South Dakota History

VOL. 49, NO. 4 WINTER 2019

HISTORIC PRESERVATION ISSUE

Suffrage Sites • Forts Sisseton and Totten



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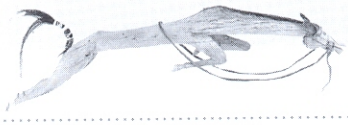
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On the covers: In this issue, Heather Mulliner explores Forts Sisseton and Totten, both constructed in the aftermath of the United States-Dakota War of 1862. Preservation efforts helped restore several buildings at both sites, including the hospital at Fort Sisseton (front). Pictured on the back are original structures that likely served as officers' quarters at Fort Sisseton.

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ELIZABETH J. ALMLIE

From the Capitol to Main Street

The Landscape of the Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota

The few years on either side of 2018 mark critical anniversaries for the woman suffrage movement in South Dakota and across the nation. A half century passed between the first submission of a bill in the Dakota territorial legislature in 1868 that sought to grant women the right to vote and the eventual passage in 1918 of Amendment E to the South Dakota constitution that opened voting to women.[1] Throughout those fifty years, the woman suffrage movement in the state had an immense history with many ebbs and flows as thousands of people of varied backgrounds participated in six major public ballot campaigns—in 1890, 1898, 1910, 1914, 1916, and 1918. Even after 1918, voting rights activity continued through South Dakota's ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in December 1919 and the efforts of the South Dakota League of Women Voters to educate the new electorate. Discussions, debates, speeches, and planning sessions for equal suffrage took place in homes, opera halls, churches, auditoriums, courthouses, and on street corners from Lemmon to Elk Point and from Sisseton to Hot Springs. There were carefully orchestrated rallies in theaters and impromptu speeches on train platforms, small audiences in one-room schoolhouses and grandstand speeches at crowded fairgrounds. A look at the places important to the various suffrage campaigns and the activities that occurred there provides in-

The author would like to express gratitude for the time and resources being invested in the digitization projects undertaken by the South Dakota State Historical Society, many university archives in South Dakota and beyond, and the Library of Congress, all of which greatly facilitated research for this article.

1. George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, and George Martin Smith, *South Dakota: Its History and Its People*, 5 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915), 1:508–9; "Excerpts from Correspondence," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 2 (1904): 27–28; *Malone* (N.Y.) *Palladium*, 7 Jan. 1869.

sight into how South Dakotans in urban and rural areas across the state experienced and participated in this social movement.[2]

The territorial capitol in Yankton, where Enos Stutsman introduced the first suffrage bill in December 1868 was the site of the first government action related to woman suffrage in what later became South Dakota. The territorial legislature met in a small wood-frame building with house chambers on the first floor and council chambers on the second built by Charles F. Picotte, an interpreter who had recently helped negotiate the 1858 treaty that opened Yankton Sioux lands to white settlers, and Moses K. Armstrong, an entrepreneur and legislator.[3] According to suffragist Alice Alt Pickler, who investigated the history of the Stutsman bill in 1904, council member Charles Rossteucher offered an unsuccessful resolution to allow the women present to speak for the bill. However, Pickler concluded, "from the general character of the men, particularly Mr. Rossteucher, I am of the opinion that the entire action of the council was prompted by a spirit of mischief."[4] Yankton newspaper editor George W. Kingsbury also concluded later that legislators had not taken the measure seriously, though press reports at the time speculated that the effort was aimed at either encouraging

2. The issues and primary actors of the suffrage movement in South Dakota have been featured in numerous articles in *South Dakota History* and elsewhere, including a newly released anthology from the South Dakota Historical Society Press, *Equality at the Ballot Box: Votes for Women on the Northern Great Plains*, edited by Lori Ann Lahlum and Molly P. Rozum (2019). *See also* Sara Egge, *Woman Suffrage and Citizenship in the Midwest, 1870–1920* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2018); Nancy Tystad Koupal, "Marietta Bones: Personality and Politics in the South Dakota Suffrage Movement," in *Feminist Frontiers: Women Who Shaped the Midwest*, ed. Yvonne J. Johnson (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2010); Paula M. Nelson, "Home and Family First: Women and Political Culture," in *The Plains Political Tradition: Essays on South Dakota Political Culture*, vol. 1, ed. Jon K. Lauck, John E. Miller, and Donald C. Simmons, Jr. (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2011); Dorinda Riessen Reed, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in South Dakota*, 2d ed. (Pierre: South Dakota Commission on the Status of Women, 1975); and Jennifer M. Ross-Nazzal, *Winning the West for Women: The Life of Suffragist Emma Smith DeVoe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011). A great deal of the state's suffrage history remains to be told, particularly in local communities across the state. New digital collections provide a wealth of research possibilities, and newspapers from throughout South Dakota are now available on the Library of Congress's Chronicling America website.

3. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 1:258.

4. "Excerpts from Correspondence," pp. 27–28.

women to settle in Dakota or expanding the pool of people eligible to fill local government offices in the sparsely populated territory.[5]

In 1879, after the legislature began meeting just every other year, the Picotte-Armstrong building was rented to other occupants and the territorial legislature found a new permanent location in a two-story brick building constructed three years earlier as the Yankton County Courthouse. The courthouse was remodeled for the legislature, with the house meeting in the courtroom and the first floor divided in half to create a room for the council.[6] That year, a woman suffrage bill passed in the territorial council but failed in the house. The Yankton newspaper reported that the bill's partial success was "the surprise of a great many people of both sexes" as it had been "looked upon as a huge joke, and the public had hardly given it a serious thought."[7]

In 1883, Bismarck became the territorial capital, despite protest from southern Dakotans. The capitol building erected there was a much grander one, designed by L. S. Buffington, an architect from Minneapolis. The building included space for both chambers of the legislature as well as committee rooms, a post office, the supreme court, the territorial library, the historical society, and numerous other state offices.[8] It was at the capitol in Bismarck that John A. Pickler of Faulkton introduced another bill for equal suffrage on 26 January 1885. Suffragists had started organizing work in the southern part of the territory, and

5. *Malone Palladium*, 7 Jan. 1869; *Ogdensburg* (N.Y.) *Journal*, 25 Feb. 1879; *Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 12 Nov. 1884; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 1:508–9.

6. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 1:255, 505, 557; *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotaian*, 4 Aug. 1876, 4, 7 Jan. 1879. During South Dakota's centennial celebrations in 1989, the local Sertoma Club sponsored the construction of a replica of the Picotte-Armstrong capitol building in Riverside Park and donated it to the City of Yankton. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows bought the former courthouse building in 1905 for a meeting hall. Today, with additions and alterations, it serves as an apartment house and is part of the Yankton Historic District, which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1975. *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotaian*, 4, 7 Jan. 1879; *Yankton Daily Press & Dakotan*, 28 May 2004.

7. *Yankton Daily Press and Dakotaian*, 4 Feb. 1879. *See also* ibid., 11 Feb. 1885.

8. Ibid., 16 July, 18 Sept. 1883; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2:1307; Harold H. Schuler, "In Pursuit of Permanence," *South Dakota History* 19 (1898): 29. When North and South Dakota became states in 1889, the building became the North Dakota state capitol. It burned in 1930. *Turner County Herald* (Hurley, S.Dak.), 9 Aug. 1883.



Built in 1876, the Yankton County Courthouse is now an apartment building on the northeast corner of Douglas Avenue and Fifth Street in the Yankton Historic District.

several of those who had circulated petitions in support of Pickler's bill traveled north to Bismarck that winter for the legislative session.[9] According to news reports, women filled the galleries of the house chambers to observe the proceedings and, when the measure passed, the "suffrage ladies almost hugged Pickler to death for the victory."[10] The

9. *Canton Advocate*, 5 Feb. 1885; *Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 31 Dec. 1884, 28 Jan., 3 Feb. 1885; *Kimball Graphic*, 2 Jan. 1885.

10. *Dakota Farmers' Leader* (Canton, S.Dak.), 24 Feb. 1905. *See also Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 13 Feb. 1885; *Kimball Graphic*, 20 Feb. 1885; *Canton Advocate*, 19 Feb. 1885;

bill passed the council as well, but the recently appointed governor, Gilbert A. Pierce, vetoed it. The news reverberated across the country, with the American Woman Suffrage Association as well as suffrage organizations in Illinois and New York asking in vain for Pierce's removal from office.[11]

In 1887, suffragists and temperance advocates again brought petitions to the legislature, and a bill was introduced but defeated by indefinite postponement.[12] At a Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) convention held later that year at a Methodist church in Yankton, Dakota chapter president Helen M. Barker related her disappointment with lawmakers, saying that at the hearings "she heard more sentimental nonsense about the 'sweet, dear, beautiful women of Dakota' than she supposed Dakota men were capable of giving."[13] In 1889, Barker, with Philena Everett Johnson and Alice Alt Pickler, led legislative efforts. During the two-hour discussion on the house floor over a bill for limited suffrage in municipal elections, Barker was given the chance to testify. Despite her speech in favor of the bill, it failed as well.[14]

Outside of legislative work, woman suffrage became a subject of public discourse and the topic for many literary and debate events that formed a significant part of the social and civic life of new settlers in the territory.[15] In February 1879, female students in Canton debated the suffrage question with students from Beloit, Iowa, at the new schoolhouse in Canton, which had been decorated with flags and "pictures of welcome." The contributor of the news item covering the Canton debate, Isa M. Pigott, was "glad the question is exciting interest in our land. Like all great reforms the very fact of its agitation shows that

11. *Canton Advocate*, 19, 26 Mar., 2 Apr. 1885; *Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 18, 19 Mar. 1885; *Big Stone City Herald*, 20 Mar. 1885; *Kimball Graphic*, 30 Oct. 1885; *Union County Courier* (Elk Point, S.Dak.), 18 Mar. 1885; *Geneva* (N.Y.) *Daily Gazette*, 20 Mar. 1885.

12. *Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 11 Feb., 7 Mar. 1887; *Turner County Herald*, 17 Feb. 1887; *Kimball Graphic*, 18 Feb. 1887; *Mitchell Capital*, 18 Feb. 1887; *Wessington Springs Herald*, 18 Feb., 4 Mar. 1887; *Union County Courier*, 23 Feb., 9 Mar. 1887.

13. *Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 27 Apr. 1887.

14. Ibid., 30 Jan., 8, 12, 15 Feb. 1889.

15. Ibid., 9 Mar. 1880, 9 May 1884; *Canton Advocate*, 12 Mar. 1885; *Union County Courier*, 3 Mar. 1886; *Sully County Watchman* (Onida, S.Dak.), 12 Jan. 1889; *Hot Springs Star*, 15 Feb. 1889.

the leaven is at work."[16] The event also reflected the racial prejudices of the time in its inclusion of a "comic negro sermon" reminiscent of the blackface performances popular during the period. The fact that African American men and immigrant men who had declared their intent to become naturalized citizens could vote while women were denied the same right had fueled racist and nativist sentiments within the suffrage movement and would continue to do so for years.[17]

The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) also started formal advocacy in South Dakota. Rev. Eliza Wilkes, a Unitarian pastor in Sioux Falls, and Marietta Bones of Webster became officers for the territory under NWSA. National leader Matilda Joslyn Gage also arrived from New York to give a series of lectures, staying with her grown children who had settled near Aberdeen. According to Bones, she and Gage lectured mainly in towns along the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad line, which had provided passes for them.[18] Field work in the territory was difficult, however. In 1884, Bones reported, "We lack organization—the country being so sparsely settled, and such wide distances between towns, that the settlers are comparatively strangers to each other."[19]

In the 1880s, three conventions took place at Germania Hall in Sioux Falls in order to compose a constitution for the proposed state of South Dakota, and suffragists worked toward the goal of having women's voting rights embedded in the document. One of the largest gathering places in the territory, Germania Hall could seat 550 people and was decorated for the conventions with the American flag and patriotic

16. *Canton Advocate*, 20 Feb. 1879.

17. Molly P. Rozum and Lori Ann Lahlum, "'We will never halt till the prize is won': Suffrage on the Northern Great Plains," in Lahlum and Rozum, eds., *Equality at the Ballot Box*, pp. 2, 4–5; Jennifer Helton, "'So great an innovation': Woman Suffrage in Wyoming," ibid., pp. 51–52. For an exploration of American Indian voting rights in South Dakota, *see* Molly P. Rozum, "Citizenship, Civilization, and Property: The 1890 South Dakota Vote on Woman Suffrage and Indian Suffrage," ibid., pp. 240–63.

18. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention, March 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, 1884* (Rochester, N.Y.: National Woman Suffrage Association, 1884), p. 81; Angelica Shirley Carpenter, *Born Criminal: Matilda Joslyn Gage, Radical Suffragist* (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2018), p. 144.

19. Stanton and Anthony, *Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention*, p. 81.

bunting. Gas-fueled chandeliers illuminated the hall, which had desks for the delegates, a rostrum for the president, and a gallery open to the public.[20] Marietta Bones attended each of the meetings of the committee on elections during the first convention in 1883 and was allowed five minutes to address the convention as a whole. In 1885, the Dakota WCTU sent Alice Pickler, Helen M. Barker, and Julia Welch to appear before the convention elections committee to ask for equal suffrage.

20. Jon K. Lauck, *Prairie Republic: The Political Culture of Dakota Territory, 1879–1889* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), pp. 87, 112. Because of anti-German sentiment during World War I, Germania Hall was renamed Columbia Hall in 1918, and the City of Sioux Falls bought it the following year for the American Legion to use. It was demolished for a city hall built in 1936. Eric Renshaw, *Forgotten Sioux Falls* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2012), p. 13; Rick D. Odland, *Sioux Falls* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), p. 86; York Sampson, *South Dakota: Fifty Years of Progress, 1889–1939* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Golden Anniversary Book Co., 1939), p. 129; *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 14 Oct. 1918, 15 July 1931; *History of Southeastern Dakota: Its Settlement and Growth* (Sioux City, Iowa: Western Publishing Co., 1881), p. 59; D. R. Bailey, *History of Minnehaha County, South Dakota* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Brown & Saenger, 1899), pp. 119, 122, 125, 166–67, 406, 418, 425.



The Italianate-style Germania Hall was built on West Ninth Street in Sioux Falls in 1880. It was demolished for the present city hall, built in 1936.

The committee also received letters from Bones and several national suffragists as well as a petition from suffrage supporters in Yankton. At the 1889 convention, national suffrage advocate Henry B. Blackwell of Boston attended in person. The 1889 statehood convention failed to include woman suffrage in the proposed state constitution but directed the first state legislature to put suffrage on the first public ballot.[21]

In October 1889, suffragists congregated in Huron where Emma Smith DeVoe presided over Woman's Day at the Beadle County fair, held at fairgrounds north of the city.[22] The crowds that visited the Floral Hall tent to view the exhibits of women's work and escape the dust of the windy day also heard speeches from suffragists Elizabeth M. Wardall, Alice Pickler, Rev. Helen G. Putnam, Sophia M. Harden, and Helen Barker as well as several "brothers-in-law of the W.C.T.U."[23] Afterwards, a group met at the home of DeVoe and her husband John to plan a convention to organize a state suffrage association. A follow-up planning meeting took place at their church in Huron, and the convention itself was held on 21 October at Huron's city hall, located on the second-floor of a downtown commercial building. At that convention, they organized the South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association (SDESA), elected officers, and planned the start of campaign work.[24]

Selected as an organizer for the state association, Emma Smith DeVoe took on an immense schedule of field work to promote the cause and organize local suffrage clubs. In her first county tours, she often traveled by wagon team and faced bad roads, dangers from winter weather, and, by one report, even prepared herself for wolf attacks. In December 1889, she spent a week in Hyde County where she visited different locations each day, speaking mainly in rural schoolhouses and

21. *Canton Advocate*, 20 Sept. 1883; *Kimball Graphic*, 18 Sept., 2 Oct. 1885; Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *The History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 4 (Rochester, N.Y.: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), pp. 552–53; *Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 22 June 1886; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2:1926.

22. Clippings, *Union Signal*, 7 Nov. 1889, and "Beadle County Fair," Scrapbook D, Emma Smith DeVoe: 1880–1890, pp. 9, 67, Box 10, Emma Smith DeVoe Papers, Washington State Library, Tumwater; *Huron Daily Plainsman*, 20 July, 16 Aug. 1889.

23. Clipping, *Union Signal*, 7 Nov. 1889.

24. Ibid.; clippings, "Equal Franchise" and "A Special Meeting," Scrapbook D, pp. 1, 6; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Huron, D.T. (Sept. 1887), sheet 3; *Wessington Springs Herald*, 25 Oct. 1889.

concluding with a convention at the courthouse in Highmore. As her travels expanded, DeVoe often spoke at rural churches and used biblical illustrations in her talks.[25] One Hand County church suspended Sunday school and services to accommodate DeVoe, "the pastor fully believing that the cause she advocated, appealed so strongly to the noblest christian sentiment of the church, as to be appropriately considered on the Lord's day."[26] Elsewhere, the intersection between church and politics caused problems. Suffragists had to negotiate the use of space for political speech amidst debates on suffrage as a political issue or a moral question. When DeVoe went to Egan later in October 1890, the local suffrage club president resigned rather than condone a suffrage event on a Sunday. There was also contention over the use of the Moody County courthouse when county commissioners reportedly denied DeVoe's use of it, but suffrage and temperance lecturer Laura Johns of Kansas was scheduled there later that month.[27]

DeVoe's visits were also social occasions. In February 1890, her tour of Beadle County concluded with a convention at the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) Hall in Huron, where attendees were encouraged to bring lunch baskets in order to gather and share a meal before the meeting began.[28] During DeVoe's Brown County tour, Margaret Cook hosted fifty women at her home in Warner for a banquet and organizational meeting with DeVoe, who reported that "all said it was the very first time in all their lives that a banquet had been prepared for them. They had prepared many banquets for men, but this was a new order of business."[29]

For a few rare events, there are accounts of the physical setting and decoration of the space used. In May 1890, the Equal Suffrage Association in Jerauld County convened at the chapel of the new Methodist seminary in the county seat of Wessington Springs, hosted by the

25. Assorted clippings, Scrapbook D, p. 5; clippings, "Woman's Wants," "Organizing," and *Dakota Ruralist* (Aberdeen, S.Dak.), 3 May 1890, all ibid., pp. 10, 26, 34.

26. Clipping, "Mrs. DeVoe at Ree Heights," ibid., p. 10.

27. *Madison Daily Leader*, 11 Oct. 1890; clippings, *Egan Express*, 2 Oct. 1890, and "Suprises," Scrapbook D, p. 53.

28. Clippings, "Equal Suffrage: A Convention to be Held in Huron on Friday, Feb. 28, 1890," and *Huron Times*, 28 Feb. 1890, Scrapbook D, p. 25; clipping, [equal suffrage clubs form], ibid., p. 26; clipping, *Woman's Tribune*, 15 Mar. 1890, ibid., p. 27.

29. Clipping, "Letter from Mrs. DeVoe," ibid., p. 48.

seminary's principal and preceptress, J. K. and Clara Freeland. Susan B. Anthony, who had come from New York to campaign in the state, gave the main address, and the event was filled out with other talks and musical performances.[30] The *Wessington Springs Herald*, edited by suffrage supporters LoElla H. and T. Linus Blank, reported that the chapel was decorated with flags, flowers, and ferns. Banners displayed mottoes reinforcing suffragist arguments—and prejudices of the time—including: "Taxation without representation is tyranny," "Equality before the Law," "In 37 states the mother has no control of her child," and "Only idiots, paupers, criminals, insane, Chinese and women cannot vote."[31] The latter sentiment was not uncommon. That same month in Lead, DeVoe similarly told audiences that she protested "a system of government that places intelligent women on a level with idiots, lunatics, criminals, Indians, and minors."[32]

Given their centrality, seating capacity, and status, county courthouses were the location for many suffrage events. Jerauld County's suffrage association had been organized at the courthouse in Wessington Springs.[33] National suffrage figures Anna Howard Shaw, Susan B. Anthony, and Henry Blackwell spoke at several courthouses on their tours around the state. When Shaw spoke at the courthouse in Highmore, it was noted that "farmers with their wives came as far as fifteen miles to hear her."[34] Later in the campaign, Anthony spoke at the small wood-frame Sully County courthouse in Onida.[35] Brass bands from two area towns came to play for the occasion, and a local newspaper reported that the city filled with wagon teams bringing both supporters wearing yellow ribbons and "many that are yet indifferent" but curious to hear the famous speaker.[36]

Privately owned halls were among the first buildings available in newly-settled towns for larger functions, including lectures and political meetings. Huron suffragists used the GAR Kilpatrick Hall there for several conventions and meetings, including a celebration marking the seventieth birthday of Susan B. Anthony when they decorated the hall with lithographs, flags, and flowers. In April 1890, when Emma DeVoe arrived in Pierre to organize suffrage clubs, no one had made arrangements for her talks, so an impromptu meeting was called at Grace Methodist Episcopal church in East Pierre.[37] A local newspaper editor criticized the Pierre ladies for the lapse, which made it seem that residents of the capital were "indifferent to a leading issue."[38] DeVoe eventually spoke at a skating rink-turned-meeting hall in Pierre and at Hollenback's Hall across the Missouri River in Fort Pierre. During her visit, she organized suffrage clubs in East Pierre, Pierre, and Fort Pierre. The suffrage club in Hurley was organized and regularly met at an opera house built by a club member, but they were one of many groups using the building and at least once postponed a meeting so the city band could hold a rehearsal.[39]

Most of South Dakota west of the Missouri River was part of the Great Sioux Reservation at the time, and suffragists did not extend their campaign to the tribes living there. Non-Indian settlements existed in the distant Black Hills at the western end of the state, however, and could be reached via rail through Nebraska. When Shaw and Anthony visited the Black Hills, they spoke in Sioux City, Iowa, before catching the train there and traveling west through Nebraska and then north to the Black Hills. Upon arriving, they spoke at several private halls, including an opera house in Sturgis, Miners' Union Hall in Central City, and Library Hall in Rapid City—which, as its name suggests, contained both the city's five hundred-volume library and a lecture hall.[40]

In May, DeVoe toured the Black Hills from Hot Springs to Spearfish, speaking primarily in churches but also in homes and at McClure's

30. N. J. Dunham, *A History of Jerauld County* (Wessington Springs, S.Dak., 1910), p. 200; *Wessington Springs Herald*, 9 Aug. 1889, 2, 16 May 1890.
31. *Wessington Springs Herald*, 16 May 1890.
32. Clipping, *Belt Daily Herald* (Lead City, S.Dak.), 8 May 1890, Scrapbook D, p. 33.
33. *Wessington Springs Herald*, 29 Nov., 6 Dec. 1889.
34. *Madison Daily Leader*, 25 Apr. 1890.
35. *Sully County Watchman*, 27 Sept., 4 Oct. 1890.
36. Ibid., 11 Oct. 1890.

37. *Huron Daily Plainsman*, 13 May 1890; assorted clippings, Scrapbook D, pp. 25, 26; clippings, [Emma Smith DeVoe in East Pierre], and "To Pierre Ladies," ibid., p. 30.
38. Clipping, "To Pierre Ladies."
39. Ibid.; clippings, *Pierre Daily Free Press*, 21 Apr. 1890, *Pierre Signal*, 25 Apr. 1890, and [DeVoe at Hollenback's Hall], Scrapbook D, p. 30; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Pierre, S.Dak. (May 1885), sheet 1, and (Oct. 1892), sheet 4; *Turner County Herald*, 29 May 1890.
40. George Franklin Cram, "Railroad and County Map of Dakota," *Cram's Standard American Atlas Of The World* (Chicago: George F. Cram, 1889), p. 133; *Madison Daily*

Hall in Hill City. In July and early August, Clara B. Colby of Beatrice, Nebraska, and Mary Seymour Howell of Albany, New York, traveled extensively through the Hills, each taking different routes through small settlements and mining camps, then connecting for conventions held in Hot Springs, Rapid City, and Deadwood. In Deadwood, Colby spoke in front of the Keystone Hotel, a wood-frame, false-front building with a second-floor balcony that overlooked Main Street. At the conclusion of her address, the local club, led by Marie J. Gaston, distributed leaflets and sold suffrage badges to the crowd. Although the outdoor venue was a rarer choice for women claiming public space for political speech, Colby told reporters that she believed open-air meetings were the best way to reach those who would actually be voting on the amendment. When Helen Barker spoke in Hot Springs, she gave one talk at a Methodist church and another from the long porch of the Minnekahta Hotel, a prominent public point at the center of the commercial district.[41]

In many areas, South Dakota's built environment was still under development, and suffragists from the East made special note of their campaign experiences in the rough West. Susan B. Anthony spoke under the cover of a lean-to canvas attached to the side of a sod church. She stood on a platform made from a barn door placed on boxes.[42]

Leader, 21 Oct. 1890. Rapid City constructed its Carnegie Library on the site of Library Hall in 1915. *Madison Daily Leader*, 21 Oct. 1890; *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 2 Nov. 1890; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Rapid City, S.Dak. (Aug. 1891), sheet 5; "Rapid City Public Library," *South Dakota Library Bulletin* 15 (Sept. 1929): 41; Adrienne Merola Kerst, Jean Oleson-Kessloff, and Patrick D. Roseland, *Rapid City: Historic Downtown Architecture* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2007), p. 51.

41. Clipping, *Deadwood Pioneer*, 7 May 1890, Scrapbook D, p. 33; clippings, *Spearfish Register*, 17 May 1890, *Fall River County Republican* (Oelrichs, S.Dak.), 24 May 1890, and *Rapid City Republican*, 23 May 1890, ibid., p. 34; clippings, *Whitewood Plain Dealer*, 17 May 1890, "Custer, May 24, 1890," and "Tilford, May 23, 1890," ibid., p. 35; clippings, *Deadwood Pioneer*, 10 May 1890, and *Hill City Tin Miner*, 23 May 1890, ibid., p. 36; clipping, *Woman's Tribune*, 21 June 1890, ibid., p. 43; clipping, "Appointments," ibid., p. 46; *Sturgis Advertiser*, 15 May 1890; *Black Hills Union* (Rapid City, S.Dak.), 8 Aug. 1890; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Deadwood, S.Dak. (July 1891), sheet 4, and Hot Springs, S.Dak. (Aug. 1891), sheet 2; *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 9 Aug. 1890; *Hot Springs Star*, 15 Aug. 1890; Donald Mueller and Noreen Petty, *Early Hot Springs* (Hot Springs, S.Dak.: *Hot Springs Star*, 1983), pp. 17, 23, 79F.

42. Reed, *Woman Suffrage Movement*, p. 38.



The Minnekahta Hotel in Hot Springs burned down in 1891 and was replaced with the Evans Hotel that still stands today.

Anna Howard Shaw later related that she and Anthony could not find a hall to speak in at one Black Hills settlement. "They were all in use for the variety shows and there was no church finished," she wrote, "but the Presbyterian was the furthest along, and they let us have that, putting boards across nail kegs for seats."[43]

Some South Dakota communities denied suffragists places to speak, fueling prejudice in suffragist rhetoric. In May 1890, NWSA speaker Mary Howell had scheduled a lecture at a schoolhouse in Tripp, an area where many Germans from Russia had settled. Upon her arrival, a supporter reported in the press that

> she was confronted by a gang of scabby-brained Russians fresh from a hole-in-the-wall. . . . who informed her that they did not believe in woman's rights or woman preachers and under no circumstances could she speak in the school-house. This aroused the few white people in

43. *Pensacola* (Fla.) *Journal*, 30 Mar. 1919.

town and they determined to open the school-house to Mrs. Howell at all hazards, but some of the gentlemen from the land where freedom of speech and the press is unknown were so demonstrative in their actions that the lady hardly felt safe to even remain in town, and she spent the afternoon with an old acquaintance and went to Parkston to wait for a train.[44]

In June, Helen Gougar of Kansas referred to the incident while speaking at the courthouse in Mitchell. Gougar stated with bravado that "had she been in that lady's place she would have made her speech there or shed her blood in the attempt," claiming, "when foreign born men deny American women the right of free speech it would be a good cause to die in."[45] Howell's was not the only incident of suffragists being turned away. In nearby Yankton County, Nettie C. Hall of Wessington Springs also reported that, at one community, "Germans" refused to let her speak on suffrage, and Julia B. Nelson of Minnesota reported threats from German Mennonites and Norwegian Lutherans when she arrived by buggy to speak in another village in the same county.[46]

Throughout the spring of 1890, tensions had developed among the leaders of the suffrage campaign. In July, with encouragement from the national organization, the SDESA held a convention in Huron, and a special "committee on order of business" was formed with a hundred or so members representing each of the counties present. The special committee met with the state officers on the first evening, filling the GAR hall and adjourning at three o'clock the following morning. While the committee's evening meeting was transpiring, Mary Howell gave a speech for the rest of the attendees in the city's opera house.[47] The committee reconvened in the jury rooms of the Beadle County Courthouse the next day, while the rest of the delegates held their morning sessions in the courtroom, which filled with 130 to 150 attendees from the twenty-eight counties represented, all waiting to hear the report of the committee. When members came out of the jury rooms that afternoon, the committee chair, Judge D. C. Thomas of Watertown, reported that the majority of executive officers had resigned, under protest, except for treasurer Sarah A. Richards, who was not present. The convention elected new officers and set up headquarters in Room 9 of the Hill's Block in Huron, a brick commercial block on Dakota Avenue.[48]

The new state leadership arranged for a public convention at the opera house (also a former skating rink) in Mitchell. Held in August, the event immediately preceded the Republican state convention at the same place. Many of the national speakers who were traveling the state contributed to the program and preached at locations around town as well. A female quartette from Iroquois provided music, including per-

44. *Madison Daily Leader*, 29 May 1890. *See also Wessington Springs Herald*, 30 May 1890.
45. *Mitchell Capital*, 20 June 1890.
46. Egge, *Woman Suffrage and Citizenship*, pp. 102–4.
47. *Sturgis Advertiser*, 20 Mar. 1890; *Wessington Springs Herald*, 28 Mar. 1890; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:766; Cecelia M. Wittmayer, "The 1889–1890 Woman Suffrage Campaign: A Need to Organize," *South Dakota History* 11 (Fall 1982): 208–14, 220; Nelson, "Home and Family First," p. 138; clipping, *Dakota Ruralist*, 19 July 1890, Scrapbook D, p. 44. The 1885 Grand Opera House burned down in 1902. Dorothy Huss, *Huron Revisited* (Huron, S.Dak.: East Eagle, 1988), pp. 243–45; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Huron, S. Dak. (Sept. 1887), sheet 5.

48. *Madison Daily Leader*, 10 July 1890; *Wessington Springs Herald*, 11 July, 26 Sept. 1890; *Huron Daily Plainsman*, 10 July 1890; clipping, *Dakota Ruralist*, 19 July 1890; Wittmayer, "The 1889–1890 Woman Suffrage Campaign," pp. 217–18; *Atlas of Beadle County, South Dakota* (Lake Andes, S.Dak.: E. Frank Peterson, 1906), p. 102.



The Beadle County Courthouse stood in Huron from 1884 until the early 1920s, when a new courthouse was erected.

formances of "Ring Dem Suffrage Bells," "Give the Ballot to Mothers," and John DeVoe's song "Dakota, Land of Liberty." Convention-goers passed a resolution to send a committee to the Republican convention to request a suffrage endorsement in the party platform. When the suffragists arrived at the Republican convention, its leadership was eventually prevailed upon to make ten seats available in the back of the opera house. The suffragists were not allowed to address the delegates formally, and the Republicans did not adopt a suffrage plank that year. They did, however, give the suffrage representatives time to speak during an adjournment on the first afternoon of the main convention, when reportedly two-thirds of the delegates stayed to hear them. Nevertheless, the offense that suffragists, particularly those from out-of-state, took at being relegated to the back of the hall became a theme in appeals for support later in 1890 and in subsequent campaigns.[49]

The previous June, the state's Democratic party convention at the opera house in Aberdeen had been a disappointment as well. A few suffragists, including Sophia Harden, who was also serving as the secretary of the state Farmers' Alliance, made requests for an endorsement of suffrage that was refused, and one delegate gave an opposing speech that, according to pro-suffrage newspaper editors, was "grossly abusive."[50] Suffragists also reported that opposition was visible in and around the convention venue. "Russian" delegates had anti-suffrage badges and placards on display at the opera house, and people outside distributed copies of the *Remonstrance*, an anti-suffrage periodical from Boston.[51]

49. *Wessington Springs Herald*, 15 Aug., 5, 12 Sept. 1890; *Mitchell Capital*, 15, 22, 29 Aug. 1890, 10 Nov. 1910; Hannah J. Patterson, ed., *The Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention held at Atlantic City, N.J., September 4–10 inclusive, 1916* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 1916), pp. 59, 66; assorted clippings, Scrapbook D, p. 31; *Sturgis Advertiser*, 7 Aug. 1890; Wittmayer, "The 1889–1890 Woman Suffrage Campaign," p. 222; *Hot Springs Star*, 3 Oct. 1890; *Black Hills Union*, 29 Aug. 1890; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:788; *Dakota Farmers' Leader*, 12 Sept. 1890; *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), 28 Feb. 1891; Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:555–57.

50. *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 13 June 1890. *See also Mitchell Capital*, 20 June 1890; *Wessington Springs Herald*, 25 July 1890.

51. *Wessington Springs Herald*, 25 July 1890; Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics: The Inner Story of the Suffrage Movement* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923), p. 116.

In the last month of the 1890 campaign, national speakers Henry Blackwell, Carrie Chapman, and Anna Shaw toured the state extensively. Shaw appeared at the Lincoln County Agricultural Society's four-day fair at its grounds on the north end of Canton. The newspaper estimated that about two thousand people attended the fair that day, and one thousand heard her speak on the hot, windy afternoon. Shaw spoke pointedly about the opposition of German-Russian immigrants and the fact that the Republican convention in Mitchell had seated three tribal members but slighted the suffrage committee. In places, their touring of the larger towns began to fatigue audiences. In early October, Aurora County suffrage association president Lydia A. Waters wrote to the state organization about the pending arrival of Carrie Chapman to ask that she come later, since they had just had two lecturers within the previous two weeks, or that Chapman do "school house work" in rural areas to reach different audiences.[52]

As the election approached, Nettie Hall published for the state association a notice of suggested activities that local clubs could engage in to increase their visibility at polling places. The state association also offered to send "copies of mottoes which you can get your local talent to print, paint or draw, on muslin and place on the walls of every polling place."[53] A number of local groups took up the suggestions. In Onida, suffrage club members made banners to display at polling places around Sully County.[54] In Madison, suffragists made up the city's three polling places to "appear homelike and cheerful" and set up tables decorated with flowers from which they served coffee and doughnuts to voters.[55] In Kimball, anti-suffrage editor Clate R. Tinan reported that "several ladies were present at the polls all day in the interest of wom-

52. *Dakota Farmers' Leader*, 5, 11, 12 Sept. 1890; *The History of Lincoln County, South Dakota* (Canton, S.Dak.: Lincoln County History Committee, 1985), p. 16c; Nelson, "Home and Family First," p. 139; Ruth Page Jones, "A Case Study: The Role of Women in Creating Community on the Dakota Frontier, 1880 to 1920" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2015), p. 96.

53. *Wessington Springs Herald*, 26 Sept. 1890.

54. *Sully County Watchman*, 18 Oct. 1890.

55. *Madison Daily Leader*, 4, 5 Nov. 1890.

en suffrage, but the voters were more wise than gallant. The amendment was badly defeated."[56] According to the state canvassing board's report, the suffrage amendment failed by 21,600 votes statewide.[57]

When the legislature reconvened in 1891, it met at the new state capitol—a large, two-story, wood-frame building completed in January 1890.[58] The architect's plans included senate chambers, offices for the governor and other state officials, commission rooms, and a "ladies' closet."[59] House chambers were added on during the following year.[60] Suffrage proponents made their presence known at the capitol during each of the three subsequent sessions. In 1891, a small petition was presented to the legislature by Rosa Whitney and thirty-seven others to expand woman suffrage on school matters. The legislature did not put forward a suffrage amendment bill for the 1892 election. In 1893, Anna R. Simmons and Emma Cranmer, state leaders of the suffrage association and the WCTU, led the advocacy effort in Pierre for an amendment extending woman suffrage on school questions. The limited suffrage measure appeared on the ballot in November 1894 but ultimately failed by over five thousand votes.[61]

As the 1895 legislative session approached, Simmons reported to the National American Woman Suffrage Assocation (NAWSA) that the state association had dwindled to four clubs and thirty-five members. That February, Simmons and Cranmer traveled to the capitol once again to advocate for a full equal suffrage amendment. However, they also split their time working for various prohibition measures.

56. *Kimball Graphic*, 7 Nov. 1890.

57. *Sully County Watchman*, 8 Nov. 1890; *Hot Springs Star*, 12 Dec. 1890.

58. Marshall Damgaard, *The South Dakota State Capitol: The First Century* (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2008), p. 28.

59. "Capital of South Dakota and Capitol Building I," Vertical Files, State Archives Collection, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre.

60. Damgaard, *South Dakota State Capitol*, p. 39; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 20 Aug. 1891, 11 Aug. 1904; Janice Brozik Cerney, *Pierre and Fort Pierre* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006), p. 119; "Capital of South Dakota and Capitol Building II," Vertical Files, State Archives Collection.

61. *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 5 Feb. 1891; Harriet Taylor Upton, ed., *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Held in Washington, D.C., February 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20, 1894* (Warren, Ohio: Chronicle Print, 1894), p. 214; Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:557; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:789.



This view shows the first South Dakota capitol in Pierre with its 1891 addition at right. The wooden structure served until completion of the current capitol in 1910.

Although a full suffrage bill passed easily in the senate, it failed in the house after three hours of debate that included a speech by the house speaker highly critical of Cranmer, Simmons, and the other suffragists. In September 1895, the capitol was the site for the state suffrage convention, which immediately followed the WCTU convention—Cranmer closed one, and Simmons opened the next.[62]

In the 1890s, a new addition to the suffrage landscape were Chautauquas—assemblies that took place over days or weeks in the summer and included programs of oratory, music, teacher training, and recreation modeled on the original gathering at Chautauqua Lake in New York State. Several in South Dakota took place at permanent resort-like facilities managed by Chautauqua Assembly organizations. In 1892, Clara Colby and her secretary came from Nebraska to camp for ten days at the Black Hills Chautauqua grounds near Hot Springs where they spoke on suffrage and distributed copies of their suffrage

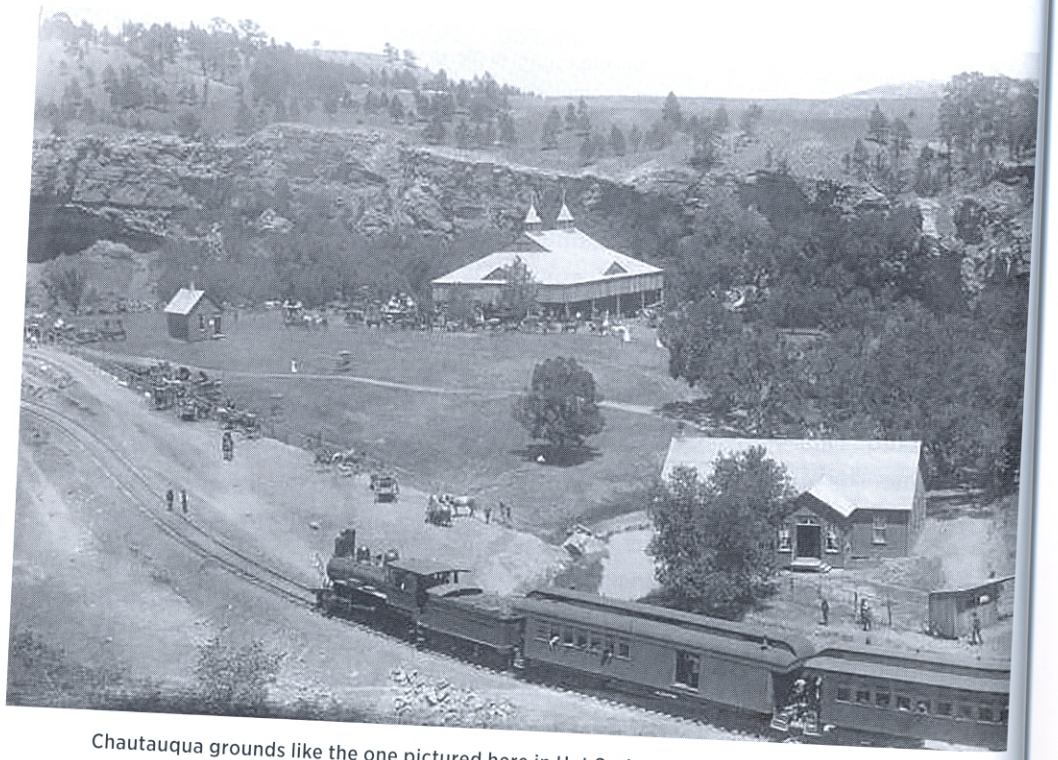
62. Harriet Taylor Upton, ed., *Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Held in Atlanta, Ga., January 31st to February 5th, 1895* (Warren, Ohio: Wm. Ritezel & Co., 1895), p. 89; *Madison Daily Lead-*

newspaper, the *Woman's Tribune*. For three summers at the Lake Madison Chautauqua, Emma Cranmer, John and Alice Pickler, Helen Barker, and others addressed crowds as individual speakers or ran platform meetings on suffrage.[63] The *Madison Daily Leader* described the scene when Cranmer, a "delicate and handsome lady stepped to the front [and] in a voice wonderfully clear, strong and sweet gave a short address of great power" on the need for the ballot to meet "the battles of the future in all kinds of reform."[64] The sixty-acre Lake Madison Chau-

er, 5 Feb. 1895; *Mitchell Capital*, 8, 15 Feb. 1895; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:789–90; *Kimball Graphic*, 23 Feb. 1895; *Black Hills Union*, 1 Mar. 1895; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 22 Aug., 19 Sept. 1895; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:770–71.

63. *Hot Springs Weekly Star*, 5, 12 Aug. 1892; *Madison Daily Leader*, 15 July 1893, 11, 20 July 1894, 10 May, 16, 17 July 1895; *Black Hills Union*, 3 May 1895; Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:791.

64. *Madison Daily Leader*, 15 July 1893.



Chautauqua grounds like the one pictured here in Hot Springs hosted numerous suffrage events in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

tauqua grounds featured a circular open-wall auditorium, dining hall, and store, in addition to a railroad connection and boating and swimming on the lake. Many visitors set up temporary tent housing, but others could avail themselves of the Chautauqua resort hotel with its wide, multi-level verandas.[65]

In the winter of 1897, Simmons and Cranmer, along with the state chair for press and literature, Jane Rooker Breeden of Pierre, went once again to the state capitol to support a suffrage amendment. According to news reports, women filled the lobby of the house of representatives while the bill was under consideration. The first suffrage bill proposed in that year's session failed in the house, but a second passed later in February, gained the governor's signature, and was put on the ballot for November 1898.[66]

The state convention took place at the county courthouse in Mitchell over two days in September 1897. At the meeting, Breeden questioned the close association of temperance work and suffrage. As SDESA president, Simmons responded that the meeting's focus was certainly on suffrage but that all WCTU members were welcome. Unlike previous years, the WCTU and suffrage conventions took place separately. The WCTU convention was held a few days later, so many attendees reportedly caught the train from Mitchell as soon as the suffrage meeting ended in order to attend the WCTU meeting in Vermillion.[67] To prepare for the November 1898 vote, local suffragists worked on reorganizing their county associations, and several held conventions at courthouses and churches with NAWSA speakers Laura M. Johns of Kansas, Rev. Henrietta G. Moore of Ohio, and Laura Gregg of Iowa.[68]

65. Ibid., 17 Nov. 1891, 6 July 1892, 6 July 1893.

66. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:790–91; Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:557; *Kimball Graphic*, 13, 20, 27 Feb., 6 Mar. 1897; *The Woman's Column* 10 (27 Feb. 1897): 1; *Black Hills Union*, 12 Feb., 5 Mar. 1897.

67. *Mitchell Capital*, 24 Sept., 1 Oct. 1897; Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:558.

68. *Kimball Graphic*, 23 Oct. 1897; *Turner County Herald*, 11–18 Nov. 1897; *Madison Daily Leader*, 30 Oct.–11 Nov. 1897; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 5–12 Nov. 1897; *Saint Paul* (Minn.) *Globe*, 17 Nov. 1897; Rachel Foster Avery, ed., *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association : and the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Woman's Rights Convention, at the Columbia Theatre . . . Washington, D.C., February 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 1898* (Washington, D.C., 1898), p. 111.

Emma Cranmer undertook an intensive fifteen-day schoolhouse campaign in Yankton County, and there were similar campaigns in rural Grant and Davison Counties as well.[69] Cranmer reported support from the state's Scandinavian communities and a "surprisingly cordial reception" from the German-Russian communities she visited in Turner County.[70] The state association employed Ida Crouch-Hazlett of Denver as a field organizer. She worked extensively in the Black Hills through the spring and summer and made tours throughout Minnehaha, Davison, and Bon Homme counties in the fall. The Illinois suffrage association sent Julia Mills Dunn and M. Lena Morrow to campaign in South Dakota. Dunn worked in the larger towns of the eastern counties, while Morrow had a schedule that included twenty-one stops in the Black Hills, including appearances at the Hot Springs City Hall auditorium and the State Soldiers' Home. In October, Norwegian-American temperance and settlement worker Ulrikka F. Bruun came from Chicago to speak on suffrage at the Norwegian church in Madison.[71]

Speaking venues familiar from the 1890 campaign were used for events in 1898, including courthouses, churches, schools, meeting halls, and homes. The Mitchell suffrage club held at least two parties at members' houses, one of which was hosted by Mrs. J. Haynes and Mrs. E. O. McEwan complete with a musical program and supper for 125 people. Suffrage clubs in Canton, Hurley, and Madison, and the WCTU in Madison also held house meetings. The Badger Township suffrage club in rural Davison County held a basket social and a convention at a country school but also held an ice cream social jointly with the township WCTU at a home in the southern part of the township.[72]

69. *Mitchell Capital*, 15 July 1898; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 21, 28 Oct. 1898; Egge, *Woman Suffrage and Citizenship*, p. 109.

70. *Springfield* (Colo.) *Herald*, 11 Nov. 1898.

71. *Hot Springs Weekly Star*, 8 Apr., 7, 14 Oct. 1898; *Black Hills Union*, 29 July 1898; *Süd Dakota Nachrichten* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.), 1 Sept. 1898; *Turner County Herald*, 8, 22 Sept. 1898; *Mitchell Capital*, 30 Sept.–21 Oct. 1898; *Kimball Graphic*, 14 Oct. 1898; *Topeka* (Kans.) *State Journal*, 5 Nov. 1898; Anthony and Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:599; *Madison Daily Leader*, 18, 19 Oct. 1898; A. E. Strand, ed., *A History of the Norwegians of Illinois* (Chicago: John Anderson Publishing Co., 1905), p. 286; Olaf Morgan Norlie, *History of the Norwegian People in America* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1925), p. 435.

72. *Mitchell Capital*, 4, 11 Feb., 29 Apr., 15 July 1898; *Dakota Farmers' Leader*, 25 Mar., 22 Apr. 1898; *Turner County Herald*, 24 Mar., 12 May 1898; *Madison Daily Leader*, 24 Aug., 5 Oct. 1898; *Twentieth Century Atlas of Davison County, South Dakota* (Vermillion, S.Dak.: E. Frank Peterson, 1901), p. 39.

An anti-suffrage organization made an appearance in South Dakota for the first time during the 1898 campaign. In October, Mrs. Winslow Crannell of the New York State Association Opposed to the Extension of Suffrage to Women spent two weeks in South Dakota on her way to tour in Washington State. One of her stops was the courtroom of the Davison County Courthouse in Mitchell where the suffrage convention had been held previously.[73]

When the suffrage bill failed in 1898, South Dakota suffragists went to the state capitol for every following legislative session and conducted expansive petition drives but were unsuccessful until 1909. One account of their legislative work in January 1907 describes advocates Alice Pickler, Luella Ramsey, and Philena Johnson as bringing suffrage petitions "mounted on long strips of muslin and as the resolution was under consideration the [legislative] pages festooned the petitions about the bar of the house and extended it along the aisles."[74] That year, the suffrage amendment passed in the senate but died in the house after long discussion.[75]

In January 1909, suffrage advocates arrived at the capital for the legislative session in split camps. Edith Fitch, Nina Pettigrew, and Rose Bower attended for the SDESA, while Luella Ramsey, Philena Johnson, and Emma Cranmer represented the WCTU's legislative committee to advocate for a bill granting suffrage only to taxpaying women who owned property. Their limited suffrage bill was defeated in the house. Late in the session, a bill was introduced in the house that would have

73. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:791; *Mitchell Capital*, 14 Oct. 1898; *Aberdeen State Democrat*, 21 Oct. 1898; *Kimball Graphic*, 29 Oct. 1898; *Griggs Courier* (Cooperstown, N.Dak.), 8 Dec. 1898; *Topeka State Journal*, 5 Nov. 1898.

74. *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 22 Feb. 1907. *See also Charles Mix New Era* (Wagner, S. Dak.), 25 Jan. 1907; *Hot Springs Weekly Star*, 1, 22 Feb. 1907; *Mitchell Capital*, 22 Feb. 1907; *Proceedings of the Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Held at Chicago, February 14th to 19th, Inclusive, 1907* (Warren, Ohio: Wm. Ritezel & Co., 1907), p. 92; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:792.

75. *Charles Mix New Era*, 1 Feb. 1907; *Hot Springs Weekly Star*, 1, 22 Feb. 1907; *Madison Daily Leader*, 14 Feb. 1907; *Dakota Farmers' Leader*, 22 Feb. 1907; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:792.

allowed women to vote once on the issue of prohibition. It was too far down on the legislative agenda to be heard that session until petitions for full suffrage were presented that brought it forward on the calendar.[76] The bill was amended to full suffrage and passed "so quickly that few knew how it all happened."[77] It then passed in the senate and was placed on the 1910 ballot.

In June, newspapers across the state reported on rumors that "the W.C.T.U. wants to drive the band wagon, and the old-line equal suffrage workers want the campaign cut loose from the temperance organization."[78] In an attempt to resolve the conflict and inaugurate the campaign, a suffrage convention was held at the Brown County Courthouse in Aberdeen on 18 June 1909. Alice Pickler presided, and the invited speaker was Ella Stewart of Chicago, president of the Illinois suffrage association. The delegates elected a new president, Lydia Johnson, a Swedish-born attorney from Fort Pierre, and stepped further away from the WCTU alliance.[79] Johnson started right away with field work, "speaking at conventions, political, fraternal, religious, at the state fair, in churches and Sunday schools, high schools, halls, lodge meetings, hotel lobbies, stores, sewing societies, club meetings, social functions, court houses and theaters." In her annual report to the national association, she described the continued difficulties of campaigning in rural areas where "railroads are few and far between . . . [and] it is difficult to reach the individual voters."[80]

76. *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 14 Jan., 4 Mar. 1909; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 28 Jan. 1909; *Black Hills Union and Western Stock Review* (Rapid City, S.Dak.), 29 Jan. 1909; *Madison Daily Leader*, 3 Feb. 1909; *Mitchell Capital*, 4 Feb., 4 Mar. 1909; *Aberdeen Democrat*, 15 Jan. 1909; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 22 Jan., 12 Feb. 1909; *Philip Weekly Review*, 9 Feb. 1909.

77. *Union County Courier*, 4 Mar. 1909. *See also Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 4 Mar., 28 Oct. 1909; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 24 June 1909; *Madison Daily Leader*, 26 Feb. 1909; *Mitchell Capital*, 4 Mar. 1909; *Charles Mix New Era*, 5 Mar. 1909.

78. *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 24 June 1909. *See also Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 25 June 1909.

79. State Suffrage Convention program, May 1909, Folder 2, Correspondence 1909, Box 1, Jane Rooker Breeden Papers, Richardson Collection, Archives and Special Collections, University of South Dakota, Vermillion; *Watertown Saturday News*, 25 June 1909.

80. *Forty-second Annual Report of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Given at the Convention, Held at Washington, D.C., April 14 to 19, Inclusive* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1910), pp. 143–44.



Completed five years before the 1909 suffrage convention in Aberdeen, the Brown County Courthouse features Berea sandstone and Ortonville granite. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976.

One of the new players in this campaign was the Socialist Party of America, whose women's committee sent speakers to promote suffrage in South Dakota. In the spring of 1909, Lena Morrow Lewis spoke at the Roberts County courthouse in Sisseton and the Methodist church in Madison. In October 1910, closer to the election, Anna Maley of Chicago spoke at the Roberts County courthouse as well.[81] South Dakota suffragists also reached out to new audiences. Mrs. C. S. Thorp of Britton reported that she had convinced the editor of the *Aberdeen American* to give her column space to promote suffrage. She intended to write an article on "why the working women need the ballot," which she planned to mail to every trade union member in Aberdeen.[82] In

81. *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 30 Apr., 21 Oct. 1909; *Madison Daily Leader*, 10 May 1909, 17 Oct. 1910.

82. Thorp to Breeden, 7 Oct. 1910, Folder 7, Correspondence 1910 September to 1910 October, Box 1, Breeden Papers.

Sioux Falls, Martha A. Scott and another woman distributed suffrage literature in South Sioux Falls, to stone-quarry workers in East Sioux Falls, and to men working on construction sites around the city.[83]

In November 1909, the SDESA organized a mass convention in Sioux Falls that built critical momentum for the campaign. Anna Howard Shaw and Rachael Foster Avery, president and vice-president of NAWSA, came to speak. The evening after Shaw arrived by train, the local Minnehaha County suffrage club hosted a public reception in the parlors of the Cataract Hotel on Phillips Avenue, a landmark at the center of the city. The convention's Thursday sessions began in the Victorian-style, wood-frame Methodist church west of downtown.[84] On Friday evening, Shaw gave the convention's main address at the church, but the large crowd overflowed the space, and a second venue was quickly arranged. Once the speakers finished at the church, they rushed to the city auditorium a few blocks away where the overflow crowd was assembled.[85] The last session, the business meeting, was held back in the Cataract Hotel parlors. After the November convention, the newly organized Votes for Women state campaign established headquarters for its secretary Cecily J. Tinsley in two rooms at 127 ½ South Phillips Avenue in downtown Sioux Falls, for which the Minnehaha County suffrage club provided furnishings and paid rent, light, and telephone bills.[86]

83. Scott to Breeden, ibid.

84. *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 29 Oct., 12 Nov. 1909; *Union County Courier*, 28 Oct. 1909; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. (Aug. 1908), sheets 10, 17. Built around 1890, the First Methodist Episcopal Church was located on the southwest corner of West Eleventh Street and South Minnesota Avenue.

85. Designed by local architect Wallace L. Dow, the City Auditorium was built in 1899 on the corner of West Ninth Street and North Dakota Avenue next to Germania Hall. Like that building, it was demolished for the 1936 city hall building. *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 6 Nov. 1909; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 12 Nov. 1909; *Mitchell Capital*, 11 Nov. 1909; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 11 Nov. 1909; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. (Aug. 1908), sheet 10.

86. *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 6 Nov. 1909; Bulletin, Votes for Women, ca. 1910, pp. 1–4, Folder 31, Bulletins–Votes for Women, South Dakota Equal Suffrage Association (SDESA), Box 6, Mamie Shields Pyle Papers, Richardson Collection, Archives and Special Collections, University of South Dakota, Vermillion; State Suffrage Convention program, May 1909; L. B. Johnson to Breeden, 27 Apr. 1910, Folder 3, Correspondence, 1910 January–1910 April, Box 1, Breeden Papers; *Forty-second Annual Report*, p. 147.



The Cataract Hotel was a landmark of social and business life in Sioux Falls. Local architect Joseph Schwarz designed the five-story Commercial Style brick building, which was demolished as part of downtown urban renewal in 1974.



Local architect Wallace L. Dow designed the Sioux Falls City Auditorium, which also housed city offices and a courtroom. Built in 1899 next to Germania Hall, it was demolished to make way for the new city hall building in 1936.

The state committee that year hired three field workers to implement campaign work: Perle Penfield of Texas, Anna Ursin of Norway via Minnesota, and one South Dakotan, Rose Bower, a musician and speaker from Rapid City. Penfield reported that the field workers often made their own speaking arrangements and, like President Lydia Johnson, had a wide variety of venues on their schedules.[87] Penfield also found logistics difficult: "There were experiences, amusing and otherwise, with drifts, drives and trains. Today, March 28, for the first time in about three months, the train taken was on time."[88] Ursin primarily visited Scandinavian communities where she translated campaign literature, gave speeches in Norwegian, made house to house visits in the countryside, and spoke at schoolhouse meetings. She was described as having "a way of disappearing into the country and then suddenly reappearing with a handful of committees and workers."[89]

The field workers traveled to many different communities to initiate local campaigns. In January 1910, Penfield reorganized the local suffrage association in Madison during a meeting at the Methodist church.[90] Association members held early meetings in their homes and planned for a local symposium in March to generate public interest in the proposed amendment. Their newspaper announcements for the symposium used well-crafted hooks such as: "The suffrage club are anxious to have a large and intelligent audience. You help to make the audience large. The speakers will help make you more intelligent."[91] The Madison symposium took place at the Presbyterian church, and the program demonstrated the influence of the Eastern State Normal School located in the city. The symposium chair was May McAlmon, an instructor in expression, and speakers included J. W. Heston, normal school president; S. T. May, superintendent of Madison public schools; Helen Kuhn, wife of the Presbyterian pastor; Mary E. Tolles, normal

87. *Madison Daily Leader*, 11 Jan. 1910; *Philip Weekly Review*, 13 Jan. 1910; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 21 Jan., 4 Feb. 1910; *Mitchell Capital*, 27 Jan. 1910; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 3 Feb. 1910; *Forty-second Annual Report*, p. 148.

88. *Forty-second Annual Report*, p. 148.

89. Bulletin, Votes for Women, ca. 1910, pp. 2–3. *See also Madison Daily Leader*, 20 June 1910.

90. *Madison Daily Leader*, 11 Jan. 1910.

91. *See* ibid., 23, 29 Mar. 1910.

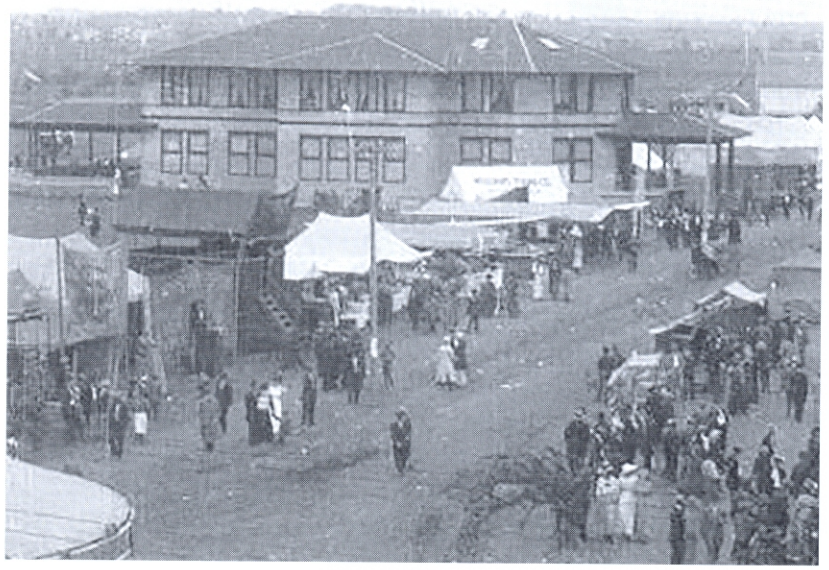


The Presbyterian church in Madison was built in 1891 on the northeast corner of Egan Avenue North and what is now Third Avenue Northwest. The brick Victorian Gothic building remains standing with minimal alterations.

school librarian and instructor in the preparatory department; Eloise Ramsey, normal school history instructor; and Judge D. D. Holdridge, who spoke on "the injustice of woman's legal status."[92]

In 1909 and 1910, the state Votes for Women committee made a big showing at the state fairgrounds in Huron. Established in 1905 on the west end of the city, the grounds had several exhibition buildings, barns, a small artificial lake, and a large racetrack with grandstand. In 1909, Penfield, Tinsley, and Johnson arranged booths at the new Women's Building as well as Beadle County's building, and they hung painted "Votes for Women" banners over the doors of the Agriculture Building. In 1910, suffragists hosted a booth in the Women's Building, gathered petition signatures, lectured in the auditorium, and gave noontime speeches each day from the building's staircase. Situated in the center

92. Ibid., 30 Mar. 1910. *See also* ibid., 28 Mar. 1910; Bulletin, Votes for Women, ca. 1910, p. 4.



Suffrage proponents employed the large two-story Women's Building at the State Fairgrounds in Huron, pictured here in 1911, as exhibit space and a speakers' venue.

of the fairgrounds, the Women's Building had a large exhibit space on the first floor that was visible from the open gallery around the second floor, a lecture/demonstration room on the second floor, a children's nursery, and a large resting porch on the rear of the building.[93]

During the spring and summer of 1910, infighting again plagued state leadership. Conflict arose first between campaign committees and local leaders who believed the SDESA "refuses them any right of initiative," then between state officers and Sioux Falls board members, and, finally, between state officers and NAWSA representatives.[94] In

93. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:521; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 23 Sept. 1910; *Forty-third Annual Report of the National-American Woman Suffrage Association Given at the Convention Held at Louisville, KY. October 19 to 25 Inclusive* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1911), pp. 160–61; *Madison Daily Leader*, 2 Sept. 1910; *Union County Courier*, 22 Sept. 1910; *Philip Weekly Review*, 10 Aug. 1909; *Watertown Saturday News*, 27 Aug. 1909.

94. *Madison Daily Leader*, 7 July 1910. *See also* ibid., 25 May, 2 July 1910; *Watertown Saturday News*, 15 July 1910; Johnson to Breeden, 27 Apr. 1910.

September, the campaign headquarters came under the management of Minnie Sheldon and moved to the Lakotah Building at 120–122 South Phillips Avenue in Sioux Falls, a three-story building with a business college on the third floor. That month, a group of suffragists held a state meeting in Huron and elected a new executive board, composed largely of Huron residents under president Mamie Shields Pyle.[95] This new leadership found themselves at odds with several committee members in Sioux Falls throughout the rest of the campaign, even though press chair Edith M. Fitch painted a rosy picture, writing that "all over the state the suffragists are now working harmoniously and effectively."[96] Penfield spent the last months of the campaign working with the Huron group as it covered Beadle County by automobile. "The cars left Huron every afternoon carrying speakers and entertainers," she reported, "and meetings were held in every town and nearly every schoolhouse in the county."[97]

After the 1910 amendment bill failed at the polls, Pyle and her Huron group took the lead in lobbying South Dakota lawmakers for suffrage. The legislature that met in 1911 was the first to convene in the new state capitol that still stands in Pierre—a much grander Neoclassical building with wings for the senate and house chambers and space for the state supreme court and the governors' offices. During the 1911 session, two limited suffrage amendments failed before a full suffrage amendment passed the senate. Crowds reportedly filled the galleries for debate in the house, but the bill ultimately failed to pass.[98]

In late July 1912, suffragists convened in Huron where Pyle restructured the state association as the South Dakota Universal Franchise

95. *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 23 June 1910; *Black Hills Union and Western Stock Review*, 16 Sept. 1910; *Turner County Herald*, 8 Sept. 1910; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 9 Sept. 1910; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. (Nov. 1911), sheet 6; *Union County Courier*, 25 Sept. 1910; Sheldon to Breeden, 17 Dec. 1910, Folder 8, Correspondence, 1910 November–1910 December, Box 1, Breeden Papers.

96. *Black Hills Union and Western Stock Review*, 30 Sept. 1910.

97. *Forty-third Annual Report*, p. 161.

98. *Madison Daily Leader*, 4 Jan. 1911; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 5 Jan., 2 Mar. 1911; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 3:793; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 27 Jan. 1911; *Mitchell Capital*, 9, 23 Feb. 1911; *Black Hills Union and Western Stock Review*, 10 Feb. 1911; *Hot Springs Weekly Star*, 2, 30 Mar. 1911; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 2 Mar. 1911; *Forest City Press*, 9 Mar. 1911.



State representatives met in the house chambers of the newly constructed South Dakota capitol to debate suffrage during the 1911 session. The galleries provided space for spectators.

League (SDUFL).[99] The group planned a petition drive for the next legislative session and divided the state into four districts for field work under the direction of local district presidents Susie Bird of Belle Fourche, May Billinghurst of Pierre, Edith Fitch of Hurley, and Rev. Katherine Powell of Custer.[100] During the 1913 session, Pyle organized formal meetings with legislators in a committee room at the capitol rather than trying to "'buttonhole' unwilling men in the lobbies."[101] In the senate, a suffrage bill passed by a wide majority, but the house de-

99. Patricia O'Keefe Easton, "Woman Suffrage in South Dakota: The Final Decade, 1911–1920," *South Dakota History* 13 (Fall 1983): 207; *Madison Daily Leader*, 9 July 1912; *Sioux City* (Iowa) *Journal*, 25, 26 July 1912; *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 26 July 1912; *Daily Huronite*, 26 July 1912.

100. *Turner County Herald*, 1 Aug. 1912; "Constitution of the South Dakota Universal Franchise League," 25 July 1912, Folder 5, Pamphlets–South Dakota Universal Franchise League, undated, Box 7, and Ruth B. Hipple, "History of South Dakota suffrage," Folder 20, Typescripts, undated, Box 6, Pyle Papers.

101. Reed, *Woman Suffrage Movement*, p. 59. *See also* Hipple, "History of South Dakota Suffrage."

bated the measure for an hour and a half before voting to place it on the ballot in November 1914.[102]

As campaigning proceeded in advance of the 1914 election, large halls in public and private buildings were used both for regular meetings as well as big-name events. The Lemmon Suffrage Club met in the rooms of the local Commercial Club. They had both their district president Susie Bird and campaign lecturer Rose Bower speak at Quammen's Hall—the Odd Fellows' lodge hall located on the upper floor of the Quammen Block on Main Street. Bird also traveled one thousand miles through her district, speaking at Chautauquas and fairs. During a local carnival, the suffrage club set up a room in one of the downtown storefronts where visitors could rest from the festivities. In Mitchell, the large city hall was a focal point for suffrage activity during the campaign. The Mitchell Universal Franchise League held regular meetings in the parlor of its rest room and hosted an address by Anna Howard Shaw in the theater auditorium. Mitchell City Hall was also used by the state WCTU for its convention in September, when the organization reported spending fifteen hundred dollars on suffrage literature, letters, lectures, and other forms of campaign-related items. District presidents reported on suffrage campaign progress in their regions, and Ruby Jackson of Ipswich also organized a "Votes for Women" parade.[103]

Suffrage continued to filter into programs of other organizations, either due to the deliberate efforts of suffragists or as an issue of public interest. In Milbank in April 1913, the Makocha Study Club held a debate on suffrage at the home of Mrs. J. W. Ross. In June, Quincy Lee Morrow spoke on equal suffrage during the South Dakota State Grange meeting at the state agricultural college in Brookings. In Mitchell, suffragist Dora Cassem decorated her house in the suffrage colors of purple, white, and yellow for a luncheon meeting of the Bide-a-While Club and polled her guests on their support for suffrage. In February 1914,

102. *Madison Daily Leader*, 20 Jan. 1913; *Philip Weekly Review and Bad River News*, 23 Jan. 1913.

103. *Lemmon Herald*, 5, 12 June, 3, 10, 17 July, 7 Aug. 1914; *State-Line Herald* (North Lemmon, N.Dak.), 16 Oct. 1908; Reed, *Woman Suffrage Movement*, p. 86; *Mitchell Capital*, 13 Aug., 17, 24 Sept. 1914. Mitchell's city hall was designed by Sioux Falls architect Wallace L. Dow and built in 1903. It was demolished in 1960.

the evening program of a farmer's "short course" at the opera house in Madison included a debate on suffrage between students of the high school and Eastern State Normal School.[104]

National field organizer Antoinette Funk of Illinois visited Huron to work with Mamie Pyle for the week of the state fair. According to her report, "hundreds of large yellow pennants" festooned the grounds, and visitors received ribbons and badges. Cattle and horses even wore suffrage pennants during the livestock parade. Funk gave several speeches daily, while on the east porch of the Women's Building suffragists "kept open office each day, and half a dozen or more were always busy registering names of voters, answering objections to their proposition and enlightening all who desired information." Funk also held street meetings downtown during the week. Like Clara Colby earlier, Funk preferred to speak "wherever possible out-of-doors, even though meetings were arranged for me in hall, court houses and churches. I found that the small audiences that would assemble in these places were made up of women and men already interested and that the uninstructed voter would only listen when you caught him on the street."[105]

Several "celebrities" of the national suffrage movement came to South Dakota for attention-grabbing speaking tours during the 1914 campaign. Marion H. Drake of Chicago, who had recently finished an unsuccessful but newsmaking campaign for city alderman against a notorious Chicago politician, spoke from the bandstand on the county courthouse grounds in Watertown about her recent campaign as well as legal and labor concerns of working women. During her tour, Drake also spoke at the Lake Madison Chautauqua, the Congregational church in Milbank, and the opera house in Sisseton.[106] Another notable speaker was "General" Rosalie Jones, who had led well-publicized suffrage marches in New York. Jones's tour, arranged by Alice Pickler, started in Mitchell, where she made a one-and-a-half-hour speech on the steps of the courthouse from "a real soap box" to a big crowd—by one report, over five hundred people—with supporters wearing yellow flowers.[107] Her tour continued with stops in Redfield, Faulkton, Sioux Falls, and an appearance on the same courthouse bandstand in Watertown where Drake had spoken.[108]

104. *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 11 Apr. 1913; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 26 June 1913; *Mitchell Capital*, 18 Dec. 1913; *Madison Daily Leader*, 11, 17, 18 Feb. 1914.

105. *The Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Proceedings of the Forty-sixth Annual Convention, Held at Nashville, Tennessee, November 12–17, Inclusive, 1914* (New York: N. W. S. Publishing Co., 1914), p. 120. *See also Lemmon Herald*, 2 Oct. 1914.

106. *Forest City Press*, 10 Apr. 1914; *Watertown Saturday News*, 20, 27 Aug. 1914; *Madison Daily Leader*, 17–26 June, 22 Aug. 1914; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 21, 28 Aug. 1914; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 28 Aug. 1914.

In October 1914, Jane Addams of Illinois, national vice-president of NAWSA, spoke in Deadwood and Lead. A reception committee from Deadwood met Addams's train in Whitewood and took her to the Deadwood Theater on Main Street. After her talk, a delegation from Lead drove her to the Homestake Opera House and Recreation Building for an appearance the next morning before she left for Denver. Phoebe Hearst, the major stockholder in the Homestake Mining Company, had the center constructed to provide cultural and recreational opportunities for the residents of Lead, most of whom worked for the company. In addition to a large, ornate opera hall, the building had meeting rooms, a library, bowling alley, and swimming pool.[109]

In October, Alice Bower Gossage, editor of the *Rapid City Daily Journal*, published a special issue about suffrage work in the western half of the state. The issue included reports from suffrage leagues in Lead, Fort Pierre, and Rapid City, and from organizers Rev. Katherine Powell of Custer and Catherine Waugh McCulloch of Chicago. State lecturer Rose Bower's report gives a rare glimpse into the breadth of the movement and the experience of campaigning in rural communities. Bower's tours took her through several counties in south-central and northwestern South Dakota where "her itinerary of ten days included a Methodist entertainment, a tent show, a picture show, two county fair

107. *Mitchell Capital*, 13 Aug. 1914. *See also Watertown Saturday News*, 6, 13 Aug. 1914.

108. *Mitchell Capital*, 6 Aug. 1914; *Minneapolis* (Minn.) *Morning Tribune*, 16 Aug. 1914.

109. *Rapid City Daily Journal*, Woman's West of the River Suffrage Number, 26 Oct. 1914; *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 14–16 Oct. 1914; *Some History of Lawrence County* (Deadwood, S.Dak.: Lawrence County Historical Society, 1981), pp. 646–47; Donald Toms, William J. Stone, and Gretchen Motchenbacher, *The Gold Belt Cities: Lead and Homestake: A Photographic History* (Lead, S.Dak.: G.O.L.D. Unlimited, 1988), pp. 226–29.

crowds, a band concert, two opera house meetings, two schoolhouse gatherings, a woman's club, a ladies' aid, two automobile stands and a soap box." In one anecdote, she told of "Miss Cole, the sheepherder, our hostess at Lodge Pole where on the fourth of July, on the top of Lodge Pole Butte at a picnic many miles from a shade tree, we spoke in a sunbonnet with a flock of two thousand sheep grazing around us." She drew contrasts between this rural work and the grander rallies: "Viewing the array of notables who graced the platform at Miss Addams' Deadwood meeting we thought of some of the suffragists of these isolated districts, a stage driver, a cow puncher, a road house keeper, 'The Lady Honyocker' [a homesteader] and the teacher who with her horse and a neighbor's drove fifty miles that an organizer might be taken on her way." One woman quoted in the *Journal*'s suffrage issue said that she had never given suffrage much thought, but after Bower visited her locale "farm women were talking about it together at their clubs and when visiting neighbors to help with work."[110]



The Neoclassical Homestake Opera House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a part of the Lead Historic District in 1974. It suffered a large fire in 1984, and rehabilitation work continues.



During tours of western South Dakota, suffragists spoke at any available venue. The Grand Opera House in Philip hosted a suffrage rally in April 1910.

Ethel Jacobsen of the *Pierre Daily Dakotan* led anti-suffrage activity during the 1914 campaign. In early October, she hosted Minnie Bronson of Iowa, general secretary of the National Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, at her house to speak to local women about forming a state auxiliary organization. Bronson also spoke in Watertown and before a large audience at the city auditorium in Sioux Falls.[111]

After another disappointing election in November 1914, state franchise league members went to the capitol where they worked the lobbies, talking cautiously to legislators to gauge political support for

110. *Rapid City Daily Journal*, Woman's West of the River Suffrage Number, 26 Oct. 1914.

111. *Madison Daily Leader*, 25 Aug. 1914; *Hot Springs Weekly Star*, 4 Sept. 1914; *Lemmon Herald*, 25 Sept. 1914; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 1, 8 Oct. 1914; *Mitchell Capital*, 19 Oct. 1916; *Watertown Saturday News*, 8 Oct. 1914; *Deutscher Herold* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.), 15 Oct. 1914.

suffrage. For the 1915 legislative session, they decided to follow the example of Illinois and propose a bill giving women the right to vote in municipal elections, a measure that would not have to go to public ballot. Mamie Pyle led suffrage advocates in testifying at the bill's committee hearing, but anti-suffragists spoke out as well. Following heated debate, the bill went to the house without committee recommendation.[112] One newspaper reported, tongue-in-cheek, that "a lot of 'mere men' in Pierre waited long for their evening meals yesterday, while their wives waited in the galleries of the house."[113] The senate later defeated that municipal suffrage bill, but one for full suffrage passed near the end of the legislative session to go on the next public ballot in November 1916.[114]

The SDUFL held its state meetings at the Congregational church in Huron in November 1915 and at the Methodist church in Sioux Falls the following June. At the June 1916 meeting, the SDUFL made plans to organize the state into county and township leagues in the hope that "every household in South Dakota would be contacted by someone who was committed to suffrage."[115]

One of the campaign techniques used in 1916 was the "flying squadron," in which teams of speakers traveled from city to city delivering "packaged" organizational meetings and public speeches. One such campaign to reach South Dakota was the five-month-long national "Golden Flier" automobile tour undertaken by Alice Snitzer Burke and Nell Richardson of New York on behalf of the national association. In August, they held street meetings at stops in Redfield, Huron, Sioux Falls, Flandreau, and Brookings.[116]

South Dakota also had its own Flying Squadron that started in Sioux Falls in late July 1916, crossed the state west to the Black Hills,

112. *Watertown Saturday News*, 14 Jan. 1915; *Madison Daily Leader*, 14, 20, 21, Jan., 4 Feb. 1915; *Mitchell Capital*, 21 Jan., 4 Feb. 1915; *Philip Weekly Review and Bad River News*, 28 Jan., 11 Feb. 1915; *Turner County Herald*, 28 Jan. 1915; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 4 Feb. 1915; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 12 Feb. 1915; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 12 Feb. 1915

113. *Madison Daily Leader*, 12 Feb. 1915.

114. *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 18 Feb. 1915; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 18 Feb. 1915; *Philip Weekly Review and Bad River News*, 25 Feb. 1915; *Turner County Herald*, 25 Feb. 1915; *Mitchell Capital*, 11 Mar. 1915; *Forest City Press*, 10 Mar. 1915.

115. Easton, "Woman Suffrage," p. 216.

116. *Madison Daily Leader*, 25 July, 17, 28 Aug. 1916; *El Paso* (Tex.) *Herald*, 23 Sept. 1916.

and then traveled back. The primary national speakers were *Denver Post* journalist Elsie V. Benedict of Colorado, Universalist pastor Effie McCollum Jones of Iowa, and Emma Smith DeVoe, a former South Dakota resident then living in Washington State.[117] A variety of state leaders including Rose Bower, Nina Pettigrew, or May Ghrist occasionally joined them. The typical schedule for the Flying Squadron included afternoon meetings with local suffragists about campaign work, after which Benedict would hold street meetings and gather an audience. In the evenings, Jones would speak at traditional-style campaign rallies held in an available meeting hall.[118] In Lead, Rose Bower of Rapid City played her cornet to draw crowds to hear Benedict's speech at the corner of Main and Bleeker streets. The tactic proved effective, as the audience eventually "blocked the streets for over two hundred feet in all directions." Benedict next led the crowd to the entrance of the Homestake Opera House where she gave a second speech. Jones then gave more traditional campaign speeches in the Homestake opera house and at Assembly Hall.[119] When the women visited Madison, the local suffrage club arranged for a parade of Campfire Girls and Boy Scouts to lead the crowd three blocks from Benedict's street meeting to a rally in the high school auditorium.[120]

When necessary, the squadron improvised. In Rapid City, Benedict spoke to the audience at a movie theater in a ten-minute period granted to her "between reels."[121] In Flandreau, a county fair had drawn crowds away from town, so Benedict and DeVoe attempted to go and speak

117. *Mitchell Capital*, 27 July 1916; *Lead Daily Call*, 8 Aug. 1916; *Watertown Saturday News*, 10 Aug. 1916; *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 2 Nov. 1916. The DeVoes had left South Dakota in 1891 and eventually moved to Washington, where Emma led the woman suffrage campaign to victory in 1910 and founded the National Council of Women Voters. Jennifer Ross-Nazzal, "Emma Smith DeVoe and the South Dakota Suffrage Campaigns," *South Dakota History* 33 (Fall 2003): 258–59.

118. *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 28 July 1916; *Philip Weekly Review and Bad River News*, 27 July, 10 Aug. 1916; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 3, 10 Aug. 1916; *Madison Daily Leader*, 5 Aug. 1916; Effie McCollum Jones, "The South Dakota Campaign," *The Woman Voter* 7 (Oct. 1919): 15; *Lead Daily Call*, 9 Aug. 1916.

119. *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 9 Aug. 1916. *See also Lead Daily Call*, 8, 9 Aug. 1916.

120. *Madison Daily Leader*, 25, 28, 30 Aug. 1916.

121. Effie McCollum Jones to Mamie Pyle, 4 Aug. 1916, Folder 1, Correspondence, 1910 April–1916 December, Box 1, Pyle Papers.

there, but the fair's managers refused to grant permission.[122] In Webster, rain made the rural roads impassable and prevented many county residents from attending Flying Squadron events. Jones moved their scheduled opera house appearance to the smaller Commercial Club rooms, saving them the opera-house rental fee and noting that "a small crowd will feel more enthusiastic in a small room than in a large one."[123] Travel between cities also came with complications. Jones fractured a rib on an automobile trip from Mitchell to White Lake. While taking the train from Chamberlain to Rapid City, a forty-five-minute delay in leaving Chamberlain meant that the women spoke for ten minutes at Belvidere and only two minutes at Interior. "At other places no one appeared," Jones reported.[124] When no local suffrage club women were willing or able to host the squadron, they stayed in hotels or boarding houses.[125]

In the 1910s, suffrage clubs relied more heavily on theatrical presentations to impress audiences. In October 1916, Mitchell's Political Economy Club hosted Mary Baird Bryan, an attorney and wife of politician William Jennings Bryan, who addressed the public at the city hall auditorium. After Bryan's speech, twelve girls in white dresses decorated with yellow ribbons representing the twelve suffrage states presented her with roses. The girl representing South Dakota wore a black drape, which was removed during the pageant to reveal the words "South Dakota—1916."[126] That same month, the suffrage association in Sisseton mounted two well-attended plays featuring local men and women at the opera house on the second floor of a commercial block downtown. The first play, *How the Vote Was Won,* had been published by the Women's Writers' Suffrage League in London and distributed in the United States in 1910. The second was *Back of the Ballot*, a one-act comedy written in 1915 by playwright George Middleton, husband of suffragist Fola LaFollette.[127]

122. Jones to Pyle, 31 Aug. 1916, ibid.
123. Jones to Pyle, 21 Aug. 1916, ibid.
124. Jones to Pyle, 4 Aug. 1916.
125. Jones to Pyle, 17, 31 Aug. 1916, Folder 1, Correspondence, 1910 April–1916 December, Box 1, Pyle Papers.
126. *Mitchell Capital*, 12 Oct. 1916.
127. *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 13, 20 Oct., 3 Nov. 1916; *Sanborn Fire Insurance Company Maps*, Sisseton, S.Dak. (Aug. 1916), sheet 1; Bulletin, Votes for Women, ca. 1910, p. 3; Barbara Cohen-Stratyner, "How the Vote Was Won, and Exported," New York Public Library, 20 Feb. 2015, https://www.nypl.org/blog/2015/02/20/how-vote-was-won; George Middleton, *Back of the Ballot: A Woman Suffrage Farce in One Act* (New York: Samuel Franche, 1915).



Mitchell's 1903 city hall on the northeast corner of Second Avenue and Rowley Street featured Neoclassical pediments and columns. Sioux Falls architect Wallace L. Dow designed the building, which had an auditorium with a stage and balcony seating.

In 1916, suffrage opponents were more organized and visible in the months leading up to the election than in previous campaigns. Between 20 October and 4 November, Minnie Bronson, still general secretary of the National Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, traveled the state with Lucy Price of Cleveland, Ohio and Ethel Jacobsen of Pierre. They scheduled speeches in fourteen larger towns, including a rally at the Sioux Falls city auditorium that Jacobsen advertised in the *Deutscher Herold*, a local German-language newspaper. In response, NAWSA vice-president Helen Guthrie Miller came to South Dakota and spoke in the same cities. In Vermillion, for instance, she appeared at the same picture show the day after Price and Bronson and also gave talks at the Methodist church and the University of South Dakota.[128]

128. *Mitchell Capital*, 20 July, 19 Oct. 1916; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 21, 28 July 1916; *Philip Weekly Review and Bad River News*, 27 July 1916; *Watertown Saturday News*, 31 Aug., 14 Sept., 26 Oct. 1916; Easton, "Woman Suffrage," p. 216; *Deutscher Herold*, 19 Oct. 1916; Nettie Rogers Shuler, ed., *The Hand Book of the National American Woman Suffrage*

Elsie Benedict also campaigned in response to the anti-suffrage events. When Jacobsen appeared at Goss hall in Watertown, Benedict stationed herself nearby on the corner of Kemp and Maple streets where she could address Jacobsen's audience as it came and went.[129] In early November in Pierre, Benedict "loudly attacked the anti-suffragists' views" from a car parked near the Grand Opera House, where Lucy Price was speaking.[130] Suffrage opponents claimed that Benedict also routinely led or sent groups of suffragists into the meeting halls with banners and "much noise and shuffling of feet" for the purpose of disturbing the speakers.[131] One theater manager in Brookings required that banners and signs be left outside and ejected Benedict when she refused to comply.[132]

After the amendment failed in November, Mamie Pyle, Etta Boyce, Mable Rewman, Rose Bower, Ruth Hipple, and Lydia Johnson led advocates in putting forward an amendment again during the 1917 legislative session. The night before the senate vote, the Pierre Political Equality Club held a reception for legislators and spouses at the Saint Charles Hotel, a local landmark just down the street from the capitol.[133] The ballroom featured decorations of southern smilax and yellow narcissi, and the lights were shaded with yellow chrysanthemums. With five hundred guests, the reception was reported to have been "the social event of the season after the Inaugural Reception and

Association and Proceedings of the Forty-ninth Annual Convention, Held at Washington, D.C., December 12–15, Inclusive, 1917 (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1917), p. 72.

129. *Mitchell Capital*, 2 Nov. 1916; *Watertown Saturday News*, 2 Nov. 1916; *Madison Daily Leader*, 2 Nov. 1916; *Forest City Press*, 8 Nov. 1916; *Deutscher Herold*, 30 Nov. 1916; *The Remonstrance against Woman Suffrage* (Jan. 1917): 4.

130. Harold H. Schuler, *Pierre since 1910* (Freeman, S.Dak.: Pine Hill Press, 1998), p. 219. *See also Madison Daily Leader*, 2 Nov. 1916; *Forest City Press*, 8 Nov. 1916.

131. *The Remonstrance against Woman Suffrage* (Jan. 1917): 4. *See also Deutscher Herold*, 30 Nov. 1916.

132. *The Remonstrance against Woman Suffrage* (Apr. 1917): 8; *Deutscher Herold*, 30 Nov. 1916.

133. Hipple, "History of South Dakota Suffrage." The Saint Charles Hotel was built by developer Charles Hyde in 1911, designed by architect Arthur C. Clausen of Minneapolis, and listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. Schuler, *Pierre since 1910*, p. 220.



Long a center of political and social activity, the Saint Charles Hotel still stands just west of the South Dakota capitol. The brick structure with elaborate terra cotta trim was built in 1911 and listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1980.

Ball."[134] When the suffrage amendment came up for debate in the state senate, proponents and opponents filled the galleries. The bill passed in the senate after heated debate and passed the house as well. The SDUFL then set up headquarters in rooms 13 and 14 of the Masonic building in Huron to prepare for the next campaign.[135]

Before campaign work for the suffrage amendment had really begun, political conditions changed as the United States entered the war in Europe in the spring of 1917. From territorial days, immigrants who had filed their "first papers" declaring their intention to become United States citizens had been eligible to vote. In February 1918, the State Council for Defense recommended that Governor Peter Norbeck work to change voter eligibility so that new immigrants would no lon-

134. Schuler, *Pierre since 1910*, p. 220.

135. *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 4, 18 Jan. 1917; *Lemmon Herald*, 17 Jan. 1917; *Watertown Saturday News*, 18 Jan. 1917; *Madison Daily Leader*, 13 Jan. 1917; *Mitchell Capital*, 18 Jan. 1917; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 18 Jan. 1917; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 19 Jan. 1917; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 2 Feb. 1917.

ger be able to vote, out of fear that the many unnaturalized male residents of German descent would be able to undermine the government through the ballot. In March, Norbeck called Mamie Pyle to Pierre to discuss amending the woman suffrage ballot measure to restrict "alien" voting as well. He then called a special session of the legislature to vote forward the new proposed Amendment E that would define voters as full citizens regardless of sex.[136]

Many South Dakota women who supported suffrage and might have actively engaged in campaigning dedicated time instead to the Red Cross or women's committees of the Council for National Defense. The SDUFL coordinated with NAWSA to bring in organizers, with local supporters arranged in small three-member county committees "in such a way as to require the services of as few women as possible."[137] Organizers also strove to campaign via "made" meetings such as picnics and chautauquas that were already scheduled, rather than arranging separate events.[138] When suffrage meetings were scheduled, the war remained a priority. During a February 1919 meeting with organizer Maria McMahon of Washington, D.C., at the State Normal School in Madison, suffragists worked on war relief projects for the YWCA, believing it "far too important to be discontinued even for one meeting."[139]

When members of the SDUFL board met in Huron in April, they made plans to hold "schools of methods" with their national organizers at different points around the state and to have press chair Ruth Hipple coordinate distribution of standardized "plate material" to newspaper editors, all focused on the citizenship aspect of Amendment E. In June, Elizabeth Pidgeon of New York, who was headquartered at the Kampeska Hotel in Watertown, arranged for schools of methods in six

136. *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 24 May 1917; *Watertown Saturday News*, 24 May 1917, 21 Mar. 1918; *Pierre Weekly Free Press*, 28 Feb. 1918; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 21, 28 Mar., 24 Oct. 1918; Easton, "Woman Suffrage," pp. 223–24; *Madison Daily Leader*, 23 Mar. 1918; *Turner County Herald*, 28 Mar. 1918.

137. Hipple, "History of South Dakota Suffrage." *See also* Easton, "Woman Suffrage in South Dakota," p. 224.

138. *Philip Pioneer*, 24 May 1917; *Watertown Saturday News*, 24 May 1917; *Mitchell Capital*, 15 Nov. 1917; Easton, "Woman Suffrage," p. 224; Hipple, "History of South Dakota Suffrage"; Reed, *Woman Suffrage Movement*, p. 100.

139. *Madison Daily Leader*, 16 Feb. 1918. *See also* ibid., 12, 14 Feb. 1918.

of the state's largest cities, modeled on training used in the East. The Watertown school took place at the Lincoln Hotel later that month.[140] Nettie Rogers Schuler of New York, corresponding secretary of NAWSA, conducted the main sessions; McMahon spoke on organization; and state vice-president May Ghrist spoke on state work and Amendment E. A patriotic banquet followed, with heads of local war work organizations as invited guests. Also held at the hotel, it was conducted in strict accord with the food rationing rules of the war.[141] In Deadwood, a Methodist church was the site for the school of methods and a "Patriotic Citizenship Dinner."[142]

Over the summer, the national organizers did extensive work. Pidgeon and Ghrist, joined by Stella Crossley and Ida M. Stadie of New York, gave Chautauqua and street lectures in Sisseton before touring the rural townships to meet with local suffrage chairs who had been working on a petition drive.[143] In August, organizer Gertrude Watkins of Little Rock, Arkansas, spoke on Amendment E during union church services in Madison on the grounds of the city library on Center Street, and she met with about twenty members of the Lake County UFL for a "porch meeting" at the home of Nina Frudenfeld to talk over plans for canvassing the city.[144] After visiting Miner and Sanborn counties to arrange for canvasses, Watkins returned to Madison with Stadie, Pidgeon, and Liba Peshakova of Chicago. There they held an open-air evening meeting downtown on the corner of Egan and Center streets for "an interested crowd of citizens, which included many women and a large farmer contingent." They then took "three auto loads of ladies"

140. Ibid., 27 Apr. 1918; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 10 May 1918; *Philip Weekly Review*, 9 May, 20 June 1918; *Sioux County* (Iowa) *Pioneer*, 2 May 1918; *Watertown Saturday News*, 23 May, 6, 13 June 1918; *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 9 June 1918. The Lincoln Hotel, opened in 1912, was demolished in 1972. *Watertown Saturday News*, 3 Oct. 1912; *Turner County Herald*, 7 Nov. 1912; Lisa D. Hanson and Tim Hoheisel, *Watertown and Codington County, South Dakota* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), p. 27.

141. *Watertown Saturday News*, 30 May, 6 June 1918; *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 9 June 1918; "School of methods," South Dakota Universal Franchise League, June 1918, Folder 5, Pamphlets–South Dakota Universal Franchise League, undated, Box 7, Pyle Papers; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 31 May 1918.

142. *Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, 12 June 1918.

143. *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 5, 19 July 1918; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 12 July 1918.

144. *Madison Daily Leader*, 3 Aug. 1918. *See also* ibid., 5, 6 Aug. 1918.

from the Lake County UFL on a canvassing drive around the county.[145]

During this campaign cycle, a national organization focused on work for a federal suffrage amendment also reached out to South Dakotans. On 13 January 1917 in Sioux Falls, women interested in the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage braved temperatures of twenty degrees below zero to meet with Beulah Amidon of Fargo and Margaret Whittemore of Detroit at the Quaker Tea Room on Phillips Avenue. Tables were decorated in suffrage colors with yellow roses and violets. The group organized a state board under the chairmanship of Hattie E. Fellows of Sioux Falls that also included longtime suffragists Alice Pickler and Anna Simmons. Later that fall, Mabel Vernon of Washington, D.C., and Jane Pincus of New York came to South Dakota while touring for the National Woman's Party (the Congressional Union's successor). They met with Mitchell suffragists at Myra Weller's house to speak about their arrests for picketing the White House and to discuss plans for lobbying Congress. Afterwards, they went to Sioux Falls to meet with Fellows and the other state leaders for a lunch at the Cataract Hotel and a discussion at the Quaker Tea Room, where yellow chrysanthemums decorated the tables. Fellows remained rostered as the South Dakota chair into at least the 1920s and actively supported ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.[146]

In the last month of the campaign, the SDUFL focused on increasing general awareness of Amendment E through petition drives, circulars, and posters, while avoiding public meetings that were increasingly forbidden amidst the growing influenza epidemic. Mabel Rewman "billed the roads" with posters from Deadwood to Lead and Central City,[147] May Ghrist and Caroline Waters "plastered the town" of Miller,[148] and Stella Baisch and organizer Ida Stadie put up posters in downtown Parkston even though five business owners tore them down almost immediately. At the November 1918 election, Amendment E passed with a majority of 19,716 votes, and South Dakota suffragists had finally achieved their goal of a state suffrage amendment.[149]

The immediate concern of the SDUFL following the election was paying down a three- to four-thousand-dollar debt from expenses incurred during the campaign. Pyle sold much of the state organization's equipment, let the hired stenographer go, and moved campaign headquarters from their downtown office to an upstairs room in her home.[150]

145. Ibid., 19 Aug. 1918. *See also* ibid., 6, 15, 17 Aug. 1918.

146. *The Suffragist* 5 (24 Jan. 1917): 8; ibid., 5 (10 Nov. 1917): 8; ibid., 8 (June 1920): 108; *Madison Daily Leader*, 9 Jan. 1917; *Mitchell Capital*, 18 Jan., 1, 8 Nov. 1917; *Sioux Falls City Directory* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Polk-Avery Directory Co., 1917), p. 349; *Grand Forks* (N.Dak.) *Herald*, 9 Oct. 1917; *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 1 Nov. 1917, 2 June 1920.

147. Rewman to Pyle, 1 Nov. 1918, Folder 7, Correspondence, 1918, November 1–7, Box 4, Pyle Papers.

148. Ghrist to Pyle, 5 Nov. 1918, ibid.

149. Stadie to Pyle, 3 Nov. 1918, ibid; Justina Leavitt Wilson, ed., *Handbook of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and Proceedings of the Jubilee Convention, 1869–1919, Held at St. Louis, Mo., March 24–29, 1919* (New York: National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 1919), p. 101.

150. Pyle to Rewman, 4 Dec. 1918, and Pyle to Mrs. R. H. Lewis, 20 Dec. 1918, Folder 10, Correspondence 1918, December, Box 4, Pyle Papers. The Pyle House, built in 1894 at 376 Idaho Avenue Southeast in Huron, was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974 and is now a public museum. Ref #74002288, National Register of Historic Places nomination; Huss, *Huron Revisited*, p. 352.



The John and Mamie Shields Pyle house in Huron remained in the family until 1989. It is now a museum dedicated to the Pyle family, including youngest daughter Gladys, the first woman elected to serve South Dakota in the United States Senate.

Many suffragists wrote to Pyle that the influenza epidemic continued to be an obstacle to fundraising. Rewman reported that local health officers had broken up even small home meetings in Lead, and she hesitated to take on a door-to-door collection until "when you come up on the porch of any one they don't first ask if you have had the flu."[151] Many county leagues continued to send in small contributions as they had opportunity, and several politicians contributed substantial amounts to help pay the outstanding balance.[152]

Within months, the practical impacts of the new amendment for women working in government became evident. At the state capitol in January 1919, two women were sworn in as proofreader and bill clerk in the house of representatives, and Pierre suffragist May Billinghurst reported that "nearly the whole body applauded. . . . As I glanced around at the older suffrage women looking on I imagined I could see in their faces happiness and then sadness and a far away look that told of the long struggle."[153] In Aberdeen, several women working as clerks in the Brown County Courthouse were promoted to deputy offices, including Margaret Kelly, who became deputy treasurer. "It seems probable that every deputy, save the deputy sheriff, will be a woman," reported the *Madison Daily Leader*.[154]

Later in January, the SDUFL convened at the capitol to hold the "first meeting of women voters of the state." The conference met in the house chambers, and lawmakers invited Alice Lorraine Daly, a professor from Madison, to speak from the rostrum of the state senate, reportedly making her the first woman to do so in that building.[155]

Although some local franchise leagues disbanded, others transitioned to educating new voters. In Mitchell, Myra Weller and other suffragists formed a county League of Women Voters chapter that began holding monthly luncheon meetings at their Carnegie Library a block west of Main Street. The time and place were designed to be convenient to men and women employed in the business district.[156] In June 1919, the South Dakota League of Women Voters (SDWLV) was organized at a meeting in Huron, with Mamie Shield Pyle as president. The organization held its first state conference in Mitchell in October to coincide with state meetings of the South Dakota Federation of Women's Clubs and the South Dakota Library Association. Julia Lathrop of New York and Anna D. Oleson of Minnesota appeared as guest speakers for an evening program at the Elks Hall on Main Street, a block south of the Corn Palace. Alice Daly, as state chair on Women in Industry, spoke on contemporary issues for teachers' unions and equal pay for women working at state colleges and universities. The SDLWV set forth a program of resolutions in support of a wide number of political issues, including prohibition, equal pay, teacher training, Americanization and citizenship standards, literacy, and physical training for rural students.[157]

The United States Congress passed the Nineteenth Amendment in June 1919. In October, South Dakota governor Peter Norbeck announced that he would call a special session to vote on ratification only if a sufficient number of legislators pledged to attend at their own expense. Pyle and the SDLWV worked by telegraph and telephone to get those pledges in time. Norbeck called the session, and after the required readings of the amendment, a unanimous "midnight" vote at 12:44 a.m. on 4 December made South Dakota the twenty-first state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. In August 1920, when Tennessee became the thirty-sixth and final state needed to amend the United

151. Rewman to Pyle, 7 Dec. 1918, Folder 10, Correspondence, 1918, December, Box 4, Pyle Papers.

152. *See* assorted correspondence in Folder 10, Correspondence 1918, December, Box 4, Pyle Papers; Reed, *Woman Suffrage Movement*, p. 112.

153. Reed, *Woman Suffrage Movement*, pp. 112–13.

154. *Madison Daily Leader*, 2 Jan. 1919. *See also Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 2 Jan. 1919.

155. *Madison Daily Leader*, 20 Jan. 1919. *See also* ibid., 29 Jan. 1919; *Watertown Saturday News*, 30 Jan. 1919; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 7, 14 Feb. 1919; *Lead Daily Call*, 4 Feb. 1919; Pyle to Maria McMahon, 17 Dec. 1918, Folder 10, Correspondence 1918, December, Box 4, Pyle Papers; *The Woman Citizen* 4 (23 Aug. 1919): 291.

156. *Madison Daily Leader*, 28 Jan., 24 June 1919; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 12, 26 June 1919; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 11 July 1919; *The Woman Citizen* 4 (23 Aug. 1919): 290. Now the Carnegie Resource Center, the library had been designed by Sioux Falls architects Wallace L. Dow & Son and built by contractor Andrew J. Kings in 1902. It was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1974 as a part of the Mitchell Historic Commercial District.

157. *Sioux Falls Argus-Leader*, 17 Sept. 1919; *Madison Daily Leader*, 27, 29 Sept., 11, 30, 31 Oct. 1919; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 16, 23 Oct. 1919.



Built in 1902 with Sioux quartzite and limestone, the former Carnegie Library in Mitchell is an elaborate one-story Neoclassical building designed by Sioux Falls architects Wallace L. Dow & Son.

States Constitution, SDLWV members in Mitchell planned a public celebration in East Side Park. The jubilee on 7 September featured a children's pageant with thirty-six girls representing each of the ratifying states.[158]

In March 1921, the SDLWV held its convention at the Cataract Hotel ballroom in Sioux Falls. In their call to convene, President Mamie Pyle and press chair Ruth Hipple looked forward at the political work to come: "By faith we have won the fight for suffrage. The League of Women Voters now stands organized in every state in the union. It is a vital and helpful force in our country. Heed this call, women of South Dakota. There are many important questions coming before you during the next two years which you must decide with your ballot.

158. *Madison Daily Leader*, 31 Oct., 12, 28 Nov., 5 Dec. 1919, 7 Sept. 1920; *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 14 Nov., 5 Dec. 1919; *New York Tribune*, 12 Nov. 1919; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 14 Nov. 1919; *Philip Weekly Review*, 4 Dec. 1919; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 4 Dec. 1919, 26 Aug., 9 Sept. 1920; *Suffragist* 8 (June 1920): 108; ibid., 8 (Sept. 1920): 204; Catt and Shuler, *Woman Suffrage and Politics*, p. 362; *Omaha* (Nebr.) *Daily Bee*, 5 Dec. 1919; Hipple, "History of South Dakota Suffrage"; Reed, *Woman Suffrage Movement*, p. 113.

Answer this call and let us continue the work of educating a conscientious, well informed electorate."[159]

The landscape of the woman suffrage movement in South Dakota that led to the 1918 and 1919 state and federal amendments was wide and varied. Although many of the schools, churches, halls, and opera houses of the early campaigns have been lost, a significant number of communities retain landmarks that formed part of South Dakota's suffrage story. Standing structures provide tangible connections across time and build our understanding of the experience of the movement. There are many individuals and organizations striving to stabilize, restore, and rehabilitate historic sites that enrich the stories of our communities.

These anniversary years of suffrage success provide a special opportunity to learn from historic places around the state and to support those who have undertaken the task of their stewardship. As research about woman suffrage in South Dakota continues, there is opportunity to analyze further how South Dakotans constructed and used political space as they built their communities; how women negotiated opportunities for political speech in public and private spaces; or how suffrage activists of each era used space to present their messages and reach audiences. Above and beyond these questions, there are many more stories of other voting rights and civil rights movements in South Dakota waiting to be told.

159. *Sisseton Weekly Standard*, 11 Mar. 1921. *See also Philip Pioneer-Review*, 10 Mar. 1921; *Scotland Citizen-Republican*, 17 Mar. 1921; *Milbank Herald-Advance*, 25 Mar. 1921.

HEATHER MULLINER

Two Posts, Two Pasts

Preserving Forts Sisseton and Totten

Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten are considered two of the most well-preserved frontier forts in the former Dakota Territory. Located in South Dakota and North Dakota respectively, both were built on the eastern edge of the territory to support the United States Army's punitive campaigns against the Dakotas, or eastern Sioux, in the wake of the United States-Dakota War of 1862 in neighboring Minnesota. These posts were two of close to 150 forts established between the 1860s and 1890s in the military Division of the Missouri as the United States War Department sought to protect the white settlers who made their way west in ever-increasing numbers after the mid-nineteenth century. The names of towns large and small across western and northern plains states, like Fort Collins, Colorado, and Fort Shaw, Montana, evoke their history, but few physical structures remain in these places.[1]

Neither Fort Sisseton nor Fort Totten were particularly famous, nor were they built near large population centers. Fort Totten, with sixteen original structures erected primarily between 1868 and 1871, and Fort Sisseton, with fifteen original buildings constructed between 1864 and 1868, stand as significant sites of historic preservation on the Northern Great Plains. While both have been designated as state historical sites since the mid-twentieth century, that result was far from inevitable.

1. Mary Kate Ryan and Thomas Linn, "Fort Totten State Historic Site" in *Fort Totten: Military Post and Indian School, 1867–1959*, 2d ed., ed. Kathleen Davison (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2010), p. 97; John Whiteclay Chambers, *Oxford Companion to American Military History* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 75; Robert W. Frazer, *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios and Posts Commonly Called Forts West of the Mississippi River to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); [J. W. Barlow and George L. Gillespie], *Outline Descriptions of the Posts in the Military Division of the Missouri, Commanded by Lieutenant General P. H. Sheridan* (Chicago: Headquarters, Military Division of the Missouri, 1876).

The forts' long-term use as military bases and their later repurposing to serve other interests were major factors in their preservation.[2]

Three key circumstances contributed to the longevity of the two stations. First, the army deemed these posts as strategically significant, constructing them for permanence and using them for military exercises from the mid-1860s into the 1890s. Second, the buildings were frequently if not continually occupied after their decommissioning and before their designations as state historical sites. Finally, both locations' standings as sites of historical importance led to state and local investment in their preservation, which has helped maintain the structures into the present.

The two forts share another similarity in their connection to the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of the Dakotas. Both were established as part of a line of forts the army constructed in its attempt to capture and punish those deemed responsible for the bloodshed of the United States-Dakota War.[3] As federal policy changed from one of war and containment to assimilation of American Indians, Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten had roles in overseeing the reservations that were established nearby. Fort Totten, which became a government-run boarding school once it no longer served a military purpose, is a particularly illustrative example of the policy change.

While the posts were built in Dakota Territory, events closely linked to the taking of traditional Dakota lands and the subsequent settlement of Minnesota led to their construction. Until the 1850s, several different bands of the Dakota people, sometimes referred to as the Santee, collectively held much of the land in present-day Minnesota.[4] As the

2. Ryan and Linn, "Fort Totten State Historic Site," p. 97; Paul Schmucker, *Historical Review and Plan for Preservation and Restoration: Fort Sisseton, Dakota Territory, 1888* (Mitchell, S.Dak.: Nohr & Associates, 1974), p. 1; South Dakota, Department of Game, Fish and Parks, "Fort Sisseton State Park Site Map," gfp.sd.gov/userdocs/ft_sisseton-campground-map.pdf, accessed 27 Dec. 2018; Harold H. Schuler, *Fort Sisseton* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, 1996), pp. 61–65.

3. Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, pp. 222, 229; Mary Lethert Wingerd, *North Country: The Making of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 22.

4. The Santees consisted of four bands: the Mdewankantons, "spiritual people who lived by the water"; Sissetons, "medicine people who lived by the water"; Wahpekutes, "people who shoot among the leaves"; and Wahpetons, "people who live in the forests."



Fort Sisseton, then known as Fort Wadsworth, forms the backdrop for this group of Dakota women displaced after the United States-Dakota War.

American frontier pushed westward, politicians and Office of Indian Affairs agents sought to end their communal ownership to create farmland for white settlers. In 1851, federal authorities and Dakota leaders negotiated the Treaty of Traverse des Sioux and the Treaty of Mendota, under which the United States government pressured the Sissetons, Wahpetons, and Mdewakantons into signing away much of what would become the southern half of the state of Minnesota. The terms forced the bands onto a reservation made up of a twenty-mile-wide strip of land that ran for 150 miles along both banks of the Minnesota River. In exchange, the federal government was to supply annuities through two agencies: the Redwood (or Lower) Agency and the Yellow Medicine (or Upper) Agency. Seven years later, the United States once again took half of the Dakotas' reserved lands for a minimal price and no increase in annuities. Little Crow, a spokesman for the Redwood Agency's Mdewankantons and the eventual leader of the attacks against settlers in 1862, observed the negotiations in 1851 and took part in them in 1858, the year Minnesota gained statehood.[5]

Gwen Westerman, Bruce White, and Glenn Wasicuna, *Mni Sota Makoce: Land of the Dakota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2012), p. 14.

During Minnesota's early years as a state, a small military presence and regular federal annuities maintained an uneasy peace between the Dakotas and the growing white population. After the Civil War broke out in 1861, the United States increasingly struggled to pay for the annuities required by treaty and frequently made late payments or skipped them completely. Facing starvation in addition to the loss of their traditional ways, the Dakotas became increasingly desperate. On 17 August 1862, four young Santee men killed five white settlers. Fearing retribution and spurred on by young warriors who hoped they could win a war against an army stretched thin by the Civil War, several bands of Dakotas under Little Crow raided throughout southern Minnesota, destroying property and killing between four hundred and one thousand settlers and soldiers. Ultimately, the assaults involved fewer than one thousand Mdewakanton warriors and perhaps three hundred Sissetons and Wahpetons out of a total population of more than seven thousand Dakotas. The remainder either refused to participate or actively protected their non-Indian neighbors.[6]

The response from the United States military, however, had a sweeping effect on Dakotas throughout the region. In the wake of the violence, the army waged a campaign of vengeance against all Dakota people, not just the leaders and individuals directly involved. With the first attacks that August, the war department re-routed sixteen hundred troops to Minnesota under the command of Brigadier General Henry H. Sibley, who had served as a delegate to the 1851 treaty negotiations and later as the state's first governor. American troops quickly

5. Wingerd, *North Country*, pp. 272–79; Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow: Spokeman for the Sioux* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986), pp. 58–61, 94–112.

6. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Gabriel Renville: From the Dakota War to the Creation of the Sisseton-Wahpeton Reservation, 1825–1892* (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2018), pp. 30–35; Good Star Woman, "Good Star Woman's Recollection," Big Eagle, "Big Eagle's Account," and Little Crow, "Little Crow's Speech," all in *Through Dakota Eyes: Narrative Accounts of the Minnesota Indian War of 1862*, ed. Gary Clayton Anderson and Alan R. Woolworth (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), pp. 35–42; Anderson, *Little Crow*, p. 135; Wingerd, *North Country*, pp. 299–303, 306–7.

outnumbered the Dakotas, and in the decisive Battle of Wood Lake on 23 September 1862, Sibley's men completely overwhelmed the remaining three hundred warriors.[7]

With the end of the fighting, several bands of Dakotas fled Minnesota. Approximately two hundred warriors followed Little Crow west onto the plains of present-day North Dakota and into Canada. Those who remained behind believed the federal government would pardon them and gathered at a site in southeastern Minnesota waiting to surrender. Known as Camp Release because the Dakota peace faction there demanded the release of captured white settlers to the army, the settlement swelled to one hundred fifty lodges (over two thousand people) as many of the warring faction came in to surrender.[8]

When military authorities arrived, they gave the impression that they would accept the Dakotas' surrender with leniency, but Sibley soon sprang a trap. In an elaborate scheme, local Indian agent Thomas J. Galbraith and several soldiers posing as clerks separated the men from their families under the guise of distributing annuities, then swiftly arrested nearly four hundred. In the hasty trials that followed, some lasting under five minutes, a military tribunal sentenced 303 Dakota men to death. Sibley planned to carry out the executions swiftly, but the process required approval from President Abraham Lincoln. After investigating the way the tribunals had been run, Lincoln commuted all but thirty-eight of the original sentences. The mass hanging of the thirty-eight Dakotas, the event that is considered the official end of the United States-Dakota War, took place on 26 December 1862. Meanwhile, the army marched between sixteen and seventeen hundred Dakota women, children, and elderly to Fort Snelling, south of present-day Saint Paul, Minnesota. Throughout the winter of 1862–1863, they suffered from starvation and disease that ran rampant through the internment camp.[9]

Not all of the Dakotas were interned at Fort Snelling. Little Crow's

7. Anderson, *Little Crow*, pp. 158–61.

8. Wingerd, *North Country*, pp. 311–13.

9. Linda M. Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile: The Untold Stories of Captives in the Aftermath of the U.S.-Dakota War* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2019), pp. 24, 35; Wingerd, *North Country*, pp. 313, 334; Anderson, *Gabriel Renville*, p. 37.

followers continued to evade the army as two columns, one under Sibley and one under Brigadier General Alfred H. Sully, pursued them. Others, largely mixed-race Dakotas who had ties to missionary communities in Minnesota, worked as army scouts, joining Sibley's and Sully's forces to help track down the remaining fugitives. Led by Gabriel Renville, the son of a French and Dakota fur trader, the Dakota scouts served a key role in the army's punitive expeditions of 1863 and 1864. A dangerous endeavor, scouting also required the men to make difficult compromises. They worked on the front lines against those still considered "hostile," many of them relatives or acquaintances, whom they were often instructed to kill on sight. As the operations in Dakota Territory escalated, army commanders often coerced captured Dakota men into becoming scouts while others joined to support their families or buy their release from military camps.[10]

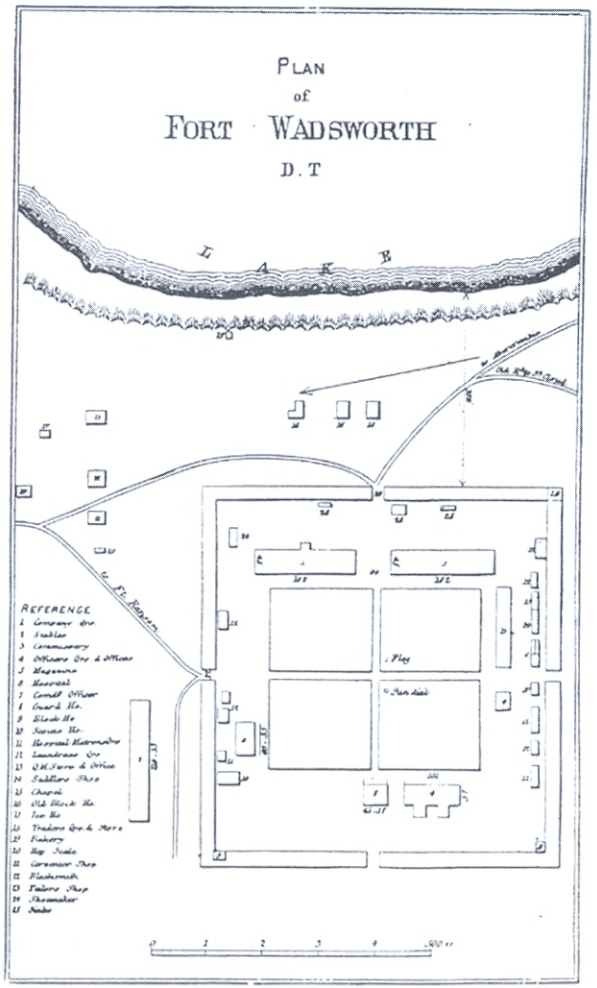
After 1862, the Dakotas were scattered across Dakota Territory. The thirteen hundred people who survived their imprisonment at Fort Snelling were initially removed to the Crow Creek Indian Reservation along the Missouri River and eventually resettled at the Niobrara Indian Reservation, later named the Santee Indian Reservation, in northern Nebraska. Approximately one hundred fifty Mdewakanton warriors, along with twenty-eight hundred Sissetons and Wahpetons who had not participated in the fighting had fled to regions north and west of Minnesota. Some three hundred Dakota men marched through the territory while serving as army scouts.[11] The early 1860s also marked the expansion of wars against other American Indians as white settlers, with the support of the federal government, continued to push west. From 1863 through the late 1880s, military forts sprang up across the West. Most were intended for temporary use and existed for only a few years. Others, like Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten, were built for permanence due to their strategic importance.

Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten bear many similarities in their formal design and the political context of their creation. Major General

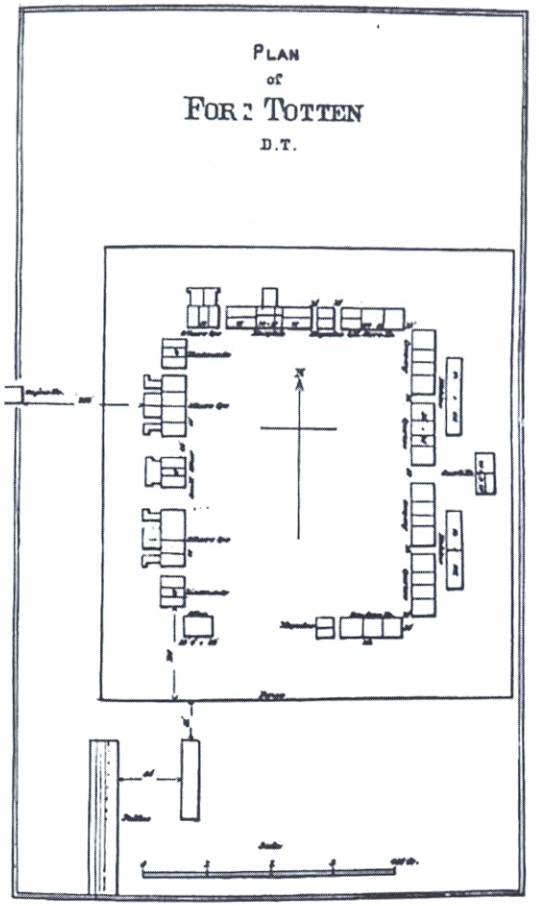
10. Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile*, pp. 132, 144–46.

11. Wingerd, *North Country*, p. 334; Clemmons, *Dakota in Exile*, p. 132; Robert W. Sebesta, "Early Churches in South Dakota: A Lasting Legacy," *South Dakota History* 48 (Winter 2018): 303.

John Pope, commander of the army's Department of the Northwest between 1862 and 1865, called for a chain of outposts in Dakota Territory to provide bases of operation for his troops in a series of campaigns in 1864. He proposed creating three in northern Dakota—one at Devils Lake, one near Fort Clark trading post, and one on the Yellowstone River—along with one on the James River in southern Dakota. All four would be constructed between 1864 and 1867. Initially called Fort Wadsworth, the post meant for the James River position



During a survey of frontier outposts, army engineers sketched the layout of Fort Wadsworth, which became Fort Sisseton in 1876.



Like its counterpart in southern Dakota Territory, Fort Totten featured the parade ground at its center.

was soon relocated eastward and would be renamed Fort Sisseton in 1876.[12] Although Pope's men never built the proposed fort on Devils Lake during their operations in 1864 and 1865, the site became the location for Fort Totten in 1867.[13]

12. Originally named for Civil War general James W. Wadsworth, the post was renamed to avoid confusion with the fort on Staten Island, New York. Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 16. For the purposes of this article, the name Fort Sisseton is used throughout.

13. Todd Kapler, *Fort Sisseton: Report on the 1992 Archaeological Excavations at a 19th Century Frontier Military Post in Marshall County, South Dakota* (Vermillion: Historic Preservation Information Service, University of South Dakota, 1993), p. 1; William E.

In August 1864, Major John Clowney of the Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry Regiment along with 11 officers and 311 enlisted men from three regiments, including the thirtieth, began construction on Fort Sisseton. They selected a site twenty-five miles south of an encampment of Gabriel Renville's scouts. Renville established his camp, consisting of Sisseton and Wahpeton scouts, their dependents, and a band of Mdewakantons who had surrendered to him in March 1864, at the northern end of the Coteau des Prairies in late 1863 and early 1864. Although Pope initially called for placing the post along the James River, Sibley convinced him to position it on the coteau, arguing that this location would provide troops with easier access to clean drinking water and timber for building materials.[14]

Fort Sisseton's locale also placed the regiments in an area where the situation was still quite volatile. The units at the fort worked closely with Renville's scouts, who frequently served as the primary point of contact between the army and displaced Indians and who initiated most of the confrontations with hostile groups. The camps under Renville grew as he recruited new scouts and as more bands surrendered or fled their reservation on the Missouri River. By late January 1865, one thousand Dakotas resided in Renville's camps, where they increasingly depended on the army for protection and food. In addition to serving as a place of refuge, the scout camps also acted as a buffer between American Indians and white settlers arriving in the region.[15] As a result, Fort Sisseton's service as a hub for military operations on the eastern Dakota prairies included pursuing fugitive Dakotas, aiding those who surrendered, and protecting the white newcomers who sought to establish permanent settlements in the area.

Soldiers first erected the structures at Fort Sisseton from local timber in the summer of 1864, hurriedly putting up shelters before winter arrived. A twenty-horsepower sawmill aided the early construction.

Stark, *National Historic Landmark Evaluation: Fort Sisseton* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Stark Preservation Planning, LLC, 2015), p. 10; Kapler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 9.

14. Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 61; Anderson, *Gabriel Renville*, pp. 49, 52; Kapler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 9. Formed by glaciers, the prairie couteau is a lake-dotted plateau that rises above the prairies of eastern South Dakota.

15. Anderson, *Gabriel Renville*, pp. 53–56.

Troops also built two blockhouses of hand-hewn oak on the northwest and southeast corners of the fort. Major Robert Rose of the Second Minnesota Cavalry wanted to construct a traditional stockade for defense but realized the region lacked the timber needed and ordered the construction of an earthen rampart with a six-foot-deep trench at its base instead. Work on the fort halted over the winter but resumed in the spring of 1865. At that time, troops used cut fieldstone for many of the new buildings due to the area's abundance of glacial till, or stone left behind from glaciation during the Ice Age. Fort Sisseton saw a flurry of construction in that year. With the aid of a steam-powered sawmill and shingle machine, soldiers created and used 221,000 feet of lumber and 214,00 feet of shingles. The men also hauled approximately 13,800 yards of stone and manufactured 215,000 bricks.[16]

By 9 December 1865, soldiers and contractors had completed sixteen buildings: two cut fieldstone barracks, one cut fieldstone stable, two log

16. Norma Johnson, *Chilson's History of Fort Sisseton* (N.p.: ESCO Publishing, 1996), p. 49; Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, pp. 63–65.



Soldiers and an unidentified woman pose near some of the original structures at Fort Sisseton in the 1870s.



Workers use local materials to make bricks for the construction of permanent buildings at Fort Totten in 1869.

possess "officers' quarters, chaplain's quarters, and officers' mess on one line, facing a parade ground open at both ends and varying in breadth . . . from 250 to 400 feet," with the other buildings, especially the soldiers' barracks, opposite the officers' line.[24] Frequently, the guardhouse and headquarters sat on the opposing ends of the parade ground. Situating the officers' quarters on one side and the soldiers' barracks on the other maintained a necessary sense of hierarchy.[25]

lage Constructions: U.S. Army Forts on the Plains, 1848–1890," *Winterthur Portfolio* 34 (Winter 1999): 222; R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, *National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790–1940*, vol. 1 (Baltimore, Md.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1995), p. 154.

24. Goodwin & Associates, *National Historic Context*, p. 154.

25. Hoagland, "Village Constructions," p. 223.

The construction patterns of the two Dakota installations both followed the war department's guidelines. Most notably, the buildings at both forts sit on the perimeter of the parade grounds with the company barracks situated directly across from the officers' and commanding officer's quarters. The fact that Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten so closely resemble one another reflects the army's move to codify its existing practices in the post-Civil War years. A Division of the Missouri survey in 1872 also illustrates these early efforts at standardization. All of the western forts, according to the report, adhered to a general pattern but allowed for differences based on local terrain and resources.[26]

Defenses, or a lack of them, were also a defining feature of frontier forts. Stockades were a regular feature of eastern forts, where they served a defensive purpose. The army eagerly tried to include palisades in western outposts as well, but many locations in the region lacked the resources required to build them. At Fort Sisseton, the lack of local timber forced Major Rose to incorporate the earthen embankment. Fort Totten, in contrast, had a wooden stockade surrounding the fort,

26. Goodwin & Associates, *National Historic Context*, p. 154. For the layouts of posts across the frontier, *see* [Barlow and Gillespie], *Outline Descriptions*.



This 1878 view of Fort Totten shows the officers' quarters, administration buildings, and headquarters at left and center. The soldiers' barracks were situated just off the right edge of the image.

but as the 1876 description indicates, it was in poor condition less than a decade later.[27]

Just as physical defenses were not always feasible, neither were they always necessary. As historian Alison K. Hoagland points out, the nature of American Indian warfare often made them impractical, as Plains Indian forces rarely laid siege to or directly assaulted established forts. Posts along emigrant routes, such as those on the Missouri River or the Bozeman Trail, were more likely to have stockades because they faced a greater risk of harassment from local tribes. As the threats dwindled in the late nineteenth century, however, so too did the need for strong defenses. Fort Sisseton, for instance, never experienced a direct assault or siege, and Renville's Dakota scouts rather than army soldiers engaged in most of the violent encounters that took place in

27. Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 63; [Barlow and Gillespie], *Outline Descriptions*, p. 20.



Four troops man a Gatling gun, precursor to the modern machine gun, at Fort Totten in 1881.

the area. Army personnel there dismantled the earthen defense in 1875 when the risk of attack became negligible.[28]

The materials used to build the two stations mark the biggest differences in the construction of Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten. After the Civil War, the federal government focused on paying its war debt and attempted to save money wherever possible. Consequently, construction of frontier forts relied heavily on locally available resources and troop labor, allowing the military to build frontier installations cheaply. The construction materials for both these installations came from the surrounding landscape, which impacted later repair efforts and the permanence of the structures. The bricks used at Fort Totten, created from local lime and clay, for instance, required continual maintenance and repairs. When contractors learned that exposure to moisture caused the bricks to disintegrate, they painted them to seal out the elements. Even after the fort's decommissioning and conversion to a school in 1891, the buildings required regular painting to protect them from deterioration.[29]

The army decommissioned Fort Sisseton shortly before South Dakota achieved statehood in 1889.[30] For the next forty-four years, a series of caretakers and lessees, who made inconsistent repairs and alterations to the buildings, took over the post. The lack of continuous occupancy and the inconsistent care of individual buildings impacted the condition of the structures.

The first custodian at Fort Sisseton was Edward Ruggles, whom the United States Department of the Interior appointed when the post was decommissioned, but he did little to maintain the structures. In fact, during his brief time as custodian, Ruggles dismantled two of the log buildings and used them for fuel. The State of South Dakota then employed caretakers to maintain upkeep of the buildings until 1902.

28. Hoagland, *Army Architecture*, pp. 29–38, and "Village Constructions," pp. 218–19; Marvin Scott, *History of Fort Sisseton, South Dakota* (National Park Service, Branch of National Planning and State Cooperation, Region Two, n.d.), p. 15; Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 71.

29. Goodwin & Associates, *National Historic Context*, pp. 23, 154; Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 61; Ryan and Linn, "Fort Totten State Historic Site," pp. 97–99; Diedrich, *Mni Wakan Oyate*, p. 68.

30. Johnson, *Chilson's History of Fort Sisseton*, pp. 108–9.



When its use as a hunting lodge ended in 1933, Fort Sisseton's hospital building fell into disrepair.

the Department of the Interior, and the superintendent of the Indian school on the Spirit Lake reservation quickly repurposed the buildings for classes.[36]

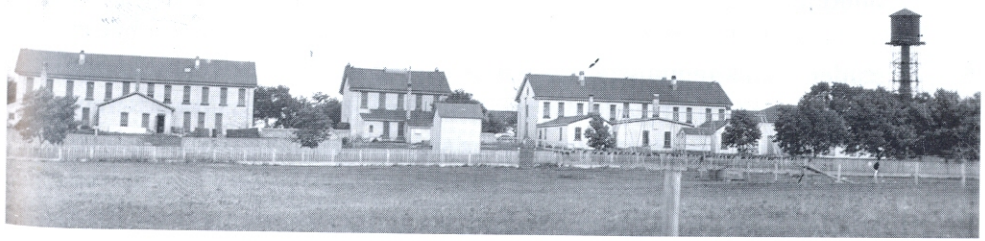
The new Fort Totten Indian Industrial School was a boarding facility designed to assimilate Indian children into white society by separating pupils from their traditional ways of life and social structures. Curriculum instructed girls in European American styles of homemaking, while boys received training in trades like carpentry, masonry, plastering, and plumbing to steer them into careers as farmers and tradesmen. Not coincidentally, these skills were needed for the upkeep of Fort Totten's buildings, and students composed the primary labor force responsible for their maintenance. The students' school schedules reflected the need for their labor. Mornings were reserved for academic

36. McCormack, "Soldiers and Sioux," pp. 19–23.

coursework and afternoons for work in various trades. The students took on numerous repair and construction projects in the early 1890s, including renovating the old barracks, constructing a new water tower, and establishing a new electric plant to replace old gas and kerosene lamps.[37]

The Fort Totten Indian Industrial School struggled to recruit students from the neighboring Spirit Lake Indian Reservation, where it competed with a Catholic mission school established in 1874 by the Sisters of Charity of Montreal, known colloquially as the Grey Nuns. Both schools were boarding schools, but many Spirit Lake reservation parents objected to the compulsory attendance and English-only instruction of the government-run industrial school. To counteract the lack of local students, the industrial school focused on recruiting and enrolling those from the farther reaches of North Dakota and Montana. In the 1890s and early 1900s, the school went through several superintendents, and life for students was particularly harsh. They faced an array of punishments, such as being forced to march in below-zero

37. Merlan E. Paaverud, Jr., "Swimming with the Current: Education at the Fort Totten Indian School," in *Fort Totten: Military Post and Indian School, 1867–1959*, ed. Larry Remele (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1986), pp. 43–45.



Student labor helped to maintain and modernize the buildings at the Fort Totten Indian School. The water tower was one of the first projects completed.

temperatures, for offenses such as lying, playing cards, or smoking. Similarly, the administrators kept students from eating with other family members and prevented parents from visiting to try to break tribal community ties. In 1910, the school adopted a less harsh "home school" policy that allowed families to maintain closer connections and led to an increase in enrollments.[38]

Budget shortfalls forced the school's brief closure from 1917 to 1919, but increased funding from the Office of Indian Affairs allowed the school to resume classes as well as operate a "preventorium" to care for sufferers of tuberculosis in 1919. Fort Totten eventually transitioned into a combination boarding/day school at the beginning of the Great Depression, allowing it to compete with the local public schools that had recently opened their doors to American Indians. Despite struggling with finances for much of the next two decades, the administration successfully maintained the buildings. A survey of the school in 1942, for example, described the girl's dormitory as "homelike" and in relatively good condition. Fort Totten continued to function as an educational facility until the opening of a new campus east of the original site. Following a resolution on 6 March 1959, the State of North Dakota accepted transfer of the property from the Department of the Interior and placed it under the care of the State Historical Society, which assumed ownership in 1960.[39]

The buildings at Fort Totten and Fort Sisseton received differing degrees of care in the period directly following their military use. The structures at Fort Sisseton underwent numerous alterations and repairs that served their various occupants. This approach made them more livable for the lessees but involved adding modern amenities and building materials that altered their historic appearance. Fort Totten's role as an Indian industrial school led to more consistent care from the students and administrators who occupied the facility. Its buildings were updated with modern amenities as well, but unlike Fort Sisseton, its secondary use contributed to the site's historical significance. Ultimately, both sites were deemed worthy of preservation for their roles in the region's history.

38. Ibid., pp. 46–48; James T. Carroll, "A Beacon of Indian Education: Fort Totten, North Dakota," in *Fort Totten*, ed. Davison, pp. 26–27, 31–32.

39. Paaverud, "Swimming with the Current," pp. 51–55.



This image of the Fort Totten Indian School band reflects both the wide age range of the students and efforts to assimilate them into white culture.

By the early 1930s, the South Dakota National Guard no longer had an immediate use for Fort Sisseton. In 1933, the state legislature created a board to dispose of the property. American Legion Post No. 80 in the nearby town of Britton, South Dakota, however, successfully lobbied to save the installation. The Britton post and the Fort Sisseton Memorial Association subsequently established a transient camp at the site for seventy to one hundred homeless men during the Great Depression. In exchange for one dollar a day plus free shelter, the men worked to mend the aging facilities. Some restoration work at this time diverged from historical continuity. Volunteers added a second-story hayloft and gambrel roof to the originally one-story gable-roof horse barn, for example. As a result, the National Park Service took over the rehabilitation efforts in 1935 with funding from the Works Progress

Administration (WPA). The administration also sponsored research at the National Archives and archaeological work on the site and initiated significant building repairs. The officers' quarters underwent extensive renovation while workers weatherproofed multiple buildings and replaced or repaired damaged roofs. The WPA also restored the north barracks, fixing the roof that had blown off in a windstorm, and the foundation of the icehouse. Workers landscaped the area south of the fort walls and re-dug and sodded the earthwork embankment on all four sides as well.[40]

In 1947, the state legislature officially transferred responsibility for Fort Sisseton from the South Dakota National Guard to the Department of Game, Fish and Parks, stipulating that it be "preserved as a historical feature . . . open to the public."[41] The National Park Service had completed its restoration work by 1939, but the site still needed constant maintenance, in one instance requiring an appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars from the State of South Dakota to refurbish crumbling roofs. To help ensure consistent funding, the 1959 legislature passed a bill designating Fort Sisseton a state park and stipulating that admission fees be used for building maintenance.[42]

Since then, restoration efforts have sought to return the structures to their appearance during the era of army occupation. Apart from the gambrel roof, which has remained on the horse barn since the pre-National Park Service repairs, conservation work has removed alterations made to the buildings after its decommissioning in 1889. Historical consultants in 1974, for example, recommended the removal of electrical fixtures when they had been identified as post-1888 additions.[43]

Preservation of the buildings at Fort Sisseton has required continued commitment and investment. One year after Fort Sisseton gained listing on the National Register of Historic Places in 1973, the state commissioned a plan for preservation and restoration. The proposal

40. Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, pp. 240–42; Kapler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 2; Stark, *National Historic Landmark Evaluation*, p. 12.

41. Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, p. 245.

42. Ibid., p. 246.

43. Schmucker, *Historical Review and Plan*, p. 53.



The south barracks at Fort Sisseton show the state of decay the National Park Service found when it took over renovation efforts in 1935.

called for rebuilding the magazine; reconstructing the commanding officer's quarters, doctor's quarters, guardhouse, and carpenter/blacksmith shop; and stabilizing the adjutant's office, south and north barracks, barn, hospital, and library. The report estimated the repairs at seventy-five thousand dollars. All told, South Dakota's Department of Game, Fish and Parks spent $323,169 for maintenance and repairs of various buildings between 1953 and 1990.[44]

Fort Totten's use as a school until 1959 necessitated the regular maintenance of its historic buildings. Entrusted with the facility in 1960, the State Historical Society of North Dakota invested considerable effort in its preservation and development as a historic site for the public. At the time of its application for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places, the North Dakota Legislature appropriated funds for the site's restoration. Its listing on the National Register in 1971 made

44. U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, "Fort Sisseton, Britton, S.Dak.," South Dakota State Historic Preservation Office, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre; Schuler, *Fort Sisseton*, pp. 243, 247; Schmucker, *Historical Review and Plan*, p. 97.



The fully restored soldiers' barracks illustrate the extent of reconstruction accomplished at Fort Sisseton since the mid-1930s.

it eligible for matching funds from the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development and helped to secure money to maintain the buildings and develop public programming.[45]

Fort Totten's time as a school also shaped how the State Historical Society of North Dakota interpreted its historical significance. Much of the restoration work has reflected both its service as an army post and its later use as an Indian boarding school. In contrast to the renovation of Fort Sisseton that has returned all the buildings to their pre-1888 designs, Fort Totten's educational period carried as much weight as its military service. The State Historical Society of North Dakota has attempted to capture the aesthetics of both eras. Some buildings display

45. U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, "Fort Totten, N.Dak.," p. 2, npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp, and "How to List a Property," nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/how-to-list-a-property.htm, both accessed 19 Sept. 2019.

a gray with red trim paint scheme to reflect the military period, while others exhibit a white with green trim pattern to imitate the boarding school generation.[46]

Historic preservation remains an ongoing process for both sites. As recently as 2015, the State of North Dakota appropriated five hundred thousand dollars to restore the hospital/cafeteria building, with the historical society's foundation adding another hundred thousand dollars to the efforts. Fort Sisseton was recently nominated for National Historic Landmark status, a designation that would provide the site with greater access to funding and assistance from the National Park Service.[47] Ultimately, Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten, like other historic sites, are preserved to relate important stories about the past. Both posts are significant to the history of the United States Army in the West and to the communities of Dakota people associated with them. Continued investment in Fort Sisseton and Fort Totten in the future are key to preserving physical structures and funding the research and interpretation that expands historical knowledge of the time, place, and people.

46. State Historical Society of North Dakota, "Fort Totten State Historic Site–History," history.nd.gov/historicsites/totten/tottenhistory2.html, accessed 17 Aug. 2019.

47. Guinn Hinman, "Preservation Efforts and the Fort Totten State Historic Site," *Prairie Places* (State Historical Society of North Dakota newsletter) 7 (Winter 2018): 3; South Dakota, Department of Game, Fish & Parks, "Events: Fort Sisseton and the National Historic Landmark Nomination," gfp.sd.gov/events/detail/947/, accessed 18 Aug. 2019. For the full range of benefits that come with a National Historic Landmark designation, *see* National Park Service, "Benefits for Properties Designated as National Historic Landmarks," nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/benefits.htm, accessed 18 Aug. 2019.

BOOK REVIEWS

All communications regarding book reviews and review copies of books should be sent to Book Review Editor, *South Dakota History,* 900 Governors Drive, Pierre, SD 57501-2217.

The Fault Lines of Farm Policy: A Legislative and Political History of the Farm Bill

Jonathan Coppess. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018. 504pp. Notes. Apps. Biblio. Ind. Cloth, $65.00.

The Fault Lines of Farm Policy is a briskly paced and informative account of the process of making farm legislation. Author Jonathan Coppess considers the history of farm legislation in Congress from the 1920s through the Agricultural Act of 2014, tracing the work from committee to the president's desk. Coppess ties this narrative together by focusing on the shifting fault lines that threaten a farm bill or allow it to move through Congress. Coppess's story is not a pretty one, with provincial, ideological, and partisan interests frequently preventing coherent farm legislation, resulting in a failure to deal with the structure that produced surpluses and depressed prices.

Coppess, a clinical assistant professor of law at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, worked on farm bills from 2006–2013 in various capacities, including for the two United States senators who were heavily involved in farm legislation. While Coppess participated in the action, there is no sense that he is a partisan narrator, even as he divulges that it was particularly difficult to write about events and times in which he had a stake.

While Coppess begins in the 1920s, the crisis of the Great Depression truly provoked comprehensive policy changes to deal with crippling surpluses and low prices. All subsequent legislation has, in some way, been a response to the emergency legislation of 1933. Moments of dramatic commodity price volatility have provided the context for the most ambitious reforms, like those of 1933 or 1995. These moments, however, produce solutions that fail in the intermediate and long term, in large part because of congressional fault lines.

Regional and demographic partitions have often been more important than partisan ones. The most prominent demarcation is between Corn Belt legislators and those of the cotton South, which often enjoyed a partnership with Great Plains wheat farmers. The rural-urban divide meant that any successful farm bill needed support of legislators from non-farm districts, which often meant support for supplemental nutrition programs. Occasionally, partisan fractures opened, with Republican threats of defunding nutrition programs or with ideologues such as Tea Party congressmen who refused any compromise.

Coppess delivers a well-organized and thorough history centered on congressional fault lines. The politics here, however, are narrowly construed. Readers only receive glimpses of farm interest groups or the actual farmers who elected their representatives and senators. Ultimately, Coppess seeks a useable past, one that provides lessons for policy makers. In this sense, the book reads more like a work of policy studies than history. Still, the author's conclusion holds. Regional, commodity, partisan, and demographic divisions have made it difficult for Congress to pass coherent and comprehensive legislation that addresses the fundamental problems of surplus production that have plagued American agriculture since the early twentieth century.

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Presidents Who Shaped the American West

Glenda Riley and Richard W. Etulain. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018. 280pp. Illus. For Further Reading. Ind. Paper, $24.95.

The authors bring their considerable knowledge to bear in this readable survey, which aims to "show how presidential decisions shaped the [trans-Mississippi] West" and to help readers "better understand the presidents through their interactions with the American West" (p. 3). Ten engaging biographical sketches follow, running the gamut from Thomas Jefferson to Ronald Reagan, with a final brief chapter on the most recent presidents. The pre-1865 entries work best to connect personal portraits with frontier policy in its multiple dimensions: migration, transportation, foreign affairs and war, resource distribution and conservation, and political economy. Readers seeking a compact introduction to the West and the White House will find much to ponder here.

Ultimately, however, the book's framework proves too confining to capture the full palette of western history. The authors do well, for example, to address the fate of American Indians at the hands of various chief executives. They trace the malicious removal policies of Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk back to Jefferson's imperial outlook and link Abraham Lincoln's uninspired initiatives to the "cruel and unconscionable Indian Wars of the post-Civil War years" (p. 90). Because the more lackluster Gilded Age presidents warrant no chapters of their own, however, the multifaceted story of that conflict and its aftermath goes mostly untold.

The gaps multiply as the twentieth century progresses. Biographies of Oval Office occupants do not usually intersect with more intricate institutional histories, particularly those of the policy networks shaping western development after 1945. As a result, the book's analytical lens falls out of focus in later chapters. To take one example: courts, administrative agencies, and public interest lawfare influenced western environmental and conservation policies after 1970 more than any president did. Likewise, in the 1950s and 1960s, congressional committees, defense-related interest groups, NASA, and the Pentagon drove the development of the Sunbelt region, which had begun under Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Curiously, the book makes little reference to either the Sunbelt or the transformative impact of suburbanization there.

Efforts to find a suitable western slant for certain presidents end up straining credulity. It is one thing to credit Dwight D. Eisenhower for the Interstate Highway System that reshaped the region's social geography and political economy, and quite another to depict the Little Rock crisis in 1957 as "a major dilemma there in the west" (p. 151). Did Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty impact the West more than other regions? Why choose Jimmy Carter over Richard M. Nixon, a native Californian who also grappled with environmentalism and Alaskan public lands?

Less arbitrary is the treatment of Theodore Roosevelt and his administration's efforts to rationalize government management of western resources. Even so, the authors tend to take Progressive conservationists too much at their word, when their faith in scientific management was really more aspirational than operational. They suggest that the early years of the Bureau of Reclamation following the Newlands Act of 1902 were successful (they were not) but say little about its post-New Deal heyday. Nor does the book address the West's arid climate much before the chapter on Theodore Roosevelt; the ecological limitations of the Homestead Act of 1862, for example, go unmentioned. Reflecting the work as a whole, chapter

bibliographies emphasize presidential studies over policy-oriented monographs that touch on the presidency but offer a more comprehensive view of the issues and actors shaping the West.

PAUL CHARLES MILAZZO
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Mascot Nation: The Controversy over Native American Representations in Sports

Andrew C. Billings and Jason Edward Black. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017. 256pp. Illus. Notes. Charts. Tables. Ind. Paper, $24.95.

The subject of sports mascots based on non-Native conceptions of "Indians" has been discussed in both scholarly and popular media since the 1990s. American Indians have been protesting them even longer, since the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is a challenge to find something new to say on the issue.

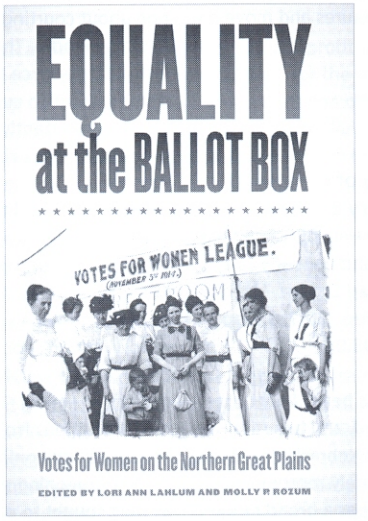
Andrew C. Billings and Jason Edward Black, the authors of *Mascot Nation*, approach the subject through the perspective of communications studies. They are interested in who speaks about mascots, what they say, and what rhetorical devices they employ. They are also attentive to which voices have authority to speak publicly and who ultimately gets heard. The authors view mascots through the lenses of self-categorization theory, which focuses on in-group preferences and out-group derogation, and postcolonial theory. One of the book's strengths is the second chapter, which provides a clear explanation of how postcolonialism relates to the controversies.

The book's original contribution is a series of surveys. Asked to rate mascot names, logos, and rituals on their acceptability and inoffensiveness, respondents did differentiate: "Savages" ranked lowest, with the "R-dskins," as the authors refer to the Washington, D.C., NFL franchise, ranked second lowest. Not surprisingly, sports fans found rituals like the tomahawk chop less offensive than did non-sports fans. According to a survey at the University of Illinois, most fans remained loyal to the team and the university despite the retirement of the halftime performance of the mascot Chief Illiniwek.

Another contribution is the authors' discussion of an intriguing 2017 Supreme Court case, *Matal v. Tam*, which has implications for future litigation over the Washington NFL team's registered marks. *Tam* involves an Asian band choosing to name themselves the Slants, a slur against Asians. In contrast to this intentional act of personal decolonization, American Indians were not involved in choosing the Washington team name and have advocated strenuously for its retirement. Whether the courts will take this context of "ownership" into account remains to be seen.

Mascot Nation focuses on public commentary and media response to the issue. Except for an interview with the executive director of the National Congress of American Indians, the "qualitative" sections are selected from public comments on webpages and online forums. The account of Florida State University's development of its "symbol," Osceola, and its relationship with the Seminole Tribe of Florida comes from a somewhat uncritical reading, to this reader's eye, of the university's public relations materials and an op-ed by Seminole chairman James Billie.

Scholars and students of communications and media should find this book of great interest. *Mascot Nation* makes the case that sports fans will, in the end, remain loyal to their teams despite the retirement of "Indian" names, logos, and rituals. This conclusion is one that both team owners and anti-mascot activists should find heartening. Anti-mascot activists may find problematic the authors' stated goal of seeking middle or common ground, however, as they do not make clear what this means. The fans surveyed do not have the power to retire mascots, but if



Equality at the Ballot Box "is both an informative overview and a composite mosaic of suffrage on the northern plains that raises new questions for future research, for which this volume lays essential groundwork."

—Elizabeth Jameson, past president
Western History Association

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public attitudes continue to evolve, team owners and universities might finally respond to public and market pressures and move on.

CAROL SPINDEL
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A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux, 50th Anniversary Edition

Amos Bad Heart Bull and Helen Blish. Preface by Emily Levine and Candace Green. Introduction by Mari Sandoz. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017. 624pp. Illus. Notes. Ind. Cloth, $95.00.

This book is beautiful. It is beautifully organized, beautifully analyzed, and beautifully crafted. The University of Nebraska Press has produced, or more accurately reproduced, a wonderful work that reaches a broad range of audiences. The "Publisher's Preface" sets the stage with fifty-four pages of important background information. This piece includes Emily Levine's brief history of Amos Bad Heart Bull and Helen Blish, as well as Candace Greene's reflections on the significance of ledger drawings. Besides the perfunctory lists of color plates and illustrations, this section also has an introduction from writer Mari Sandoz.

The rest of the book is divided into two parts. Part One provides thoughtful and insightful analysis of the artist and his work, other Lakota histories and historical art, the use of Bad Heart Bull's manuscript as an historical document, the author as an artist, and a broader examination of Lakota art and thought. Part One contains just under seventy pages of text and illustrations, while the bulk of the work is found in Part Two. This section contains just under five hundred pages, with a brief introduction followed by the art itself. The brief descriptions provided for every image are effective additions to the wonderful drawings. Often including Lakota language translations for names or events, each description provides valuable information about courting customs, games, battles, and much more. This section is an invaluable historical resource for anyone studying American Indian culture and history.

Most importantly, this volume is a shining example of why scholars need to legitimize American Indian sources in their studies. For too long their oral traditions, art, and other resources have been relegated to the back burner of what many consider "reliable" historical sources. Amos Bad Heart Bull's drawings provide vibrant conduits to Lakota history, culture, social structure, and material culture. Moreover, his drawings span half a century of liminal Oglala history, covering their transitions from sovereignty and power, to reservation confinement, to their partaking in the burgeoning regional cattle industry as they sought to maintain their way of life while under the colonial control of the United States.

Finally, I would like to note the high quality of the book's production. The volume itself is quite large, nine and a half inches from spine to edge and just over twelve inches from top to bottom, allowing the press to present the art in a visually pleasant and examination-friendly size. While the images alone make this book—which will look wonderful on anyone's coffee table—attractive to aficionados of art, the analysis of the art and its contextual meaning make it a must for any scholar working on an American Indian topic. This endeavor was clearly a labor of love for all who worked on it. From the dual-textured cover, to the high-quality paper, to the generosity of the editor and the press in allowing blank pages to beautify the transitions between sections of text, this project produced a beautiful and invaluable historical work.

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Announcements

The South Dakota Historical Society Foundation, the nonprofit partner of the South Dakota State Historical Society, provides financial support for the work of the society in preserving and interpreting the state's rich past. The foundation offers a number of giving opportunities for donors who wish to leave a legacy of history for future generations. For information on making a contribution or bequest, please contact the South Dakota Historical Society Foundation, 900 Governors Drive, Pierre, SD 57501-2217; telephone, (605) 773-6001.

The South Dakota State Historical Society will hold its annual history conference 24–25 April 2020 at the Ramkota River Center in Pierre. The society's State Historic Preservation Office is organizing the event, entitled "Looking Back on South Dakota History with 20/20 Vision." For more information, call (605) 773-3458, or visit online at www.history.sd.gov.

The Dakota Conference has issued a call for papers and proposals for its fifty-second annual conference to be held at Augustana University in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, 24–25 April 2020. This year's theme is "The Roaring Twenties . . . Again? (1920–2020)." The conference will commemorate the centennial of the start of the 1920s, drawing connections between that decade and the one starting in 2020. Paper and session proposals on this theme and other topics related to the northern plains states are welcome. Please use the online submission form at www.augie.edu/dakotaconference or email proposal title, brief description, short biographical sketch, and full contact information to dakotaconference@augie.edu. The deadline for submissions is 14 February 2020.

The Northern Great Plains History Conference has issued a call for papers for its fifty-fifth annual conference to be held in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, 16–19 September 2020. Proposals for individual papers and complete sessions in all fields of history are encouraged. The conference welcomes graduate and undergraduate student participants; prizes will be awarded for the best paper in both categories. Proposals for papers or sessions must include a one-paragraph abstract and a one-page vita for each participant. Please email proposals to Selika Ducksworth-Lawton at duckswsm@uwec.edu, indicating "NGPHC" in the subject line, by 1 May 2020.

IN MEMORIAM
Jeffery A. Hazard
1955–2019

Jeffery A. Hazard, architect, preservationist, and former member of the South Dakota State Historical Society Board of Trustees, died 30 August 2019.

Hazard was born 24 August 1955 in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. After graduating from Washington Senior High School, he attended the University of Kansas and University College-London, graduating with a bachelor's degree in environmental design. He received master's degrees in architecture and business administration from the University of Illinois before moving to San Francisco, California, to work with the firm of Kaplan, McLaughlin, Diaz.

In 1988, Hazard returned to Sioux Falls, joining his father's firm, Koch Hazard Architects. His work there has been recognized both locally and nationally. The Prairie Commons project in Howard, South Dakota, for example, received an Environmental Protection Agency National Award for Smart Growth Achievement in 2011. Around fifty additional projects to which Hazard contributed his expertise have been recognized through the AIA South Dakota Design Awards program.

Hazard used his skills to support the preservation of historic structures throughout Sioux Falls and around the state. This work began nearly thirty years ago when he recruited friends to help purchase and renovate the Southwestern Block buildings at the intersection of Twelfth Street and Phillips Avenue. Since then, Hazard, who eventually became chief executive officer and principal at Koch Hazard, oversaw most of the company's forty preservation projects, including the renovation and expansion of the Orpheum Theater and construction of the Washington Pavilion of Arts and Sciences. Most recently, Hazard and his wife Sheila supervised renovation of the Jones 421 building on North Phillips Avenue. In addition to his preservation work, he designed several new buildings that contributed to the revitalization of downtown Sioux Falls.

A leader in his community and his profession, Hazard served on more than thirty public or nonprofit boards throughout his career. He was first elected to the architect position on the State Historical Society's Board of Trustees in 2011 and served until 2018.

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Dakota Images

The career of United States Army officer Alfred H. Sully spanned a time of significant change as western settlement and the Civil War transformed the United States. Sully participated in numerous actions throughout the American West and South, including the pursuit of Sioux bands following the United States-Dakota War.

Born in 1821 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Sully was the son of painter Thomas Sully, best known for his portraits of famous figures like Queen Victoria of England and President Andrew Jackson. After graduating from the United States Military Academy at West Point in 1841, Alfred Sully served in the Second Seminole War of 1835–1842 and the war with Mexico from 1846–1848. From 1854 until 1861, he served at multiple posts in Dakota and Nebraska territories, including Fort Pierre, where he accompanied General William S. Harney in 1856. During this stint, he used his own artistic skills to record his experiences, making sketches of Fort Pierre's dilapidated condition and paintings of local Sioux engaged in daily activities. While stationed at Fort Randall, he met and married a Yankton woman; their daughter would become the mother of anthropologist Ella Deloria and artist Mary Deloria.

At the outbreak of the United States Civil War in 1861, Sully joined the First Minnesota Infantry Regiment as a colonel and fought in numerous major battles in Virginia. In early 1863, Sully, now a brigadier general, was ordered back to the northern plains to join the command of Major General John Pope in the Department of the Northwest. For the next two years, Sully led a column of approximately two thousand troops through eastern Dakota Territory as the army pursued the Sioux who had fled Minnesota in the aftermath of the United States-Dakota War of 1862. Operating out of the newly constructed Fort Sully east of present-day Pierre, Sully's troops attacked large villages at Whitestone Hill in 1863 and Killdeer Mountain in 1864. In both instances, his men killed or captured hundreds of Dakota, Lakota, and Yankton warriors and noncombatants.

Sully remained with the army in primarily administrative roles after the punitive campaigns ended in 1865, moving among posts in the South and the West. He died on 27 April 1879 at Fort Vancouver, Washington Territory, and was buried in Philadelphia.



Alfred H. Sully



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