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"Training the Young Idea How to Shoot" : Teaching in Barnes County, the First Thirty Years, 1879-1909

Lori Ann Lahlum

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"Training the Young Idea How to Shoot:"

Teaching in Barnes County, the First Thirty Years, 1879-1909

by

Lori Ann Lahlum

Bachelor of Arts, University of Wyoming, 1987

Bachelor of Arts, University of North Dakota, 1984

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

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This Thesis submitted by Lori Ann Lahlum in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.

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This Thesis meets the standards for appearance and conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

Harvey Knud
Dean of the Graduate School

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Barnes County, the First Thirty Years, 1879-1909.

Department History

Degree Master of Arts

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Date 21 April 1912

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ABSTRACT

Traditionally women and their role in history has been overlooked or under-represented. This thesis will look at teachers and education in Barnes County, Dakota Territory and North Dakota, from the years 1879 to 1909. By 1879 the feminization of the teaching profession had occurred, and most Barnes County, and North Dakota, youth were taught by women. However, this is not only a study of female educators. To understand teaching and education in Barnes County, one needs to include male teachers, for they too played important roles.

The material for this study came mostly from primary sources: Barnes County school records, manuscript collections, and the Works Progress Administration oral history project. Additional information came from state and territorial records, newspapers, Valley City Normal School catalogues and reports, journal articles, and books.

This thesis chronicles teaching and education in Barnes County, beginning with the first organized district, Daily #1. When the Daily district organized in the winter of 1878-1879, pupils met in an attic with no heat. Thirty years later there were 96 districts in the county, 136 ungraded schools and 15 graded schools.

In addition to the numerical growth of schools in the county, information is provided on qualifications needed to teach, training beyond eighth grade, physical conditions, courses taught, students, and the living conditions teachers encountered. Also included are criticisms levelled by professional educators, vis-a-vis the Department of Public Instruction, that bemoan the quality of rural education and rural educators. While some criticisms directed toward the educational system, and in particular the rural, one-room school, were valid, the picture critics painted revealed a dismal situation. While there were shortcomings, the youth of Barnes County were afforded a quality education. The reality was that teachers in Barnes County provided competent instruction under very difficult circumstances.

Consistently, schools in Barnes County held longer terms than the rest of North Dakota. More school districts in Barnes County provided students with texts purchased with public funds than state-wide ensuring students access to uniform textbooks. A smaller percentage of Barnes County teachers taught with permits than in other counties, which theoretically meant that the teachers were more educated and competent. On average, Barnes County teachers were paid more, which supposedly also improved the quality of the educator and the entire system.

INTRODUCTION

Two images of the American frontier teacher prevail in the minds of most Americans. One is of the woman "spinster" who dedicated her life to teaching and would never marry. The other is of the young woman who would teach for a few terms until she married. Although men did teach on the frontier, women comprised the majority by 1880.¹ Two characters from the Laura Ingalls Wilder series exemplify the two perceptions.

Miss Eliza Jane Wilder fits the image of the spinster. She taught at the school in DeSmet, Dakota Territory, that Laura Ingalls attended. Miss Wilder had a claim and lived in a shanty outside of town. She was originally from New York, but moved west with her family and came to Dakota Territory because two of her brothers had already settled there.²

Laura Ingalls fits the perception of a young woman who taught until she married. Laura became a teacher to help keep her sister Mary in college and fulfill her mother's dream that Mary become a teacher. Since Mary had become blind and was unable to fulfill her mother's dream, Laura stepped in and made her mother's dream come true.³

Laura was a student when school board members from a newly organized district outside of DeSmet approached her to

teach. She was fifteen and not old enough to receive a teaching certificate, but one of the school board members told her not to give her age unless the county superintendent asked for the information. Mr. Williams, the county superintendent, knew Laura was not old enough, but he gave her the certificate anyway. Williams stated: "'I will cut your grades a little for I must not give you more than a third grade certificate until next year.'"

In December, 1882, Laura Ingalls, a fifteen year-old school girl, became a teacher. She taught a two month term in the Brewster district, which was a rural school, for \$20 per month plus room and board.⁵

Laura Ingalls did not know how to teach, and three of her five pupils were older than she. Laura taught the winter term and then returned home to attend school. She was paid after she had finished the entire term. Laura did not teach again until 1884. She obtained a Second Grade certificate and was able to teach in the Perry School, which was close to her father's claim and enabled her to live at home. She received \$25 per month for a three month term, April to June. The district had built a new school equipped with a new blackboard, a Webster's dictionary, a teacher's desk, students' desks and a clock. At the Perry school, Laura had only three pupils.⁶

In the fall of 1884 Laura was again a school girl. However, in March of 1885 she again took the teacher's

examination and received a Second Grade teaching certificate. That April she began teaching in the rural Wilkins school for \$30 per month and was paid on a monthly basis. She boarded with the Wilkins for \$2 per week for board and shared a bedroom with her school friend Florence.⁷

Laura did not graduate from the eighth grade even though she met the qualifications. Mr. Owens, the teacher, wanted her to graduate with her friends, so he held her back. He did not realize that Laura planned to marry Almanzo Wilder and would not return to school. Almanzo expected Laura to quit teaching, and she knew that, once married, she would not teach again. By the time Laura Ingalls was eighteen she had taught three terms of school, but believed it was time to get married and move on.⁸

Although many women fit the stereotype of the "school ma'am," others did not. Some women, and men, used teaching as a stepping stone to other careers; some dedicated their lives to education, even after marriage and a family. This thesis will look at the early educational system in Barnes County, Dakota Territory and North Dakota, and at the lives of teachers, both in and out of the classroom. This is not only a study of female educators, as male teachers played a vital role in Barnes county education. However, because women comprised the bulk of the teachers' corps, this study will focus on their lives and experiences.

Additionally, this thesis will look at the claims by professional educators, i.e., people employed by the North Dakota Department of Public Instruction and educators at the State University in Grand Forks, that teachers in North Dakota, particularly those in rural settings, were poorly educated and, for the most part, not qualified to teach. The fact of the matter was that in order to become a teacher, one had to pass a rigorous examination designed by the North Dakota State Department of Public Instruction. Furthermore, the teachers in Barnes County attended the teachers' institutes and many received additional training at the Valley City Normal School. In reality, the vast majority of teachers in Barnes County were qualified educators by the standards of their times, and they performed exemplary under very difficult circumstances.

CHAPTER I

THE CULT OF DOMESTICITY

By the mid-1880s, the cult of domesticity or the idea of true womanhood was accepted throughout all strata of American society. This ideology separated the spheres in which men and women functioned. Men, the providers, lived in an economic sphere, which required them to work and provide a living for their families. This contact with the outside world could often lead to confrontations regarding moral and religious behavior. Men were susceptible to the tempting pitfalls of the cold, cruel world. Women, on the other hand, possessed inferior physical and intellectual skills. This shortcoming relegated them to the home and their role in the domestic sphere. Within the domestic sphere they were responsible for maintaining the household, as well as providing the religious and moral training and standards for the family. This responsibility within the home was eventually extended to the community, and women became the vanguards for preserving Christian ideals.

Many women who publicly professed their support for the cult of domesticity believed that women's status within the home put them on an equal footing with men, but within

different spheres of interest. Women could possess equality, albeit separate and segregated.

One of the most vocal proponents of an elevated domestic sphere was Catherine Beecher. Beecher, Sarah Josepha Hale, the editor of "Godey's Lady's Book," and others, men and women, popularized the belief that women had important cultural and social responsibilities and duties. Between 1830 and 1860 the cult of domesticity ideology became a standard for women throughout the nation.⁹

Domesticity and all its tenets became an ideal for women to work towards and not the reality of most women's lives. The sex roles of women on the frontier, as well as farm women and working class women in the East, were less well defined. Women on the frontier were essential components of the economic picture, often helping their husbands or fathers sow fields and reap the harvest. Because the frontier lacked the established institutions of the East, women were called upon to help bring "civilization" to the West. This fit in nicely with the goals of domesticity. Women played important roles in establishing churches and schools, both extensions of domesticity, and once life became more settled, literary societies and women's clubs. This type of behavior was deemed acceptable because it fit into the role of exerting the moral and religious superiority subscribed to by the proponents of the cult of domesticity.¹⁰

Perceived as extensions of the home, teaching and nursing became acceptable occupations for women to pursue. Catherine Beecher was at the forefront of establishing women in the educational system. She stated that women are "'fitted by the disposition and habits and circumstances, for such duties, who to a very wide extent must aid in educating the childhood and youth of this nation.'"¹¹ She followed through on her belief by establishing the Western Missionary Society in 1835, which sent women west to teach. Beecher sought to combine women's natural superiority in regards to religion with teaching to provide settlers in the American West morally superior educators. She believed that teaching did not pay enough for men to undertake the occupation, and therefore teaching was ideal for women. Beecher also adhered to the idea that teaching was an extension of motherhood so therefore female educators were not a threat to American society.¹²

The lasting legacy of the cult of domesticity was that some paid professions were deemed acceptable for women to pursue. This included completing the education that would allow women the opportunity to excel. Teaching was a primary beneficiary. Women entered the profession, and by 1880 they accounted for a majority of teachers in the United States.¹³ This opened the door for women to pursue educational interests and contemplate a career in education--not just a temporary job before marriage.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST SCHOOLS IN BARNES COUNTY

Barnes County, Dakota Territory, was organized on August 5, 1878, the eighth county organized in the territory.¹⁴ School was first held in a log house in Worthington (now Valley City) in the summer of 1878. The school had no blackboards or furniture. Ed Borden, the first teacher, left before completing the term, and a young student named Hattie Weiser took over the classroom at the age of sixteen. Hattie Weiser, the first woman to teach in Barnes County, had 78 students enrolled in her class by the end of the term. She taught just one term and then went to the St. Cloud Normal School to train as a teacher.¹⁵ Although school was held in 1878, Valley City did not organize a district until 1880, the second in the county.

The first school district organized in Barnes County was the Daily district near Kathryn, hence called Daily #1. Classes were held in the attic of James Daily's home during the winter of 1879-1880. A three-month term of school needed to be held before a district could organize, which meant the district officially organized in 1880.¹⁶

Charley Walker undertook the first teaching assignment in Daily's attic. There was no stove, and air seeped through the cracks in the floor boards to heat the

attic/school. The seven pupils used textbooks furnished by their parents, and studied in an attic/schoolroom furnished with benches for the pupils, a kitchen table served as the teacher's desk. Walker received very little salary, which was paid directly by the pupils' parents. On April 9, 1880, Walker was paid \$30 by the district for his three-month term of school, which may have been the district's contribution to his salary. His salary was augmented with room and board at a pupil's home.¹⁷

The second teacher in the Daily school, F.J. Barlow, received \$24 for teaching, probably for a month in May, 1880. Barlow and William Cosgrove taught terms from mid-1880 through 1881. While Cosgrove was teaching in 1881, J. Sarsmand was paid \$20 by the district for "boarding teacher" which meant that for a time the district supplemented the teacher's salary with room and board.¹⁸

In addition to paying the teachers for "teashing skol," the district paid James Daily \$17 for a stove, in 1880 purchased maps and a globe from W.H. Andrews Company for \$75.40, and purchased a blackboard for \$7.25. The district also paid local people to clean the school houses. Those who received pay for cleaning and washing the school were most often on the school board. Board members also received the bids to paint the school. In 1907 Melvina C. Wilson, a teacher in the district, received \$2, in addition to her teaching salary, to clean the school. Likewise, in 1908

Clara Hanson, also a teacher, received \$2 to clean the school. This appeared to be the teacher's choice as a board member was paid for the cleaning chores in 1909.¹⁹

Men taught in the district's schools until 1904 when Annie M. Lienhart taught for two terms at a wage of \$40 per month. Only four women taught in the Daily district from 1879 until 1909 although women comprised more than 60 percent of the teaching corps in Barnes County. Daily #1 also experienced more teaching continuity than most districts. William Cosgrove taught eleven terms between 1881 and 1884, with F.J. Barlow teaching three terms and Henry Hendrickson teaching two terms during that same time period. W.E. Bush taught five terms between 1885 and 1889 while Martin Iverson taught eight terms from 1890 to 1904.²⁰

Within ten years of the first public term of school in Barnes County there were 77 schools.²¹ In 1886 there were 79 ungraded and two graded schools. The terms ran in length from zero to 200 days with 16 schools not open during the year. Attendance tallied in at 90 percent. This number reflected the percentage of enrolled students in attendance and not attendance by all children of the district.²²

By June of 1890 Barnes County had 82 organized school districts with 68 ungraded and three graded schools. Only Cass, Grand Forks, Pembina and Walsh counties had more districts. Fifteen schools in Barnes County did not have

Webster's Unabridged Dictionaries, accounting for 20 percent of all schools in Barnes County with no dictionaries. Two schools had no outhouses and seven schools had libraries with 213 total volumes. Twenty-eight percent of Barnes County schools met for at least six months compared to six percent state-wide. Eighty-seven percent of the schools met for three months or more, while state-wide the number was 65 percent. It should be noted that the older, more established counties of eastern North Dakota held longer school terms. Sixty-five percent of children between the ages of six and twenty were enrolled in Barnes County schools; state-wide, 70 percent of children in this age range were enrolled in local schools. The average daily attendance was 65 percent in Barnes County and 74 percent in North Dakota.²³

In 1900, organized public education had existed in Barnes County for more than two decades. Ninety-three percent of the children attended 126 schools in 91 districts. Throughout North Dakota, 84 percent of the children were enrolled in school. Twenty-five percent of the schools had libraries with an average of 63 volumes per library. These figures are comparable to the state-wide figures. The idea of paying for textbooks with public funds was accepted in Barnes County because sixty-four percent of the Barnes County schools purchased textbooks with public funds compared to thirty-nine percent of the schools state-

wide. All of the schools had blackboards and most schools must have contained a Webster's Dictionary as this question no longer appeared on the annual state report form. The lengths of school terms were similar in Barnes County and North Dakota. Sixty-six percent of the Barnes County schools met for more than six months while the state average was 69 percent.²⁴

M.W. Barnes, Barnes County Superintendent of Schools in 1900, reported to the state that much progress had been made in educational pursuits. He noted that the school terms were longer, and the attendance percentage was rising. He also commented that a number of new schools were being built and equipped, and generally the school boards were procuring the needed school supplies. Barnes expressed a belief that soon all the districts would adopt the policy of purchasing textbooks with public funds and thus provide school pupils with free textbooks.²⁵

In 1908 Barnes County had 136 ungraded and 15 graded schools in 96 districts. Eighty-seven school libraries existed, and 68 percent of the schools provided free textbooks to their students compared to 62 percent state-wide. From 1900 figures the percentage of districts providing free textbooks increased by four percentage points, while the entire state experienced a 23 point increase. The attendance rate increased from 1900 to 96 percent of those enumerated while the North Dakota average

was 92 percent of enumerated children.²⁶ Barnes County was making rapid advances in providing a quality education for its students.

County superintendents provided the link between the territorial and state offices of public instruction and the counties, as well as administered the county teacher's examination. They were also required to submit reports and statistics on schools within the county to the territorial or state office.²⁷

Initially there were no professional requirements for holding the position of county superintendent of schools, but over the years a degree of professionalism and standards was required. In counties that paid the superintendent more than \$1000, the person needed to be a graduate of a Normal School, which trained teachers, or an institution of higher learning, or hold a "state normal or a state professional certificate," and have completed three years of successful teaching in North Dakota. Counties that paid less than \$1000 required the superintendent to hold the highest county certificate.²⁸

The first Barnes County Superintendent of Schools, Otto Becker, could not read or write, so he was assisted by a young attorney, Fred Adams. E.A. Sager, an early teacher in the Valley City public schools, was the first elected superintendent in 1884. In 1887 Mrs. Belle Sampson Spurr defeated three men to become the first woman to hold the

position in Barnes County. She married the Reverend Benjamin Spurr in 1887 and chose not to run for re-election as her new husband decided to run and was elected in 1890. W.E. Bush, another teacher, was elected in 1892 and served as county superintendent until 1898. By then the position was filled by teachers. From 1899 to 1907 M.W. Barnes held the office. In 1907 Minnie J. Nielson became the county superintendent of schools and held the position until 1919 when she was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction.²⁹

CHAPTER III
WHO IS QUALIFIED TO TEACH?

Like Laura Ingalls, teachers in the early years of Barnes County history were sometimes not legally qualified to teach, usually because they were underage. However, not being legally qualified did not mean they were poor teachers. There were good teachers who did not meet the legal requirements and poor teachers who met the legal requirements.

A report to the territorial governor in 1881 stated:

The law excludes those not over 18 years and even if such persons hold certificates the law does not qualify them to contract. Some superintendents and boards have not strictly enforced this law and the schools have not been benefitted by the license. Pupils below that ages should be pupils and not instructor and governors of our youth.³⁰

Meeting in 1883, the Fifteenth Territorial Legislature further mandated that:

All school officers are prohibited from making contracts employing persons to teach not known to them to be qualified as in this section provided, and all such contracts made with those not so qualified are null and void.³¹

In 1890 the First North Dakota Legislature found it necessary to require a written contract.³²

The First North Dakota Legislature also mandated that county superintendents hold public examinations for all candidates seeking teaching certificates. The

superintendents did have some leeway when the legislature deemed that:

If from the percentage of correct answers required by the rules, and other evidence disclosed by the examination, including particularly the superintendent's knowledge and information of the candidate's successful experience, if any, the applicant is found to be a person of good moral character, to possess a knowledge and understanding, together with aptness to teach and govern, which will enable such applicant to teach in the common schools of the State the various branches required by law, said superintendent shall grant to such applicant a certificate of qualification.³³

This section gave county superintendents the authority to grant certificates to those applicants who scored below a 70 percent on the teacher's examination or deny certificates to those scoring higher.

The examinations were conducted on dates specified by law, although these dates changed over the years. Under territorial law, three grades of county certificates were granted. The First Grade certificate was valid for two years, the Second Grade for eighteen months and the Third Grade for twelve months. The grade of certificate was based on the percentage of questions answered correctly on the examination. At the county superintendent's discretion a probation certificate, or permit, could be issued to persons scoring between 60 and 70 percent on the examination and showing "aptness to teach and govern." After the probation period, the person must have secured a minimum Third Grade certificate. To receive a Third Grade or probation

certificate, applicants did not have to write on United States history. Persons passing the examination taught "orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English language and grammar and United States history."³⁴

Upon statehood, North Dakota granted First Grade certificates for three years, Second Grade for two years and Third Grade for one year. The state also granted professional life certificates to persons with at least five years of teaching experience who passed a comprehensive examination. One could also receive a professional certificate by completing the four year teacher's program at the University of North Dakota and three years of teaching experience. Graduates of the Normal Schools received five year state certificates providing they had two years of teaching experience. The fee required for a professional or state certificate was \$5.³⁵

To receive a certificate, the applicant proved competence in: "Reading, writing, orthography, English grammar, geography, United States history, arithmetic and physiology and hygiene." First and Second Grade certificate holders had to pass a theory and practice of teaching section. First Grade certificate applicants were also required to pass: "civil government, physical geography, elements of natural philosophy, elementary geometry and algebra, and book-keeping." The fee for county certificates was \$1.³⁶

The following questions were included on the January 7, 1890 examination for county certificates:³⁷

Geography:

5. Name the leading exports of Russia, of Cuba, of Calcutta, of Melbourne, of California.

Language Lessons and Grammar

9. Define a simple sentence, a complex sentence, a compound sentence. Give an example of each.

Reading

5. Read a selection chosen by the Superintendent.

Physiology

3. State fully the effects of the habitual use of alcoholic drinks upon the heart, upon the liver.

Penmanship

2. What system of penmanship do you use? In what respects does it differ from other systems?

Orthography

5. Spell ten words to be pronounced by the Superintendent, and give the meaning of each.

Arithmetic

1. A boy buys apples at the rate of four for five cents and sells them at the rate of three for ten cents; how many must he sell to make a profit of one dollar? Solve mentally and write out the analysis.

United States History

3. What were the causes and what the results of the Mexican war? Name two prominent Mexican generals, and two prominent American generals of that war.

Book-keeping

3. Give Journal entry for 'Bought merchandise of A.L. Carey for which I gave my note payable in 30 days.'

Civil Government

1. What is a republican form of government? How does it differ from a purely democratic form of government? Name other republican governments than our own.

Geometry

4. Prove that in an obtuse angled triangle the greatest side lies opposite the greatest angle.

Physical Geography

2. Where are the rainless portions of South America? Why are they rainless?

Theory and Practice

5. To what extent is the teacher responsible for the cleanliness of the school house and pupils?

Algebra

3. Raise $a-b$ to the fifth power by the binomial theorem. Give the rule for the coefficients of the terms.

Natural Philosophy

1. Give the law of attraction one body for another. The body 'a' is 'm' and the body 'b' is 'n' feet from the third body 'c'; the mass of 'a' is to the mass of 'b' as 'p' is

to 'g.' What is the ratio of
the attraction of the body 'c'
for 'a' and 'b'?

The potential teacher had to be well versed on a wide range of subjects, particularly those pursuing First Grade certificates.

The examination process was conducted on two successive days. The schedules for the examinations were printed in local papers along with a list of candidates for certification. A typical schedule began at 9:00 a.m. and ran through 4:30 p.m. The second day was designated for persons taking the First Grade examination. The following examination schedule, from March 13-14, 1903, was typical.³⁸

March 13:

9:00 - 9:10	Reading rules and regulations
9:10 - 10:00	Reading
10:00 - 10:30	Writing
10:30 - 11:20	Arithmetic
11:20 - 12:00	Orthography
12:00 - 1:30	Intermission
1:30 - 2:15	Geography
2:15 - 3:00	U.S. History
3:00 - 3:40	Physiology and Hygiene

March 14:

9:00 - 9:45	Theory and Practice
9:45 - 10:30	Language and Grammar
10:30 - 11:15	Physical Geography
11:15 - 12:00	Natural Philosophy
12:00 - 1:15	Intermission
1:15 - 2:15	Algebra
2:15 - 3:15	Geometry
3:15 - 4:00	Psychology

During the first six months of 1890, 23 people applied for certificates in Barnes County. One person received a First Grade certificate, five a Second and ten a Third Grade

certificate. One person renewed a First Grade certificate and six applicants were rejected. Of the certificates granted in Barnes county, 63 percent of the teachers received Third Grade certificates as opposed to 43 percent state-wide. Twenty-six percent of the Barnes County applicants were rejected while only 16 percent were rejected throughout the state.³⁹ In 1898 only one person received a new First Grade certificate, which was one percent of the applicants. In North Dakota five percent of the teachers were granted new First Grade certificates. Forty-four percent of the Barnes County teachers earned Second Grade certificates and 38 percent received Third Grade. State-wide, 42 percent received Second Grade and 29 percent Third Grade. Fifteen (17 percent) applicants received permits in Barnes County while 24 percent of the teachers in North Dakota had permits. The rejection rate in Barnes County (17 percent) and North Dakota (20 percent) was comparable.⁴⁰

The figures for 1908 show a significant shift. By this date Third Grade certificates were no longer awarded. In Barnes County, 11 percent of people receiving First Grade county certificates increased by three percentage points to four percent, however the raw number of new First Grade certificate holders was very low--four. In North Dakota, the number of new First Grade certificate holders decreased by three percentage points to two percent. The number of Second Grade certificates awarded increased by ten

percentage points, and permit issues increased by two points in Barnes County. State-wide, Second Grade issues decreased by four percentage points and permit issues increased by 14 points. In Barnes County, 24 percent of the applicants were rejected, which was a seven point increase, while 21 percent of the applicants in North Dakota were rejected for a one percent increase.⁴¹

Being rejected for certification did not necessarily preclude one from teaching. A case in point was Pauline "Polly" Baumez. Polly's teaching skills were acceptable to County Superintendent W.E. Bush in 1893--she scored a 71 on the examination and held a Third Grade teaching certificate. Bush recertified Polly in 1894; however, in July of 1895 Polly was rejected after scoring only a 59 on the exam. At the time Polly taught in district #17. In January and May of 1896 Polly retook the exam and was rejected for certification, but she still taught in district #17. While she was rejected for certification, the Barnes County Superintendent's Report for 1895 recorded that Polly Baumez held a Third Grade certificate. Finally in September of 1896, Polly secured a Third Grade certificate by scoring a 78 on the teacher's examination. At the time Polly was going through this process, she was an experienced teacher in her mid-30s.⁴²

Between 1893 and 1897, County Superintendent Bush frequently wrote comments about the teacher next to the

results of the teacher's examination. Additionally, the Record of Teacher's Examinations also included information on the age of the person, nationality, address, test result and district the person taught in. The vast majority of Bush's comments about the teachers were positive. In 1893 Mrs. Estelle Hrdliska was 25 years old, and she scored a 94 on the exam. She held a Second Grade certificate and taught in district #54, where, according to Bush, Mrs. Hrdliska was "doing good work."⁴³ At 25 years of age, H.P. Skramstad taught his first term of school in district #83. Bush was also pleased with Skramstad's skills. Of 20 year-old Minnie Nielson, Bush claimed she was "a teacher full of enthusiasm" in 1894.⁴⁴

Some teachers did not live up to the County Superintendent's expectations. Although Amanda Gallipo was doing only "fair work," Bush believed that the 18 year-old would improve.⁴⁵ Bush described Mrs. Elizabeth Towne Gregory as "too poor for any use."⁴⁶ However, Mrs. Gregory taught in Barnes County for a number of years. Although there were instances when Bush did not believe the teacher performed well, he was favorably pleased with the vast majority.

CHAPTER IV
MORE TRAINING IS NEEDED

Professional educators continually decried the lack of proper training for teachers, particularly those who taught in the small, rural schools. Three means of addressing the issue of continued training were teachers' institutes, training schools and summer school, and the Normal Schools. The Valley City Normal School played a significant role in the lives of Barnes County teachers.

Joseph Kennedy, a University of North Dakota educator, wrote to the Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1890:

In the present condition of education the institute is a necessity. In states well supplied with normal schools it is an indispensable supplement, and in states such as our own, not having their normal schools developed, it is the one great professionalizing element in our common school system. The great need of the teacher is professional life. The institute secures both. ⁴⁷

The teachers' institutes were very important until 1896 when summer schools were introduced, but after 1909, the Institute enjoyed a resurgence of popularity.⁴⁸

W.E. Bush, Barnes County Superintendent in 1892, sang the praises of the Institute:

Our Teachers' Institutes are doing a good work, especially with the young teachers and those who have had no special training for the profession.

Still for those of our teachers who have had considerable experience with perhaps Normal training, the 'ungraded' institute is of itself little benefit. The social feature of getting acquainted is the most they get out of it.⁴⁹

By law teachers were required to attend the Institute. School doors closed during the Institute, and the districts paid their teachers for attending. Teachers not attending the Institute could not be paid for the time they taught.⁵⁰ The 1899 legislature clarified the situation:

Each teacher receiving such notice, engaged in teaching a term of school which includes wholly or in part the time of holding such institute or teachers' training school, shall close school and attend the same and shall be paid by the school board of the district his regular wages as teacher for the time he attended such institute or teachers' training school, as certified by the county superintendent, but no teacher shall receive pay unless he has attended four (4) consecutive days, nor shall any teacher receive pay for more than five (5) days.⁵¹

The legislature further stated that the county superintendent could revoke a certificate "for inexcusable neglect or refusal, after due notice, to attend a teachers' institute or teachers' training schools held for such county."⁵²

At the 1893 Barnes County Teachers' Institute held in Valley City, 74 of the county's 90 legally qualified teachers attended. The Institute had an enrollment of 87 with 13 soon-to-be teachers in attendance. George A. McFarland, of the Valley City Normal School, was the conductor of the week-long Institute. He was ably assisted by Lizzie Featherstone, a Valley City teacher. Women played

an important role at this Institute as the Misses Emma Bates, Lura Perrine and Eleanor Norton also assisted McFarland. Miss Myrick was the organist, and Miss Bessie Lenvig the secretary. Women served on the Introductions and Resolutions committees, six of the ten members.⁵³

After the 1893 Institute, Superintendent Bush reported to the state that overall the Institute was good. Professionalism was on the rise, as was the interest in health and school house ventilation. The moral influence of the Institute was "very good. The disposition of the Institute was on the side of good morals and an endeavor made to furnish healthy entertainment, which seemed appreciated."⁵⁴ Once again the ideas of education and morality were linked.

Normal schools played an important role in the education of early teachers, and that role was magnified in those counties where such schools existed. The Valley City Normal School opened its doors in 1890 with the function of preparing men and women to teach in the state's public schools. Rooms were available throughout town with board running between \$3.00 and \$3.50 per week. The Normal School initially used for the the city's high school books for classes.⁵⁵

The first year 35 students enrolled at the Valley City Normal School. Ninety-one percent of the students were residents of Barnes County. By the 1893-94 school year, 140

students enrolled with 39 percent from Barnes County. Admission requirements existed, but because all potential students might not have received adequate preparation for the Normal School, provisions were made so that those students could be admitted.⁵⁶

The Normal School degree program ran for three years with four terms a year. The first year courses consisted of preparation for the common branches. During the second year, students took the Science of Education, Sanitary Science, and Teaching Methods in addition to some general courses. During the third year students studied the History of Education in addition to Practice Teaching in the Model School on campus.⁵⁷

Many of the students who enrolled at the Normal School frequently left to teach. Augusta Amundson entered the Normal when it opened in 1890, but did not graduate until 1896. In 1892 she taught two three-month terms in rural schools. After receiving her degree she left Barnes County for Rugby and a position as principal of the school.⁵⁸

Beginning in 1900 the Record of Teacher's Examinations contained information about the teacher--the length of teaching experience, number of teacher's institutes attended, number of training schools and summer schools attended, and whether or not the person was a Normal School graduate. Because educators were required by law to attend the teachers' institutes, the vast majority of teachers

complied. However, a large number of Barnes County teachers also attended training schools, summer school and the regular Normal School.⁵⁹ For the school year 1892-1893, 26 percent of the students at the Valley City Normal had taught prior to attending the school, and the Normals' administration believed that a good number of the students who had not previously taught would do so during the year.⁶⁰

A very small number of teachers continued their professional education at four year universities, but they often did not complete degrees. Both Mary Ritchie and Augusta Amundson spent the 1905-1906 school year attending the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. Minnie Nielson also attended the University of Michigan and the University of Chicago but did not receive degrees from either.⁶¹

CHAPTER V
THE CLASSROOM

During the first decade of organized public education in Barnes County, the number of schools increased rapidly. The first organized district, the Daily district, held school in James Daily's attic. By 1890, 87 school houses existed in Barnes County, with 31 being built during the year. There were no sod or log houses, but there were one stone house and eight brick school houses. Seventy-eight of the houses were wood frame buildings.⁶² By 1898 there were 123 school houses in the county, with five built during the year. Again, there were no sod or log houses, but six stone or brick houses. One hundred and eleven of the schools were frame houses. By 1908 there were 144 school houses in the county, with none built during the year, of which eight were brick or stone and 136 were frame houses.⁶³

Conditions in the rural schools were not always ideal. The state of North Dakota recognized that there were a number of substandard schools--lack of equipment and furniture, buildings in a state of disrepair, lack of ventilation, and unsanitary outhouses. In fact, the state of North Dakota was officially committed to eradicating the

unsightly and unsanitary conditions that persisted at many schools.

Planting trees was one way of beautifying schools, and the state supported Arbor Day activities to reach this end. In 1890 Governor John Miller issued Arbor Day Circular No. 4 from the Department of Public Instruction:

The age of ugly school houses, barren walls and bleak, lonesome surroundings has passed. We believe it to be the duty of the schools to impress upon the minds of the children an idea of the beautiful as well as a desire to make others happy; to make the school a model republic working for the common good. Arbor Day furnishes such an opportunity.⁶⁴

Not only was planting trees a means of beautifying schools and providing wind breaks, but it was also tied in with the ideas of democracy and patriotism.

Although the state promoted Arbor Day activities, Barnes County schools were slow to fully embrace the program. In 1892 only 19 of the 97 schools held Arbor Day programs.⁶⁵ One reason for the relatively low 20 percent participation rate was that many of the county's schools were not in session around Arbor Day. In the 1894 Fourth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent there was an entire section on Arbor Day, complete with four related questions. In 1894, 30 percent of the Barnes County schools observed Arbor Day, and 72 percent of the school grounds had trees growing.⁶⁶ Over time, the number of schools participating in Arbor Day observances increased. By 1900, 73 percent of the schools in Barnes County had some sort of

Arbor day observance.⁶⁷ However that percentage decreased in 1902 to 56 percent and did not go above 60 percent until 1906 and 1907.⁶⁸

Some schools' Arbor Day observations were noted in the Valley City Times-Record. In 1901 District #14 near Hastings celebrated by planting trees; later the students lunched on coffee and cake. It was also noted that everyone had a good time. Arbor Day events were also held near Ellsbury, but "strong winds made it a very disagreeable day for all." In 1904, the Times-Record, Dazey news section, reported that "Tree planting is certainly a move in the right direction. Trees and groves not only beautify the country but enhance the value of land. Nothing like it to beat the monotony of these endless prairies." A local school also planted trees. Miss Lucy Bowen's students, in the Wilma area, cleaned up the school and school grounds in honor of Arbor Day. They could not plant trees because the school yard was not fenced, but it was hoped that there would be a fence before the next year. Daily school #1 planted seeds for trees in 1898.⁶⁹

Arbor Day observances and planting trees were a part of the official Department of Public Instruction policy. Trees protected the school grounds and provided shade, as well as being cosmetically appealing. The Department of Public Instruction required counties to provide specific information about trees growing on school grounds. In 1890

Barnes County had 87 school houses, but only four (five percent) of the school grounds had trees growing. State-wide, 11 percent of schools had trees growing on the grounds.⁷⁰ By 1899, 61 percent of the school grounds in Barnes County had trees which compared with 54 percent state-wide.⁷¹ Then in 1908, 70 percent of the school grounds had trees compared with 50 percent state-wide.⁷²

One of the reasons for the low state-wide percentage is because as the population moved west, it was less likely to erect schools on land with trees, and it took some time for the trees that were planted to take root and grow. Barnes County, for all practical purposes, is an eastern county and the Sheyenne River valley provides a number of places in the county where trees grow naturally.

Barnes County educators were not just concerned with beautifying the schools through Arbor Day tree plantings, but rather they were concerned with the general condition of the schools and school property. Minnie J. Nielson, a Barnes County Superintendent of Schools, filed a 1908 report to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in which she wrote:

I am glad to report great improvement in the condition of school property. Many school houses have been repaired and beautified outside and inside. A number of wells have been dug and fences built, thus encouraging the planting of trees and school gardens. The interiors have been made more inviting by new floors being laid, walls tinted and the woodwork brightened by a fresh coat of paint. The introduction of a Circulating Art

Gallery in the rural schools of the county has done much to stimulate this.⁷³

Newspaper reports detailed attempts by local school boards to keep the schools in good condition through remodeling and painting.⁷⁴ Schools also had to be kept clean. Often it was the responsibility of the teacher to keep the school clean. However, at Alderman a number of local women cleaned the school house in 1901. At the #32 school, the teacher and pupils cleaned the school house in the spring of 1909--the boys hauled water and the girls scrubbed the building.⁷⁵

In the Daily #1 district the school board paid people to clean the school and tend to painting and repairs. Often the people hired to clean the school were school board members, as were the persons paid for school repairs. However, in 1908 two teachers, Melvina Wilson and Clara Hanson, were paid \$2.00 for cleaning the school in addition to their teaching salaries.⁷⁶

Digging wells and building fences were also viewed as necessary endeavors for North Dakota schools. In 1894 Barnes County Superintendent of Schools, W.E. Bush, stated that about 25 percent of the schools had wells on the premise. He also wrote:

School grounds, I regret to say, are not receiving the care they ought to. Wherever attention has been given to improving school yards, it has been well done, a few being surrounded with neat fences and embellished with trees.⁷⁷

In the Fourth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the 1894 school year, counties were required to report on the number of schools with wells and whether or not school grounds were fenced or had fire breaks. In Barnes County, 22 percent of the schools had wells, six percent had fenced grounds, and 93 percent had fire breaks. State-wide 16 percent of the schools had wells; three percent had fenced grounds and 77 percent had fire breaks.⁷⁸ As the number of schools in Barnes County increased, the percentage with wells decreased. By 1900, 21 percent of the schools had wells; 13 percent of the school grounds were fenced; and 97 percent of the schools were protected by fire breaks. Once again this compared favorably with the state-wide figures. Throughout North Dakota there were wells at 16 percent of the schools, fenced grounds at 9 percent, and firebreaks at 75 percent of the schools.⁷⁹ The number of schools with wells fell throughout the early 20th century. By 1908, 17 percent of the Barnes County schools had wells. State-wide, 13 percent of the schools had wells. Twenty-one percent of the Barnes County school grounds were fenced, compared with 12 percent state-wide and 68 percent of Barnes County schools were protected by fire breaks compared with 60 percent state-wide.⁸⁰ While the percentages fell, Barnes County Superintendent Minnie Nielson reported in 1908 that a number of wells had been dug and fences built.

Teachers also complained about the lack of fences and wells. While teaching in the Norma #11 district in 1885, Emma Daniels reported the school needed a well of water "for the comfort of both, the teachers and pupils." In 1900 at Pierce #71 school 1, L.F. Allen conceded that: "A well is the greatest need of the school, present water endangers health of scholars." While Emma Krogan taught at the Kee School (Heman #48) in 1906 she wrote that the school needed a fence around the school yard and that the old well needed to be filled in.⁸¹

The condition of outhouses also received attention. This concern filtered down from the state Department of Public Instruction. In the 1894 Third Biennial Report of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota State Superintendent Laura Eisenhuth concluded that there needed to be a state law requiring schools to be furnished with separate privies. Partitioned facilities were not acceptable. She also stated that a system of outhouse inspections needed to be implemented. The fact that there were so many single privies spoke of the "thoughtlessness" of parents and school administrators. This, then, also posed a moral question. According to Eisenhuth:

I would here urgently call the teachers' attention to a growing evil that is abroad in all the land-- the filthy and vile condition of the school outhouses. I know of and have made complaint of school houses in this state where the outhouses were snowed full in winter, and too vile to enter in summer, leaving the pupils without the proper means to obey the calls of nature the whole day.

No wonder that their brains are inactive, their digestion impaired and their circulation sluggish. And not only are they pest houses where disease is germinated, but they are immoral influences that burn and blacken the pure young souls of innocent children, and perpetuate and strengthen the evil in evil.⁸²

One of the questions on the Teacher's Report specifically asked whether or not the outhouses had been checked regularly. Some did not respond to the question; others responded with a simple yes. In 1889 John E. White at Sanborn responded with a "Certainly" and in 1891 "Indeed," while Tillie Noecker, also at Sanborn, responded "Yes Sir" in 1896.⁸³

Although some teachers noted that the outhouses were in "good" or "excellent" condition, more often they complained about the poor condition of the facilities.⁸⁴ The most common complaints were that the outhouse(s) needed cleaning or repairs, but there were other gripes. Sometimes in the winter the privies filled with snow.⁸⁵ Latches on doors and roofs were missing.⁸⁶ Mary Hurlburt reported that the outhouse needed to be arranged differently because holes had been cut through the past two terms. This caused a problem because the school had a double privy that was partitioned. Gertrude Craver mused that the partition was partially missing in the double privy while Alys Reid came right to the point and said that the houses needed to be separated.⁸⁷

There were also questions about outhouses included in the Barnes County Superintendent's Report which then became a part of the State Superintendent's Report to the Governor. In 1890 Barnes County had 77 schools or departments. Three percent, or two schools, had no privy. Ten percent of the schools (eight) had one privy and 87 percent had either two privies or a double privy.⁸⁸ In 1897 the Department of Public Instruction also included a question which asked how many school houses had separate water closets (privies). In Barnes County only three percent, or four, of the schools had no water closets. Twelve percent of the schools had a double water closet and 85 percent had separate facilities. On a state-wide basis four percent of the schools lacked privies; 17 percent had double privies; and 79 percent had separate facilities.⁸⁹ By 1904 all Barnes County schools had separate water closets while there were still five percent of the schools throughout North Dakota without separate facilities.⁹⁰

Teachers had many other concerns too. Were there enough books, was there a library, was the school building clean, was there enough furniture, did the stove work, etc.? The Teachers' Reports provide much information about the condition of the schools--what they had and what they lacked.

In November of 1887, Abbie Montgomery completed a term at the Stewart #7 school 1. She wrote:

When I come to the school found the schoolroom very much in need of a thorough cleaning and some repairs, such as steps, several panes of glass, seats fastened to the floor etc. ...I would suggest before the beginning of another term that the blackboards be newly painted, seats put in order and fastened to the floor, schoolhouse cleaned and blinds hung to the window-there being danger of permanent injuring being done to the eyes of the pupils from the glaring light they are subjected to. The school was closed Election Day, also one day because of defective chimney causing stove to smoke, also a half day to allow plasters to perform their work.⁹¹

Montgomery's written statement included many of the complaints teachers had. The most common references pertained to the need for cleaning and general repairs, painting, plastering, locks on doors, etc.⁹² The reports also contained numerous references to the condition of the furniture, both teachers' and pupils'. Some teachers wanted the pupils' desks and chairs fastened to the floor so they would not move. Mary Smith, a teacher at school 1 in the Norma #11 district, wrote that "Seats not fastened to floor, consequently children can not keep a correct position. result: [sic] injury to eyes & stooping."⁹³ At Daily #1, W.E. Bush reported that the district had fastened the seats to the floor.⁹⁴

By state law, church or other activities, such as political meetings, could be held in the school house, but it was illegal to unfasten the seats. The seats could only be unfastened when the school was cleaned, or for repair, and the penalty for illegally taking up the seats was a fine of \$5 to \$10. School boards could suspend the teacher or

expel students for violating the law.⁹⁵ Theoretically the law made suppers, socials and dances illegal in many school houses. However, although it was illegal to unfasten the seats, community functions, such as socials, suppers and dances held in school houses, were very common.

Other concerns related to whether or not the schools had dictionaries, libraries, and at a later date, textbooks purchased with public funds. Not all schools were equipped with the standard Webster's Unabridged Dictionary. In 1890, 15 Barnes County schools had no dictionary. That figure represented 20 percent of the schools in the county and the state-wide percentage was identical. By 1898, 94 percent of the schools in Barnes County possessed a dictionary which compared to 92 percent state-wide. Nineteen hundred and two was the last year that Barnes County schools reported no dictionary in the school house. Two schools had no dictionaries, which comprised two percent of the county's schools, while throughout North Dakota nine percent of the state's schools did not have dictionaries. Nineteen hundred and six was the last year that the state required the counties to report on whether or not dictionaries were present in the school houses. While all schools in Barnes County possessed dictionaries, five percent of the schools state-wide had none.⁹⁶

The state, counties, and educators also promoted libraries and sought to develop them within the schools. As

time marched on, more Barnes County schools developed libraries. In 1890, seven schools, or nine percent, had libraries. State-wide only two percent of the schools had libraries, and, in fact, 66 percent of the counties reported no libraries within the schools. The average school library in Barnes County had 30 volumes. By 1898, 21 percent of the schools in Barnes County had libraries compared with 18 percent state-wide. That number, in Barnes County, increased to 58 percent in 1908, and 36 percent throughout North Dakota districts.⁹⁷

In 1902 the Pupils' Reading Circle was reorganized in Barnes County. According to Barnes County Superintendent M.W. Barnes, the Pupils' Reading Circles were responsible for bringing books into libraries, and a number of libraries would not exist without the Circle.⁹⁸ The Valley City Times-Record, Ellsbery news section, reported that most of the schools in the area were increasing their library collections and organizing Pupils' Reading Circles.⁹⁹

It was also very common for schools to hold basket socials or entertainment programs to raise funds for the library. In Valley City Professor Hanna, Valley City Superintendent of Schools, gave a talk to benefit the school library. In 1901, Emma Sowden ended the school term at Plainview by holding an entertainment to "start a library fund; in 1893 the school in Oriska held a program to raise money for a school library.¹⁰⁰

Basket socials were a more common way of raising money for school libraries, and inevitably more fun for the participants.¹⁰¹ One of the most successful basket socials was held at the Burchill school in 1909. The social raised \$122 for library books with one basket purchased for \$10.25!¹⁰² A basket social held at the Opera House in Litchville was designed to raise money for the library and basketball fund. The school also sponsored a program of music and debate, along with the traditional sale of baskets brought by the women and auctioned off to the highest male bidder. The lucky gentleman would have the opportunity to share a meal with a lady and at the same time raise money for the school library and basketball team. With the Opera House in Litchville filled to capacity for the occasion, attendees heard six men and six women debate the pros and cons of women's suffrage. The debaters voted on the issue-- ten in favor of women's suffrage and two opposed. The social also raised about \$60 for the two funds.¹⁰³

CHAPTER VI
TEACHING AND LEARNING

The length of school terms varied greatly, with a three month term common before 1900. In the early years there were also some schools that did not open during the entire year.¹⁰⁴ Over the years the length of the school terms increased. In 1890 no classes were taught in four schools during the six months the report covered. Only five percent of the Barnes County schools failed to hold classes, while eight percent of schools state-wide did not meet. Thirty-two percent of the Barnes County schools had terms of less than three months compared with 33 percent state-wide. In Barnes County 43 percent of the schools were open between three and six months, while on a state-wide basis 55 percent met for the same period. Twenty-one percent of the Barnes County schools opened for six months or more, while only five percent of the schools throughout North Dakota met for the same length of time.¹⁰⁵ By 1898 only two percent of the schools in Barnes County and the state of North Dakota did not hold classes. Three percent of the Barnes County schools met between one and three months, while on a state-wide basis six percent met for that period of time. Twenty-seven percent of the Barnes County schools met between three

and six months, and state-wide 25 percent met for the same period. Seventy percent of the Barnes County schools were open for more than six months. Throughout the state 67 percent met for more than six months.¹⁰⁶ By 1908 all schools held sessions and 94 percent met for six months or more in Barnes County. State-wide only one percent of the schools did not meet and 78 percent of the schools met for at least six months.¹⁰⁷

Although there were variations as to how long and when school was held, in the early years it was common for school to meet during the spring and summer months. Some districts, like Norma #11 and Minnie Lake #88, consistently held spring and fall terms. If school met primarily during the summer, attendance by the older children, particularly the boys, would be sporadic. If school met during the winter, attendance was generally higher because the older children were present.¹⁰⁸

Although a school term was set for a specific period of time, there were a number of reasons for a shorter actual term. When the teacher became ill, the school closed until the teacher became well or a substitute was found. In 1901 Harold Westergaard had to close school twice because of illness. In early April Westergaard had "la grippe" and canceled school for one day; then in late April he was sick for a few days and once again school was closed.¹⁰⁹ These illnesses were brief and after a few days the teacher was

able to return to the classroom. If the teacher was sick for a longer period, some districts found substitute teachers. Maggie Walks filled in while Mr. Butler was "laid up." When Emma Bonnelle was ill, a young, local man named Wells Gage taught the school.¹¹⁰

Other times the schools were closed or substitutes found because of personal reasons. In 1890 Ed Brockman replaced the regular teacher because she had to attend to her ill mother. Quitting one's tenure as a teacher often times involved either illness or death in the family.¹¹¹ Then there were the teachers who left and placed the school district in a bind. On one occasion, the teacher quit without an explanation, and almost a month later the community learned he committed suicide.¹¹² In 1903 Elizabeth Baillie, a primary teacher at Sanborn, told the school board that she would teach out the week and then she was moving on to Courtenay. With regard to Elizabeth the Valley City Times-Record reported that: "This is rather short notice and places the board in a some what [sic] embarrassing position."¹¹³ Then there was the case of Polly Baumez. Polly did not leave unexpectedly, but rather the school board decided to close the school a month early. She was quite upset because she had just moved an organ into the school.¹¹⁴

Schools also closed because of student illness. In 1902 Oriska and Westedge closed school because of small pox,

and in 1907 Litchville schools closed for the same reason. In 1903 the Booth school near Rogers closed because some of the students were exposed to diphtheria. Belle Tibor, the teacher, had diphtheria and was recuperating at her home in Chicago. Wimbledon schools closed in 1903 because of scarlet fever.¹¹⁵

Finally there were a few more esoteric reasons for school closings. One school closed in the winter because of low attendance. Anton Lallum closed school because of "miserable roads." School might not be held because of an election or it might be closed because of cold weather. And then there was an unexplained reason a school closed near Litchville. The Litchville Bulletin reported that one of the rural schools was closed, but the local correspondent did not know why because the teacher was still around.¹¹⁶

Probably the most interesting reason for a vacation day was because the circus came to town. In 1890, Valley City students received an unexpected two day vacation--one day because of elections and the second because of the circus. The Times-Record reported that the school board decided that the circus' appearance in town was a valid reason to cancel school. The newspaper also speculated that the board members must still remember what it felt like to be young.¹¹⁷

The school day, with only minor exceptions, began at 9:00 a.m. and ran until 4:00 p.m. with an hour break at

lunch time. The schedule Emma Mickelson used at Hastings #75 school 2 in 1901 was typical:

9:00 - 9:10 - Opening Exercises
 9:10 - 9:55 - Reading (10 or 15 minute blocks)
 9:55 - 10:20 - Arithmetic
 10:20 - 10:45 - Recess
 10:45 - 11:00 - Arithmetic
 11:00 - 11:35 - Reading groups
 11:50 - 12:00 - Numbers
 12:00 - 1:00 - Lunch
 1:00 - 1:15 - General Lesson for All
 1:15 - 2:00 - Readings
 2:00 - 2:15 - History
 2:15 - 2:30 - Reading
 2:30 - 2:45 - Recess
 2:45 - 3:15 - Geography (2 groups)
 3:15 - 3:30 - Language
 3:30 - 3:45 - Grammar (1 group)
 3:45 - 3:55 - Numbers
 3:55 - 4:00 - Spelling¹¹⁸

Variations were allowed as the instructor could design the curriculum based on one's strengths and weaknesses, as well as the needs of the students. Some teachers taught music, drawing or painting, nature studies, and bookkeeping.¹¹⁹ Mertie Johnson and Lucie T. Frazies, both of whom were at Stewart school 2, taught Latin for 15 minutes each day.¹²⁰ Other educators altered the length of the sessions. While an average class session was 10 or 15 minutes, some teachers extended specific sessions. Sophia Daniels taught only 20 minute sessions at the Daily #1 school 2 in 1905. Robert Kukeonell taught a 30 minute Ancient History class and a 40 minute American History class. L.M. McGauphey taught two 30 minute Reading and Chart sessions for the first and second graders at the Heman school.¹²¹ Sessions might also have included busy work,

teaching classes on alternate days, phonics, or study periods.¹²²

The state required that the individual schools report what classes were taught. In 1890 the county and state kept records on the number of students studying reading, writing, spelling, drawing, number lessons, mental arithmetic, written arithmetic, geography, United States history, language, grammar, and physiology and hygiene. While most Barnes County students learned reading (98 percent) and spelling (97 percent), United States history was taught to only 18 percent of the pupils and language lessons to 9 percent. Statistics for the state corresponded with the exception of language lessons. On a state-wide basis 31 percent of the students were taught language lessons.¹²³

The state required more detailed accounts in 1898. The county and state now kept records on the number of students studying reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, language, grammar, geography, history, physiology, civil government, drawing, algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, general history, Latin, physical geography and bookkeeping. Most Barnes County students studied reading (99 percent), writing (97 percent) and arithmetic (98 percent), as did most students throughout North Dakota. However, the Barnes County percentages were slightly higher. In Barnes County only 15 percent of the students studied grammar, while state-wide the number was 26 percent. Likewise, only 25

percent of Barnes County pupils studied history, compared to 32 percent throughout North Dakota. Seventeen percent of the Barnes County students took civil government, while throughout the state 30 percent of the students studied the subject. Barnes County did have slightly higher percentages of students studying spelling, language and geography. Both Barnes County and the state had fewer than 1 percent of the students pursuing the study of natural philosophy, general history, Latin, physical geography and bookkeeping.¹²⁴ Teachers taught primarily the basics in the rural schools, and most of the students enrolled there.

Nineteen hundred and four was the last year the state published statistics on courses taught. After 1904 the state instead asked questions pertaining to the grade level of the students because there was a concerted effort to grade schools. The subjects covered in 1904 were the same as in 1898 except bookkeeping was dropped and music added. The statistics for reading, writing, and arithmetic were similar for both Barnes County and the state. However, the number of students studying grammar decreased on both levels and evened out. The number of students studying language in Barnes County and North Dakota increased by ten percentage points and the number of students pursuing studies in geography, physiology, civil government, and Latin also increased. Additionally, in Barnes County the number of students learning history increased, while the percentage

decreased throughout North Dakota. Thirty-two percent of Barnes County students had music classes compared with 14 percent state-wide. Fewer than five percent of the students in Barnes County and North Dakota studied algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, general history, or Latin.¹²⁵

In addition to teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, public school teachers also organized entertainment programs and socials. It was common to have a closing entertainment at the end of the school term. In District #74 near Hastings, the program included speeches, recitations and singing with cake and lemonade served afterwards. In District #58, Dorothy Dierck, the teacher, organized the program and gave a sack of "goodies" to the children.¹²⁶ Other entertainment programs were held throughout the school term, some for special occasions. In 1901 the Urbana, Eckelson and Valley City schools held Lincoln Day programs. At Valley City each department had programs. The Valley City Times-Record reported that: "Teachers labored hard and managed with skill that is characterized of their daily work. ...Schools are intended to make good citizens. Patriotism is the keynote to good citizenship."¹²⁷ Christmas programs were also popular. At Hastings in 1908 about 35 school children put on a Christmas program. The teacher, Lena Reiten, was commended in the newspaper, as were the children. The children, most likely

Norwegian speakers, were commended because it was only the third program they had given in English.¹²⁸

The schools also held programs designed to raise money for specific projects. These programs also often involved some sort of social or supper. The Urbana school, under the direction of Mr. T.J. Wilson, held a basket social and entertainment to raise money for a Christmas tree. It was the first time something like that was tried and \$89.70 was raised. Near Litchville, a basket social and dance were held to raise money for a Christmas tree. After a delay due to a blizzard, the public school in Litchville held an entertainment program to raise money for the purchase of an organ.¹²⁹

Other activities included a May Festival put on by two classes of boys at the Valley City school in 1896. The boys put on a May pole dance and then strawberries, ice cream and cake were served. In 1909 Litchville was the only city or village to have a Mother's Day program in Barnes County. In addition to the program, the school held an exhibit of the manual training program work, and Barnes County Superintendent Minnie J. Nielsen also attended.¹³⁰

Another concern for educators was the quantity and quality of equipment, supplies, and books available within the school district, which varied within the county. A very common complaint by educators was the lack of adequate blackboards.¹³¹ Fidelia A. Page taught in the Heman

district in 1899 and complained that the blackboards were "exceedingly poor in quality, and insufficient in amount."¹³² In the Pierce district, Mrs. Yeoman said of the blackboards: "fine, but not much better then [sic] nothing."¹³³

Schools also needed to be equipped with charts, maps and globes. In 1882, Andrew A. Boe commented that the school in the Norma district had no charts, globe, or dictionary. Emma Daniels reported in 1886 that the school was now equipped with a Webster's Dictionary, which contained supplementary biography sketches and illustrations, a 12 inch terrestrial globe, a set of Cornell outline maps, and an Appleton elementary reading chart that was mounted on a tripod.¹³⁴ Schools usually acquired the apparatus over the years. A well equipped school would have contained a dictionary, globe, reading charts, physiology chart, language chart and maps--Europe, Asia, Africa, United States, North Dakota, Barnes County, North America and South America. However, the ideal was not the reality. Most schools lacked the necessary equipment, or what equipment the school did possess was often in poor condition.¹³⁵

Teachers also commented on the status of textbooks in the schools and made reference to the fact that textbooks were often in short supply and urgently needed¹³⁶. In 1887 W.E. Bush wrote that the Daily #1 school 1 had six readers and six spellers. Between 1900 and 1908 the Daily district

spent \$192.34 on books for the district's two schools. While teaching in the Norma district, Anton Lallum believed that the Christopherson/Langemo school (school 1) should exchange the history and geography textbooks in favor of those being recommended by the County Superintendent. Almost two years later in 1904 the Times-Record reported, in the Norman (Norma) news section, that District #11 had exchanged the history and geography texts with more "up-to-date books."¹³⁷

In 1898 the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, John G. Halland, stated that the most needed improvement was free textbooks.¹³⁸ The first year for which statistics were kept on the number of schools that had textbooks provided by public funding was 1899. In that year 58, or 48 percent, of the schools in Barnes County provided their students with free textbooks. The average school in the county spent \$6.40 on the books, which was not much. In North Dakota only 28 percent of the schools provided their pupils with free textbooks, but the average school spent \$23.73. When compared with other eastern North Dakota counties, Barnes had a greater percentage of schools providing schools with publicly funded books, but spent considerably less than the eastern counties.¹³⁹ By 1908, 68 percent of the schools in Barnes County purchased textbooks with public tax dollars at an average cost of

\$12.88. State-wide 62 percent of the schools provided free textbooks at an average cost of \$15.51.¹⁴⁰

With the school in order and the materials at hand, the teacher was ready to train or teach "the young idea how to shoot."¹⁴¹ During territorial days all children ten to fourteen were required to attend school for a minimum of twelve weeks, six of which had to be successive. Students could be exempted if they received their education at home, a parochial school, or private school. In 1903 the North Dakota legislature changed the compulsory attendance law to require students between eight and fourteen to attend school. Again, exemptions were available if the children were taught at home, or if they attended parochial or private schools, were vital to the support of the family, or had knowledge of the required courses.¹⁴² The greater age range for compulsory attendance indicated that North Dakota was trying to better educate its youth.

Term lengths and attendance were sporadic which created real problems for teachers. Students of many different ages were placed in the same grade. It was not unusual for the teacher to have many older boys, particularly during the winter, who were larger and older than the educator, and that could spell trouble. Ferdinand Steidl, of the Fingal area, recalled how he and other pupils filled the school house's chimney to see what would happen when the teacher started the stove. According to Steidl, the teacher was

"taken aback when black rivulets began running down the wall!"¹⁴³

Getting and keeping pupils enrolled in school were problems that educators and communities had to address. The local correspondent for the Svenby news section of the Valley City Times-Record editorialized in 1897 that parents had a responsibility to keep their children in school rather than keep them home for "trifling errands." In 1906 the editor of the Litchville Bulletin, W.A. Well, wrote an editorial that encouraged parents to keep their children in school. He urged boys to stay in school so that they would not regret a lack of education in the future. Well pointed out that missing a session, or even a week, caused serious problems because it led to the breakdown of the school system. Educators became encumbered with students who, due to lack of attendance, slowed down the others. In the end, the student with poor attendance often found it easier to quit school permanently. He went on to write that while many children made up the lower grades, the high schools had only a moderate number of students and most of them were girls. Well also claimed that only a fraction of those who should be in school actually were.¹⁴⁴

The most common reason for not attending school was because the student was needed to help on the farm or find a job to contribute to the family's financial well-being. There were also other reasons. Jessie Batchelder Tracy did

not attend a full term of school in Valley City because her parents did not move into town until October or November and then moved back out to the farm in March or April. There were a number of other children who were also affected in this manner. Another reason was the location of the school house. For some students the school was too far away to attend.¹⁴⁵

In 1890, enumeration figures indicated that there were 1,936 children in Barnes County between the ages of seven and nineteen. Sixty-five percent of the children, 1,264, were enrolled in school during the six months the report covered. Of those children between the ages of eight and fourteen, who by law were required to attend school for six weeks, only eight percent failed comply with the law if school was held in the district. Throughout North Dakota, 70 percent of the enumerated children attended school, while only seven percent of those between eight and fourteen did not enroll in school if it was held. On an average day, 65 percent of the enrolled pupils attended school in Barnes County compared with 74 percent state-wide.¹⁴⁶

By 1898, there were 2,974 enumerated school-age children in Barnes County. Ninety-seven percent of the children enrolled in school during the year, with an average attendance of 87 percent. State-wide, 88 percent of the enumerated children enrolled in school with an average attendance at 86 percent.¹⁴⁷

In 1908, 4,317 school-age children resided in Barnes County. Only one percent of those children did not attend school, compared with ten percent throughout North Dakota. Ninety-six percent of all children attended school in Barnes County, while 92 percent of the children in North Dakota attended school in their district that year. The attendance rate in Barnes County was 87 percent, while the state-wide rate was 84 percent.¹⁴⁸

The number of students in attendance and their ages varied greatly from school to school. During the September, 1888 to June 1889 term at Daily #1 school 1, W.E. Bush had 51 students who ranged in age from seven to twenty-five. Only six pupils attended the Stewart school in 1883 under the direction of Mary E. Barnes.¹⁴⁹

Some children entered school at a very young age. In 1901 Ralph Williams began a seven month term at the Plano school at the ripe old age of four. Likewise, four year-old Clarence Moe attended a three month term at Minnie Lake #88 in 1897. While it was common for five year-olds to attend school, it was much less common to find four year-olds in attendance. These young children, ages four and five, often engaged in "chart" work instead of the usual course of study.¹⁵⁰

Many of the students over 20 were new to the United states and sought to learn English--reading, writing and speaking. Peter Bjornhus, age 25, enrolled in Martin

Iverson's first grade class in 1902. At Norma school 3, H.P. Skramstad had 19 year-old Ben Fjorckenstad in grade 5; John Christofferson, 24, and Ole Holstad, 21, in grade 2; and Ole Vasaasen, 48, in grade 3. None of the men received grades for their work. Vasaasen enrolled in school the following term and again received no grades. Martin Thoreson, who later became a state representative and senator, attended school as an adult in Barnes County specifically to learn English. Bertha Steiger Bartz, originally from Germany, attended school to improve her English. She passed three grades in three weeks and then quit to work as a hired girl for \$1 per week.¹⁵¹

Having one or two older non-English speaking students provided a challenge; however, some Barnes County educators were put into a situation in which the entire class spoke no English. Sixteen year-old Jessie Batchelder Tracy's first school was at a Swedish settlement in Svea township. None of her students spoke English, and Jessie spoke no Swedish. The County Superintendent told Jessie that the primary purpose of the school was to teach the students English. Jessie found the entire situation "very confusing," and, needless to say, she taught only one term there.¹⁵²

By law in Dakota Territory and North Dakota, public schools had to be taught exclusively in the English language. Failure to do so could result in a lawsuit. All school records and district records, including school board

meetings and action, were required to be recorded in English. Obviously in schools with large numbers of immigrants, children used their native language during recess and when communicating with each other. However, the teachers were responsible for preventing the children from using their native tongue. In 1894, County Superintendent W.E. Bush wrote to the North Dakota Department of Instruction that the Scandinavian teachers were better at enforcing the use of English at the schools than some American-born educators.¹⁵³

In return for educating the youth of Barnes County, teachers were rewarded monetarily. Like conditions in the school, the salary educators received was based, in part, on location and experience. For the most part, teachers received just a salary, although some also received board. In 1904 the state enacted a minimum salary law which created a minimum wage at \$45 per month.¹⁵⁴

Typically men earned more than women. There were some districts in which women earned more or at the same level as men, but, for the most part, women received a smaller wage. In 1890 the average Barnes County male teacher earned \$56.60 per month; whereas the average female teacher received \$38.50 per month. State-wide, men made an average of \$42.33 per month, while women earned \$34.34 per month. The overall average teacher's salary in Barnes County was over \$11 per month higher than the state's average. Barnes County also

had a greater earnings discrepancy than other established eastern North Dakota counties.¹⁵⁵ By 1898 the average male teacher's salary in Barnes County decreased to \$41.15 per month, while the average female teacher's salary decreased to \$36.25 per month. The average male teacher's salary in North Dakota decreased to \$39.92 per month, whereas female salaries increased to \$35.51 per month. The average teacher's salary in North Dakota was \$36.45 per month, while in Barnes County it was \$38.70 per month.¹⁵⁶ In 1908 male teachers earned on average \$62.15 per month, and female educators earned an average salary of \$48.98 per month; state-wide the average salaries for men and women were \$56.83 and \$47.75 per month respectively. The average monthly salary in Barnes County was a little over a dollar higher than the North Dakota average. In rural Barnes County schools, the average salary was \$48.48 per month, and state-wide rural salaries averaged \$46.31 per month.¹⁵⁷ As teachers became more plentiful and more women entered the profession, the salaries lowered or levelled out.

Many teachers and professional educators voiced concerns about the inadequacy of teachers' salaries. On the front page of the Valley City Times-Record in 1890 "A Barnes County Teacher" wrote:

...There are a good many school districts (i)n Barnes county that think they ought to get good teachers for thirty dollars, or less per month, and so vote at their annual meeting not to pay more than thirty dollars. Now, how do they think we can afford to spend the time and money

necessary, at school in studying special work for teachers, and then have to work for less money than is paid in other occupations, and have school only five or six months out of the twelve, being thrown out of employment when it is hardest to get other work? It is nothing but right that we should be paid so we can have some object in studying to better fit ourselves for our work.

At under [sic] prices it is but natural that teachers will not have any interest in their school, and only teach until they can find something better to do, instead of doing as they should--study to improve themselves and school to the very best of their ability, and so enter the ranks of a profession upon which rests the future wellfare [sic] of our country.¹⁵⁸

A case in point was W.E. Bush, future Barnes County Superintendent of Schools and a teacher in the Daily #1 district during the 1880s. Bush made an agreement with the school board to close the school during the threshing season. Why did Bush want the school closed? He could earn more money threshing than he could teaching.¹⁵⁹

In the 1898 Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Superintendent John Halland reported that better wages and conditions would lead to better qualified teachers being employed. He wrote that low salaries and sporadic school terms created a situation in which the most promising candidates for the teaching school selected other professions. Halland also believed that local school boards should make wage distinctions between professional and non-professional teachers. Most rural school teachers would be classified as non-professional, and the Department of Public Instruction's figures indicated

that one-third of all rural teachers left every year.¹⁶⁰ The high rural turnover rate merely perpetuated a situation which the state and county were trying to eradicate.

Subsequent Biennials also decried the lack of adequate salaries for educators. Included in the 1904 Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction was a report from the Committee on Salaries and Social Status of Teachers prepared by Webster Merrifield, President of the State University. The Committee concluded that teachers were paid less than other professionals and often times had lower monthly wages than unskilled personnel. In 1904 the average male teacher in North Dakota made \$42.70 per month, and Barnes County male teachers made \$55.53 per month. At the State University, janitors, teamsters, and firemen were paid \$45 per month, and no formal education was required for those positions. When board was transformed into dollars, the average farmer could expect to pay \$40 to \$45 per month to secure a farm laborer. Additionally, while teachers were employed for nine months, people in other occupations held their positions for a year. Therefore, even if a teacher made more money per month, the yearly salary would still be lower.¹⁶¹

Likewise, female educators fared about as well as their male counterparts. In North Dakota the average experienced saleswoman earned \$75 per month while an experienced office woman brought in \$60 per month. According to the report, in

North Dakota most competent house girls could command \$4.50 per week with room and board. This came out to an equivalent salary of \$35 per month. The report also suggested that if a female educator became a domestic during the times school was not in session, she would lower her social standing and might find it difficult to secure a teaching position. In 1904 the average salary for female teachers in Barnes County was \$44.52 per month¹⁶²

The report concluded that teachers were paid less in comparison to most other occupations, many of which required no formal training. Likewise, teachers in the United States were almost always paid less than their counterparts in industrialized Europe and held in lower esteem.¹⁶³ The question then became what course of action was needed to increase teachers' salaries?

The Committee sent out a letter to state superintendents, county superintendents, city superintendents, principals and others which posed a number of questions. First, the Committee wanted to know why the salaries for teachers were low. At the top of the responses was "lack of funds," followed by poor teachers worked for less than the good teachers, school boards did not appreciate good teachers, and the standards for teachers were too low; a history of low wages rounded out the list. The Committee then asked what needed to be done to increase teachers' salaries. At the top of the list was an increased

qualification standard, followed by support for good teachers and education, unionization, board appreciation for higher wages and a "concerted" effort, but not unionization.¹⁶⁴

While the report focused on the lack of funds when discussing the reasons for low wages, it focused on unionization as a remedy for the wage gap. With a united effort, the teachers of North Dakota could increase the quality of the educator and thus increase salaries. Some schools would need to be closed, but that would benefit the communities educationally. The Committee also sought to eliminate the teacher's permit which, in turn, would help eliminate the incompetent teacher. The Committee called for the elimination of Third Grade certificates after 1907, Second Grade certificates after 1908, and after 1910 to receive a First Grade certificate the applicant would have to possess a Normal School education or a high school diploma and professional training. The Committee considered its proposals "visionary" and urged North Dakota and the country to move out of the eleventh century and into the twentieth.¹⁶⁵

In addition to the issue of low wages, there was a general concern by professional educators about the quality of education in the rural schools. Rural, or country, schools received the bulk of the criticism regarding the

quality of education. One of the ways to remedy the situation was school consolidation.

Many excellent educators taught in the rural schools, however, professional educators also viewed rural schools as places where the teacher with a Third Grade certificate or permit began one's career, often times with on-the-job training. In 1900 John Halland, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, noted that the quality in the rural schools must be improved. He believed that rural teachers had many disadvantages. In addition to the age disparity among students, rural educators had to contend with:

Cold rooms, at times inconvenient boarding places, many grades making many classes, irregular attendance, short term of employment, smaller salary than the city teacher, and few social pleasures and opportunities,--all these items tend to make the vocation of the rural teacher undesirable. The work of teaching country school will simply be used as a stepping stone to other positions. This new country with its manifold opportunities offers too many tempting choices of steady employment at fair wages to permit a bright young man to go on year after year, holding a seven months' job at thirty-five or forty dollars a month.¹⁶⁶

The solutions to these problems were consolidation, increasing wages, and longer terms of employment. Halland stated that many of the prominent professionals and politicians in North Dakota came from rural areas, but he attributed their success to a healthy home life rather than the education received in the schools.¹⁶⁷

In 1908, State Superintendent W.L. Stockwell made some recommendations for rural schools. He claimed that rural

schools needed better buildings and sanitation, longer terms, winter terms so that the older children could attend and vocational education. He also recommended the removal of County Superintendent's position from partisan politics, the grading and standardization of schools, and the enactment of child labor laws.¹⁶⁸

Consolidation of rural school districts was considered important for a number of reasons. First, it would allow all schools to be graded, which would lead to better classification of pupils. If schools were not graded by common standards, the teacher determined at which level the pupil would work. This created a situation in which the grade level of a pupil could fluctuate based upon the judgement of the individual instructor.¹⁶⁹ Clara Hanson and Blanche Kee represent what happened on some occasions.

In 1898 Clara Hanson was 12 years old and in the third grade at Daily #1 school 1. By 1900 she had advanced to the seventh grade, where she stayed until 1903. At least Clara advanced. Blanche Kee went to school in the Heman district where for two short terms in mid-1901 she was in the fifth grade. When a five month term began in late 1901 she was listed as a sixth grader. When a new term began in May of 1902, with a new teacher, Blanche was again recorded as a fifth grader.¹⁷⁰

Consolidation would also allow for the opportunity to pursue specialized studies, such as music and art. It would

extend school terms which would lead to the employment and retention of better teachers. Advocates also contended that consolidation would also lead to better student attendance and centralized schools would be better able to attract and retain older students, thus improving attendance. They believed this because of the success of consolidated schools on the East Coast.¹⁷¹

Charles Rankin conducted a study of female teachers in Wyoming, and a portion of that study coincides with the time frame of my thesis. Rankin found that many of the same problems Barnes County and North Dakota experienced existed in Wyoming schools. While rural schools often lacked equipment and highly educated teachers, the rural school system created a high literacy rate in Wyoming. Rankin believes that some of the reasons for the poor quality of rural teachers were a high turnover rate, inexperience and lack of training, and low salaries, which created a situation in which rural educators moved to urban schools or secured other employment.¹⁷²

CHAPTER VII

THE TEACHERS

Who were the men and women teaching in late 19th and early 20th century Barnes County? What were their lives like? Some fit the stereotype of the young woman waiting for marriage or the spinster. Others did not. They were single or married men, single career women, married women, widowed, divorced or separated women. They were young and middle-aged, although more were young. Some used teaching as a starting point for further education or careers; others viewed teaching as a lifetime career. Some taught while they homesteaded and farmed. The one thing they had in common was that they were either new to Dakota Territory or North Dakota, or they were the sons and daughters of European pioneers, first generation North Dakotans.

In 1890 there were 98 teachers employed in Barnes County. Sixty-three (64 percent) educators were women and the remaining 35 (36 percent) were men. State-wide 72 percent of the teachers were women and 28 percent men.¹⁷⁴ By 1898, 187 teachers were employed in Barnes County and 3,600 in North Dakota. One hundred and thirty-two Barnes County educators were women. Women comprised 71 percent of the teaching corps; whereas 55 men, or 29 percent, taught.

Throughout North Dakota 69 percent of the teachers were women and 31 percent were men.¹⁷⁵ And finally, in 1908 Barnes County employed 224 teachers, 85 percent of whom were women; statewide women comprised 82 percent of the teachers' rank.¹⁷⁶

In Wyoming, women never comprised less than 85 percent of the teaching corps. Although at times the number of women who taught in North Dakota and Barnes County was about 20 percentage points lower, after the turn of the 20th century, the North Dakota and Barnes County numbers are comparable with the Wyoming figures. Glenda Riley compared male/female teaching ratios, based on the 1910 census, on the Great Plains, and her figures were similar. Based on Riley's study, 84 percent of the North Dakota teaching corps was made of women. This compared with 82 percent for Kansas, 83 percent for Montana, 85 percent for Wyoming and 87 percent for Nebraska.¹⁷⁷

Men and women took different roads to become teachers. Some began their careers in their home districts with no formal training beyond the eighth grade. Others attended high school or the Normal School at Valley City and taught during the summer. Some had taught in states east of North Dakota and came to Dakota Territory or North Dakota with their families, or because a family member resided in the area. Still others came specifically for the purpose of teaching.

Teachers like Hattie Weiser, Anton Lallum, Coral and Bessie Coddling, Mabel Montgomery and Minnie Nielson first taught in their home districts. In 1878 Hattie Weiser was a school girl when she completed teaching a term in Valley City because the original teacher left.¹⁷⁸

Anton Lallum began his teaching career in district #75, his home district. Anton was born in Norway on December 19, 1879, the son of Gunder Simenson Lallum and Anna Mathea Olsdatter. In 1885 Gunder arrived in the United States, and the family came to Barnes County, Dakota Territory, in 1886. Anton and his siblings attended school in the district from 1888, when Anton was nine, until 1895. Sometime between 1895 and 1897 the Gunder Lallums moved to Norma township (district #11). In 1895 Anton was a 16 year-old sixth grader in district #75. The following year a 17 year-old Anton Lallum taught in the district's school 2 for \$35 per month. In his charge were thirteen pupils age seven to fifteen.¹⁷⁹

Both Coral and Bessie Coddling taught in their home district, #40. Coral and Bessie had initially been taught at home by their mother, Jennie Pratt Coddling. When the district built a school in 1886, Mrs. Coddling was dismayed because the school was too far away for Coral and Bessie to attend. Mrs. Coddling convinced the district to allow a school in the upstairs of the Jessops' barn with an elderly Miss Mary Jessop as school mistress. School met in the barn

for two summers until another school was moved closer to the Coddington home. When Coral was old enough she began teaching in her home school, and after she moved on sister Bessie took over the schoolroom.¹⁸⁰ Likewise, Mabel Montgomery and Minnie Nielson began their long and distinguished teaching careers in their home districts.¹⁸¹

Those who taught in their home districts were often spared finding a place to board. From the perspective of the family providing the room and board, it was an opportunity to bring in extra income, but for teachers the situation could be less than ideal. Some teachers had good boarding experiences and lived in relative luxury; others lived under cramped and strained conditions to say the least. Bessie Lenvig recalled there was no place to board at her first school so she lived in a portion of the school that was not used. She also spent a term living in an attic with no heat. The attic was so cold that water Bessie brought up froze when it was poured into a bowl.¹⁸² Maud Meloy Moe spent one term living with a family of seven in a small three-room house. When she taught and boarded in district #40, the Gray school, she paid \$20 per month for room and board. While Maud paid this sum she probably only earned between \$35 and \$45 per month based on the average salary for women in 1901 which was \$39.40. However, Maud was content with the arrangement. She remembered that Mrs. Lampman was "'an excellent cook'" and she also provided a

splendid lunch pail for Maud.¹⁸³ Susan Stowell also lived in a school house for a time, sleeping in a hammock that was pulled up during the day. On other occasions she boarded with a friend and lived with her sisters while they attended the Normal School in Valley City.¹⁸⁴ In 1885, 16 year-old Jessie Batchelder Tracy taught her first term of school in the Swedish Svea community where she boarded with a Swedish-speaking family; Jessie spoke no Swedish. The following summer she taught in Dazey and boarded at her parent's home.¹⁸⁵

With lodging secured, the teacher still had to find transportation to the school house. Often times the teacher boarded relatively close to the school and walked. When Mary McFadgen taught in the Marsh township she boarded with the Freeman Ellis family and walked to school with the two Ellis girls.¹⁸⁶ Living a few miles from the school house, John Logan used a horse for transportation when he taught in district #9.¹⁸⁷ The Engle sisters, Amelia and Arabella, homesteaded with their brother in Binghampton township and taught school. The sisters drove a horse and buggy to get to their schools.¹⁸⁸

In 1898 and 1899 Ruth Butterfield taught in the King school which was about five miles from her home in Cuba township. When the weather was good, Ruth rode a bicycle she had purchased after three months of teaching. Other times she either rode a horse or drove a horse and buggy.

On one occasion Ruth was in an accident when the horse bolted and the buggy crashed. Fortunately Ruth emerged uninjured.¹⁸⁹

Susan Stowell recalled some of the more interesting transportation sagas:

One summer I taught the Sibley Trail School and went home every two weeks. After school on Friday I rode my bicycle twenty-five miles to Valley City, stayed all night in our room there and on Saturday morning rode the twenty-five miles to our farm home near Lucca. Sunday afternoon I rode back to Valley City, stayed overnight and rode to school by nine Monday morning. The extra clothing was carried on the handlebars. Ruts on the Sibley Trail were still so deep across the prairie that one could not ride in them because of striking the pedals. We rode beside the ruts and went over the hills, but did not take the river road, and crossed the Sheyenne River at Ashtabula. Sometime I was afraid of the cattle that were always near the road in the hill pastures. They were curious about me, whether I was riding or pushing the bicycle up a steep place.¹⁹⁰

When Susan and her sister Rachel taught southeast of Valley City they rode home, some twenty-five miles, on Fridays, and then on Sundays their family brought them back to the Sheyenne River where they all enjoyed a picnic lunch. The two women then got on their bicycles and rode approximately ten miles to their respective schools. At various times Susan Stowell also walked along the railroad tracks and used a horse and buggy to get to the school.¹⁹¹

Another reality of teaching during this time period, particularly if one was a rural teacher, was the constant moving. It was common, especially in the earliest days, for an educator to teach in more than one school per year. This

was necessitated because the terms were often three months in duration. Therefore, in order to work for more than a few months out of the year, the teacher conducted classes in a number of schools. Teachers also taught a term, maybe two depending on the length, and then returned to school--high school or the Normal School.¹⁹² While teaching allowed one to earn money to pay for school and related living expenses, it also meant that the teacher moved numerous times during the year.

Helen Gott taught a six month term in the Norma #11 district school 3, and within two weeks she opened another six month term of school in Greenland township.¹⁹³ Norma township, district 11, is located in southeastern Barnes County near Fingal while Greenland township is located in the extreme southwestern corner of the county and borders Stutsman and LaMoure counties. Teaching in the two districts required Helen Gott to move.

From 1896 to 1898 Louise Adcock taught in two schools per year. Lizzie C. Schirhart taught in both districts #10 and #11 in 1895 and 1896. In 1895, E.J. Beleal taught in three districts--#7, 45 and 74. H.P. Skramstad and John E. White also taught in three districts a year. Others, while teaching primarily in one district a year, taught in many Barnes County districts throughout their careers. Elizabeth Baillie taught in districts #5, 7 (her home district), 8, 11 and 68 from 1894 to 1903. In 1898 Elizabeth taught two

terms in Stewart #7 school 1 and a term each in Norma #11 and Alta #8. Likewise between 1891 and 1899 Lottie Kee taught in Heman #66, which was her home district, #3, 5, 10 and 40. Tillie Noecker taught in seven districts between 1893 and 1896--districts #5, 28, 50, 64 (two terms), 74 (two terms), 75 and 82.¹⁹⁴

While many teachers moved frequently, others taught primarily in one district. Martin Iverson taught in the Daily #1 district from 1896 until 1904. He taught in both of the district's schools during the time, but more frequently in school 2. Flora M. Brock taught in Pierce #71 school 1 from 1901 to 1905, and Sarah Borreson spent various years between 1898 and 1905 in Norma #11, although Sarah also taught in other districts. In 1904 she taught a term in school 4 of the Norma #11 district, and then opened a four month term in neighboring Thordenskjold township.¹⁹⁵

For those educators who either taught in their home district or grew up in Barnes County there was an established network of friends and family. Newspapers made numerous references to occasions when teachers returned to their parents' homes after a term had finished or visited friends and family while teaching in far away districts. Most accounts were similar to the one that appeared in the Alderman news section of the Times-Record in 1894 which stated that Alma Longfellow had completed a term of school and was currently at her parents' home.¹⁹⁶ For teachers

whose families resided outside of North Dakota, this 1906 blurb from the Litchville Bulletin was typical. "Misses Myrtle and Lillian Burns, who have closed their schools in this vicinity, returned to their home in Charles City, Iowa, Tuesday."¹⁹⁷

For single, female educators, their "home" was where their parents lived. The two exceptions to this appeared in newspapers sixteen years apart. In 1893 the Times-Record revealed that Jennie and Lizzie Featherstone had returned "home" to Valley City after a visit to their parents in Fergus Falls, Minnesota. The other reference appeared in a January 1909 Litchville Bulletin. The Bulletin reported that: "Miss Carrie Green returned on Saturday after spending the holiday season at the home of her parents near Valley City."¹⁹⁸

Newspaper reports also allow one to glean information on the social lives of these teachers. In May of 1896 the Valley City public school teachers left for summer vacation and various adventures. Lizzie Featherstone went to Fergus Falls to visit her parents; Charlotte Barton returned to her home in Pennsylvania; Alice Fisher to her home in Kidder County and then on to Indiana; and finally, Minnie Nielson went to her parents' home, and taught a summer term in the Stewart district.¹⁹⁹

Summer was a time for vacation, particularly for urban teachers. They had the luxury of teaching a nine month term

of school and receiving better wages than their rural counterparts. In 1901 Valley City teachers Gertrude Dennet, Jessie Langer, Amanda Longfellow and Belle Tibor attended the Pan American exposition in Buffalo, New York. In addition to the exposition, the women spent some time at the Great Lakes. Upon returning from their month-long adventure, the women reported their trip to be "delightful." In 1904 Augusta Amundson, Winnifred Whitman and Ida Griffith, all Valley City teachers, attended the St. Louis Fair. Effie Herring accompanied Lottie Gaffy to her Barnesville, Minnesota home for Christmas in 1908 and upon their return the Misses Herring and Gaffy were "busy training the young mind how to shoot" in Litchville.²⁰⁰

Dinners and other socials were also held for teachers and sponsored by teachers. In 1901 Professor and Mrs. George Hanna of Valley City held a book social for the city's teachers. Each educator dressed up and represented a book. A couple of Augusta Amundson's parties were written up in the Times-Record. When she gave a garden party in 1903, a number of the city's most prominent women educators were present. In October of 1906 Bessie Coddington, then a Valley City teacher, invited the public school teachers to her home for a marshmallow roast. Also in 1906 another prominent Valley City teacher, Mary Ritchie, sponsored a dinner for Elizabeth Baillie, a former Barnes County teacher who was currently teaching in Courtenay. Those present read like a

who's who (minus Minnie Nielson and Anzonette Sanderson) of Valley City's female teachers: Annie Baillie, Gertrude Dennet, Blanche Newell, Augusta Amundson, Elizabeth McKay and Edna Hackett. In Fingal the teachers entertained their friends and the school patrons at the city hall.²⁰¹

Barnes County teachers also involved themselves with organizations ranging from church groups to education associations. A number of the women teachers also taught Sunday School. This would have been viewed as a normal extension of a women's domestic sphere and dovetailed nicely with the public school teaching experience. Women like Ruth Carey Allen, Alice Fisher, Bessie Lenvig, Polly Baumez, Minnie Nielson and Lena Reiten taught Sunday School. Olive Sarves went one step further and conducted the Gudmedstad district Norwegian parochial school.²⁰²

Barnes County teachers organized a teachers' association in 1893 for the purpose of the "general advancement of education."²⁰³ The Barnes County Teachers' Association first met on December 23, 1893, a Saturday, and by order of the county's Superintendent all teachers were "expected" to attend.²⁰⁴ The program for a December 1894 meeting consisted of: roll call--quotations from Holmes; Language work by Miss Rawlens; a solo by Alice Bascom; Teaching of Proportion by Professor McCartney with a discussion led by W. Freer; the Teaching of Geography by Bessie Lenvig with a discussion led by John E. White; and

the meeting closed with a recitation by Mary Smith.²⁰⁵ While the function of the Teachers' Association was to advance education, it undoubtedly played an important social function. Teachers from throughout Barnes County had the opportunity to come together to share their experiences and discuss the latest trends in education. Educators from the rural areas had the opportunity to discuss teaching problems and success with other educators--something that was lacking in many rural areas. Barnes County teachers also participated in the Southeastern North Dakota Education Association, the North Dakota Education Association and the National Education Association.²⁰⁶

A majority of Barnes County teachers, male and female, married during their lifetime. Many teachers taught for a term or two, like the stereotype, and then married, but a number of educators taught for four, six, eight or ten years before marrying. A few never married and dedicated their lives to teaching and education.

Probably typical of the single woman's teaching and marriage experience were Mamie Lawry and Coral Coddling. Mamie had been a teacher for at least four years when in 1896 she taught a term of school in the Gusaas school near Svea. Also in 1896 she married Solen (Sam) Aandahl, although not typically, she continued to teach after her marriage.²⁰⁷ Coral began teaching in her home district when she was eighteen years old. She taught in a number of

rural Barnes County schools for nine years until 1904 when she married George C. Hager, who had at one time worked for Coral's father on the family farm. Once married, Coral dedicated her life to raising her family and helping out on the farm.²⁰⁸

Contrary to the popular perception that female teachers in this period were either young or single, there were married women who taught. Some women with a "Mrs." in front of their names fell under the more acceptable role of widow as far as pursuing a career was concerned. Mrs. Ruth Allen moved to Dakota Territory with her children after her husband died in 1882 and taught in Valley City from 1886 until 1891.²⁰⁹ Mrs. Adelle Sandberg (Flora Adelle Hilborn Sandberg) first taught in Dakota territory as a young single woman. Her uncle asked her to teach in Leal, and there she met and married John Sandberg in 1887. In 1896 John died of tuberculosis in California, and Mrs. Sandberg and her children returned to Barnes County where she resumed a career in education. Later in life Mrs. Sandberg became a missionary/teacher on the Crow Reservation in Montana and worked for the Salvation Army in Bismarck.²¹⁰ Elizabeth Towne Gregory, who was better known as Libby, moved to Barnes County with her daughter because her parents resided there. Libby's husband, Sylvanus, did not come west with her, and Mrs. Gregory taught in various Barnes County schools.²¹¹

Others taught while they were still married. Sophie Noderhus married Andrew A. Boe, a native of Norway and former teacher in the Norma #11 district, in 1886. Mrs. Boe taught regularly at school 2 in the Norma #11 district from 1890 until 1894. While Mrs. Boe taught, there was a young daughter, Gyda, at home.²¹² Mary Woodcock came to Dakota Territory in 1884 to visit her sister Harriet, Mrs. Ronelldo Carr. Harriet persuaded Mary to stay in Barnes County and teach school. After ten years of educating the county's youth, Mary married Fred Carr, Ronelldo's nephew. Mrs. Carr continued to teach for a couple of years after she married. Usually the local school boards asked her to teach "'until we can find a teacher'" but she often ended up teaching the full term.²¹³ Mamie Lawry Aandahl, Lydia McLain Anderson, and Ethel Williams Maier also continued to teach after they married.²¹⁴

There were women who taught while they were married, but one cannot conclude that Barnes County was more enlightened than other parts of North Dakota or the United States. The supply of teachers was often limited, especially in the early days, and these married women had worked as educators before their marriages. These women were experienced teachers, they were respected in the community, and they were available.

The final category of women teachers never married. Annie Baillie, Bessie Lenvig, Mabel D. Montgomery, Minnie

Nielson, Elsie Reid and Mary Ritchie never married and had long education careers in Barnes County and elsewhere.²¹⁵

Some teachers, especially men, used teaching as a stepping stone for other careers. Teaching enabled these people to earn money to be used for future educational and career pursuits. Farming was a particularly popular alternative for men.²¹⁶ W.E. Bush, Barnes County Superintendent of Schools from 1892 until 1898, apparently had farming ambitions. His daughter-in-law told a Works Project Administration oral history recorder that Bush could not successfully farm so he returned to the classroom. Bush also extracted an agreement with the Daily #1 district whereby school would not be held during harvest so that Bush could earn extra money threshing.²¹⁷ Some women also farmed, or at least had homestead claims. Sisters Arabella and Amelia Engle homesteaded and taught while Agnes Hefflebower had a claim near Dawson, North Dakota, and a Miss Stafford had a claim near Velva, North Dakota.²¹⁸

Others eventually pursued business careers. After teaching for a number of years and attending business school, Anton Lallum moved to Bottineau, North Dakota and became a bookkeeper in a bank. He later became the assistant cashier of the Bottineau County Bank and mayor of Bottineau. Likewise, Jesse Taylor of Oriska taught school, farmed and then in 1903 helped organize the State Bank of Oriska where he served as cashier for twenty years.²¹⁹

Wells Gage, Sr., also of Oriska, taught before he studied pharmacy. Gage worked as a pharmacist for a few years before giving it up to farm. E.J. Beleal had a number of occupations--teacher, farmer, mail carrier, hotel owner, boarding house operator, garden businessman, sewing machine and oilstove salesman, and real estate agent.²²⁰

M.W. Barnes sold bicycles in 1896 while he taught. By 1909 he was part owner of the Valley City Furniture Company and passed the embalmers examination. Annie Baillie wrote hail insurance policies for a time; Cora Pattison gave up her teaching career to help manage a hotel in Dazey. Both Edna Booth and Jessie Batchelder gave up teaching for office jobs. Edna secured a position in the county treasurer's office while Jessie worked for First National Bank. While working at the bank, Jessie met her future husband, John Tracy.²²¹

Barnes County teachers also expanded their education careers. Women like Annie Baillie, Elsie Reid and Mary Ritchie and men like George W. Hanna had long and distinguished careers in education.²²² However the most prominent Barnes County teacher was Minnie J. Nielson.

In 1890 Minnie began teaching in her home district, Stewart #7, when she was sixteen years-old. The Valley City district hired her to teach in the city schools for a salary of \$50 per month in 1893. In 1907 Barnes County voters elected Minnie J. Nielson to serve as Barnes County

Superintendent of Schools. In the 1906 primary election, Minnie received 1734 votes to incumbent M.W. Barnes' 1017. A two hundred vote margin existed for the male vote in favor of Minnie, but she won the female vote by a margin of more than two to one. Minnie ran unopposed in the November 1906 election and received all but eleven votes. Minnie, the second woman Superintendent of Schools in Barnes County, held that position until 1919 when she became the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the state of North Dakota. In 1918 North Dakotans elected Minnie to the state's highest education position and she remained in that capacity until 1927. From 1927 until 1931 Minnie worked in Washington, District of Columbia, for the National Illiteracy Crusade. Then from 1931 to 1938 she lectured at teacher's colleges throughout the United States on education issues. Minnie returned to North Dakota in 1938 and acted as secretary of the North Dakota Teachers' Insurance & Retirement Fund until 1950. Minnie J. Nielson died on May 1, 1958 after an impressive career in education--a career that began in a rural one-room school in Barnes County North Dakota.²²³

CONCLUSION

The ideas associated with the cult of domesticity opened up the teaching profession to women. By the late 1870s and 1880s, when Barnes County was settled, the cult of domesticity was ingrained in the minds of American women. The cult of domesticity allowed women in Barnes County and North Dakota to enter the teaching profession in large numbers. In fact, the feminization of the teaching profession had been achieved before much of Barnes County was settled.

The number of schools and the number of teachers increased rapidly in the newly organized county. Although it was illegal in both Dakota Territory and North Dakota to teach if under the age of 18, there were a number of people, primarily women, who did. The county superintendents had leeway in granting teaching certificates--they could give certificates to applicants who scored less than 70% on the examination based on past performance in the classroom and other pertinent criteria. Initially, teachers in Barnes County received a much higher percentage of Third Grade certificates, and a higher rejection percentage, than teachers throughout North Dakota. Over time, teachers in Barnes County, on average, held a higher grade of certificate than the average teacher in North Dakota. The

rejection rate fluctuated, but stayed, for the most part, in the 20% range. This was consistent with numbers from North Dakota at large.

Two things are important to remember. First, people who were rejected on the basis of their test scores, like Polly Baumez, continued to teach because county superintendents had the authority to grant them certificates. Additionally, although many Barnes County teachers held Third Grade teaching certificates or county permits, the comments County Superintendent W.E. Bush wrote about the educators between 1893 and 1897 were generally positive.

Critics contended that many of the teachers in North Dakota, and hence Barnes County, were poorly educated and not qualified to teach. However, most educators in Barnes County attended the teachers' institutes, some attending even before becoming teachers. Many teachers also spent time in summer schools. Additionally, a large number of Barnes County teachers attended the Normal School at Valley at some time--either before they taught, or during their teaching experience. Men and women like Augusta Amundson, Birt Bristol, Lottie Kee, Harold Westergaard, Anton Lallum, Coral Coddling and Bessie Coddling all attended the Normal.

Instead of questioning the qualifications and performance of teachers, a better question might be why would someone want to teach under the conditions many

experienced? To many professional educators and critics, conditions in rural schools, where the vast majority of educators taught, were not very good. There were common complaints that the schools were not clean; there were no wells; the outhouses were in a state of disrepair; the furniture was in poor condition or in small quantities; and dictionaries were sometimes in short supply, as were libraries. Teachers had to organize fundraising activities, like basket socials, to create libraries and properly equip the schools.

In addition to the conditions in the schools, the term of employment was short for most rural teachers. Teachers had limited employment opportunities because of the short terms--initially three month terms were common, but gradually term lengths were extended between six and nine months. Teachers moved from district to district to secure employment beyond a three-month term, unless they were fortunate enough to arrange another term in the same school or district. If the teacher moved, it meant one's life was uprooted every few months. The teacher also had to arrange boarding accommodations, unless teaching in the home district, and transportation to and from the school. In the classroom these men and women taught a vast array of subjects to a wide variety of grades and ages because of sporadic attendance. In addition to teaching academic

subjects, the teacher provided entertainments and school programs for the district's patrons.

For all of this, the teacher was paid very little, and the rural educator even less. Although women comprised the majority of the teaching profession, they were not, for the most part, rewarded monetarily on the same level as men. Teaching was often viewed as a temporary situation for women, whereas it was seen as a permanent profession for men. Because of this perception difference, salary discrepancies seemed justified. On average, teachers in Barnes County earned more than their North Dakota counterparts. However, some educators like W.E. Bush and Arabella Engle supplemented their teaching salary with other work.

Critics of the public school system in North Dakota viewed consolidation and grading as the means of remedying the problems of rural schools. Critics of the system claimed that consolidation and grading would increase the salary paid to educators, improve the education level and competency of the teacher, and increase the daily attendance in schools, and thus the quality of the student.

While some criticisms directed toward the educational system, and in particular the rural, one-room school, were warranted and valid, the picture critics painted, if believed wholly, revealed a dismal situation. Shortcomings in the educational system existed--young people who probably

should have been in school were teaching, schools lacked equipment and standardized textbooks, terms were often short and not uniform, and most schools were not graded. Did this mean the youth of Barnes County were not afforded a quality education? No. Consistently schools in Barnes County held longer terms than the rest of North Dakota. More school districts in Barnes County provided students with texts purchased with public funds than state-wide. This ensured that students would have access to uniform, current textbooks. A smaller percentage of Barnes County teachers taught with permits than throughout the state, which theoretically meant that the teachers were more knowledgeable and competent. On average, Barnes County teachers were paid more, which, according to the critics, improved the quality of the educator. As a percentage, more children in Barnes County attended school than state-wide. On a more personal level, Ralphine Kluvers Verduin recalled that her first North Dakota teacher was "dedicated" and a "good teacher."²²⁴

So why would someone, particularly a woman, want to teach? There were a number of reasons. First, teaching was a respectable profession for women to enter, and with that there was a degree of social status. Teaching allowed women to gain independence from their families and a measure of financial responsibility. For some, educating the nation's youth provided a means to contribute to the family's well-

being. Teaching also enabled women to pursue an acceptable career with possible career advances, via the county superintendent's office, positions in the North Dakota State Department of Public Instruction, or on faculty at a Normal School. While at this time women in North Dakota could not vote for President, they could vote for the county superintendent of education. This in turn let women become involved in the political process and effect the outcome of elections.²²⁵

Barnes County owes a great debt of gratitude to those men and women who faithfully gave their best efforts to the education of the pioneer boys and girls. Roads were poor and transportation almost impossible. When blizzards and high winds held forth, the stoves were inadequate. Fires could not be held over night. The teacher, chilled to the marrow, came into a cold schoolhouse far in advance of the pupils each morning to build a fire; then shivered and shook for a hour tending the stove and waiting for the temperature to become comfortable when the pupils were due to arrive. For further exercise to keep warm, the teacher could split kindling, and bring in the wood or coal for the day's supply and a reserve for the next day or for an emergency, or shovel snow from the steps and the path.²²⁶

And yet, the educators in Barnes County, day in and day out, competently taught the youth of the county to the best of their abilities, under circumstances that were never ideal.

END NOTES

1. Glenda Riley, Inventing the American Woman: A Perspective on Women's History, 1607 - 1877 Vol. I (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson Inc., 1986), 129.
2. Laura Ingalls Wilder, Little Town on the Prairie (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1941; reprint, Harper Trophy Book, 1971), 125-85 (page references based on reprint edition).
3. Kathryn Adam, "Laura, Ma, Mary, Carrie and Grace: Western Women as Portrayed by Laura Ingalls Wilder," in The Women's West, eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman, Oklahoma and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 105.
4. Wilder, Little Town on the Prairie, 301-5. Teachers received either a First, Second, Third Grade or permit depending on their education and score on the teacher's examination.
5. Ibid, 302.
6. Laura Ingalls Wilder, These Happy Golden Years (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1941; reprint, Harper Trophy Book, 1971), 2-151 (page references based on reprint).
7. Ibid., 201-40.
8. Ibid., 237-63.
9. Julie Roy Jeffrey, Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840 - 1880 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 5-7.
10. Ibid, 10-11. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Catherine Beecher: Transforming the Teaching Profession," in Women's America: Refocusing the Past, eds. Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron DeHart, 3rd edition (New York: Oxford University Press), 171-78. Sandra L. Myres, Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800 - 1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 6-7.
11. Catherine Beecher, as quoted in Jeffrey, Frontier Women, 12.

12. Ibid., 12.

13. Riley, Inventing the American Woman, 1607 - 1877, 129.

14. E.J. Taylor, "Pioneers in Education in North Dakota," Quarterly Journal of University of North Dakota, v. 13 (1922-23), 424.

15. Thomas Ellicot, C. (Van) Vandestreek and Gunder Berg, Valley City - A City of Five Names: Valley City's 100th Charter Anniversary, 1883 - 1983 (Valley City, North Dakota: Valley City Times Record, no date), 133. Nellie R. Swanson and Eleanor C. Bryson, ed., Pioneer Women Teachers of North Dakota (Minot, North Dakota: The Ward County Independent, 1965), 136. Hattie Weiser married and never taught again.

16. "Barnes County History," 13, loose file at the Barnes County Superintendent of School's office. C. Norman Saugstad, Kathryn, ND: 75th Anniversary, 1900 - 1975, 100th Anniversary of "Our Community," 1876-1976 (n.p. n.d.), 20, located at the Valley City Public Library, Valley City, North Dakota. Albert Hoiland, WPA Oral History Project, Barnes County, reel 1, Orrin G. Libby Special Collections, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota. School districts were numbered based on when they were organized, thus the first district is #1, second #2, etc.

17. Albert Hoiland, WPA Oral History Project. John Bjerke, WPA Oral History Project, Barnes County. Saugstad, Kathryn, ND 75th Anniversary, 20. Daily School District Ledger, 3, Barnes County Superintendent of Schools Office, Barnes County Courthouse, Valley City, ND 58072.

18. Daily #1 District Ledger, 4-5.

19. Ibid., 3-6, 14, 20, 39, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69, 75, 77.

20. Daily #1 Teacher's Reports: 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908-1909, Barnes County Superintendent of School's Office. Daily #1 District Ledger, p. 3-14. Daily #1 Teacher's Reports through 1909. Statistics on women teachers based on analysis of Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Biennials.

21. The Barnes County Superintendent Reports are sporadic until 1890. There are a few reports for prior years, 1886-1887 and 1888-1889 at the County Superintendent's Office. Annual Reports from 1890 - 1910 are located in the Barnes County Superintendent of Schools Office.

22. Annual Report of the County Superintendent of Public Schools, Barnes County, Dakota Territory For the Year Beginning July 1, 1887 and Ending June 30, 1888, Barnes County Superintendent

of Public School's Office, Valley City, North Dakota. Annual Report of the County Superintendent of Public Schools, Barnes County, Dakota Territory For the Year Beginning July 1, 1886 and Ending June 30, 1887, Barnes County Superintendent of Public School's Office, Valley City, North Dakota.

23. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota for the two years Ending October 31, 1892 (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, State Printers and Binders, 1892), 28-32 and 36-38. There were 3 graded schools in Barnes County--Valley City common schools, Valley City High School and Sanborn common school. Sanborn's high school was not graded. (Ibid, 466-67).

24. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Sixth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1900 (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, Printers & Binders, 1901), 294-303.

25. Ibid., 329.

26. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Tenth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1908 (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, Printers and Binders, 1908), 320-27.

27. Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota (Yankton, Dakota Territory: Kingsbury, Public Printers, Press and Dakotan, 1883), 103-4, Ch. 44, §94. Laws Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota (Bismarck, Dakota: Tribune, Printers and Binders, 1890), 207, Ch. 62, §120.

28. Laws Passed at the Ninth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota (Grand Forks, North Dakota: Herald, State Printers and Binders, 1905), 190, Ch. 100, §653.

29. "Barnes County History." Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers of North Dakota, 167-68 & 155.

30. Report of W.H.H. Beadle as quoted in Milton E. Nugent, The Certification of Teacher's in North Dakota (Ph.D. diss., University of North Dakota, 1930), 34.

31. Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota, 75, Ch. 44 §19.

32. Laws Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota, 193, Ch. 62 §75.

33. Ibid., 207, Ch. 62 §120.
34. Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota, 74-5, Ch. 44 §16, 17 & 18.
35. Laws Passed at the First Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota, 206-7, Ch. 62 §117, 118 & 119.
36. Ibid., 207-8, Ch. 62 §121.
37. "Examination for County Certificates," Department of Public Instruction, State of North Dakota, January 7th, 1890, 142-45, Scrapbook, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, ND 58502.
38. Valley City (ND) Times-Record, March 5, 1903, p. 1, c. 6. Some years examinations were conducted from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 or 5:10 p.m. Ibid., October, 16 1902, p. 3, c. 3. Ibid, February 25, 1904, p. 8, c. 3.
39. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Two Years Ending October 31, 1892 (Bismarck, ND: Tribune, State Printers and Binders, 1892), 42. The report for 1890 is for the first six months of the year.
40. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1898 (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, State Printers and Binders, 1898), 224-25.
41. Tenth Biennial, 343.
42. Record of Teacher's Examination, Barnes County Superintendent of Schools Office, Barnes County Courthouse, Valley City, ND, 58072, 2, 6, 9 and 12. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1896, 19.
43. Record of Teacher's Examinations, Barnes County, 1.
44. Ibid., 2 and 6.
45. Ibid., 3.
46. Ibid., 5.
47. Raymond Wesley Bangs, County Teachers' Institutes in North Dakota (thesis, University of North Dakota, 1947), 7.
48. Ibid., 10-12.

49. Barnes County Superintendent's Report for the Year Ending 1893, Barnes County Superintendent's Office, Valley City, ND, 33.

50. First Legislative Assembly of North Dakota, 210, Ch. 62 \$131.

51. Laws Passed at the Sixth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota (Grand Forks, North Dakota: Herald, State Printers and Binders, 1899), 1043, Ch. 81 \$751.

52. Ibid.

53. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1893, 23. Valley City Times Record, May 18, 1893, p. 1, c. 4.

54. Third Biennial, 208.

55. Valley City Times Record, September 25, 1890, p. 1, c.4.

56. Valley City Normal School, Second Biennial Report of the Board of Management and Faculty of the State Normal School at Valley City (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, State Printers and Binders, 1892), 23. Valley City Normal School, First Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Valley city North Dakota (Valley City, North Dakota: The Times-Record Print, 1891), 8.

57. Valley City Normal School, Second Annual Catalogue and Circular of Information of the State Normal School at Valley City for the Scholastic Year Ending June 16th, 1892 (Valley City, North Dakota: The Times-Record Print, 1892), 9.

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63. Fifth Biennial, 194. Tenth Biennial, 321.

64. Circular No. 4, Arbor Day, State of North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Bismarck, April 23, 1890, Scrapbook (Series 1179), State Historical Society of North Dakota.

65. Third Biennial, 56 & 44.

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67. Sixth Biennial, 296.

68. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Seventh Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1902 (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, State Printers & Binders), 257. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Ninth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota, for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1904 (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, State Printers and Binders, 1906), 281. Tenth Biennial, 301.

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70. Second Biennial, 41.

71. Sixth Biennial, 260.

72. Tenth Biennial, 323.

73. Barnes County Superintendent's Report for the Year Ending 1908, 21.

74. Litchville (ND) Bulletin, September 3, 1909, 2nd Section, p. 2, c. 1. Valley City Times-Record, January 7, 1904, p. 8, c. 1. Ibid., December 6, 1909, p. 1, c.2. Ibid., July 18, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., September 18, 1890, p. 1, c. 2. Ibid., September 6, 1906, p. 9, c. 6.

75. Valley City Times-Record, May 9, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. Evening Times-Record, April 6, 1909, p. 3, c. 1.

76. Daily #1 Ledger, p. 13, 20, 35, 37, 39, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 57, 59, 61, 65, 69, 73.

77. Third Biennial, 127.

78. Fourth Biennial, 196.

79. Sixth Biennial, 260.

80. Tenth Biennial, 323.

81. Daily #1 Teacher's Report, School 2, April 27, 1903 to July 3, 1903. Ibid., September 7, 1903 to December 1, 1903. Ibid., April 4, 1904 to July 1, 1904. Ibid., April 2, 1906 to June 26, 1906. Sanborn #5 Teacher's Report, April 4, 1887 to June 24, 1887. Hastings #75 Teacher's Report, School 2, June 30, 1906 to July 11, 1906. Pierce #71 Teacher's Report, School 2, September 16, 1907 to March 6, 1908. Norma #11 Teacher's Report, September 1, 1885 to December 7, 1885. Pierce #71, Teacher's Report, School 1, April 23, 1900 to June 29, 1900. Heman #48 Teacher's Report, April 2, 1906 to June 29, 1906.

82. Third Biennial, 13-14.

83. Sanborn #5 Teacher's Report, November 5, 1888 to March 29, 1889. Ibid., August 31, 1891 to December 24, 1891. Ibid., March 30, 1896 to June 26 1996.

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85. Stewart #7 School 1, Teacher's Report, December 4, 1893 to December 29, 1893. Norma #11 School 2, Teacher's Report, October 26, 1891 to December 22, 1891.

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87. Norma #11 School 2, Teacher's Report, September 30, 1895 to December 20, 1895. Norma #11 School 4, Teacher's Report, September 30, 1895 to December 20, 1895. Plano #66, Teacher's Report, April 27, 1896 to December 4, 1896.

88. Second Biennial, 28 & 31.

89. Fifth Biennial, 154-55.

90. Eighth Biennial, 232.

91. Stewart #7 School 1, October 10, 1887 to November 18, 1887.

92. For specific references see the Teacher's Reports for the following districts: Daily #1, Sanborn #5, Stewart #7, Norma #11, Heman #58, Plano #66, Pierce #71, Hastings #75 (later #95), Minnie Lake #88 and Minnie Lake #89.

93. Norma #11 School 1, Teacher's Report, February 24, 1897 to June 30, 1897. Ibid., School 2, April 1, 1895 to June 21, 1895. Stewart #7 School 1, Teacher's Report, October 10, 1887 to November 18, 1887. Ibid., October 26, 1896 to December 23, 1896. Ibid., April 26, 1897 to July 1, 1897. Ibid., July 1, 1897 to August 6, 1897. Ibid., June 28, 1909 to August 6, 1909. Heman #48, May 1, 1894 to July 1894 [sic].

94. Daily #1 School 1, Teacher's Report, October 20, 1885 to February 19, 1896.

95. Valley City Times-Record, May 15, 1890, p. 3, c. 2.

96. Second Biennial, 30. Fifth Biennial, 196. Ninth Biennial, 281.

97. Sixth Biennial, 22. Seventh Biennial, 285. Second Biennial, 31. Fifth Biennial, 196 & 197. Tenth Biennial, 322.

98. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, letter to W.L. Stockwell, Superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction, from M.W. Barnes, September 14, 1904, 21. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, letter to W.L. Stockwell from M.W. Barnes, October 6, 1906, 21.

99. Valley City Times-Record, February 2, 1903, p. 1, c. 6.

100. Valley City Times-Record, May 16, 1901, p. 1, c. 3. Ibid., October 3, 1901, p. 8, c. 1. Ibid., August 31, 1893, p. 1, c. 4.

101. Litchville Bulletin, January 28, 1890, p. 3, c. 5. Ibid., November 19, 1909, p. 1, c. 4. Ibid., November 26, 1909, p. 1, c. 3. Valley City Times-Record, January 17, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., January 31, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., January 31, 1901, p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., March 5, 1903, p. 3, c. 3. Ibid., December 3, 1903, p. 1, c. 5. Ibid., February 18, 1904, p. 3, c. 4. Ibid., March 10, 1904, p. 8, c. 2 and p. 8, c. 4. Ibid., December 22, 1904, p. 13, c. 6. Evening Times-Record, February 11, 1909, p. 4, c. 3.

102. Ibid, February 11, 1909.

103. Litchville Bulletin, November 19, 1909, p. 1, c. 4. Ibid., November 26, 1909, p. 1, c. 3.

104. Fingal Community History Committee, Fingal History, 40, 45, 49. Conway, Oriska History, 189. Dazey Heritage: Dazey, North Dakota, 1883-1983 (Valley City, North Dakota: Printing Plus, n.d.), 33, 38. Albert Hoiland, WPA Oral History Project. John Chapman, WPA Oral History Project, Reel 1. Katherine Greb Krug, WPA Oral History Project, Reel 1. Barnes County Report County Superintendent of Schools, 1886-1887. Annual Report of the County Superintendent of Public Schools, Barnes Co., Dakota Territory, For the Year Beginning July 1, 1887, and Ending June 30, 1888.

105. Second Biennial, 32.

106. Sixth Biennial, 302-3.

107. Tenth Biennial, 328.

108. Fingal Community History Committee, Fingal History, 40, 48, 49, 72. Conway, Oriska History, 189. Dazey Heritage, 33, 36, 37. Mabel D. Montgomery, WPA Oral History Project, Reel 1. John E. Chapman, WPA Oral History Project. Evening Times-Record, April

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109. Valley City Times-Record, April 4, 1901, p. 8, c. 2. *ibid.*, April 2, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. General instances: *Ibid.*, April 5, 1900, p. 2, c. 2. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1901, p. 8, c. 4. *Ibid.*, October 3, 1901, p. 8, c. 2. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1902, p. 7, c. 1. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1903, p. 3, c. 3. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1904, p. 2, c. 3. Litchville Bulletin, November 20, 1908, p. 5, c. 3.

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111. *Ibid.*, May 1, 1890, p. 6, c. 1. *Ibid.*, February 11, 1904, p. 2, c. 2. *Ibid.*, January 7, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1903, p. 5, c. 4. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1909, p. 3, c. 4.

112. *Ibid.*, May 12, 1904, p. 1, c. 5. General instances: *Ibid.*, April 3, 1902, p. 7, c. 4. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1902, p. 8, c. 3.

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114. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1894, p. 1, c. 6.

115. *Ibid.*, December 18, 1902, p. 10, c. 2. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1902, p. 5, c. 2. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1902, p. 5, c. 1. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1904, p. 1, c. 5. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1903, p. 2, c. 3. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1903, p. 11, c. 3. Litchville Bulletin, November 8, 1907, p. 5, c. 3. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1907, p. 5, c. 3.

116. Valley City Times-Record, January 21, 1892, p. 5, c. 3. *Ibid.*, April 3, 1902, p. 6, c. 2. *Ibid.*, March 19, 1903, p. 4, c. 3. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1906, p. 3, c. 1. Litchville Bulletin, January 28, 1890, p. 8, c. 1.

117. Valley City Times-Record, June 19, 1890, p. 5, c. 2.

118. Hastings #75 (later #95) Teacher's Report, April 8, 1901 to June 28, 1901.

119. Music: Daily #1 Teacher's Report, School 1, May 7, 1906 to June 29, 1906. Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, School 1, October 6, 1902 to March 20, 1903. Ibid., July 1, 1908 to December 11, 1908. Minnie Lake #89 Teacher's Report, July 2, 1900 to July 13, 1900. Norma #11 Teacher's Report, School 3, October 1, 1906 to March 29, 1907. Ibid., School 4, October 9, 1906 to April 2, 1907. Hastings #75 (later #95) Teacher's Report, School 1, April 1, 1907 to June 21, 1907. Drawing: Daily #1 Teacher's Report, School 2, May 13, 1901 to June 28, 1901. Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, November 14, 1892 to December 23, 1892. Ibid., School 2, April 14, 1902 to June 13, 1902. Norma #11 Teacher's Report, School 2, October 7, 1907 to April 16, 1908. Minnie Lake #89 Teacher's Report, July 2, 1900 to July 13, 1900. Nature Studies: Daily #1, Teacher's Report, School 2, May 13, 1901 to June 28, 1901. Ibid., April 3, 1905 to June 27, 1905 (two sessions per day). Ibid., September 17, 1906 to January 18, 1907. Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, School 2, July 1, 1901 to October 11, 1901 (taught two days per week other three days morals and manners taught). Ibid., April 14, 1902 to June 13, 1902. Norma #11 Teacher's Report, School 2, September 16, 1901 to March 17, 1902. Bookkeeping: Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, School 1, October 17, 1904 to March 3, 1905.

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121. Daily #1 Teacher's Report, School 2, October 4, 1905 to January 4, 1906. Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, School 1, October 16, 1905 to February 2, 1906. Heman #48 Teacher's Report, July 1, 1901 to July 12, 1901. Daily #1 Teacher's Report, School 2, September 6, 1909 to December 20, 1909. Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, School 1, April 1, 1901 to July 5, 1901. Ibid., School 1, May 11, 1903 to June 30, 1903. Ibid., April 10, 1905 to June 30, 1905. Ibid., November 5, 1906 to March 19, 1907. Minnie Lake #89 Teacher's Report, November 4, 1901 to April 9, 1902. Ibid., November 3, 1902 to April 27, 1903.

122. Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, School 1, April 16, 1906 to June 29, 1906. Norma #11 Teacher's Report, School 1, September 17, 1900 to March 19, 1901. Hastings #95 (also #75) Teacher's Report, School 2, January 15, 1903 to June 26, 1903. Ibid., School 1, April 1, 1907 to June 21, 1907. Stewart #7 Teacher's Report, School 2, April 15, 1901 to June 28, 1901.

123. Second Biennial, 36, 39-40.

124. Fifth Biennial, 202-5.

125. North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, Eighth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of North Dakota for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1902 (Bismarck, North Dakota: Tribune, State Printers and Binders, 1902), 236-41.

126. Valley City Times-Record, June 20, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., July 31, 1902, p. 8, c. 1. Ibid., December 26, 1889, p. 1, c. 2. Ibid., March 21, 1901, p. 10, c. 1. Ibid., April 11, 1901, p. 10, c. 3. Ibid., June 20, 1901, p. 8, c. 4. Ibid., May 23, 1901, p. 8, c. 4. Ibid., August 8, 1901, p. 8, c. 1. Ibid., April 23, 1903, p. 9, c. 1. Evening Times-Record, April 15, 1909, p. 4, c. 4.

127. Lincoln Day: Valley City Times-Record, February 14, 1901, p. 10, c. 2. Ibid., February 28, 1901, p. 1, c. 1. Ibid., February 6, 1902, p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., February 25, 1904, p. 7, c. 1. Ibid., February 18, 1909, p. 10, c. 4. General special occasion programs: Ibid., February 15, 1900, p. 2, c. 3. Ibid., March 28, 1901, p. 10, c. 4. Ibid., November 28, 1901, p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., June 12, 1902, p. 4, c. 3. Ibid., February 25, 1904, p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., June 30, 1904, p. 9, c. 4. Litchville Bulletin, May 24, 1907, p. 5, c. 2. Ibid., February 19, 1909, p. 5, c. 2. Evening Times-Record, December 4, 1909, p. 4, c. 3.

128. Valley City Times-Record, December 7, 1908, p. 3, c. 3. Ibid., December 26, 1889, p. 1, c. 1. Ibid., January 3, 1901, p. 6, c. 3. Ibid., December 19, 1901, p. 4, c. 2. Ibid., December 18, 1902, p. 10, c. 3.

129. Valley City Times-Record, December 3, 1903, p. 4, c. 3. Litchville Bulletin, December 8, 1905, p. 5, c. 3. Ibid., December 7, 1906, p. 5, c. 3. Ibid., December 14, 1906, p. 5, c. 2 & 3. Ibid., December 21, 1906, p. 5, c. 4. General: Valley City Times-Record, January 18, 1900, p. 3, c. 3. Ibid., February 5, 1905, p. 15, c. 2. Ibid., December 10, 1903, p. 2, c. 5. Ibid., May 3, 1906., p. 12, c. 4. Ibid., April 1, 1909, p. 3, c. 2. Ibid., February 25, 1909, p. 10, c. 3. Ibid., April 1, 1909, p. 3, c. 3. Evening Times-Record, February 5, 1909, p. 3, c. 2. Ibid., November 29, 1909, p. 6, c. 4.

130. Valley City Times-Record, May 14, 1896, p. 5, c. 4. Litchville Bulletin, May 21, 1909, p. 4, c. 3, p. 5, c. 2 and p. 5, c. 4.

131. Daily #1, School 1, Teacher's Report, October 20, 1885 to February 19, 1886. Ibid., School 2, May 2, 1898 to June 22, 1898. Stewart #7, School 1, Teacher's Report, April 18, 1887 to June 24, 1887. Ibid., October 17, 1904 to March 3, 1905. Ibid., April 23, 1907 to August 12, 1907. Ibid., School 2, July 9, 1900 to September 28, 1900. Ibid., November 21, 1904 to December 16, 1904. Ibid., January 9, 1905 to June 30, 1905. Norma #11, School 1, Teacher's Report, April 1991 [sic] to July 21, 1891. Ibid., September 28, 1908 to March 30, 1909. Norma #11, School 2, Teacher's Report, September 30, 1895 to December 20, 1895. Norma #11, School 3, Teacher's Report, September 17, 1900 to March 15, 1901. Norma #11, School 4, Teacher's Report, September 26, 1904 to March 24, 1905. Ibid., October 7, 1907 to April 3, 1908. Heman

#48, Teacher's Report, May 1, 1894 to July 1894 (sic). Ibid., July 1, 1897 to November 1897 [sic]. Ibid. April 10, 1899 to June 30, 1899. Ibid., August 28, 1899 to December 15, 1899. Ibid., May 4, 1903 to June 26, 1903. Plano #66, Teacher's Report, April 26, 1897 to June 30, 1897. Ibid., April 25, 1904 to June 30, 1904. Ibid., May 1, 1905 to June 30, 1905. Ibid., November 26, 1906 to May 5, 1907. Pierce #71, Teacher's Report, May 9, 1887 to July 6, 1887. Ibid., May 1, 1893 to August 4, 1893. Ibid., April 30, 1894 to July 19, 1894. Pierce #71, School 2, Teacher's Report, January 5, 1903 to March 31, 1903. Ibid., September 3, 1906 to November 23, 1906. Hastings #75 (later #95), School 1, Teacher's Report, October 30, 1905 to March 9, 1906. Ibid., October 7, 1907 to December 28, 1907. Hastings #75 (later #95), School 2, Teacher's Report, June 19, 1893 to September 22, 1893. Ibid., April 30, 1894 to August 17, 1894. Ibid., June 30, 1906 to July 11, 1906. Ibid., April 16, 1906 to June 30, 1906. Minnie Lake #88, Teacher's Report, April 17, 1905 to June 30, 1905. Ibid., July 3, 1905 to July 7, 1905. Ibid., September 5, 1906 to January 24, 1907. Ibid., April 9, 1908 to July 3, 1908. Minnie Lake #89, Teacher's Report, January 3, 1898 to March 24, 1898. Ibid., May 2, 1898 to June 30, 1898. Ibid., July 1, 1898 to July 22, 1898. Ibid., May 8, 1899 to July 28, 1899.

132. Heman #48, Teacher's Report, August 28, 1899 to December 15, 1899.

133. Pierce #71, Teacher's Report, April 30, 1894 to July 19, 1894.

134. Norma #11, Teacher's Report, September 4, 1882 to October 26, 1882. Ibid., April 13, 1886 to July 23, 1886.

135. Daily #1, School 1, Teacher's Report, September 30, 1895 to July 10, 1896. January 6, 1897 to June 24, 1897. Daily #1, School 2, Teacher's Report, July 3, 1899 to July 15, 1899. Ibid., September 17, 1906 to January 18, 1907. Sanborn #5, Teacher's Report, April 4, 1887 to June 24, 1887. Stewart #7, Teacher's Report, School 1, April 23, 1888 to June 26, 1888. Ibid., October 17, 1904 to March 3, 1905. Ibid., October 16, 1905 to February 2, 1906. Ibid., April 23, 1907 to June 28, 1907. Stewart #7, School 2, Teacher's Report, April 15, 1895 to October 23, 1895. Ibid., April 6, 1903 to June 30, 1903. Ibid., July 1, 1904 to August 19, 1904. Norma #11, School 2, Teacher's Report, September 28, 1903 to March 29, 1904. Heman #48, Teacher's Report, April 24, 1892 to October 24, 1892. Ibid., May 1, 1894 to July 1894 (sic). Ibid., November 23, 1903 to April 8, 1904. Ibid., May 2, 1904 to June 30, 1904. Ibid., November 6, 1905 to March 30, 1906. Plano #66, Teacher's Report, May 4, 1891 to August 21, 1891. Ibid., April 27, 1896 to December 4, 1896. Pierce #71, Teacher's Report, May 9, 1887 to July 6, 1887. Ibid., School 1, April 23, 1900 to June 29, 1900. Ibid., March 10, 1902 to June 30, 1902. Ibid., October 8, 1906 to June 21, 1907. Minnie Lake #88, Teacher's Report, August

16, 1893 to November 7, 1893. September 23, 1901 to February 7, 1902. January 15, 1906 to June 1, 1906. Minnie Lake #89, Teacher's Report, September 13, 1893 to December 11, 1893. Ibid., January 2, 1898 to March 24, 1898. Ibid., October 31, 1898 to March 17, 1899.

136. Daily #1, School 2, Teacher's Report, October 4, 1905 to January 4, 1906. Sanborn #5, Teacher's Report, November 3, 1902 to June 5, 1903. Ibid., September 5, 1904 to June 9, 1905. Stewart #7, School 1, Teacher's Report, April 25, 1904 to June 30, 1904. Ibid., July 1, 1904 to July 15, 1904. Stewart #7, School 2, Teacher's Report, June 28, 1909 to August 6, 1909. Norma #11, School 1, Teacher's Report, April 1891 [sic] to July 21, 1891. Ibid., September 16, 1901 to March 14, 1902. Ibid., September 30, 1902 to April 6, 1903. Norma #11, School 3, Teacher's Report, September 26, 1904 to March 24, 1905. Heman #48, Teacher's Report, September 8, 1891 to November 16, 1891. Ibid., July 1, 1908 to July 3, 1908. Plano #66, Teacher's Report, April 25, 1904 to June 30, 1904. Ibid. April 9, 1906 to June 29, 1906. Pierce #71, School 2, Teacher's Report, November 18, 1901 to March 7, 1902. Minnie Lake #88, Teacher's Report, April 9, 1908 to July 3, 1908. Minnie Lake #89, Teacher's Report, November 7, 1904 to March 24, 1905.

137. Daily #1, School 1, Teacher's Report, October 4, 1886 to June 2, 1887. Daily #1 Ledger, p. 51, 61, 63, 65 and 73. Norma #11, School 1, Teacher's Report, 137. September 16, 1901 to March 14, 1902. Valley City Times-Record, January 28, 1904, p.3, c. 3.

138. Fifth Biennial, 17.

139. Sixth Biennial, 260-61.

140. Tenth Biennial, 323.

141. Valley City Times-Record, November 21, 1889, p. 1, c. 4 and December 4, 1890, p. 9, c. 2. Litchville Bulletin, January 1, 1909, p. 5, c. 2.

142. Laws Passed by the Fifteenth Territorial Legislature, Ch. 44, §119, 112. Laws Passed at the Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota (Grand Forks, ND: Herald, State Printers and Binders, 1905) Ch. 84 §759, 103.

143. Fingal Community History, 266.

144. Valley City Times-Record, May 20, 1897, p. 1, c. 5. Litchville Bulletin, September 7, 1906, p. 2, c. 3.

145. WPA Oral History Project: Jessie Batchelder Tracy, Reel 2. Alfred Anderson, Reel 1, Lizzie May Goodwin Chilberg, Reel 1 and Jennie Pratt Coddling, Reel 1. Hilda Jungren Lahlum, "Memories,

Memories," (unpublished material, n.d.), 5. Photocopy of author's memoirs in author's possession.

146. Second Biennial, 36-8. Some of those children enumerated attended private school, parochial school or a school outside of the county.

147. Fifth Biennial, 198-201.

148. Tenth Biennial, 325-27.

149. Daily #1, School 1, Teacher's Report, September 24, 1888 to June 20, 1889. Stewart #7, Teacher's Report, May 14, 1883 to October 19, 1883.

150. Plano #66, Teacher's Report, November 25, 1901 to June 30, 1902. Minnie Lake #88, Teacher's Report, September 13, 1897 to December 3, 1897. Heman #48, Teacher's Report, April 24, 1892 to October 24, 1892. Other four year olds in attendance: Stewart #7, School 2, Teacher's Report, July 1, 1901 to October 11, 1901. Ibid., January 9, 1905 to June 30, 1905. Plano #66, Teacher's Report, May 4, 1885 to July 24, 1885. Ibid., July 1, 1902 to July 18, 1902. A three year old attended school in 1881. Stewart #7, Teacher's Report, May 9, 1881 to December 3, 1881.

151. Conway, Oriska History, 89. Daily #1, School 1, Teacher's Report, November 24, 1902 to April 24, 1903. Norma #11, School 3, Teacher's Report, September 15, 1897 to February 28, 1898. Ibid., September 19, 1898 to March 3, 1899. Fingal Community History Committee, Fingal History, 275. Bertha Steiger Bartz, WPA Oral History Project, Reel 1.

152. Jessie Batchelder Tracy, WPA Oral History Project.

153. Laws Passed at the Fifteenth Legislature of Dakota Territory, Ch. 44 §88, 102. Laws Passed at the First Legislature of North Dakota, Ch. 62 §89, 198. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1894, 24.

154. Daily #1, School 1, Teacher's Report, October 23, 1883 to March 3, 1884. Ibid., December 8, 1884 to April 14, 1885. Ibid., October 20, 1885 to February 19, 1886. Ibid., February 22, 1886 to June 16, 1886. Stewart #7, School 1, Teacher's Report, May 9, 1881 to December 3, 1881. Ibid., May 5, 1884 to June 27, 1884. Ibid., June 30, 1884 to November 18, 1885. Ibid., April 14, 1885 to June 29, 1885. Ibid., July 1, 1885 to November 11, 1885. Ibid., June 30, 1886 to November 26, 1886. Heman #48, Teacher's Report, April 28, 1884 to October 24, 1884. Ninth Biennial, 20.

155. Second Biennial, 34. In 1890 women educators in Barnes County made 68% of their male counterparts' salaries. Throughout North Dakota women teachers earned 81% of male teachers' salaries.

156. Fifth Biennial, 206-7. In 1898 female educators in Barnes County earned 88% of male teachers' salaries, and state-wide women made 89% of men's salaries.

157. Ninth Biennial, 330. In 1908 Barnes County female teachers made 79% of their male counterparts' salaries. State-wide, women made 84% of what men made.

158. Valley City Times-Record, June 5, 1890, p. 1, c. 4.

159. W.E. Bush WPA Oral History Project.

160. Fifth Biennial, 20-1.

161. Ninth Biennial, Circulars, 37-9 and 242.

162. Ibid., 38-9 and 242.

163. Ibid., 40-5.

164. Ibid., 47-51.

165. Ibid.

166. Sixth Biennial, 19.

167. Ibid.

168. Tenth Biennial, 22-8.

169. Seventh Biennial, 26.

170. Daily #1, School 1, Teacher's Report, November 22, 1897 to April 11, 1898. Ibid., November 27, 1899 to April 30, 1900. Ibid., December 3, 1900 to May 3, 1901. November 11, 1901 to April 15, 1902. November 24, 1902 to April 24, 1903. Daily #1, School 2, Teacher's Report, September 1898 [sic] to June 30, 1899. Heman #48, Teacher's Report, May 20, 1901 to June 28, 1901. Ibid., July 1, 1901 to July 12, 1901. Ibid. November 11, 1901 to April 3, 1902. Ibid., May 26, 1902 to June 30, 1902.

171. C.C. Schmidt, "Consolidation of Rural Schools in North Dakota," Quarterly Journal of University of North Dakota v.2 (Oct. '11 - Jul '12), 34.

172. Charles E. Rankin, "Teaching: Opportunity and Limitation For Wyoming Women," The Western Historical Quarterly, 2(May 1990), 153-57.

172. Second Biennial, 34.

175. Fifth Biennial, 206-7.

176. Tenth Biennial, 330.

177. Rankin, "Teaching: Opportunity and Limitation For Wyoming Women," 148. Riley, The Female Frontier, 122. Riley used census numbers for her statistics. Throughout this thesis North Dakota Department of Public Instruction figures were used, which accounts for slight variations.

178. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers of North Dakota, 136. Elliot, Vandestreek & Berg, Valley City - A City of Five Names, 133. Nielson Family Papers, A107, Manuscript with no title or date, p. 1, Folder 5, Box 3, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, ND 58502. Mary Olson King Moe, WPA Oral History Project.

179. Clement Lounsberry, North Dakota History and People: Outlines of American History V. II (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1917), 897. Declaration of Intent Book, Gunder Lallum, Special Collections Genealogy Room, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, ND 58202. Syverin Simenson Lahlum family tree, in the author's possession. Hastings #75 (later #95), Teacher's Report, May 28, 1888 to October 26, 1888. Ibid., May 6, 1889 to September 20, 1889. Ibid., May 5, 1890 to June 27, 1890. Ibid., June 30, 1890 to October 10, 1890. Ibid., April 27, 1891 to October 25, 1891. Ibid., May 1, 1893 to June 19, 1893. Ibid., School 1, Teacher's Report, July 10, 1893 to September 1, 1893. Ibid., June 30, 1894 to August 17, 1894. Ibid., April 1, 1895 to September 23, 1895. Ibid., School 2, June 19, 1893 to September 22, 1893. Sometime between 1895 and 1897 the Gunder Lallum's moved Norma township and Anton did not teach his siblings at this point, although it was not unusual for teachers to have brothers or sisters in their classroom.

180. Jennie Pratt Coddling, WPA Oral History Project. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1896, 19.

181. Mabel Montgomery, WPA Oral History Project. "The Proof of the Pudding," Minnie J. Nielson campaign pamphlet, 2, Folder 14, Box 3, Nielson Family Papers, State Historical Society of North Dakota.

182. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers of North Dakota, 146.

183. Ibid., 152. Seventh Biennial, 232.

184. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers in North Dakota, 170-71.

185. Jessie Batchelder Tracy, WPA Oral History Project.

186. Arnold Zaun, WPA Oral History Project.
187. Olef Simenson, WPA Oral History Project.
188. Fingal Community History Committee, Fingal History, 65.
189. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers in North Dakota, 132.
190. Ibid., 171.
191. Ibid.
192. Ibid., 117, 132, 146, 154. Mabel Montgomery, WPA Oral History Project. Statement also based on cross referencing the teachers' names culled from school reports and newspaper articles with the names of Valley City Normal School students and the Valley City Normal School catalogues.
193. Norma #11, School 3, Teacher's Report, September 17, 1900 to March 15, 1901. Valley City Times-Record, March 21, 1901, p. 10, c. 4.
194. Norma #11 Teacher's Reports, 1895-1897. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1896, p. 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1894, p. 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, p. 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1897, p. 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1898, p. 19. Sanborn #5 Teacher's Reports, 1896-1903. Stewart #7, School 1, Teacher's Reports, 1898-1900. Heman #48 Teacher's Reports, 1891-1892. Hastings #75 Teacher's Reports, 1893.
195. Daily #1, School 1 and 2, Teacher's Reports, 1896-1904. Pierce #71, School 1, Teacher's Reports, 1901-1905. Norma #11, Teacher's Reports, 1898-1905 (primarily school 4). Valley City Times-Record, March 31, 1904, p. 8, c. 2.
196. Valley City Times-Record, September 13, 1894, p. 1, c. 3.
197. Litchville Bulletin, April 27, 1906, p. 5, c. 3.
198. Valley City Times-Record, August 17, 1893, p. 5, c. 2. Litchville Bulletin, January 8, 1909, p. 5, c. 2. Citations for single women's homes with parents: Evening Times-Record, January 3, 1901, p. 6, c. 3. Ibid., March 25, 1909, p. 4, c. 3. Litchville Bulletin, April 20, 1906, p. 5, c. 3. Valley City Times-Record, July 18, 1901, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., August 29, 1901, p. 8, c. 1. Ibid., February 20, 1902, p. 7, c. 2. Ibid., May 29, 1902, p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., October 22, 1903, p. 1, c. 2. Ibid.,

January 7, 1904, p. 2, c. 1. Ibid., April 5, 1906, p. 2, c. 1. Ibid., April 6, 1906, p. 2, c. 1.

199. Ibid., May 28, 1896, p. 8, c. 2.

200. Ibid., July 25, 1901, p. 3, c. 2. Ibid., August 22, 1901, p. 1, c. 6. Ibid., June 16, 1904, p. 5, c. 4. Litchville Bulletin, January 8, 1909, p. 5, c. 2.

201. Valley City Times-Record, April 4, 1901, p. 4, c. 3. Ibid., July 30, 1903, p. 4, c. 3. July 26, 1906, p. 5, c. 3. Ibid., October 4, 1906, p. 1, c. 2. Ibid., December 6, 1906, p. 8, c. 4. Ibid., October 27, 1904, p. 5, c. 4. Hanna was the Superintendent of the Valley City Public Schools.

202. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers in North Dakota, 113, 135 and 147. Valley City Times-Record, December 30, 1897, p. 1, c. 6. Ibid., January 9, 1902, p. 5, c. 1. Ibid., December 23, 1909, p. 3, c. 1. Litchville Bulletin, May 21, 1909, p. 5, c. 3.

203. Valley City Times-Record, December 7, 1893, p. 5, c. 5.

204. Ibid.

205. Ibid., December 13, 1894, p. 1, c. 4.

206. SENDEA: Ibid., May 23, 1901, p. 1, c. 3. Ibid., November 15, 1906, p. 9, c. 4. Ibid., NDEA: December 19, 1901, p. 8, c. 5. Ibid., January 7, 1904, p. 8, c. 4. Ibid., January 7, 1909, p. 11, c. 3. Litchville Bulletin, January 1, 1909, p. 5, c. 2. NEA: Valley City Times-Record, June 26, 1902, p. 5, c. 4. Ibid., July 10, 1902, p. 2, c. 2. July 17, 1902, p. 2, c. 2.

207. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Solen Aandahl, 11. Stewart #7, Teacher's Reports, 1892-1893. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1894, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1896, 19.

208. Jennie Pratt Coddling, WPA Oral History Project. Minnie Lake #88, Teacher's Reports, October 15, 1900 to March 8, 1901. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1896, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1898, 19. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, T.L. Coddling, 47. Ibid., George Charles Hager, 89.

209. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers of North Dakota, 113.

210. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Flora Adelle Hilborn Sandberg, 212. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1898, 19. Valley City Times-Record, December 24, 1896, p. 2, c. 4.

211. John A. Conway, ed., Oriska History, Elizabeth Towne Gregory, 292. Norma #11, School 4, Teacher's Report, April 17, 1895 to July 10, 1895. Valley City Times-Record, May 1, 1890, p. 3, c. 2. Ibid., January 19, 1894, p. 5, c. 4.

212. Fingal Community History Committee, Fingal History, 57 and 90. Norma #11, Teacher's Reports, 1882-1884. Norma #11, School 2, Teacher's Reports, 1890-1894.

213. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Ronelldo Carr, 45. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1894, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, 19. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers in North Dakota, 126.

214. Mamie Lawry Aandahl: Stewart #7, Teacher's Report, November 14, 1892 to December 23, 1892. Ibid., January 3, 1893 to April 7, 1893. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1894, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1896, 19. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Solen Aandahl, 11. Lydia McLain Anderson: Pierce #71, School 2, Teacher's Reports, 1903-1904. Ethel Williams Maier: Plano #66, Teacher's Report, May 2, 1892 to August 19, 1892. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Captain George Williams, 268. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1894, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1895, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1896, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1897, 19. Barnes County Superintendent's Report, 1898, 19. Valley City Times-Record, April 5, 1900, p. 1, c. 2. Ibid., September 6, 1900, p. 4, c. 3. Ibid., February 28, 1901, p. 10, c. 2.

215. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Robert Baillie, 21. Ibid., Bessie Lenvig, 140. Mabel D. Montgomery, WPA Oral History Project. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Wylie Nielson, 175. Ibid., William Reid, 202. Ibid., Mary Dean Ritchie, 206.

216. Litchville Bulletin, May 10, 1901, p. 8, c. 1. Valley City Times-Record, April 18, 1901, p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., April 25, 1901, p. 8, c. 1. Ibid., August 29, 1901, p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., November 27, 1902, p. 5, c. 4. Ibid., September 4, 1902, p. 1, c. 4. January 14, 1904, p. 2, c. 4. Final Community History Committee, Fingal History, Hogan Skramstad, 257. WPA Oral History Project: Ernest Joseph Bealeal, Rose (Schroeder) Bush, W.E. Bush. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Lewis M. Larson, 137.

217. WPA Oral History Project: Rose (Schroeder) Bush, W.E. Bush.
218. Fingal Community History Committee, Fingal History, 65. Valley City Times-Record, May 29, 1902, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., August 20, 1903, p. 3, c. 3. Ibid., May 28, 1896, p. 6, c. 4. Arabella Engle also sold hats.
219. Lounsberry, North Dakota History and People, 897. Valley City Times-Record, August 29, 1901 p. 8, c. 2. Ibid., March 24, 1904, p. 2, c. 1. John A. Conway, ed., Oriska History, Jesse Taylor, 497.
220. Oriska History, Wells H. Gage, Sr., 283. Ernest Joseph Beleal, WPA Oral History Project.
221. Valley City Times-Record, May 7, 1896, p. 1, c. 1. Ibid., April 2, 1909, p. 3, c. 2. Ibid., July 3, 1902, p. 2, c. 2. Ibid., June 4, 1891, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., December 6, 1894, p. 8, c. 3. Ibid., December 17, 1903, p. 2, c. 2. Jessie Batchelder Tracy, WPA Oral History Project.
222. Barnes County Historical Society, Barnes County History, Robert Baillie, 21. Ibid., William Reid, 202. Ibid., Mary Dean Ritchie, 206. Ibid., George Warren Hanna, 90.
223. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers of North Dakota, 154. Valley City Times-Record, September 7, 1893, p. 1, c. 4. Ibid., July 5, 1906, p. 9, c.2. Ibid., November 22, 1906, p. 15, c. 3-6. "Proof of the Pudding," Minnie J. Nielson campaign pamphlet, Folder 14, Box 3, Nielson Family Papers (SHSND). Minnie J. Nielson Obituary, Folder 2, Box 5, North Dakota Federation of Women's Clubs Records, State Historical Society of North Dakota.
224. Ralphine Kluvers Verduin, oral interview, June 1, 1990. Tape recording in author's possession. Mrs. Verduin attended a rural, Litchville school.
225. Rankin. "Teaching: Opportunity and Limitation For Wyoming Women," 150-51.
226. Swanson & Bryson, Pioneer Women Teachers of North Dakota, 125.

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Edward C. Duley
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Anna Svarstad Esby
Joseph Falerius
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