

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

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### National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

XX New Submission                      \_\_\_\_\_ Amended Submission

#### A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Grange in Idaho

#### B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

1. Grange Organizational Structure
2. The National Grange: 1867-2012
3. The Idaho Grange: 1874-2012
4. The Grange Hall

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#### D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Kenneth C. Reid  
 Signature of certifying official  
 Kenneth C. Reid, Ph.D.

Deputy SHPO  
 Title  
 Deputy SHPO

December 21, 2012  
 Date

State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of the Keeper

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Action

The Grange in Idaho

Idaho

Name of Multiple Property Listing

State

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### Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

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**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C. 460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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## E. Statement of Historic Contexts

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### I. Grange Organizational Structure

*In Essentials, Unity - In Non-Essentials, Liberty - In All Things, Charity*  
Motto of The Order of the Patrons of Husbandry

While the official name of the organization is the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, the individual units of the organization are commonly referred to as Granges (members, in turn, are called "Grangers"). The word "Grange" is derived from the Latin word meaning grain (Howard, 16-17). At the core of the fraternity is the local or "Subordinate" Grange, where members meet on a regular basis. Thirteen members are required to form and maintain a subordinate Grange. Subordinate Granges organize together on a regional or county level, known as the Pomona Grange. Subordinate and Pomona Granges organize as either a state Grange or Grange council based on the number of subordinate Granges within the state. All Granges and councils are represented by the National Grange.

As a fraternal order, like the Masons, Odd Fellows, etc., the Grange places an emphasis on ritual (Howard, 17-18). Sixteen officers (holding two-year terms) preside at a Grange; the titles originate either from names used on old English estates (e.g. Master, Overseer, Lecturer, Steward, Chaplain, Gate Keeper) or from names of Roman Goddesses (Ceres, Pomona, Flora). Each officer is arranged around the hall at a specific station and performs a specific role in the opening and closing rituals. Office titles are frequently preceded by "worthy" when one member addresses another (e.g., "Worth Master", "Worthy Gatekeeper", etc.).

Women members representing Roman agricultural goddesses - Flora, Ceres, and Pomona (depending on the degree of the meeting) - are assigned places on the dais at one end of the hall. The subordinate Grange Master is stationed to the left of the Roman deities. The Chaplain is stationed to the Master's left; then directly across from the goddess(es) of agriculture, the Steward, the Lady Assistant Steward, the Overseer, and the Gatekeeper are seated. The Lecturer is across the room from the Chaplain, and the Secretary and Treasurer are between the Lecturer and the dais (Wood, 166).

Some of the officers have symbolic tools signifying their role in the Grange (e.g. gavel, pruning hook, staff, crook, etc) (Wood, 167). In addition, each officer and member wears specified regalia and jewels according to their office (e.g. sash, apron). Each meeting begins with a prayer, a salute to the American flag, and the opening of a Bible placed on an altar in the center of the hall (Howard, 17).

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The Grange has seven levels or degrees of membership (Howard, 19-20). A member attains a degree by either participating in or observing the rituals associated with that level; each degree ritual is a "collection of short speeches given by officers, intermixed with music and explanation of various symbolic 'tools,' such as the plow and hoe...the instruction makes numerous references to farming, the crops, seasons, seeds and soil, in order to teach lessons of brotherhood, duty to God, morality and the importance of hard work ('faith, hope, charity and fidelity')" (Howard, 19). It is up to the individual Grange member whether they advance to the next level or not. Each degree builds on the level(s) before it.

The first four degrees are based on the four seasons and are witnessed at the subordinate level. At subordinate meetings, the goddess Ceres sits in attendance as the ceremonial representation of the first four degrees. Members must witness the fifth degree before they can participate in Pomona-level activities. At this level of meetings, the representation of the goddess Pomona sits in ceremonial attendance. The sixth degree is necessary to work at the state level, and at these meetings, the representation of the goddess Flora sits in attendance. Finally, the seventh degree is performed at the National Grange convention by the Assembly of Demeter. The Assembly of Demeter, comprised of three officers - the High Priest of Demeter, Priest Archon, and Priest Annalist - oversees the ritualistic activities.

The Grange is distinct from all other fraternal organizations in that it has always encouraged the membership and involvement of everyone in the family (Howard, 21-22). All Grange members, regardless of sex or position, are granted an equal voice and equal vote at meetings. Children between the ages of 5 and 14 are eligible to join a junior Grange. Junior Grangers hold their own meetings, elect their own officers, have their own ceremonial work, and organize a range of activities. Upon their fourteenth birthday, individuals are eligible to receive full subordinate Grange membership. A "Youth Grange" sub-group exists for those aged 14-35. Once a new member is fully initiated, the individual is known as a Matron or Husbandman in the Patrons of Husbandry. Members may also address each other as "Brother" or "Sister." The fraternity of the Grange has long recognized the mutuality that exists between women and men and does not segregate the sexes, as both are welcome at all Grange meetings (Howard, 18-19, 105). Women may serve in any of the offices; and four offices - Lady Assistant Steward, Ceres, Pomona, and Flora - are reserved for women only.

The Order maintains "secret work" that is unwritten and passed down by word of mouth. The secret work details the procedure for different ceremonies and rituals. Small booklets provide first letter prompts, e.g., Tmbtworotg, meaning: "The meeting is brought to order with one rap of the gavel." The Grange also maintains secret passwords that are created by the High Priest of Demeter and change each year. These secret words were meant to protect the interests of the Grange, ensuring that only members had access to the benefits of the organization. There is a different

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password for Pomona, subordinate, and junior levels. Passwords are passed from the High Priest at the National Grange on down.

Membership in the Grange requires dues, the level of which is set by the subordinate unit (however, it must be enough to cover the required National dues which are currently \$23/year). Participation at the Pomona level generally required further dues, though typically considerably less.

Subordinate Granges must hold at least one business meeting a month. The meeting opens with a prayer (the bible stands open on the dais throughout the meeting) and a flag ceremony. The group will often sing songs - many found in the Granger Songbook. Reports of standing committees are provided. Within a business meeting there is time set aside for a short educational and/or entertainment program, typically arranged by the Lecturer. Granges also organize potlucks, "fun nights," or other social activities for their members.

### II. The National Grange: 1867-2012

#### Background:

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century the majority of American farms were family owned and focused on a household mode of production. Most food and goods were produced and consumed at home; any excess was often sold or exchanged within the community (Wood, 16). Family farms were generally small, diversified, self-sufficient operations, geared towards fulfilling the family's needs. Household production fostered cooperation within the community and "preserved a general social and economic equality" (Wood, 17).

According to the first census, taken in 1790, 96% of the population was living in rural areas, most on their own farms (Howard, 28-29). As the Industrial Revolution took hold in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, America experienced a dramatic population expansion and shift. City populations flourished, factories emerged, railroad lines expanded into even the most rural of places, and technology abounded. As more people gravitated towards the industry-based cities on the Eastern Seaboard in search of work, new markets moving foodstuffs from the Midwest to the eastern cities emerged to support this burgeoning population.

New agricultural implements produced in factories were made available; however, farmers needed to produce more in order to generate enough excess to trade for the new equipment (Howard, 29). Farmers would often mortgage land and future crops in order to purchase new tools of production (Wood, 19, 25). Some farmers eagerly embraced this new proto-commercial agricultural system, hoping to "reap financial rewards for their risk-taking behavior" (Wood, 25). No longer were

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farmers independent and self-sufficient; they had entered into a commercial world in which they had to rely on commodity buyers; transportation companies, international commodity markets; and bankers in order to thrive (Palmer, 261-72).

As cities expanded and urban opportunities increased, the status of farmers dramatically declined (Wood, 20). Many children of farmers migrated to the cities in search of work that commanded greater respectability; by 1860, the rural population had dropped to 80% (Howard, 28). Additionally, farmers remained underrepresented by the government. In the 1840s, only 8.6% of members of the U.S. House of Representatives were farmers. Farmers' interests were not well regarded by politicians because "farmers were not organized or united, they were widely scattered, and their interests often conflicted" (Fite).

In 1862, President Lincoln signed the Homestead Act. Under the Homestead Act settlers could claim up to 160 acres; after five years cultivating and improving the land, ownership was transferred to the claimant. Between 1862 and 1934, over 1.6 million homestead applications were processed and over 270 million acres, 10% of all U.S. lands, were granted to homesteaders. (Teaching with Documents) Unfortunately, by 1862, most of the best pieces of farmland had already been either purchased by speculators or given by the government to railroad companies (Howard, 29, 31). Between 1850 and 1870, railroad companies were awarded 150 million acres for the purpose of stimulating new rail construction. Speculators and railroad companies, in turn, sold land to farmers at exorbitant prices. Accounting reveals that only one out of every six acres passed directly from the government to settlers.

#### Oliver H. Kelley

Oliver Hudson Kelley was born in Boston in 1826. As a young man he worked as an itinerant reporter and a telegrapher (Gardner, 20). In 1849, Oliver Kelley and his new bride, Lucy Earle, moved to the Minnesota Territory, ultimately settling at Itasca near the Mississippi River (Howard, 31-32). It was here that Kelley established a homestead. During the first winter, Kelley traded with neighboring Winnebago Indians. In the following spring, Lucy died while giving birth to their first child; the child died six months later. A year later Kelley married Temperance Lane, a nearby teacher who was also from Boston. Temperance and Oliver had four daughters.

Growing up the son of a tailor, Kelley had no practical farming experience (Wood, 26-27). However Kelley was ambitious and learned about farming through experimentation, discussion with peers, and by reading numerous agricultural books and journals. In 1852, he organized the first agricultural society in the territory of Minnesota, the Benton County Agricultural Society. Kelley was described as an innovator and a pioneer of new agricultural techniques in his region. Kelley was an ardent purchaser and user of new farming implements; he also experimented with new crop varieties

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and farming practices. He kept detailed records on his experiments, general observations, events, and the weather. Kelley also wrote a large number of articles to farm papers emphasizing the need for farmers to "add more study to their physical labors, undertake experimental work, and record and profit by their findings" (Gardner, 21). He also firmly believed that farmers should be in control of commodity prices; by combining production and manufacturing processes, farmers could eliminate the middlemen, the merchant speculators, and realize the whole value of their work (Wood, 43). Kelley's persistent and statistical accounting of Minnesota agriculture soon gained the attention of agricultural authorities in Washington, and he became a regular contributor to the Federal Department of Agriculture, authoring articles for the Department's monthly and annual reports (Wood, 81-84). By 1864, he was made a clerk in the Department of Agriculture and worked in Washington, D.C. In the winter, his family and hired hands cared for the farm while he was away; in the spring, he would return to Minnesota to plant crops and tend the farm.

Between 1859 and 1860, Minnesota agriculture shifted to a heavy emphasis on the commercial production of wheat (Wood, 77-78). Demand for wheat during the Civil War drove up prices. Many farmers cultivated wheat as a way to obtain more cash in order to pay the costs of starting or improving farms. By 1868, nearly 60 percent of farmland in Minnesota was dedicated to the cultivation of wheat. The growth of wheat farming spurred the development of a marketing infrastructure and the advent of specialized middlemen. Middlemen purchased grain from farmers and sold it to merchants who, in turn, delivered the product by waterways or railroads to major markets in Chicago, Milwaukee, or St. Louis. As railroads expanded, they displaced river transportation and began to dominate the transportation system (Wood, 79-81). River transportation operated on a north-south orientation, while railroads ran from east to west. As the markets shifted, farmers began to ship by rail or by combination of rail and water. Farmers paid higher costs to ship by rail than they had to ship by water. Initially, competition kept costs low for farmers; however, individuals and groups of individuals soon combined to monopolize the marketing system, driving up freight rates.

In response to the rising rates, an anti-monopoly convention was held in St. Paul in 1866 (Wood, 80-81). The convention concluded that in order to break up transportation monopolies, competition among the transportation companies must be increased by opening up an alternative transportation route through the Great Lakes. Because the public had so heavily invested in the railroads, farmers had come to view railroads as public agencies. Farmers had welcomed the railroads and had purchased stocks and bonds to finance the rail systems that promised a strong transportation system - an element crucial to the success of the farmer (Gardner, 15). However, these promises were not kept; instead the policies of the railroad managements had generated bitterness among the farming population. In addition to the controversy surrounding the transportation system, the marketing system was also viewed by many as "a fraud, rife with monopolistic control" (Wood, 81).

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As Kelley continued to work for the Department of Agriculture, he also became a correspondent for several newspapers (Wood, 84-87). Not only did his articles reflect the antipathy he felt towards speculators, but also they showed his growing disillusionment with the Department of Agriculture. Kelley believed that the Department was doing little to actively support and educate farmers and to protect their economic interests from being subordinated to those of the merchants. Kelley's job in Washington had afforded him a new national perspective; he began to think about how farmers could organize on a national level to remove the middlemen.

In October of 1865, Kelley was called to Washington by Isaac Newton, a commissioner of the Department of Agriculture. When he arrived in Washington, Kelley met with Newton and President Andrew Johnson and received an appointment to tour through the South to gather statistics on postwar agricultural conditions (Wood, 88). Kelley was instructed to keep a log of observations regarding the land, the crops produced, the facilities involved in production, as well as "the disposition of the Freedmen to labor, and the feelings of their former owners, and the citizens generally towards them" (Correspondence).

After four years of civil war the agricultural climate of the South was in disarray (Howard, 36). While the postwar conditions in the South differed greatly with those in the North, farmers everywhere were facing similar issues:

"[T]he former Confederate felt the same forces that disturbed northern agriculturists...Northern farmers were being forced to adapt to commercial agriculture, with all its implications and ramifications, while southern farmers were attempting to restore commercial farming. In both instances, farmers were faced with unfamiliar economic pressures. Concerns after the war were railroad tolls, bank rates of interest, implement costs, grain-storage fees, and commodity prices" (Nordin, 3-4).

Although Kelley was a Yankee, he was well received by Southerners due to his affiliation with the Masonic Order (Gardner, 22). Kelley observed how the Masonic fraternity brought people of disparate backgrounds together and began to envision a similar organization under which farmers across the nation could unite (Kelley, 13-15). In Kelley's notes he reveals that he mentioned his idea of "a secret society of agriculturists as an element to restore kindly feelings among the people" in a letter to his wife's niece, Caroline Hall. In Caroline's reply she "expressed sympathy for the women of the South and strongly encouraged [the] suggestion that an organization of the farmers of the country might prove a blessing" (Kelley, 13).

After returning home from his trip to the South, Kelley's mind became more engrossed with the idea of creating a national farmer's fraternity. In January of 1867, he returned to Washington, D.C. and took a job as a clerk in the Post Office Department (Kelley, 16). During his stay in

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Washington, D.C. Kelley continued to write about his hopes and disappointment with the Department of Agriculture (Woods, 92). In his spare time he discussed his idea with fellow government employees (Howard, 38). Kelley also further discussed the new society with Caroline Hall during a visit to Boston; she continued to support him and suggested that women be afforded the opportunity to be equal members (Correspondence).

#### 1868-1973: The Grange Begins

Kelley, together with six Washington associates - William Saunders, John R. Thompson, William M. Ireland, Rev. Aaron B. Grosh, Rev. Dr. John Trimble, and Francis M. McDowell - envisioned and outlined the first agricultural fraternity that they called the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry. (Robinson, 24-26) The cited goal of the organization was to provide an opportunity for farmers to work together for mutual protection and advancement. The first meeting of the first organization of the Patrons of Husbandry was held in December of 1867 (Gardner, 29-30). The following month the first Grange, Potomac Grange No. 1, was organized. William Saunders, a landscape architect from Scotland who worked in the Department of Agriculture, is credited with establishing the plan of organization - the Subordinate, Pomona, State and National bodies - and also for suggesting the name "Grange" and the title "Patron of Husbandry." John R. Thompson held an office in the Treasury Department and was a high degree Mason; he created much of the ritual, especially the Sixth and Seventh Degrees, and laws of fraternity. William M. Ireland was also a high degree Mason and an expert in parliamentary law and journalism. Ireland is credited with the framework of the constitution and bylaws. Aaron B. Grosh, a Universalist clergyman, worked with Kelley in the Department of Agriculture at Washington, D.C. As an Odd Fellow, Grosh contributed to the ritualism and also created the prayers used in the lower degrees. He also supported and promoted song in Grange meetings. Rev. John Trimble was a clergyman in Episcopal faith and a clerk in the Treasury Department. Trimble's role was one of critic and advisor. Trimble was known for analyzing ideas and plans and pointing out the flaws and errors, and the others generally heeded his insight. Francis M. McDowell, a man experienced in banking, managed the finances of the Grange. This original group of men became known as the "Seven Founders of the Order." Later, in 1892, the contributions of Kelley's niece, Caroline Hall, were officially recognized; in 1915, the Assembly of Demeter granted Hall the distinction of being "equal to a founder." (Howard, 38). Caroline Hall, with the assistance of Rev. Aaron B. Grosh, also compiled Songs of the Grange for use during Grange meetings.

Shortly after the inception of the Grange, Kelley quit his job at the Post Office Department in 1868 and devoted his time exclusively to the promotion of the organization (Howard, 46). On April 3, 1868, Kelley began his journey to organize subordinate (local) Granges across the nation. The Grange had voted to give Kelley a letter of credit, the power to establish Granges and collect fees,

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and a salary of \$2,000 per year, which was to be collected out of the receipts from the subordinate Granges that Kelley organized.

With the exception of organization of Fredonia Grange in New York, Kelley was largely unsuccessful in rallying farmer support as he toured cities in the east and the Midwest (Gardner, 34-36). In retrospect, it was acknowledged that Kelley's key mistake was trying to organize farmers together in the towns rather than out in their homes and in the fields, as farmers tended to be very individualistic and wary of organized groups, which they associated with capitalists and industrialists. Moreover, the Grange was an organization which was essentially fraternal and educational in nature; it soon became apparent that farmers' primary interests lay in an organization that would defend them politically and provide economic protection (Kelley, 91-151). By the time Kelley reached Madison, Wisconsin, he had run out of cash. Defeated and destitute, Kelley had to borrow money from a master of a local Masonic lodge in order to buy a railroad ticket home to Itasca.

Kelley returned to his farm discouraged and disheartened. It was Mrs. Kelley who provided the means to carry on (Gardner, 36-38). While Kelley had been away, Mrs. Kelley had received an inheritance of \$500 from a distant relative. She gave the money to her husband, urging him to continue. Further support came from his wife's niece, Caroline Hall, who offered to become Kelley's assistant. The organization granted her the title of Ceres, an office in the National Grange held only by women; she became the first female to hold office in the Grange.

His spirits revived, Kelley collaborated with a local paper, the *Sauk Rapids Sentinel*, to release the Grange's first circular to encourage the participation of nearby farmers (Howard, 48-49). From his farm in Itasca, Kelley manipulated the media by reprinting articles from outside sources regarding issues such as monopolies, focusing on the discontent present among farmers, and then, having learned from his lack of success in the East, printed articles that pointed to the Grange movement as a solution. Circulars promised that the Grange would unite and "assist farmers in buying and selling cooperatively, helping to eliminate the middleman, and members would be protected from swindlers" (Howard, 49). Kelley also encouraged farmers "to educate themselves, teach and encourage their sons to remain on the farm, and learn to exert the political power that their numerical superiority gave them" (Wood, 106). Although Kelley used the media to his greatest advantage, the Grange agitation "did not create dissatisfaction among the farmers, nor did it simply reflect that which it found. The Grange organized, encouraged, and gave a unified expression to the farmer's movement that was already brewing throughout the region" (Wood, 132).

It was in Minnesota that the Grange movement finally began to gain traction; in fact, it was here that the Grange first organized on a state level (Wood, 118). Soon the Grange spread throughout the Midwest and to other states (Wood, 132). The success of the Grange can be

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attributed to Kelley's tenacity and indomitable spirit. Indeed, Kelley has been described by some as a fanatic:

*...he set out to convert the most individualistic group in America to his idea of an association. It was far from easy. The purpose of the Grange appeared to be somewhat vague. Most farmers thought they had no time for social doings of any sort. Many were actually hostile. But Kelley, though a downright fanatic on the subject in hand, was practical and shrewd. He was filled with boundless enthusiasm, never dismayed, and he had the almost unknown quality - in a fanatic - of a sense of humor. The combination was unbeatable (Smith).*

#### 1873-1877: Growth and Tumult (Boom and Bust)

##### The Granger Laws

In the early 1870s, farmers rallied to the Grange movement by the thousands, especially in the Midwest. In 1872, 1,105 subordinate Granges had been organized nationwide; the following year that number grew exponentially to 8,667 (Buck, 416). At this time, Granges had been established in 31 states and in Canada (Prairie Farmer, 260). State Granges were established across the nation with activity peaking in 1873 in response to a financial panic (Gardner, 44-45). In 1873 alone, 22 State Granges were organized (Kelley, 422).

As Grange membership increased, so too did the fervor for an anti-monopoly third-party (Howard, 57, 73-74). Anti-monopoly movements were strong in the Midwestern states, the primary Granger-states. Farmers gathered throughout the Midwest in support of a radical Anti-Monopoly Party through which they hoped to elect their own candidates to the legislature. Again, Minnesota led the way for the most active third-party movements. In 1873, fearing that an Anti-Monopoly Party would upset their candidates in the upcoming state elections, the Republican Party in Minnesota nominated a candidate of their own who opposed monopolies. While the Anti-Monopoly candidates did not win on the state level, many of their local candidates did.

Anti-Monopoly Party activities were also strong in the Granger states of Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and Indiana (Wood, 147-156). They were successful in passing a series of "Granger Laws" that attempted to regulate and lower rates on railroads, elevators, and warehouses. Included was a law passed in 1874, by the Minnesota Anti-Monopoly coalition creating a Railroad Commission to regulate rates; however, the law was unsuccessful in lowering railroad rates because the railroads simply ignored it (Ridge, 705; Saby, 96-101, Buck, 161-164). Railroads responded to these laws by taking their cases to court.

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Eight of these cases - collectively known as "The Granger Cases" - reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1877.<sup>57</sup> The first, *Munn vs Illinois* (1871), appealed the state's right to establish maximum rates for grain elevators. In 1877, when the case reached them, the High Court ruled that "where property has been clothed with a public interest, the legislature may fix a limit to that which shall in law be reasonable for its use. (Howard, 74). Having established that the state has the right to regulate this type of business, they further immediately applied the decision to all the pending cases that challenged the constitutionality of the state's authority to regulate railroads. While this was a victory for the Grangers, it did not settle the dispute between the farmers and the monopolies. In some areas, railroads continued to fight to have the laws repealed. Finally, in 1887, the Interstate Commerce Act (ICA) was passed and the Interstate Commerce Commission was granted the authority to regulate railroads nationally. These court cases and the passage of the ICA have been viewed as "the Grange's greatest victories (Howard 77). Grange historians point to the Granger Laws as the precedent for a slew of legislation (minimum wages, child labor, alcohol regulation) in the United States, pointing to those first court decisions as setting the stage to remedy social inequities of free enterprise through governmental regulation (Howard 75). The Granger Laws established that it was constitutional and appropriate for the government to intercede in private enterprise when there was a greater public good at stake, giving the organization a lasting impact on American society.

#### The Cooperative Movement

Minnesota Grange members were some of the most vocal about the economic conditions adversely affecting farmers (Howard, 54). As early as 1870, the Minnesota State Grange passed a resolution calling for state Granges to create cooperative unions to benefit farmers and give them greater purchasing power; these unions would set up purchasing arrangements with manufacturers to obtain bulk discounts on farm supplies and organize cooperative stores and factories (Howard, 52; Wood, 147). Larger subordinates were able to place enough orders from their members to enjoy bulk discounts; in many areas, several subordinate Granges organized county councils, pooling their orders together (Howard, 52-53). The cooperative movement developed quickly; by 1874 26 state Granges were using some type of agency system (Cerney, 188; Buck, 241). Kelley worked to organize larger regional Grange purchasing agencies in Chicago and St. Louis that would function as intermediaries between farmers and manufacturers. In a published history of the Grange in Iowa, Ralph W. Smith, a past Master of the Iowa State Grange, describes the movement:

A large state agency was established...with branches in many counties. These sold machinery and supplies to the members at considerable savings...Elevators were purchased by Granges and many Grange general stores were set up; livestock associations were organized and money loaned to members by local Granges. Grange members near Muscatine shipped...the first ever [carload of wheat] shipped by farmers cooperatively west of the Mississippi...Grange mutual fire and lightning

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insurance companies were organized in many counties and Grange membership cards were also issued, which enabled the holder to receive discounts on all purchases other than Grange-operated (Smith, 2-6).

The early Grange membership explosion was, in large part, a direct result of the cooperative movement, as new members hoped to reap a financial advantage; indeed, cooperatives boomed in all Grange states for several years. By 1875, however, many (though not all) of these plans and stores had failed (Wood, 162-63; Howard, 66). On the heels of rapid growth, it was clear that the Grange had never established a clear strategy to support a strong cooperative system. All of these cooperatives had been experimental, and many were seriously undercapitalized and poorly managed because of a lack of experience. Cooperative members began to distrust the state agents, through which all the money flowed. Although some cooperatives had continued success and operated to the benefit of local farmers, many collapsed, and as they did, farmers, consequently, also began to lose confidence in the Grange.

#### Setbacks and troubles for the Grange

In the early years of the Grange, there were great differences between the radical ideas espoused by Kelley and the original plans of the Founders (Gardner, 40). The founders in Washington envisioned the Grange as a rural fraternity, bringing people together as neighbors and friends, fostering the discussion of local issues, promoting tolerance and cooperation, and providing education. It had not originally been intended that the Grange should operate as a business or cooperative organization, nor that it should take part in partisan political activity.

From the inception of the Grange, Kelley was the most enthusiastic of all the founders (Wood, 178-183). The officers of the National Grange often left Kelley to his own devices, failing to meet to consider plans proposed by Kelley and other Grange members, to develop ritual work, or even to reply to correspondence. Kelley was often frustrated by the reluctance of the other officers to devote time and thought to the organization. In return, many of the officers viewed Kelley as impulsive and reckless. As the interest of officers continued to wane, Kelley began to act independently of the National Grange, directing the organization toward cooperative buying and selling, fighting the control of monopolies, and partisan political issues. A rift developed between Kelley, with his radical programs, and the conservative leadership of the officers in Washington, D.C.

By the end of 1873, there was a lack of clarity regarding the general goals and methods of the Grange (Wood, 163-64). As a nascent organization, the Grange was ill prepared to handle the rapid growth it saw in the wake of the financial crisis of the time and the boom of the cooperatives; Grange policy and ideology had yet to be solidified and was unable to provide support and continuity for all of its new units. Members understood that they were allowed to hold discussions regarding social-

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and economic issues and religion at their meetings; however, the National Grange had

*...consistently refused to officially endorse a comprehensive farmers' platform or to sanction the third-party movement, and in doing so neglected to clearly distinguish between constitutional and unconstitutional political and religious discussion at Grange meetings. As a result, the Order was split through dissension and uncertainty (Wood, 163).*

The sixth annual session of the National Grange, held in January 1873 in Washington D.C., marked the beginning of a sea change for the organization. The power up until that point had been concentrated in the hands of the founders (primarily Kelley), but in 1873, the National Grange elected its first non-founder National Master. Following William Saunders in that position was a 42-year-old farmer named Dudley W. Adams who came from the Iowa State Grange (Howard, 54). His wife replaced founder Caroline Hall as National Ceres as well (Howard, 55). The three years of the Dudley Adams administration covered one of the most active periods in the history of the order (Atkeson, 61); however, it also saw a contraction away from the more activist direction that Kelley would have seen the organization pursue.

In order to address confusion and clarify its mission, Adams led the National Grange to issue a Declaration of Purposes at its 1874 national meeting. This Declaration stated a desire:

"To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves; to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes, and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits..." and also allowed for "meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement" (Howard, 58-59):

The Declaration also recognized the need to "bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers, into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence, we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits" (Gardner, 517).

Although the Declaration seemed a step in the right direction to clarify the goals and objectives of the organization, it did not solve all the problems. While it did imply activism in regard to specific issues important to farmers, it rejected the notion of the organization as loyal to any particular party as it included specific restrictive clauses against partisan involvement in economic and legislative areas. This left members who were part of the more militant wing of the Grange feeling frustrated

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that their primary tool with which to fight monopolies had been taken from them (Howard, 59). Some others felt the Declaration was too vague and did not offer any direct guidance to struggling cooperatives – something they felt was sorely needed (Wood, 164). Squabbles within the national leadership also prompted several of the founders and many of the early members to leave the Grange (Howard, 78).

From the official high of 858,050 Grangers in 1875, the number plummeted to 124,420 members in a span of just five years. Problems cited as reasons for the decline were the dissatisfaction with cooperative failures and the extremely rapid growth that resulted in disorganization, as well as confusion about the role of the organization. Further, the independent nature of its members – farmers who traditionally worked fairly autonomously – often resulted in some difficulty with comfortably embracing the communal aspects of the fraternity (Howard, 68). Public squabbles among members were common and also contributed to the disenchantment that caused membership to falter. For some, the organization was not radical enough, while conversely, others felt the Grange had already fulfilled its purpose as Congress was more and more willing to take on issues important to farmers (Howard, 69).

Financial difficulties also plagued the organization. In 1873, as a result of the early increase in membership and swelling coffers, the grange used its resources to assist many farmers in areas experiencing difficulty, including: victims of the economic panic of 1873; flood victims in Louisiana; and ravages of grasshoppers in Nebraska and adjacent states (Howard, 67). Consisting of more than \$18,000 (approximately \$325,000 in 2010 dollars) dispensed to aid those in troubled areas, these were the first community-service actions instigated by the National Grange (Howard, 67-68). While upholding the Grange motto of "... in all things, charity," this assistance unfortunately nearly depleted the Grange treasury causing more problems in the years ahead.

#### .1877-1900: Refocusing.

As their membership numbers decreased from its high in 1875, and in an attempt to attract new members and maintain the membership they had, dues were reduced in 1877 from \$5 to \$3 for men and from \$3 to \$1 for women (Howard, 80), further decreasing the funds in their coffers. It was during this period that the membership base shifted radically from the Midwest to the Eastern United States, particularly as a result of the dissatisfaction with the cooperative failures. In 1875, only 13% of Grange members lived in the East (including Ohio, NY and Pennsylvania); by 1885, 83% of dues payers resided there (Howard, 80). The direction and vision of the Grange was transitioning back to that of the founders, and as Grangers began to move away from direct political action, they shifted their focus toward efforts to positively affect the lives of farmers and their families. As a result, education and social enrichment became a focus of the Grange.

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### Education

The *Declaration of Purposes* stated, "We shall advance the cause of education among ourselves, and for our children, by all just means within our power. We especially advocate for our agriculture, domestic science and all the arts which adorn the home, be taught in their courses of study." For working farmers, new methods of crop and livestock production were being discovered and innovative implements and hybrid varieties were coming on the market so fast that they often found it difficult to keep up; the Grange endeavored to provide information and educational programs to keep farmers informed and up-to-date (Howard, 81). They also sought to equip women with tools to successfully run the backbone of the farm - the household.

The topic of vocational agricultural education for girls and boys appeared on the National Grange agenda every year from 1877 to 1900 (Howard, 82-83). Agricultural curriculum was encouraged by Granges in elementary schools (with some subordinate going so far as to form their own independent schools). These Grange efforts were largely fulfilled in 1917 with the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act, which promoted vocational and agricultural education programs nationwide and provided federal funds for that purpose (Howard, 83). The Grange was just one of a large and disparate coalition of groups that supported and helped get the Smith-Hughes Act passed, though in later years they took some credit for fathering the legislation.

In some states, the Grange also made significant inroads into affecting agricultural education at the college level. Thomas Clark Atkeson, a Grange State Master, championed the implementation of a College of Agriculture at West Virginia State University and arranged for one of the Nation's first student Granges in order to equip agriculture students with the leadership skills he felt their communities desperately needed (Howard, 87).

In addition to the successes and failures of organized education, continuing education for farmers, especially those who were not afforded the opportunity to go to college, has always been a goal of the Grange. From its inception, monthly subordinate Grange meetings always included a lecture hour. These programs, viewed as integral to the goals of the organization by its founders, provided information and entertainment, and, in early years, were frequently about new techniques in farming. Women-oriented programs focused on methods to lighten and improve domestic chores. The study and practice necessary for these presentations had the added benefit of molding and motivating many members for public service, and refining their public speaking skills (Howard, 87).

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#### Affecting change

Continuing among Granger concerns in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were the growing menace of business monopolies, efforts to secure mail delivery in rural areas, the shortage of credit for farmers, and the need for improved roads (Howard, 92).

One of the most impactful accomplishments that Grange members point to is the implementation of Rural Free Delivery (RFD) of the mail (Gardner, 111-116). As early as 1863, free mail delivery was available to urban residents in the United States, but that still left nearly 75% of the largely agrarian society without, requiring residents to travel sometimes many miles to pick up their mail at a post office, or pay for the convenience of delivery. Grange members began advocating for RFD in the early 1880s. Advances in rural literacy had meant increased circulation of agricultural journals and publications, that farmers eagerly awaited; and the advent of shopping via the mail – including the Montgomery Ward catalog which started as a mail-supply outlet for Grange members – also increased the pressure to extend to rural residents the convenience of regular mail delivery to their homes. Grangers finally found support from Postmaster General John Wannamaker who proposed free delivery to all citizens in 1891 and began experimenting toward that end in 1896. Opponents feared the vast expense of trying to deliver mail to all rural areas; in fact, the implementation of Rural Free Delivery had a number of positive effects, including increased postal receipts. As cited in June 1897 by the Post Office annual report, RFD also resulted in: enhanced value of farmland; road improvements; better prices for farm commodities due to accessibility of market information by farmers. Further, the report cited the moral value of including rural residence in the daily happenings of the country (Howard, 94). By the turn of the century, RFD had been widely implemented, much to the satisfaction and benefit of rural Granger members.

#### Insurance

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Granges blazed the trail in addressing another perceived social need in rural American life: insurance. Piggy-backing on the excitement of the burgeoning purchasing cooperatives, various Granges began to seek to address the dearth of insurance options available for farmers. As fire insurance was especially hard for farmers to acquire (and even if available was often cost-prohibitive), early coverage efforts were focused there. Some of the earliest Grange insurance endeavors were initiated in the western states: In 1884, the Oregon State Grange created the Lower Columbia Fire Relief Association, followed by the Washington Fire Relief Association in 1894. These "self-insurance", or mutual, groups saw farmers paying into a fund that they administered for the benefit of themselves and their Granger neighbors. Unlike the purchasing cooperative that floundered in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Grange mutual insurance efforts flourished, as they were a more stable endeavor, dependent not on market forces, but only on the funds they collected and distributed themselves. As the early fire insurance cooperative proved successful and advantageous throughout the country, a number of them broadened their services and expanded into other types of

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assistance, including casualty, life, home, and auto. Many of these insurance companies have continued to thrive into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, becoming regionally and nationally successful and providing coverage beyond their historic Grange customer base.

1900-1950

As the Grange settled into a more stable, solidly progressive, but not radical, organization in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it experienced another increase in membership that would continue with only minor fluctuations for the next 50 years (Howard, 98). As the Fraternity's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary Golden Jubilee was celebrated across the nation in conjunction with the annual session in November 1916, the Grange had established itself as a permanent American institution (Howard, 138-139). Reflecting the importance of the Order on the national stage, President Woodrow Wilson appeared at the convention opening reception.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the Grange continue to serve as a social outlet to its rural patrons on many different levels, and a few issues rose to the forefront of awareness and activity.

### Women and the Grange

In 1903, in Rochester, New York, for the 37th session of the National Grange, woman suffragist Susan B. Anthony made her last public appearance and stated she could always recognize a "granger woman as far off as I could see her, because of her air of feeling herself as good as a man." The Grange's attitude toward women were very progressive for its time, allowing women equal status as men and providing that they could hold any office in the organization. Indeed, the original women's first degree instructed that a woman "was intended by her Creator to be neither the slave, the tyrant, nor the toy of man, but to be his helpmeet, his companion, his equal." Oliver Kelley had included women on equal footing at the urging of his niece, Caroline Hall, who recognized the sometimes severe social isolation of women on farms. By allowing women membership in the Order of Husbandry, he provided them a social outlet for which they had never had the opportunity before.

This is not to say that all Grangers were immediately struck by the absolute equality of women. In fact, in the early decades, most high-ranking offices, at all levels of the Grange, were held by men, reflecting the bias of the times. Four offices of the organization - Ceres, Pomona, Flora, Stewardess - were reserved for women only, but these were largely ceremonial and intended for ritualistic purposes, leading to some frustration by women who had hoped to see real equality in the organization. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of Lecturer positions were also held by women. This position was responsible for the short educational program that was (and is) an important part of every Grange meeting. And as the 20<sup>th</sup> century progressed, women did indeed come to occupy more of the offices on a regular basis.

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Under their direction, better homemaking became a signature feature of Grange programs (Gardner, 203). In 1911, the National Grange created a standing committee on Home Economics which led the way in many community- and service-oriented projects, and provided innumerable Lecturer hours on issues of household management. The Home Economics committees in subordinate Granges across the nation were leaders in many areas in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, including: ministry projects; education programs; homemaking demonstrations and lectures; assistance to churches and libraries; and fundraising (Gardner, 206).

The equal status of women in the Grange followed through to the logical support of women's suffrage. The topic was officially put on the Grange agenda at the 1885 national session when it was written:

*"Resolved, that one of the fundamental principles of the Patrons of Husbandry, as set forth in its official Declaration of Purposes, regulating membership, recognizes the equality of the two sexes. We are therefore prepared to hail with delight any advancement in the legal status of women, which may give to her the full right of the ballot-box, and an equal condition of citizenship."*

Initially the Grange supported the State as the sovereign power in matters of women's suffrage, though it later endorsed it at the federal level. The Grange continued to endorse amending the federal Constitution in favor of women's right to vote until it found success. Shortly after the end of World War I, after a half a century of prodding, Grange members applauded passage of the nineteenth amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the full right to vote. The amendment was later ratified by 36 state legislatures and became law on August 26, 1920 (Howard, 118).

#### Temperance

Although the Grange is not a declared temperance society, it always taught and encouraged temperance among its own members, and went on record dozens of times in favor of Prohibition (Atkeson, 312). Even after Prohibition was repealed, the organization continued to back local, state and national efforts to educate and encourage personal temperance (Gardner, 157). Even in 1947, at the National Grange, an amendment of the Digest of the Order added a new section which stated:

*"The Grange is gravely concerned by the increase in liquor consumption and the fact that alcohol is a contributing factor to the increase in crime and delinquency. We urge the development of programs intended to promote temperance and the strict enforcement of laws regarding drunken driving. The Grange supports local option in those communities that want it."*

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Further, no liquor advertising has ever been allowed in any official Grange publication, although many times tempting offers for such space have been made (Gardner, 158). In addition to speaking out against alcohol consumption, the Grange also spoke out against narcotics and tobacco.

#### Juvenile Granges

On July 27, 1868, Oliver Hudson Kelley wrote to Francis M. McDowell as follows:

*"I suggest having a primary degree expressly for the little folks from six or eight to sixteen years, so as to entertain and instruct the children in the rural districts and get their minds interested in the study of the beauties of Nature as well as to afford them some rational recreation"* (Kelley, 116).

Though it was an early goal of Kelley's to have a Grange for the children of Grangers, it took several years for the juvenile Grange movement to unfold. The first Juvenile Grange was created in the Texas State Grange in 1888, and was followed shortly thereafter by Kansas. At the 24<sup>th</sup> annual session of the National Grange in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 17, 1890, a draft of a Juvenile ritual was adopted, marking the official beginning of Juvenile Granges (Gardner, 213).

The notion of youth in the Grange was, however, slow to take hold on a national level. In 1915, Ohio State Master (and future National Master), Louis J. Taber, pressed national delegates to go a step further and approve a uniform juvenile charter, constitution and bylaws for use in the states (Howard, 119). It was not until the 56<sup>th</sup> annual session at Wichita, Kansas, in November 1922, that National Master Sherman J. Lowell appointed a special Juvenile committee to draw up a definitive set of rules governing Juvenile Granges. These rules formed the basis for the Digest chapter on Juvenile activities making the National Grange the leader of the Juvenile Granges function, relieving the State Granges of that responsibility (Gardner, 213-215). The National Grange created a new position called the National Juvenile Superintendent, a position that has mostly been held by women (Gardner, 214). With more momentum behind it on the national level, the idea of Juvenile Granges spread and by 1947, juvenile membership consisted of 33,681 people in 1,356 separate units (Gardner, 215).

Each National Superintendent issued a handbook replete with instructions and encouragement for Juvenile Granges. Honors certificates were awarded beginning in 1929 to celebrate those Juvenile Granges who met certain requirements, community service being a large element. Each Juvenile unit was supervised by a Matron or Patron and meetings were held at regularly prescribed intervals (Gardner, 215-216). National Master Louis J. Taber continued to encourage the younger organization:

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*"The Juvenile Grange is a vital part in the work and program of our Order. It is the foundation on which we should build more vigorously in the future than in the past. The Grange must give greater consideration to our young people, and especially to the children of Patrons, if it desires to continue the strength and growth of the Order. Every worthy boy and girl in a Grange jurisdiction should come into the Juvenile branch and there, as the result of training and work, they should grow into usefulness and finally graduate into the Subordinate Grange itself, which, after all, is the final goal of Juvenile usefulness and activity" (Gardner, 218).*

Children are eligible to enter the Junior Grange as early as age five, and are expected, generally to progress into the regular subordinate Grange at age 14 to participate as an adult. This progress from one Grange level to the next was meant to reinforce family cohesiveness, a central theme in an organization that views itself as a fundamentally family-oriented group. In addition to its own youth programs, the Grange has also historically had close ties with the two other agricultural organizations for youth: 4-H and Future Farmers of America (FFA).

#### Inter-war Years

In 1919, the Grange sent its first full-time lobbyist to Washington, D.C., in the person of T.C. Atkeson. A West Virginia farmer, Atkeson was well-educated and articulate. On the heels of his successful lobbying efforts with the state legislature, he was appointed as the first Chair of Agriculture at West Virginia State University. A State Master from West Virginia, Atkeson represented the more conservative wing of the Granger organization. Concurrent with Atkeson's arrival in Washington, Granger Arthur Capper was elected to the Senate. Senator Capper emerged as the spokesperson for a group called the "Farm Bloc", which was an unofficial alliance composed of key members of Congress who represented agricultural states. Farm organizations such as the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Farm Union, and the Grange all participated. A significant amount of legislation was to benefit farmers, and agriculture made its way through Congress at this time (Howard, 145-146).

In 1924, structural modifications to the organization were engineered by Charles M. Gardner who was the High Priest of Demeter from 1913 to 1947. The sixth degree was turned over to State Granges, the fifth degree was designated as belonging to Pomona Granges and the seventh degree was reserved for use by the assembly of Demeter at the annual session of the National Grange (Howard, 151).

Attempts to strengthen subordinate Granges by promoting quality activities culminated in 1927 with the establishment of Honor Grange awards for which Subordinate Granges competed (Howard, 151) The pinnacle of local achievement was community service, which would continue to grow as a

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major element of the Grange agenda. The practice of Booster Nights were introduced in 1927, and served the purpose of inviting non-members to social events to bolster membership. These were later renamed Community Nights in 1972 (Howard, 152).

As the organization aged and its founders died, several memorials were created to commemorate its founders. In 1935, the Grange purchased Oliver H. Kelley's 189-acre farm near Elk River, Minnesota, and in 1961, they turned it over to the Minnesota Historical Society. In 1964, the site was designated a National Historic Landmark for its association with Kelley and the early Grange movement. The Homestead has been restored to its appearance during Kelley's tenure there and is open as a living-history museum of farming in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Howard, 153).

#### The Great Depression

The Great Depression had a significant impact on the Grange movement nationwide, if for no other reason than the very tangible financial pressures of the era. The national organization struggled as over 1,000 subordinate and Pomona Granges were unable to pay their national dues because their funds were tied up in failed banks (Howard, 155). Not surprisingly, the Order was a strong supporter of the proposed Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), voting to support it at their 1934 annual meeting. Another direct result of these financial woes was the establishment of numerous Grange credit unions throughout the United States; many of these still exist in various forms today.

The Grangers continued to lobby Congress and supported a number of key pieces of New Deal legislation. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 was important to American farmers as it provided subsidies for not planting on part of their land in order to reduce surpluses, thereby raising the value of crops. The Farm Credit Act of 1933 resulted in the creation of the Farm Credit Administration, a cooperative long-term mortgage and short-term production and marketing credit system controlled by farmers. It is estimated that the Farm Credit System kept 1.5 million farmers from losing their property to foreclosure within a two- or three-year period.

The effects of the Dust Bowl saw the creation of the Soil Erosion Service in 1933, which was later absorbed by the Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service in 1935. As a result of Executive Order, the Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) was created, providing federal loans to those who participated in acreage restrictions and kept price-depressing surpluses off the market (Howard, 159). If the price rose above the loan level, farmers could sell their surplus, pay off their loan and enjoy a profit. If prices fell below the loan figure, the CCC kept the commodity at a loss, providing price protection for participating farmers. The Federal Surplus Relief Corporation and Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) were also created in 1933. The TVA sought to improve the quality of life for the upper south by bringing electricity, flood control and improved agricultural practices.

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The Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation attempted to distribute millions of pounds of excess pork, flour and butter to the poor.

At the start of the Great Depression, few farms had electricity as its distribution was controlled by monopolies who found no profits by running lines through the countryside. Long a point of contention for farmers, the National Grange addressed the need for public intervention on the issue in a unanimous resolution beginning in 1930. In a 1932 speech, President Franklin D. Roosevelt stated, where "a community, a city or a county or district is not satisfied with the service rendered or the rates charged by the private utility, it has the undeniable right as one of the functions of government to set up....its own governmentally owned and operated service." The establishment of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) in 1935 allowed for electric cooperatives to be formed and provided low-cost loans to be secured by governmental agency. One of the stipulations in the REA was that cooperatives must supply power to every single property in their jurisdiction, ensuring that no farm families were excluded. In 1934, only 744,000 farms (approximately 12%) had electricity. By 1941, 2,351,603 (approximately 40%) had power. Within just a few more years, nearly all had power, resulting in the transformation of the very nature of rural life in just 10 years (Howard, 161-163).

As the Depression's financial woes took their toll, cooperatives again became popular with Grange members; however, this time around, the Order typically served only as a sponsor, rather than operator, to avoid the pitfalls of the earlier efforts.

#### World at War

World War II altered the American farm in tangible ways. The wartime need for food eliminated the price depressing surpluses almost instantly, resulting in better returns for farmers. Simultaneously, the workforce shifted dramatically as the war effort drew about 5 million people away from farm regions to urban war-effort factories, eliminating the surplus of available rural-workers that had developed as a result of technological advances.

Although this trend was welcome, Claude R. Wickard, the Secretary of Agriculture and a seventh degree Grange member, realized that any prosperity the farmer was experiencing as a result of the war was probably temporary. Wickard cautioned that farmers should not become complacent as he saw potential for troubled waters ahead. He recognized that the diminishing numbers of agricultural workers in the rapidly evolving field would mean less influence down the road, and urged farm organizations to work together to achieve their goals. Wickard worked closely with National Master at the time, Albert Goss, as the "Farm Bloc" was reborn and declared by the New York Times in 1951 to be "the single greatest force on Capitol hill" (Howard, 175, 190).

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Goss also felt the Grange could find opportunity to show leadership during the difficult War years. While some felt that regular meetings should be put on hold because of war-time gas rationing, Goss insisted that meetings should continue. He believed that Grange pursuit of war-related community projects could have the dual effect of boosting their image, while simultaneously providing care and comfort to its members during the trying times. In fact, many subordinate Granges increased their meetings as they ramped up as a service organization, working on War-related service projects such as: Red Cross campaigns; blood drives; salvage drives; War-bond sales, etc. Grange halls were sometimes also used for the cause such as infirmaries and other wartime needs. Gas rationing proved not to be a problem as many Grange members would forego longer trips, making many shorter trips to the Grange hall instead. Meanwhile, these efforts led to increased Grange membership. Rather than pursuing the formation of new subordinate units, the National Grange, under Goss, encouraged bolstering membership in existing Granges; this strategy saw the Order strengthen its numbers considerably during the War years (Howard, 174).

During World War II, in 1943, the Grange purchased an eight-story building in Washington, D.C., at 744 Jackson Place Northwest across from the White House. It was purchased for \$292,000, and much of the mortgage was covered by renting the space. The balance due after the large down payment that the Grange had been saving for since 1920, was made in the amount of \$167,000. The fraternity had finally evolved into the institutionalized legislative force Kelley had envisioned (Howard, 175-176).

The post-War years saw the Grange step up as strong supporters of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan, which they viewed as integral to ensuring world peace and to stopping the advance of Communism.

1950-2012

Social and health issues came to the forefront of the post-War decades. Although the Grange organization had initially opposed Social Security, by the 1940s, they had begun to change course and pursue extending the benefit to farmers. In 1943, the National Grange authorized a study to investigate the possibility; the following year, a resolution was passed endorsing the idea. It took ten more years, but aided significantly by Grange lobbying, Social Security was finally extended to farmers in 1954. This, along with successful efforts to ensure more far-reaching health care services in rural areas, had a significant positive effect on the life of rural America (Howard, 178-180).

Youth became an issue of increasing importance to the Grange as American society changed and evolved. Seeing the ever-increasing options for extra-curricular activities that drew young people away from family-centered activities, the National Grange created the new position of "Director of

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Youth Activities" in 1949. This office would work to promote alternative, Grange-centered activities until 1966.

On the heels of the war-time service efforts, the Grange became familiar as a community service-oriented organization. While Grangers had a history of helping their brothers and sisters in need, the post-war era saw a formalization of community service as a central tenet of the Order. In 1947, the Sears-Roebuck Foundation, in conjunction with the National Grange, created the "Community Service Program" that rewarded outstanding efforts by subordinate Granges to make their communities better places to live and work. Originally, the top prize was a new Grange hall for the winning subordinate, though this eventually evolved into a cash prize. Granges took up the challenge with pride and exuberance, channeling their efforts into thousands of betterment projects nation-wide. As the rules required that projects must benefit the entire community, the competition was dubbed "The Contest Everyone Wins." Although this contest has been formally discontinued, all Granger members today would say that community service is still an integral part of the Granger identity.

In the 1970s, issues of deaf awareness became a major platform for the Grange, under the leadership of Director of Leadership Activities, Alta Peck. Education and awareness about the needs of the hearing impaired have been an ongoing community service focus at all levels of the Order for over 40 years, with subordinate Granges maintaining a standing committee on the subject.

#### Decline of the Grange

As the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century broke, the Grange faced new challenges. New competition for attention from other distractions (such as television) pulled members and potential members from their rolls. The nature of farming in America had also changed drastically as the family farm was slowly supplanted by conglomerates and corporate farms. The result was fewer farms and fewer farmers, greatly diminishing the traditional population from which the organization drew its membership. As this population base declined, so too did Grange membership. In an effort to stem the tide, the Grange opened its doors to non-farmer members for the first time in 1950. Previously, Grangers were required to have some tie to the land, but as the organization shifted to one focused on family and community service, others were welcomed.

The success of Grange insurance companies and cooperatives led many to open their business to non-Grange members. While this reflected well on the organization, opening them to anyone had the effect of lessening the necessity of Grange membership; no longer did one need to join the Order to receive one of the primary benefits of membership. As a result, many Grangers let their membership lapse, and many other potential members could never be enticed to join.

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Meanwhile, the general farm interest lobbying efforts were losing strength as more commodity-specific organizations came to the forefront. Membership at the National Grange level became less relevant to farmers' needs. Diminished membership meant fewer working funds for the organization, which further weakened it as a force in Washington, D.C.

All of this combined to result in a steady decline in membership that continues to this day. Subordinate Granges find themselves with an aging membership, though those that remain still participate enthusiastically, following the same rituals and procedures as outlined by Oliver Kelley over 150 years ago. If you ask current subordinate Grange members, most would identify themselves primarily as a family- and service-oriented organization, but not necessarily as a farm-oriented one, as the Order of the Patron of Husbandry has evolved to reflect the broader changes in American farm life and society.

### III The Idaho Grange: 1874-2012

Idaho was designated a U.S. Territory by President Abraham Lincoln in 1863, on the heels of a population boom that resulted from the discovery of gold and silver in the region. By 1870, there were approximately 15,000 people living in the Territory, most engaged in mining activities, but increasingly, in activities that supported the miners. While most flooded the region to seek their fortunes in the mines, others saw opportunity as food suppliers to the otherwise occupied miners. By 1880, the population of Idaho Territory had more than doubled to over 32,000, and by the time Idaho achieved statehood in 1890, its population had reached over 88,000. As the population of the area grew, the state's economy shifted from mining to agriculture and forest products.

In January, 1874, the Grange came to Idaho Territory. The first two Granges in Idaho (in the Moscow and Lewiston areas) were organized by the Master of Oregon State Grange, a hired "Deputy" who traveled the Territory encouraging farmers to join the Order. ("Our Grange," 1) In May of that year, Frank Shelton, a Deputy Master from Walla Walla, Washington, wrote the *Idaho Statesman* to announce that he would soon be visiting Idaho to organize ten or twelve Granges in the Territory. (Hart, 12) Traveling through southwestern Idaho, Shelton organized six Granges with 109 members within two weeks. By the time he left the Territory in July, he had added six more local Granges to the organization. Another seven Granges were organized individually between 1875 and 1886. Interestingly, while these 21 original Granges in Idaho are noted in the official book of record, none of their original applications are found on file at the National Grange – apparently the only such omissions in the country. (Roster, 24)

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Not unlike similar Grange trends around the country, many of these Territorial-era Granges folded quickly, due to a lack of organizational supervision and economic hardship. Of these first Idaho Granges, only the Middleton Grange #6 continues in some form today - having been reorganized in 1935 and then consolidated with the Pleasant Ridge Grange #135 in 2000. ("Our Grange," 1) These early Granges did, however, lay the groundwork for the many that followed.

Idaho achieved statehood in 1890, at last providing stability and the reassurance of a solid governmental base. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Grange movement began to ramp up again in Idaho, perhaps as a result of successful efforts in nearby Washington and Oregon. By 1908, there were 17 subordinate Granges in the State, but no State Grange organization to unify them or provide the central clearinghouse necessary to pursue broader issues. On Oct. 28, 1908, representatives from 11 of the 17 local groups met at the Masonic Hall in Caldwell, Idaho, with the express purpose of organizing a State Grange. National Organizer, Charles B. Hoyt, was present to formalize the commission and confer the Sixth Degree on 43 candidates at the meeting. The immediacy of farming concerns was evident as the first State Master, D.C. Mullen, quickly appointed a committee to investigate the feasibility of a State Grange mutual fire insurance cooperative. (Jerome, 27)

Shortly thereafter, on January 19, 1909, the Idaho State Grange held its first annual meeting at the IOOF Hall in Parma. As new Granges had been chartered at a rapid rate, there were now 32 Granges in Idaho, and members from 20 of them were in attendance at the first State Grange meeting.

The issue of fire insurance was affirmatively addressed and a year later, on April 30, 1910, the Idaho Grange formally organized a fire insurance mutual for its members. By the time of the 4<sup>th</sup> Annual meeting in New Plymouth in 1912, the Grange insurance company reported there was \$153,784 of fire insurance in force. The Grange declared the goal of the mutual was "not to make millionaires, [but] to help our own members and to put insurance within reach of all Grange members." This endeavor continued throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and continues to benefit them to this day. (Jerome, 28)

By 1911, just three years after those original 43 members conferred, there were 2,322 Idaho Grange members at the Sixth Degree, reflecting the rapid growth of the organization statewide. It was after the 1911 meeting that the tradition of holding a social banquet at the end of the event was begun. From there, membership held steady for a few years then dropped - almost in half - during the turbulent 1910s, including 1919, when no State Grange meeting was held due to the influenza epidemic that was sweeping the country. (Jerome, 39)

As was typical in all states, the Idaho Grange began working to affect legislative action. Minutes from the 1911 State meeting mention a Legislative Committee for the first time, and these

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efforts have been a highly organized element of the organization ever since. Issues derive from the subordinate level, where they are voted on and passed along to the Pomona level. Affirmative resolutions regarding political issues are then brought to the State Grange at the annual meeting. Issues frequently addressed by the organization include education, taxes, roads, markets and transportation; in more recent years, water rights and grazing issues have come to the forefront. State members have a long history of lobbying the Idaho Legislature on the organization's behalf. The Grange is also a member of the Food Producers of Idaho – an umbrella lobbying organization for agriculture in the State. (Johnson-Interview)

The 1920s saw renewed, but slow, growth of the organization once again. In 1927, in an effort to reinvigorate membership across the state and strengthen the organization, the Idaho State Grange created a contest aimed at building better Granges. Dubbed the "Banner Grange Contest," the winning Grange was awarded at the annual meeting and received a State banner that they got to display in their meeting hall until the next year's meeting. The contest had nine criteria, which were: initiate a class of candidates using full ceremony in all four degrees and make a net gain in members for the year; complete and report a definite community project; maintain a worthwhile lecturer hour; open and close on time without the use of a manual; quarterly reports sent to state Secretary on time; proper Regalia, charter hung on wall, correct method of balloting, etc.; percentage of members belonging to the funeral benefit fund (a program established in 1926); percentage of members belonging to Grange fire insurance co.; average attendance of at least 70% of officers and 60% of members; and ownership of their own hall.

Also in 1927, the monthly, *Idaho Granger*, was created to help better inform membership of current happenings and initiatives. This publication was discontinued in 1959, and then replaced by the bi-monthly publication: *Idaho Grange News*, still in publication today.

The Depression-Era 1930s saw a significant bump in Idaho Grange membership, likely a result of the establishment of Grange-sponsored farm assistance efforts. Cooperative Grange buying and selling was a priority from early-on for many Idaho members. Early efforts consisted of purchasing large loads of fence posts, barbed wire and coal. The success of these efforts led to the increased interest in creating more formal farm cooperatives, and a number of them were established around Idaho. These Grange stores sold only to Grange members, resulting in increased Grange membership in many areas. Also in 1936, the Idaho Grange established the Grange Cooperative Association, which served as a wholesale unit, giving even more buying power to the organization's members. This later became the Idaho Grange Cooperative Wholesale, and entered into agreements with similar organizations in neighboring Washington and Oregon in 1944. In 1960, the group became part of the Grange Cooperative Wholesale out of Spokane, WA, serving 62 member stores in the tri-state area.

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As ranching has always been a significant part of the agricultural trade in Idaho, the Grange Livestock Marketing Association was established in 1938 to serve that segment of the membership. This organization was primarily a selling agency, but also spent considerable effort marketing Idaho livestock. (The Association was disbanded in 1967.)

Efforts to provide Grange members with reasonably priced insurance continued in the 1930s. In 1933, the Idaho State Grange associated with and endorsed the Farmers Automobile Inter-insurance Exchange out of Los Angeles, CA, recommending it to all Idaho Grange members. Idaho continued to work with this Exchange until 1962. In 1934, the Grange Mutual Life Company was established after the requisite 500 applications were received from Idaho (and Washington) Grangers. The Company, based in Nampa, Idaho, is now licensed in a number of states and has many millions of dollars of life insurance in force. (Jerome, 32)

On the heels of bank failures nationwide and in Idaho specifically, Idaho followed several other states in the development of Grange-based credit unions. Credit unions differed from traditional banks in that they were member-owned and not-for-profit, rather than privately held, for-profit concerns. As non-profits, existing for the sole benefit of its members, credit unions are generally able to keep costs lower leaving them less susceptible to forces that threatened private banks. Starting in 1936, a handful of Grange-sponsored credit unions were formed in Idaho, providing low-cost personal and consumer credit for the State's farmers. (Jerome, 36)

The 1930s also held a monumental year for the Idaho Grange: In November 1933, the State hosted the National Grange meeting for the first time. The event was held at the Hotel Boise in downtown, with the larger meetings for degree work and major addresses held six blocks away in the Boise High School auditorium. Hundred of Grangers descended on the state capital, many arriving in a special train run from Chicago by the Union Pacific Railroad. In a nod to Idaho's "wild west" days, a stagecoach picked up National Master, Louis Taber, and delivered him to the hotel. Two parades marked the event: the first making its way down Main Street at the opening of the meeting; and a second one a few days later, that wound through town all the way out to the fairgrounds where a rodeo was held to entertain the crowds. At a nearby park, a variety of contests were held, including fiddling, foot races, sack races, egg races, and nail driving for women; the local Elks Club sponsored Pinochle and Bridge tournaments. Grangers received souvenirs of potatoes, corn, beet sugar, and onions, to remind them of their stay in Boise. The event was widely successful, with Mayor J.J. McCue in attendance and Idaho's Senator William E. Borah providing the keynote speech. The Republican spoke at length about the current administration of President Franklin Roosevelt, stating that the country was no better off under his watch than they had been under Hoover. Perhaps appealing to his audience of farmers, a class of society hard hit by the economic times, he also asserted that the Depression was caused by the personal greed of wealthy men. (Statesman, 1933)

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Idaho Grange membership held steady during the Depression and World War II years, hitting its historical peak in 1947 at 14,293 members. (Membership, 1997) During WWII, Idaho Granges were active in supporting a number of war-effort activities, reflecting the National Grange position that the Order should remain in force and be a comfort to the community.

The 1950s saw steady State Grange membership, maintaining an average of around 11,800. (Membership, 1997) This era was highlighted by community service efforts that were newly invigorated by the Sears-Roebuck Foundation's Community Service Program. Community service projects had long been a priority for the Idaho Grange, as evidenced by its being one of the requirements of the Banner Grange Contest, and they were known for their many projects aimed at building community centers, developing parks, improving roads, and working with youth. But the Sears prize was a great motivator and many Idaho Granges competed strongly. In 1950, the Culdesac Grange reaped applause for its highway beautification project: the group had planted more than 2,000 trees along 8 miles of Highway 95 between Lapwai and Culdesac in northern Idaho. In 1951, the Market Lake Grange was the first from Idaho to place in the top-ten nationally, for its efforts to secure telephone service in their area. And in 1954, the Kamiah Grange also received national recognition for their work sponsoring a tree farm. Meanwhile, Granges around the State continued to be visible members of their communities by participating in local and regional fairs and working with youth groups, such as the Future Farmers of America (FFA) and the 4-H Club. The 1950s also saw the greatest number of Junior Granges in Idaho with 21. (Jerome, 37)

As State Grange membership had grown in the 1930s, organizational efforts were stunted by the lack of a central office, so consideration was made to construct a State Grange Headquarters. The idea was first raised by State Master W.W. Deal in 1934, who asked that the Executive Committee "be authorized to make an investigation relative to the advisability of establishing a State Grange headquarters as a center of our state Grange activities." It was not until 1960, however, that the "Good of the Order Committee" and the Constitution and By-Laws Committee" passed a resolution giving the Executive Committee the authority to lease or purchase suitable quarters within 30 miles of the Capitol city. The Committee purchased property on West 8<sup>th</sup> Street in Meridian, Idaho, (10 miles west of Boise) and set about construction of a new building. On September 2, 1962, the building was dedicated by Governor Robert Smylie. National Overseer, A. Lars Nelson, was on hand as the dedicating officer. ("Welcome")

In 1970, Idaho again hosted the National Grange meeting. Once again held in Boise, 5,000 attendees participated in the 104<sup>th</sup> meeting of the organization. Harkening back to the 1933 meeting, National Master John Scott was once again shuttled from the train depot to the Hotel Boise in a stagecoach. Secretary of Agriculture, Clifford Hardin, was the keynote speaker, addressing the objectives of the Agriculture Act of 1970. Governor Don Samuelson highlighted at the evening banquet, speaking of the distressing economic imbalance that threatened the agricultural industry, pointing out that farmers were receiving less money than they had 25 years prior for their products,

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yet paying triple the production costs. Once again major lectures and degree work took place in the Boise High School auditorium. (Statesman, 1970)

While State Grange membership dipped a bit, it did hold fairly steady throughout the 1960s and 1970s; however, the 1980s saw a distinct downturn in member numbers, with loses every year. By the end of the 1990s, there were fewer than 4,000 Idaho State Grange members. (Membership, 1997) This trend was hardly surprising. Societal factors have changed the way Americans recreate and more and more distractions compete for fraternal members' attention (not just in the Grange, but all fraternal organization face the same difficulty). Harvard Sociologist, Robert Putnam, detailed this trend in his book, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Communities. In this seminal work, Pütnam describes how television, two-career families, suburban sprawl, and generational value shifts have meant that Americans find that the organizations that held them together for so long (church groups, fraternal organizations, card clubs, etc.) no longer fit into their frenetic lives.

Concurrent with these strong societal changes has been a shift away from family farms to large corporate farms all over the United States, and Idaho has been no exception. In 1966, there were 30,700 individual farms in Idaho, with about 15.4 million acres under cultivation. By the 1990s, there were only about 21,000 family farms in Idaho with approximately 13.5 million acres in production. These shifts in social norms along with the decreases in Idaho farms directly translated to decreases in the Idaho Grange. In 1966, there were 185 subordinate Granges in the State; by 1991, there were only 88. In 2012, the state roster lists only 32 active Granges in Idaho with just over 1,000 members; there are no longer any Junior Granges in Idaho. (Roster)

And although the Idaho Grange continues to engage in legislative lobbying activities, it does not carry the same weight as it once did. The State Grange Master does continue to be a registered lobbyist, largely working under the umbrella of the Food Producers of Idaho. However, as a lobbying force, the Grange has been largely supplanted by associations formed to lobby for a specific commodity (e.g., Idaho Grain Producers, Idaho Potato Commission, etc.), and the Idaho Farm Bureau (IFB), which has become a significant legislative force in Idaho. The IFB has a similar structure and process to the Grange: legislative initiatives come from the local level; resolutions are brought forward to a regional level (there are 5 regions); and regional recommendations are acted on at a state level. These issues then become priorities for lobbying efforts. The Idaho Farm Bureau differs from the Grange in one significant aspect - the IFB's sole purpose is to be a lobbying force for farmers - there is no social or fraternal element to this organization. The increasing influence and success of the IFB versus the corresponding diminishing membership of the Grange suggests that, indeed, as Robert Putnam argued, Americans are finding less and less time for organized social activities.

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The 21<sup>st</sup> century Grange is an evolved organization looking to find renewed interest from the citizenry. Moving beyond its roots as an Order for farmers, organizational materials now state that *"The Grange is a rural-urban organization. Its policies and programs are generated by total community and national interest – not by agricultural interest alone."* The Idaho Grange also encourages outreach efforts through modern technology and social media. Though an ever diminishing group, the Idaho Grange continues to work to remain vital and relevant. In 2010, the Idaho State Grange was recognized nationally as one of three states to qualify as a "Distinguished Grange." In 2012, the National Grange meeting was once again held in Idaho, providing an opportunity for members to gather and perhaps revitalize once more.

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#### IV. The Grange Hall

Throughout its history, the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry has been largely quiet on the subject of the physical structure of the Grange Hall. In the very early years of the movement, there was little direction or uniformity when it came to the design and construction of the individual meeting places. About a decade after the group's founding, the National Grange created a committee to consider the optimum design of a Grange Hall; however, at that time, it was decided that the national organization would not dictate to its subordinates what their halls should look like, preferring to allow the local groups to design a building they felt best suited their needs.

The result was 50 years of a lack of uniformity in Grange Hall design, and in many cases, there was "much left to be desired" regarding the aesthetics of a building. Likely, in an effort to put a uniform and attractive public face on the Grange movement, c. 1928, the National Grange finally published a booklet entitled "Grange Hall Suggestions." The 1920s and 1930s were a period of significant growth for the Order and, therefore, a particularly busy boom time in Grange construction nationwide. In publishing this document, the National Grange was likely responding to requests from its local chapters, as well as hoping to guide their efforts in a direction that would reflect their view of the organization. However, respecting the independent nature of the American farmer, and careful to avoid the appearance of making top-down declarations (likely cognizant of the bottom-up nature of the organization), the booklet gently provides "suggestions" rather than strict directions, repeatedly deferring to local preference.

While many Subordinate Granges rented space in which to hold their meetings, all were encouraged to construct their own hall as soon as was feasible. The hall was viewed as integral to strengthening the organization. As "[n]o farm can be a true success without a happy home. Neither can a Grange reach its highest development and usefulness unless it owns a hall, [so]... that there exists the feeling of ownership and stability which make possible the attainment of the best Grange ideas and practices." ("Suggestions," 5) The camaraderie of working together to build and pay for a hall was viewed as helping to build the foundation of the local organization. Although farmers are traditionally a fiscally conservative group, the National Grange instructed that financing the construction of a hall by undertaking a "reasonable" debt was not necessarily a negative. In fact, having the responsibility of a mortgage to pay would "guarantee that members must stick together and work together." ("Suggestions," 6)

In preparing the booklet, Grange representatives visited a number of Grange Halls around the country, selecting 14 examples, providing photos and floor plans for most. These were meant to assist Subordinate Granges in designing a proper hall – learning from successful experiences and avoiding the pitfalls of others. Although it provided substantive tips for designing a functional Grange

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Hall, significant emphasis is placed on exterior aesthetics. While it largely dismisses the importance of overt architectural detailing; the publication does repeatedly mention the importance of landscaping, signage and maintenance, indicating a desire to ensure that each Grange Hall was an attractive and welcome element in the community.

Over and over again in the booklet, the authors emphasize that a Grange Hall is more than just a meeting place for the Grange: "It should be a community home; it should be constructed in such a manner that it can be used as a local community building." ("Suggestions," 5) Comments regarding how to provide for broader community use are found throughout and Granges were specifically encouraged to rent their hall "at a reasonable rate" to other local organizations.

The most typical design (and one that the National Grange was a clear proponent of) was a variation on a common plan: a simple, one-story building with an exposed basement. Given the membership of most Subordinate Granges, a modest-sized version of this usually sufficed. Optimally, the first floor would house the hall/auditorium with a stage opposite the entry and these elements consumed the bulk of the space. The basement would house dining and kitchen facilities, bathrooms, utility space and a Juvenile room.

While the booklet repeatedly makes suggestions and indicates elements or layouts that have been found to be useful, the only feature that it specifically called for is an *anteroom* just inside the main entrance, as it directs that "this should always be provided." ("Suggestions," 16) The anteroom is the designated space between the outside entrance and the entrance to the hall/auditorium and holds special ritualistic significance as the location where the Gatekeeper is stationed while a Grange meeting is in session. From here, the Gatekeeper ensures that only Grange members enter the hall during the meeting, making certain that the details of the meeting remain secret.

The specifics of the hall is given consideration only to the extent that they recommend ensuring the size be appropriate to the needs of the Grange (neither too small nor too large), and "some thought should be given to raised stations for the officers, and seeing to it that the arrangement is such that all will work out well, especially in degree and ritualistic work." ("Suggestions," 7) Because the Grange Halls were envisioned to serve as community centers beyond their Grange functions, and because many smaller halls did not have a separate dining hall; the ritualistic furniture was usually built to be mobile, so it could be moved in for the meetings and out again when the space was used for other purposes. Again, reiterating the Grange Hall use for broader community needs, the booklet states that "[m]any a Grange blunders seriously in building a

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hall, without giving proper consideration to stage and equipment – so that it can serve as a community auditorium as well.” It suggests generally that a stage should be of a size and proportion that matches the hall and have a curtain, (“Suggestions,” 7) the only specific instruction being that “most people who are familiar with the requirements [of stage design] agree that this [30’] is about the ideal height for both the spectators and the actors.” (“Suggestions,” 16) No further details are recommended for the upper hall/auditorium space.

Optimally, space would also be provided in a daylight basement for a dining room and kitchen, so that the upstairs hall does not have to serve a dual purpose. Another common “blunder” cited in the pamphlet is the lack of consideration to the kitchen and its equipment. (“Suggestions,” 7) Stating that “no Grange has ever reached its full development unless it has had proper kitchen and banquet facilities,” the National Grange directs that “there should always be a woman on the building committee” and “the women should always be given the right to have proper equipment.” (“Suggestions,” 8) What that equipment is, however, is never defined; rather the booklet merely reiterates that the facilities and equipment should be chosen for local needs.

The best Grange Halls will also provide a “Juvenile room” where the youth can gather nearby, but not so close as to have their exuberance disrupt the adult meeting. Mention is also made that bathrooms should be provided and that it is preferable that they are accessed off an alcove or hallway, rather than directly from the hall or dining room.

The exterior of the halls is given significant attention in the booklet. Specific exterior architectural details are not suggested, as those would be dictated by local preference and available materials. Instead, emphasis is placed on ensuring that the building is well maintained and complimented with attractive landscaping (flowers, shrubs, shade trees and vines) and adequate parking and lighting. (“Suggestions,” 17) Finally, the booklet points out that “a very important but much overlooked requirement is that the name of the Grange Hall should be attractively placed on the building. This should be done in a neat, artistic manner.” All of these elements are meant to be “a constant advertisement for the Grange, and a daily invitation to those who pass by, to join.”

The repurposing of buildings is also addressed, specifically citing “old style” rural churches as being easily converted for Grange use. In addition, it also points out that in areas where school consolidation is occurring, there may be opportunities to purchase one of these buildings, which also can make very comfortable Grange Halls. (“Suggestions,” 9)

Ultimately, the ideal Grange Hall is generally a modest building, attractively built, and well maintained; a building to provide a home for the Grange, as well as a gathering place for the community at-large.

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## F. Associated Property Types

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### Property Type Description

#### Subordinate Grange Halls:

Grange halls in Idaho typically lack definitive style, being vernacular, fairly utilitarian structures. Grange halls are usually rectangular, or "L"-shaped. Most Grange halls are one-story and generally small in scale and proportion, being not significantly larger than the open-hall space they were primarily constructed to accommodate.

One enters a typical Grange hall either directly into a large, open meeting room – or hall - or through an antechamber; this hall consumes most of the footprint of the building. Many have a stage at one end of the hall. Most have a kitchen of some sort and these are typically in the basement (if one exists), or sometimes located in an "ell" off the main hall space. These kitchen areas are frequently seen to be additions to the buildings; these additions do not detract from the original integrity as they were typically always planned for and were considered integral to the hall's function.

Most Grange halls are found in rural areas, though some are located in commercial buildings in small, agricultural-based communities. Boundaries for the sites will generally not be much larger than the building itself, as the inherent cost associated with the purchase of more land was typically beyond the reach of a subordinate Grange. Not infrequently, the land for a subordinate Grange was donated by one of its members, parceling off a small lot from their own agricultural holdings.

It is not uncommon for Grange halls to have been repurposed from some other use; notably a former school building or rural church is frequently in evidence.

An Idaho Grange hall may have been constructed (or repurposed) at almost any time during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest such buildings in the State may date from the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though few likely remain from that time period. Though many Granges were organized early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for most, there were years of saving before they could afford to purchase property for their purpose.

Few subordinate Grange halls would rise to the level of statewide significance. As grassroots organizations, their significance inherently lies at the local level. Further, historically, granges in Idaho developed rapidly and simultaneously, so there is unlikely a local unit that stands above others as the "first" or a leader among others. Subordinate Granges pursued issues that are important to the group locally, taking broader concerns to the Pomona (or regional) level. At Pomona meetings, representatives from several different subordinates vote on issues to be brought forward to the State level. From there, at the State Grange meeting, representatives present issues from the Pomona meetings, and these are voted on by the larger group as a whole to determine the Order's statewide

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policies. This process dilutes the voice and influence of any one Grange, making it unlikely that any subordinate could be seen to have particularly significant individual influence or importance. Statewide significance could only be attained if a particular Grange can be shown to have gone beyond the traditional Grange structure to have independently addressed state issues *and affected change* on its own.

#### State Grange Headquarters:

The Idaho State Grange did not build its own state headquarters building until the 1960s, dedicating it in 1962. The building would likely have statewide significance as the home of the central organizing body for all of the subordinate Granges. Here, political agendas were formalized and staff implemented the policies of the resolutions passed from the subordinate, to the Pomona, to the State level.

Other Property types (e.g., Grange-sponsored co-ops, credit unions, etc) may be developed in the future.

#### Property Type Significance:

Most Grange halls will be locally significant under Criterion A, in the area of Social History for their association with the Grange movement. Each local, or subordinate, Grange hall will reflect the shared history associated with early attempts to unify the farm voice and provide a social outlet for a large class of citizenry who previously had little opportunity for social interaction. Prior to a Grange's formation, most farm families had few opportunities for fellowship and socializing, beyond annual agricultural fairs and church services. In addition, a local Grange hall provided a focal point for rural citizens to gather to discuss and affect change in the areas of politics, education, and their economic well-being: Grange halls reflect and embody the first, large-scale, structured effort to organize an important group in American society – the family farmer – and as such, each related building holds local significance for that population.

Few Grange halls will have Criterion B significance, as the essence of the Grange is not about individuals but rather the local farm community. Efforts to build, or find, a hall for the subordinate Granges were generally made by a group. Further, an individual farmer may rise to local prominence for political or economic reasons, but as just one member of a Grange, their involvement in the Order would not usually be the most important element of their "productive life." An exception to this might be for a Grange member who was particularly influential at the subordinate, Pomona, State and possibly even National Grange level. If an Idaho Grange member rose to the status of holding a State or National Grange office, and strongly affected the State or National Grange policy, a subordinate Grange may have Criterion B significance as the local Grange where they got their start in the movement.

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### F. Associated Property Types

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A few Grange halls may have architectural significance and be eligible under Criterion C (most likely at the local level). These would generally be the exception to the rule, as most Grange halls are vernacular in nature (as noted above). The architectural significance of a Grange hall must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis and within its own local architectural context.

Some Grange hall buildings may also be eligible under another Period and Area of Significance if the building has been repurposed. For instance, a Grange that had formerly been a school building may have local significance in the area of education. As with potential Criterion C significance, this must be evaluated case-by-case, and within its own local context.

### Registration Requirements:

In order to meet the Registration Requirements under this Multiple Property Documentation, a property must have been built or been in use by a subordinate Grange between 1874 and 1980 (the beginning of a sustained period of decline for the Idaho Grange). The building must have been owned by a subordinate Grange as its primary meeting place and used by the organization over an extended period of years. Temporary spaces or those leased prior to a Grange occupying its own building will not qualify. A building that was leased by a Grange – and only a Grange – for a protracted period of time may qualify as well if the subordinate group never built or owned its own hall.

Grange halls more than 50 years old do not need to meet Criteria Consideration G if their Period of Significance extends up to 1980. However, buildings less than 50 years old would only be eligible if they met Criteria Consideration G.

Because they are typically vernacular structures, most extant Grange halls will meet registration requirements because of their location/setting/feeling, design and materials.

A Grange hall will generally meet the registration requirements if its historic location, setting and feeling are largely intact. As a rural-focused fraternity, most (though not all) Grange halls were located outside of incorporated areas. These locations reflected the heart of the organization and its membership base. In general, a Grange hall that has been moved to a dissimilar location has lost its integrity of location and may no longer be eligible for the NRHP. The rural setting of a Grange hall should also be evaluated. As farmland is sold and suburban development encroaches, it is possible for a Grange hall to lose its integrity of setting and, therefore, feeling. All three of these integrities (location, setting and feeling) should be evaluated together to ensure that a Grange hall has the appropriate ability to illustrate its history and convey its significance.

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### F. Associated Property Types

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Typical Grange halls are straightforward in design and have few stylistic embellishments. Because of the vernacular nature of these buildings, their general form and plan are integral to their integrity. Frequently, Grange halls are not much larger than the defining large space they were built to provide, reflecting that room's singular importance. As buildings constructed primarily as a place to gather, the "hall" itself is a special design element of utmost importance in a Grange building's integrity. The loss of this open "hall" means that the property can no longer illustrate the primary historic use; this would likely constitute too significant of an alteration for the property to continue to be eligible for the NRHP.

As typically vernacular structures, and therefore lacking decorative embellishments, a Grange hall's construction materials will generally be a significant character-defining feature. Some changes would be expected, as owners of the infrequently used buildings would strive to find ways to simplify maintenance. Common material changes include roof (composition, metal), siding (aluminum, vinyl) and windows (aluminum, vinyl). These changes must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. In most cases, changes to all three of these primary materials will simply constitute too much loss of integrity to convey the original appearance of the building. In some cases, if the pattern of fenestration remains and replacement siding mimics the original to a strong degree, the building's simple design features may be strong enough to withstand the alterations.

Additions to the building need to be individually evaluated. As stated earlier, the construction of a kitchen addition, typically in the rear or in an "ell" off the main hall portion of the Grange, was not unusual. As food and fellowship was an integral part of a Grange meeting, a kitchen was generally always desired, even if the subordinate Grange was unable to include it in the original building. They should be considered as complimentary to the Grange hall and not generally detracting from its eligibility, unless their massing and scale are inappropriate and overwhelm the hall itself. Other, non-kitchen, or later unrelated additions, should be evaluated for how their scale, massing, location and materials affect the overall visual integrity of the Grange hall; additions that overwhelm the historic hall may have the effect of disrupting the scale to the extent that it renders a modest hall ineligible.

A Grange hall that has location/setting/feeling, design and materials largely intact, will meet the Registration Requirements for listing in the NRHP. All three of these primary areas of integrity must be evaluated together. With the exception of the loss of the open hall, no single diminution of integrity will likely render a Grange hall ineligible. The cumulative effects of any/all changes must be considered and evaluated to determine whether or not the building still has the ability to convey the property's historic use and significance as an agricultural-based meeting hall.

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**G. Geographical data**

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The State of Idaho.

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## H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

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In 1967, the Idaho State Grange undertook a survey of all of the Grange halls in Idaho. Each of the 125 subordinate Granges in existence at that time was photographed and information about when it was established and current meeting day/time were recorded. In addition, detailed driving directions to each building was provided. The precise number of these buildings currently extant is unknown as no more recent systematic survey has yet been undertaken. However, as many Grange halls are on primary roadways in Idaho, informal survey of many of these buildings has been ongoing for several years by SHPO staff members, and many are known to be extant and retain good integrity.

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