

NORTH DAKOTA

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THE CHILD HEALTH DEMONSTRATION
PROJECT IN FARGO, 1923-1928

WILLIAMS COUNTY SCHOOLHOUSES

FROM THE COLLECTIONS

Collecting Contemporary Objects Capturing History as It Happens

*By Lori Nohner, Assistant Curator
Audience Engagement & Museum Division*

This is a year to be remembered for a global pandemic, just as other years are remembered for significant historic happenings. But history can be remembered in different ways, and even misremembered. At the State Historical Society of North Dakota, staff work hard to capture North Dakota's history as it happens. Memories get distorted, opinions change, and our own biases shape understanding of events. That is why contemporary collecting is so important. If we can have a conversation with a donor offering an object that they personally used or created, we can record their memories and insights while they are fresh, before time and circumstances have had a chance to change them.

During the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) activities in 2016, collections staff reached out to North Dakota citizens, water protectors, and law enforcement to capture their experiences and collect items that would illustrate the event for future generations. Staff also went to one of the camp sites to collect certain items that were left behind after the camps were cleared in hopes of telling a thorough and balanced story in the future. A member of the North Dakota Highway Patrol collected this sign after a protest event and donated it to the State Historical Society.

We know the story of the collector, but unfortunately, we don't know the person who created the sign. Some members from various Black Lives Matter chapters from around the country attended DAPL protests, so perhaps one of them carried the piece. The sign becomes more striking today, as members of the American Indian Movement and various tribal groups now lend their voices and support to current protests throughout the country. The story of the person who created this sign would add such depth to the history of this artifact.

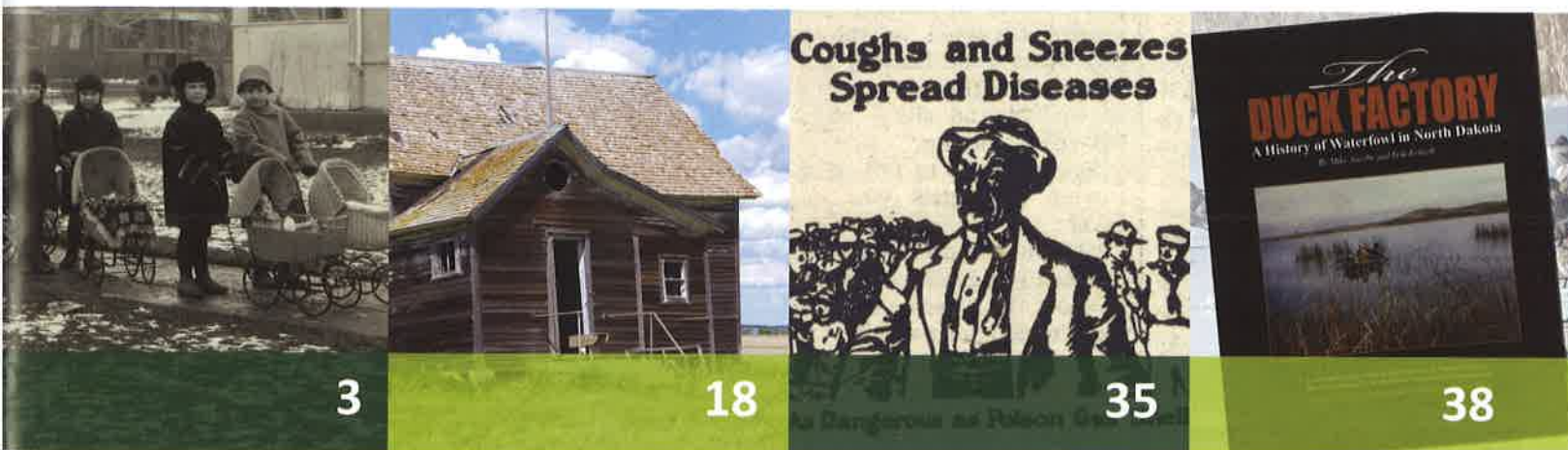
During 2020, Black Lives Matter protests and George Floyd memorials have occurred in multiple communities throughout the state: Fargo, Bismarck, Dickinson, Minot, Rugby, and more. People in North Dakota felt strongly enough about the issue to exercise their constitutional



Dakota Access Pipeline protest sign, 2016. SHSND 2017.22.2

right to protest. They showed up. They made signs. We want those signs. We want to record those voices. To share your personal story or talk with one of our team about a potential donation, please call 701.328.2666 or find the donation form online at bit.ly/SHSND-CollectionDonate. Another major story of 2020 affecting our state is the global pandemic. Every North Dakotan is experiencing changes due to this pandemic. How did your life change? What did you make? What did you wear? We want to capture your stories. We want to record your history. To share your COVID-19 story, find information at statemuseum.nd.gov/share-your-story.

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On the cover: Dr. Burton K. Kilbourne immunized children in his role as health officer for the Fargo Child Health Demonstration Project. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

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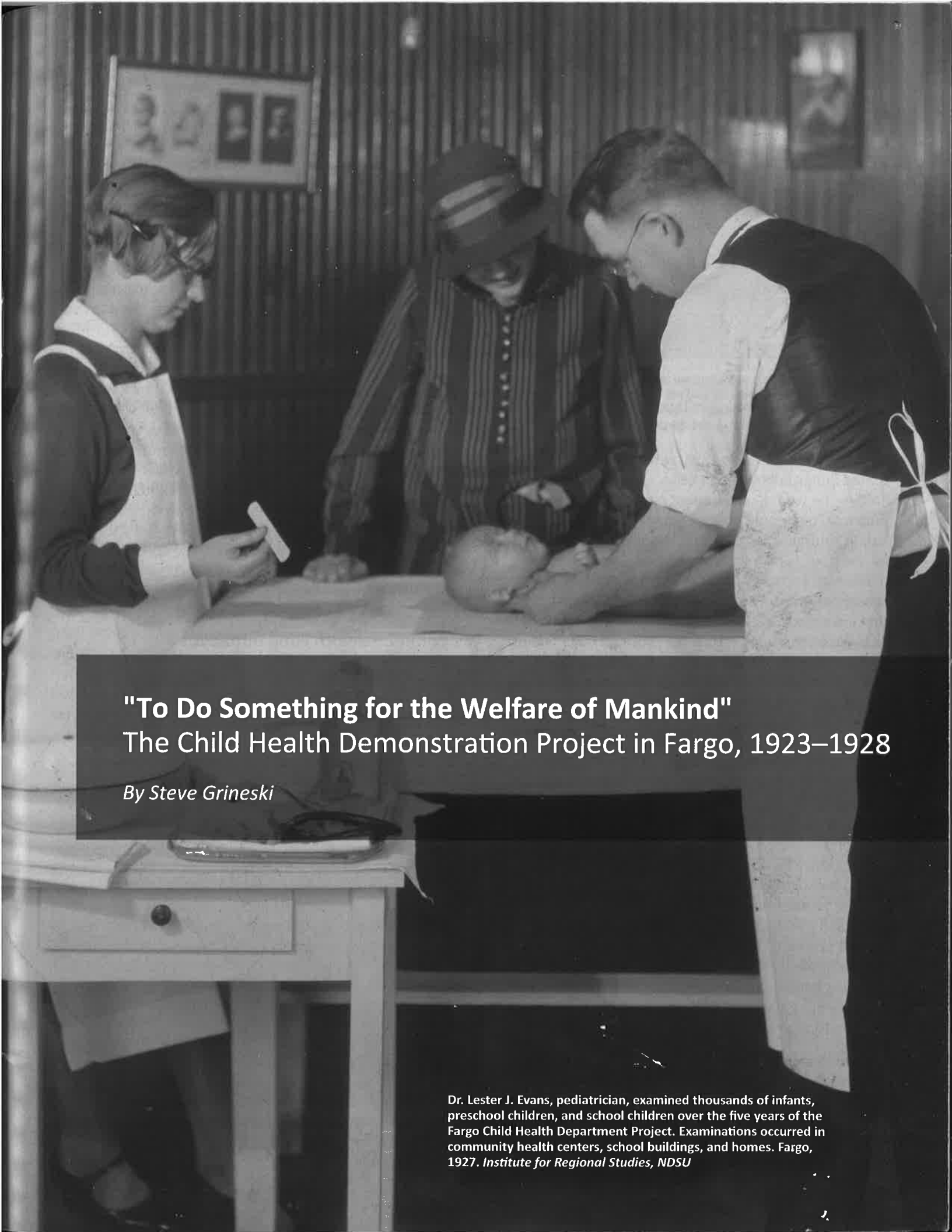
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"To Do Something for the Welfare of Mankind" The Child Health Demonstration Project in Fargo, 1923–1928

By Steve Grineski

Dr. Lester J. Evans, pediatrician, examined thousands of infants, preschool children, and school children over the five years of the Fargo Child Health Department Project. Examinations occurred in community health centers, school buildings, and homes. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU*



The CHDP headquarters were housed in the north Fargo Longfellow Elementary School. A variety of administrative, educational, and medical services were conducted here. Dr. Lester J. Evans, pediatrician, and a public health nurse are meeting with a mother during a health conference. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

Congress established, in 1798, what would become the United States Public Health Service in 1912. However, neither the federal government nor state or local municipalities would positively impact the nation's public health landscape for decades. This was particularly true for the poor, rural folks, and children. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the dominant conservative belief surrounding poor health dictated that individuals' decision making was a contributing factor to poor health, rather than structural inequality and unequal wealth distribution. Accordingly, many Americans' health was negatively affected due to a lack of proper maternal, infant, and children's health; dental health; and personal hygiene. Problems with sanitation, immunization, water, milk, and food only added to health problems. A lack of health knowledge greatly compounded this crisis. A 1923 study examining the quality of health education at elementary and secondary education levels and teacher preparation for this content were found to be woefully unacceptable. While a small number of states, operating through state health boards, made some public health headway during the first two decades of the twentieth century, many like North Dakota did not: "As of 1929 the Public Health Service estimated that 77% of the rural population has no health services." A statement on a 1920 publication outlining minimum health requirements for rural schools reinforced the above conclusion: "Country children are entitled to as careful cultivation as livestock and crops." ¹

With the emergence of the Progressive Movement, the conservative ideology was confronted and began to give way to a broader belief system grounded in the common good. The change represented a more comprehensive commitment to the health and well-being of all individuals, particularly children. This conclusion is

evidenced by a 1923 American Child Health Association study intended to improve the quality of health work for school-age children. The health of the nation began to advance through joint efforts fashioned by growing federal commitments (e.g., Children's Bureau) and significant contributions made by private foundations. An important actor among philanthropic foundations, making long-lasting public health contributions nation wide, was the Commonwealth Fund.²

This essay examines the Commonwealth Fund's push to advance the health and welfare of the nation's children.

Specifically, the fund's Child Health

Demonstration Project (CDHP) will be interpreted and analyzed. Four locations were awarded support to develop sustainable community-wide and child health promotion services and programs. A case study of the 1923–1928 Fargo project will illustrate four essential features of Fargo's progressive plan: medical services and nursing support, communicable disease control, sanitation, and school health education.

Commonwealth Fund Initiatives

Nearly six thousand children attending public and parochial Fargo schools between 1923 and 1928 participated in the Child Health Demonstration Project (CHDP). It was conducted by the Commonwealth Fund, a New York City philanthropic organization devoted to promoting the common good. Mental and physical health, education and medical research, and hospital development were targeted to meet this goal. The CHDP ran its course during the years the progressive "work-study-play" concept was changing Fargo schools, which relied heavily on the practice of curriculum correlation.³ The fund envisioned "to do something for the welfare of mankind"⁴ by pursuing a deep humanitarian motive: the betterment of child welfare. Its goal was to solve problems children experienced as a result of the patterns of life that were so drastically altered by the new industrialized society.

This first-of-its-kind comprehensive undertaking aspired to prove that high-quality medical, dental, and nursing care; effective sanitary services; communicable disease control; and a wide-ranging school health program would assist children and family members in achieving and sustaining high levels of physical health. Simply stated, the idea was to improve children's health through comprehensive community and school-based

public health programs. Fargo children experienced this aim through the CHDP, as did cohort groups living in two southern and one northwestern locations. The fund provided financial support for each location's community-wide health services and school health education programs at schools, clinics, and community health centers beginning in 1923. Community's contributions increased each year of the project, while the Commonwealth Fund's subsidy decreased annually. The CHDPs demonstrated success in improving the health of each community.⁵

Indicators measuring school and community health performance reported favorable results across the chosen communities: "The public health programs of these four communities, taken together [as a whole], increased their ratings from 24% to 84% over the life of their CHDP." Appraisal forms, developed by the American Public Health Association (APHA) in the 1920s, generated ratings that were used for CHDP program evaluation. The Appraisal form was intended to "yield a reasonably accurate picture of the health services actually performed in a county as evidenced by certain typical activities." Assessment of these services, pre- and post-demonstration projects, would then provide information to all stakeholders about project effectiveness (i.e., accomplishments and needs). This "measuring rod" of selected services, evaluations, and ratings "represented [the] group judgement of large numbers of health officers, state, city, and county and representatives from national health organizations interested in improving public health work." For evaluation purposes, all health services were assigned point values. An adjusting factor was then added to this value in order to arrive at an

appropriate total point score for each health service item: Sanitation, for example, had a score 175 total points.⁶ These 1920s public health architects certainly expressed high degrees of confidence in the evaluative values created by the selected school and community health experts. In Fargo, Dr. Burton K. Kilbourne was a well-known public health expert.

In a 1928 eight-part series written for the *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican*, evening edition, Dr. Kilbourne, Fargo health officer, illustrated Fargo's vision for a comprehensive and community-minded public health program:

Everyone who has a hand in helping children to grow up strong and stay well is doing public health work. The job of the health department is to help link all these efforts together . . . keeping water and milk pure, promoting sanitation, counting births and deaths, preventing the spread of infectious diseases, preparing mothers for safe and healthy child rearing, watching over the health of babies and growing children, teaching children and families to apply common sense to individual health problems—all these separate pieces of work are part of a single and unified job.⁷

Dr. Kilbourne's vision for a healthy Fargo community and the other site's aspirations for a similar outcome resonated with the Commonwealth Fund's desire to promote the holistic welfare of children. Each site's schools played a significant role in advancing this goal.⁸

The four selected communities' school health programs sought to develop the health knowledge, habits, and practices of children, while promoting their physical development. Many teachers created innovative projects blending health learning across subjects such as art, literature, nature study, and manual training. These teachers believed that correlating or integrating health instruction across the school's curriculum resulted in more engaging, meaningful, and authentic learning. Fargo teachers were particularly adept at correlating their health lessons.⁹

Classroom teachers and nurses worked cooperatively screening students for illness and disease while regularly monitoring height and weight measurements. This teaming proved to be a unique feature of the project. Physicians were also engaged team members. They frequently visited schools to provide systematic student health examinations. Classroom activities targeting



An important part of the CHDP was communication about children's health. A team approach using doctors, nurses, teachers, and health officers shared responsibility for securing health information and sharing it with parents. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*



As public health dentist, Dr. Richard C. Leonard provided dental examinations, dental work, and dental education as part of the “holistic” approach to children’s health. Families unable to pay for dental services were not charged. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

healthful living were practiced daily, such as, frequent hand washing and exhibiting proper posture. Healthful eating and daily milk drinking were also stressed. Health reports summarizing children’s health behavior were recorded and regularly shared with parents. Physical education—an essential part of the total school health program, aimed to help students understand the benefits of movement and enjoy recreational activities—was the active side of health education. The Fargo project, like its project cohorts, demonstrated great breadth and depth in working towards health promotion.¹⁰

The CHDPs’ purpose was demonstrating usefulness to community leaders so they would continue to support comprehensive health services at the conclusion of the demonstration. Ultimately, this meant creating and sustaining new public health programs. In all four demonstration sites, community consensus was reached to significantly increase public appropriations for school and community-wide health services—a public demand for health services was created, where one previously did not exist. Development of Fargo Public Health in 1929, as a standard part of local government operations, revealed Fargo residents, government officials, and health professionals supported this objective.¹¹

Health promotion was the major initiative of the Commonwealth Fund through the CHDPs. Several broader-in-scope programs, between 1920 and 1966, followed this directed attempt to promote healthy children and families. University student exchanges with Great Britain, medical education and fellowships, and medical research projects were four such projects. Legal research and development of community child guidance demonstration clinics were additional efforts. Seventy-seven reports and books were published for sharing new knowledge. These wide-ranging endeavors continued into the 1960s when the foundation began to focus exclusively on health care and its delivery. Today, the Commonwealth Fund strives to make high quality health

care affordable and accessible for marginalized groups living in the United States.¹²

The federal government was relatively inactive prior to the Commonwealth Fund creating programs on the behalf of children. However, several key events occurring during the Progressive Era (1890–1930) created a climate conducive for advancing the well-being of children. President Theodore Roosevelt, calling together the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children in 1901, signaled an important advance. The federal government’s Children’s Bureau in 1912 heralded an important achievement emerging from its 1901 conference. The Bureau, the most important federal institution promoting children’s health at the time, however, was underfunded. Director Julia Lathrop tried, with limited success, to create systems designed to meet children’s holistic needs and protect the right of childhood. Improving children’s health, abolishing child labor, reducing infant and maternal mortality were important whole child outcomes. Surprisingly, controversy did surround this advance. Critics thought it inappropriate to allocate federal dollars to benefit maternal and child health. They also believed that home was the rightful place for this kind of care, and to do otherwise was outside the norm. These attempts and achievements “stood squarely within Progressive Era concerns” as related to promoting the common good.¹³

President Woodrow Wilson’s leadership at the 1919 White House Conference on Standards on Child Welfare laid the groundwork for generating plans to improve child and maternal health. The American Child Health Association selected Herbert Hoover as political patron. This progressive children’s health organization developed programs supporting infant and maternal care, and school- and community-wide health education beginning in 1923 and continuing until 1935. Five million dollars were raised to support the above efforts over the fifteen-year life of this enterprise.¹⁴

These developments reflected efforts to improve the well-being of the nation's children, which were in dire need of improvement at this time. Additional efforts, equally concerned about the nation's children, were delivered by philanthropic foundations. By 1926, 150 groups held legal status to distribute monies to various groups in need.¹⁵ The Commonwealth Fund was such a group.

Stephen Harkness, philanthropist and one of the nation's twenty multi-millionaires in 1916, co-founded the Standard Oil Company with John D. Rockefeller. Following Harkness's death, his widow, Anna, joined the Progressive Movement's thrust to expand the common good through a 10 million dollar gift establishing the Commonwealth Fund in 1918. This amount translates to approximately \$170,000,000 in 2020 dollars. The Harkness's efforts differed radically from many early twentieth-century Progressive philanthropic endeavors. It exclusively established wide-ranging and strategic funding opportunities targeting the common good, rather than narrowly-prescribed and targeted opportunities.¹⁶

This focus on children's health resonated with the ideology expressed by activists during the turbulent times of the Progressive Era (1890–1930). These reform-minded men and women agitated for public and private economic as well as social reforms. These reforms, it was believed, would ease the unhealthy hardships of daily living as shaped by urbanization, industrialization, and immigration in cities; and population decline in rural areas. Many progressive activists, like Jane Addams, believed these difficulties were ripping apart society's social fabric due to the economic and social indifference practiced by the ruling class, all the while at the expense of the poor. Progressives reached wide for reforms, ranging from ending public and private corruption to regulating child labor, from women's suffrage to developing workmen's compensation, and from transforming school's curriculum and instruction



Miss Brochert, McKinley School teacher, used the playhouse project to teach safety to her first grade students. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

to developing comprehensive children's public health programs. Consensus was reached that "child welfare reform became the issue most Progressives could agree on." Not only was child welfare an issue that most Progressives agreed on, but according to Cravens, in his authoritative study of child welfare leading up to the Head Start legislation, "[it] prospered as an integral part of the larger progressive movement."¹⁷

Child Health Demonstration Projects

On June 7, 1922, the Commonwealth Fund's board of directors agreed to sponsor comprehensive public health programs in four selected locations. Motivation was ripe for this effort. Most of the nation's health programs for children were generally deficient and quality suspect during this time. Infant mortality rates were alarmingly high. In 1920, for every one thousand live births, 85.8 infants died before reaching the age of one year. These realities were exacerbated by the fact that much of the public did not value the importance of children's health, and as result, they did not want to financially support targeted programs.

Furthermore, World War I revealed scores of recruits exhibiting low levels of physical fitness with high numbers revealing physical defects. A gap existing between public health knowledge and its practical application compounded this problem.¹⁸

Communities interested in applying for inclusion as a CHDP site were required to demonstrate unmet health needs and interest in partnering with the Commonwealth Fund to create and sustain local health services. Developing a well-prepared application, earning approval from local medical providers, and carrying out a child-health plan, in cooperation with local schools and community's health providers, were additional requirements. After reviewing over one hundred applications, two small cities including Fargo (1923–1928), and Clarke County and Athens, Georgia (1924–1928); and two rural areas, Rutherford



The CHDP stressed daily milk drinking as an important ingredient leading to healthy students. Students were not charged for the milk. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*



The Kilbourne name has been well known in Fargo for many years. Dr. Burton K. Kilbourne (1879–1957), grandfather of North Dakota Governor Doug Burgum, was named health officer for the Fargo Child Health Demonstration Project. This title came with important administrative as well as medical responsibilities, including immunizing young children. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

County, Tennessee (1924–1928); and Marion County, Oregon (1924–1928), were selected. These sites answered in the affirmative that they were “willing to do for our children whatever you [Demonstration Project] prove to us is worth doing.”¹⁹

The CHDPs set out to create state-of-the-art health programs. This status would be accomplished by linking high-quality medical, dental, and nursing care and services; communicable disease control; and effective sanitary services for water, milk, and sewage with wide-ranging school and community health programs. Comprehensive health services offered in each community followed a fairly standard pattern. Program flexibility was exercised in order to better meet each locale’s particular needs (e.g., rural).

The Child Health Demonstration Committee wanted to determine whether this pattern, when coupled with current best health practices, would result in effective health services for small cities and rural locations alike. To indicate “a reasonably accurate picture of the health services of [selected sites] as evidenced by certain typical sample activities, [such as] vaccinations performed and tuberculosis cases hospitalized.” The committee used APHA Appraisal Forms to assess eleven metrics of public health services:

1. Vital Statistics.
2. Communicable Disease Control.
3. Venereal Disease Control.
4. Tuberculosis Control.
5. Maternal Hygiene.
6. Infant Hygiene.
7. Preschool Hygiene.
8. School Hygiene.
9. Sanitation.

10. Laboratory.

11. Popular Health Instruction.²⁰

The Commonwealth Fund’s Child Health Demonstration Committee believed that “kids’ health can only improve when it is a part of a broader community plan.” The eleven areas used to assess the selected communities public health status were grounded in this belief. Fargo’s project revealed pre-(1923) and post-(1928) total scores of 320/1000 and 827/1000 respectively over the years 1923–1928, as recorded on the APHA Appraisal Form. Comparable improvements were recorded at the other sites as well, with pre- and post- total scores ranging from 110/1000 in 1924 to 889/1000 in 1928 respectively.²¹

Each community, it was hoped, would acknowledge the numerous benefits associated with their demonstration project, so at its conclusion, the said community would continue funding comprehensive community health services. And indeed, this goal was reached. Evidence illustrates significant increases in pre- and post-scores as noted above and local expenditures per capita for public health services over the life of each demonstration project:

Fargo	\$0.27 (1923)	\$1.13 (1928)
Athens & Clarke County	\$0.63 (1924)	\$1.09 (1928)
Rutherford County	\$0.11 (1924)	\$0.98 (1928)
Marion County	\$0.14 (1925)	\$0.60 (1929)²²

The CHDP leadership committee also “hoped that from the demonstrations projects some valuable lessons maybe learned in the field of medical and public health partnerships.” Importance of preventive medicine, as a

necessary part of public health, was a notable application of what was learned through the partnerships. The Commonwealth Fund, then, began assisting medical schools in developing curricula and facilities for educating future physicians in preventive medicine and public health: "Today medicine—and particularly preventive medicine—is the property of all mankind. A progressive physician must be aware of his relationship to the civic and economic problems of the community and nation."²³

The Fargo CHDP witnessed development of an exemplary infrastructure of medical care, public health, and health education: "Fargo has set the example in the matter of public health supervision that will blaze the way for similar work . . ." and it did as well in the other three sites. One wonders what the public health status of Fargo and its like cohort locales would have been without this comprehensive intervention?²⁴ An account of Fargo's participation with the CHDP follows.

Fargo, 1923–1928

Fargo was a small Midwestern city comprising 27,000 residents, mostly of German and Scandinavian heritage, in the early 1920s. This prairie community had the smallest population of the four selected sites: Clarke County and Athens, Georgia, (population 40,000); Rutherford County, Tennessee, (population 30,000); and Marion County, Oregon, (population 45,000). Fargo shared a similar racial demographic with Marion County: mainly white residents, while the two more southern sites demographics included both white and African-American residents.²⁵

Recognized as an innovative area due to its stable economic assets and quality higher education systems, Fargo boasted the slogan, "The Biggest Little City in the World." Located between prairies to the north, west, and south and larger manufacturing centers to the east, Fargo exchanged commodities produced in the Red River Valley for needed goods from the East. Fargo was home to the North Dakota Agricultural College. Across the Red River in Moorhead, Minnesota, Concordia College and Minnesota State Teachers College together served many students.²⁶

During the years leading up to Fargo's participation in the CHDP (1900–1923), the city struggled with providing its



Woodrow Wilson School second graders transformed their classroom into a grocery store as a way to study healthy and not-so-healthy foods. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

citizens with comprehensive and organized programs of community public health and quality school health programs:

One commissioner, for example, is in control of public health, and exercises the power ordinarily lodged in a board of health. Fargo was much like other small cities in its lack of organization for either health or social work. Only two out of every five American cities (10,000 or over), in 1922, had full-time health officers; Fargo did not. Charity was dispensed by the churches, by a Glad Tidings Mission and the Salvation Army. Poor relief was administered by a 'county nurse' who gave groceries and old clothing.²⁷

Making this problem only worse for Fargo, the largest city in the state, were troubling public health service deficits at the state level. Some were caused by the state's disinterest in health promotion: North Dakota ranked last among states in annual financial support for its State Board of Health. In 1921, its appropriation was \$3,450. The neighbor to the east, Minnesota, with a rank of 23, appropriated \$143,000. Even a more rural state like Montana, ranked thirty-fifth, provided more than twenty times the North Dakota amount: \$67,340. James Grassick, North Dakota public health giant and State Superintendent of Public Health from 1907 to 1913, captured the state's disinterest in public health, when he concluded in 1918: "The soldier living in the trenches has a sixteen times better chance of living one year than has a babe born in the county districts of North Dakota."

Changes were soon to appear on the North Dakota horizon. Stephen L. McDonough, M.D., writing in his definitive history of North Dakota's public health, *The Golden Ounce: A Century of Public Health in North Dakota*, proclaimed "The second 25 years of statehood [1914–1939] would see North Dakota rise from apathy to excellence in maternal and child health . . . [this would also be true for additional public health areas . . . particularly in Fargo]."²⁸

Fargo's medical and public health services, in addition to its public school system, began improving its programs by the early to mid-1920s. By 1925, Fargo had fifty-nine registered physicians representing fourteen specialty areas. These physicians provided care in two well-equipped private hospitals and three clinics. The city also maintained a public communicable disease isolation hospital and full-time sanitary officer. Added to these medical services, Fargo enjoyed a first-rate public water and sanitary systems, with 90-plus percent of its citizens connected to the city's sewer system. A strategic push to improve its milk supply safety and Red Cross-sponsored well-baby clinic were under way by 1923. Prior to the demonstration project coming to Fargo, 95 percent of children, ages seven to fifteen, were enrolled in school. The public schools employed two nurses for student care. These figures speak highly of a school system devoted to educating and caring for its youth.²⁹

The Georgia site in Clarke County and Athens, similar to the Fargo site, also offered some public health services to its citizens prior to the CHDP arriving. In contrast, the Rutherford and Marion County sites offered minimal public health, medical, and school health services to its residents before being selected in 1924. Sadly, these two rural counties were representative of many such counties nationwide. However, even the North Dakota and Georgia sites lacked a comprehensive and preventative health care focus, like many communities nationwide. The 1919 North Dakota Legislative Assembly passed a law prohibiting compulsory immunizations prior to school enrollment, which was not repealed until 1975. Minimal staffing and absence of long-term strategic

plans across public health services; public school health programs; and medical, nursing, and sanitation services also contributed to less than healthy communities. North Dakota had yet to create a state-sanctioned health department by 1922. These needs, then, became CHDP goals when the project came to Fargo in 1923.³⁰

The story of how the CHDP arrived in Fargo is a fascinating one:

It was by quick and energetic maneuvering that Fargo began to build on this . . . foundation, its present well-planned structure of public health service. [The Commonwealth Fund] had invited ten Upper Mississippi states . . . [who] wanted five years of sound child health service. Cities from six states had already applied and were under consideration when a Fargo physician heard of the offer, realized its possibilities for his own city, and went into action.³¹

This medical community leader enjoined the local newspaper, *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican*, and several civic groups to create an application campaign. An important part of the campaign included securing the City Commission's promise to hire a full-time health officer, which they did. The Child Health Demonstration Committee then awarded a demonstration project to Fargo because of its wide-spread community support and overwhelmingly willingness to create the best possible program of public health services: "this ambitious small city, eager to increase its prestige and persuaded that public health progress would be a step in the right direction."³²

Kilbourne Says Everybody Is Responsible for Health

City Health Officer Calls Co-operation Big Factor in Growth, Development of Modern Fargo Program

An important factor leading to the success of the Fargo Child Health Demonstration Project was the day-to-day working cooperation among nurses, doctors, teachers, and health officers. *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican, evening edition, January 5, 1928, p. 7*

Cheerfulness, Enthusiasm Mark School Health Work

Parochial System is Continuation of Principles Laid Down by Child Demonstration; Youngsters Realize the Value of Foodstuffs and Regularity

Dr. B.K. Kilbourne believed all Fargoans were responsible for growing the community's health so Fargo could continue to be "the Biggest Little City on Earth." *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican, evening edition, January 2, 1928, p. 2*

Good Care Given Children Makes Fargo Healthy City

Nurses, City Health Officer Co-operate in Watching Youngsters—Regular Examinations, Advice Given Parents Are Important

Parochial schools responded positively to their participation in the Fargo Child Health Demonstration project. Rev. Father Vincent J. Ryan, *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican, evening edition, January 10, 1928, p. 8*



A meeting of the Child Health Demonstration Project staff at Longfellow Elementary School, project headquarters. Dressed in white and seated at the left side of the table is Maud A. Brown, director of School Health Education from 1923 to 1926. Fargo, 1925. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

This was the case as the Fargo project drew many visitors ranging from national health officials to European university students and from social work executives to school teachers. Between 1923 and 1924, out-of-town visitors averaged nearly two visits per week over a twelve-month period. Information also flowed out from the Fargo project. During the same twelve-month period, as noted above, project staff made nearly two hundred presentations to local groups as well as state-wide and national audiences. As dramatic as the flow of project information was, the fact that families, one in particular driving 275 miles, traveled to Fargo to have their children benefit from project services, speaks to its success and favorability.³³

The Fargo Commonwealth partnership reflected the characteristic of innovation quite nicely:

In 1923 the city of Fargo, North Dakota, entered into partnership with the Commonwealth Fund in a five-year demonstration of ways and means by which approved child health services might be incorporated into the permanent programs of the health department and the public school system. In effect, the Fund loaned to the community a reasonably adequate and well-trained staff which introduced a unit program of interrelated health activities, and financed their work until the community found itself ready to absorb and pay the cost itself.³⁴



Miss Carlson's second grade class celebrated their study of healthy vegetables with a lettuce sandwich party. The lettuce was grown in the classroom. Carlson taught her students about making butter, which was then used for party sandwiches made with donated bread. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

Lead staff included health officer (Dr. B. K. Kilbourne), pediatrician (Dr. Lester J. Evans), six nurses and director (Edith B. Pierson), and health education director (Maud A. Brown). A sanitation director and public health dentist (Dr. Richard C. Leonard) and numerous school teachers were also important team members. A statistician and clerical staff rounded out the health care team.³⁵

The demonstration project began under the wide-reaching plan "that work for the health of children as a special group could be successful only when it was part of a broader plan of work for the health of all citizens." The comprehensive work included medical services and nursing support, disease control, sanitation, and school health education—the major divisions of the project.

The demonstration project's funding plan for Fargo's program is noted below:

	Funds From Local Sources	Funds From Child Health Demonstration Project
1922	\$20,663	0
1923	\$24,132	\$38,152
1924	\$25,337	\$42,433
1925	\$27,954	\$39,279
1926	\$29,477	\$37,665
1927	\$36,264	\$32,345
1928	\$40,600	\$900 ³⁶

The Fargo Plan: Medical Services and Nursing Support

Nursing care in schools, community health centers, well-baby clinics, and homes occurred under the project's jurisdiction within the first three months of the CHDP beginning. Initially, school nurses' tasks included assisting teachers with monitoring weights and heights of school children and providing first-aid. Soon the nurses' roles and responsibilities expanded. They were creating medical plans for children showing signs of communicable diseases and physical defects,



Eighteen students in Miss Stevenson's first grade Central School class participating in the cereal project. Pictured are some students eating cereal, while two children are grinding wheat grains that were grown in the classroom. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

and making home visits for children with two or more school absences due to health problems. Nearly four thousand families were reached by the end of 1925 for services conducted by the six visiting nurses. The role of visiting nurses across the Red River in Clay County, Minnesota, lacked the breadth and depth of their Fargo counterparts. Teachers played a complementary role in all health services carried out in Fargo classrooms, such as regular conferencing with medical and nursing staff about children's health needs.³⁷

An attempt, in 1925, to finance social services through employment of a social worker to support families whose health was negatively affected by poverty failed. As a result, a unique partnership emerged. Launched by demonstration project nursing staff, in collaboration with the North Dakota Agricultural College's Home Economics Department, a home-management program was created. It would be staffed by senior-level students. Families reported experiencing great benefits, while students spoke highly of this valuable field work. This partnership continued until 1927 when a Community Chest began providing similar services.³⁸

The demonstration pediatrician, Dr. Lester J. Evans, along with nursing support, began periodic examinations of infants, preschool children, and school-age students in May 1923. School children were examined in kindergarten, first, second, fourth, and seventh grades. About 87 percent of both public and private school children were examined by the end of the project's first year. Over the project's life, 5,841 children were examined between one and five times, with 8 percent or 476 children examined five times. Knowledge gained through these assessments was shared with parents by physicians, nurses, teachers, and director of health education, with a resulting picture gained of the whole child.³⁹

These early steps grew into comprehensive programs that featured a city-funded full-time health officer and part-time assistant. Nurses and other health care professionals supported these individuals' work. They performed duties, ranging from program administration to direct medical and/or public health services. Dentist

Dr. Richard C. Leonard began the public health dentistry program in 1927. Dental services for children included assessing mouth conditions, providing dental care (with no assessed charge for families unable to pay), and promoting dental hygiene through educational activities.⁴⁰

In the Commonwealth Fund's 1929 publication "Five Years in Fargo," a story reveals the scope of family services offered through the Project in 1923:

[The family consisted] of a foreign-born skilled wage earner and an American-born wife, with two children. The children had visited the health center during its first month. The mother was expecting another child and, in response to the effort of the nurse, secured regular medical supervision. The new baby was visited by the nurse on his second day of life and came under the supervision of the health center physician and nurse. When still another baby came nursing service was given both before and after its birth and the child was brought to the health center at four weeks. The mother began to lose weight, tired easily, and ran a slight . . . temperature. Since it was known that her mother died of pulmonary tuberculosis, arrangements were made with the family physician for a complete examination which showed slight involvement of one lung . . . with frequent nursing visits. The case was arrested and the woman gained thirty pounds. The four children have been kept under constant supervision and all are in good health. During the period of not quite five years, the nurses paid seventy-five visits to this home. The oldest boys has been to a health center six times and had two years of health supervision in school; each of the other children has been to the health center at least seventeen times. There has been the closest cooperation between the family physician, the health center, the nurse, the school, and the family, and the whole family is in excellent condition.⁴¹

This sketch exemplifies the comprehensive nature of medical services made available to Fargo citizens through its CHDP.

The Fargo Plan: Communicable Disease Control

Prior to the demonstration project arriving in Fargo, staff working in an isolation hospital provided services to quarantined individuals with communicable diseases. These services represented the lion's share of the community's efforts to combat these diseases. In 1922, total local outlay for public health services amounted to \$.88 per capita with 70 percent (\$.61) of funds supporting the isolation hospital. Lack of effort to reduce communicable disease cases was compounded by an absence of a reporting mechanism. This absence was striking because it inhibited campaigns for the early recognition and reporting, community protection, and improved care of patients that, of course, became essential demonstration project's goals.

A program of best practices was carried out by providers to fill this void. It included detecting communicable diseases, evaluating methods of care, immunizing school children and community members, identifying when and where cases occurred, and isolating patients. Evidence public health services were effective, for example, is seen in the reduction of small pox cases from twenty-eight in 1924 to one case registered in 1927. The Fargo Health Officer, thanks to his oversight of some six thousand vaccinations in 1924, slowed a possible outbreak of this contagious disease. Tuberculosis cases also experienced a drastic decrease during these same years. Incidence numbers for 1924 revealed 140 cases with only twenty-two cases documented in 1927. The tuberculosis score on the APHA Appraisal Forms for Tuberculosis Control increased thirty-three points between 1922 and 1925. To offset future needs, a plan to increase number of isolation beds and general hospital beds, continue study of case incidence, and track tuberculosis cases was created. The total score increase from 69 out of 175 (maximum score) in 1922 to 155 in 1927 on the APHA Appraisal Form for Communicable Disease Control suggests effective program development and implementation. At the time, a venereal disease control program did not exist in Fargo. Local physicians simply referred all cases to the state. Accurate reporting of cases being treated, treatment length, and educational programs were recommendations made to the Fargo medical community and public health workers by project staff.⁴²

The Fargo Plan: Sanitation

Sanitation services throughout the CHDP included control of environmental factors affecting water, milk, and food safety; along with sewage removal and treatment. Fargo citizens experienced significant health problems due to a water-borne typhoid epidemic in the early 1920s caused by the polluted Red River. Illnesses caused by this pollution became known as "Valley Fever."



Ben Franklin School children eating apples at their desks. An important concept stressed in the CHDP was healthy eating. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

Later the city did protect its citizens from the river with a water filtration and sterilization system. Efforts to enlist residents to use city water and its accompanying sewage system were successful, thus reaching 98 percent of the population by 1927. These endeavors resulted in Fargo scoring 125 out of a possible 175 on APHA Appraisal Form for Sanitation. However, two sanitation areas were recorded as unsatisfactory and continued to require careful attention: control of the food and milk supply. These important public health categories were responsible for the sanitation score being deficient by fifty points. Hiring a specialist to inspect the milk and food supply and establish appropriate controls were necessary steps believed to remedy these limitations.⁴³

The Fargo Plan: School Health Education

The Fargo schools provided an ideal setting for "healthy community building" and thus played a significant role in the demonstration program's success. The Fargo School Health Education program served school children in a side-by-side manner with routine, preventative, and protective health services provided by physicians, nurses, and a health officer.

An interesting story of E. Louise Gronlund, long-time Fargo Health Department public health nurse and director of nursing, when she attended Fargo schools during the CHDP, illustrates these services:

There were three of us in our family, my sister was always on the heavy side, my brother was always just right, and I was like a pencil. So, right away I had to have a half-pint of milk in the morning and afternoon in school. But the report card system included weight cards also, and I think the white one was the right weight and I think the blue card was overweight, and I always came home crying with a red card.⁴⁴

A unique aspect of the Fargo program was how "the Fargo teacher was more intimately associated with the doctor and nurse . . . it was her dovetailing . . . into the work of the[se] two technical services that bound

the three together into a classroom service of more than ordinary strength." The classroom teacher acted, then, as the axis for which the entire health education program revolved. Comprehensive health and hygiene curriculum were cooperatively fashioned by local health care providers, CHDP staff, and teachers at all sites. Health instruction was co-delivered with teachers bringing pedagogical expertise, while health workers and CHDP staff contributed content knowledge. The project committee framed the program's big picture through this conclusion: "Since there is an entire generation in the schools at any one time they offer a rare opportunity to make healthful living a major objective of universal education and an integral part of the whole educational system."⁴⁵

Maud A. Brown, director of School Health Education between the years 1923 and 1926, put her brand on the program. Brown brought teaching and administering experience from Los Angeles and Kansas City to Fargo, and research work from the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund in Chicago. This was a nationally renowned fund dedicated to improving the quality of life for infants and children. She was charged with "develop[ing] a program by which the average elementary teacher of average preparation—or lack of it—could make her maximum contribution through health education to the health status—present and future—of the pupils." Brown captured this mandate through her call for a "no-compromise" daily health program so aptly described by board of education member Katie Nevramon Kjorlie:

Children who have learned the value of milk, fruits, and vegetables in the diet, of fresh air and rest, at the impressionable age, will unconsciously size up a meal, and demand the right foods, and will find it impossible to remain in an ill-ventilated room. This is true of my own children who are seven. They ask such questions as "What green vegetables have we today?" or remark "I feel tired this morning, I guess the window wasn't open wide enough."⁴⁶

Daily health teaching occurred for children in grades one through six. Teachers, nurses, and physicians cooperatively planned programs targeted to children's health needs, including daily consumption of healthy foods and milk. This team planning and its subsequent instruction, as carried out by teachers, was guided and supervised by the health education director. Teacher supervision took the form of regular classroom visits to reinforce teachers' lessons and to further motivate students through sharing additional high-interest content. Formal demonstration lessons were used to assist teachers in better understanding school health as a core curricular subject. Brown also worked to bridge

the gap in interpreting the medical staff's sharing of information with teachers. Near the end of the project, demonstration lessons were no longer necessary as more time was spent by school health directors helping teachers select appropriate and motivating materials.⁴⁷

The secondary school program included both junior and senior high school teachers and students. Grades seven through nine health instruction revolved around this cohort's special health needs. Medical examinations, nursing services, weekly monitoring of heights and weights, and physical education framed this program. In science class a holistic curriculum was presented, along with personal health education and the study of public health problems. Curriculum correlation occurred in home economics and art. When one considers the responsibilities of today's high school teachers, it is quite remarkable that every project high school teacher was "held responsible for the individual oversight of the health status and problems of a definite group of pupils." Health education, at the high school level, used courses in personnel health and human biology, while being correlated with home economics, chemistry, physics, art, speech, and civics.⁴⁸

Director Brown's innovative and comprehensive efforts led to increases in healthy outcomes for Fargo students. Direct instruction of health facts and curriculum correlation, which located health content with and through other subjects, were mainstays of the methodology. Extrinsic incentives and contests were used as pedagogical devices to enhance learning when needed.⁴⁹

Health education, prior to the CHDP coming to Fargo, followed North Dakota law in providing fifty minutes of textbook-driven teaching per week. Staff began realizing



Maud A. Brown, a progressive educator, developed a comprehensive health education program in which health learning was absorbed into learning of the regular school subjects. Fargo, 1925. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

the shortcomings of this approach as they engaged with health education as delineated by the CHDP. More relevant materials were selected as emphasis moved from books to students. With the student being the center of the study, the overall program goal became developing a personalized program of health habits for each student.⁵⁰

Fargo's health education program's foundation centered on acquisition of health knowledge: Teachers were encouraged to teach directly "in every way their ingenuity could devise to get [the learning] absorbed at once." Whether the study was exercise, cleanliness, healthy eating, or sleep and rest, teachers initiated instruction through lecture and drill, all the while emphasizing health behaviors and health knowledge. Students were encouraged to share what they learned with family members as means to broaden the scope of this learning.⁵¹

Director Brown enthusiastically endorsed health learning through curriculum correlation when she announced that "interest is there, bursting into activity when the connection is plugged in." Health teaching always began with direct instruction as health knowledge was important in and of itself—and then this learning would be correlated or linked across the curriculum. Project-based learning, considered progressive by twenty-first century standards, was used to gather together learning across the curriculum into a unified whole, thereby touching many aspects of the child's daily life.⁵²

Teachers used extrinsic incentives and contests to increase motivation when students' health learning slowed. They were judicious in their use of these types of learning aids and included them only when needed. Director Brown instructed teachers in three such aids:



Physical examinations, including hearing and vision testing, were regularly used in the CHDP to gain information about the students' health. At Woodrow Wilson School, a young student's vision is being tested by the public health nurse. Fargo, 1927. *Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo*

(1) individual child competes with herself to achieve a personal goal, such as weight gain; (2) groups of children compete against other groups, for example, classes trying to reach the group goal of "100% milk drinkers" faster than other classes, and (3) individual children compete against the group, for instance, individual children earn attendance to the class party by scoring 90 percent or higher on health tests. Fargo teachers were cautioned to pay close attention to what the children found most motivating: health achievement or rewards. Teachers were also warned not to rely on these aids too heavily as they lose their ability to motivate children unless they increase in quantity or quality. Director Brown's overriding message was "Good teaching will always be a matter of meeting individual needs with specific adjustments."⁵³

An example of health education teaching as developed by Fargo's CHDP follows. This primary grade cereal study illustrates direct instruction, curriculum correlation, project learning, and a philosophy in which health education is understood as "inclusive enterprises which, because they touch the children's daily living, necessarily involve health references."⁵⁴

The study began with the children's interest to learn more about a favorite whole wheat cereal. The teacher, capitalizing on this interest, scheduled a visit to a Fargo mill where this product was made. Following direct instruction about wheat production, each child planted several wheat kernels and tended to their care. Reading, finger plays, poetry, and singing were then used to apply these activities to the students' wheat learning. Next, learning about grinding wheat by wind, water, and coal power; and preparing and cooking cereal occurred through direct instruction. Health benefits of wholesome wheat cereal and how cereal's benefits could be enhanced by adding fruit were then taught. An activity enjoyed by the children was grinding wheat grains in a coffee mill while reciting the following rhyme:

We push you, wheel . . . To help you turn . . . To grind
the flour and meal . . . Merrily, merrily over so . . .
Faster and faster you go.

The teacher, using children's ideas about what they were learning, created sentences and poems for reading practice. The song "The Mill" and game "The Miller Boy" linked the students' learning to their wheat grinding. Lastly, the teacher told students about the differing health benefits associated with cooked, as compared to over-prepared cereals, and appropriate cooking techniques. Children, following a simple recipe, cooked their cereal in preparation for the upcoming class party. This preparation allowed students to work with the recipe's numerical directions (e.g., measuring three cups,

timing three minutes). Sentences were again developed and read by the children. The class was now ready to serve and eat cereal. Proper etiquette was practiced and then used to create sentences for further reading practice (e.g., James and Max passed the napkins). The teacher believed in the great educational value of the party and employed her best teaching practices: "the coordination of all activities of the classroom in a self-directed, unified, purposeful undertaking." During Fargo's CHDP years, documented health learning was meaningful and relevant and used similar templates as above. Studies ranged from sanitation to the human body, from lettuce to tomatoes, from puppet shows to class stores, and from the class playhouse to health plays. These studies achieved the goal of health education being absorbed into the regular subjects.⁵⁵

Importance of the school health program to the overall success of the Fargo CHDP was succinctly stated by project leadership: "the demonstration staked its case, in health education, on the complete and whole-hearted acceptance of this new way of life." This same group of leaders illuminated this lifestyle by describing Fargo's children post-participation in the demonstration project: "the children [are] healthier . . . a better level of health has been reflected in greater alertness and accomplishments in school; that children have a new awareness of health as a value in life and a new knowledge of fundamental means of building and preserving it." Similar conclusions were made at the other sites. For example, in Marion County, this same committee reported "the county has committed itself to a broad-plan of health service . . . the results are seen in healthier children and fewer deaths."⁵⁶

Positive Outcomes and a Lasting Legacy

The overarching CHDP goal was developing and sustaining effective community- and school-based health programs. Project effectiveness was illustrated through four different public health measures from the APHA Appraisal Form for these locales. Fargo increased its score for School Health Work by 58 percent. In Athens, due to concerted efforts to improve tuberculosis control, residents here lived through a 96 percent increased score. In Rutherford County, community members and particularly school children, enjoyed an increased score of 90 percent regarding Health Instruction. Marion County residents appreciated a 67 percent increased score in the areas of Maternal, Infant, and Preschool Hygiene. These health performance snapshots resulted in healthier citizens, and reflected positive changes in the public health services offered through these four projects. Fargo, in particular, demonstrated positive community-wide changes.⁵⁷

A cohesive Fargo community joined hands with CHDP staff to develop, conduct, and sustain a unified program for the betterment of its citizens, particularly children. It reached for three objectives: 1) improve the health of children, 2) convince the public that children's health services were worth local expense, and 3) encourage professional groups to take positive action regarding importance of children's health. Teachers, nurses, physicians, and parents were front-line contributors to achieving these objectives. Civic-minded community organizations, such as the PTA, Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, and the local newspaper, the *Fargo Forum and Daily Republican*, contributed strategically to help achieve these same objectives. When one considers the obstacles the Fargo community and its CHDP partner had to overcome to achieve the above objectives, its success is remarkable. Some obstacles included contagious disease epidemics, unfiltered drinking water, untreated sewage, inadequate state funding and support, minimal school health education programming, and public health conducted on a part-time basis.⁵⁸

In 1929, the first year following conclusion of the CHDP, the Fargo Health Department was developed and led by ten full-time employees. It included a health officer, public health dentist, sanitary inspector, school health education supervisor; and six public health nurses. These health care providers were supported by many others concerned about the health and well-being of Fargo's children. City government, the board of education, and Red Cross covered all payroll expenses. Now for the first time, Fargo would offer its citizens a comprehensive community and school health program.

The public health work carried out by CHDP staff and Fargo community satisfied Anna Harkness's wish "to do something for the welfare of mankind." As noted by the Commonwealth Fund Committee, "it is clear that there has been material gain . . . in [Fargo's] public health program . . . initiative, enthusiasm, and cooperation has accomplished this task, upon which the city is to be congratulated."⁵⁹ The Fargo Health Department, by 1945, earned a state-wide reputation for excellence for its comprehensive community-based public health program. It continues today as the re-named Fargo Cass Public Health and is directed by three goals: prevent, promote, and protect.⁶⁰



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ENDNOTES

¹ Richard K.Means, *A History of Health Education in the United States*. (Philadelphia. PA: Lea & Febiger, 1962): 88; John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1900): 52-22; Richard K.Means, *A History of Health Education in the United States*. (Philadelphia. PA: Lea & Febiger, 1962): 77, 87; John Duffy. *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health*. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1900): 235; Richard K.Means, *A History of Health Education in the United States*. (Philadelphia. PA: Lea & Febiger, 1962): 98.

² George Rosen, *The History of Public Health*. (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015): 216.

³ The Work-Study-Play concept was part of the Platoon or Gary Plan for school curriculum, instruction and organization reform. Students, in groups or platoons, spent their school day traveling to different areas of the school and its outside spaces completing work, such as preparing the school newspaper, tending to the school garden, or assisting in the kitchen. Students also studied basic skill subjects, such as reading and mathematics, as well as enrichment studies, such as nature study. Play was an integral part of the school day, whether in physical education, recess, or learning a school subject through movement. Blending this new kind of schooling was curriculum correlation. Here, students would learn and practice math skills, for example, while plotting out the school garden. The idea was to make learning connected, meaningful, and authentic for the students. For a completed description see Steven Grineski, "Work-Study-Play Concept Changes Fargo Schools," *North Dakota History: Journal of the Plains* 82, no. 2 (Winter 2018).

⁴ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): xi, ix, 3.

⁵ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 33; Courtenay Dinwiddie, *Child Health and the Community*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1931): 27; *Five Years in Fargo: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Fargo, North Dakota* (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 7.

⁶ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 35; *Five Years in Fargo: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Fargo, North Dakota* (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 63; *Appraisal Form for Rural Health Work*, (New York: American Public Health Association, 1927): 1, 4.

⁷ B.K. Kilbourne, "Bourne Says Everybody is Responsible for Health," *The Fargo Forum*, January 2, 1928, 2.

⁸ Courtenay Dinwiddie, *Child Health and the Community*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1931): 14.

⁹ For Fargo teachers correlating health lessons across and within the school curriculum was their normal teaching practice. For a 6th grade lesson about communicable disease and its prevention, for example, students would rely on mathematic skills to chart the incidence of tuberculosis, student would use social studies to learn about which states had the highest and lowest incidence, and in language arts students would write letters to government leaders to learn about relevant legislation. Art class would follow suit and students would make flyers and posters depicting healthy habits. This kind of work was usually accomplished by teams of teachers to take advantage of subject expertise and reduce workload. For a thorough and illustrative examination of these curriculum and instructional practices, see Maud A. Brown, *Teaching Health in Fargo*, (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 50-116.

¹⁰ J.G. Moore, "Complete Study of Health is Used in Fargo Schools," *The Fargo Forum*, January 8, 1928, 1; *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 33-34.

¹¹ Maud A. Brown, *Teaching Health in Fargo*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 22-25; *A Chapter of Child Health: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Clarke County and Athens, Georgia*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1930): 55.

¹² *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 33-35; Maud A. Brown, *Teaching Health in Fargo*, (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929):1-7; Courtenay Dinwiddie, *Child Health and the Community*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1931): 60-63.

¹³ "Commonwealth Fund: Home," accessed on May 14, 2018 www.commonwealthfund.org

¹⁴ Andrew L. Yarrow, "History of United States Children's Policy, 1900-Present," accessed on February 12, 2018 <https://firstfocus.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/childrens-policy-history.pdf> pages 1-4; Hamilton Cravens, *Before Headstart: The Iowa Station and America's Children* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993): 30; Jennie Jacobs Kronefeld, *Schools and the Health of Children: Protecting our Future*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc., 2000): 16; Kriste Lindenmeyer, *A Right to Childhood: The U.S. Children's Bureau and Child Welfare, 1912-1946* (Urbana; University of Illinois Press, 1997): 9, 1-10, 14.

¹⁵ Andrew L. Yarrow, "History of United States Children's Policy,

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¹⁶ Judith Sealander, *Private Wealth Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997):11.

¹⁷ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 3; "US Inflation Calculator," accessed on May 28, 2018; Judith Sealander, *Private Wealth Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997):10, 12; *For the Common Good: The Commonwealth Fund, 1918-1983*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1983): 2.

¹⁸ James Marten, *Childhood and Child Welfare in the Progressive Era*. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005): 6, 3, and 5; Hamilton Craven, *Before Headstart: The Iowa Station and America's Children* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993):3.

¹⁹ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 33; Forrest E. Linder and Robert D. Grover, *Vital Statistic Rates in the United States 1900-1940* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1947): 607; William D'Klein, "D'Kleine Tells of Activities," North Dakota Masonic Grand Lodge Library Collection, MSS1942, 558. (Fargo, NDSU Archives, 1923).

²⁰ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 33; "Demonstrating Child Health, 1923-1927," Bulletin No. 4, The Commonwealth Fund Child Health Program. (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1927), 6.

²¹ Maud A. Brown, *Teaching Health in Fargo*, (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 7; Courtenay Dinwiddie, *Child Health and the Community*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1931): 15-16; 26-27; W.F. Walker, "A Survey of Public Health Work in Fargo, ND," Bulletin No. 5, The Commonwealth Fund Child Health Program. (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1927).

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²³ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963):35.

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²⁵ Courtenay Dinwiddie, *Child Health and the Community*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1931): 18, 27; "City Board to Carry on Work: Fargo Health Department Will Continue Activities of Demonstration." North Dakota Masonic Grand Lodge Library Collection, MSS1942, 559. (Fargo, NDSU Archives, 1923).

²⁶ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 11-14; *A Chapter of Child Health: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Clarke County and Athens, Georgia*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1930): 1; Estella Ford Warner and Geddes Smith, *Children of the Covered Wagon: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Marion County, Oregon, 1925-1929*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1930): 3; Harry S. Mustard, *Cross-Sections of Rural Health Progress: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Rutherford County, Tennessee, 1924-1928*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1930): 6.

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³⁰ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 17; *Five Years in Fargo: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Fargo, North Dakota* (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 17; North Dakota Masonic Grand Lodge Library Collection, MSS 1942, 560 (Fargo: NDSU Archives, 1927): 27; *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963):15.

³¹ *A Chapter of Child Health: Report of the Commonwealth Fund*

Child Health Demonstration in Clarke County and Athens, Georgia, The Commonwealth Fund (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1930): 4-8; Estella Ford Warner and Geddes Smith, *Children of the Covered Wagon: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Marion County, Oregon, 1925-1929*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1930):15; Harry S. Mustard, *Cross-Sections of Rural Health Progress: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Rutherford County, Tennessee, 1924-1928*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1930): 3-9; Stephen L. McDonough, *The Golden Ounce: A Century of Public Health in North Dakota* (Grand Forks, ND: 1989): 168, viii.

³² *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 18.

³³ Ibid. 18,19.

³⁴ Ibid, 23, 24.

³⁵ Maud A. Brown, *Teaching Health in Fargo*, (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): vii.

³⁶ Ibid, viii, 40-43.

³⁷ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 8, 48.

³⁸ Ibid, 38, 55; Clay County Commission, accessed on November 6, 2019 <http://www.revisor.mn.gov/laws/1919/0/Session+Law/Chapter/38/pdf>

³⁹ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 39, 17.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 122-125; 19-22; 25; 39.

⁴¹ Ibid, 51, 42.

⁴² Ibid, 25-26.

⁴³ Ibid, 38, 52, 67, 72-73.

⁴⁴ Stephen L. McDonough, *The Golden Ounce: A Century of Public Health in North Dakota*. (Grand Forks, ND: 1989): vi; *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 11, 58, 57.

⁴⁵ Stephen L. McDonough, *The Golden Ounce: A Century of Public Health in North Dakota*. (Grand Forks, ND: 1989):194.

⁴⁶ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 104-105, 134, 172.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 22, 28, 30; *The Story of 45 Years of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund*, (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1954).

⁴⁸ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 55; Maud A. Brown, *Teaching Health in Fargo*, (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 155-165.

⁴⁹ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 56-58.

⁵⁰ Maud A. Brown, *Teaching Health in Fargo*, (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 13, 14.

⁵¹ Ibid,15.

⁵² Ibid, 19, 15-25.

⁵³ Ibid, 15-25.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 119, 136.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 55.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 50-63.

⁵⁷ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 28, 152-153, 102.

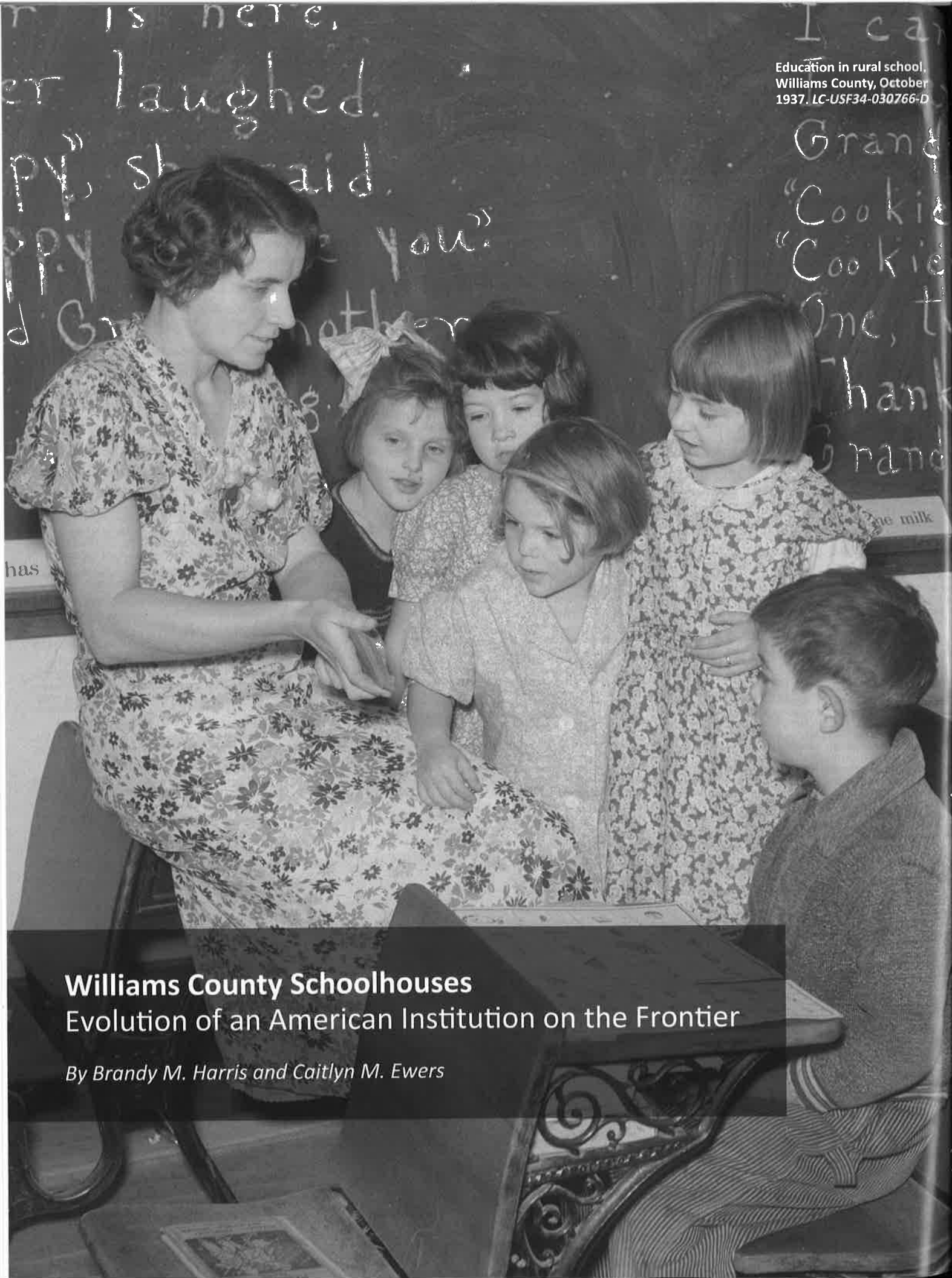
⁵⁸ Courtenay Dinwiddie, *Child Health and the Community*, (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1931): 57.

⁵⁹ *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): 172-179 Stephen L. McDonough, *The Golden Ounce: A Century of Public Health in North Dakota*. (Grand Forks, ND: 1989): 15, 158-159; *Five Years in Fargo: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Fargo, North Dakota* (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929):16.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 50-51; *The Commonwealth Fund: Historical Sketch, 1918-1962*, The Commonwealth Fund (New York: Harkness House, 1 East Seventy-fifth Street, 1963): ix; *Five Years in Fargo: Report of the Commonwealth Fund Child Health Demonstration in Fargo, North Dakota* (New York; The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929): 84.

⁶¹ Stephen L. McDonough, *The Golden Ounce: A Century of Public Health in North Dakota*. (Grand Forks, ND: 1989): 193; Fargo Cass Public Health, accessed on November 15, 2019 <http://www.fargond.gov/sity-government/departments/fargo-cass-public-health>

Education in rural school,
Williams County, October
1937. LC-USF34-030766-D



Williams County Schoolhouses Evolution of an American Institution on the Frontier

By Brandy M. Harris and Caitlyn M. Ewers

The rural schoolhouse represents both an iconic institution and a building type distinctive to the United States. As a physical space and as a concept, the schoolhouse has played a significant role in the evolution of public memory, promoted American self-identification, and represented a definitive part of the rural American landscape. Its significance is especially pronounced on the northern plains, where isolated, vacant schoolhouses often represent the last vestige of a former agricultural community or the oldest surviving building in the area. These trends are especially apparent in depopulated portions of Williams County (Figure 1) where the lack of development has allowed many early twentieth-century schoolhouses to remain relatively intact. These buildings often define the surrounding landscape and serve as historical and cultural landmarks to current and former residents.

The development, evolution, and eventual demise of the American rural schoolhouse is a topic visited regularly by scholars, preservationists, and local historians. At the national level, recurring themes include common trends in rural architecture as represented in schoolhouse design; the role of the schoolhouse in rural community development, particularly in areas settled under the Homestead Act of 1862; and popular misconceptions about “the rural problem,” immigrant populations, and the quality of rural education. These misconceptions precipitated a conflict between late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Progressive movements and formerly autonomous rural educational systems. Research into educational development in Williams County enabled assessment of known, surviving Williams County schoolhouses within the context of these themes and evaluation of the buildings and their history in relation to national trends.¹

“ These buildings often define the surrounding landscape and serve as historical and cultural landmarks to current and former residents. ”

Figure 1: Williams County. All photos and figures by authors unless otherwise noted.



Overview of Williams County History

The land that became known as Williams County is the traditional homeland of the Assiniboiné (Nakota) and Hidatsa. European exploration began in the eighteenth century. Fur traders conducted winter trading at or near their villages along the Missouri River and its major tributaries throughout the century. Permanent Euro-American settlement in North Dakota did not occur until the mid-nineteenth century. Dakota Territory organized in 1861, and early settlers to the territory engaged in open range ranching, which persisted from the 1870s through the turn of the twentieth century.

In the late 1880s, the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway extended its rail network westward from Minnesota and eastern North Dakota.² The railway provided the conduit for Euro-American settlement in western North Dakota, prompting the Great Dakota Land Boom. By 1891, the newly created railroad towns had enough settlers for Williams County to incorporate, with the town of Williston as the county seat. By 1910, the region boasted so many settlers that the aptly named Divide

County split off from Williams County. By that time, most available land in the county had been claimed.³ About half of the initial settlers in Williams County were native-born Americans, many first-generation, and the other half were foreign-born.⁴ Most of the foreign-born immigrants were from Scandinavia, but German, Irish, and French settlers were also present.⁵

The early twentieth-century history of Williams County was defined by a second, more intensive phase of rural settlement known as the Second Dakota Boom.⁶ North Dakota's population doubled between 1900 and 1920, with most of the increase taking place in the central and western parts of the state. In 1900, there were only 122 farms in Williams County; by 1910, the number had swelled to over 2,500.⁷ As rural populations grew, the number of small, community schoolhouses proliferated across the state. However, settlement peaked in the early 1920s, and from that point on, Williams County's rural population steadily declined. Severe drought during the Great Depression caused many families to lose their farms, initiating a wave of farm consolidation that continued through the twentieth century.⁸ Farm mechanization further encouraged rural population decline, and large-scale agribusiness rose in prominence. As a result, the number of small family farms fell and the average farm size ballooned from 400 acres in 1920 to over 1,300 by the end of the century.⁹ As the population dwindled, the county's remaining children were bussed

to larger, consolidated schools in the nearby town of Williston, and the schoolhouses that had served rural Williams County were eventually abandoned. Although no longer in use, these buildings were often left intact and in their original locations; their presence defines the rural landscape in many parts of the county, and they continue to stand as a tangible connection to the region's early twentieth-century past.

Rural Architectural Trends and Williams County Schools

The development of the rural one-room schoolhouse was intensely localized and community-driven in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. Most rural communities designed and constructed their educational facilities without standardized plans or the direction of a professional architect, and the coordination necessary to procure a site, initiate construction, and manage the ongoing operation of a schoolhouse represented a significant cooperative effort.¹⁰ As a result, the country's rural one-room schoolhouses exhibit a variety of architectural elements and construction methods that reflect the construction knowledge, materials, and stylistic preferences of the individual communities that initiated their development. The extant schoolhouses of Williams County demonstrate these localized variations in design, materials, and ornament while maintaining the recognizable form of this distinctly American building type (Figure 2).

Siting

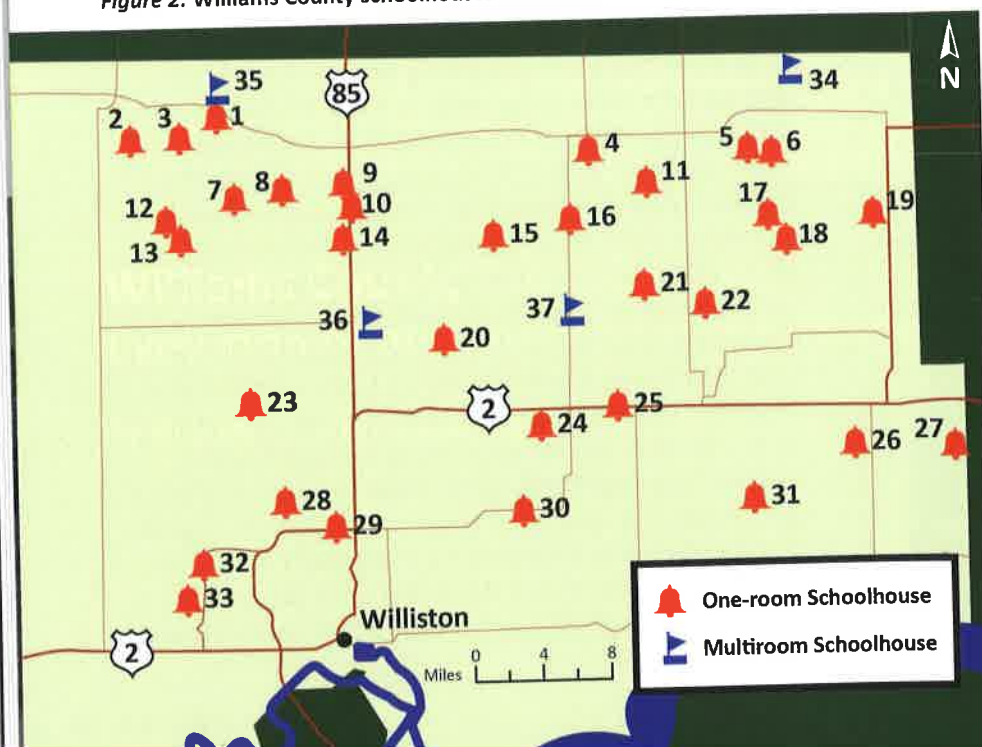
Within Williams County and across the northern plains, rural schoolhouses dotted the landscape throughout settled areas. The number of rural schoolhouses within North Dakota more than tripled between 1890 and 1915,

increasing from 1,456 to 5,421.¹¹ These schools were typically constructed on land donated by local farmers and positioned at a nexus within rural communities. A well-positioned school would reduce the distance the average student needed to travel and could contribute to higher attendance rates, particularly when the region experienced extreme winter weather.¹²

Locating land on which to construct a schoolhouse might be a source of conflict where arable land was scarce and coveted for agriculture; however, cultivatable land was relatively abundant in the northern plains. As each homesteader received a quarter section (160 acres), farmers who donated land for a local school relinquished relatively little harvestable land. Furthermore, donors often gained favor and status within their communities, and conveyances of schoolhouse land generally included a clause under which property ownership reverted upon relocation or abandonment of the school. Consequently, contention over schoolhouse siting remained minimal in this region, and schoolhouses appeared at somewhat frequent intervals across the landscape.¹³

Schoolhouses were typically sited near the corner of a property ranging in size from 1 to 5 acres, normally adjacent to a roadway and often at an intersection. This positioning and the size of the parcels maximized access to the school and minimized the area that needed to be diverted from cultivation while allowing room for ancillary features such as privies and playground equipment. Entryways predominantly faced south, which was likely intended to protect the interior of the schoolhouses from prevailing (northern) winds.¹⁴ Of the twenty, one-room schoolhouses determined to be in their original location in Williams County, slightly more than half are oriented from east to west.¹⁵

Figure 2: Williams County schoolhouses included in the study.



Form

As described in Andrew Gulliford's seminal work on the development and evolution of schoolhouse architecture, *America's Country Schools*, the architecture of early rural schoolhouses can be divided generally into four categories: folk vernacular buildings, mass vernacular buildings, buildings constructed from plan books, and architect-commissioned buildings. These categories represent the phased progression of schoolhouse construction, from simple shelters exhibiting local design trends and readily available materials (folk vernacular), to traditional forms constructed from factory-produced, commercially available materials (mass vernacular), to buildings constructed from plans drafted by a professional architect.¹⁶

Table 1: Extant One-room Schoolhouses in Williams County

FIG. 2 IDENTIFIER:	INFERRED NAME:*	TOWNSHIP:	CURRENT RELATIVE LOCATION:
1	Digre School	Scorio	Northeast corner of Eva Ave. and Benson Ave.
2	Barr Butte Township School No. 2	Barr Butte	Southwest corner of 80th St. NW and 149th Ave. NW
3	Barr Butte Township School No. 1	Barr Butte	Northwest corner of 80th St. NW and 146th Ave. NW
4	Big Stone Township School	Big Stone	79th St. NW, approximately 0.1 mile east of 122nd Ave. NW
5	Big Meadow Township School No. 1	Big Meadow	79th St. NW, approximately 0.3 mile west of 112th Ave. NW
6	Big Meadow Township School No. 2	Big Meadow	79th St. NW, approximately 0.5 mile west of 111th Ave. NW
7	Pederson School	Orthell	143rd Ave. NW, approximately 0.5 mile south of 77th St. NW
8	Grey School	Orthell	Southeast corner of 77th St. NW and 140th Ave. NW
9	Winner Township School No. 3	Winner	136th Ave. NW, approximately 0.4 mile south of 77th St. NW
10	Winner Township School No. 1	Winner	136th Ave. NW, approximately 0.3 mile north of 76th St. NW
11	New Home Township School	New Home	77th St. NW, approximately 0.4 mile west of 118th Ave. NW
12	Thull School	Good Luck	Northwest corner of 75th St. NW and 147th Ave. NW
13	Haug School	Strandahl	71st St. NW, approximately 0.2 mile west of 152nd Ave. NW
14	Winner Township School No. 2	Winner	74th St. NW, approximately 0.3 mile west of 136th Ave. NW
15	Ellisville Township School	Ellisville	74th St. NW, approximately 0.5 mile west of 127th Ave. NW
16	McGill School	Rainbow	Southeast corner of 75th St. NW and 123rd Ave. NW
17	South Meadow Township School No. 2	South Meadow	Southwest corner of 75th St. NW and 111th Ave. NW
18	South Meadow Township School No. 1	South Meadow	110th Ave. NW, approximately 0.5 mile south of 74th St. NW
19	Lindahl Township School	Lindahl	75th St. NW, approximately 1 mile west of 104th Ave. NW
20	Frost School	Dublin	68th St. NW, approximately 0.5 mile west of 130th Ave. NW
21	Flatten School	Champlon	71st St. NW, approximately 0.5 mile west of 118th Ave. NW
22	Dillon School	Champlon	115th Ave. NW, approximately 1 mile north of 69th St. NW
23	High Cliff School	Cow Creek	142nd Ave. NW, approximately 0.5 mile north of 64th St. NW
24	Marshall Township School	Marshall	Southeast corner of 63rd St. NW and 125th Ave. NW
25	Wheelock Township School	Wheelock	Northwest corner of 64th St. NW and 120th Ave. NW
26	West Bank Township School	West Bank	Northeast corner of 105th Ave. NW and 106th Ave. NW
27	Hillier School	Pleasant Valley	102A Ave. NW, approximately 0.5 mile south of 62nd St. NW
28	North Missouri Ridge School	Missouri Ridge	140th Ave. NW, approximately 0.5 mile north of 58th St. NW
29	South Missouri Ridge School	Missouri Ridge	Southeast corner of 57th St. NW and 137th Ave. NW
30	Springbrook Township School	Springbrook	Southeast corner of 58th St. NW and 126th Ave. NW
31	Hartsoch School	View	112th Ave. NW, approximately 0.5 mile south of 59th St. NW
32	Mont Township School	Mont	Northeast corner of 55th St. NW and 145th Ave. NW
33	Judson Township School	Judson	Southeast corner of 53rd St. NW and 146th Ave. NW

Table 2: Extant Post-Consolidation (Multiroom) Schoolhouses in Williams County

FIG. 2 IDENTIFIER:	INFERRED NAME:*	TOWNSHIP:	CURRENT RELATIVE LOCATION:
34	Hamlet School (Hamlet, ND)	Big Meadow	109th Dr. W., approximately 0.15 mile south of 84th St. NW
35	District No. 37 School (Hanks, ND)	Scorio	Northeast corner of Eva Ave. and Benson Ave.
36	Twin Lakes Consolidated School	Athens	69th St. NW, approximately 1 mile east of 136th Ave. NW
37	Oliver Township School	Oliver	123rd Ave. NW, approximately 0.1 mile north of 69th St. NW

**Where schoolhouses' original names could not be determined due to relocation and/or incomplete records, the schoolhouses are identified by the township in which they were located as of writing.*

Although many folk vernacular sod and log schoolhouses once existed in North Dakota,¹⁷ the early twentieth-century schools still standing in Williams County are consistently of the mass vernacular type. Architectural plans for standardized schools were available nationally as early as 1832, but homesteaders often lacked access to design books and the necessary building materials,

skill, and inclination to follow them. Consequently, the form of rural schoolhouses was influenced largely by the prevailing notion of what a schoolhouse "should" look like, while execution of these visions was limited by the materials available within the region.¹⁸ Due to restrictions in available materials and local construction experience, rural schoolhouses often resembled small



The North Missouri Ridge School represents typical Williams County schoolhouse style and siting.

farmhouses or churches in their form, materials, and construction methods. The influence of vernacular religious architecture and cultural tradition can also be seen in the frequent addition of decorative architectural elements, such as belfries, circular attic windows, and entry vestibules.

The form of Williams County's early twentieth-century schoolhouses tends to align with documented national trends, but several regional adaptations are apparent. Nationally, most one-room schoolhouses were small, wood-framed constructions that rarely exceeded 30 feet by 40 feet in area.¹⁹ The surviving Williams County schoolhouses are simple wood-framed buildings with rectangular or (as a result of additions) L- or T-shaped plans (Photograph 1).



Photograph 1: T-shaped plan at the Winner Township School No.2.

Gabled roofs are by far the most common roof form, although eight hipped examples and one gable-on-hip roof were also identified.²⁰ Regardless of form, all of the schoolhouses' roofs feature a relatively steep pitch to better shed heavy snow loads.²¹ To improve heating efficiency, the buildings tend to be slightly smaller than schoolhouses constructed in the southern prairie or Midwest, typically measuring no more than 24 feet by 32 feet. Williams County schools are also often raised over a crawl space or full basement, sometimes with a furnace below.

Regarding door and window openings, Williams County schoolhouses again diverge slightly from national patterns. Nationwide, vernacular schoolhouses tended to feature a single entrance on the short side of the building, sometimes sheltered by a porch but often opening directly to the outdoors (Photograph 2).²² In the northern plains, however, entry vestibules or cloakrooms are a common adaptation against the wintertime cold and wind.²³ External entry vestibules, mostly featuring gabled roofs, appear on eighteen schoolhouses in Williams County. Another three schools bear evidence of external vestibules that have collapsed or been removed, while six feature internal, integrated vestibules. In at least one case (the McGill School), a vestibule addition also contains two plumbed restrooms.



Photograph 2: External entry vestibule on Hartsoch school.

Also contrasting with national trends in schoolhouse design, approximately half of the one-room schools recorded in Williams County feature the entrance on the long side of the building, invariably via a vestibule addition. In these cases, the addition and entryway are generally located near a corner of the building and lead into the rear of the classroom; however, three extant schoolhouses feature entry vestibules centered in the long side of the building, and one has an entry vestibule centered on the gable-end of a transecting wing.²⁴ Although no archival evidence was found to explain this phenomenon, constructing entry vestibules on the long side of the school building seems to have allowed for larger vestibules with space for cloakrooms and other amenities. The positioning also appears to have facilitated location of an entry within the resultant ell, offering additional protection from wind and weather.

In all examples, the Williams County schoolhouses feature a bank of windows in at least one of the building's two longer sides (Photograph 3). Pattern books typically advised against installation of windows in opposite walls, as the cross-lighting was thought to stress students' eyes.²⁵ However, at least three examples in Williams County feature windows in both of the

Photograph 3:
Glass block window
replacements on
McGill School.



schoolhouses' long sides.²⁶ Numerous examples also feature windows in two adjacent classroom walls. Where the original windows are present, they are regularly multilight, double-hung wood sash units. In multiple instances, the original windows have been boarded over or replaced with broad expanses of thick glass blocks (circa 1930 and later). The latter alteration may have been intended to improve the buildings' heat retention in the colder months.²⁷

Materials

Mass vernacular schoolhouses, such as those in Williams County, are differentiated from their folk vernacular precedents by the use of commercially-produced materials including machine-milled lumber, ready-made concrete masonry units, prefabricated millwork, and manufactured hardware and fittings.²⁸ The wood-framed schoolhouses of Williams County display an extensive use of milled lumber, likely harvested and processed in the Black Hills or other Western forests and shipped by railcar to rural market towns.²⁹ Wood paneled doors, horizontal wood siding, and interior and exterior window moldings are seen in every example of Williams County one-room schoolhouses, while turned porch posts appear in a few buildings that feature unenclosed porches (Photograph 4).³⁰ More than three-quarters of the extant schoolhouses feature roofs clad in mass-produced wood shingles with metal capping along the ridgelines.³¹

Photograph 4:
Prefabricated
door, siding,
and trim on
Grey School.



Where surviving, chimneys typically display the use of standardized, mass-manufactured brick. In some instances, the original chimney has been replaced by a metal stovepipe or boiler stack. Effective heating and ventilation systems were considered to be one of the most important environmental factors in students' learning, and therefore communities carefully considered these elements when constructing schools.³² In at least one case (Grey School), the school was built with a coal room and large coal-burning furnace in the basement. The coal room connects to the exterior of the primary façade by a metal coal chute set into the concrete foundation, and the furnace fed heat through the building via a system of metal ductwork (Photograph 5).



Photograph 5: Majestic Store-Chute on Grey School foundation.

The foundations of Williams County's one-room schoolhouses are generally constructed from board-formed concrete. Several feature crawl spaces or full basements with squat, wood-framed windows set into the foundation, which contrasts with the prevailing view that schoolhouses on the Plains were often temporarily sited and intended to be moved easily as populations shifted.³³ Other Williams County schools appear to rest on slab foundations, and several have indeed been moved or incorporated into agricultural or industrial operations (Wheelock Township School; Winner Township School #1) as cultivation and oil drilling have intensified and lands have changed ownership.

Architectural Style

Rural one-room schoolhouses are limited in style by nature of their function, form, and available materials. However, the addition of distinct architectural elements reflects local stylistic preferences and trends and differentiates individual examples (Figure 3). Certain ornamental details, such as spires or belfries, might be perceived as community status symbols.³⁴ Others signify the dominant ethnic and religious backgrounds of the local population. In 1910, European immigrants and their children constituted 77 percent of North Dakota's population, "of which the largest groups were the Norwegians with 125,000 closely followed by Germans with 117,000, about half of whom were Germans

Figure 3a: West Bank Township School

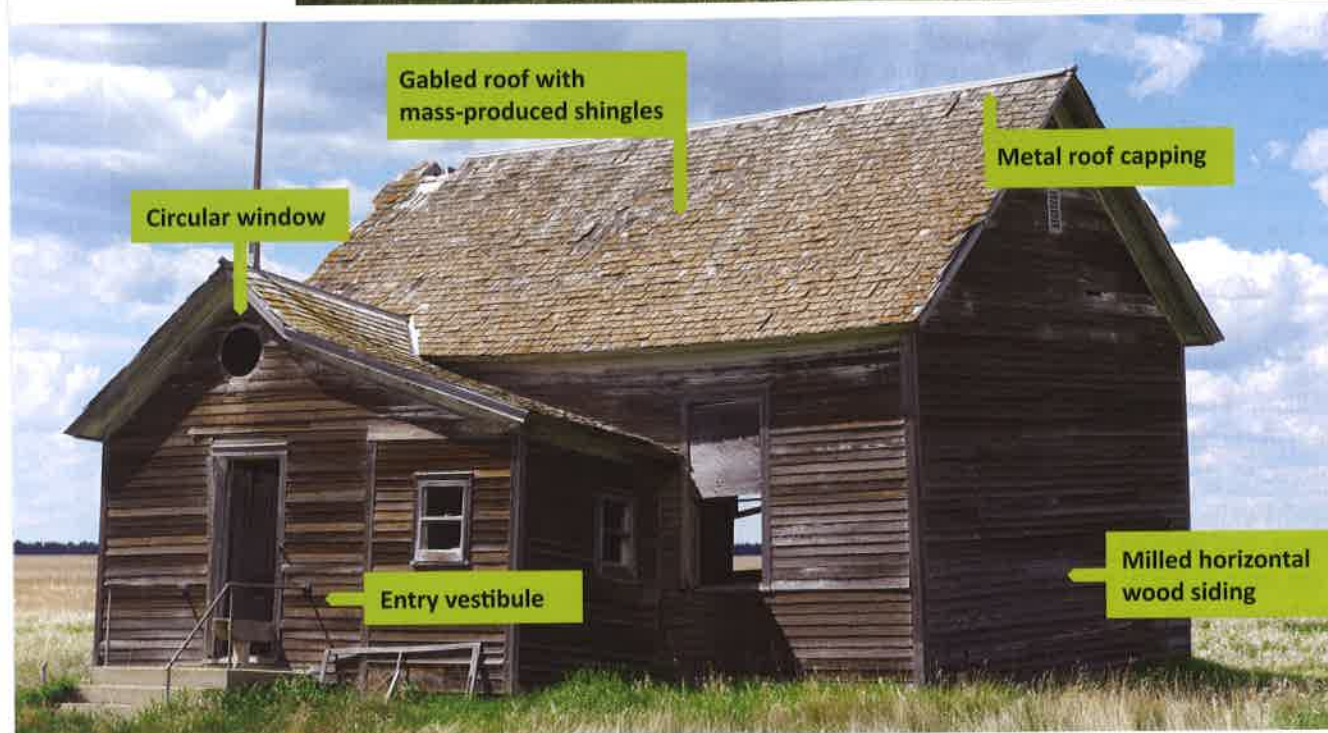
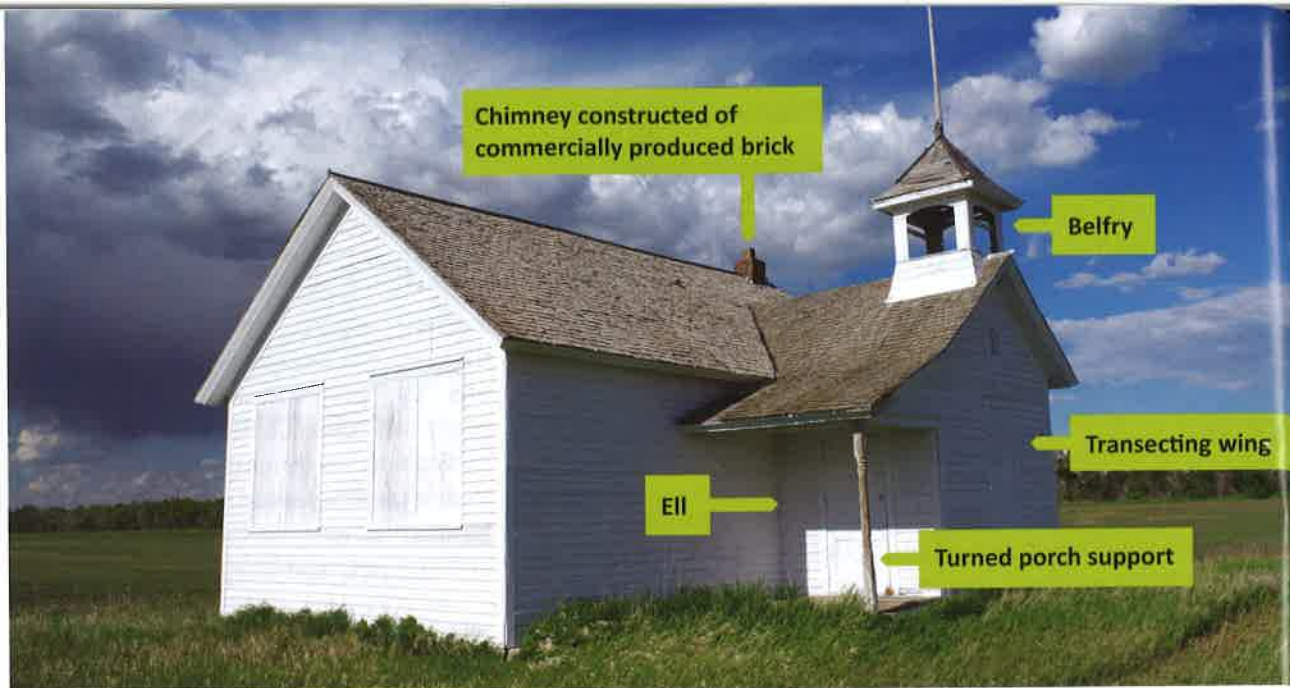


Figure 3b:
Champion
Township
School #1
(Flatten School)

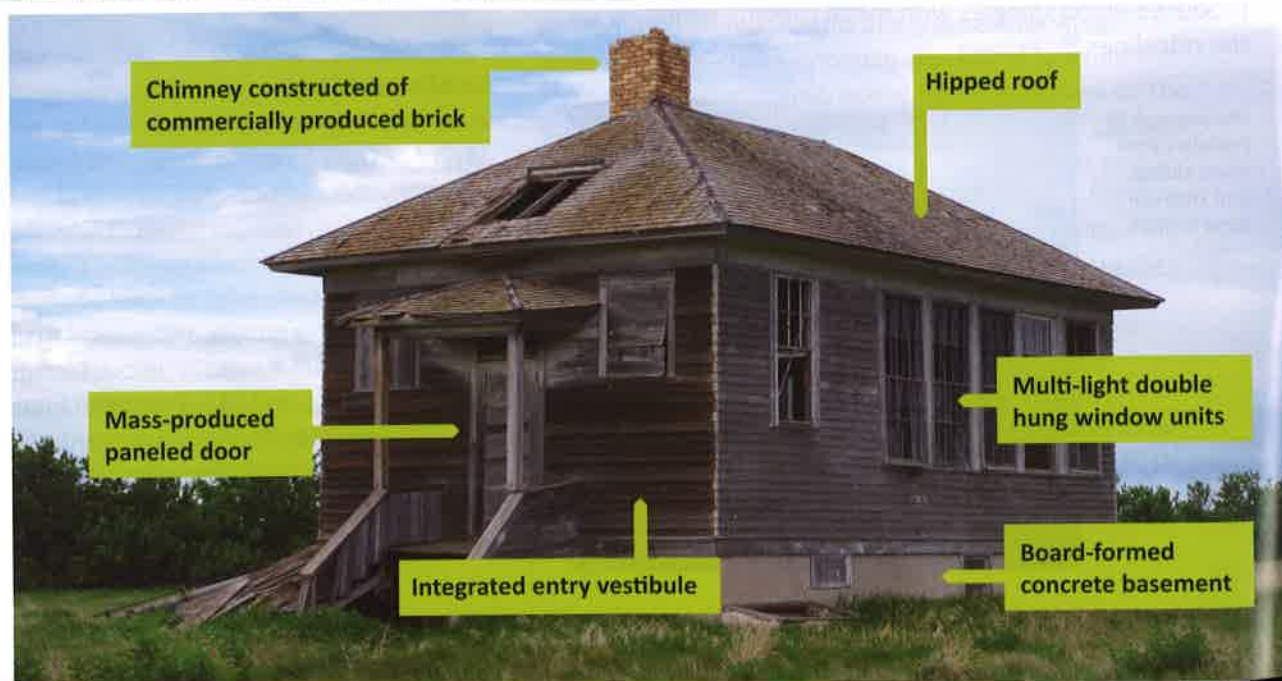


Figure 3c:
Big Meadow
Township
School

from Russia.”³⁵ Of the twenty Williams County school sites where original land donations could be traced through deed research, seven donors are identified as first- or second-generation Norwegian immigrants in Williams County census records. One donor could not be identified in census records but bears a Norwegian surname, and two are identified as first- or second-generation Swedish immigrants.³⁶

The influence of Scandinavian settlers in particular is apparent in the vernacular schoolhouses of Williams County. In *The Prairie Schoolhouse*, a photographic essay of rural schools in the western and central United States, John Campbell asserts:

Probably, Scandinavian homesteaders contributed more prairie schoolhouse variations than any other immigrant group. In western North Dakota it would seem that most Norwegian farmers were, in addition, carpenters and amateur architects . . . No two Norwegian one-room schools were alike. Each reflected the individual tastes and skills of farmers-cum-architects and contractors.³⁷

Although Williams County’s early twentieth-century schools are simple forms that generally follow a flexible and unofficial “cultural template” of rural schoolhouse

design, the ethnic and cultural influences of local craftspeople lend a distinct flavor and style to an otherwise standardized building form.³⁸ The buildings are instantly recognizable in terms of their function and general form, but they exhibit endless variation with regard to porches, vestibules, attic windows, dormers, belfries, and other decorative features, many of which served practical functions as well.³⁹

Of the surviving one-room schoolhouses recorded in Williams County, nearly all feature vestibules, and eleven also have small entry porches. Three of these porches are integrated into the roofline of the school building or vestibule. Eight are external additions, often built into the ell formed between the classroom and a vestibule located near one corner of building’s long side.⁴⁰ A few feature turned wooden porch posts, elevating the decorative element of the building’s entryway.⁴¹

Less common decorative features include eave returns, which are a Greek Revival Style-inspired flourish found on four extant Williams County schools,⁴² and dormer windows, which only appear in two examples (Photograph 6).⁴³ Attic windows, an attractive alternative to louvered attic vents, appear in various shapes and sizes in ten schoolhouses. A majority of these are circular in shape, perhaps a provincialized version of rose windows in Christian religious architecture; rectangular, semi-circular, and compound examples were also documented (Photograph 7).⁴⁴

Belfries, perhaps the most iconic schoolhouse ornament, survive in-place on eight early twentieth-century Williams County schoolhouses (Photograph 8). In a ninth example, the belfry has been removed and laid next to the building.⁴⁵ The belfries vary greatly in size, form, and detail, from the simple gabled tower crowning Frost School to a particularly elaborate, three-tiered example affixed to Barr Butte Township School No. 1. These features take inspiration from Christian churches and reflect the cultural background of their amateur architects and carpenters. The shingled, pyramidal roofs observed in eight Williams County schoolhouse belfries



Photograph 6: Dormer window on the Judson Township School.



Photograph 7: Decorative eave returns and semi-circular attic window on Thull School.



Photograph 8: Gabled belfry on Frost School.



Photograph 9: Flatten School, purchased by Champion Township and used as the community's official township hall beginning in 1971.

are also reminiscent of the bell towers of Norway's famous stave churches, scaled down to a smaller and simpler form that nevertheless communicated prestige and community pride.⁴⁶

Departures from the simple, traditional form and composition of American one-room schoolhouses elevated the design of one of the rural community's most important civic facilities. In *America's Country Schools*, Gulliford states that "no single building type in American architecture more vividly represents the communal efforts of the settlers, who donated time, labor and materials to provide places of learning for their children."⁴⁷ Rural schoolhouses, in Williams County as across America, were a product of community cooperation and evidence of local autonomy. In form as well as function, they became inextricably linked with the identity of the communities that constructed them in the early twentieth century.

The Schoolhouse as a Community Center

From their very inception, rural schoolhouses acted as focal points of community identity and placemaking. Often the first—and sometimes the only—civic building erected in a rural community, the schoolhouse became an integral fixture within the physical and social landscape. Schoolhouses represented collaboration between community members as well as local autonomy, as it was rural communities, not state governments, that organized the early educational systems of the northern plains.⁴⁸ Through the early 1900s, rural communities made most of the significant decisions regarding their local schools, from siting and construction to hiring a schoolteacher and setting curriculum.

Communities typically selected a board of local citizens to oversee the ongoing management of each schoolhouse.⁴⁹ In addition to holding classes and offering educational programs, these early rural schools also served as meeting places for community gatherings

(Photograph 9). Their convenient, centralized locations made them the social as well as the educational center of their communities, especially in remote areas with few common spaces available for public meetings and social events.⁵⁰

The Twin Butte Community Club, which held its meetings at the Twin Butte School in Williams County (no longer in its original location), is one example of a rural community organization with a strong relationship to its local schoolhouse.⁵¹ For twenty-five cents annually, any individual aged fourteen or older could join the club, participate in business meetings, hold office, and serve on any of the committees that planned fundraising events and set the program for each meeting. Twin Butte Community Club programs were typically quite elaborate, combining adult participation with entertainment provided by school-age children. A typical Twin Butte Community Club event might involve a group chorus, humorous or inspirational readings, accordion and violin performances, and community announcements. The club also held community debates, sponsored a local baseball team, and put on plays to raise money.⁵²

Schoolhouses also served as gathering spaces for political clubs, religious groups, agricultural organizations, and farmers unions.⁵³ County agents even made use of these spaces to demonstrate products and to explain emerging agricultural techniques to area farmers.⁵⁴ Even after they discontinued educational use, many of the schools in Williams County remained important as civic centers and served as township halls and polling places. In at least one schoolhouse (Winner Township School No. 3), voter information posters from as late as 1978 still litter the floor. These spaces were the focus of their communities. For this reason, as state organizations moved to regulate and reform the small, independently established rural schools, schoolhouses became flashpoints for the growing tension between rural communities and state bureaucracies.⁵⁵

SCHOOL DAYS



Children in rural school,
Williams County, October
1937. LC-USF34-030790-D



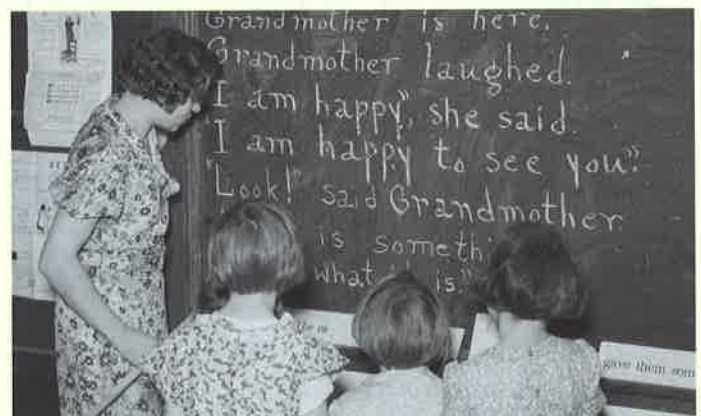
Williams County rural school, October 1937. LC-USF34-030798-D



Pupil in rural school, Williams County, November 1937.
LC-USF33-011374-M3



Pupil in rural school, Williams County, November 1937.
LC-USF33-011374-M5



Education in rural school. Williams County, October 1937.
LC-USF34-030768-D



Photograph 10: Oliver Township School playground equipment.

Progressivism: Consolidation and Standardization in Williams County Schools

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, social and political reform movements arose nationally to address perceived deficits in aspects of American life. Collectively referred to as Progressivism, these reform movements addressed fields as varied as food processing and medical care. Education, and the schoolhouse itself, were not exempt, and the traditional one-room schoolhouse came under scrutiny as part of the overall movement to address the “rural problem” in the United States. In North Dakota, efforts to improve, standardize, and consolidate schools coupled with an overarching movement to “Americanize” the large influx of immigrants settling in the state. Progressive reforms targeted the physical manifestation of the schoolhouse as well as curriculum, educational standards, and teacher credentials. North Dakota progressives were vocal advocates for consolidation and associated improvements early in the state’s educational history; however, as Williams County exemplifies, implementation of reforms in rural settings often required residents to devise creative solutions where financing and infrastructure were lacking.

Nationally, the major tenets of educational reform, including assimilation, standardization, professionalization, and consolidation, required physical changes to the schoolhouse, including modifications in design and changes in siting and location, as well as changes to the educational content and the educators themselves. For example, moves to promote gender segregation manifested in schoolhouses constructed

with separate entrances for male and female students as well as construction of separate outhouse or restroom facilities. Curriculum-wise, gendered segregation was promoted through disparate educational programs emphasizing domestic science for female students and trade- or agriculture-related education for their male counterparts.⁵⁶

In North Dakota, State Inspector-turned-State Superintendent N.C. Macdonald represented one of the most outspoken proponents of the consolidation movement during the early twentieth century.⁵⁷ He was a controversial figure; however, his goals and standards regarding school reform became the impetus for policy and funding allocation throughout the state during the period.

Macdonald and his cohort believed the goals of their Progressive agenda were hindered by the lack of emphasis rural residents placed on education and that this disinterest manifested itself in the appearance of the schoolhouse and associated grounds. Often, reformers espoused nativist sentiments and identified immigrant groups, such as Germans from Russia, as particularly apathetic about the need for formal education.⁵⁸ As a result, these groups were unfairly stigmatized by reformers at the state capital and were used to promote the idea of a “rural problem” to further their progressive school reform agenda.

Newspaper articles outlining plans to improve rural schools through consolidation, standardization, and general physical improvements appear in Williams County newspaper articles as early as 1910, touting both

the educational and social benefits of having a larger, centralized school available for community use. While some noted the expense and inefficiency of consolidation in "districts too sparsely settled,"⁵⁹ others claimed rural consolidation was the only way to equalize educational opportunities between urban and rural students and to provide farm children with opportunities to further their education beyond the elementary level.⁶⁰ By 1915, the State based financial aid upon whether particular schools consolidated or not, with rural schools receiving thirty dollars to fifty dollars and "the consolidated schools from \$400 to \$500."⁶¹ This dramatic disparity in funding served to encourage rural districts to consolidate.

Beyond consolidation, calls for schoolhouse improvements focused on their physical setting and the "surroundings" in which the students were placed, as well as on health concerns with regard to proper heating, ventilation, and sanitary facilities.⁶² Some of these goals and standards are highlighted in the following sections, including pertinent examples as represented in Williams County's remaining school buildings.

Schoolhouse Design and Siting

In his role as State Inspector of Rural and Graded Schools, Macdonald inspected 156 schools in 1911 and 1912. The schools included nineteen consolidated schools; thirty-eight "graded" schools, in which students were separated by grade rather than being taught in a group setting; and ninety-nine "rural" or one-room, ungraded schoolhouses. He also inspected twenty-three schools that he encountered en route to those on his itinerary. Macdonald's overall impression of the rural schools was negative, deeming only six "modern" and assigning positive reviews.⁶³

Overall, Macdonald felt the schoolhouses and their grounds did "not present an orderly and attractive appearance" typically being "small, unfenced, and without trees."⁶⁴ He recommended that in "the open country" schoolyards "should be at least two acres in extent" and allow children adequate room to play without infringing on "a public highway or . . . plowed fields."⁶⁵ Macdonald postulated that it was "a very common sight to find a farmer's barn better suited to serve its purpose than . . . the country school house [sic]."⁶⁶

Available deed research for Williams County one-room schoolhouses determined to be in their original location (twenty-four of the thirty-three inventoried for this article) indicated many were founded and constructed after Macdonald's 1911/1912 inspection tour, and the associated parcels for each ranged between 1 and 5 acres, with the typical schoolyard encompassing 2 acres.⁶⁷ Additionally, at least four of Williams County's

surviving schools still exhibit evidence of playground and other landscape improvements in line with those recommended by reformers.⁶⁸ The Oliver Township school in particular retains a variety of playground equipment, including a slide, merry-go-round, seesaws, and swings (Photograph 10). This school consolidated by 1915,⁶⁹ evidence that though rural and isolated, county residents pushed to modernize and standardize their educational system early in the region's history. While the remainder of the schoolyards did not retain evidence of such amenities, all were of a size and orientation that these amenities could have been present historically.

Student Safety

Macdonald's inspection report also emphasized the importance of proper and effective heating and ventilation systems. He considered the "matter of heating and ventilating" an issue that had "more to do with successful school work [sic] than any other single piece of apparatus or equipment that can be found in the school."⁷⁰ Contemporary articles and studies from the period suggested that a lack of efficient heating and ventilation systems correlated with student mortality and future health, arguing that while a proper "heating and ventilating system cost \$92 to \$97," the cost was higher to "bury a child" or to accommodate "the presence of those who were physically impaired" from resultant illness within the community.⁷¹ Overall, Macdonald ranked the schools he inspected higher in this respect than in others, claiming most used "one of the modern systems of heating and ventilation" such as wood- or coal-burning "jacketed" stoves and basement furnaces. The latter required more sophisticated ventilation, which he sometimes found lacking.⁷²

Williams County's surviving one-room schoolhouses appear to have employed a mix of heating technologies. At least six seemed to possess full basements,⁷³ and one, the Grey School, features a coal storage system with chute and basement furnace (Photographs 11 and 12). The coal storage and chute system were manufactured by the Majestic Company, who produced such systems between 1894 and the 1930s.⁷⁴ As a result, the school was designed and constructed around this modern heating system.



Photograph 11: Grey School, showing coal chute in foundation.



Photograph 12: Grey School basement furnace system. Coal storage located through door beside stairs.

At least one school, the South Meadow Township School No. 1, has a remnant propane tank, suggesting it was retrofitted with gas heating, and approximately twenty-two schools documented showed evidence of electrification,⁷⁵ an indication that modernization continued throughout the history of these rural schools (Photograph 13).

Sanitation was another major issue Macdonald and the reformers addressed. Of principal concern was the state of restroom facilities in rural schools, where the outhouse "in some schools . . . probably [did] more to injure the health and lower the standard of morals than all other agencies combined . . . in and about the school."⁷⁶ During his inspection tour in 1911/1912, Macdonald noted that only a few schools had attached or interior restroom facilities with most relying on "the old fashioned two upright rectangular buildings built some distance apart from the school" (Photograph 14).⁷⁷ These facilities were prone to "obscene" graffiti, compromising students' morals, and in addition to being generally unsanitary, young children would "not use them when they should . . . especially . . . during severe weather" resulting in "ill health and . . . a body of low working power."⁷⁸ Macdonald recommended construction of indoor facilities or at least connecting existing outhouses to the school building, where they could "be under the care and control of the teacher and where the pupils . . . [were] . . . not exposed to inclement weather."⁷⁹



Photograph 13: Evidence of electrification at the Mont Township School.



Photograph 14: Outhouses at the Barr Butte Township School No. 2.

Available examples suggest Williams County schoolhouses relied on both traditional outdoor and the preferred indoor facilities. Only one of the schoolhouses (Barr Butte Township School No. 2) features surviving outhouses. These buildings display the typical rectangular design lamented by reformers, one for girls and one for boys, each with two seats. In contrast, the Grey and McGill schools both feature indoor toilet facilities. The former includes separate bathrooms in the basement for males and females, while the latter contains toilets in the entry vestibule.



Photograph 15: The Oliver Township School (Stewart Consolidated), showing connecting hall.

Consolidation

In addition to schools making specific improvements to modernize their facilities, at least four of the recorded schoolhouses represent local examples of rural consolidation. The Oliver Township School (or Stewart Consolidated) exemplifies a common method of school consolidation during the early twentieth century (Photograph 15). The school was “built by moving two school houses [sic] together and building a hallway and reception room between them.”⁸⁰ The added capacity allowed for two teachers, and the school taught primary grades through the first year of high school.⁸¹

In contrast, the Twin Lakes Consolidated School was designed and constructed as a consolidated institution (Photograph 16). The massed plan building featured two integrated rooms and a full basement. The facility added a second teacher in 1916 and received designation as a “second grade rural consolidated school,” making



Photograph 16: Twin Lakes Consolidated School in Athens Township.

it eligible to receive \$500 in state aid.⁸² The Hamlet School, established in 1924, is a two-story brick building constructed with a modern aesthetic and comprising features touted by reformers, including a gymnasium, indoor plumbing, and grade separation (Photograph 17).⁸³ The District No. 37 School in Hanks, also completed in 1924, is larger still (Photograph 18). This one-story brick building featured three classrooms, a library, a “large well-equipped gymnasium with showers,” and an outdoor ball court.⁸⁴ At its height, the school enrolled about one hundred students in eight grades; the resultant student-to-teacher ratio was low in comparison to the rural one-room schoolhouses that the District No. 37 School was intended to replace.⁸⁵ These four schools, the last two of which were likely architect-designed, represent the progression of rural consolidation in Williams County during the first half of the twentieth century.



Photograph 17: Hamlet School in Big Meadow Township.



Photograph 18: District No. 37 School (Hanks School) in Scorio Township.

The Great Depression, which forced thousands of farmers to abandon their livelihoods, stimulated the consolidation movement as North Dakota's farming population fell 17 percent between 1935 and 1940.⁸⁶ Consolidation increased in intensity in the post-World War II period and through the 1960s, until almost no one-room schoolhouses remained in operation. In a 1950 Federal report entitled "The One-Teacher School: Its Midcentury Status," Walter H. Gaumnitz and David T. Blose confirmed the downward trend in America's one-teacher schools as farms grew larger and more mechanized and as associated populations shifted from rural areas to cities and towns.⁸⁷ Due to the extreme remoteness and sparse population of the northern plains, this region tended to support one-room schoolhouses beyond the timeline reflected in national trends.⁸⁸ However, in 1936, only 36 percent of North Dakota's schoolchildren attended classes in a one-room schoolhouse; by 1946, the figure stood at 29 percent, declining to 20 percent in 1956 and plummeting to just 2 percent by 1966.⁸⁹ In Williams County, across North Dakota, and throughout rural America, one-room frame schoolhouses were demolished, abandoned, or converted to new uses as their role in the public school system finally came to an end.

Placing Williams County Schoolhouses in the National Context

Documentation and analysis of surviving Williams County one-room schoolhouses reveals that despite their remote location and many residents' status as first- or second-generation Americans, local communities embraced

education and sought to provide learning opportunities to their children on par with those available in more developed parts of the state. Residents constructed schoolhouses in a permanent form, often featuring elaborate and culturally distinct architectural details as well as climatic adaptations that differentiated the rural schools of the northern plains from the common archetype of the American schoolhouse. Religiously inspired elements such as belfries and circular attic windows and adaptations such as entry vestibules, basements, and steeply pitched roofs all represent local deviations from the national paradigm, although the basic form and materials employed in Williams County schoolhouses align with recognized nationwide trends.

Research indicates that the rural schoolhouses of Williams County were also in line with national trends in consolidation during the early twentieth century. Consolidation efforts produced friction between rural communities, for whom schoolhouses embodied local autonomy and community pride, and Progressive reformers, whose modern approach to education was backed by the state. However, the rural communities' desire to provide local children with optimal educational facilities eventually combined with statewide efforts to effect permanent change. The earliest effects of these reforms and the transition to modern facilities may be seen in retrofitted one-room schoolhouses as well as multi-classroom, post-consolidation schools that attempted to provide Williams County's students with the modern education recommended by national experts and North Dakota State Superintendent N.C. Macdonald.

In addition to the perceived benefits, modernization ultimately reduced the viability of rural communities, many of which based their identity and existence as a definable entity on the one-room schoolhouse and the cooperation it fostered among residents. Without the presence of an active, local schoolhouse, community collaboration was deemphasized at the same time that other factors, including widespread mechanization and the emergence of agribusiness, reduced or eliminated many of the region's rural communities. Today, the surviving schoolhouses represent the last vestiges of those early communities. Although no longer in use, no concerted effort to raze these buildings has occurred, and indeed some have been moved to prevent their loss. They remain an iconic building type on the Northern Plains, linking present communities to their pioneering precedents and standing as a reminder of the region's not-so-distant frontier past.



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¹ The authors used a combination of map research (county plat maps, historic period aerial photographs, and topographic quadrangles) and secondary source data to identify forty potential one-room schoolhouse locations in twenty-seven townships in Williams County. Letters were sent to the associated landowners requesting access to the resources, and access to ten of the schoolhouses was granted. Through subsequent field efforts, historians documented thirty-three extant one-room schoolhouses and four multi-classroom schools established in the early twentieth century (Figure 2; Tables 1 and 2). In the field, the authors sought to document the schoolhouses' form, orientation, architectural style, notable or distinctive architectural features, site layout and yard features (i.e., playground equipment), presence of auxiliary buildings or structures (i.e., outhouses), and design features such as materials, arrangement of door and window openings, roof form, and interior features and floorplan where accessible. These characteristics speak to the influence of national trends and provide meaningful information about regional adaptations to geographic and climatic conditions. The field effort was supported by archival research into relevant deed, census, and newspaper records as well as secondary research into standard literature pertaining to schoolhouse architecture and to the role of the rural schoolhouse in community formation and development. In combination with the field data, the research allows Williams County schoolhouses to be understood in the context of national trends in schoolhouse siting, design, and use.

² "Great Northern History," Great Northern Railway Historical Society, accessed October 31, 2018, https://www.gnrhs.org/gn_history.php; Andrew J. Schmidt and Andrea C. Vermeer, *National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form: Railroads in North Dakota, 1872-1956*, State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2009.

³ Vern C. Neff, "A History of Land Titles," in *The Wonder of Williams: A History of Williams County, North Dakota* (Williston, ND: Williams County Historical Society, 1975), 96-99.

⁴ William L. Austin, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920. Volume VI, Part 1: Agriculture, The Northern State* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1922).

⁵ W.C. Gilbreath, *North Dakota Magazine* (1906) accessed October 29, 2018, <http://genealogytrails.com/ndak/williams/history.html>.

⁶ Schmidt and Vermeer, "Great Northern History," 2009.

⁷ Austin, *Fourteenth Census of the United States*, 1922.

⁸ Steve C. Martens, *National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Federal Relief Construction in North Dakota, 1931-1943* (State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2010); Lisa L. Steckler, *Farms in North Dakota: A Historic Context 2014* (State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2014).

⁹ Steckler, *Farms in North Dakota*, 2014; Ray Hurley, *United States Census of Agriculture: 1950. Volume I, Part II, Counties and State Economic Areas, North Dakota and South Dakota* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1952); U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Census of Agriculture: North Dakota, State and County Data* (Washington, D.C.: National Agricultural Statistics Service, 2004).

¹⁰ April M. Beisaw and Jane Eva Baxter, "America's One-Room Schools: Sites of Regional Authority and Symbols of Local Autonomy, after 1850," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 21 (2017): 809.

¹¹ Warren A. Henke and Everett C. Albert, Eds., *The Legacy of North Dakota's Country Schools*, (Bismarck, ND: The North Dakota Humanities Council, Inc., 1988), iv.

¹² Andrew Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, (Washington, D.C.: The National Trust for Historic Preservation's Preservation Press, 1984), 161.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 161-62.

¹⁴ South-facing entryways were recorded on Barr Butte Township School No. 1, Haug School, Hillier School, Judson Township School, New Home Township School, North Missouri Ridge School, South Meadow Township School No. 1, South Missouri Ridge School, Thull School, Wheelock Township School, and Winner Township School No. 3.

¹⁵ Barr Butte Township School No. 2, Big Meadow Township School No. 1, Dillon School, Grey School, Hartsoch School, High Cliff School, Judson Township School, New Home Township School, South Meadow Township School No. 1, West Bank Township School, and Wheelock Township School are oriented from east to west, while Barr Butte Township School No. 1, Haug School, Hillier School, Lindahl Township School, Marshall Township School, North Missouri Ridge School, South Missouri Ridge School, Thull School, and Winner Township School No. 3 are oriented from north to south.

¹⁶ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 164.

¹⁷ Henke and Everett, Eds., *The Legacy of North Dakota's Country Schools*, iv.

¹⁸ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 160-165.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 172.

²⁰ Hipped roofs were observed on the Big Meadow Township School No. 1, Dillon School, High Cliff School, Judson Township School, North Missouri Ridge School, Grey School, Hillier School, and Winner Township School No. 2. Barr Butte Township School No. 1 features a gable-on-hip roof.

²¹ John Martin Campbell, *The Prairie Schoolhouse*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 15.

²² Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 172.

²³ Campbell, *The Prairie Schoolhouse*, 15.

²⁴ Entry vestibules are centered in the long side of the Lindahl Township School, McGill School, South Meadow Township School No. 1, and Winner Township School No. 2. In the case of South Meadow Township School No. 1, the vestibule is a wing addition covering the entire long side of the building.

²⁵ N.C. Macdonald, *Rural School Sanitation*, (Devils Lake: State Board of Education of North Dakota, 1913), 3-4.

²⁶ The Marshall Township School, South Meadow Township School No. 2, and Winner Township School No. 1 all feature windows in both of the buildings' long sides. Additional examples may feature windows in opposite sides of the classroom, but because access was not granted to all properties, not all building façades could be thoroughly documented for this article.

²⁷ Glass blocks have replaced original windows in the High Cliff School, Hartsoch School,

South Missouri Ridge School, Mont Township School, New Home Township School, Oliver Township School, Rainbow Township School, Wheelock Township School.

²⁸ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 165.

²⁹ Campbell, *The Prairie Schoolhouse*, 15.

³⁰ Mechanically produced, turned wooden porch posts were observed at the Big Stone Township School, Judson Township School, Oliver Township School, Bank Township School, and Wheelock Township School.

³¹ Barr Butte Township School No. 1, Barr Butte Township School No. 2, Big Meadow Township School No. 1, Big Meadow Township School No. 2, Dillon School, Ellisville Township School, Flatten School, Frost School, Grey School, Hartsoch School, Haug School, High Cliff School, Hillier School, Judson Township School, Lindahl Township School, Marshall Township School, McGill School, Mont Township School, New Home Township School, North Missouri Ridge School, Pederson School, South Meadow Township School No. 2, South Missouri Ridge School, Thull School, West Bank Township School, Winner Township School No. 1, Winner Township School No. 2, and Winner Township School No. 3 feature wood-shingled roofs.

³² N.C. Macdonald, "Report on North Dakota Schools in 1911-1912," in *The Legacy of North Dakota's Country Schools*, ed. Warren A. Henke and Everett C. Albert (Bismarck: The North Dakota Humanities Council, Inc., 1988), 43.

³³ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 36. Evidence of a basement or crawl space can be seen at the Big Meadow Township School No. 1, Dillon School, Pederson School, Thull School, North Missouri Ridge School, Mont Township School, Grey School, McGill School, Winner Township School No. 2.

³⁴ Ibid., 174.

³⁵ Mary C. Carlson and Robert L. Carlson, "The Country School and Americanization of Immigrants to North Dakota," in *The Legacy of North Dakota's Country Schools*, ed. Warren A. Henke and Everett C. Albert (Bismarck: The North Dakota Humanities Council, Inc., 1988), 2.

³⁶ 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Barr Butte, p. 10B, dwelling 412, family 412, David and Marie Haskett: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Mont, p. 16B, dwelling 19, family 19, Ben and Vergie Erickson: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Renville, Minnesota, population schedule, Sacred Heart, p. 14B, dwelling 242, family 261, Veva and Olaf Ellason: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Township 154 Range 96, p. 2B, dwelling 46, family 48, Kristian Holl: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Township 154 Range 96, p. 4A, dwelling 9, family 9, Fred and Margaret Strong: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Township 155 Range 96, p. 16A, dwelling 350, family 375, Syvest and Julia Aardahl: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Township 155 Range 97, p. 10A, dwelling 218, family 242, Arthur Hartsoch: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Township 159 Range 101, p. 13A, dwelling 495, family 495, Gilbert and Julia Narveson: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1910 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Township 159 Range 103, p. 4A, dwelling 210, family 210, Charles and Ida Book: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1920 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Judson, p. 1B, dwelling 17, family 17, Earl and Nelia Smith: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1920 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, New Home, p. 5A, dwelling 9, family 9, William and Amanda Dillon: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1920 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Springbrook, p. 7B, dwelling 11, family 11, Harry A. Gemberling: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1920 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, West Bank, p. 14B, dwelling 261, family 265, Carl and Myrtle Wolla: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1920 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Williston, p. 2B, dwelling 50, family 51, Thomas and Bertha King: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>; 1940 United States Census, Williams County, North Dakota, population schedule, Williston, p. 6A, line 32, Anton and Hilda Haug: digital image, accessed July 23, 2019, <http://ancestry.com>.

³⁷ Campbell, *The Prairie Schoolhouse*, Plates 20 and 21.

³⁸ Paul Rocheleau, *The One-room Schoolhouse: A Tribute to a Beloved National Icon*, (New York: Universe Publishing, 2003), 47.

³⁹ Campbell, *The Prairie Schoolhouse*, Plate 21.

⁴⁰ The Judson Township School, West Bank Township School, and Winner Township School No. 2 feature porches that are integrated into the buildings' rooflines. The porches on Barr Butte Township School No. 2, Big Meadow Township School No. 1, Big Stone Township School, Ellisville Township School, South Missouri Ridge School, Oliver Township School, Wheelock Township School, and Winner Township School No. 3 are external additions.

⁴¹ Decorative turned wooden porch posts were observed at the Big Stone Township School, Judson Township School, Oliver Township School, Bank Township School, and Wheelock Township School. At the Judson Township School, the porch post has fallen or been removed from the building and lies nearby on the ground.

⁴² The Ellisville Township School, Thull School, Haug School, and Lindahl Township School all feature decorative eave returns.

⁴³ High Cliff School and the Judson Township School both feature dormer windows.

⁴⁴ Circular attic windows were recorded at the Big Stone Township School, Flatten School, West Bank Township School, and Winner Township School No. 3. Pederson School, South Meadow Township School No. 1, and the Wheelock Township School feature rectangular or square attic windows; the Ellisville Township School and Thull School feature semi-circular attic windows; and the Lindahl Township School features attic windows of the "Norman window" shape, or a semi-circle over a rectangle.

⁴⁵ Extant belfries were recorded on the Barr Butte Township School No. 1, Frost School, Haug School, Hillier School, New Home Township School, North Missouri Ridge School, South Missouri Ridge School, and West Bank Township School. A belfry has been removed from Winner Township School No. 3 and laid along the side of the building.

⁴⁶ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 174; Peter Aune, Ronald L. Sack, and Arne Selberg, "The Stave Churches of Norway," *Scientific American* 249, no. 2 (August 1983): 96-105. Shingled, pyramidal belfries were recorded on the Haug School, Hillier School, New Home Township School, North Missouri Ridge School, South Missouri Ridge School, West Bank Township School, and Winner Township School No. 3.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 160.

⁴⁸ Beisaw and Baxter, "America's One-Room Schools," 808.

⁴⁹ Carlson and Carlson, "Country School and Americanization," 26.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 27; Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 79.

⁵¹ Amy Dalrymple, "Williston business owners now looking to restore abandoned church," *Grand Forks Herald* (Grand Forks, ND), Feb. 3, 2014. The Twin Butte School was moved from its original location and converted to a dwelling. It is currently located near Williston, North Dakota.

⁵² Carlson and Carlson, "Country School and Americanization," 31.

⁵³ Ibid., 22.

⁵⁴ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 79.

⁵⁵ Beisaw and Baxter, "America's One-Room Schools," 807.

⁵⁶ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 43.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 41.

⁵⁸ Playford V. Thorson and William C. Sherman, "Education and Ethnicity: A Study of German-Russians and Norwegians in N.D.," in *The Legacy of North Dakota's Country Schools*, ed. Warren A. Henke and Everett C. Albert (Bismarck: The North Dakota Humanities Council, Inc., 1988), 92.

⁵⁹ "Rural Schools," *The Williston Graphic*, Dec. 15, 1910.

⁶⁰ Anna Peterson, "Consolidation of Schools," *The Williston Graphic*, Dec. 4, 1913.

⁶¹ "Rural Schools Closing," *The Williston Graphic*, Apr. 8, 1915.

⁶² "Supt. Stockwell Talks Saturday: Urges Better Mental, Physical and Moral Education of Children of N. D. Rural Schools," *The Williston Graphic*, June 30, 1910; Macdonald, *Rural School Sanitation*, 1-10.

⁶³ Macdonald, "Report on North Dakota Schools in 1911-1912," 36-37.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 43.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Williams County Deed Records revealed twenty-four schools in their original locations, including twenty, one-room schoolhouses and four multi-classroom, post-consolidation schools. Their schoolyards ranged in size from 1 to 5 acres.

⁶⁸ Playground and landscape improvements were recorded at the Lindahl Township School, Hartsoch School, the Oliver Township School, and the South Missouri Ridge School.

⁶⁹ "Inspected Schools," *The Williston Graphic*, Sept. 30, 1915.

⁷⁰ Macdonald, "Report on North Dakota Schools in 1911-1912," 43.

⁷¹ "Supt. Stockwell," *The Williston Graphic*, June 30, 1910.

⁷² Macdonald, "Report on North Dakota Schools in 1911-1912," 43.

⁷³ McGill School, North Missouri Ridge School, South Missouri Ridge School, Winner Township School No. 2, Grey School, Thull School, and Haug School all appear to have full basements.

⁷⁴ "Our Story," Majestic Fireplaces, accessed July 26, 2019, https://www.majesticproducts.com/why_choose_majestic_our_story.aspx.

⁷⁵ Evidence of electrification (including but not limited to exterior wiring, electric lights, and meters) was recorded at Barr Butte Township School No. 1, Barr Butte Township School No. 2, Ellisville Township School, Flatten School, Frost School, Grey School, Hartsoch School, Haug School, Hillier School, Judson Township School, Lindahl Township School, McGill School, Mont Township School, New Home Township School, South Meadow Township School No. 1, South Missouri Ridge School, Springbrook Township School, Thull School, Wheelock Township School, Winner Township School No. 1, Winner Township School No. 2, and Winner Township School No. 3.

⁷⁶ Macdonald, *Rural School Sanitation*, 7.

⁷⁷ Macdonald, "Report on North Dakota Schools in 1911-1912," 44.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ "Inspected Schools."

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² "Encouragement for Consolidation: The Recently Consolidated Twin Lake School to Receive \$500 from State," *The Williston Graphic*, Jan. 13, 1916.

⁸³ Mrs. Bekkedahl and Mrs. Vatne, "Hamlet School," in *The Wonder of Williams: A History of Williams County, North Dakota*, ed. Marlene Eide (Williston: The Williams County Historical Society, 1975), 272.

⁸⁴ Gladys Rodvold, "Organization of Hanks," in *The Wonder of Williams: A History of Williams County, North Dakota*, ed. Marlene Eide (Williston: The Williams County Historical Society, 1975), 219.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Henke and Everett, Eds., *The Legacy of North Dakota's Country Schools*, vii.

⁸⁷ Gulliford, *America's Country Schools*, 35.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Henke and Everett, Eds., *The Legacy of North Dakota's Country Schools*, v.

FROM THE COLLECTIONS

Kipsa'de (Turtle in Mandan) Holds Great Significance

By Fern Swenson, Division Director

Archaeology & Historic Preservation

The turtle is of great importance to the Mandans in their religious beliefs and hunting ceremonies. Most notably the sacred turtle drums figured prominently in their most powerful religious ceremony, the Okipa. This annual four-day ceremony told the history of the creation of the Earth and all living things, and the drums were said to be a gift from Lone Man. The turtle drums were considered tribal property, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians when the Okipa was not being performed. The turtle drums were treated like medicine bundles, with keepers making feasts for them and praying to them.

On the landscape within the traditional territories of the Mandans and Hidatsas are several turtle effigies of boulders transported and deposited by glaciers on high promontories with commanding views. It is likely some or all of these rock figures relate to the religious practices of Mandan and Hidatsa groups who once occupied nearby villages. In the villages, Mandans would make offerings to the turtle drums, but when out hunting, the offerings



Turtle effigy site preserved in Mercer County. The turtle measures 21 feet from head to tail and 11.5 feet from side to side. SHSND AHP

were made to these outlines. The turtle effigy and related rock piles are associated with bison hunting, and offerings were made to clear the fog so that the bison could be found.

Images of turtles also appear on artifacts of various materials. Fragments of at least two pottery vessels were recovered at On-A-Slant village (AD 1575–1785) that display realistic motifs of turtles created by impressing individual strands of twisted cord into the clay. In

Mandan tradition, the rites to make pottery were purchased from one who had the knowledge. An older woman would teach a younger person the techniques and the meanings of the design.

The examples here illustrate the importance of connecting contextual significance to images holding a shared meaning within a group. The symbolism of the turtle conveys to the Mandans a shared experience and history. In the case of the pottery, the use of the art form provides a means for sharing beliefs, teaching ideology, and long-standing oral tradition.

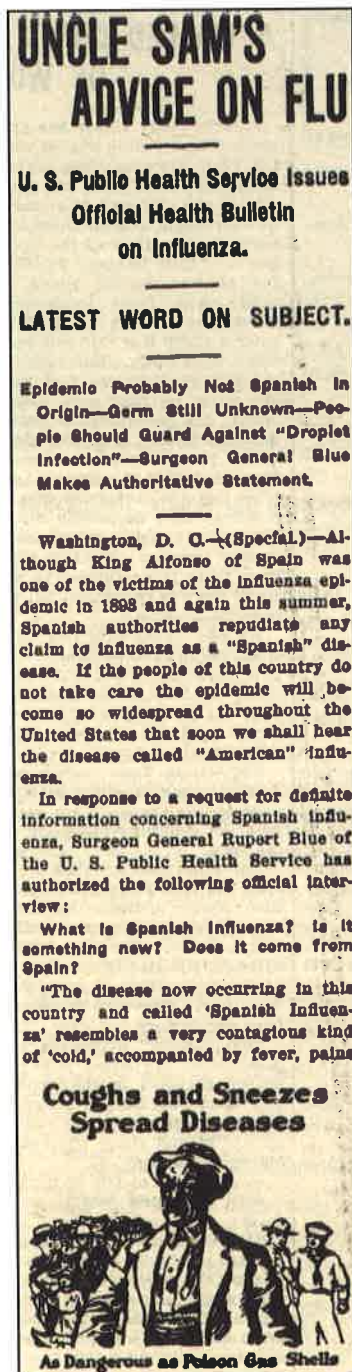


This vessel illustrates the skill of the potter and the careful attention to detail in creating the turtle motif. The orifice of the vessel is 28 centimeters (about 11 inches), representing a fairly large container. SHSND AHP83.442.004.963

FROM THE COLLECTIONS

COVID-19 Pandemic Raises Interest in 1918 Influenza Pandemic

By Shane Molander, Division Director
State Archives



Ambrose Tribune, October 25,
1918, p. 3

As we live with the COVID-19 pandemic this year, inquiries about previous such events have been received at the State Archives. In particular, the 1918 H1N1 influenza pandemic, also known as Spanish flu, has been receiving some attention in the news.

According to the Centers for Disease Control, it is estimated that about 500 million people or one-third of the world's population became infected with this virus. The number of deaths was estimated to be at least 50 million worldwide, with about 675,000 occurring in the United States. By the time the pandemic ended in late spring of 1919, North Dakota had reported 1,378 deaths, although many experts believe the numbers were two to three times higher.

There is mention of the 1918 "flu" throughout the State Archives collections. The topic is found in oral histories, manuscripts, government records, newspapers and photograph collections. In state series 30390 Superintendent of Public Instruction—Reports of County Superintendents, the Logan County superintendent reports to the state superintendent of schools:

The epidemic of influenza has worked havoc in the matter of attendance. The actual percent of attendance dropped from 75.6% for 1917–18 to 68.58% for 1918–19. Those parents who send their children to school only because of fear of the law took advantage of the situation by keeping their children out of school for unreasonable lengths of time and when haled into court pleaded after effects of the influenza as an excuse.

From manuscripts, the Martin W. Rogers Family Collection of letters (MSS 11284), Edith Rogers Quammen of Mountrail County writes to her father, Martin, in Austin, Minnesota:

A young man of 28 was taken from his wife & small children last week. They were all sick in bed. 6 men put him in his coffin and he was buried by them without one word of prayer or song.

In the December 8, 1918, letter it is found Martin had just lost his wife (Edith's mother), and Edith consoles him and wishes she could be with him to mourn their loss together. Because of her ill yet recovering young daughter, Edith feels it's better she not go "unless you need me, then I'll come."

The newspapers kept in the State Archives are a wonderful source for understanding what was happening in the communities across the state during the pandemic. Many titles are word searchable for free on these two websites.

- chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/?state=North+Dakota
- ndarchives.advantage-preservation.com

A Christmas in Caledonia with no tree or program will be an unheard of thing. It will be hard on the children but the flu epidemic has made many hard and unpleasant situations.

School opened Monday with only 27 pupils present, four buses came in empty. Evidently they are afraid of the influenza, so the school was closed again until after New Years — and then what?

Hillsboro Banner, November 29, 1918, p. 4

How Avoid the Disease?

Keep away from public gatherings, wear warm clothing, avoid coughers and sneezers.

—Issued by State Public Health Laboratories, University of North Dakota.

Cando Record, December 5, 1918, p. 8

Be It Therefore Resolved, by the Board of City Commissioners in and for the said City of Hillsboro, that all persons and places affected with said decease of Influenza, be quarantined, until such time as the attending physician shall deem it safe to raise such quarantine, and after the premises are properly disinfected

Be It Further Resolved, that any person violating the provisions of the foregoing resolution or a quarantine, when made, be subject to a fine of not less than \$5.00 and not more than \$15.00, in the descretion of the police magistrate of said City of Hillsboro, besides the costs of prosecution.

Hillsboro Banner, November 29, 1918, p. 8

Letter from Edith Quammen to her father, Martin Rogers, December 8, 1918. SHSND SA MSS 11284

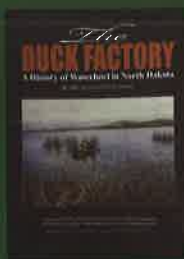
Oh how I'd like to be with you now but feel I'd better not unless you need me. then I'll come. but the children are a hand full. and Hazel is not strong yet. she has been a very sick girl, but is gaining finely if she has no set back. There are so many sick here. I have been helping some.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Duck Factory: A History of Waterfowl in North Dakota

MIKE JACOBS AND ERIK FRITZELL

Bismarck: North Dakota Game and Fish Department, 2019. 216 pp. \$24.99 (paperback). Illustrations, timeline, source notes, index.



The title is appropriate. The book touched on virtually every aspect of the history of waterfowl as it relates to North Dakota. Readers will understand why the Prairie Pothole Region is crucial to waterfowl production and sense the urgency to saving what is left. The average duck hunter or aspiring student will learn the role North Dakota has played in producing a high percentage of the continent's ducks. This book covers the geology of the Prairie Pothole Region. It includes the status of waterfowl in the Native American culture and how the European settlers took advantage of the enormous flocks.

A detailed history of the "politics" of waterfowl and other wildlife is included. How and why game management and game laws came onto the scene and are still used to manage waterfowl populations today. The authors did not dodge the controversy that sometimes arose from competing interests.

Readers will learn the basic biology of duck production and how the changing prairie landscape impacts migration through North Dakota. Few species of any type have been studied more than ducks; the book effectively highlight the history of research in the state. While ducks may not invoke great passion in everyone, it certainly provokes passion for those who hunt them and advocate for them. Readers will have a better understanding where that passion comes from.

The book's review of the "wetland wars" was fair and possibly the only published account. The authors highlighted the importance of wetlands to ducks and did so respectfully, recognizing that economic factors drive wetland destruction. The authors did not criticize agricultural interests too harshly. Readers who have difficulty understanding why groups interested in ducks seemed to stand in the way of "progress" will gain enlightenment. Some may be disappointed that the book did not expound on the societal benefits of wetlands beyond just duck production, but the book's focus was the "Duck Factory."

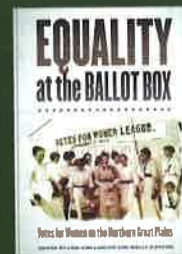
Duck hunters reading this book will gain a greater appreciation for the effort that generations of professionals, philanthropists, private conservation groups, and public servants have put into raising ducks. Students of waterfowl or wildlife biology will gain appreciation for the professionals that came before them. Students of North Dakota history who do not have a waterfowling background will have a better understanding why large numbers of hunters come to North Dakota every fall. North Dakotans in general will become more aware of the vast amount of waterfowl infrastructure, i.e., refuges, small dams, water control structures, and wetland restorations. Students of political science will have a better understanding of the politics on both sides of the issue of wetlands.

Although a bit wordy for a conventional coffee table book, it could serve that purpose. The pictures are plentiful and interesting, and topics broken up enough for short reads.

Roger Smith's career spans 40 years and includes working as a drainage engineer at the North Dakota State Water Commission and retiring as director of engineering for the Ducks Unlimited Great Plains Regional Office in 2020.

Equality at the Ballot Box: Votes for Women on the Northern Great Plains

LORI ANN LAHLUM
AND MOLLY P. ROZUM, EDS.



Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019. xii + 410 pp. \$34.95 (hardcover). Maps, illustrations, notes, index.

This rich and timely volume situates the struggle for the vote in the Dakotas, Montana, and Wyoming in a regional frame, surveying the impressive scope of women's organizing while recovering key figures. *Equality at the Ballot Box: Votes for Women on the Northern Great Plains* suggests that much can be learned from a comparative regional approach. Its chapters span the early victory for suffrage in Wyoming in 1869, the battles of the 1880s and 1890s, and the victories of the 1910s in advance of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Wyoming, often treated as an outlier in suffrage history, is revealed to have much in common with its regional peers. As Jennifer Helton demonstrates, Wyoming's passage of woman suffrage in 1869 drew on a national conversation about suffrage as a natural right and served local interests. In neighboring territories in the Great

Plains, however, gender-based opposition from political lobbies and concerns that suffrage would compromise statehood kept non-American Indian women from achieving full suffrage until the 1910s. In spite of this, research demonstrates the significance of school suffrage and women's civic organizing around suffrage and related reform causes.

This collection reveals the sheer scope of what Jennifer J. Hill identifies as women's "civic activism." As Ruth Page Jones convincingly argues, in Dakota Territory and later South Dakota, school suffrage and women's office holding normalized women's voting and provided women with opportunities to shape their communities. Profiles of regional activists in later chapters support this key argument. The authors, however, also highlight resistance to women's civic leadership. Paula M. Nelson reminds us, for example, of ongoing resistance from anti-suffrage activists in South Dakota who saw suffrage as a real threat to meaningful gendered social roles in rural society.

The connection between temperance, particularly the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and suffrage is a key thread, though the collection underscores how complex this relationship was. Barbara Handy-Marcello tells an ambivalent North Dakota story of railroad interests opportunistically using the prospect of prohibition to chill agitation for suffrage, even as the WCTU provided two generations of women with organizing experience. In other cases, prohibition warmed various Plains communities to the ballot for women. In one of the Snapshots, a novel innovation that carries forward larger themes with short examples, Lori Ann Lahlum shows Norwegian immigrant communities to be receptive to prohibition as an argument for woman suffrage.

The connection between white supremacy and suffrage, particularly in the 1890s, is a growing area of research. Molly P. Rozum's foray into the brief convergence of the question of Indian and woman suffrage in South Dakota suggests paths not taken by suffrage activists, whose growing investment in "educated suffrage" shifted them away from early universal claims. This research suggests the opportunistic ways suffragists deployed race and ethnicity in their local strategies. Sara Egge recounts the tension over immigrants between national organizations like NAWSA who were disillusioned and local lecturers who had undertaken grueling speaking tours through rural immigrant enclaves. Dee Garceau demonstrates that Blackfeet activists began to agitate for women suffrage in the 1910s in the context of dispossession under the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. These cases add complexity to a developing national narrative about the redefinition of suffrage around an educated, white, Protestant identity in order to include women.

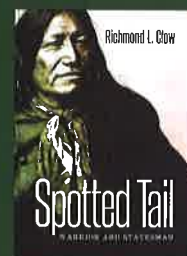
The collection shows the rich potential of local historical societies and newspapers, while highlighting areas for further research into partial suffrage, debates within immigrant communities, and local politics of race and ethnicity in reform. *Equality at the Ballot Box* suggests a distinct regional culture of reform agitation that shaped the struggles for civic equality and social change on the northern Great Plains.

Sara E. Lampert is associate professor of history and coordinator of Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies at the University of South Dakota. Her book Starring Women: Celebrity, Patriarchy, and American Theater, 1790–1850 is forthcoming from University of Illinois Press.

Spotted Tail: Warrior and Statesman

RICHMOND L. CLOW

Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019. xi+390 pp. \$34.95 (hardcover). Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.



Spotted Tail (1823–1881) was noted from a young age for brilliance in warfare and self-sacrifice in protecting his Sicangu people, a southerly branch of the Lakota. Because of these qualities, Spotted Tail quickly rose through the ranks of Lakota society and achieved the status of headman during an era of intense conflict and change. By 1842, as settlers moved along the Oregon Trail and through Sicangu lands, the people experienced severe loss of bison in the Platte River area. Tensions over incursions escalated, and in 1854, Spotted Tail's Sicangus participated in the Grattan Affair, an incident sometimes described as the opening salvos of the Sioux wars. Raids and counter raids between the Lakotas and the US persisted until the fall of 1855, when Spotted Tail and two other Sicangus surrendered to US forces and were briefly imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth.

Spotted Tail's imprisonment was a decisive experience. After observing the large number of whites and their superior weapons, Spotted Tail, a headman with a large following, sought to end warfare with the US while protecting Sicangu interests. Diplomacy would not be an easy path. The US sought to reduce Lakota power, influence, and its land base through relentless assimilation policies. Sicangu well-being was threatened by incursions through their lands, homesteading, and shortages of bison, but clearly, direct conflict with the US would destroy the people. In his role as a spokesperson for the people, Spotted Tail was persistent and in his dealings with the US and sought to preserve Sicangu culture, traditions, and ways of life.

During a time of changing social order, Spotted Tail sought peaceful coexistence, and he was hailed by government officials and in the press as spokesman for all Lakotas, a role he did not fill nor aspire to. By the early 1870s, the US regarded strong Indian leaders as dangerous and counterproductive since they opposed most of the civilizing policies key to federal Indian policy. In 1878, formation of Indian police forces under control of agents on the reservations intended to undermine traditional leadership. At Rosebud, Crow Dog, an open critic of Spotted Tail, was chosen to head the police. Animosity escalated and came to a head after Spotted Tail stole another man's wife, and on August 5, 1881, Crow Dog killed Spotted Tail.

Richmond Clow's biography of Spotted Tail is a thoroughly researched study of an important and often overlooked Lakota warrior and leader who exerted a high degree of influence in dealings with the federal government. In crafting his portrait of Spotted Tail as warrior and statesman, Clow incorporated an extensive array of contemporary records collected and written by those who interacted with Spotted Tail and preserved in government, military, missionary, and tribal records. Importantly, Clow examined contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts which provide texture and insights into the development of this portrait of Spotted Tail, a prominent figure in the story of westward expansion. Clow's biography, a much overdue examination of Spotted Tail, will be welcomed by scholars. The book is also accessible and a meaningful for a general audience. *Spotted Tail: Warrior and Statesman* is an important addition to Plains Indian studies.

Carole Barrett is a scholar of American Indian studies retired from the University of Mary. She has conducted research and published on the Lakota during the early reservation period. She has written and published on boarding schools, early reservation leaders, and Indians in wild west shows, among other topics.

Arrowheads, Spears, and Buffalo Jumps: Prehistoric Hunter-Gatherers of the Great Plains

LAURI TRAVIS; ILLUSTRATED BY
ERIC S. CARLSON



Missoula, MT: Mountain Press, 2019. Maps, illustrations, site and museum list, glossary, index.

Archaeological resources for adolescents and teenagers are few and far between. Many books on the subject are written for collegiate or adult audiences, or they are

geared toward very young readers with bright graphics and little details. Magazines can and do fill this gap, but they tend toward the atypical and/or extraordinary. This book by Lauri Travis instead balances an informative approach with enough scientific research and engaging storytelling to keep readers' interest.

From the start it invites its audience to make connections between themselves and past populations of the Great Plains, imagining what it is to leave evidence of your activities for future researchers. As the book continues, the author flawlessly weaves together both a retelling of the lived experiences of past peoples and the techniques archaeologists use to discover them. Other resources may focus exclusively on the conspicuous: big game hunting, rock art imagery, ceremonial burials. While this book does discuss these facets of precontact life in the region, including one of the clearest explanations of the use of atlatls (handheld, spear-throwing devices), it does not ignore the mundane. Butchering of bison as well as the processing and harvesting of many other resources are given equal space so that the book creates a much fuller picture of life.

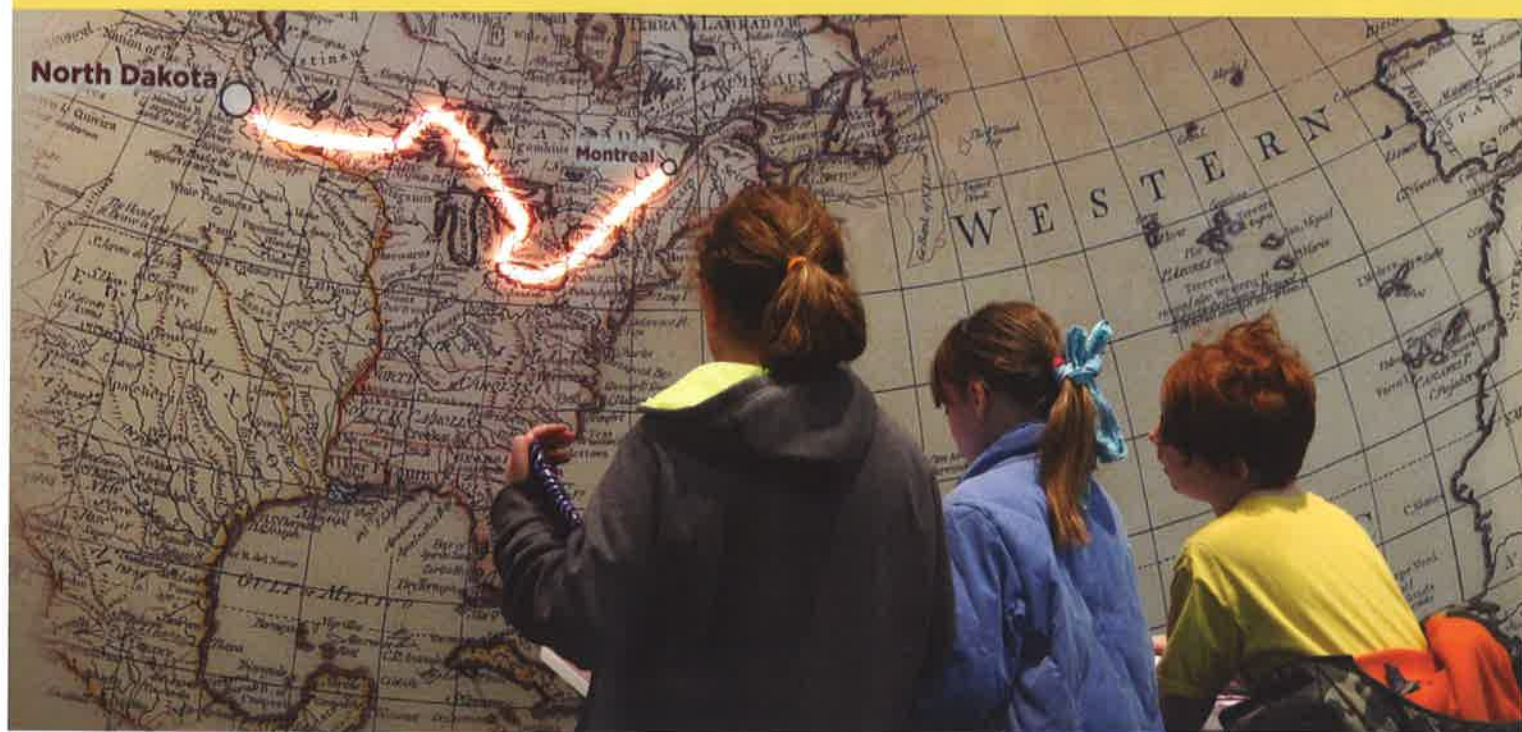
The examples used are relatable, referencing backpacks, pets, and toys. Illustrated by Eric Carlson, this book also offers many attractive images of people and places presented alongside the descriptions to add to the overall appeal. The attention to detail in presenting visuals of scientists' tools as well furthers the connections between the audience, researchers, and the precontact people of the Great Plains.

I would recommend this book as a resource for young adult readers from fourth to ninth grades. This would be a useful reference in classrooms tackling regional or United States history, as it can offer an alternative perspective to the prevailing historical narrative of westward expansion into "virgin lands." Given its engaging nature, general readers interested in either Great Plains prehistory or archaeological research would also find this an effective introductory text to either topic.

Jaclyn Nadeau received her doctorate in anthropology from the University at Albany and her master of arts in teaching from Relay Graduate School of Education. She currently serves as a science instructor at Arturo A. Schomburg Satellite Academy, Bronx, where she uses her academic experience to inspire critical thinking in underserved populations in New York City.



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