties. To be eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A, a historic district must be specifically related to a particular aspect of history and/or important theme in post-1950 residential development in South Dakota as evidenced by the contexts in this document. A historic district also must be shown to be a distinguishable example that reflects such themes. Contextual information must be developed to differentiate the historic district being evaluated from similar examples in the same context and demonstrate importance at the local level under Criterion A.

A historic district under this context is most likely to be evaluated under Criterion A in the area of **Community Planning and Development**. This may include, for example, evaluation for contributions to local land use and the growth and development of the local community or local efforts to take advantage of housing provisions in the establishment of residential developments. Other areas of significance that may be found to be relevant to a particular historic district include but are not limited to:

- **Politics/Government**, if the development of a particular area can be shown to have represented a particularly distinct response to government financing or planning mechanisms;
- **Economics**, if the development of a particular area can be demonstrated to have directly influenced or distinctly supported economic development of the community in an explicit way; and
- **Industry**, if a development was specifically established for the purpose of housing workers associated with a particular industry.

To establish significance under one of these areas, a historic district must be placed in its local context and demonstrate its significant associations in a meaningful way. Significance must be satisfactorily demonstrated through comparative analysis of similar developments that share a similar context. Questions that are important to consider as part of this analysis include but are not limited to:

- What is the relative importance of the district in the local context?
- What is direct, demonstrable relationship of the district to specific trends such as the growth of bedroom communities or development of veterans' housing?
- What is the relationship of the district to other developments of the period?

- What historically were the reasons for developing the area?
- Were specific government provisions or standards used?
- What influence did community planning efforts, zoning, and subdivision regulations have on the development?
- Were innovative development practices used?
- How does the development fit within the overall portfolio of the developer?
- Did the development influence the subsequent development of community assets such as commercial nodes or schools?

A historic district also may be found to be eligible for listing under Criterion A in the area of **Social History** or **Ethnic Heritage**. In this, a historic district must be demonstrated to be directly associated with trends and themes related to meeting the needs of a particular demographic. Questions that are important to consider as part of this analysis include but are not limited to:

- What was the need for housing meeting the needs of a distinguishable group (e.g., veterans or ethnic groups)?
- How did this development differ from others designed to meet the same need?
- Did the location or design of the development communicate certain perceptions about its occupants?
- Did the housing substantially improve living conditions?
- What is the relationship of the development to established community groups such as fair housing councils?
- Were there restrictive covenants associated with the development?
- Are there distinct, important associations with particular populations such as Native Americans or African Americans?
- Were minority populations or particular groups such as veterans involved in the construction or selling of the development?

CRITERION B. ASSOCIATION WITH SIGNIFICANT PERSONS

Post-1950 Residential Developments will rarely be found to be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion B. Only in rare circumstances where a significant concentration of dwellings is known to be association with significant individuals would a district qualify under Criterion B. For example, this could include a neighborhood near a university where multiple staff or faculty who had a significant impact in education in the modern era are known to have lived and worked. In such instances, specific evidence must be provided that links each associated dwelling within the historic district with the particular individual for which it is noted and how that person's contributions to history are related to that particular dwelling.

CRITERION C. ASSOCIATION WITH DESIGN

Historic districts may be found to be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion C if it can be demonstrated to possess distinctive and distinguishable significance in the areas of Community Planning and Development, Architecture, or Landscape Architecture. **While a district does not need to possess an innovative development scheme or be represented by a collection of architect-designed dwellings, mere association with a plan broadly reflecting prevailing trends or possessing period housing with integrity is not sufficient** to demonstrate significance within the local context.

To demonstrate significance under Criterion C in the area of **Community Planning and Development**, a historic district must convey important design principles through its physical qualities. The district must possess the distinctive characteristics of a particular type and be distinguished for its ability to reflect the design trends with which it is associated compared to others in the same context. For example, a district may be demonstrated to be a particularly well-executed example of FHA design principles within the local context as evidenced by its component features such as street layout, lot layout and orientation, and integration of community assets.

To demonstrate significance under Criterion C in the area of **Architecture**, a district must be a distinguished as a collection of representative or noteworthy houses that embody the distinctive characteristics of particular styles, forms, or methods of construction. For **Landscape Architecture**, a district must be distinguished in its inclusion and design of integral design features that reflect important transitions in the evolution of landscape architecture as it relates to residential development of the period. It is important to note that a district need not be the first or best example in a particular context to meet the requirement of being significant within the context. Likewise, more important or better examples do not preclude the eligibility of a district if it can sufficiently demonstrate its importance. However, a historic district must be specifically compared with others in the same context to

determine if it is truly significant or merely indicative of broad trends but otherwise undistinguished from similar examples.

A historic district also may be eligible under Criterion C in the area of **Community Planning and Development**, **Architecture**, or **Landscape Architecture** for its high artistic value or as the work of a master. For example, a custom subdivision may possess high value in its overall plan or be particularly significant within its design context for its inclusion of well-crafted vistas, scenic qualities, and carefully integrated landscape features. Likewise, a historic district may be eligible under Criterion C if it includes concentrations of architect-designed dwellings that reflect the particular vision of a local master architect or builder or reflects the design principles of a master landscape architect or planner. In such instances, the district must be demonstrated to be reflective of the person's skill and associated with a particular aspect of the person's career or mark an important transition in his or her design portfolio. Where existing background does not exist, the significance of the master craftsman must be sufficiently demonstrated through comparative analysis with developments by other parties during the same period. A district also may be found to be significant under Criterion C if it is associated with a particular builder or developer that can be demonstrated to have had a significant and substantial impact on post-1950 architecture within the local context. In such instances, the development must be demonstrated to be a significant example within the person's portfolio of work. Specific evidence must be provided that demonstrates how the identified person's contributions outweigh those of other persons involved in residential architecture during the period, how the district reflects the influential practices employed by the person with which it is associated, and the nature of the demonstrable influence within the context with which it is associated.

Evidence must be provided to show that a particularly development was designed by the entity with which it is being associated. Evidence that can be used to demonstrate this association includes but is not limited to the following:

- Original plans or plats for the development
- Original design or construction specifications
- Documentation in periodicals, journals, or newspapers
- Correspondence related to the design of the development

CRITERION D. INFORMATION POTENTIAL

Criterion D is typically associated with archaeological sites and areas that have the potential to contribute to our understanding of cultural lifeways. While the latter is theoretically possible in the context of Post-1950 Residential Developments, it is not anticipated that any properties will be evaluated under Criterion D in association with such trends. In rare circumstances, a historic district may be found to

demonstrate significance under Criterion D for planning innovation or civil engineering, for example, at a neighborhood-scale. However, as with individual properties, the use of this criterion should be carefully evaluated in consideration of existing historical record (e.g., planning documents) that would otherwise document the information that could be discerned from the district.

C. CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

Ordinarily, certain types of properties are not considered for NRHP eligibility. However, these properties may qualify for eligibility if they are integral components of a district or individually if they meet special requirements, designated as the NRHP Criteria Considerations. For the latter, properties must meet one or more of the four Criteria for Evaluation and meet applicable Criteria Considerations. These include:

- **CONSIDERATION A: RELIGIOUS PROPERTIES**
- **CONSIDERATION B: MOVED PROPERTIES**
- **CONSIDERATION C: BIRTHPLACES AND GRAVES**
- **CONSIDERATION D: CEMETERIES**
- **CONSIDERATION E: RECONSTRUCTED PROPERTIES**
- **CONSIDERATION F: COMMEMORATIVE PROPERTIES**
- **CONSIDERATION G: PROPERTIES LESS THAN 50**

Of these, Criteria Considerations B and G are most relevant to this context. Generally, the Criteria Considerations apply only to evaluation and nomination of individual properties. As noted in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, "components of eligible districts do not have to meet the special requirements [Criteria Considerations] unless they make up the majority of the district or are the focal point of the district. Additional guidance on the Criteria Considerations can be found in this bulletin.

CONSIDERATION B: MOVED PROPERTIES

"A building or structure removed from its original location but which is primarily significant for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event."[360]

Properties that have been moved are not eligible for listing in the NRHP unless they meet Criteria Consideration B. As with traditional properties, a Single-family

[360] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*.

Residential Dwelling that has been relocated must be highly significant for its architectural value or be the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event. Individual properties that have been relocated must retain sufficient integrity to demonstrate their architectural merit or sufficiently reflect historical associations.

In the context of this document, mobile homes are an inherently movable property that may be encountered. An individual mobile home is not individually eligible for listing in the NRHP unless it is an example of an early or innovative model that influenced subsequent trends in mobile home design and such models are known to be in limited quantity. Mobile home parks may be identified as a historic district. In such instances, if the majority of individual homes are found to be 50 years of age, retain sufficient integrity, and have been originally located in or relocated to the park during the period of significance, the district can be considered to meet Criteria Consideration B.

CONSIDERATION G: PROPERTIES LESS THAN 50

"A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance."[361]

Typically, properties less than 50 years of age are not eligible for listing in the NRHP unless exceptional significance can be sufficiently demonstrated. Properties less than 50 years of age are likely to be encountered when evaluating resources under this context. The period of significance for individual properties and historic districts may extend well into the 1970s, as described in the context. For example, a historic district built over many years may include properties less than 50 years of age and/or have a period of significance extending into the 1970s or beyond. However, such districts need not possesses exceptional significance and thus meet Criteria Consideration G if the majority of properties are more than 50 years or age or the primary period of significance is 50 years or more in the past. Likewise, individual properties whose period of construction or period of significance begins with a date more than 50 years ago but extends into the 1970s need not meet Criteria Consideration G.

For properties that are less than or approaching 50 years of age, sufficient contextual information exits in this document to allow for evaluation of properties dating into the mid-1970s as a continuation of developmental trends. Such properties need not meet the requirement for exceptional importance; however, properties dating to or achieving significance beyond this period are more likely to be associated with fundamentally different developmental trends and thus must meet Criteria Consideration G.

[361] Ibid.

For additional discussion of the purpose of Criteria Consideration G, see John Sprinkle's "'Of Exceptional Importance': The Origins of the 'Fifty-Year Rule' in Historic Preservation."[362] Additional guidance on applying Criteria Consideration G can be found in *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that have Achieved Significance within the Past Fifty Years*.[363]

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[362] John H. Sprinkle, Jr., "'Of Exceptional Importance': The Origins of the 'Fifty-Year Rule' in Historic Preservation," in *The Public Historian* vo. 29, no. 2 (Spring 2007), 81-103.

[363] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that have Achieved Significance within the Past Fifty Years* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1998).

XIII. INTEGRITY AND REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

This section provides details on the integrity thresholds and registration requirements that a property must meet to convey its associative and/or architectural significance and thus be eligible for listing in the NRHP. This discussion is presented in consideration of the two property types present in the previous chapter—Single-family Residential Dwelling (individual property) and Post-1950 Residential Development (historic district).

The following discussion is drafted in consideration of the NRHP Criteria for Evaluation presented in the previous chapter and the seven aspects of integrity, as defined by the NPS. A resource need not possess all aspects to be eligible for listing in the NRHP but must retain those aspects of integrity that are critical to understanding its significance. For example, for a resource eligible under Criterion A, the aspects of integrity that are most critical are location, setting, feeling, and association. For a resource eligible under Criterion C, integrity of design, materials, and workmanship are most critical for understanding significance. The seven aspects of integrity include:

LOCATION. Location is the place where a property was constructed or where the historic event took place.

SETTING. Setting is the physical environment of a property.

DESIGN. Design is the composition of elements that constitute the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

MATERIALS. Materials are the physical elements that were combined during a particular period of time and in a particular configuration to form a property.

WORKMANSHIP. Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular cultural tradition or trade.

FEELING. Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

ASSOCIATION. Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a property.

A. INDIVIDUAL RESOURCES

To be eligible for listing in the NRHP in relation to this context, a building must have been constructed as a single-family residential dwelling between 1950 and 1975, possess applicable significance under Criteria A-D, and retain sufficient integrity to be recognizable as a product of its time. An individual resource must retain its historic character as evident through character-defining features. While such features will vary from property to property, individual resources must generally retain the following:

- Location in a residential setting
- Historic massing and exterior form
- Historic roof form
- Historic exterior cladding materials
- Historic fenestration patterns

For individual properties, intact interiors can contribute to historic significance and integrity if a property were to be formally listed in the NRHP. For a compliance survey, however, researchers typically do not have interior access. While some alterations on the exterior may allude to interior changes—for example, the blocking in of a window may indicate conversion of an interior space—it is usually not possible to discern if a dwelling has been altered on the interior. As such, interior alterations are not addressed here as an integral component of discernible integrity for compliance surveys.

Over time, a residence is likely to be altered to accommodate the changing tastes and needs of its owners, particularly if the property has changed hands. Such adaptation is often essential for continued use of a dwelling for its original purpose, minimizing the potential for a residence to be demolished and replaced with new construction. However, alterations also have the potential to diminish a building's integrity and should be carefully weighed when assessing an individual property for eligibility. Generally, the following lists include acceptable alterations that do not substantially impair a property's integrity and unacceptable alterations that do compromise a property's integrity. However, each building must be carefully evaluated to determine if it retains sufficient integrity as buildings can vary significantly in their toleration of alterations. For example, because of their unique design characteristics, Contemporary residences or innovative examples of prefabricated housing may be more susceptible to diminished integrity resulting from seemingly common alterations than a Ranch house.

Generally acceptable alterations that do not substantially compromise integrity are listed below. However, it is important to note that the presence of multiple alterations that do not singularly impact integrity may have the cumulative effect of diminishing integrity to such a degree that a property no longer retains sufficient integrity to appropriately reflect historical associations and/or architectural significance.

- **REVERSIBLE ALTERATIONS**. Reversible alterations such as new paint and installation of screen doors that do not substantially alter the material fabric of a building do not compromise integrity.

- **FRONT DOORS**. While replacement of a door results in loss of original fabric, the installation of simple doors does not introduce an incompatible alteration so long as the original configuration is retained. Solid doors are likely least intrusive to the original design. Elaborate or ornate doors are, however, incompatible alterations that impact integrity. These include, for example,

doors with oval and rectangular glass insets, leaded and decorative glass, and sidelights. Such doors are particularly incompatible with Contemporary dwellings of the period.

- **SMALL ADDITIONS**. Small additions—inclusive of ramps, decks, porches, and garages—may be acceptable if they are located at the rear of a building and not highly visible as a design element. Additions should be subordinate to the massing of the original dwelling and compatible in design and materials or they otherwise will be perceived as incompatible elements that impair the integrity of the dwelling. The original site layout and spatial relationships of the property should not be substantially altered because of an addition.

Generally unacceptable alterations that do compromise integrity include:

- **LOSS OF RESIDENTIAL SETTING**. Removing a dwelling from its residential setting fundamentally separates it from the original context for which it was designed. This is particularly important for dwellings under Criterion C, as relocation can have a substantial impact on the design intent of the property. Custom dwellings are often designed for a particular lot and are often integrated into a site through landscaping. While some dwellings may be accommodated through similar settings in other residential areas, relocating a property to a non-residential setting separates the house from its context.

- **INCOMPATIBLE ADDITIONS**. Large additions that substantially add to or alter the massing of a dwelling or alter its spatial relationship with the lot or to the street are incompatible alterations that diminish integrity. Large additions include those placed on the façade, those that are not subordinate to the original massing, and those that obscure the original plan of the dwelling. Additions that feature incompatible material treatments or otherwise obscure significant character-defining features also are inappropriate alterations that substantially impair integrity.

- **ROOF LINES**. Replacement of the original roof type with a different type is an unacceptable alteration that irrevocably changes the massing and character of a building and impairs its integrity. Adding dormers where they did not historically exist and raising the original roof line also are inappropriate changes that substantially diminish integrity.

- **CARPORT CONVERSION**. Enclosing an open carport to create an enclosed garage or provide for additional living space disrupts the exterior appearance and massing of a property. It also impacts perceptions of a how a dwelling was used over time. In some dwellings, carports also may be treated as an architectural feature characterized by detailing such a decorative screen walls, and conversion of such spaces often results in the loss of character.

- **EXTERIOR MATERIALS**. Original cladding materials are a critically important element of a dwelling's ability to convey its original design integrity. Replacement of or covering over of original materials with modern replacement materials such as vinyl siding have the potential to substantially alter the architectural texture and materiality of a building. This is particularly true for Contemporary dwellings where the use of materials is closely linked with the design aesthetic. New materials must be carefully assessed for their impacts to the visual qualities of the dwelling in consideration of their compatibility and location. It is important to note that aluminum siding may be an original material, particularly into the 1960s and 1970s, or otherwise may have been added during the period of significance. Its presence should be carefully weighed in consideration of the building's original design integrity.

- **WINDOWS**. Replacing original sashes with ones that are incompatible with the character, type, or configuration of the original windows substantially impacts the integrity of a dwelling. This includes, for example, replacing a casement window with a double-hung window or replacing a single-light sash with one that incorporates false muntins reflecting a multi-light configuration. Altering original window openings by changing their size, shape, or proportion is incompatible and diminishes integrity, as does removing original casings, sills, and trim or otherwise replacing with flat, undistinguished alternatives that alter historic profiles. Installing new window openings or covering existing openings on prominent elevations (including secondary elevations where, for example, bands of windows are important to the design concept) are also incompatible alterations that substantially diminish integrity of a dwelling.

- **FAÇADE ENTRANCE**. Reconfiguring original façade entries to be inconsistent with the style and design of the dwelling substantially impairs integrity. This may include creating vestibules, altering single- or double-leaf configurations, or adding features such as sidelights where they did not historically exist.

- **CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES**. Removing key design characteristics related to a particular style or form impairs integrity, as does the addition of contemporary features and design elements that are incompatible with the original design intent of the property.

The following alterations should be carefully assessed as part of the evaluation assessment as their impact on a dwelling's integrity varies considerably depending on the character of the property and the way the change is executed:

- **WINDOW SASHES**. In most instances, replacement of the original window sash only does not constitute a substantial loss of integrity so long as the window configuration, size, proportion, casing, and trim are retained. However, for some dwellings, replacement of prominent or character-defining metal sash

windows with sashes of a new material can substantially impact the design. As such, the impact of window sash replacement should be carefully considered in relation to their location and contribution to the design aesthetic.

- **ROOF MATERIALS**. Replacing original roofing materials is generally an acceptable alteration that does not compromise integrity for most properties; however, some materials have the potential to negatively impact a design aesthetic and can diminish integrity. For example, highly-visible sheet metal roofs are considered incompatible with residential architecture of the period.

- **GARAGE DOORS**. Original garage doors were commonly solid tilt-up or sectional roll-up variations. Many original wood garage doors have been replaced with modern four panel roll-up doors. New doors that are simple in character generally will not result in a significant loss of integrity, although they may be more incompatible with Contemporary dwellings depending on the materials. Ornate garage doors are generally incompatible alterations that diminish integrity. In some instances, original garage doors also featured design motifs that could be considered a character-defining feature. Loss of such doors should be evaluated for impacts to design integrity.

- **GARAGE CONVERSION**. Garages were commonly treated as integral elements of the house, reflecting the prominence of automobile culture. Conversion of a garage into living space has the potential to alter perceptions of space planning and use of a dwelling, diminishing its association with period trends. In addition, conversion has the potential to impact the design integrity of a dwelling. For example, removal of the original garage door opening and construction of a solid or partially-glazed wall can alter perceptions of the historic massing and form of a dwelling. Least impactful are conversions that retain the original garage door opening and seal it from the inside.

- **SITE AND LANDSCAPING**. The relationship of the dwelling to the site must be carefully evaluated. In some instances, the site, associated landscaping, spatial relationships, and ancillary site features hold little influence over the significance of a property. In other cases, the site is inherently integrated into an overall design concept. Loss of or alteration to original vegetation patterns, circulation (e.g., walkways), spatial patterns, vistas, and site features must be carefully weighed to determine if they substantially impact integrity.

B. HISTORIC DISTRICTS

To be eligible for listing in the NRHP in relation to this context, a historic district must have been substantially developed between 1950 and 1975, possess applicable significance under Criteria A-D, and retain sufficient integrity to be recognizable as a product of its time and demonstrate a cohesive identity. Evaluation of a particular

development as a historic district requires demonstrated knowledge and understanding of its historical development and physical evolution over time, including changes to individual dwellings, circulation networks, spatial qualities, community assets, landscaping, and other such associated features. Evaluation must take into account the cumulative impact of changes over time to individual resources in consideration of the district's period of significance and overall character.

In general a historic district must meet the following requirements to be eligible for listing in the NRHP:

- Developed primarily between 1950 and 1975, with the majority of individual resources dating to this period of development
- Established local significance in association with the context
- Demonstrated cohesiveness as a singular unit
- Majority of individual resources are considered contributing
- Sufficiently retains aspects of integrity critical to conveying significance

Over time, the individual components that comprise a historic district are likely to be altered to accommodate the changing tastes and needs of individual property owners and as a result of cyclical maintenance and improvements to features such as circulation networks. Such adaptation is a natural occurrence in the life cycle of a community and does not in and of itself diminish a district's integrity in such a manner that it compromises its eligibility for listing in the NRHP.

Integrity of location, setting, design, materials, feeling, and association are most critical for eligibility as a historic district. Generally acceptable alterations that do not substantially impair a district's integrity are listed below. However, the size, scale, design, and location of such alterations—as well as how frequently they occur within the district—must be carefully evaluated in the integrity assessment. The presence of multiple community-scale alterations that would not singularly impact integrity may have the cumulative effect of diminishing integrity to such a degree that a district no longer retains sufficient integrity to appropriately reflect historical associations and/or architectural significance. Alterations that occurred after the period of significance have greater potential to diminish integrity than those dating to period of significance.

- **COMPATIBLE NUMBER OF NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**. Historic districts are likely to include at least a small number of non-contributing resources that were either constructed outside the period of significance (before or after) or have diminished integrity. In general, a majority of individual resources in a district must be contributing. However, residential districts with at least two-thirds contributing primary resources are most likely to warrant eligibility due to a high degree of component integrity.

- **LIMITED ALTERATIONS**. Individual resources in a district do not need to be in unaltered condition. Minor alterations and adaptations are part of the normal life cycle of a community, particularly one established during an era of substantial do-it-yourself projects, many of which were carried out during the period of significance. Common alterations such as the replacement of siding materials and erecting of a small addition at the rear generally do not render an individual resource non-contributing and thus disrupt overall integrity.

- **LIMITED INFILL**. Limited infill, particularly if it is of a similar scale to existing dwellings, does not substantially diminish integrity.

- **INFRASTRUCTURE MAINTENANCE**. Maintenance and updating of infrastructure such as streets and sidewalks do not compromise the integrity of the district so long as the original configuration remains broadly intact.

Generally unacceptable alterations that do compromise integrity include:

- **LARGE NUMBER OF NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES**. If a large number of non-contributing resources is found to exist, a historic district will not retain sufficient integrity to convey its historical and/or architectural associations.

- **SUBSTANTIAL ALTERATIONS**. Large additions and substantial alterations to a large number of individual resources or landscape-level features results in non-contributing resources and diminishes a district's ability to relate to its period of significance.

- **WIDESPREAD INFILL**. Widespread infill in a district has the potential to substantially detract from the character of the totality, particularly if the infill is out of scale with existing properties in the area.

- **LOT SIZE ALTERATIONS**. Isolated subdivision and consolidation of lots will not impair a district's integrity but a substantial number of such changes can impact spatial relationships of a district, especially if the historical relationships were very consistent.

- **CIRCULATION SYSTEMS**. The internal road network in a historic district is critical to understanding the original design concept and often the period of development. Alteration of the circulation system alters the character and plan of a development and diminishes integrity.

- **LAND USE**. Historic districts should remain residential in character. Alteration of land uses to accommodate commercial, industrial, institutional, or other such development can impact feeling and association.

The following alterations should be carefully weighed in consideration of the character of the district and their prominence in impacting its integrity.

- **LOSS OF COMMUNITY ASSETS**. Some districts historically incorporated recreational areas, churches, schools, and other such assets as part of the original development. The loss of such features must be carefully weighed in consideration of their importance to the district and its design integrity and associative significance with period trends.

- **ASSOCIATED PLATS**. A large number of subdivisions are comprised of multiple plats that stacked to form a larger community. In some instances, one section or plat may retain integrity while another does not. When evaluating the eligibility and integrity of a multi-plat development, the character of the plats and their relationship to and impact on one another must be carefully weighed.

- **ALTERATION OF LANDSCAPING**. Over time, landscapes naturally change through the maturation of vegetation. Changes can be accelerated by man-made actions such as the removal of plant matter or incorporation of new, unrelated vegetation. Natural changes do not impact integrity and neither does loss of original plant material if other plantings of similar scale and type remain to carry the aesthetic of the district. Loss of vegetation at significant points (e.g., along a boulevard), however can impact design integrity.

Evaluation of a development as a historic district requires that individual resources within the district be classified as contributing or non-contributing, based on their integrity and relationship to the district's areas and period of significance. Generally, individual resources are classified as "contributing" if they were built during the period of significance, relate to the themes for which the district is significant, and possess integrity. Alterations to individual resources are generally more tolerable in a historic district where significance is found in the whole. For example, a dwelling historically clad in Masonite and now clad in vinyl siding may be considered contributing if the dwelling retains its overall massing and form and does not obscure significant historic details. Sufficient integrity can be demonstrated if the individual resource:

- Retains its overall form, massing, and scale
- Retains its overall fenestration as evident from the right-of-way
- Retains its general spatial relationship to its lot and neighboring properties
- Contributes to the district's sense of time and place in its character and materiality

Non-contributing resources are those that were constructed outside of the district's period of significance (either before or after) or have been substantially altered and thus do not possess sufficient integrity.

5 | RECOMMENDATIONS

XIV. Topics for Further Research

XV. Program Recommendations

XIV. TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This context study has focused on private single-family residential architecture constructed between 1950 and 1975. While information has been provided on other facets of the post-1950 residential environment—including public housing, for example—its inclusion in this study has been in reference to its relationship to private development of the period and has been addressed only sparingly. The following topics were identified during the research phase for the current study but were determined to be beyond the scope of the context. Additional research on these topics may be of future interest in further broadening understanding of development trends of the period the SHPO's ability to effectively evaluate the potential significance of resources throughout South Dakota.

- **MULTI-FAMILY DWELLINGS**. While multi-family dwellings are limited in South Dakota, developing a contextual understanding of their place in the state's development patterns would allow for a fuller understanding of transitions in residential architecture and development of the post-1950 period. Such a study could also further analyze how trends in multi-family dwelling construction potentially affected construction patterns in the single-family market.

- **RELATIONSHIP OF COMMUNITY ASSETS TO RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT**. This study only briefly addresses community assets such as commercial nodes, schools, and churches that evolved during the period alongside residential architecture and often was spurred by the establishment of new citizen masses in outlying subdivisions. Future studies undertaken to better understand the place of such development in communities throughout the state could further broaden understanding of how the various facets of post-1950 development engaged and responded to one another.

- **UNVERSITY HOUSING**. Many of the dormitories associated with the various universities and colleges located throughout the state were built from the 1960s to 1980s and are part of the broader effort to house populations during the period. While such housing differs from single-family housing in that it was oriented toward transient populations, housing associated with the state's universities and colleges adds another dimension to the story of efforts throughout the state to house populations during a period of immense growth.

- **BUILDING-LEVEL AND SUBDIVISION DATA**. As part of this study, building-level and subdivision data for select communities was collected and analyzed to begin to identify trends in housing and community development. However, much data from throughout the state is incomplete or otherwise unavailable to private researchers in such a way that is conducive to drawing meaningful conclusions. If such data becomes available to SHPO or other entities in the

future, it would be worth further analysis to compare trends among particular geographies of the state and define additional patterns of construction trends.

XV. PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary purpose of this context study is to facilitate the SHPO's ability to carry out its review responsibilities in consideration of SDCL 1-19A-11.1 and Section 106 of the NHPA. The study also may be more broadly used to help facilitate a better understanding of post-1950 residential architecture in South Dakota on the part of preservationists, planners, government officials, and the general public. As such, this section makes broad recommendations for strategies that may be useful in integrating the study into the SHPO's programs. All recommendations are made in consideration of the SHPO's goals presented in the *Statewide Preservation Plan, 2016-2020*.

A. GOAL 1: INCREASE THE PROMOTION OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION PROGRAMS

- **COORDINATE WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS**. By continuing to make strides in documenting the recent past, the SHPO has placed itself in a leadership position in the region. As other local and regional organizations conduct such studies in their respective geographies, the SHPO should share information for comment, comparison, and study. By working with other groups that are tackling the same issues, the SHPO will be able to more effectively evaluate its own programs and develop strategies and prioritizations that maximize knowledge and practice in addressing residential resources of the period.

B. GOAL 2: EXPAND ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

- **EDUCATE OTHERS ON MODERN-ERA RESOURCES**. Through its activities, the SHPO has fostered a tremendous educational program that includes development of statewide studies addressing a variety of geographies and property types, including those of the recent past. This has included, for example, preparation of the *Post-World War II Architecture in South Dakota* historic context and this supplemental context for residential architecture. The SHPO should continue trends of years past and provide a copy of this context through its website to make it available for audiences throughout the state, including preservation professionals, planners, and local government representatives. Information in the context could also be dispersed throughout the state via complementary materials such as technical bulletins dealing with specific issues such as evaluating the NRHP significance of post-1950 residential resources or summarized through presentations given as part of broader outreach programs. Such education helps cultivate an understanding on the part of local constituents, which ultimately better equips them to address such resources, whether they are involved in preparing development plans, carrying out community or compliance surveys or reviews, or working on rehabilitation projects involving such resources.

C. GOAL 3: IDENTIFICATION, REGISTRATION, AND PROTECTION

- **INTEGRATE MODERN RESOURCES INTO COMMUNITY SURVEYS**. The SHPO regularly undertakes county-wide architectural surveys according to a priority that has been established based on resource needs. These surveys generally extend beyond the 50-year threshold typically associated with such surveys to provide longevity, with all resources 40 years of age or older that are identified as eligible for the NRHP documented. However, discussion of the modern era is often marginalized against traditional backdrops in such reports, which limits understanding of how this period's trends may illuminate significant themes within the local context. The SHPO should promote the benefits and need of actively including additional discussion of this period to provide a fuller understanding of a particular locale's history.

- **SPONSOR ADDITOINAL THEMATIC STUDIES AND RESEARCH**. The SHPO has a strong history of engaging context studies to address property types that need additional guidance for evaluation for NRHP eligibility. As part of the continuing effort to recognize the importance of the modern era as an integral component of the state's history, the SHPO should consider expanding research topics to include components such as commercial resources, schools, or churches that are only briefly addressed in current documentation.

- **FORMALIZE DOCUMENTATION FOR NATIONAL REGISTER**. SHPO should consider formalizing the information presented in this document as part of a NRHP Multiple Property Submission that could then be used by property owners and consultants throughout the state to formally nominate residential resources from the period to the NRHP under the established contexts.

- **SPONSOR A CASE STUDY RESOURCE SURVEY**. Development of this context study did not include a formal survey component. In providing this document to others throughout the state who will use it as the basis of Section 106 reviews, SHPO should sponsor survey of a selective portion of a community such as Rapid City or Sioux Falls as a demonstration project to illustrate how the developed contexts and recommendations herein can appropriately be used in future identification and evaluation efforts.

- **REVIEW AND ADAPT CONTEXT TO MAINTAIN RELEVANCE**. This study was never intended to be a finite document. It should be considered a fluid research piece that can evolve or be added to as additional information becomes available. The SHPO should periodically review the study to ensure that it retains its relevance and to incorporate new information that might have surfaced. Likewise, the experiences of preservation professionals in the state may warrant consideration of alterations or amendments to the document in the future.

6 | BIBLIOGRAPHY

XVI. Collections

XVII. Published Resources

XVI. COLLECTIONS

SOUTH DAKOTA STATE REPOSITORIES

The South Dakota State Library, South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office, and the State Archives of the South Dakota Historical Society maintain a variety of government publications and manuscripts, which are non-circulating reference materials. A broad range of sources is available from these locations, including but not limited to:

- City directories
- Community planning documents, including comprehensive plans, transportation studies, and economic studies
- State Planning Board documents
- League of South Dakota Municipalities records
- Community histories and commemorative booklets
- Historical photographs
- Architects database
- Resource survey records

EQUALIZATION, ASSESSOR, AND GIS RECORDS

Local records maintained by assessor, equalization and GIS office staffs across the state were reviewed as part of this project. While the level of data available varies considerably, records reviewed included but was not limited to parcel records, annexation maps, subdivision maps, and building-level data.

U.S. CENSUS BUREAU RECORDS

Census records are vital to understanding the composition of a particular place at a particular time. This is helpful in addressing distinguishable locales (e.g., rural and urban) and the characteristics of particular communities ore regions. Census publications reviewed as part of this study include the decennial census of population and housing, the census of agriculture, and statistical abstracts.

NEWSPAPERS

Contemporaneous newspaper accounts of homebuilding and architectural trends are important in understanding the local need for and impact of housing. While it is necessary to recognize the inherent bias that may be evident in some coverage of the period, newspaper articles, advertisements, editorials, and other such coverage is vital to

identifying and understanding private citizen, homebuilding industry, and local government perception of trends as they were occurring. Newspapers reviewed as part of this study included but are not limited to:

- Aberdeen Daily News
- The Argus-Leader (Sioux Falls)
- Daily Plainsman (Huron)
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