Grange Halls in Washington State:

A Critical Investigation of a Vernacular Building Type

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A thesis

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

in Architecture

University of Washington

2013

Committee:

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Architecture

University of Washington

Abstract

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The Grange, formally known as the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, is the oldest farm organization in the United States. At the local level, subordinate granges are typically organized among interested community members, and these groups meet regularly for the purpose of improving social, political, economic and educational opportunities for rural residents. Most subordinate granges own grange halls, and these halls provide space for grange meetings and also support a variety of public events that enrich rural community life. This thesis examines the history and significance of the grange hall as a uniquely American vernacular building type. The thesis is based on fieldwork documenting over two hundred buildings throughout Washington State that were in active use as grange halls in 2012. Although a majority of subordinate granges met in purpose-built halls, more than thirty percent of the buildings studied were found to have been constructed to serve other purposes (such as schools, churches, and community halls), representing a significant pattern of adaptive reuse in rural community buildings. Purpose-built halls were often constructed on donated land, with materials and labor contributed by grange members.

This thesis documents, analyzes and interprets the historical and cultural significance of grange halls, based, in particular, on ideas of collective memory and social capital. Patterns of physical “improvements” or modifications that have supported the ongoing use

of these buildings are examined, and this kind of “preservation through use” is contrasted with various theoretical frameworks that shape the discipline of historic preservation. While historic preservation theory and practice has often focused on architectural landmarks, this thesis analyzes preservation approaches related to cultural landmarks, that is, places that help to anchor a community’s cultural identity by attaching historical memory to place. An assessment of grange halls finds that those remaining in use as community buildings may be considered eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, based on current guidelines for evaluating the significance and integrity of traditional cultural properties. Revisions to existing historic preservation guidelines are also recommended, to better support and facilitate preservation of these vernacular historic properties.

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Note: All color photographs of grange halls were taken by the author in 2012 unless otherwise credited.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to three people: Jay Osborne, who first introduced me to grange halls in 1991 by pointing out the former White Creek Grange in Klickitat County on the way to the Alder Creek Pioneer Rodeo, and my parents, Lynn and Ralph Davis, whose unwavering support has made it possible to pursue graduate study, as one of many adventures in this life. You have my greatest appreciation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis committee, Jeffrey Karl Ochsner and Kathryn Rogers Merlino, for their outstanding guidance throughout this project. Kathryn's introduction to vernacular architecture seminar several years ago first opened a door to this research, and her encouragement has been ongoing and much appreciated. As my committee chair, Jeffrey's high standards, pointed questions, meticulous editorial comments and good advice all improved the quality of this work, and made the process of creating it enjoyable as well as challenging.

An Elisabeth Walton Potter Research Award from the Marion Dean Ross Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians provided support for fieldwork in 2012, for which I am grateful.

Jarrod and Helen Gardner, members of the Washington State Grange Historical Committee and McMillin Grange #848, provided helpful research materials and patiently answered my questions regarding grange history and operation, as did Dana Wells at Tualco Grange #284. Numerous other grange members around the state shared their enthusiasm and knowledge, all of which was appreciated. Cherri Crain at the Washington State Grange headquarters in Olympia graciously provided access to archival collections that made a critical contribution to this thesis. Staff at the University of Washington Built Environments Library, University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, and Washington State University Libraries, all provided assistance in accessing materials.

My cohort in the M.S. Architecture History and Theory program, Maja Babic and Britt Bandel Jeske, provided interesting, fun and supportive companionship, and program director Brian McLaren provided an opportunity to undertake this study, as well as helpful feedback in shaping it. Inspiring instruction in architectural photography from John Stamets made the photographic documentation associated with this research better than it would otherwise have been.

PREFACE

Several strands of thought inspired my selection of grange halls as a topic and shaped my approach to researching this vernacular building type in Washington State, for this M.S. in architecture (history and theory) thesis.

As a practicing professional in the field of historic preservation for nearly two decades, I have had opportunities to participate in successful, community-based preservation projects focused on heritage barns and farmsteads, Native American cultural sites, urban neighborhoods, and other resource types. I have also had opportunities to see, first-hand, many of preservation's shortcomings, including what might be characterized as a lack of engagement with places that are important, not because they are architectural monuments, but because of their historic and contemporary roles in community life.

In my experience, historic preservation as a professional practice has a well-developed approach to formally designating and regulating Landmarks with a "capital L," but lacks a strong track record of sustaining landmarks with a "lower-case l," buildings and landscapes that people care about for reasons that are not strictly architectural, and that contribute to a community's sense of place.

Similarly, a great deal of effort is expended by preservationists attempting to quantify the monetary value of their work, in terms of investment in rehabilitation projects, tourism revenue, and the like, while other, non-monetary aspects of value are too often relatively neglected.

The public awareness campaign "This Place Matters," introduced by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 2008, has focused needed public attention on this non-monetary, place-oriented aspect of historic preservation, and many of the scholars cited in this thesis have worked to broaden the field of preservation to address a wide range of cultural resources that are significant for a variety of reasons. Still, preservation often

remains a field dominated by architects and planners armed with style guides, and rural vernacular buildings are not always appreciated.

Coming from an academic background in cultural anthropology, I have a keen interest in trying to understand the ways in which preservation of the built environment matters to a broad range of people, and how it sustains local culture, which writer and farmer Wendell Berry described as a community's memory of itself. Berry wrote,

> In its cultural aspect, the community is an order of memories preserved consciously in instructions, songs, and stories, and both consciously and unconsciously in *ways*. A healthy culture holds preserving knowledge *in place* for a long time. That is, the essential wisdom accumulates in the community much as fertility builds in the soil.[1]

For me, the strong local food movement in the Pacific Northwest suggested a bridge from Berry's literal and figurative tribute to soil fertility, to farming and then to grange halls as the de facto community centers of many farming communities. These buildings embody community and cultural preservation in many ways, but have a complicated relationship to historic preservation as a professional field and discipline.

The seed crystal for the idea of studying grange halls through the dual lenses of vernacular architecture and historic preservation came from an article by journalist and essayist Debra Gwartney published in *Preservation* magazine in 2003. Gwartney wrote,

> Grange halls across the American West are in danger of disappearing. Today, Grange halls are plentiful off the main highways, but a diminishing and aging membership could mean a drop in their numbers. Their demise would mean the disappearance of a slice of rural America, but it should not be announced too soon: A number of people are determined to create a resurgence of interest by expanding the Grange's social focus while continuing its commitment to the preservation of farmland.[2]

The Grange is interested in many things in addition to preserving farmland, and grange halls have turned out to be a richer research topic than I could have imagined.

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[1] Wendell Berry, "People, Land, and Community," In *The Art of the Commonplace: The Agrarian Essays of Wendell Berry* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 2002), 189 (italics in original).

[2] Debra Gwartney, "Grange Interlude," *Preservation*, v. 55 no. 1 (January/February 2003), 40-3. *Preservation* is the magazine of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

In a 1962 public address, President John F. Kennedy stated that the "thousands of Grange halls which dot the nation, all of them community centers for civil, spiritual and social activities, continuously enrich our open society."[1] Research for this thesis began with basic questions: What are grange halls? How were they built and used? What is their historical significance? What are their contemporary roles? And, will they survive into the future?

Founded in 1867, the Grange is the oldest farm organization in the United States and the only farm fraternity in the world, integrating a social and educational mission with an identity as a nonpartisan but political advocacy organization.[2] Kennedy's remarks were made more than a decade after membership in the Grange peaked nationwide. Since that time, the preservation and ongoing use of grange halls as pivotal structures of rural community life, along with schools, churches, and general stores, has become less certain.

In addition to promoting the interests of members, an important part of the Grange's mission was and still is to serve non-members by making grange halls available to host public events that enrich rural community life. While most other fraternal organizations rarely open their doors to non-members, the Grange's broad educational and social service mission is at the core of its identity. This mission contributes significantly to the Grange's vitality as an organization, and to the preservation through ongoing use of grange halls in rural communities.

Because grange halls were always intended for public use in addition to member use, they are more strongly related to design traditions for community buildings than to fraternal lodges that were constructed exclusively for the use of their members. Other fraternal organizations active in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries tended to adopt consistent styles for their meeting halls, such as classical revival styles for Masonic lodges and commercial vernacular styles for Oddfellows lodges. Some of those buildings were further

customized by the integration of iconography of the fraternal orders into the structure of buildings. In contrast, grange halls tend to be the simplest and most ordinary of buildings, whether purpose-built as meeting halls or originally constructed as institutional buildings such as schools or churches, and subsequently re-purposed as grange halls. The very ordinariness of grange halls is consistent with the Order's pragmatic emphasis on public service and accessibility.

In 2012 as in the previous four decades, Washington State boasted the largest grange membership in the United States, with over 14,000 members, and among the largest number of community granges, with 252 active groups statewide. With 218 grange-owned halls remaining in active use in 2012, Washington also continued to have what may well be the most robust collection of grange halls in the nation.[3]

Grange halls are ubiquitous in rural Washington, with a statewide average of seven per county. They are part of the rural fabric of the state's farming regions, whether they are located in isolated settings, in small towns, or in the midst of suburban districts that have expanded into former farmlands. Nationally, grange halls have been described as "a rich cross-section of American working-class vernacular public architecture,"[4] which just begins to convey the diversity of these community halls.

In its early years, academic architectural history most often focused on urban or monumental buildings.[5] In the second half of the twentieth century the field of vernacular architectural studies has examined a wide range of traditional and rural buildings. However, neither discipline has paid much attention to grange halls which have, to date, received little consideration from scholars. Surprisingly, grange halls have also received little attention from the Grange itself. Numerous books chronicle the founding and history of the Grange at the national level, and Washington State level,[6] but these publications include little information regarding grange halls.

A. Thesis

Research conducted for this thesis, primarily in 2012, sought to document the history of grange halls as a building type unique to American vernacular architecture, and to understand their significance, with the goal of developing a theoretical and pragmatic framework that would support preservation of these resources. While historic preservation theory and practice has often focused on architectural landmarks, this thesis considers preservation issues related to cultural landmarks, that is, places that help to anchor a community's cultural identity by attaching historical memory to place.[7]

Because few published references exist regarding grange halls, research for this thesis focused initially on fieldwork to document extant halls, followed by archival research emphasizing primary documents to interpret fieldwork data, an approach recommended by architectural historians and scholars of vernacular resources.[8] In *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes*, authors Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley explain,

> The ordinariness of vernacular architecture itself can be an impediment to study. Such buildings can be so regionally or numerically commonplace that we do not even see them and select instead the extraordinary as our subject. Even when chosen, typical buildings can be hard to investigate. Where does one begin when there is seemingly nothing written about a prosaic building, builder, or occupant? We begin with the physical building itself.[9]

Although the appearance of many grange halls is quite ordinary, and the history of these resources only sporadically recorded, they are "landmarks" in the colloquial sense of being important features on the landscape, tied to community identity and sense of place. This thesis documents and interprets the physical characteristics of grange halls in Washington State, analyzes their significance from a variety of perspectives including historic preservation theories, and establishes a framework through which professional preservation practice might better support the longevity and ongoing use of these buildings.

The physical evidence of construction, modification, and (in some cases) adaptive reuse proved to be an interesting challenge to document in the field. As buildings in active

use, grange halls have constantly evolved, primarily to incorporate advances in technology and to accommodate changes in user needs. As a building type primarily defined by use rather than form or style, grange halls can present some challenges within conventional frameworks for historic preservation. These issues, related to evaluating the significance and integrity of grange halls, are identified in this thesis and potentially illuminate shortcomings in the application of United States preservation policies to vernacular buildings.

The scope of this thesis has been limited to those buildings which were still in the ownership of subordinate granges in 2012, and remained in active use as grange halls, a total of 218 such buildings statewide. There are likely dozens of extant buildings which formerly served as grange halls, but were sold when local granges lost members, gave up their charters and disbanded. Some of those buildings were likely converted for use as private residences, commercial buildings, or other kinds of meeting halls, while others were abandoned. While such buildings would be interesting to study, they were not included in this thesis.

There were several reasons for the decision to focus only on grange halls in active use. First, from a logistical standpoint, all halls which are owned by local granges and used for monthly grange meetings can also be rented for a nominal fee for use by the community, and there is a well-established tradition of public use of these buildings, making their preservation a concern to the general public. Second, from the standpoint of a researcher engaged in fieldwork, this custom of public accessibility was helpful for identifying the buildings, in that all were listed in the Washington State Grange 2012 Roster. It was also helpful as a condition of visiting the buildings, in that, because public use of grange halls is encouraged, halls can be easily inspected on the exterior without formal arrangement or permission. And, limiting the number of buildings investigated to those in active use meant that every one of the 218 grange halls in active use in 2012 could be visited. Third, more important than the pragmatic considerations was the specific focus of

this research on preservation issues related to “living landmarks,” meaning cultural properties that remain in active use and have contemporary as well as historical significance, rather than relics that are valued mainly for what they used to be.

B. Organization of the Document

Based on the statement by Carter and Cromley quoted above, “… begin with the physical building itself,” this thesis moves from background information through methodology and field research, then through analysis and interpretation, and finally to an analysis of preservation approaches.

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 provides background information about the National Grange through examination of the Order’s founding and its ritual, along with key primary documents outlining the Order’s structure and purposes, and important historical developments such as the late nineteenth century agrarian revolt commonly known as the “Granger Movement.” This chapter also summarizes the Order’s legislative accomplishments, its relationship to the Country Life Movement, and its evolving identity since World War II.

Chapter 3 considers the history of the Washington State Grange, its progressive identity relative to the National Grange, and factors that have supported the Order’s ongoing vitality in the state.

Chapter 4 explains the methodology of this thesis, which had as its central focus field investigation of 218 buildings in 37 of the 39 counties in Washington State. An analytical framework for this fieldwork was developed based on a wide range of archival and textual research.

Chapter 5 examines the physical characteristics of grange halls, based on findings from fieldwork, and analysis of these findings derived from historical and archival documentation regarding hall ownership, financing, design, interior features, and construction. Of particular significance are the attitudes and values embodied in the 1928

publication *Grange Hall Suggestions*, which recognized the important role that grange halls served as rural community centers.

Chapter 6 explores the significance of grange halls within three distinct frames of reference: the cultural expression of grange members, who identified stability and permanence as paramount qualities embodied in the buildings; historical texts that documented the progressive agendas of early twentieth century rural reformers; and theoretical frameworks based on the ideas of collective memory and social capital advanced by social theorists from the second half of the twentieth century. These approaches contribute to a broad understanding of the meaning of grange halls.

Chapter 7 addresses the multiple issues that emerge when one seeks to develop a framework for the preservation of grange halls. Patterns of physical "improvements" or modifications that have supported ongoing use of these buildings are documented and interpreted, and this kind of preservation through use is contrasted with various theoretical frameworks for professional historic preservation which often treat a building as a kind of precious object. Finally, an assessment of grange halls is presented, based on the criteria for evaluating the significance and integrity of historic properties to determine eligibility for listing in the United States National Register of Historic Places.

Chapter 8 concludes with a consideration of further research, and brief recommendations for revisions to existing preservation guidelines that would support and facilitate preservation of vernacular historic properties.

In an effort to explain how historic places should be understood and why these places matter to people, preservationist and scholar Ned Kaufman observed that while preservationists debate problems of authenticity, integrity, architectural quality, stylistic purity, and significance, citizens worry about the loss of character, pleasure, usefulness, the ability to recall the past, and cultural identity.[10] In appreciation of Kaufman's perspective, an alternate title for this thesis might be "a citizen's guide to the history and preservation of grange halls."

Chapter 2: HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL GRANGE

Overview

The Grange, formally known as the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, was founded in Washington, D.C., in 1867, during the tumultuous period following the Civil War. The Order aimed to protect farmers and their economic interests, while also affording its members opportunities for "social, intellectual and moral improvement."[1] It grew rapidly in the 1870s during a period of agrarian revolt that heralded the Populist and Progressive periods of American history. During much of the twentieth century, the Order emphasized community service, education and fellowship, in addition to ongoing political advocacy. Since World War II, the Grange has seen a decline in membership, although in some locations such as Washington State, it has remained relatively strong.

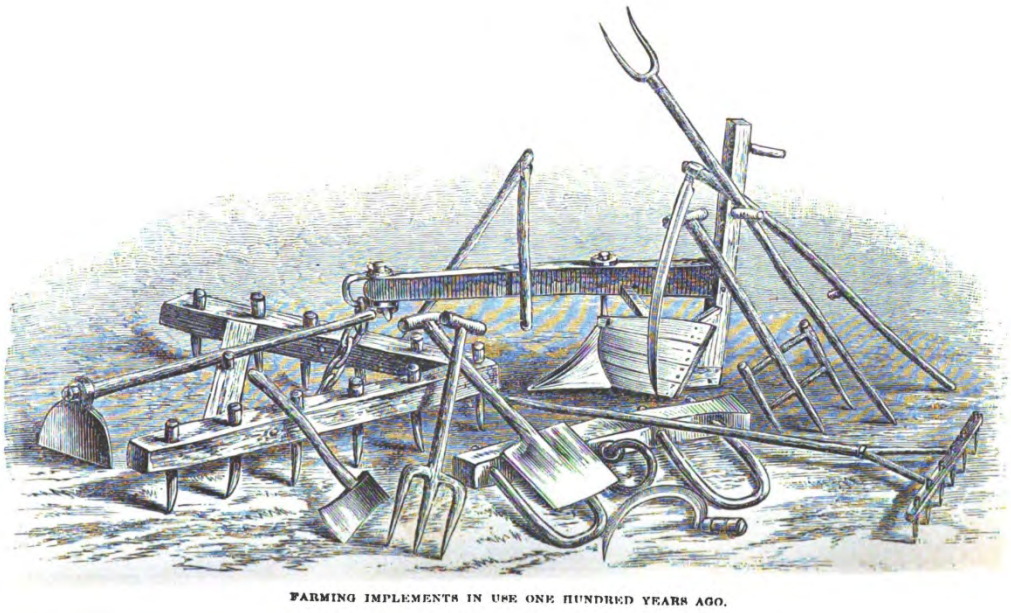
This chapter provides background information about the National Grange through examination of the history of the Order, beginning with the context of nineteenth century agricultural history, westward expansion, and fraternal organizations. The chapter describes the Order's founding members and its ritual, along with key primary documents outlining the organization's structure and purposes, as well as important historical developments such as the era of agrarian revolt commonly known as the "Granger Movement." The final section of the chapter summarizes Grange history in the twentieth century, including the Order's legislative accomplishments, its relationship to the Country Life Movement, and its evolving identity since World War II.

American Agriculture in the Post-Civil War era

American agriculture expanded dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century. Farming transitioned from a subsistence activity to a more commercial practice, and the number of farms grew from approximately two million in 1860, to 5.7 million in 1900, according to the United States Census.[2] Two federal public land laws, the Donation Land Act of 1850 and the Homestead Act of 1862, allowed American citizens and those who

intended to become citizens to claim up to 320 acres of land in the public domain, policies intended to encourage western settlement. Construction of transcontinental railroads starting in the 1860s made western lands more accessible than they had been previously, and millions of acres of public land granted to the railroads by the federal government were marketed and sold to settlers drawn from the eastern United States and Europe.[3] Railroads also provided a means for farmers in sparsely settled western regions to transport their products to sell in the more densely settled eastern states. The scale of farming also transformed rapidly, as hand tools [figure 2.1] were replaced by newly manufactured farm machinery [figure 2.2] in a single generation. Technological advances in farm machinery contributed to what has been described as a "spectacular increase in farm production."[4] All of these factors that shaped the agriculture of the era – more farms, railroads, and mechanization – were also significant in the establishment of the Grange.

While one might expect that the growth in number of farms and in farm output would lead to prosperity among farmers, agricultural historian Vernon Carstensen argued that the opposite was true, primarily due to a steady decline in farm profits as crop prices fell and shipping and equipment costs increased.[5] Growth in farm numbers and output across regions was not evenly distributed, and was driven primarily by westward expansion, which masked downward trends in farming activity in other parts of the country. As Carstensen explained, new farms in western regions meant new competition for farmers in eastern regions, and this contributed to abandonment of established farms in places like New England. Following the Civil War, the average size of farms actually decreased in the southern states, as productive acreage was divided into smaller holdings for sharecropping.[6] Many of the new farms in the West were established by immigrants and city dwellers who were lured by the opportunity to acquire cheap or free land, but who lacked farming experience and faced numerous challenges.[7] Taken together, these factors help explain how agriculture could be described as prosperous, even as many individual farmers struggled. The resulting farmer discontent fueled a number of radical social movements in



FARMING IMPLEMENTS IN USE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

Figure 2.1: Hand tools used in nineteenth century farming (Wells 1874 pp. 195)

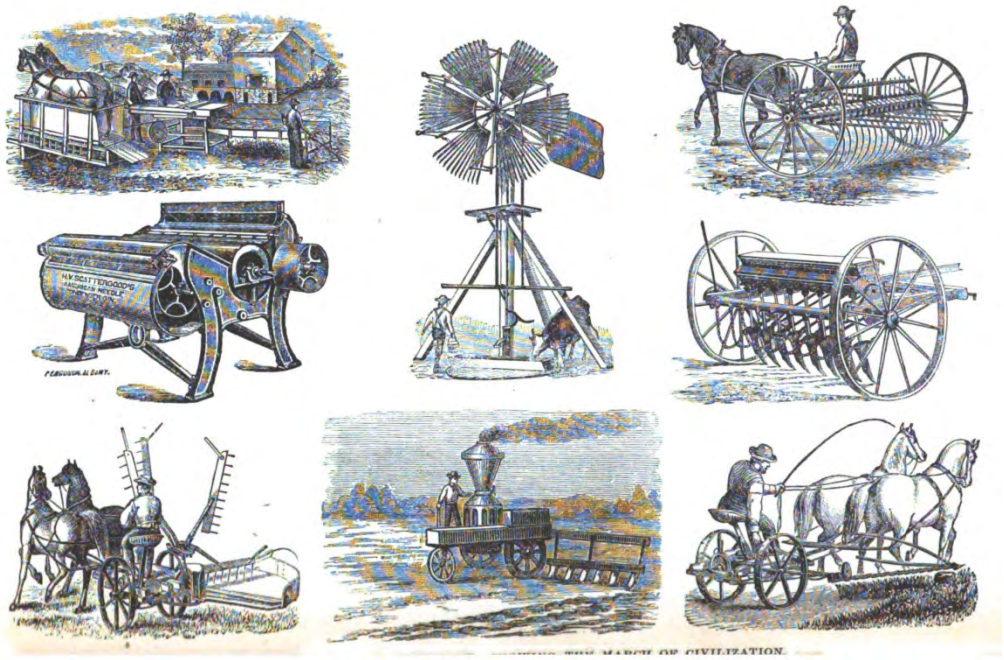


Figure 2.2: Newly manufactured farm machinery (Wells 1874 pp. 196)

the latter decades of the nineteenth century, and was also an important factor in the growth of the Grange.

Fraternal Organizations in the Nineteenth Century

In establishing the Patrons of Husbandry, founder Oliver H. Kelley sought to create an organization similar to the Masons, because Kelley believed that the elements of ritual, secrecy and fraternity, that characterized Masonry were crucial to that organization's longevity, and he wanted the same sense of permanence for the Grange.[8] To understand the influence of Freemasonry on the founding of the Patrons of Husbandry, it is helpful to examine the role of fraternal organizations or "secret societies" in the United States in the nineteenth century.

Journalist Charles W. Ferguson described the plethora of American fraternal organizations as "an array of orders altogether baffling not so much in their starlike multiplicity as in their vitality and endurance."[9] A detailed study of American fraternal organizations, first published in 1899, compiled profiles of six hundred secret societies active in the nineteenth century, and found that more than three hundred of those groups, with more than six million members (approximately ten percent of the population), remained active in 1899.[10] Other sources estimate the membership figure as closer to thirty percent of the population in 1900, although the basis for this higher estimate is unclear.[11] In any case, membership in fraternal organizations was a widespread phenomenon in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and a recent scholarly study dubbed the period between 1870 and 1930 as "the Golden Age of Fraternity."[12]

Freemasonry, or the Masonic Lodge, is widely recognized as the oldest and largest fraternal organization in the world, tracing its legendary origins to ancient European mystical societies as well as medieval guilds of stonemasons, sometimes referred to as "operative" masonry. By the late seventeenth century, "speculative" or symbolic masonry was practiced by Masonic lodges in England and Scotland, and the first official American

lodge was established in Boston in 1733. In addition to the Masons, some of the earliest fraternal lodges in the United States were the Order of the Red Men (originally the Sons of Liberty, founded in 1765) and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (founded in the eighteenth century in England and established in the United States in 1819).[13]

The decade following the end of the Civil War in 1865 was an especially active time for the establishment of new fraternal orders, possibly reflecting the nation's desire to strengthen social stability after years of conflict. Freemasonry became the ritualistic model for dozens if not hundreds of fraternal organizations, including the Grange.[14] In addition to the Grange (founded in 1867), the post-Civil War decade also gave rise to the Knights of Pythias (1864), the Ancient Order of United Workmen (1868), the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (1868), and the Knights of Labor (1869). Many of these new orders were founded by men who had belonged to the Masons, and who adopted practices found in Masonic rituals, including degrees (membership levels), ceremonies, regalia (costumes and equipment), secret signs, passwords, and many elements of organizational structure, including officer titles and auxiliary groups for women and children. Most groups created their own constitutions, and codified ritual practices in their manuals.

American fraternal orders continued to proliferate through the nineteenth century, including the Loyal Order of Moose (founded 1888), the Woodmen of the World (1890), and the Fraternal Order of Eagles (1898), along with a wide variety of religious, ethnic, military, political and other affinity organizations.[15] An interesting and rarely discussed aspect of these organizations is that while members of Masonic lodges were predominantly upper and middle class professionals most interested in the social aspects of fraternity, many of the fraternal lodges established in the United States in the nineteenth century appealed to the working class including immigrants, and provided social welfare benefits to their members.[16] To emphasize this latter point, historian David T. Beito identified the defining characteristics of fraternal organizations as "an autonomous system of lodges, a democratic form of internal government, a ritual, and the provision of mutual aid for members and their

families."[17] Such mutual aid may have taken the form of sickness benefits (including compensation for lost income and for doctor care) and death benefits (including burial expenses and support for surviving family members). Like some labor unions, fraternal organizations typically provided such support prior to the widespread availability of private insurance and government welfare programs, and in fact many fraternal organizations later evolved into or established subsidiary insurance companies.

Some scholars distinguish fraternal benefit societies that provided charitable support for their members, from fraternal lodges that were primarily social or political,[18] though most fraternal orders established in the nineteenth century provided members with both opportunities for socializing and access to mutual aid. In contrast, voluntary associations established in the early twentieth century tended to emphasize charity and community service on local, national and international levels, primarily benefitting non-members. These groups shed the secrecy and rituals of lodge meetings in favor of more public, professional, and middle class identities as service clubs. Examples include the Rotary Club (founded 1905), Kiwanis Club (1915), and Lions Club (1917).[19]

While a detailed analysis of American fraternal orders is beyond the scope of this thesis, the history of the Grange can be interpreted within this broader context of nineteenth century fraternal, charitable and social organizations. From its founding, the Grange was distinct from other fraternal organizations for many reasons, notably its goal to serve farmers, its commitment to equal membership for men and women, and its multi-dimensional social, political, economic, and educational purposes. The remaining sections of this chapter discuss the founding and history of the National Grange in detail.

A. Origins of the National Grange

At least a dozen books chronicle the founding and early history of the National Grange, and all rely predominantly on a single primary source, Oliver Hudson Kelley's *Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry in the United States: A History from*

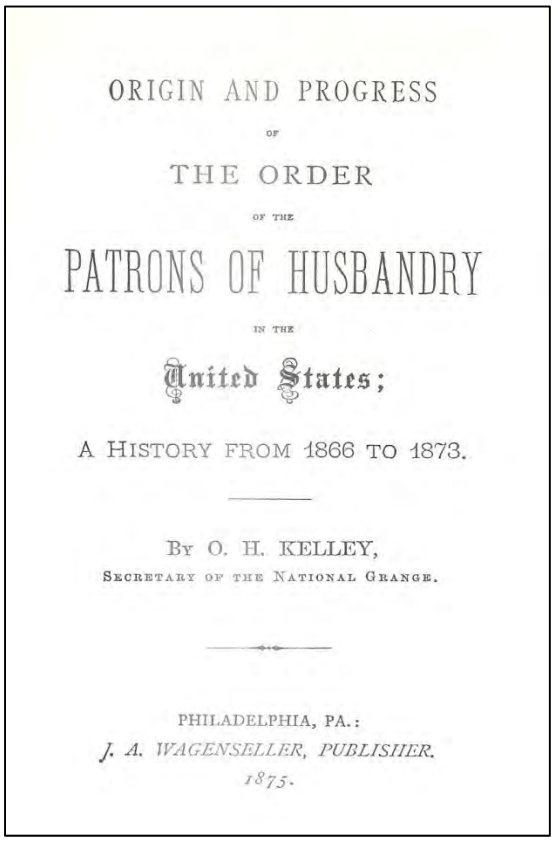
1866 to 1873, published in 1875 [figure 2.3].[20] Kelley is recognized as the primary founder of the Order, and his pioneering history, told almost entirely through correspondence, reproduced and provided commentary on hundreds of letters exchanged among Kelley and several acquaintances who became the founding officers of the National Grange.

Founders

Originally from Boston, Kelley [figure 2.4] worked as a journalist in Chicago before taking a homestead claim near Itasca, Minnesota, in 1849.[21] As a farmer, Kelley continued to write agricultural stories for regional and national periodicals, and in 1864 he became a clerk in the Department of Agriculture, spending winters in Washington, D.C., and returning to Minnesota for the summer planting season. In early 1866, at the behest of the Commissioner of Agriculture, Kelley embarked on a tour of the southern states to document post-Civil War farming conditions and compile agricultural statistics which secession and the war had prevented the federal government from obtaining for several years.

As a member of the Masonic fraternity, Kelley found that he was cordially received by southern planters, an experience which inspired him to consider the idea of establishing a national fraternal organization for farmers.[22] During this journey through the southern states, in a letter to his niece Caroline Hall, Kelley mentioned the idea of establishing a "Secret Society of Agriculturalists,"[23] as a way to help heal the rift between northerners and southerners, and to encourage awareness among farmers everywhere of progressive, scientific methods for improving agriculture.

Development of this idea is chronicled in correspondence throughout 1866 and 1867 between Kelley, Hall, and a half dozen men interested in farming, most of whom were government clerks Kelley had met during his brief tenure in Washington, D.C. They included John R. Thompson, a Union veteran and Treasury Department employee originally from New Hampshire; fellow Treasury Department clerk Reverend John Trimble Jr., a former Episcopal minister and teacher from New Jersey; William M. Ireland, who served as chief of



ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF

THE ORDER

OF THE

PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

IN THE

United States;

A HISTORY FROM 1866 TO 1873.

BY O. H. KELLEY,

SECRETARY OF THE NATIONAL GRANGE.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.:

J. A. WAGENSELLER, PUBLISHER.

1875.

Figure 2.3: Oliver Hudson Kelley's 1875 book *Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry*, title page.

Figure 2.4: Oliver H. Kelley in 1875 (Courtesy of the Minnesota State Historical Society)

finance for the Postal Service and hailed from Pennsylvania; William Saunders, a horticulturalist originally from Scotland who worked for the Department of Agriculture and was widely known among farmers' associations around the country; Aaron B. Grosh, a former teacher and Universalist minister also employed at the Department of Agriculture; and Francis M. McDowell, a former businessman turned farmer who resided in upstate New York.[24] Notably, Thompson, Trimble and Ireland, along with Kelley, were all Masons, and Grosh was an Odd Fellow, giving this group a wealth of personal experience with fraternal organizations on which they could draw for ideas regarding establishment of the Grange.

These seven men are depicted on a widely reproduced poster "Founders of the Patrons of Husbandry" [figure 2.5]. In recognition of her vital influence shaping the Grange, delegates in 1892 voted to recognize Kelley's niece Caroline Hall [figure 2.6] as "equal to a founder,"[25] although her likeness was not subsequently added to the common portrait of the founders. With the exception of Hall, a former school teacher who served during the Grange's early years as Kelley's assistant, Kelley did not know any of the others prior to his clerkship in Washington, D.C. Indeed, he wrote to an early supporter in 1867, "I doubt if any organization was ever before started, where all parties were entire strangers, and so widely separated by distance, and yet so cordial and unanimous in their views as our correspondence proves."[26]

Initial Vision for the Order

Kelley's initial vision for the new organization was described most fully in a letter to William Saunders in August 1867. It is clear that Kelley hoped to address a wide variety of concerns and problems which he perceived as limiting the success of farmers throughout the country, while at the same time creating an organization which rural men and women would find appealing and would be willing to pledge their allegiance. Kelley lamented the general lack of interest in what he termed "progressive agriculture," and he noted that most farmers employed a system of farming which was the same as that handed down from

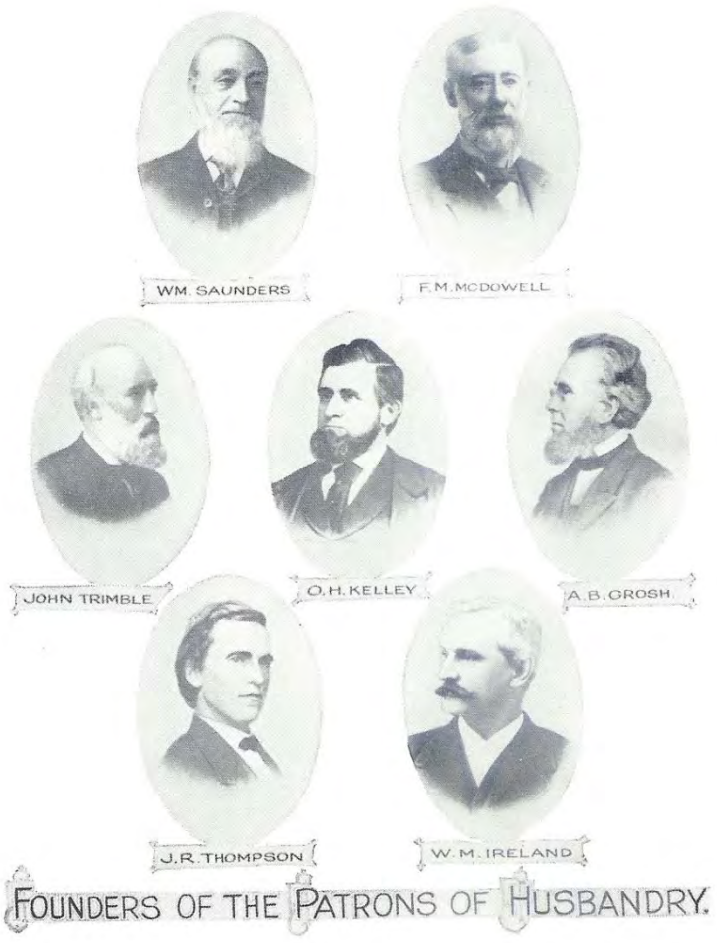


Figure 2.5: Founders of the Patrons of Husbandry (Courtesy of the National Grange)

Figure 2.6: Caroline Hall, the “eighth founder” (Courtesy of the National Grange)

previous generations, with the exception of the use of new reaping and threshing machines. Kelley wrote:

> I think we can revolutionize all this, and I suggest the project of organizing an Order to embrace in its membership only those persons directly interested in cultivating the soil. I should make it a secret order, with several degrees, and signs and passwords. The lectures in each degree should be practical, appertaining to agricultural work, at the same time convey a moral lesson… The secrecy would lend an interest and peculiar fascination.[27]

Plans for the new organization developed in this fashion, through exchanges of letters regarding the importance of promoting scientific approaches to farming, along with discussions of the benefits and attractions of Masonry and the types of symbolism that should be employed to represent a rural fraternity. Kelley's letters often mentioned the agricultural societies such as fruit growers' clubs dating back to the eighteenth century that existed in many regions of the country, but he lamented that these groups all were independent and, with their focus solely on one type of farming, their members lacked a sense of common cause or other basis to sustain long-term involvement.

Kelley's letters frequently reiterated his commitment to admitting women to full membership in the new Order, a suggestion credited to Caroline Hall and, remarkably for the time, accepted by the group. Enhancing educational opportunities appeared to have been most significant to Kelley, who wrote that each grange "should form a good library with books on natural history, agriculture, horticulture, pomology, physiology, rural architecture, landscape gardening, breeding and raising of stock,"[28] thereby promoting progressive approaches to farming.

Naming the Farmers' Fraternity

Much of the correspondence during 1867 between Kelley and his compatriots concerned what to call the organization, which they referred to as "the Order" in keeping with nineteenth century customs for naming fraternal organizations, such as the Independent Order of Oddfellows or the Fraternal Order of Eagles. Having considered such possible names as Independent Order of Progressive Farmers, Knights of the Plow, Yeomen

of Columbia, League of Husbandry, and Patrons of Industry, the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry was selected as the most fitting name.[29] The correspondents agreed on their desire to forgo the common use of "lodge" to designate individual units of their fraternal organization, in favor of something more relevant to farming. Having considered such appellations as vineyards, beehives, temples and homesteads, Kelley proposed granges, to general approval.[30] He claimed to have been inspired by the name of a novel being advertised at the time, and the suggestion likely resonated with Scottish-born William Saunders, who would have been familiar with the British use of the word to denote a country house with farm buildings.

Historians of the Order note that the word "grange" is derived from the Latin word for grain, and can refer to a barn, granary, or simply a farm.[31] While the popular press referred to members of the Order as "grangers" (discussed further in the section below on the so-called Granger Movement), the group's leaders were careful to refer to its members as Patrons,[32] a distinction which became increasingly important during the 1870s reform movements and the Populist era of the 1880s and 1890s, when the term "granger" was widely used to refer to western farmers in general, and agrarian radicals in particular, whether or not they had an affiliation with the Order.

Founding Documents and Meeting to Organize

Through correspondence and informal meetings in fall 1867, Kelley and his compatriots wrote detailed plans for the Order's structure and practices, including officer positions, degrees, procedures for organizing new granges, fees for membership, and related matters. A constitution outlined the organization's purposes, and a manual described rituals for opening and closing grange meetings, the first four degrees, and ceremonies for installation of officers. A ceremony for the dedication of grange halls was also prepared,[33] and this is discussed in Chapter 6.

The group met formally on December 4, 1867, to organize the National Grange of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, and to elect the first group of officers, including Saunders as Master and Kelley as Secretary.[34] This date is recognized as the official establishment date of the Order. The founders conceived of the National Grange as a leadership body to facilitate the organization of local subordinate granges and state granges, provide logistical support, and serve as a kind of national intelligence office for farmers by collecting and disseminating information about the state of crops, harvest predictions, price projections, and improvements in farming technology.[35] They did not intend for the National Grange to direct local actions. Moreover, the founders appear to have viewed themselves as caretakers of the organization, intending to serve only until enthusiastic Patrons from throughout the United States who were actual farmers could be elected by their fellow members to serve as National Grange officers.

Organizational Structure and Officers

The most basic organizational unit of the Order is the subordinate or local grange, which, according to the *Grange Manual*, could be established in any community where at least thirteen interested people wished to organize a grange.[36] A dispensation was requested from the National Grange, which issued a charter that was either delivered by mail or presented in person by a deputy or other representative of the Order. State granges could be organized after at least fifteen subordinate granges were established within the state, and as the Order proliferated, many Pomona granges were organized at the county or other local district level to address regional issues. Subordinate granges meet at least monthly, Pomona granges generally meet quarterly, while State Granges and the National Grange meet annually.[37]

All granges elect thirteen officers annually at all levels (subordinate, Pomona, State and National), and these officer positions represent an amalgamation of the Order's origins and influences. Five officers bear titles consistent with their Masonic counterparts: Master,

Treasurer, Secretary, Chaplain, and Steward. An Assistant Steward and Lady Assistant Steward provide egalitarian support to the presiding officers in a manner which is not typical of most fraternal organizations but characteristic of the Grange. The remaining six officer positions are unique to the Grange. The Overseer and Gatekeeper are derived from positions found on traditional English estates. The Lecturer is a secular educator who prepares much of the substantial content of each meeting. Three Roman goddesses, Pomona, Flora, and Ceres, play key roles in degrees and other ceremonies.

Four officer positions are reserved exclusively for women, and all positions are open to women, and have been since the Order's founding.[38] The *Grange Manual* includes an illustrated plan of a grange meeting [figure 2.7] depicting officers sitting in specific positions around the perimeter of a circle, interspersed among seating for regular members, an egalitarian arrangement of space.[39] The roles of officers, the configuration of meeting space, and the conduct of meetings are all guided by Grange ritual.

Grange Ritual: Non-denominational Christianity Meets Ancient Greece

The ceremonies and practices that are considered part of Grange ritual have their roots in a variety of spiritual and cultural traditions, drawn from biblical stories, ancient Greek customs, and Masonic rites. Grange ritual was mostly developed before the Order was operational, and remains in use more than 140 years later. Its origins and development are examined in this section, separate from the chronologically organized history of the National Grange that is documented in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Ritual played an important role in most fraternal lodges, and has been described variously as ceremonial conduct to mark changes in status and to give members a strong sense of belonging, and an effort to "dramatize abstractions, to act out principles of conduct and make them vivid and real."[40] From his experience as a Mason, Grange founder Oliver Kelley knew that the secrecy and spectacle of Masonic ritual were important to that organization's appeal and to the shared sense of identity among members. Kelley sought to

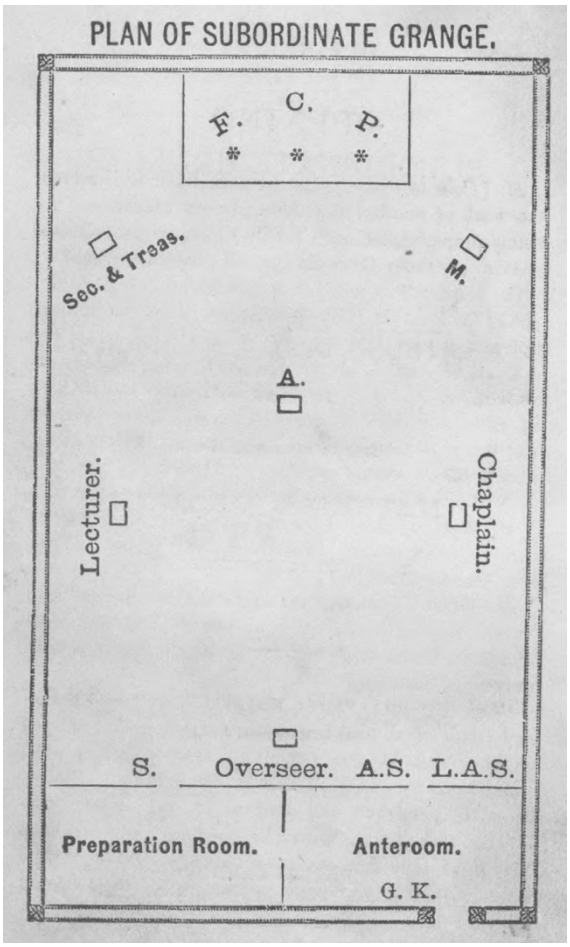
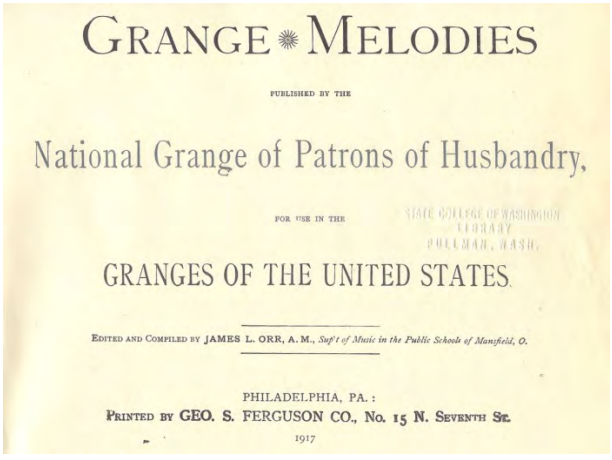


Figure 2.7: Plan of Subordinate Grange, 1873 (from *Grange Manual*, Northern Illinois University)


GRANGE MELODIES

PUBLISHED BY THE

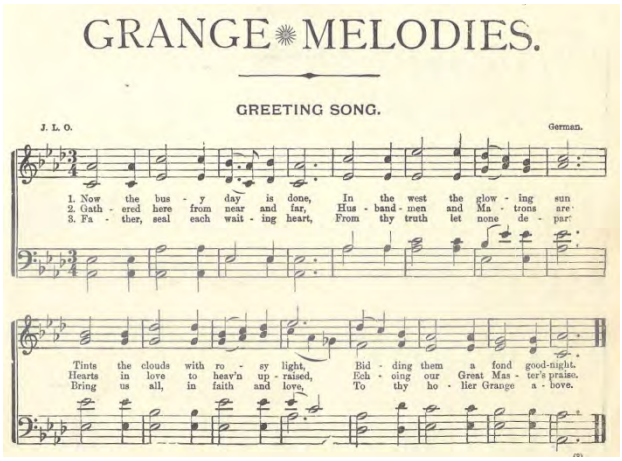
National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry,

FOR USE IN THE

GRANGES OF THE UNITED STATES.

EDITED AND COMPILED BY JAMES L. ORR, A. M., *Supt of Music in the Public Schools of Mansfield, O.*

PHILADELPHIA, PA.:
PRINTED BY GEO. S. FERGUSON CO., No. 15 N. SEVENTH ST.
1917


GRANGE MELODIES.

GREETING SONG.

J. L. O. German.

1. Now the bus - y day is done, In the west the glow - ing sun
2. Gath - ered here from near and far, Hus - band - men and Ma - trons are
3. Fa - ther, seal each wait - ing heart, From thy truth let none de - part

Tints the clouds with ro - sy light, Bid - ding them a fond good-night.
Hearts in love to heav'n up - raised, Ech - oing our Great Mas - ter's praise.
Bring us all, in faith and love, To thy ho - liest Grange a - bove.

Figure 2.8: "Grange Melodies" song book published by the National Grange

create a Grange ritual that was equally powerful, a ritual which he characterized as "pleasing, beautiful and appropriate…designed not only to charm the fancy but to cultivate and enlarge the mind, and purify the heart, having, at the same time, strict adaptation to rural pursuits."[41] Kelley's letters conveyed not only a sense of accomplishment, but also his belief that what the Grange offered to farmers was more relevant and useful to them than what was offered by other fraternal organizations. He wrote, "In our Order, we give every member all Masonry secures, and valuable practical knowledge besides. Ours is an operative Order. Masonry is merely speculative."[42]

Grange ritual encompasses the words and actions involved in conducting regular meetings as well as ceremonies to mark special occasions. The *Grange Manual* includes basic information characterized as "suggestions," regarding the opening and closing of grange meetings (which may only be attended by members), the conferral of degrees upon individual members in recognition of their advances in knowledge about the Order, the installation of officers, and a funeral ceremony, while ceremonies for laying cornerstones and dedicating halls are published separately (and are discussed in Chapter 6). Along with these ceremonies, music plays an important role in Grange meetings, and a songbook [figure 2.8], originally compiled by Caroline Hall in the late 1860s, was later published for national distribution.

At the core of Grange ritual are a total of seven degrees representing stages of personal development, and granting access to the Order's secret proceedings. The first four degrees are conferred at the subordinate or local grange level, the fifth or Pomona degree by the Pomona Grange, the sixth or Flora degree by the State Grange, and seventh degree by the National Grange. The first four degrees are organized around the four seasons of the year, beginning in spring, and convey a romantic appreciation of nature.[43] Those who receive the first degree are referred to as Laborers and Maids, second degree recipients are Cultivators and Shepherdesses, third degree recipients are Harvesters and Gleaners, and

fourth degree recipients are Husbandmen and Matrons. No equivalent information was found in the public domain regarding the higher-level degrees.

The degree ceremonies convey both moral instruction and practical lessons related to agriculture, through a call-and-response dialogue between officers and initiates. The *Grange Manual* instructions for conducting these rituals include numerous abbreviations and shorthand, presumably intended to reduce the comprehension of non-members, and each ceremony refers to "the unwritten work of the Order"[44] known only to those who have been initiated. Instruction for each degree includes a series of passwords and signs, as well as an oath: "I do hereby pledge my sacred honor that, whether in or out of the Order I will never reveal any of the secrets of this Order…"[45] This oath appears to have guided members of the Order for more than 140 years, as some elements of the Grange ritual developed in the 1870s remain unpublished and unknown to the uninitiated.

Part of the equipment of any active grange is a small set of symbolic farm implements [figure 2.9], often referred to as the "master's tools," a miniature ax, plow, harrow, spade, hoe, pruning knife and sickle, which are incorporated into degree ritual. The *Grange Manual* describes the literal use of each tool in farm work, and the metaphorical use of the tools to enhance the thoughts and actions of members. The hoe, for example, which is used to loosen weeds and stir the soil, is also "emblematical of that cultivation of the mind which destroys error and keeps our thoughts quickened and ready to receive and apply new facts as they appear, thus promoting the growth of knowledge and wisdom."[46] Such praise for open-mindedness supports the founders' goals of promoting the adoption of progressive farming techniques. In addition to the miniature implements, other regalia, furnishings and equipment commonly found in grange halls are described in Chapter 5.

The influence of Christianity on Grange ritual is a matter of some debate among scholars. Long-time Grange leader Charles Gardner, writing in 1949, highlighted the role of two former ministers among the founders of the Order, who were responsible for provisions such as an open Bible on every Grange altar, and the practice of formal prayers to open and

Figure 2.9: The “Master’s Tools” a miniature axe, plow, harrow, spade, hoe, pruning knife, and sickle (University of Texas Memorial Museum Collection)

close all meetings.[47] In contrast, historian Thomas Woods claimed that religion played only a symbolic role in the early Grange movement,[48] a view that is consistent with the widespread use of Christian symbolism in Freemasonry and other fraternal organizations. In writing much of the Grange ritual, Kelley appears to have borrowed material from Christian traditions without necessarily retaining religious overtones. For example, the Grange's *Funeral Ceremony* authored by Kelley includes familiar prayers such as the Old Testament's Twenty-Third Psalm, but the graveside ceremony is intended to be led by grange officers (the Master and Chaplain), rather than by a religious leader,[49] and appears to have been intended for use either in addition to or instead of a church service.

The opening prayer found in several ceremonies provides a nuanced example of the spiritual traditions that influenced Grange ritual. The prayer is, "Since God placed man on the earth, agriculture has existed. There is no occupation that precedes it, no order or association that can rank with the tillers of the soil."[50] While such a statement may resemble a typical Christian prayer, another source of influence is traced to older pre-Christian traditions associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries once celebrated in Greece. The source of these purportedly ancient teachings, and their integration into Grange ritual, is a curious and fascinating story which may provide insight regarding the apparent tension between Christian and pagan influence in the Grange.

Francis McDowell & the Eleusinian Mysteries

It is clear from Kelley's 1875 monograph that Francis M. McDowell played a pivotal role in the development of Grange ritual. McDowell was an American businessman who made multiple trips to Europe in the late 1850s and early 1860s seeking financial investments in the development of railroads.[51] After retirement in the mid-1860s, McDowell established a farm in upstate New York and became acquainted with William Saunders, who introduced him to the proposed idea of forming a farmers' fraternal lodge. Through correspondence, McDowell provided numerous suggestions regarding development of the

first four degrees, but it was not until Kelley visited McDowell in New York in 1868 that McDowell's link to the Eleusinian Mysteries became important to the Grange.

Briefly, in Greek lore, "mysteries" were essentially synonymous with religion. The Eleusinian Mysteries were linked to the building of the Temple of Demeter, approximately fifteen miles west of Athens at Eleusis around 1350 B.C., and to the annual rites observed in honor of Demeter, the Greek goddess of the harvest.[52] These rites were introduced to the Roman Empire in honor of Ceres, the Roman goddess of the harvest, but were abolished by the Roman Emperor Theodosius I in 395 A.D., and the Temple of Demeter was destroyed. According to C. Jerome Davis, a Grange leader who published two books highlighting the role of the Eleusinian Mysteries in Grange ritual, after the Mysteries were abolished, the Priests of Demeter and their associates (both men and women) went into hiding and became a secret society known as the Knights of Demeter.[53] Supposedly, the Mysteries were revived centuries later in Naples by the Duke of Ascoli, who was recognized (or at least recognized himself) as the High Priest of Demeter. Davis wrote that McDowell became acquainted with the Duke in Paris, and, "In 1860 or early in 1861, the Duke of Ascoli conferred upon Brother McDowell the title of High Priest of Demeter and invested him with full authority to extend the Order of Demeter on the continent of North America,"[54] where the Duke thought the Order would have a better chance for revival and continuity.

McDowell apparently saw the nascent Order of the Patrons of Husbandry as a potential successor to the Order of Demeter, and he collaborated with Kelley in 1868 to establish the Grange's seventh and highest degree, called the Degree of Demeter, to be available only to those masters and past masters of State Granges, who were entitled to the sixth degree and considered members of the National Council, and who had already served in that capacity for at least one year. Those who received the seventh degree were considered members of the Assembly of Demeter. Kelley described the Degree of Demeter as "embracing features entirely new to us; being in fact, a continuation of an ancient

Association once so flourishing in the East. It gave us all the antiquity we could ask for."[55] This last comment was undoubtedly a reference to Freemasonry's claim of ancient origins.

Perhaps the most curious aspect of the transmutation of the Eleusinian Mysteries is the creation of the position of High Priest of Demeter within the National Grange leadership, a lifetime appointment which is entirely separate from the annually elected officers. While the Master of the National Grange is considered the highest administrator of the Order having executive power over the constitution, by-laws, manual, and all degrees through the fifth, the High Priest of Demeter is considered the authority on the ritual or esoteric work of the Order.[56] While Kelley's 1875 history of the origin of the Grange acknowledged McDowell's contributions and the links between Grange ritual and pre-Christian traditions, these elements were downplayed in subsequent histories of the Order, both those authored by Grange members and by independent scholars. This omission is especially odd in the book *The Grange – Friend of the Farmer*, published in 1949 by Charles Gardner, considering that Gardner held the position of High Priest of Demeter for many years.[57]

The major exceptions to this pattern of neglect of Grange ritual are the works of C. Jerome Davis, published in 1974 and 1987[58]. Davis described the Eleusinian Mysteries as the "root-stock for the Ritual of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry,"[59] and he claimed that the primary source of Grange symbolism and ritualistic lore came from this source. Davis, who held the position of High Priest of Demeter subsequent to Gardner, concluded that the pagan origins were suppressed in earlier histories because they were not understood as pre-Christian traditions, but were perhaps viewed as somehow anti-Christian.[60] In his books, Davis hoped to illuminate the Grange's connection to ancient cultural traditions dedicated to protection and advancement of agriculture.[61] It is worth noting that the Greek goddess Demeter and the Roman goddess Ceres appear to be interchangeable in Grange ritual, while the associated goddesses Pomona and Flora generally appear only in their Roman forms as officer positions and in association with the fifth and sixth degrees.

Whether Grange ritual truly originated in pagan ceremonies and survived for centuries until it was transmitted from the Italian Duke of Ascoli to the American Francis McDowell, or whether these mystical roots were simply embellished to provide the Order with an interesting origin story, is impossible to determine. The Grange has managed to keep many of its secrets, while at the same time downplaying the past emphasis on secrecy. A 1992 history of the Order titled *People, Pride and Progress* stated:

> The Grange, like other fraternities and many other groups, restricts attendance at business meetings and degree conferrals to its regular members of record. There are a few elements of the degree work which, in order to be properly understood, need to be appreciated in the context of the entire ceremony. Because of this, members generally do not talk openly about these aspects of the Grange ritual with nonmembers. Other signs and signals, such as an annual password and a unique Grange handshake, are remnants of early days before the advent of membership cards… The label 'secret organization' is exaggerated.[62]

While the esoteric aspects of Grange ritual tend to be downplayed by historians who are primarily focused on the Order's economic and political activities, the ritual has been an integral aspect of Grange membership according to both past and present members, and has remained remarkably unaltered for nearly 150 years.

B. Early Years of the National Grange (1868-1874)

In its first public action, the National Grange issued a printed circular in early 1868 introducing the Order. This circular was mailed to prospective members who requested information, and was widely reproduced in local and national publications as a declaration of the Order's purposes and goals.[63] Stating that the Grange was based on the axiom "the products of the soil comprise the basis of all wealth," the circular briefly described the structure of the Order, highlighting its kinship with Masonry, its equal membership status for women and men, and its avoidance of political and religious discussion. The majority of the document's content focused on the educational aims of the Order, namely the diffusion of knowledge about farming through discussions, lectures, and the circulation of published materials.

By late 1868, a second circular was released which revealed a striking expansion in the mission of the Order, to focus on economic issues. In addition to its aims to advance education and to elevate and dignify the occupation of the farmer, the revised document identified as one of the Grange's objectives "to protect its members against the numerous combinations by which their interests are injuriously affected,"[64] in other words, to protect farmers from monopolies.

The revised circular called for the formation of purchasing co-operatives among members, and touted other benefits of membership, including distribution of seed and ratings of newly manufactured farm machinery. The document also identified one of the Order's goals as the promotion of social relations. Kelley and his fellow Grange officers placed a strong emphasis on the importance of cultivating social relations among members of the new Order, recognizing that farmers had to "know one another socially and trust one another before they would agree to cooperate together in financial ventures,"[65] and that opportunities for fellowship would help to relieve the monotonous labor of farm life.

These complexly intertwined purposes of providing educational and social opportunities, economic enhancement and protection, and non-partisan engagement with the political realm to protect the interests of farmers, were all explicitly identified in these early promotional circulars, and formed the basis of the Order's multi-faceted identity. Circulars reprinted in newspapers and periodicals were often accompanied by editorial endorsements, such as articles in the national periodicals *Country Gentleman* in 1869, *Prairie Farmer* in 1870, and *National Farmer* in 1871.[66] With such national exposure came increasing calls by the press for the National Grange to take aggressive stances on political and economic issues; for example, Kelley noted in mid-1868 that "several writers in the agricultural papers have of late called loudly for union among the farmers,"[67] and *Prairie Farmer* editor W.W. Corbett was one of the first to call explicitly for the Grange to combat railroad monopolies.

Earliest Subordinate Granges

The first subordinate grange was organized in Washington, D.C., in early 1868. Called Potomac Grange #1, its purpose was to serve as a school of instruction or a "practice grange" to test the rituals and ceremonies that had been developed, and to train officers and deputies to become familiar with the Order's operations so that they could organize granges around the country.[68] Fredonia Grange #1, organized in 1868 in upstate New York, is considered the first truly operational subordinate grange.[69] North Star Grange #1 in Minnesota was also founded in 1868.[70]

New subordinate granges were slowly organized, many with the personal involvement of Kelley, who traveled extensively in the eastern and central states between 1868 and 1872. By the end of 1869, almost forty granges had been established, primarily in the states of Minnesota, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana and New York. By the end of 1872, more than 1,300 subordinate granges had been established in 31 states. Although Kelley was delighted to see such growth in the Order, he recognized that new members may have had priorities different from his own. In his report to the National Grange in 1872, he conceded, "The educational and social features of our Order offer inducement to some to join, but the majority desire pecuniary benefits – advantages in purchase of machinery and sales of produce."[71]

Policy Debates

Throughout the first five years (1867-1872) of the Order's existence, Grange officers and interested members continued to debate matters of policy in correspondence, voting on issues such as constitutional revisions during the annual meeting of the National Grange, to which all State Grange Masters and many other delegates were invited. For example, regarding membership guidelines, two prominent State Grange leaders from Minnesota wrote separately to Kelley in 1870 in support of the policy requiring three negative votes to reject a potential member, rather than a single no vote, based on their conviction that the

Grange should not be an exclusive organization. One wrote, "I am of the opinion that three, at least, negative ballots should be required to constitute a rejection. It takes three in the Druids, and four black balls [i.e. no votes] in the Good Templars to reject."[72] His colleague concurred, advising that "personal pique will often show itself in one, but hardly ever will three persons act mean at the same time."[73] This is one of many policy matters that were vigorously deliberated, helping to ensure that the Order's governance reflected the values of its members.

Transition and Expansion in 1873

The year 1873 was a significant milestone in the history of the Patrons of Husbandry, marking the beginning of what Kelley described as "a period of assured success,"[74] due to rapid expansion and new leadership. The sixth annual meeting of the National Grange, held in January 1873 in Washington, D.C., was attended by Grange leaders from all over the country. Most of the Order's founders stepped aside, and attendees elected new National Grange officers from eight different states. Grange historians hail this transition as the point at which control of the Order passed into the hands of real farmers,[75] an acknowledgment of the fact that the majority of the Order's founders were employed in service to the federal government and did not actually make their living as farmers. During the 1873 annual meeting, a revised constitution was adopted, and the first annual *Journal of Proceedings* was published,[76] a tradition that continues to the present day and represents an unbroken record of the Order's decisions and activities.

The diversity of farmer delegates who participated in the 1873 National Grange session and subsequent annual gatherings represented the realization of Kelley's original vision for the Order as a means to allay animosity and encourage cooperation among farmers after the Civil War.[77] As historian Solon J. Buck noted, the National Grange meetings brought together "the market gardener and horticulturalist of the eastern states, the tobacco and cotton planters of the South, the corn grower of the Middle West, and the

wheat raiser of the farther West"[78] who met to exchange ideas, and chose leaders, many of whom were either Confederate or Union veterans. Buck, an academic historian unaffiliated with the Order, proclaimed in 1913, "The Grange was probably one of the most influential factors in assuaging the sectional bitterness left by the war."[79] While farmers who organized local granges and delegates who attended National Grange sessions may have been primarily focused on issues related to their economic interests, it is important to remember that the Order's founders were motivated by social and educational as well as economic and political goals.

Precipitous Growth and Uncertain Economic Strategies

The Order experienced phenomenal growth starting in 1873, and economic issues were the dominant factor driving the rapid expansion as farmers throughout the country were impacted by the Panic of 1873. This crisis originated with the collapse of financing for the transcontinental Northern Pacific Railroad, and led to widespread debt overload and unemployment.[80] The Panic of 1873 radicalized many farmers who were faced with the prospect of receiving lower prices for their products while paying higher freight rates, higher costs for implements, and higher fees to warehouse and elevator (storage) operators, wholesalers, millers, and others broadly disparaged as "middlemen."

Farmers all over the country, especially those in the western states and territories,[81] turned to the Grange in an effort to address hardships and improve conditions. The Order expanded rapidly, with almost 9,000 new subordinate granges organized in 1873 and almost 12,000 more organized in 1874, bringing the nationwide total of active subordinate granges to more than 22,000 by the end of that year, representing half a million members.[82] The first granges in Washington Territory were organized in 1873, and are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Flush with success, optimism, and an infusion of cash from membership fees, many State and Pomona (district or county) Granges entered into a frenzied period of economic

activity, negotiating bulk direct purchases of equipment such as plows and sewing machines from manufacturers, and establishing cooperative ventures such as grain elevators, commission houses, butter factories, and Grange supply stores. Many of these efforts were mismanaged and incurred large debts, eventually causing some local granges to disband to avoid being held financially liable.[83] One exception was the widespread success of mutual fire insurance associations established or expanded by grange members.

The National Grange's annual meeting of 1874 was described as "the most representative gathering of farmers which had ever taken place in the U.S."[84] Delegates approved a *Declaration of Purposes* which endorsed the motto, "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity," and which described both specific actions and general values embraced by the Order, in support of mutual protection and advancement for farmers.[85] While identifying the Order as non-partisan, the *Declaration* directed members to take an interest in politics and particularly to support anti-corruption efforts. Drafted by James W. A. Wright, first Master of the California State Grange and a former Major in the Confederate Army,[86] the *Declaration* advocated direct economic relations between producers and consumers. While it stated that members "are not enemies of railroads," this assertion was followed by a clarification that the Order opposed any corporation that tended to oppress the people and rob them of their just profits. Memorably, the section of the *Declaration* describing business relations concluded with the proclamation "We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies,"[87] a statement which would become a rallying cry for the agrarian revolt of the ensuing decade known as the "Granger Movement."

C. Agrarian Reform and the Granger Movement

The Order's phenomenal growth in the mid-1870s brought sudden attention from the press and Congress. Seemingly overnight, the Patrons of Husbandry became, in the words of a journalist of the era, "a power which no political party can afford to ignore."[88] A series

of graphics published between 1873 and 1875 sought to represent the Order visually, and such images both raised awareness about the Grange and created confusion regarding the Order's goals and the goals of radical political movement increasingly associated with it. The first of these, titled "Gift for the Grangers" [figure 2.10] was produced in 1873 as a recruitment poster and promotional print for Grange members.[89] It depicted scenes of farming and farm life, and included the Grange's slogan "I Pay For All" referring to the primacy of farming as the basis for all wealth, as well as the words faith, hope, charity, and fidelity that are significant in Grange ritual. The image represented an idealized view of the prosperity of rural life, and included both biblical and classical iconography, the latter in the form of the Roman goddesses Pomona, Flora and Ceres at the top center. This print's visual depiction of a grange in session is discussed in Chapter 5.

In contrast, two other illustrations published at the same time depicted less serene scenes, in the form of political rallies that attracted large crowds of farmers eager to join anti-monopoly and anti-corruption reform movements. "The Farmers' Meeting in the West – Meeting of the Grangers in the Woods Near Winchester, Scott County, Illinois"[90] [figure 2.11], published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* in 1873, depicted what came to be known as the "Farmer's Fourth of July," when mass meetings were held to draw attention to the plight of farmers, especially the grievances of farmers against railroads. Similarly, "A Grangers' Procession and Mass Meeting" [figure 2.12], published in 1874 in the monograph *The Farmer's War Against Monopolies*, and reprinted in newspapers, depicted a large political rally in an unidentified town square. Such agrarian uprisings and instances of revolt were most widespread in Illinois, where farmers' clubs had been agitating politically and legally since 1870 against the high rates and monopolistic practices of railroads and grain elevator operators.

While many Illinois farmers joined the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry in its earliest years, the Grange as an organization did not lead or sponsor anti-railroad protests.

Figure 2.10: Gift for the Grangers, 1873, Lithograph by Strobridge & Company (Library of Congress Collection)

Figure 2.11: The Farmer's movement in the West, 1873. "Meeting of the Grangers in the woods near Winchester, Illinois." Wood engraving in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, August 30, 1873, after Joseph B. Beale. (Library of Congress Collection)

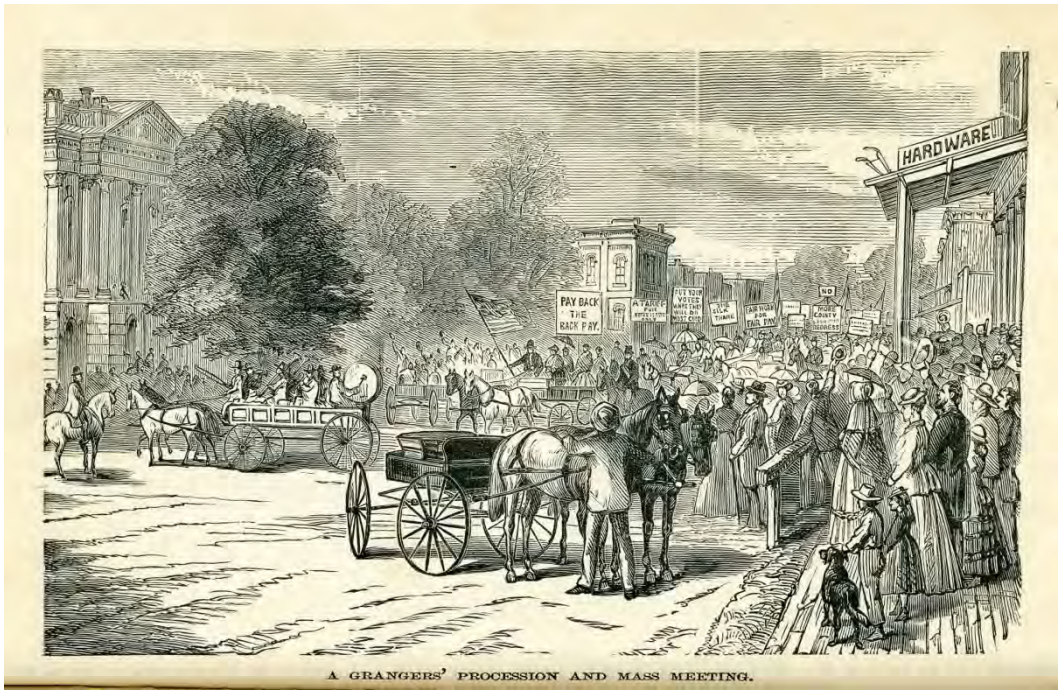


Figure 2.12: Grangers' Procession and Mass Meeting, 1874 (from Edward Winslow Martin, *History of the Grange Movement; Or, The Farmer's War Against Monopolies.* Chicago: National Publishing Company, 1874)

However, as the above referenced illustrations demonstrate, the popular press applied the name “grangers” to western farmers in general, and consequently to those fighting the railroads.[91] This appellation was reinforced as several states passed laws regulating railroads, at the demand of farmers, and these laws were collectively referred to by judges and the press as “granger laws.” As one article from an early twentieth century popular periodical stated, “In everything published on the subject, the anti-railroad movement is called the Granger movement; the resulting legislation, the Granger legislation; the [legal] cases that arose, the Granger cases.”[92]

The conflation of the Grange organization with such uprisings was depicted visually in another widely reproduced political cartoon from 1873, titled “The Grange Awakening the Sleepers” [figure 2.13].[93] This image featured a long line of fat, well-dressed cityfolk lying on the ground, smoking cigars and reading newspapers, oblivious to the railroad tracks running on top of them. A farmer wearing a hat labeled GRANGE attempts to warn them of the “railroad menace” represented by an oncoming train carrying cars with labels such as “Extortion” and “Bribery.” Undoubtedly such publicity increased grange membership during the tumultuous period of the mid-1870s, but National Grange leaders lamented such popular misrepresentations of their organization, saying, “Unfortunately for our Order, the impression prevails to some extent that its chief mission is to fight railroads and denounce capitalists.”[94]

In fact, scholars debate the actual significance of the Patrons organization in efforts to regulate the railroads, while recognizing that the term Granger Movement was commonly used historically to refer broadly to the farmers’ agitation against abusive railroad practices, corrupt politicians and unscrupulous businessmen in the 1870s.[95] The first, and still arguably the most widely quoted, academic study on the subject, Solon J. Buck’s 1913 monograph *The Granger Movement*, acknowledged that it was not a history of the Grange specifically,[96] but of the agrarian reform movement of the 1870s in general. Notably, historians of the Order who are also grange members tend to be quite careful in avoiding

Figure 2.13: “Grange Awakening the Sleepers” 1873 (Northern Illinois University Collection)

Figure 2.14: “I Feed You All” 1875 Lithograph by American Olegraph Company (Library of Congress Collection)

use of the term “granger” to refer to their organization’s members, preferring to call them Patrons.

A final graphic from this era titled “I Feed You All”[97] [figure 2.14] conveyed a more complex message about the role of agriculture in American society. While not explicitly tied to the Grange, this lithograph, printed in 1875 in anticipation of the nation’s centennial, presents a variation on a popular slogan of the 1870s, “The Farmer Pays For All.” The image, and the slogan that inspired it, simultaneously recognized farmers’ central role in generating the wealth that supports all of society, represented by middle and upper class professionals such as a lawyer, a soldier, a minister and a store keeper. At the same time, the image mocked the parasitic role of financiers and wholesalers, showing a broker at his bank window, claiming “I fleece you all.”

As much as the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry expanded in the mid-1870s, and as quickly as public opinion shifted to sympathize with the plight of farmers and the aims of the broader Granger Movement, both the Order and the movement essentially collapsed by the end of the decade. One scholar of the Order’s origins noted that many members stopped paying dues and stopped attending meetings after the initial excitement of being associated with a secret fraternal organization had worn off.[98] Confusion about the Order’s goals became more problematic, not only among the press, politicians and the public, but also among those within the Order. One journalist explained,

> Thousands of farmers had been carried in by the enthusiasm of the movement, with no idea of the nature and aims of the order. Some expected to make a political party; others, to smash the railroads; almost all hoped to find in co-operation a panacea for poverty.[99]

Membership in the Order plummeted after 1877, a decline attributed to a variety of different causes, including inadequate training of subordinate grange officers, financial losses associated with the failure of cooperative ventures, and a migration of members to more radical agrarian political organizations.[100] While Grange members continued to engage in social, recreation and educational opportunities, and cooperative sales increased

in some regions, it has been said that the press was writing the epitaph of the Order and of the so-called Granger Movement by the end of the 1870s.

Agrarian reform agendas were aggressively pursued during the 1880s and 1890s by organizations other than the Grange, such as the Farmers' Alliance, which was closely associated with the Populist Party and subsequently did not survive the collapse of Populism in the late 1890s. While the Grange may have appeared conservative in contrast,[101] it would be more accurate to describe the Grange's political agenda during the last two decades of the nineteenth century as progressive but not aligned with any particular party. Membership in the Grange began increasing again in the 1880s, especially in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. The gradual growth of the Order in the 1880s was attributed to new member interest in forming cooperatives, sponsoring agricultural fairs where implements could be purchased in bulk, and supporting the temperance and woman suffrage movements.[102]

Of all aspects of the history of the Order, scholars appear to be most intrigued by the Grange's rapid growth, collapse, and resurgence in the late nineteenth century, and various interpretations have been offered regarding the Order's "true" identity and goals during this period. Buck's 1913 study emphasized the fraternal, educational and social aims of the organization, and suggested that depressed economic conditions and fierce opposition to corruption transformed the Grange into an economic and political coalition which weakened the Order. A different interpretation of this shift was offered by historian William Barns in his 1967 article "Oliver Hudson Kelley and the Genesis of the Grange: A Reappraisal,"[103] which suggested that the Order's sudden re-orientation toward politics and economics occurred as a direct result of the founders relinquishing control of National Grange in 1873 to a more radicalized group of officers. In honor of the National Grange's fiftieth anniversary in 1917, a commemorative publication noted that previous accounts of the early Grange history erroneously concluded that the organization disappeared around 1880.[104] In

fact, the 1880s inaugurated a period of successful legislative advocacy and growth in membership – growth which continued through much of the twentieth century.

D. Legislative Accomplishments and Business Initiatives

Following an arduous two decades focused on the regulation of railroads which eventually resulted in the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, the Order adopted a more diversified long-term strategy of promoting issues that supported farmers and improved rural life. The Order's national legislative agenda was voted on by delegates from every state who attended the annual meetings of the National Grange. The Order demonstrated great perseverance on issues important to its members by routinely investing a decade or more of political and legal activism before the desired Congressional or Executive actions were finally achieved. The general consensus among historians both affiliated with and independent from the Order is that the Grange was not wholly responsible for any of its claimed accomplishments, but has been an important and sometimes dominant factor influencing many federal policies.[105]

In 1876, the National Grange started working toward the goal of having a farmer serve as a presidential advisor, and the Department of Agriculture director was finally elevated to a cabinet position in 1889. On a similarly lengthy time frame, efforts began in the 1880s to establish rural free delivery of mail, a service that was established nationwide in 1896, with the later addition of parcel post service. Another area of activism begun in the 1880s was lobbying in favor of direct election of senators (who were then appointed by state legislatures), and this change was eventually ratified as the Seventeenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1913.[106] While the Morrill Act of 1862 enabled the establishment of land grant colleges, few were actually established until, with strong support from the Grange, the Hatch Act of 1887 provided federal funding for state colleges and associated agricultural experiment stations. These stations provided critical research services to farmers, and were further developed and formalized as the Cooperative

Extension System, again with Grange support, by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914.[107] Other important efforts that began in the 1890s and continued into the twentieth century included support for pure food and drug laws, anti-trust laws, and funding for farm-to-market roads.

Issues related to farm credit and rural electrification became increasingly important to the Order in the first decades of the twentieth century, and these issues were addressed in the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916, and key elements of the New Deal including the Farm Credit Administration established in 1933 and the Rural Electrification Act of 1936. Another New Deal program supported by the National Grange, the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, was the first of what came to be called "Farm Bills," omnibus legislation passed every five to seven years that regulate and fund dozens of agricultural programs at the federal level. Since the New Deal, the National Grange has rarely taken primary credit for the success of major public policy efforts, but the organization has endorsed many federal initiatives perceived as beneficial to farmers, including construction of the Interstate Highway system and the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project in the 1950s, the Rural Development Act of 1972, and various international treaties and trade agreements promoting export of commodity crops.[108]

In addition to its legislative agenda, the Order developed a variety of successful cooperative business initiatives that benefited members. Regional and national programs originally developed to provide mutual fire insurance expanded to provide automobile and casualty insurance, and in some states, windstorm, tornado and hail insurance.[109] The Farmers Union Central Exchange, known as CENEX, was established in Minnesota in 1931 as a distributor of discounted fuels for Patrons, and with the rapid increase in tractor use it soon became a national distributor. Grange members in Washington State were involved in organizing a number of successful cooperatives, which are discussed in Chapter 3.

Many Grange members also participated in cooperative marketing, and a promotional booklet claimed that, in 1956, over one-fourth of the nation's farm products were being marketed cooperatively.[110] While access to insurance and cooperative programs always

served as an incentive for members to join the Order and to maintain their memberships, it appears that some tension existed regarding the tendency of these incentives to overshadow other aspects of the organization. In an effort to reinforce the Order's broader mission, an article in the *National Grange Monthly* in 1927 reminded readers, "The Grange is not organized and maintained solely to enable members to buy fertilizers, binder twine, dairy feed and other farm supplies. It is a great fraternal, social organization, an educational institution and a cooperative association all in one."[111]

E. Membership and Organizational Identity in the Twentieth Century

The identity, mission and membership of the Grange continued to evolve throughout the twentieth century, in relation to changes in farming and in rural populations. According to the United States Census, the population of many settled rural districts in the northern states began to decrease in 1890, and nationally the rural population declined as a share of overall population beginning in 1900. Other important indicators of change in rural life can be found in agricultural statistics for the early twentieth century. The total acreage nationwide devoted to agriculture peaked in 1920, as did the number of people engaged in farming, while the number of farms peaked in 1935 at 6.8 million.[112] The fifteen-year lag between these milestones in part reflected the increased mechanization of farm labor, which reduced the number of workers required for some types of farming, but the downward trend was consistent over several decades.

Rural Reform and Grange Growth

In the first decade of the twentieth century, concern about the declining rural population led sociologists and agricultural economists to propose a series of reforms intended to make rural living more satisfying, thus encouraging rural residents to remain on farms rather than migrating to cities. Rural reformers, most of whom were actually city dwellers,[113] focused primarily on the quality of rural public education and advocated the construction of modern consolidated schools, and some also championed the construction of

community buildings to enhance rural social life. (These recommendations influenced the construction of grange halls in important ways which are explored in Chapters 5 and 6.) The Country Life Movement, as the early twentieth century rural reform movement was called, raised a number of issues about rural cultural life, which provide an interesting context in which to examine the Grange during the same time period.

President Theodore Roosevelt appointed the Country Life Commission in 1908, and this panel of respected scholars and rural leaders, chaired by Dean Liberty Hyde Bailey of the College of Agriculture at Cornell University, spent an intense year traveling around the country collecting survey data on the status of farming after the impact of industrialism, and taking testimony regarding the problems of rural life.[114] While the work of the Department of Agriculture prioritized efforts to improve agricultural production, the Commission was more interested in ways to improve the social welfare of the rural population. By focusing on rural poverty and other sometimes harsh realities of rural life, rather than the idyllic images of yeoman farmers found in the nation's mythic past, the Commission's work is credited with having established or at least having elevated the fields of rural sociology and rural social work as approaches for understanding the problems of farming regions.[115] The Commission's formal work concluded with a report of its findings published in 1909, which catalyzed the Country Life Movement, and led to two decades of progressive efforts aimed at bolstering rural communities.

Guided by Theodore Roosevelt's "formula for a sound agriculture: better farming (the application of science), better business (the organization of farm co-operatives), and better living (mostly better schools and modern conveniences),"[116] the Commission and subsequent Movement were viewed with some ambivalence by Grange leaders. National Master Nahum Bachelder mobilized Grange support for and public interest in the Country Life Commission's data-gathering efforts, while other Grange leaders resented what they characterized as a paternalistic intrusion into agricultural matters primarily aimed at securing future labor to produce enough cheap food for expanding urban populations.[117]

Noting that the Grange had always emphasized the social aspects of farm life, one Grange leader said, "The Patrons of Husbandry was a 'country life commission' of its own authority and one that was more attuned to actual rural conditions,"[118] implying that the Commission lacked such legitimacy. In spite of occasional slights, the reformers and the Grange generally praised each other's efforts, and the Country Life Movement of the 1910s and 1920s coincided with a revitalization of the Order.

Interestingly, the years in which the Country Life Commission was active, 1908 and 1909, also saw more new subordinate granges organized than any year since 1878.[119] The decade of the 1910s saw an expansion of grange membership, and a number of legislative achievements that reflected a close alignment between the goals of the Order and the broader social, political and economic agendas of the Progressive era. Since the Order was established, journalists and historians have debated whether the Grange was a radical, progressive, conservative or reactionary organization, while generally failing to appreciate that the Order can accurately be described as all of these things, depending on the place and time under consideration.

A 1906 speech by an officer of the National Grange captured this apparent contradiction of progressive conservatism embraced as a hallmark of the Order. He said:

> The Grange should remember its respectability, but keep wide awake at all times, and it should be guided by the safe conservatism of sound thinking; but eminent respectability and sound thinking alone will not do if we are 'too cowardly to be in the firing line.' The Grange will cease to be what it was designed to be whenever it ceases to be a progressive and aggressive leader in everything that makes for the betterment of country life and rural conditions.[120]

As this statement suggests, the Order's stability and growth during the early twentieth century can in part be attributed to a resolute return to its founding principle of nonpartisanship.

While earlier efforts to sustain a Grange newspaper had been unsuccessful, 1910 saw the establishment of the *National Grange Monthly*, a popular publication which documented activities of the National Grange, shared news submitted by state and local

granges, and included educational features intended to foster a sense of shared identity among Patrons. The newspaper's eclectic content emphasized modernization of farming and the farm home, and routinely profiled what were described as "wide awake" granges taking on interesting community service projects, as well as successful political initiatives at the national, state and local levels.[121] An unaffiliated journalist of the era writing about fraternal lodges proclaimed that it was in the early twentieth century that the Grange began to show "its real vitality. In spite of automobiles and urbanization, it could muster 540,085 gentleman-farmers by 1915."[122]

Gender, Race, Religion, and Ethnicity

While the above quoted journalist was correct regarding the number of members, he was incorrect in identifying them all as "gentlemen." In fact, a large proportion of Grange members have always been women. Scholars of women's history have examined many facets of Grange history, including the Order's support for women's suffrage, and aspects of community building and activism among female members of the Order.[123] Historians of the Order have had much to say about gender with regard to institutionalized equality, but have had little to say about race, religion or ethnicity with regard to Grange membership. One exception is scholar Sven Nordin who recognized that in practice, if not in policy, African Americans have historically been excluded from the Order, as the National Grange ignored discrimination by some state and subordinate granges.[124] In documenting the wide variations among local attitudes toward race, Nordin cited as examples evidence that the Grange served as a front in the early twentieth century for the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi, while in adjacent Louisiana, some granges had both black and white members who worked harmoniously.

Regarding religion, general studies of fraternal societies acknowledge that church teachings forbade Catholics from joining secret societies,[125] but Grange histories rarely address this concern. A glimpse of the varied ethnic backgrounds of early Grange members

is provided by requests made to the National Grange for translations of the Order's ritual, constitution, and *Manual*. In the 1870s, Indiana granges requested German translations, Wisconsin granges wanted both German and Norwegian, and Louisiana granges wanted French translations.[126] Given the steady increase of Latinos in the rural population nationwide in recent decades, there appears to have been surprisingly little effort on the part of the National Grange to translate materials into Spanish or to encourage Latino membership, which may be a reflection of divided opinions among members regarding immigration, although some state and local leaders have indicated a greater interest in reaching out to Latinos in farming communities.[127]

Grange Headquarters and Historic Sites

One gauge of the Order's mid-twentieth century strength was its efforts to secure a headquarters in Washington, D.C., while at the same time preserving the Minnesota home of Grange founder Oliver Kelley as a historic site. Having maintained offices in Washington, D.C., for most of the Order's history, the National Grange established a building fund in 1920 dedicated toward the acquisition of a permanent headquarters. The National Grange purchased an office building fronting Lafayette Square, across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, in 1943. Subsequent expansion of federal government offices led to a property exchange in which the Grange acquired land nearby and constructed a second office building at 1616 H Street NW that was dedicated in 1960.[128]

In addition to establishing a national headquarters, the Order also sought to commemorate its own history. Working with the National Park Service, the Order erected a bronze plaque on a small block of granite [figure 2.15] on the National Mall at Fourth Street and Madison Drive NW, near the location where the National Grange was founded in 1867. Dedicated in 1951, this plaque is recognized as the only private monument on the National Mall.[129] In addition to establishing a permanent presence in Washington, D.C., the National Grange purchased the Elk River, Minnesota, home and farm of Oliver H. Kelley [figure 2.16]

Figure 2.15: Monument to the Founding of the National Grange, Washington, D.C. (National Grange Collection)

Figure 2.16: Oliver H. Kelley Farm near Elk River, Minnesota (Library of Congress, Historic American Building Survey)

Figure 2.17: 1948 Grange Booth at the Minnesota State Fair (Minnesota Historical Society Collection)

in 1935 to preserve it as a historical site.[130] A photo of the Minnesota State Grange booth at the 1948 Minnesota State Fair [figure 2.17] promoted visitation to the Kelley Farm, calling it the "National Grange Shrine." The property is designated as a National Historic Landmark, and is managed by the Minnesota State Historical Society.

Post World War II Membership Decline

Nationally, membership in the Grange peaked in the late 1940s at more than 800,000 men and women in 35 states. Parallel to other fraternal organizations, the Grange saw its membership decline during the second half of the twentieth century, with a precipitous drop of almost twenty percent between 1952 and 1962.[131] The decline in the number of subordinate granges was similar: from a peak of more than 8,000 local granges in 1935, the number fell to around 6,000 by 1966, a reduction attributed to such causes as population shifts, competition for time and attention from television and other activities, the death of aging members, loss of member services, and shortages of juvenile granges.[132] Some critics contend that as membership declined, the Grange abandoned its nineteenth century radical roots and became increasingly conservative during the twentieth century.[133]

The centennial of the Order in 1967 was marked by the issuance of a commemorative stamp [figure 2.18] by the United States Postal Service. That same year the National Grange initiated an effort to communicate to the public that membership in the Grange was not just for farmers, but for all rural residents interested in community service. Former Washington State Grange Master and National Grange Executive Committee member Jack Silvers stated that the Grange was open to anyone interested in agriculture, adding, "If you eat food, you should be interested in agriculture."[134]

In 1974, to mark the centennial of the original *Declaration of Purposes*, a slightly abbreviated version of this document was adopted at the annual meeting of the National Grange, recognizing such things as the impact of agribusiness on rural life.[135] An updated emblem [figure 2.19], developed prior to the Order's 125th anniversary in 1992, highlights

Figure 2.18: Commemorative stamp honoring National Grange centennial, 1967 (United States Postal Service)

Figure 2.19: Contemporary emblem of the National Grange

the word Grange and abbreviates the Order's formal name Patrons of Husbandry to "P of H," whereas the word Grange was not included in earlier versions of the emblem. Recent revisions to key governing documents reflect the Order's efforts to translate its values into more contemporary language. An alternative version of the *Grange Manual* was created for optional use, which identified local groups as community granges rather than subordinate granges, and substituted the term President instead of Master for the elected leader of the local grange. Abridged versions of the ceremonies to open and close meetings were also included in the alternative manual, but the remainder of the traditional ritual was unchanged, to the dismay of some who considered it to be too old fashioned, and to the approval of others who appreciated the time-honored qualities of the ritual.[136]

Rather than taking a position against monopolies or corruption, one twenty-first century publicity document from the Order rather curiously defined its position as one that resisted "urban agendas." The document stated:

> The Grange is continuing its long tradition of advocating for all Americans, especially those under-represented residents of our farms, small towns and rural areas. All too often, political powers from heavily populated urban areas push their agendas and the Grange is frequently the only voice the rural residents have to express their needs. The Grange's philosophy has always been that what is good for America's farms and rural residents is good for the entire nation.[137]

This emphasis on rural-urban conflict was unusual, and more recent publicity efforts have focused on issues such as environmental stewardship and the resurgence of interest in locally-grown food. The tag-line on 2012 news releases from the National Grange stated that the Order "has evolved into the nation's leading rural advocacy organization" with 160,000 members active in 2,100 local granges.[138]

In addressing contemporary issues such as expansion of broadband internet access to rural areas, the Grange strikes few people as a radical organization, but some continue to evoke the Order's reform-focused origins in envisioning a dynamic future. Anarchist political commentator Peter Lamborn Wilson, writing in 2003, praised what he described as "the Grange's magical formula: economic self-organization, cooperation, and mutual aid;

no involvement in legislative electoral politics but militancy on social and economic issues; plenty of picnics, outings, celebrations, socializing and shared fun; and a really impressive but simple ritual."[139] Arguing for the contemporary relevance of the Order's grassroots activism, Wilson proposed that all the planks in the old Grange platform "could simply be repainted and spruced up with trendy vocabulary to serve as groundwork for a new agrarian radical movement,"[140] and suggested that if a Grange-like movement is needed to respond to contemporary social, political and economic circumstances, "then perhaps it could be... the Grange."

Chapter 3: THE GRANGE IN WASHINGTON STATE

Overview

The history of Grange in Washington State diverges significantly from the Order's history at the national level. Publications about the Grange from the early twentieth century noted that while the Grange was a national organization, characteristics of the Order differed in the various sections of the country based on the agricultural situation.[1] While differences among granges may be due in part to differences among farmers, the political and economic initiatives of the Grange in Washington State over the past 125 years are at least as important as the state's agriculture situation in determining the Order's resilience in this state.

When the National Grange first gained national prominence in the 1870s, Washington was a sparsely settled territory; both statehood and transcontinental railroad service were still a decade away. After it was organized in 1889, the Washington State Grange gained political clout during the early twentieth century, in part through participation in progressive coalitions that shaped state politics until World War I. Since then, the Washington State Grange has maintained a vital role in the state by advancing the economic and political interests of its members. Since the 1970s, Washington has maintained the distinction of having the most grange members of any state. This chapter examines the history of the Washington State Grange, and considers factors that have supported the Order's strength in the state, which in turn has contributed to the ongoing preservation and use of grange halls, discussed in Chapter 5.

A. Early Years: 1870s – 1890s

Washington's first grange was established during the territorial period in 1873, in Waitsburg, then part of Walla Walla County.[2] Because this grange was the first in Washington to receive its charter, it is known as Waitsburg #1, and all subsequent granges in Washington have been numbered in the order in which they were chartered. On

September 10, 1889, just weeks prior to Washington's statehood, delegates from sixteen subordinate granges, one more than the minimum number required to organize at the state level, met at a lodge hall in Camas [figure 3.1] to form the Washington State Grange.[3] The emergence of the grange in Washington State was paralleled by developments in nearby states. The first subordinate granges in Oregon, Idaho and California were also organized in the 1870s, as deputies employed by the National Grange visited farming areas throughout the middle and far western regions.[4] The Oregon and California State Granges were both organized in 1873, and Washington's territorial granges affiliated with the Oregon State Grange prior to Washington's statehood. The Idaho State Grange was established significantly later, in 1908, and the Order never had as strong a presence in that state as it has in the more politically progressive coastal states.

Early interest in the grange in Washington came from farmers in Cowlitz, Clark, Skamania, and Klickitat counties, who engaged in a lengthy battle against the Oregon Steam Navigation Company's monopoly on Columbia River transportation.[5] By 1900, the Order had established a presence in Walla Walla, Whitman, Yakima, and Lincoln Counties, as well as those counties bordering on Puget Sound. Notably, the counties where early granges were organized included some of the earliest settled farming areas which had supplied Hudson's Bay Company forts at Walla Walla and Vancouver in the early nineteenth century.

B. Grange Growth and the Progressive Era

A brief review of Washington's agricultural history shows that the period of record expansion in the state's farming sector coincided with an era of rapid growth of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry statewide. While the Donation Land Law of 1850 and the Homestead Act of 1862 encouraged non-native settlement in Washington Territory, the 1880 census listed the number of farms as only 6,530. The completion of three transcontinental railroads, the Union Pacific, Northern Pacific, and Great Northern, led to a

Figure 3.1: Site of the founding of the Washington State Grange in 1889, Aeneas McMaster's Pioneer Store, in Camas, WA (photo ca. 1888 *Clark County Historical Museum Image No. P15.5.22A)*

dramatic population increase, and by 1900, the number of farms in Washington State had grown to 32,956.[6] The number nearly doubled again by 1910. This pattern of continued growth in population, and continued expansion in the number of farms, contrasted sharply with trends in many other regions of the country where rural population and farm numbers declined after 1900, as discussed in the previous chapter.

While the Order had established a foothold in Washington during the nineteenth century, the Washington State Grange launched an aggressive organizing campaign in the early twentieth century. In 1900 there were 23 granges in Washington, with 656 members. By 1910, there were 260 granges with over 13,000 members. This growth can be attributed to numerous factors in addition to the state's population boom during that decade, including the Grange's support for cooperatives (discussed in more detail below), the fellowship that meetings and social events offered farmers in sparsely settled rural districts, and strong ties to the progressive political movement that dominated state politics from the 1890s through the 1910s.[7]

The Progressive Era, like the brief Populist Movement that preceded it, manifested somewhat differently in Washington State than elsewhere in the country. In Washington, as on a national level, Populism fed on agrarian as well as industrial discontent amplified by the Panic of 1873 and a similar economic collapse in 1893. Also mirroring the national situation, the People's Party or Populist Party in Washington, with strong participation from the radical Farmers' Alliance, fielded candidates for numerous state and federal level elections in the 1890s. Because Washington attained statehood in 1889, progressive principles favoring open government and public ownership of resources were enshrined in Washington State law, thus giving progressive values a stronger basis in public policy than in much of the rest of the country.[8]

While the Washington State Grange supported an active legislative agenda focused on issues such as Farm-to-Market roads in the 1890s, and the initiative and referendum process in the 1900s, the Order adhered to its nonpartisan principles and did not officially

endorse Populist candidates. The decision to not endorse candidates was perceived as a conservative or reactionary position by some commentators at the time, and subsequently by some historians[9]; however, this view offers too simplistic an interpretation, reflecting a lack of appreciation for the extent of the Order's engagement with legislative politics.

In the wake of Populism's collapse around 1900, groups such as the Farmers' Alliance faded from prominence while the Grange gained members and political influence. Historian Harriet Crawford described the political dynamics in Washington State in the early twentieth century as a kind of resurgent Progressivism. She wrote,

> To all appearances Populism was dead in Washington after the turn of the [twentieth] century; actually it was buried alive, and remained alive to galvanize into action those organizations which had their roots in the soil… The turn of the [twentieth] century saw a new era of development in which the State Grange entered upon a role which, throughout two generations, it filled with varying emphasis.[10]

This "new era" shaped the political character of Washington State, where the Progressive Era ushered in a period of social activism, political reform and scientific modernization that lasted until World War I according to some scholars, and persisted through the 1920s according to others.[11] Interestingly, this widespread endorsement of progressive values occurred at the same time that farmers ceased to be the majority of the state population, an indication that the Grange's standing was based more on strategic alliances than on numbers alone. As historian Gus Norwood explained,

> By 1910, Washington State Grange Master Kegley recognized that farmers were no longer in the majority. He made alliances with labor and other minority groups to pursue common legislative goals. Grangers learned the wisdom of advocating and voting for proposals that reached beyond the normal concern of farmers.[12]

To understand the basis of such alliances, it is helpful to consider the complex and somewhat parallel history of organized labor in Washington State. Historian Carlos Schwantes noted that between 1885 and 1917, the Pacific Northwest underwent a rapid, often turbulent transformation from a frontier region to an increasingly urban, industrialized society, and he argued that organized labor played a more prominent role in the evolution

of society in Washington and British Columbia than perhaps in any other frontier region in North America.[13] While a discussion of the labor movement in the region is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is notable that farmers and industrial workers stood together on issues of mutual concern such as opposing corruption, supporting municipal ownership of ports and other resources, and participating in the anti-war movement.

The master of the Washington State Grange from 1905 to 1917, Carey Kegley, often described the Washington Grange as progressive in contrast to the National Grange, which he characterized as reactionary in his annual state convention addresses that were printed in the Washington *Grange News* [figure 3.2].[14] While the National Grange, by some accounts, became increasingly sympathetic to the business interests that it was, in part, established to oppose, the Washington State Grange continued advocacy for progressive issues such as universal suffrage, direct legislation, and public ownership of utilities. Kegley's successor, William Bouck noted that, for a variety of reasons, "The grange in the East is so different from our grange in Washington that it seems almost like a different organization."[15]

During Kegley's tenure as State Grange Master (from 1905 to 1917), Washington led the nation for many years in the number of new Granges organized,[16] confirming that the organization's principles and political stances appealed to many Washington farmers. By the twentieth century, the grange in many parts of the country had come to focus primarily on social and economic activities, but not in Washington. Historian Marilyn Watkins explained,

> Kegley…knew that the rhetoric of a working people's democracy still inspired farmers of the state. He promised grangers that he would fight for and secure legislation that destroys monopoly's power over the people, and enables the farmers to enjoy the full fruits of their labor.[17]

Perhaps even more important than perceived common interests between agrarian and industrial reformers were the circumstances in Washington that led some workers to identify as both farmers and laborers. After 1900, settlers who purchased marginal rural

Figure 3.2: Washington *Grange News* masthead, 1912 (Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

Figure 3.3: Deputy Washington State Grange Master Ira Shea in Ferry County, 1926 (from Shea, *The Grange Was My Life*, 1983, pp. 32)

lands to establish farms often worked as seasonal laborers in logging and other extractive industries to supplement their meager income, and were themselves union members even if they were not full-time wage laborers. William Bouck, master of the Washington State Grange from 1917 to 1921, considered himself a spokesperson for "an unusual breed of agrarian, farmers who have worked at mining, in the woods, [fishing] in Alaska… They are in every grange in the state. Independent, free, with the spirit of the mountains."[18] The overlap between the agricultural sector and organized labor was unusual in other parts of the country, but in Washington State it helped to reinforce the connections and sense of common cause between leaders of the Grange and organized labor.

The ethnic background of the people who moved to the state, and the experiences they brought with them, could be another factor that contributed to the growth of the Grange in Washington State. For example, at its peak in 1910, 32% of Washington State's foreign-born population had emigrated from Nordic countries, predominantly Sweden and Norway, where cooperative traditions and reform movements were both strong.[19] Many Nordic immigrants settled in rural areas, became farmers (and often supplemented their income as loggers, fisherman or miners, as Bouck noted), and likely joined the Grange and participated in its cooperative ventures.

As Washington State Grange Master, Bouck took public positions during World War I against "aggressive militancy,"[20] and argued that the railroads should continue to be operated by the federal government even after the war "emergency" ended; these stands drew condemnation from National Grange leaders, and eventually federal charges for violating the Espionage Act by being disloyal to the war effort.[21] This accusation was eventually rescinded, but not before 1921 when Bouck publicly broke with the national leadership of the Grange and formed a competing organization called the Western Progressive Farmers.[22] Over 6,000 people, approximately one quarter of the grange members in Washington, quit the old organization and joined the new one, which morphed

into the national group Progressive Farmers of America but did not last through the decade, in part due to Bouck's increasingly erratic leadership.[23]

C. The Modern Grange in Washington: Cooperatives and Campaigns

In spite of the national agricultural depression and upheaval in Washington State Grange leadership in the 1920s, the Order continued to flourish in Washington. The decline in membership between 1922 and 1924 due to Bouck's secession was an anomaly in a period otherwise characterized by steady growth in Washington State Grange membership. Major periods of growth both in individual members and in the number of active granges occurred between 1902 and 1921, and again between 1926 and 1937. The number of active granges rose and fell due in part to economic conditions, and by 1935 there were subordinate granges active in all 39 counties in Washington State.

The all-time peak in the number of active subordinate granges occurred in 1937, with 490 granges in Washington State.[24] Much of the actual organizing work was carried out by dedicated deputy state master Ira E. Shea, who traveled throughout the state like an itinerant preacher [figure 3.3] and organized a record 135 granges between 1925 and 1942.[25] Some were newly formed granges, while others were reorganized after having been dormant for a period of time. Galvanizing issues in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the formation of cooperatives and the campaign for public utility districts, brought in thousands of new members and also rekindled the active involvement of former members or their descendants.

The successful family of cooperative associations serving grange members in Washington State, described as the utility side of the fraternity, has been one of the most important incentives for membership in the Order for more than a century. The first of these was the Grange Fire Insurance Association, established in 1894.[26] Widespread cooperative purchasing first took place during World War I, when the King County Pomona initiated mass purchases of hay from Yakima County farmers. Members established the

Grange Cooperative Wholesale Company in Seattle to serve as the buying agent for a network of small, independent grange supply stores [figure 3.4] that numbered more than sixty by 1920. Grange wholesale purchases diversified into grain and feed, hardware, farm machinery, groceries and dry goods. By 1933, gasoline distribution stations began meeting the demand for fuel for newly acquired tractors.[27] One iconic Grange Supply Store [figure 3.5] began in 1934 as a Renton-area diesel pump, and moved to Issaquah in 1943, where it remained in business in 2012 serving residents of eastern King County.

Grange members formed other cooperatives for the purpose of marketing poultry, eggs, dairy products, wheat, cattle, and other commodities. A major achievement was the establishment of the Grange Milling Company at Davenport, which had the capacity to produce more than two hundred barrels of high quality flour per day and served as a depository for thousands of bushels of wheat. By 1942 when the National Grange conference was held in Wenatchee, the *National Grange Monthly* reported that the Washington Grange led all other states in the number and the success of its cooperatives.[28] Grange leaders were also among the organizers of Group Health Cooperative in 1947.

One of the most significant advocacy issues that brought in many new members in the late 1920s was the ongoing discussion regarding formation of public utility districts. Between 1925 and 1930, public power was the Washington State Grange's top advocacy issue, and grange membership nearly doubled during that short period. Rural electrification was a critical issue nationwide for farmers, many of whom either had no access to electricity or poor electric service at high rates from private utilities, a situation that became untenable with the onset of the Great Depression.[29] The National Grange championed electrification as a legislative priority, which helped to secure approval of the 1935 Rural Electrification Act, part of the New Deal. This national legislation enabled the use of federal funds to cover the high cost of installing electrical distribution lines, an especially important issue in the vast rural West. The Washington State Grange's focus was not on the cost of infrastructure, however, but rather on the public ownership of the resource itself.[30] Enabling legislation

Figure 3.4: Grange Co-operative Company, Redmond, WA (Eastside Heritage Center Collection, date unknown)

Figure 3.5: Grange Supply Company, Issaquah, WA (Courtesy of Grange Supply Company, date unknown)

allowing the creation of public utility districts preceded the federal rural electrification law by five years when it was approved by state voters as Initiative No. 1 in 1930.

While advocacy for public or collective ownership of the means of production might have drawn criticism for its resemblance to socialism during a later era, such progressive policies were relatively mainstream in the Pacific Northwest prior to World War II. Historian Charles LeWarne recounts an illustrative anecdote:

> In the middle 1930s, so the story goes, Postmaster General James A. Farley visited Seattle and offered a toast: "To the forty-seven states and the soviet of Washington." No one in his audience could have missed the point. For a quarter century the farthest northwest state had nurtured a reputation for radicalism and reform.[31]

While the Washington State Grange contributed its support to many progressive causes, it was only one of many organizations with a reformist agenda in the region at the time.

Other popular issues which contributed to the boom in Washington State Grange membership during the Great Depression were the "blanket primary" (primary elections in which all voters could vote for any candidate regardless of party affiliation), and highway improvements throughout the state, issues that were important in Washington State, but had little connection with the National Grange's advocacy agenda. One issue that received vigorous support from both the State and National Grange was the massive Columbia Basin Reclamation Project to support irrigation and hydroelectric power from construction of Grand Coulee Dam, which began in 1933.[32] Similarly, both endorsed the Bonneville Power Administration's construction of dams on the lower reaches of the river that began in 1937.

It is difficult to imagine what the condition of Washington's agricultural economy would have been after the Great Depression and World War II without these large-scale projects that greatly expanded the amount of viable cropland through irrigation. In 1939, photographer Dorothea Lange captured a bleak view of an abandoned farmhouse in the Columbia Basin [figure 3.6], which she described as "part of the 1,200,000 acres which the Grand Coulee will irrigate."[33] Farm abandonment would have likely been much more widespread in Washington, as it was in other states, without the benefits of federal

Figure 3.6: Abandoned Farmhouse in Columbia Basin, Photo by Dorothea Lange, 1939 (Library of Congress Collection)

reclamation projects. Although the environmental impacts of these projects have been condemned in hindsight, the economic impacts of the projects undoubtedly strengthened and revitalized the state's agricultural sector, which, in turn, buoyed the Washington State Grange's membership and political prestige.

The Washington State Grange marked its fiftieth anniversary in 1939 with a well-attended annual meeting in Vancouver [figure 3.7] and publication of a commemorative and relentlessly boosterish "Golden Jubilee Edition" of *Grange News* [figure 3.8] which celebrated the Order's accomplishments and profiled the history of many local granges. Lange's desolate photograph and the Grange's triumphalist imagery and narrative, both from 1939, provide starkly contrasting views of farming in Washington State ten years into the Great Depression.

Perhaps the most remarkable demonstration of the Washington State Grange's vigor in the 1930s (in the midst of the Great Depression) was the construction of a state headquarters, the first in the nation. Dedicated in 1935, the building was located at 3104 Western Avenue in Seattle's Belltown neighborhood, an area that subsequently became known as a stronghold of union halls in the 1940s.[34] The concrete and steel building [figure 3.9], praised as modern and fireproof, took up half a city block and was described as a "mighty achievement" by the *National Grange Monthly*,[35] which noted that the building dedication was attended by Washington's Governor and the National Grange Master.

In addition to housing the offices of the State Grange Master, Secretary and Lecturer, it also housed several successful cooperatives associate with the Order, including the Grange Insurance Association and Grange Cooperative Printing Association. The headquarters also housed the monthly *Grange News* established in 1912 (and still published in Olympia as a newsletter in 2012), and the Radio and Research Program that produced a twice-weekly radio program called "Meet the Grange" starting in 1943.[36] The Belltown facility remained the hub of grange activity in the state until 1989 when a new headquarters

Figure 3.7: Washington State Grange convention in Vancouver, WA, 1939 (University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections)

Figure 3.8: "Golden Jubilee Edition" of Washington *Grange News,* 1939 (University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections)

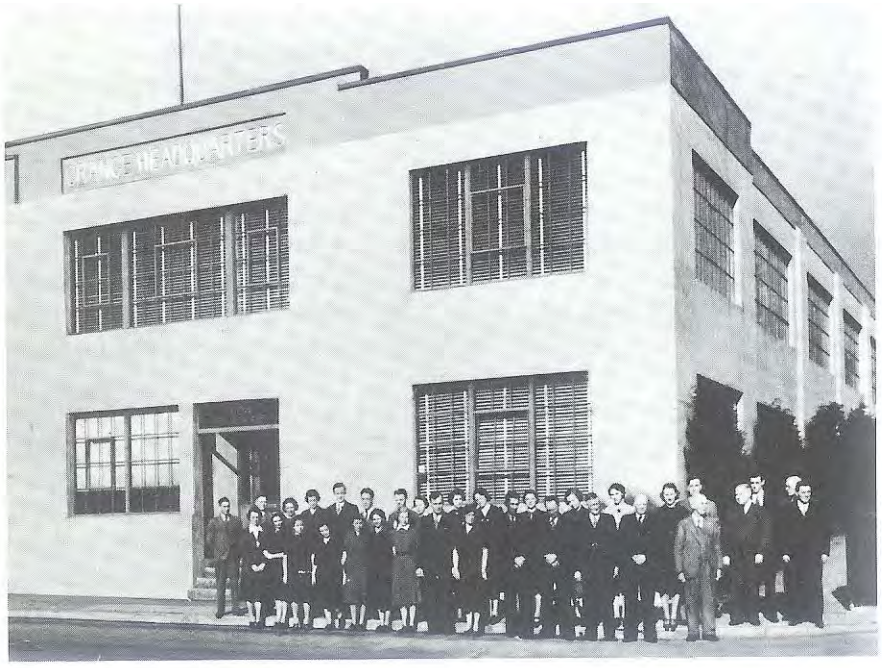


Figure 3.9: Washington State Grange Headquarters in Seattle (completed in 1935), shown in 1939 (Norwood 1988, page 114)

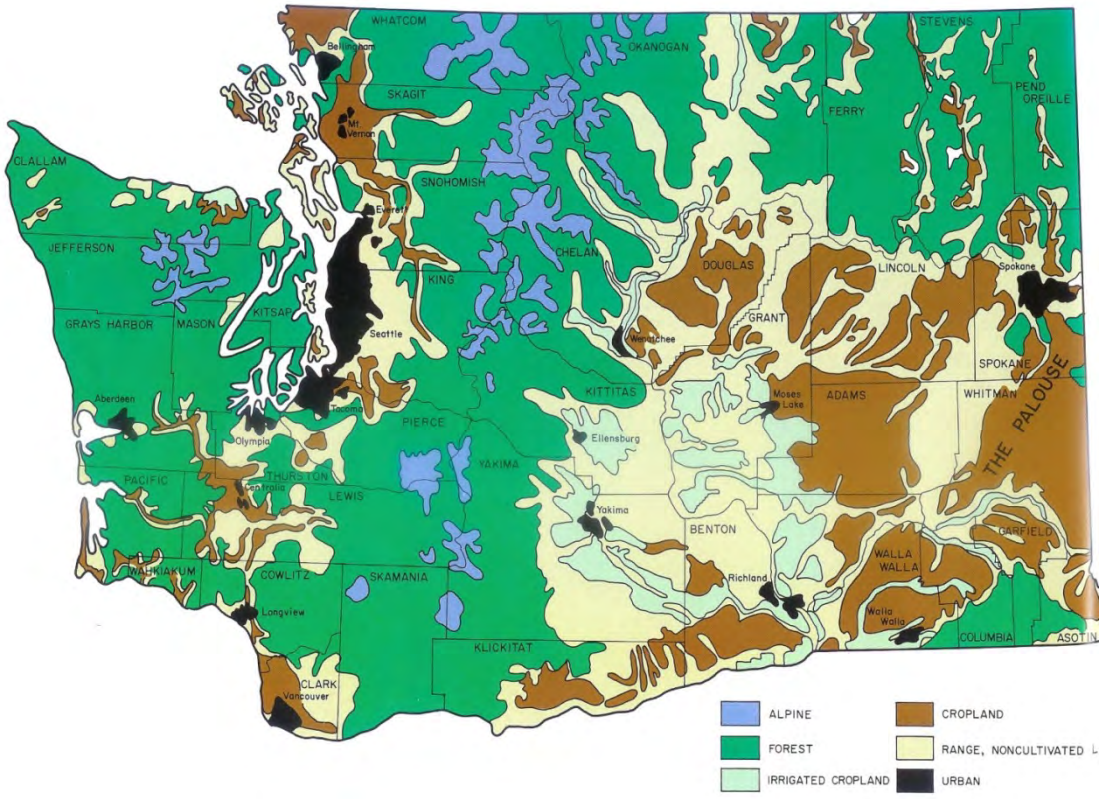


Figure 3.10: Agricultural areas of Washington State (from John Alwin, *Between the Mountains: A Portrait of Eastern Washington,* 1984)

building was completed in Olympia. Sadly, the Seattle headquarters was sold and later demolished.

D. Agriculture and Grange Membership After World War II

While the political issues championed by the Washington State Grange were partially responsible for attracting and retaining members, another important reason for the Grange's success is that farming in Washington has remained a robust sector of the economy. Washington's agriculture is and always has been characterized by remarkable diversification including wheat and cattle ranching in the southern and eastern parts of the state, orcharding in the central region, and dairying in the western region, along with a wide variety of row crops grown throughout the state [figure 3.10]. While some farms were abandoned during the Great Depression, the overall number of farms in the state continued to expand until 1940, peaking statewide at 81,686.[37] After that point, even as the total number of farms decreased, the amount of acreage in production continued to increase for another decade both due to consolidation of small holdings into large farms and ranches, and the expansion of arable land due to reclamation projects, a trend which further distinguishes Washington's agricultural sector from much of the rest of the country where farming steadily diminished.

Even though the number of active granges in Washington State began to decline in the 1940s, along with the number of farms, the number of individual grange members continued to increase, peaking in 1981 at nearly 73,000; the number of granges remained above 400 until the end of the 1980s.[38] In the decades after World War II, Washington was typically ranked fourth nationally in overall grange membership behind Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania,[39] states which historically have had double or triple the population of Washington. A post-World War II promotional pamphlet for the Washington State Grange [figure 3.11] updated the Order's vintage 1870s slogan "The Farmer Feeds Them All" with

Figure 3.11: *Your Washington State Grange*, promotional pamphlet, 1950s (Washington State University Archives)

snappy 1950s graphics and a subtle alteration of language to emphasize service to "the good of the Order, our Country and mankind."[40]

In 1973, Washington became the largest grange state in the nation, and membership continued to grow throughout the 1970s. Some of this sustained growth can be attributed to the health of agriculture as a sector of Washington's economy, as well as to the role of the State Grange in establishing more than a dozen commodity commissions (such as the Apple Commission and the Dairy Products Commission), and the role of cooperatives in incentivizing membership. However, the largest single factor influencing the recruitment of new grange members in Washington in the 1970s was the Washington State Grange's campaign for Initiative 59, the Family Farm Water Act.

This regulatory legislation, approved by voters in 1977, tied water rights to land ownership, and favored independently owned family farms by placing restrictions on water use by conglomerate corporate farms.[41] The initiative also prevented California from taking water from the Columbia River, an idea that state had proposed at the time as a strategy to alleviate its own anticipated water shortages. This aspect of public policy may have interested some Washington State residents at least as much as the agricultural concerns regarding water allocation. As a result of the Initiative 59 campaign, the Grange gained over 4,500 new members in Washington during a two-year period in the late 1970s,[42] an infusion of new members that exceeded total grange memberships in many other states. The visibility and success of this campaign boosted the political status of the Washington State Grange, a situation that was satirized by a political cartoon which depicted the Grange as a "Sleeping Giant" reclining comfortably on the Legislative Building at the state capitol [figure 3.12],[43] an ironic image given the Order's fading political clout nationally. Grange membership in Washington remained above 50,000 through the 1990s according to some accounts, but has declined in the twenty-first century.[44]

Membership decline has been ubiquitous among fraternal organizations and other voluntary associations in recent decades (a trend considered in chapter 6), but long-time

Figure 3.12: The Washington State Grange as the “Sleeping Giant,” 1977 (Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

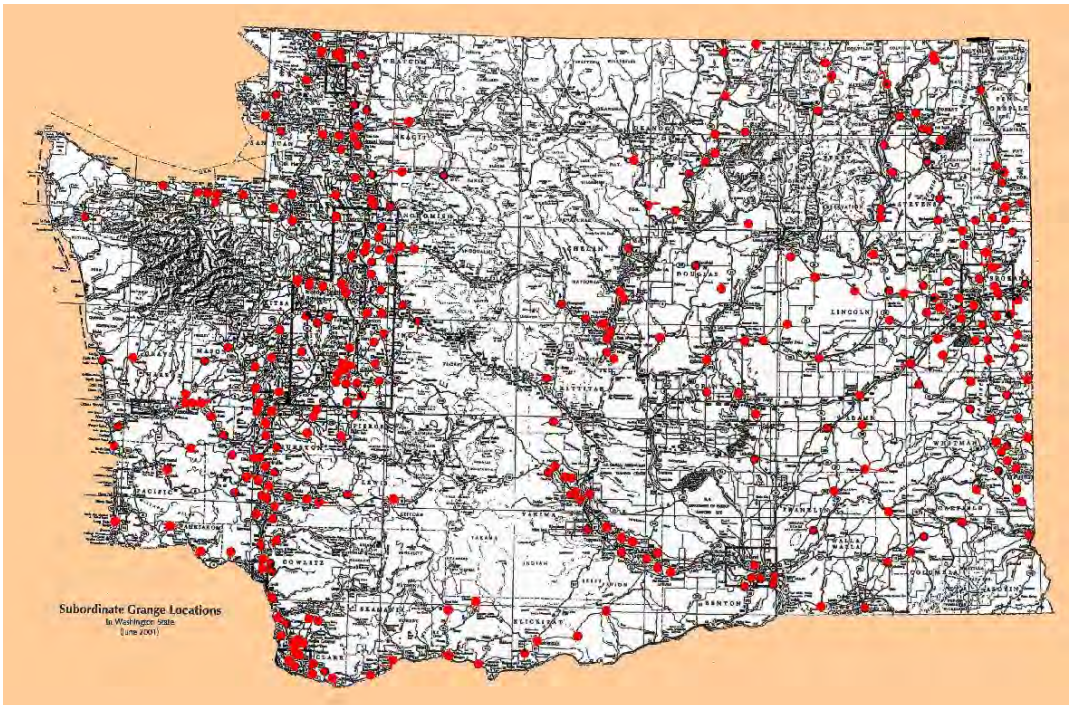


Figure 3.13: Locations of subordinate granges in Washington State (Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

grange organizer Ira Shea still commented with characteristic optimism, "We always mourned when a Grange failed but had to remember more of them lasted for half a century than were lost in the first ten years after charter."[45] Shea noted that, aside from changing social mores, changes in land use also negatively impacted many granges. Not only has suburbanization converted former farmland to other uses, but the opposite has also occurred, as farms in rural areas, especially wheat and cattle ranches, have become so large and neighbors so far apart that granges have had to consolidate in order to survive in areas where population has dwindled.

In spite of the above trends, in 2012, Washington State still retained the largest grange membership in the United States, with approximately 14,000 members in 252 active granges located in all regions of the state [figure 3.13]. The most recently established grange in Washington is Celebration #1150 in King County, chartered in 2012.[46] Interestingly, membership numbers in 2012 are very close to levels of a century ago – in 1910 there were approximately 13,000 members and 260 active granges. The staying power of the Washington State Grange can be attributed to many factors, including the strong tradition of Progressive political activism in the Pacific Northwest, the continuing strength and diversity of the agricultural sector in the state's economy, and the Order's ability to continually update its legislative agenda to take stands on local and statewide issues that are of importance to its members.

The critical policy that has made it possible for the Washington State Grange to operate fairly independently from the National Grange since the beginning of the twentieth century, and to take on issues of local significance, is the Grange's basic structure of grassroots decision-making. Ideas for initiatives, and resolutions regarding legislative positions, are proposed and voted on at the local (subordinate grange) level, then sent up to the county or district (Pomona grange) level for discussion and endorsement, and then discussed and voted on at the annual Washington State Grange convention.[47] This structure allows the State Grange to take up any issue that a majority of its members

endorse, regardless of the interests or positions of the National Grange. The structure also allows any subordinate or Pomona grange to move forward with a project or policy that its members vote to endorse, even if the idea is not endorsed at the statewide level. This policy structure has allowed the Washington State Grange to follow a different trajectory than the National Grange throughout the twentieth century, to maintain a strong reform-oriented identity, and to continuously revitalize itself.

Integration of grassroots political advocacy within a broader context of social and economic functions has been one of the most important factors in the longevity of the Grange. Historian Marilyn Watkins observed,

> By combining social, economic, and political functions, the subordinate granges built strong communities that sustained a Populist vision of well-educated citizens who could freely discuss political issues and ideas with their friends and neighbors and organize to act in the common good.[48]

Although the number of members and the number of active granges statewide have declined since their peaks in 1981 and 1937 respectively, the Washington State Grange has continued to be widely recognized as an important organization serving the state's rural residents. This continued vitality of the Grange as an organization has, of course, supported the preservation and ongoing use of grange halls both for Grange business and for community events.

Chapter 4: RESEARCH METHODS, SOURCES AND ACTIVITIES

Overview

Grange halls are an understudied group of buildings. Little has been published either describing or analyzing this vernacular building type. Therefore, the primary focus of the original research for this thesis was documentation through field investigation. Before an interpretative framework could be proposed, and preservation approaches explored, it was necessary simply to identify and document the grange halls in current use in Washington State. This documentation provided a basis for the analysis, interpretation, and application of preservation ideas and theories that followed.

This approach to research has been characterized as "artifact dominant" because it focuses first on the artifacts (in this case, the buildings) and seeks to find applicable theories drawn from a variety of disciplines that help in interpreting these artifacts once they have been identified, documented and analyzed. Architect and historian Thomas Hubka has argued that this kind of "artifact dominant" research, or "artifact positivism," is necessary in addressing vernacular architecture primarily due to a lack of historical literary evidence documenting common buildings.[1]

Echoing Hubka's emphasis on the primacy of material artifacts, scholar Thomas Carter explained:

> The principal driving force in vernacular architecture research is a fundamental belief in the artifact as historical evidence. Buildings and landscapes encode in tangible form deeply held and often otherwise unstated cultural, social, and economic values. Students of vernacular architecture have as their goal the task of moving, in the words of folklorist Henry Glassie, away from a concern for the building's fabric itself toward the ideas that were the cause of the fabric's existence.[2]

Thus, observation and documentation alone do not provide a sufficient framework for understanding the meaning of these resources, or the ideas that inspired their creation. Rather one must frame observations with questions or hypotheses that the observations may verify or falsify.

Field research for this thesis began with a series of questions including, why does Washington State have a large number of extant grange halls compared with other states? What were the sources of designs for these buildings? What is the past and present cultural significance of these buildings? And, how should they be understood and evaluated within a framework of historic preservation policy and practice?

An initial hypothesis regarding design sources generated an expectation that constructed examples of a number of discreet grange hall designs or types could be identified in the field and attributed to plans in a pattern book or similar published source, based on the widespread availability of such materials in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for homes, barns, schools, churches, and other building types.[3] Other hypotheses included an expectation that the settlement history and development of an agricultural economy in the Pacific Northwest likely contributed to the later peak in activity of the Grange in Washington compared to nationally, and that ongoing use is the primary factor supporting the preservation of grange halls. Regarding cultural significance, opportunities for both ethnographic and historical research offered approaches that might help to understand and explain why people care about these buildings. Finally, the sometimes uneasy relationship between vernacular architecture and historic preservation practices could be explored by examining both policy frameworks and projects conducted at the federal, state and local level, and by asking whether existing guidelines and activities offer sufficient support for the preservation of grange halls, or if other, more useful models might exist.

Although field investigation was the primary basis for developing the data for this thesis, this exploration also required extensive archival and textual research. The field investigation consisted primarily of on-site documentation of grange halls throughout Washington State that remain in active use for grange meetings and other community gatherings. These on-site investigations were sometimes supplemented with interviews with grange members who were eager to share information regarding the history of their

organization and their buildings. However, before it was possible to visit grange halls in Washington State, it was necessary to determine where they might be located; for this it was necessary to turn to archival sources.

Initial research included investigations of primary and secondary sources related to the history of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry at the national, state and local levels, and an effort to identify any published resources documenting and interpreting grange halls. In the later stages of the thesis, archival research related to Grange history, as well as research in works relating to sociology, rural communities and vernacular studies, helped to frame an interpretation of grange halls as a vernacular building type, as well as to provide a basis for developing a proposed preservation approach. The research methods used in this thesis are described in this chapter under the following headings: Preliminary Research, Field Investigation, Archival Research, and Other Textual Research.

A. Preliminary Research

The goal of preliminary research was to establish a framework for conducting field investigations for the thesis, by developing an understanding of the Order's founding, mission, and activities at the national and state level. Preliminary research began in January 2012. Because field research was to be carried out between June and September 2012, it was necessary to complete the preliminary research by May 2012.

Published Materials

Preliminary research examined publications on the history of the Grange organization at the national and state level, including several books published by the National Grange and Washington State Grange to commemorate centennials and other significant anniversaries of the Order. These include *Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry* by founding Secretary of the National Grange Oliver H. Kelley (1875), *The Grange – Friend of the Farmer 1867-1947* by Charles Gardner (1949), *The Grange 1867-1967: First Century of Service and Evolution* by W.L. Robinson (1966), and *People, Pride*

and Progress, 125 Years of the Grange in America by David H. Howard (1992), all written by grange members or published by the National Grange, and clearly intended to celebrate the organization's accomplishments and promote its values.[4] This material is readily available and useful for providing historical background information, but because it was affiliated with or commissioned by the Order, it does not offer an impartial perspective.

An effort was made to seek out published works by scholars not directly affiliated with the Grange, including *The Granger Movement* by Solon Justus Buck (1913), *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange 1867-1900* by D. Sven Nordin (1974), *and Knights of the Plow: Oliver H. Kelley and the Origins of the Grange in Republican Ideology* by Thomas A. Woods (1991), all published by university presses and intended to provide critical perspectives on the organization.[5] These works concentrated on different aspects of Grange history and offered widely divergent political perspectives, but unfortunately all focus exclusively on the founding of the National Grange and its nineteenth century political significance, offering little insight regarding more recent history and almost no discussion of the Grange in the western United States. While most of these sources briefly mentioned grange halls in the context of the organization's rituals or its social and education mission, none included substantive discussions of the buildings.

Major sources of information about the Grange in Washington State are *The Washington State Grange 1889-1924, A Romance of Democracy* by Harriet Ann Crawford (1940) from regional publisher Binfords & Mort, *The Grange Was My Life* self-published by long-time Grange organizer Ira E. Shea (1983) and *Washington State Grangers Celebrate a Century* by Gus Norwood (1988) published by the Washington State Grange.[6] The latter two are clearly boosterish in their assessment of the organization's legacy, but all are helpful as sources that trace the distinct trajectory of the Order in Washington State. Unfortunately, as with the published accounts of the National Grange, these works examining the Washington State Grange include only brief mentions of grange halls in the

context of organizational growth, but include no descriptions of the buildings or accounts of their construction.

More balanced appraisals of Grange history at the national and state level were found in articles by historians William D. Barns, Donald B. Marti, Carlos A. Schwantes and Marilyn P. Watkins published in scholarly journals such as *Agricultural History* and *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.[7] These articles offered little information on grange halls, but did provide useful analyses of various aspects of political, economic and social history of the Grange in the context of the Populist Movement nationally and Progressive Era politics in the Pacific Northwest. For example, Schwantes contrasts an increasingly radical Washington State Grange with an increasingly conservative National Grange in the 1910s and 1920s,[8] while Marti and Watkins analyze the role of women in the Grange, in the context of the women's suffrage movement and agrarian activism.[9]

Supplemental research included unpublished theses and dissertations on the Grange Movement in the late nineteenth century,[10] as well as books and articles on agricultural history in Washington State, fraternal orders, and the Country Life Movement, a national effort to improve educational, social and economic opportunities for rural residents in the early twentieth century.

Primary Source Materials

Historical primary sources produced by the Washington State Grange such as the *Washington Grange Agricultural News* and the *Journal of Proceedings of the Annual Sessions of the Washington State Grange* found in the University of Washington Libraries Special Collections provided an introduction to the records associated with the Order's activities in Washington State since 1873.[11] While these sources presented some of the same challenges regarding bias identified above with regard to books published by the Grange, the monthly newspapers and annual journals provided a more nuanced and less selective sample of the political, economic and social issues that were important to Grange leaders

and the general membership in Washington State over the span of more than a century. Notably, these sources included anecdotal information about the histories of individual grange halls in Washington State, such as the dates when newly constructed halls were dedicated, and occasional descriptions of the process of building halls or acquiring and renovating existing buildings to serve as grange halls [figure 4.1].

The "Washington State Agricultural Bibliographies" of Books, Journals and Theses prepared by the University of Washington Libraries for the *U.S. Agricultural and Rural Life Project* provided an overview of available library resources, many of which were consulted to develop an understanding of the historical context in which the Grange has operated in Washington State.[12]

Key Reference Documents

Three key sources facilitated planning for field research. The first, titled "Your Local Grange," is a roster distributed to the public by the Washington State Grange listing every active subordinate grange in the state, organized by county.[13] This roster, which is updated annually, lists each organization's meeting date and location. For those granges that own their own halls, the roster includes a rental contact for each grange hall, in an effort to promote public use of halls. The roster was used as the basis for developing fieldwork itineraries, based on the number of active granges listed in each Washington county.

The second key source was a document titled "Granges of Washington Territory and State, 1873-2011," created by historian and Washington State Grange Historical Committee member Jarrod Gardner.[14] This reference document lists every grange chartered in Washington State (1,150 since 1873) in chronological order, along with location information, date of organization, and for those that are no longer active the date of disbanding or consolidation with another grange. This information, aggregated from mostly hand-written charter records held by the Washington State Grange, provides comprehensive documentation of grange activity since the territorial era, and made it possible to evaluate

New Prospect Point Hall

Prospect Point (Walla Walla County) Grange was organized by Ira E. Shea May 2, 1935. In April, 1937, we bought a piece of property. Then came the State convention at Walla Walla. By 1938 we had been nicknamed the "roving Grange"; we had met in four different places.

In May, 1938, we began to build and, by making good use of every Sunday, we were able to hold our first meeting in the new hall (shown above) on Sept. 15. By Nov. 5 the hall was finished enough to give our first dance.

We have had a third and fourth degree team this past winter, lecturers' contest, chicken dinner, pie baking contest, free entertainment for the community, bazaar and card parties. Our membership is on the increase. We plan to put in a water system this summer and make other improvements. Our meetings are on the first and third Thursday nights. Visitors always welcome.—Mildred Nelson, secretary.

Figure 4.1: Article from *Washington Grange News*, June 1939, pp. 16 (University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections)

number	name	county	Pomona	locality	organized	disbanded	consolidated	Page 17 of 39
576	Huntley	Okanogan	?	Huntley	2/8/1915	12/31/1915		
577	Colokum (Colockum)/Malaga	Chelan	23	Malaga	2/19/1915	8/?/1974with #1095		
578	Ione	Pend Oreille	29	Ione	2/22/1915	?/?/1921		
579	Cedardale	Skagit	10	Mount Vernon	3/1/1915	6/30/1916		
580	May Creek Valley	King	13	Renton	2/24/1915	?/?/1942		
581	Issaquah Valley	King	13	Issaquah	2/27/1915	—		
582	Charter Oak	Clark	1	Lewisville	4/10/1915	12/31/1967		
583	Good Hope	Whatcom	6	Ferndale	4/17/1915	3/31/1916		
584	Skookumchuck	Thurston	8	Tenino	5/14/1915	—		
585	Huntsville	Columbia	7	Huntsville	6/14/1915	6/30/1916		
586	Terrace Heights	Yakima	?/44	North Yakima	7/27/1915	—		
587	Skagit Heights	Skagit	10	Bow	9/3/1915	9/30/1916		
588	Marble Mount	Skagit	10	Marble Mount	10/5/1915	?/?/1924		
589	Yale	Cowlitz	7	Yale	10/9/1915	7/?/1931		
590	Greenwood Park	Stevens	?/37	Hunters	11/2/1915	—		
591	Freeman	Spokane	4	Freeman	1/6/1916	?/?/1921		
592	Lone Pine	Spokane	4	Cheney	1/10/1916	3/31/1918		
593	Lance Hills	Spokane	4	Cheney	1/11/1916	12/31/1917	with #610	
594	Spokane Valley	Spokane	4	Greenacres	1/25/1916	12/31/1916		
595	Cloverland	Asotin	33	Cloverland	2/14/1916	?/?/1921		
596	McKinley	Yakima	11	Toppenish	2/12/1915	c 1989 [?]		
597	Amber	Spokane	4	Amber	2/22/1916	3/31/1919		
					11/13/1928	?		
598	Rodna	Spokane	4	Rodna	2/23/1916	6/30/1918		
599	Cinebar/Tilton Valley	Lewis	3	Alpha	3/13/1916	?/?/1921		
600	Wide Hollow	Yakima	?	North Yakima	3/20/1916	3/31/1917		
601	Valley Prairie	Spokane	4	Colbert	3/28/1916	3/31/1918		
602	Half Moon	Spokane	4	Buckeye	3/30/1916	3/31/1919		
603	Marble Valley/Addy	Stevens	17	Addy	3/20/1916	—		
604	Flat Creek	Stevens	?	Marble	4/1/1916	9/30/1918		
605	Chattaroy	Spokane	4	Milan	4/3/1916	?/?/1921		
606	Tillicum Wickiup	Klickitat	?	Snowden	4/1/1916	?/?/1926		
607	Central Valley	Lewis	3	Dryad	3/31/1916	3/31/1924	with #678	
608	Selah Heights	Yakima	19	Selah	4/8/1916	—		
609	Woodinville	King	13	Woodinville	4/13/1916	?/?/1925		
610	Tyler	Spokane	4	Tyler	4/18/1916	3/31/1919		
					9/15/1928	—		
611	Mount Spokane	Spokane	4	Colbert	4/21/1916	c 1921 [?]		
					1/15/1926	4/17/1944		
612	Swan Lake	King	13	Renton	5/4/1916	?/?/1921		
613	Burlington	Skagit	10	Burlington	5/15/1916	12/31/1916		
614	Swofford	Lewis	3	Swofford	5/18/1916	12/31/1917		
615	Rainier	Thurston	8	Rainier	5/29/1916	?/?/1934		
616	Randle	Lewis	3	Randle	6/3/1916	3/31/1917		

Figure 4.2: Sample page, "Granges of Washington Territory and State, 1873-2011" (Courtesy of Jarrod Gardner)

basic information about the 252 granges active in Washington in 2012 within a broader context.

Beyond the obvious observation that fewer than 25% of the granges chartered in Washington remained active in 2012, this document provided raw data that can be analyzed to identify significant patterns regarding the other 75%. For example, of 84 granges organized during the territorial period (prior to 1890), ten remained active in 2012. Of more than 700 granges organized between 1890 and 1921, the majority lasted less than three years before disbanding, indicating a widespread enthusiasm for Grange ideals which was only sustained by a small number of local groups during that era. Such short-lived granges were unlikely to have built or acquired halls during their brief periods of activity. Data also showed that of the more than 350 granges organized since 1922, most remained active well into the post-World War II era and a majority remained active in 2012. While other historical information is needed to interpret some of these patterns more fully, "Granges of Washington Territory and State, 1873-2011" [figure 4.2] provided a comprehensive data set found in no other published or archival source.

The third key reference was a 90-page booklet published in 1950 by the Washington State Grange, titled *The Washington Granger's Guide* [figure 4.3].[15] This booklet was initially viewed at University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, and a copy was later borrowed from the Washington State Grange Historical Committee for use during field work.[16] In addition to listing all active subordinate granges in the state in 1950, this booklet included a photograph of nearly every grange meeting place in the state, both grange-owned halls and other multi-purpose buildings such as schools, town halls and community clubs that hosted grange meetings in 1950 [figure 4.4]. This illustrated data set provided an extraordinarily useful point of comparison with the comprehensive list of all granges chartered in Washington, as well as during site visits to extant and still-active halls.

While the *Washington Granger's Guide* was published in 1950, an initial hypothesis based on familiarity with regional patterns in residential and commercial construction

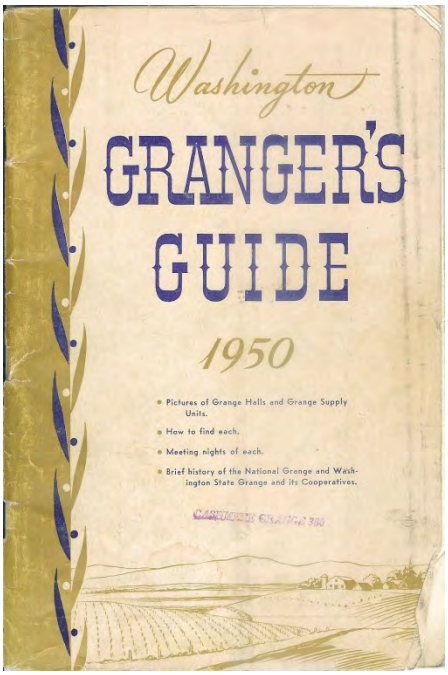


Figure 4.3: *The Washington Granger's Guide,* 1950 (Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

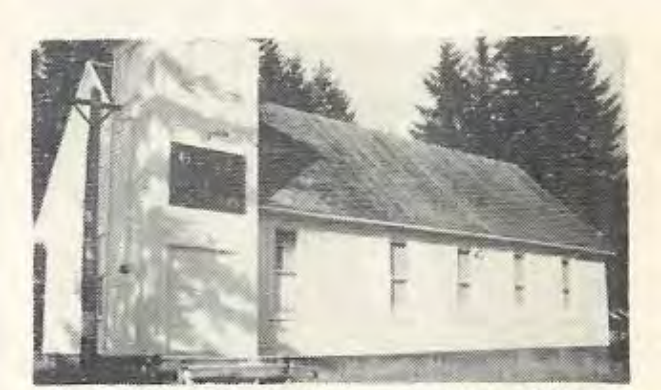
Figure 4.4: *The Washington Granger's Guide,* 1950, sample page (Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

fostered an expectation that, in actuality, the *Guide* would document grange halls largely unchanged in appearance since the 1920s, due to the financial constraints of the Great Depression, and the shortages of construction materials during World War II and in the immediate post-war period. This assumption proved to be inaccurate, as later research showed that many halls were built during the 1930s and 1940s, often by members who donated both labor and materials.

By analyzing photographs in the 1950 *Guide* in comparison to contemporary fieldwork photographs, it was possible to identify both specific alterations in individual grange halls as well as general patterns in modifications of older buildings. It was also possible to identify, by their absence from the *Guide*, those grange halls which were constructed or acquired after 1950.

By cross-referencing all three of these resources, it was possible to determine, for example, that seventeen new granges have been chartered since the 1950 *Guide* was published, eight of these remain active in 2012, but just two of these own their own halls. The 1950 *Guide* also listed numerous instances of granges meeting at schools, community halls or other public buildings which they later acquired, and which continued to serve as grange halls in 2012. This aspect of the 1950 documentation was especially useful in identifying or confirming examples of adaptive reuse [figure 4.5], a classification process discussed in Chapter 5.

The three key reference documents discussed in this section provided a comprehensive data set identifying subordinate granges in Washington State, past and present. The 1950 *Guide*, especially, shaped plans for field work as an effort to document a significant portion of the extant grange halls still in active use in 2012. Taken together, this preliminary research provided extensive information regarding the Grange organization, and some information regarding grange halls, but little insight into the sources of plans for these buildings.



Silverdale Grange No. 879
Own hall. Old Clear Creek Church.
Hall 38′ x 22′.
Meets 2nd & 4th Thursdays, 8 p. m.

Figure 4.5: Silverdale #879 in Kitsap County, 1950 (above, from the *Washington Granger's Guide*) and 2012 (below)

B. Field Research

The primary hypothesis guiding field research asked if the consistencies or variations in the physical appearance of grange halls would provide an indication of building origins, or suggest patterns that might be useful in identifying building types and discerning building histories. As described in the previous section, although there is an extensive literature addressing the history of the Grange organization, little of that literature considers grange halls in any detail and none looks comprehensively at grange halls in a particular area. Thus, extensive field observations were needed to develop this thesis, since no other accessible sources of information were available to support analysis of these buildings.

In their practical introductory guide to field work, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture,* scholars Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley describe buildings as "the best teachers of ordinary architecture,"[17] and they identify four reasons why architectural (artifactual) evidence derived from fieldwork provides an excellent means of understanding culture. These reasons include (1) ethnographic or directly observable qualities of buildings which are missing from other kinds of documents; (2) the ability to recover the stories of people who left few other records; (3) the possibility of buildings revealing aspects of behavior such as the mundane or the forbidden which are rarely spoken of in texts; and (4) the insight into the aesthetic preferences of groups of people through the buildings they create and use.[18]

All of the lines of inquiry identified by Carter and Cromley apply to grange halls and the rural cultural context in which they are found, and help to explain the value of fieldwork as a critical documentary method for this thesis. From an ethnographic perspective, buildings were observed in their primary intended uses for grange meetings, as well as in a variety of secondary community uses such as for wedding receptions, band rehearsals, exercise classes, Bible study meetings, and pancake breakfasts.[19] Similarly, the stories, aspects of behavior, and aesthetic preferences of grange members and the rural farming communities to which they belong have rarely been well documented, either in the present

era or over the course of the past century during which most grange halls have been constructed. Whenever possible, this researcher sought to document stories of building construction, modification, use, and even reconstruction in the case of Swauk Teanaway #984 in Kittitas County.[20]

Site visits to grange halls drew on Carter and Cromwell's strategies for reading the physical evidence of structures as social or cultural texts, affording opportunities to gather information about the common forms and character-defining features (a concept discussed in chapter 7) of this vernacular building type. A preliminary site visit and tour of Tualco Grange #284 in Snohomish County, and subsequent attendance at a presentation by the National Grange Master at Tualco, provided opportunities to meet state grange officers and long-time grange members, several of whom were subsequently interviewed.[21]

Fieldwork was conducted between June and September 2012, over the course of sixteen driving trips ranging from one to four days in duration, and totaling more than 8,000 miles traveled within Washington State [figure 4.6]. Based on location information found in the Washington State Grange's annual roster, supplemented as need with additional research, precise locations of grange halls were mapped in advance of each trip. Itineraries were developed which generally allowed all grange halls in a given county to be visited on the same day or least during the same trip, facilitating the cataloging of visual documentation and field notes by county.

The initial intention for field research was to visit and document a sample of at least 100 grange halls throughout the state, in counties representing both rural and urbanizing regions, and representing both western and eastern parts of the state. These factors were considered in an effort to select a balanced sample of grange halls representing diverse settlement histories, agricultural economies, and contemporary community characteristics especially in relation to impacts of urbanization. Having accomplished the goal of visiting 100 buildings by mid-summer, and finding greater variability in the data than expected, the scope expanded to include documentation of all extant grange halls in Washington State

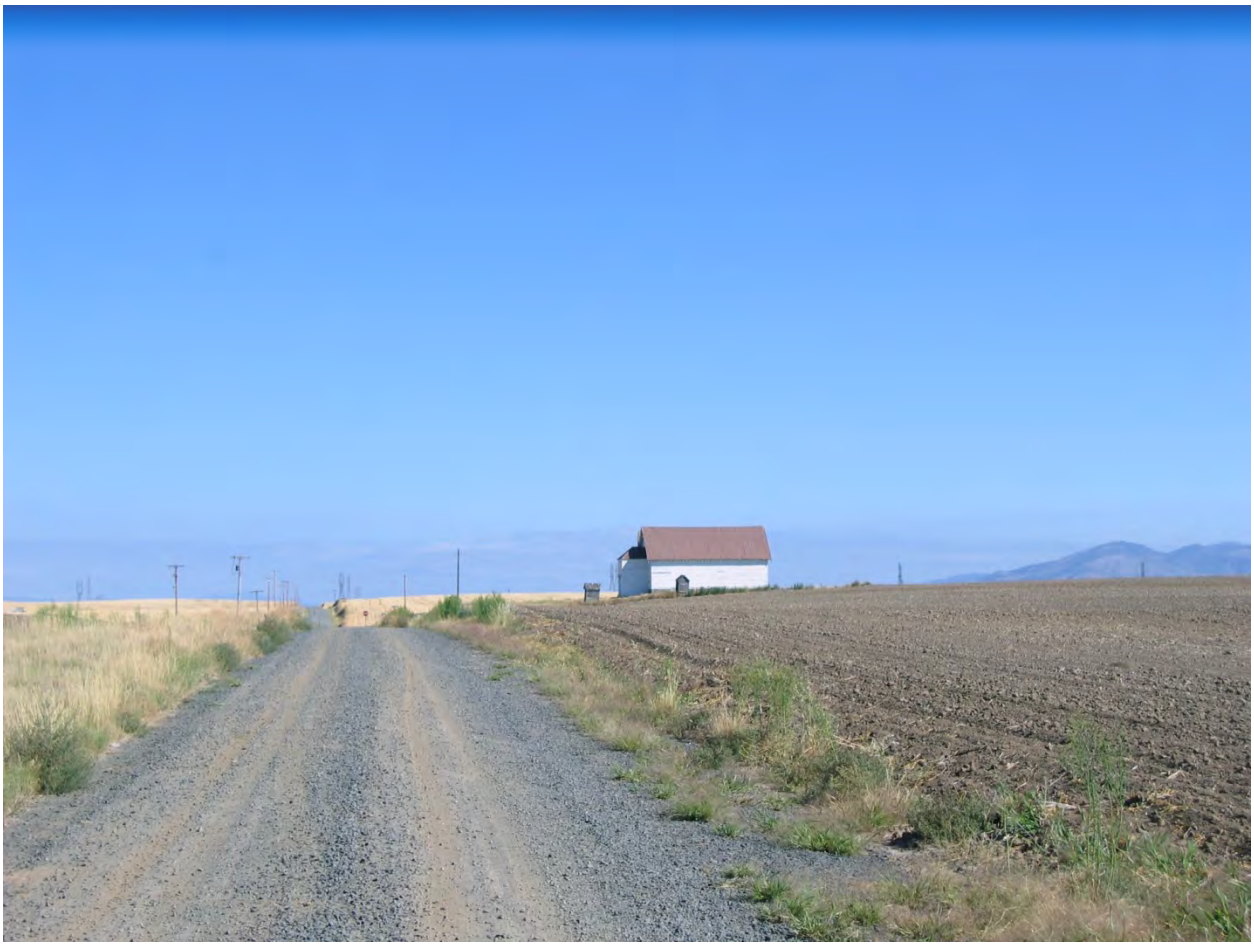


Figure 4.6: Fieldwork, approaching Grand Coulee #807 in Lincoln County

remaining in the ownership of subordinate granges [figure 4.7] and in active use for grange meetings and community functions.[22]

Up to ten of the grange halls documented during field work may not strictly have met the above stated criteria, either because they remained in use as halls but were no longer grange owned, or because they did not appear to be in current use as grange halls in 2012 but were still grange owned. Because these halls were still listed in the Washington State Grange's 2012 roster, and were still identified on site as grange halls through signage, they were included in the study sample with a notation regarding either the ownership status or apparent lack of current use.

The field research in summer 2012 documented a total of 218 grange halls. Actual documentation included multiple photographs, measurement of building dimensions, rough sketches of building plans to the extent that plans could be determined based on exterior characteristics, and brief physical descriptions. This descriptive information included building form, roof form and material, cladding material and color, obvious additions or other alterations such as accessible ramps, and setting. Each building's location and appearance in 2012 was compared to the location and photograph printed in the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide*, and alterations were noted when they were evident. A catalog of field notes and detailed discussion of data categories has been included in Appendix A.

The decision to visit a large number of buildings spread across the entire state was facilitated by an earlier decision to concentrate on documenting building exteriors, rather than undertaking the time-consuming process of making arrangements in advance to have access to building interiors during site visits. After an initial weekend field trip to several grange halls that were in use for public events, and therefore surrounded by parked cars [figure 4.8], an effort was made to conduct subsequent fieldwork during week days when buildings could be photographed more easily without views being blocked by cars, as grange halls were generally found to be less intensively used during summer weekdays. Occasionally, during the process of photographing and measuring the buildings, grange

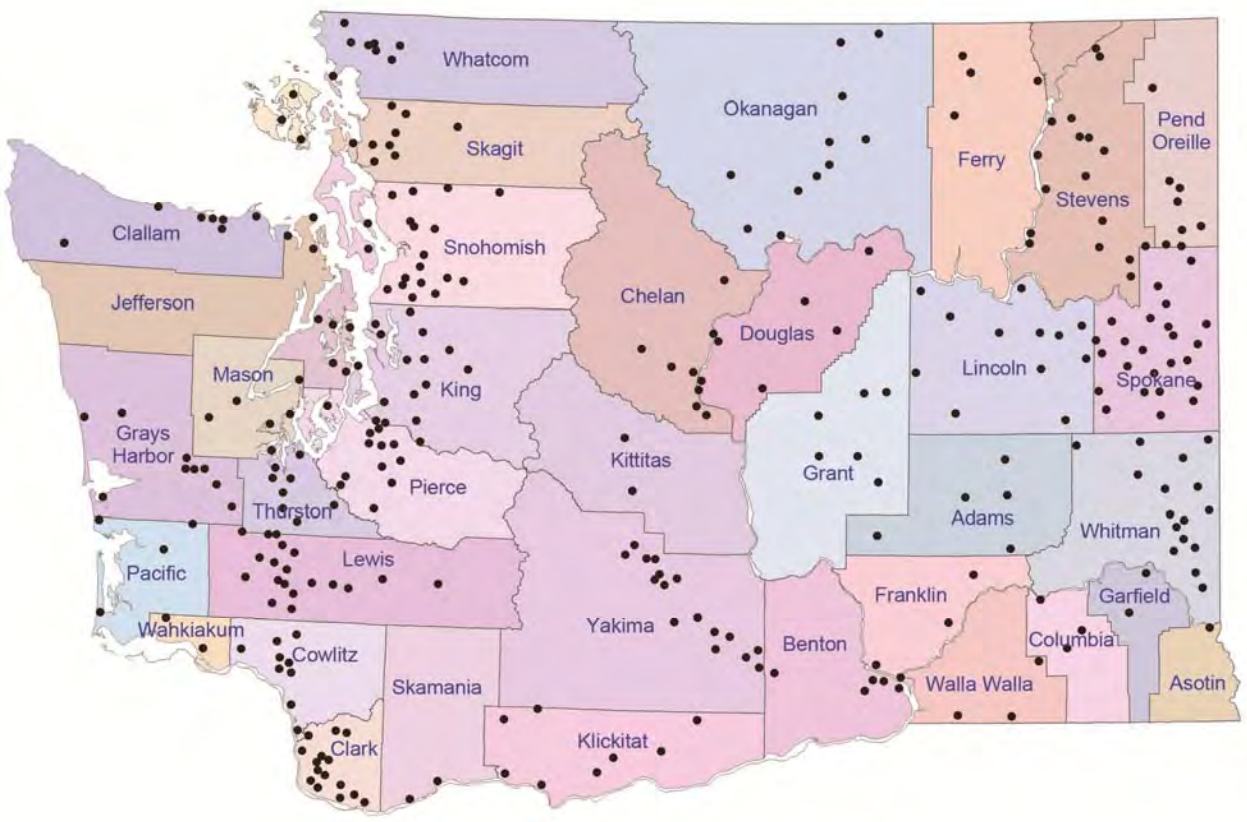


Figure 4.7: Locations of subordinate granges in Washington State in 2012 (Courtesy of Michele Savelle GIS & Graphic Design)

Figure 4.8: A weekend event at Newaukum #198 in Lewis County

members who lived nearby or happened to be driving past stopped to offer access to the building, often assuming that this researcher was interested in renting the hall for an event. These occasions provided opportunities to informally gather information regarding building use and organization histories.

Documentation of building exteriors, and occasional interiors, emphasized common features rather than unique building attributes. Informal, opportunistic interviews with grange members provided clarification regarding those building elements that were traditionally required to facilitate a hall's use for grange meetings, and building elements that were optional and reflected local preferences. Data from site visits, including photographs and field notes, were organized by county and then by grange name for ease of reference, while the Washington State Grange's method of organizing information generally lists subordinate granges by the order of their charter number.

While not strictly necessary, the decision to include a large number of buildings in the study by broadening field work to document all Washington grange halls in current use in 2012 provided an opportunity to create a catalog of visual and tabular data that paralleled the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide*. The expanded sample size supported greater opportunities for recognition of patterns in building form, especially in identifying patterns of adaptive reuse and of building modification. Such a broad strategy of field documentation, as a basis for interpretation and analysis, is recommended by Hubka, who observed that vernacular architecture gains meaning and stature primarily in relation to others of its kind. Hubka wrote, "While a vernacular / traditional building can by analyzed as an individual object, it is in the collective that its meaning often achieves significance."[23] The collective meaning of grange halls is considered in Chapter 6.

C. Archival Research

Following completion of fieldwork, a significant amount of archival research was undertaken, to identify sources of information regarding construction of individual grange

halls, and to support analysis and interpretations of these buildings. In addition to collections at the University of Washington discussed in section A of this chapter, significant archival resources were identified and reviewed at Washington State University, the Washington State Grange, other regional repositories, and national repositories via internet searches.

Washington State University

Washington State University, the state's land grant agriculture college, holds a variety of primary source materials related to Grange history. Archival collections of ephemera and correspondence at the University's Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections included information about Grange ceremonies unavailable elsewhere. Bound volumes of the *National Grange Monthly* newspaper (1927-1951) provided an unparalleled source of information regarding grange hall construction. More than 80 articles documenting the construction of grange halls throughout the United States during a twenty-five year period [figure 4.9] provided a comprehensive collection of contextual information for use in interpreting Washington's grange halls. In addition, the *Washington Grange News* (1912-present under multiple titles) provided detailed information on the Order's political activities and occasional information on grange halls. Washington State University Libraries collection also included early twentieth century published works such as the *Grange Manual* and *Grange Songbook*, as well as bound volumes of the annual addresses delivered by Washington State Grange Masters at annual conventions of the State Grange.

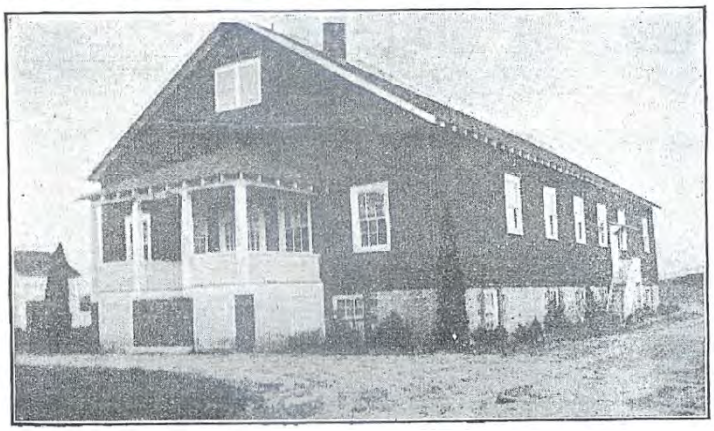
Washington State Grange Headquarters

Research at the Washington State Grange headquarters in Olympia yielded a rich collection of primary source materials including histories of individual granges prepared by members, and a collection of photographs of every grange hall in the state in 1991 contributed by a couple of dedicated grange members who spent that summer traveling around the state on a quest to visit and photograph every active hall.

NATIONAL GRANGE MONTHLY

VOL. XXXII No. 1 SPRINGFIELD, MASS., JANUARY, 1935 Five Cents a Copy

Home of Hightstown Grange in New Jersey



BEAUTIFUL NEW JERSEY HALL IS DEDICATED

Hightstown Grange, Sixty Years Old, Carries Out a Memorable Occasion

ABOUT the happiest folks in New Jersey these days are the members of Hightstown Grange, No. 96, over the possession of their beautiful new home here pictured, which has just been erected through the whole-hearted teamwork of this wide-awake New Jersey subordinate, whose present membership is 450. The dedication of the new hall took place on November 1st and was an event long to be remembered in that locality. State Master David H. Agans was the dedicating officer and a large number of Patrons contributed to the day's exercises. From 4:30 to 8:15 a turkey supper was served in the new dining-room, with nearly 600 appreciative eaters, and from 6:30 to 9:30 a continuous entertainment program was in progress in the auditorium, the formal dedication exercises coming later in the evening.

Participating in the latter were all the 13 living past masters of Hightstown Grange and the ritualistic service of dedication was impressively carried out. State Master Agans presented to the Grange a beautiful altar, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frank T. Norcross, in memory of their son, Leonard A. Norcross, who was a past master of Hightstown Grange and for a time lecturer of the New Jersey State Grange. William N. Cox presented to State Master Agans a beautiful gavel as a token of appreciation of Hightstown members for the State Master's valuable assistance in the hall project.

The auditorium and dining-room were beautifully decorated with baskets of chrysanthemums and Robbins' orchestra contributed much to the evening's exercises. Several neighboring Granges brought entertainment features and as these were put on the lecturer of that Grange was introduced as the director of that portion of the program. A very complete history of Hightstown Grange, organized October 27, 1875, and reorganized February 14, 1902, was given by Mrs. T. Mount Applegate of Cranbury, a former Hightstown lecturer. On behalf of the former lecturers of the Grange Mrs. Applegate presented a beautiful silk American flag.

The new hall as here pictured is 40 x 80 feet in size and two stories. The lower floor is a half basement containing two cloakrooms and two lavatories, a heater room and coalbin, a large, modern, well equipped kitchen and a dining-room with seating capacity of 200 persons. The main auditorium is 39 x 50 feet, with stage 20 feet deep, with footlights and dimmers, six dressing-room and other equipment. The main entrance to the auditorium leads into a large vestibule, with two stairways leading to the two lower cloakrooms and the dining-hall, while steps on each side lead from the auditorium to the stage.

Figure 4.9: Sample article from the *National Grange Monthly* documenting a grange hall dedication, January 1935, pp. 1 (Washington State University Library)

The research value of the Washington State Grange's collection of subordinate grange histories cannot be overstated. Reports written and submitted by grange members fill more than thirty binders; they are organized by charter number. The collection encompasses all information on the history of individual granges that has been submitted to the State Grange headquarters during the past fifty years, and so includes information about granges that are still active as well as many that have since surrendered their charters. The documents range from hand-written letters of a few pages to elaborately prepared typed and illustrated reports documenting grange histories; these were submitted to the State Grange for a variety of reasons. Some were prepared in anticipation of the National Grange centennial in 1967, and some commemorate significant milestones for local granges such as 50th anniversaries, while others were submitted in 1988 in response to requests for information by researchers preparing a publication for the Washington State Grange centennial in 1989.[24] While not every grange in the state documented and submitted its history, the Washington State Grange historical collection includes reports on more than one hundred subordinate granges, most of which provide detailed accounts of construction or acquisition and renovation of their halls.

Jack Silvers Grange Library at the Central Washington Agricultural Museum

The Central Washington Agricultural Museum in Union Gap, Yakima County, holds a collection related to Washington State Grange history that also proved useful to this research. The Jack Silvers Grange Library was largely donated by and named in honor of Yakima County resident Jack Silvers who was Master of the Washington State Grange from 1971 to 1983. Silvers donated his extensive library of agricultural history texts to the Museum in 2000 to establish a publicly accessible resource collection about farming in the Yakima Valley.[25] The library also includes a small selection of publications about the history of the National Grange and the Washington State Grange, which duplicates materials available from circulating libraries.

Adjacent to the Silvers Grange Library, museum exhibits include a collection of artifacts, documents, photographs and other materials associated with Yakima Valley granges, donated by grange members. Highlights of this collection included regalia such as sashes worn by grange officers [figure 4.10] and a collection of symbolic implements displayed during grange meetings, contributed by granges in Yakima County that closed in the 1990s and 2000s. These artifacts constitute a significant collection of material culture related to grange ritual not duplicated in other research collections in the state; however, similar collections of artifacts are likely still be in the possession of any local active grange, and these materials are typically securely stored in grange halls when not in use during meetings.

A visit to the Jack Silvers Grange Library in 2012 included an unexpected opportunity to interview Jack Silvers [figure 4.11], age 90, about his lifelong membership in Buena Grange #836, and his six decades of service to the Grange as Washington State Master and in various other leadership positions, as well as his service as a member of the National Grange Executive Committee. Silvers provided insightful comments regarding the strength of the Washington State Grange since World War II, and prospects for the Order's future as well as the challenges associated with preserving grange halls through ongoing use.[26]

National Collections

Other key primary source materials were obtained from the archive at the National Grange in Washington, D.C., which provided a scanned copy of the 1928 booklet *Grange Hall Suggestions* [figure 4.12], and from the University of North Texas which has digitized its extensive collection of bulletins published by the United States Department of Agriculture, including several documents related to rural community buildings.

Supplemental internet-based research included an exploration of Cornell University's "Core Literature of Agriculture" database, as well as finding aids for archival collections of material related to the history of the National Grange at Cornell University and the

Figure 4.10: Grange regalia at Central Washington Agricultural Museum, including officers' sashes for each position; for example, GK (center) stands for Gate Keeper.

Figure 4.11: Former Washington State Grange Master Jack Silvers at the Central Washington Agricultural Museum, 2012

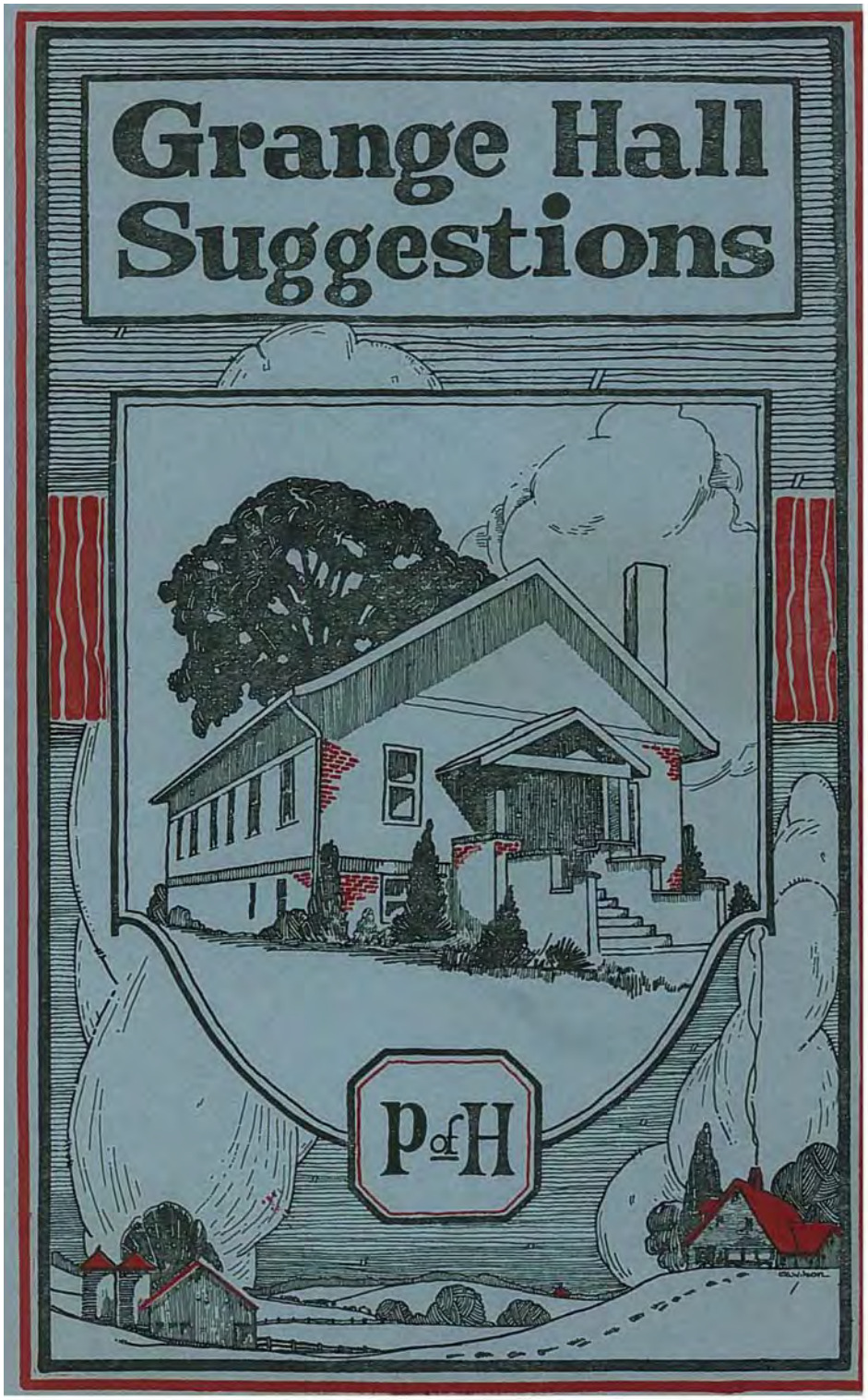


Figure 4.12: *Grange Hall Suggestions*, published in 1928 by the National Grange

Minnesota State Historical Society.[27] While the guides to these archival collections helped to corroborate information about the Order found in other sources, they did not appear to yield additional information regarding grange halls. Digital collections available through the Washington State Historical Society and the Washington State Library Rural Heritage Collection were searched for materials related to the Washington State Grange such as historic photographs of grange halls.[28] Numerous web sites maintained by subordinate granges in Washington State and elsewhere were accessed for historical information regarding their halls.

State and Federal Government Data and Documents

The Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP) Historic Resource Inventory Database was searched for information on properties having the word "grange" in their historic or common name data fields, and approximately 75 unique properties were identified. While some of these were former grange halls and thus not included in the study group for this thesis, 51 of the inventory forms provided information regarding the history of buildings currently in use as grange halls [figure 4.13], and, thus, buildings included in the study group for this thesis.[29]

Three National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documents, *Grange Halls in Idaho* prepared by Tricia Canaday (2012), *Rural Public Schools in Washington from Early Settlement to 1945* prepared by Leonard Garfield and Greg Griffith (1987), and *Agriculture in Thurston County, Washington* prepared by Shanna Stevenson (2002), provided useful contextual information regarding grange halls as well as insight regarding established historic preservation practices associated with these buildings.[30] An additional report "Survey of Fraternal Halls and Public Meeting Places, San Juan County, Washington," prepared by Dawn Maddox (1980) also provided useful information on grange halls in that county.[31] It should be noted that not a single grange hall in current use in Washington

6. HISTORY AND SIGNIFICANCE:

Builder La Center Grange Date(s) Built 1875?

Architect and/or Engineer

Period of Significance

Level of Significance: National ____ State ____ Local x

La Center was the head of navigation on the East Fork of the Lewis River and became an important supply post and communications base for a large area of Clark County back country reaching all the way to Tum Tum Mountain. Newcomers arrived at La Center by boat and departed by horse or foot to settle much of northeast Clark County land, subsequently returning with their produce to be shipped to outside markets.

The Vancouver Independent of November 6, 1875 noted that the Patrons of Husbandry (Grange) had erected a large hall on the corner of First Street and the county road to Vancouver. It measured 22' x 50' and 20' high and would be dedicated on December 3, 1975 with a grand ball.

The La Center Grange may be the oldest existing grange hall in the county.

7. REMARKS:

8. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERE

9. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS:

National Register ____ State Register ____ Other ____

10. FORM PREPARED BY: Shirley Pundt Date January 1978

Organization The Conservation Company

Address 1955 - 6th Avenue W. Phone (206) 284-8556

Seattle, Washington 98119

34-00231

HISTORIC PROPERTY INVENTORY FORM

State of Washington
Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation
111 W. 21st Ave. KL-11
Olympia, WA 98504
(206) 753-5010

IDENTIFICATION SECTION

Site No.: 34-228
Site Name: Historic: S. Bay School/Grange
Common: #250
Field Recorder: BB/tg
Date Recorded: 7/20/85
Owner's Name: South Bay Grange #250
Street: 3229 S. Bay Rd. SE
City/Town: Olympia
County: Thurston
Zip Code: 98506

Status:
National Register ☐
State Register ☐
Survey/Inventory ☒
Determined Eligible ☒
Other (NHL, HABS, HAER) Indicate ☐

Classification / Date:
District ☐
Site ☐
Building ☒ 1911
Structure ☐
Object ☐

LOCATION SECTION

Street Number: N.E. Corner of Sleater Kinney & So. Bay Loop
City/Town: Olympia Zip Code: 98506
County: Thurston Twp: 18 Range: 1W Sect: 32 ¼ Sect: 4 ¼ ¼ Sect: 2
Tax No./Parcel No.: 11932420700
UTM References: Zone 10 Easting 512760 Northing 5214710

18964

PHOTOGRAPHY

Photography Neg. No.: 11-11
(Roll No. + Frame No.)
View: NW corner
Date: 3/28/85

DESCRIPTION SECTION

Materials & Features/Structural Types:

Roof Material: Wood Shingle ☐, Asbestos/Asphalt Shingle ☒, Slate ☐, Tar ☐, Metal (specify) ☐, Other (specify) ☐

Roof Type: Gable ☐, Flat ☐, Monitor ☐, Gambrel ☐, Shed ☐, Hip ☒, Pyramid ☐, Sawtooth ☐, Other (specify) ☐

Foundation: Log ☐, Post & Pier ☐, Stone ☐, Concrete ☐, Block ☐, Poured ☒, Brick ☐, Other (specify) ☐

Cladding (Exterior Wall Surfaces): Log ☐, Horizontal Wood Siding: Rustic/Novelty ☐, Clapboard ☒; Wood Shingle: Split Shakes ☐, Re-sawn ☐, Machine Shingle ☐, Asbestos/Asphalt Shingle ☐, Brick Masonry ☐, Stone Masonry ☐, Stucco ☐, Terra Cotta ☐, Carrara Glass ☐, Vinyl/Aluminum Siding ☐, Other (specify) plywood ☒

Height/No. of Stories: One ☒, One and one-half ☐, Two ☐, Two and one-half ☐, Three ☐, Other (specify) ☐

Style/Form: (Check one or more of the following)

Pioneer/Homestead ☐, Greek Revival ☐, Gothic Revival ☐, Italianate ☐, Second Empire ☐, Stick/Eastlake ☐, Queen Anne ☐, Shingle Style ☐, Richardsonian Romanesque ☐, Chicago School/Sullivanesque ☐, Beau Arts Classicism ☐, Princess Anne ☐, Neo-Colonial ☐, Dutch Colonial ☐, Spanish Colonial ☐, English Revival ☐, Bungalow ☐, Craftsman ☐, American Foursquare/Classic Box ☐, Prairie Style ☐, Art Deco/Moderne ☐, Commercial Vernacular ☐, Vernacular ☐, Other (specify) ☒ Schoolhouse

Integrity: (include detailed description in 'Additional Description' section)

	Intact	Slight	Moderate	Excessive
Additions to house plan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Changes to windows	☒	☐	☐	☐
Changes to roof shape	☐	☐	☐	☐
Changes to interior plan	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other (specify) unknown	☐	☐	☐	☐

Figure 4.13: Sample Historic Resource Inventory Forms (La Center #48 in Clark County and South Bay #250 in Thurston County, Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation)

State has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places. One *former* grange hall in Skagit County has been listed,[32] and the registration form for that building was reviewed.

Additional Efforts to Document Grange Hall Construction Dates

The greatest challenges in this thesis research were encountered in relation to identifying construction dates for grange halls and sources of building plans. Regarding the latter, the 1928 National Grange publication *Grange Hall Suggestions* included a single floor plan (discussed in Chapter 5) which codified existing construction practices rather than offering an innovative design, but no earlier building plans have been identified which would indicate a specific source for the predominant elongated rectangle form which is typical of purpose-built grange halls dating from the early decades of the twentieth century.

The most significant date for any subordinate grange is the year in which it was organized and received its charter from the State Grange. Although grange halls were generally constructed several years after a grange was organized, the charter date (not the construction date) is often included on building signage [figure 4.14], creating confusion for both grange members and historians regarding the actual construction dates of halls.

Efforts to determine construction dates included looking for any physical evidence during site visits such as cornerstones or pavement inlays [figure 4.15], and searching for primary source materials such as newspaper articles, and annual addresses by the Washington State Grange Master, which occasionally referenced hall dedications, an indication of recently completed construction or acquisition of halls. A variety of secondary sources were also consulted in search of construction dates, including DAHP Historic Resource Inventory forms, narrative histories of individual granges, community history publications, and interviews with grange members. An effort was made to corroborate construction dates by consulting county assessor property records in every county in the state, but the availability and reliability of construction dates from these sources varied widely.

Figure 4.14: Grange hall signs showing charter dates, rather than dates of construction (Mountain Valley #79 in Clark County was organized in 1889 and the hall was built in 1937; Twisp Valley #482 in Okanogan County was organized in 1911 and the hall was built in 1948)

Figure 4.15: Lower Naches #296 in Yakima County (Built in 1952 apparently under the direction of G. W. Van Hise as recorded in this pavement inlay)

In addition to attempting to determine construction dates, the methods and sources described above were also used to distinguish purpose-built grange halls from those buildings originally constructed for other purposes. Physical, published and archival evidence was examined to identify common distinguishing features of purpose-built halls as well as schools, churches, and other building types that have been adaptively reused as grange halls.

D. Other Textual Research

As Carter and Cromley stated, "Interpretation, not documentation, is the final goal"[33] of vernacular architecture studies, and so the final component of research for this project focused on socially and culturally oriented texts which contributed to the development of a framework for interpreting the significance of grange halls. Monographs and articles in scholarly journals (accessed through JSTOR) were consulted on aspects of vernacular architecture, historic preservation and sociology, with a particular effort to consult both materials from the early twentieth century that were contemporary with the construction of many of the buildings documented through field work, and more recent articles.

Guidance in development of an analytical framework was again provided by Hubka, who has suggested that vernacular scholars must establish the cognitive linkages among a variety of people having relationships to a particular building type, including builders and users of the building, as one strategy for determining the meaning of buildings within their larger cultural contexts.[34] Notably, research for this thesis demonstrated that in most cases, the users of grange halls *were* the builders, a finding discussed in detail in Chapter 5. In addition to builders and users, this research also considered the perspectives of architectural and cultural historians, in an effort to apply lessons from social science literature as well as from preservation theory. This approach to understanding the survival of the Order and the meaning of grange halls was, in part, based on a recognition that the kinds of critical theories applied in many architectural history theses do not seem to provide

appropriate methods of analysis for vernacular resources such as grange halls, whereas place-oriented literature in the sociology of communities proved to be useful.

In conclusion, because scant published or archival information was available directly related to grange halls in Washington State, the most reliable source of information regarding these buildings was the buildings themselves. For this reason, an artifact-dominant methodology focused on examination and documentation of extant buildings offered the only viable approach to understanding the history, character and evolution of grange halls as a building type.

Chapter 5: GRANGE HALLS IN WASHINGTON – Documentation and Analysis

Overview

The construction or acquisition of buildings for use as grange halls, and the ownership and maintenance of such buildings was, and still is, the independent responsibility of subordinate granges. Grange halls were briefly mentioned in many of the published histories of the National Grange and the Washington State Grange consulted in developing the historical background information presented in Chapters 2 and 3; however, descriptive information about halls is almost entirely absent from these publications. Instead of providing architectural information about grange halls, published histories of the Order more often emphasize what the writers thought these buildings represented. The highest compliment typically bestowed on grange halls by the Order's leaders had nothing to do with the appearance of the buildings; rather, it was praise for halls that were in "constant use," hosting grange meetings, grange-sponsored events especially for young people, and a myriad of other activities.[1] Acquiring or building halls was viewed as a way of achieving permanence for individual granges and as a way of serving communities by providing gathering places for educational and social activities.[2] (The value of grange halls is explored in Chapter 6 of this thesis, which interprets the meaning and symbolic importance of the buildings.)

This chapter examines the physical characteristics of grange halls, by analyzing the information gathered through field research conducted during 2012 throughout Washington State, and through archival research that was undertaken with the goal of identifying patterns in building planning, acquisition or construction, use, and modification. This chapter is divided into three sections, beginning with a profile of early grange halls and a synopsis of historical data documenting national and statewide hall ownership. Section B describes fieldwork and summarizes findings regarding physical descriptions of purpose-built halls, and adaptive reuse of a variety of building types. Section C documents and analyzes

several aspects of the history and physical characteristics of grange halls, including the significance of the 1928 publication *Grange Hall Suggestions*, and issues related to hall ownership, financing, design, interior features, and construction.

A. Early Grange Halls, and a Statistical Profile of Halls in the Twentieth Century

The first grange hall in the United States was completed in June 1869, just one and a half years after the Order was founded.[3] St. Paul, Minnesota, newspapers featured North Star Grange #1 as the first subordinate grange to develop a hall specifically for grange meetings. The meeting room measured 30 x 50 feet and could accommodate 150 people.[4] Just one month after it was completed, the North Star Grange hosted a Fourth of July celebration to which the public was invited, demonstrating that community access to and use of grange halls has been encouraged since the Order's founding.

The oldest grange hall that remained in use in 2012 is Bennett Valley #16 [figure 5.1], built in 1873 near Santa Rosa, California.[5] A detailed history written by a member of that grange stated that the hall was constructed on donated land that had previously been used by the community as a picnic grove.[6] The vagueness of some information about the hall's construction in this historical account, and corresponding specificity about other details, is typical of much of the documentation regarding grange hall construction. The only information presented regarding the hall's design was that the volunteer building committee was authorized to "present a plan and a cost estimate for building a hall"[7] to the grange membership, although the report included detailed accounts of the purchase and delivery of lumber, the appointment of a building foreman, and payments to three carpenters for their work building the hall. Construction began September 29, 1873, on a 30 x 60 foot building, and the finished hall was dedicated on December 4, 1873, a date that was also celebrated as the sixth anniversary of the founding of the National Grange.[8]

Grange halls were constructed in the 1870s in Maine, New York, and a handful of other states in which the Order was active.[9] One historian noted that grange halls built

Figure 5.1: Bennett Valley #16, near Santa Rosa, California

during the 1870s were simple in design, and that they often loosely incorporated aspects of the Greek Revival style, resembling a hybridized version of the country schoolhouse and the township hall.[10] Although it was a goal of many granges, ownership of halls was relatively uncommon in the nineteenth century, and most granges held meetings in borrowed or rented facilities. Historian Sven Nordin explained:

> With social activities being such an integral part of the grange program, securing an acceptable facility for accommodating order functions became one of the first tasks confronting subordinate chapters upon receipt of their charters. In many communities, existing fraternal bodies – Masons, Good Templars, and Knights of Jericho – cooperated with fledgling granges by extending a helping hand. These groups often permitted Patrons of Husbandry to use their halls for nominal fees. In other areas, grangers found temporary quarters in church sanctuaries, schools and vacant stores; in neighborhoods where no meeting places existed, patrons held sessions at members' homes.[11]

By 1927, according to the *National Grange Monthly*, there were at least 3,000 grange halls in the country, and as the paper enthusiastically reported, "More grange halls have been dedicated in the past year than in any previous 12 months in the history of the Order, and best of all they have been widely distributed over a score of states."[12] No earlier documentation was identified in the course of this thesis research regarding grange hall numbers nationwide, so it is difficult to determine whether growth rates during prior decades had been slow and steady, or if the majority of grange halls included in the 1927 data had been acquired or constructed during the 1920s. The latter growth pattern seems likely, based on the emphasis placed on construction of community buildings by reformers associated with the Country Life Movement, which is discussed in Chapter 6. By 1935, the number of grange halls nationwide had increased to 3,500, at a time when there were approximately 8,000 active subordinate granges.[13] The total number of grange halls appears to have peaked in 1949, at approximately 4,000 in 40 states, and by 1956 the number dropped back down to 3,500.[14]

In Washington State, 1,150 granges have been organized since 1873.[15] About half of these groups faded away within a year or two. Of those that endured, most groups met

in existing buildings like schools, churches or community halls for several years, building up membership before constructing or acquiring their own meeting hall. The earliest statistic identified during research indicated that by 1917, at least 107 granges in Washington owned their own halls.[16] Four years prior to that, in 1913, Washington State Grange Master Carey Kegley claimed that "Washington leads all other states in number of Grange Halls compared to membership" and that more new halls had been built in 1913 in the state than during any previous year.[17] In 1925, State Grange Master Albert Goss challenged members to work toward two ambitious goals related to grange halls: that every grange in the state should own a hall, and that the total number of grange halls in Washington State should exceed 500.[18] This proved to be an overly ambitious objective, and the number of subordinate granges in the state reached its peak in 1937 at 490. Goss's successor Ervin King reported in 1938, "More than half of our 486 subordinate Granges own their own halls and more are building every year,"[19] which meant that the number of grange halls owned by the subordinate granges at that time was approximately 250.

As noted in Chapter 4, the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide* listed 485 active granges, 352 of which owned their meeting halls.[20] By comparison, in 2012 there were 252 active granges (233 fewer than in 1950), 218 of which owned their own halls (134 fewer than in 1950). The number of grange-owned halls in the state likely peaked around 1950, although this is difficult to determine because publications documenting late twentieth century grange history in Washington State reported on the number of active subordinate granges and individual members, but not the number of halls.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, unlike in much of the rest of the country where individual membership declined after World War II, grange membership in Washington State increased until 1981.[21] Some granges that experienced growth, whether through consolidation (in which members of one grange surrendered their charter and joined a nearby grange) or through new members, built or acquired new, larger halls to accommodate their increased membership and presumably increased activity.[22]

B. Fieldwork and Findings: Documentation of Physical Characteristics

This section begins with a brief summary of fieldwork findings, and comprehensive fieldwork data is included in Appendix A. A total of 218 halls were documented in 2012 (methodology for this research was discussed in Chapter 4). Based on observation and available information, 143, or 65% of the halls, were identified as purpose-built, and 76, or 35% of the halls, were identified as adaptive reuse. The oldest extant grange hall in Washington was built in 1875 and the newest was built in 1998. In 2012, grange halls were located in 37 of Washington's 39 counties; the two counties without active grange halls, Skamania and Garfield, do have active subordinate granges but they do not own their own halls. As expected, geographic distribution of grange halls statewide coincides with the state's historic farming areas [figure 5.2]. No distinct patterns were identified in terms of regional differences between the counties in the eastern and western parts of the state, in terms of numbers, ages, or categories.

What became obvious while documenting grange halls was that rather than simply developing a typology based on exterior physical characteristics, it was necessary to understand how these buildings were planned, constructed, adapted, and used, before it would be possible to develop a meaningful interpretation of their forms. Following the discussion in the remainder of this section about physical characteristics of grange halls, section C of this chapter summarizes findings of extensive supplemental research, which was necessary in order to understand and interpret fieldwork data and observations.

Field Work Strategies and Preliminary Analysis

As introduced in Chapter 4, the initial hypothesis that guided field research for this thesis asked if patterns observed in the physical appearance of grange halls could be analyzed and classified to identify distinctive building forms, and if those forms could, in turn, be attributed to design sources such as plan books, or could inform development of a building typology. This section describes initial efforts to develop such a classification

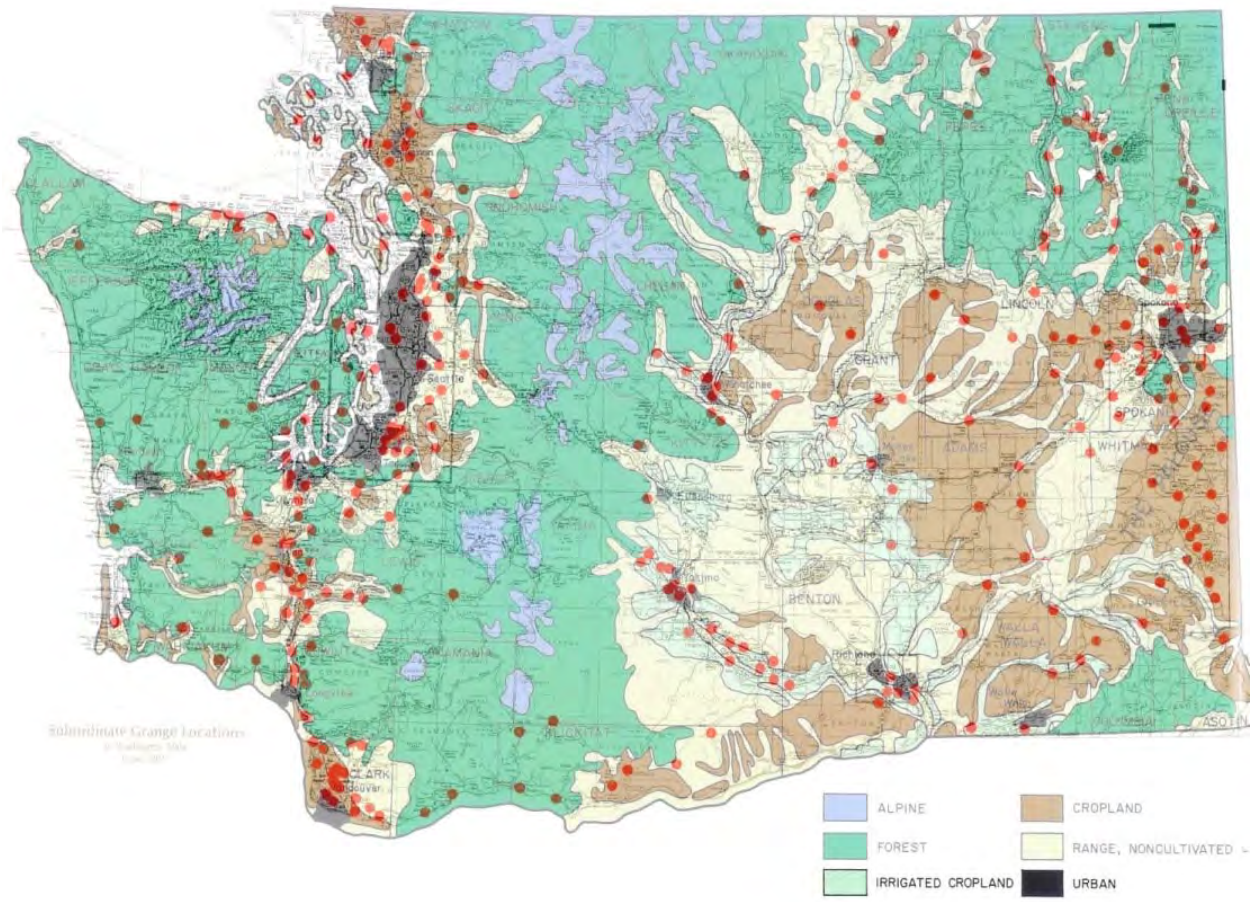


Figure 5.2: Locations of grange halls overlaid on agricultural regions of Washington State (base map from John Alwin, *Between the Mountains: A Portrait of Eastern Washington,* 1984; map of grange locations from Washington State Grange)

system during field work, and why, upon further analysis, such a system did not appear to be particularly useful in understanding the physical characteristics of grange halls.

One of the key reference documents discovered during initial project research, the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide*, included one floor plan labeled "Proposed Grange Hall Plan"[23] [figure 5.3] which identified essential interior features but provided little information regarding exterior characteristics. This drawing depicts a two-story building, or more precisely a one-story building with a full basement, with an elongated rectangular plan of a width of approximately thirty feet and length of approximately sixty feet. The building design includes a central recessed entryway, flanked on the main or first floor by two small anterooms. The remaining portion of the main floor (approximately eighty percent of the square footage) is shown as an open meeting room, with a stage at the far end, opposite the main entry. The lower or basement level is shown with a dining room and kitchen, and with secondary building services and related uses also noted.

This design is essentially a prototype for buildings constructed by subordinate granges to serve as grange halls, identified in this thesis as purpose-built grange halls. Because numerous grange halls documented during field work appeared to be built on, or at least inspired by, this plan, it seemed likely that the plan had been available to granges prior to 1950, although at the commencement of field work its original publication date and source were unknown. This single design seemed to indicate the possible existence of a book of grange hall plans, but in spite of intensely focused research efforts, such a resource was not identified until after the field work was completed.

Field survey of grange halls focused on detailed observations of exterior building characteristics. As noted in Chapter 4, the location of each grange hall was recorded, along with building dimensions, plan, number of stories, porch form, roof form, cladding or structural material, and color. Observations were also noted regarding the setting of each building. Analysis of these features is discussed below, and comprehensive field data is included in Appendix A.

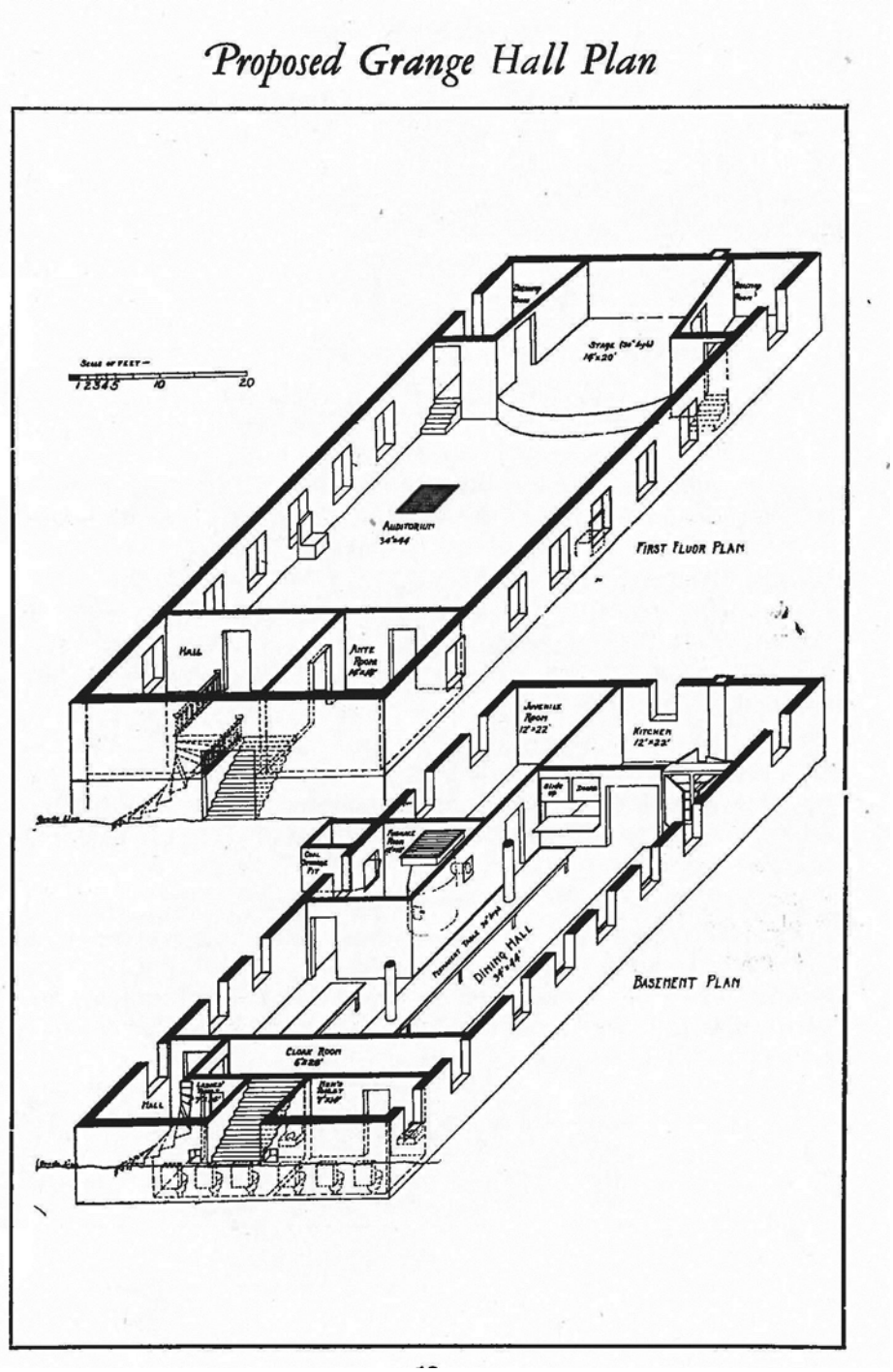


Figure 5.3: Proposed Grange Hall Plan, 1928 (from *Grange Hall Suggestions*, published by the National Grange)

Preliminary research indicated that some portion of the grange halls in Washington State were originally constructed to serve other purposes, such as schools or churches, and were later converted to use as grange halls. Based on field observations corroborated by historical documentation, two distinct categories of grange halls have been identified. Purpose-built halls tend to have a set of consistent formal characteristics, while the classification of adaptive reuse is a broad, catch-all category that includes any building originally constructed for another purpose or by another organization and later dedicated for use as a grange hall.

Identification of widespread examples of adaptive reuse produced a more diverse range of building types than anticipated. In addition to documenting features of grange halls, field work involved an effort to decipher physical clues to the history and evolution of grange buildings. "Character-defining features"[24] were documented and analyzed in the field in an effort to make preliminary determinations regarding (1) whether each grange hall was purpose-built, or an example of adaptive reuse; and, (2) how each grange hall had been modified through the course of its history, due to past changes of use, or simply due to past use as a grange hall.

Closely observing physical details of grange halls meant "reading" the buildings to observe differences in materials such as the cladding at Lummi Island Grange #925 in Whatcom County [figure 5.4], that indicated different construction periods for the two hall components, or the distinctive canted bay form of a ticket window on the primary elevation of Chumstick Grange #819 in Chelan County, indicating that it was originally constructed as a train depot [figure 5.5]. Sometimes close observation literally meant reading text on the buildings, such as signage at Sequim Prairie Grange #1108 in Clallam County that indicated the building was originally constructed as Macleay School in 1912 [figure 5.6], and a cornerstone at Clayton Grange #456 in Stevens County showing that it was originally constructed as a Moose Lodge in 1926 [figure 5.7].

Figure 5.4: Lummi Island # 925 in Whatcom County

Figure 5.5: Chumstick #819 in Chelan County

Figure 5.6: Sequim Prairie #1108 in Clallam County

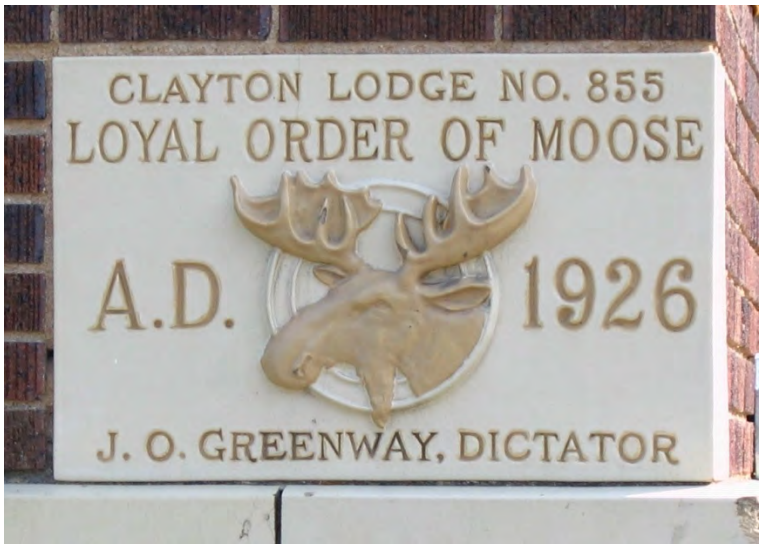


Figure 5.7: Clayton #456 in Stevens County (originally constructed as a Moose Lodge)

While some halls, such as the examples above, were fairly easy to categorize, other were quite challenging, and preliminary identifications based on visual inspection were often wrong. These errors were commonly of two kinds. One was categorizing older halls (built between 1900 and 1930) as purpose-built grange halls that later research showed to have been constructed originally as community clubs. The other was categorizing some newer halls (built between 1930 and 1980) as adaptive reuse that later research showed to have been purpose-built, particularly those having unusual forms that did not closely resemble the "prototypical" long rectangle. Archival research has confirmed the accurate category assignment and the construction date of the majority of halls in this study, but definitive information has not been found for all grange halls in the state, and so some of the data included in Appendix A must be considered preliminary.

Purpose-Built Halls: Physical Characteristics

Approximately 65% of the buildings documented for this study were identified as purpose-built grange halls, and the majority of these buildings are characterized by a remarkable consistency of form. This typical building form is a long, narrow rectangle measuring roughly 30-36 feet wide and 60-90 feet long. These are generally one-story buildings (usually above a basement) with gable roof and the main entry located at one end [figure 5.8]. These buildings typically have a small entry vestibule opening onto a large meeting room which occupies most of the building's square footage. Fenestration commonly consists of symmetrical, evenly spaced rectangular windows on the long sides of the buildings, which provide light to the meeting room. Most halls have a kitchen and dining room located in the basement if the building has a basement, or in a rear addition.

This common grange hall form is at least twice as long as it is wide, and can be described as a gable-front elongated rectangle. One of the challenges of identifying vernacular buildings is a lack of common vocabulary with which to describe specific utilitarian forms,[25] not in stylistic terms but in structural terms. A small portion of purpose-

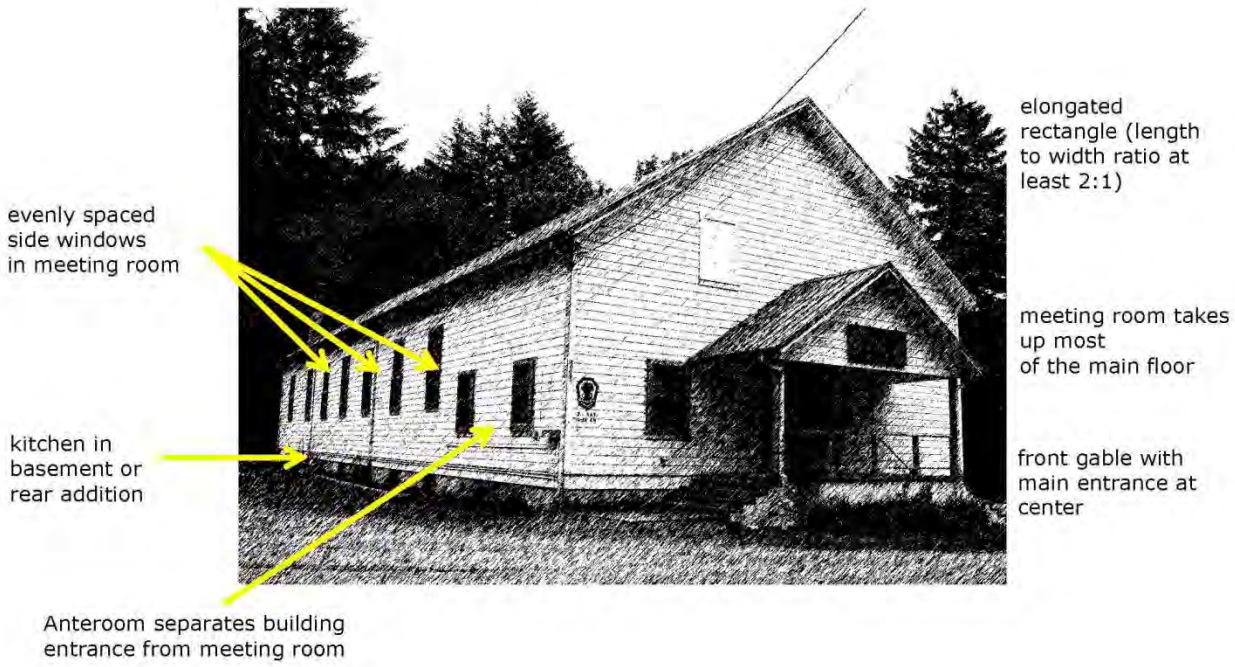


Figure 5.8: Common attributes of purpose-built grange halls

built halls have an L-shaped extension off of the main elongated rectangle, which in most cases is an addition that can be distinguished from the original building [figure 5.9]. Commonly observed patterns of modifications to grange halls are discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Considering building forms chronologically, grange halls constructed before the late 1920s tend to be relatively small [figure 5.10], with dimensions of approximately 30 x 60 feet, while halls built in the 1920s and later tend to be larger [figure 5.11] with dimensions in the range of 36 x 80 feet, but this generalization masks wide variation.

The Grange Hall Anteroom: A Structural Aspect of Building Use

The anteroom just inside the main entrance of many halls [see figure 5.3 earlier in this chapter] appears to be the one significant structural component that distinguishes grange halls from other kinds of general purpose community buildings. While grange halls were often used for public gatherings, grange meetings were open only to members, and like most fraternal lodges, the Grange was a secret society. During member meetings, the main entrance to the hall was locked, but the door into the anteroom was open. The Gatekeeper (a grange officer) was stationed in the anteroom, and any person who attempted to enter the meeting had to know the password to be allowed into the hall.

In purpose-built halls, the requirement for an anteroom was typically incorporated internally into the floor plan when the building was constructed. A few purpose-built halls have enclosed vestibules outside the main footprint of the building [figure 5.12], but these appear to provide protection from inclement weather rather than space for an anteroom. However, existing buildings that were adapted for use as grange halls were often modified with the addition of an enclosed vestibule [figure 5.13]. According to current grange members, anterooms are now rarely used for their original purpose, and many have been modified for use as coat rooms, restrooms or storage rooms.[26]

Figure 5.9: Ford's Prairie #33 in Lewis County (Example of a hall with a commonly observed L-shaped extension off of the main elongated rectangle)

Figure 5.10: La Center #48 in Clark County (Example of a smaller hall, 25 x 50 feet, dating from the Order's early years)

Figure 5.11: Outlook #256 in Yakima County (Example of a larger hall, 30 x 80 feet, built in 1931)

Figure 5.12: North River #946 in Pacific County (Example of an enclosed vestibule on a purpose-built hall)

Figure 5.13: San Poil #684 in Ferry County (Example of an addition that may have served as an anteroom in former bottling plant adaptively reused as a grange hall)

Variations in Roof and Porch Forms

Variations of the elongated rectangle building type occur in elements such as roof forms and porch forms. While most purpose-built grange halls constructed before World War II have front gable roofs [figure 5.14], there are a handful of examples from the pre-World War II era that have hipped or gambrel roofs [figure 5.15 and figure 5.16]. Grange halls constructed after World War II typically have shallower roofs, consistent with other types of buildings in the period. Greater variety is found in roof forms from the post-1945 era, with the number of front gable roofs equaled by the combined number of side-gable, curved [figure 5.17], hipped, and flat roofs.

Most purpose-built grange halls have some kind of porch, either open or enclosed. Gable-roofed porch forms are predominant on pre-World War II buildings, and these range from small coverings over building entrances to large structures which cover most or all of the primary façade [figure 5.18]. Hipped roof and shed roof porches are less common, and whether they are open or enclosed, examples of this type tend to extend fully across the main façades of halls where they are found [figure 5.19]. Small gable-roof porches, either open or enclosed, are found on approximately half of post-World War II grange halls, while the remainder have either no porch or a very minimal door covering. (Alterations to hall entrances to provide universal accessibility are discussed in Chapter 7.) While these variations in building forms and roof forms can be described in stylistic terms, and grouped according to differences in shape and size, the variations appear to have little relevance with regard to building use, and do not merit formal distinction as sub-types.

Exterior Materials

Before World War II, most purpose-built grange halls were frame buildings with clapboard or other wood cladding [figure 5.20]. Notably, materials such as concrete block began to be used starting in the 1930s[27] [figure 5.21], and a few prefabricated metal grange halls have been built since 1950, but these often simply replicate traditional forms

Figure 5.14: Satsop #183 in Grays Harbor County (Example of front gable form)

Figure 5.15: Rexville #815 in Skagit County (Example of hipped roof form)

Figure 5.16: Selah Heights #608 in Yakima County (Example of gambrel roof form)

Figure 5.17: Oroville #985 in Okanogan County (Example of curved roof form)

Figure 5.18: Happy Valley #322 in King County (Example of gable-roofed porch form)

Figure 5.19: Prospect Point #1067 in Walla Walla County (Example of enclosed porch form)

Figure 5.20: Ten Mile #399 in Whatcom County (Example of frame building with clapboard cladding)

Figure 5.21: Buena Vista #415 in Benton County (Example of concrete block building)

Figure 5.22: Tri-Community #1008 in Spokane County (Example of prefabricated metal building)

[figure 5.22]. Buildings constructed using concrete block, and prefabricated metal buildings are especially common in counties that experienced major growth in grange membership in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s around issues such as public power and the Columbia Basin Reclamation Project as discussed in Chapter 3.

Thomas Carter has also observed this pattern, of traditional forms being replicated in newly manufactured materials, in domestic architecture. In "Traditional Design in an Industrial Age," Carter wrote that builders worked with pattern-book designs in much the same way that they used designs extracted from the older folk idiom, which produced consistency in forms, and shared design vocabularies, but not mass production.[28] Carter found this pattern was especially noticeable in buildings that were not "speculative" but were built by those who intended to use them, a description that clearly applies to grange halls [figure 5.23].

Outbuildings

Extant outbuildings were recorded in field data in association with a few grange halls, and these features both contribute to the character of grange halls and provide evidence regarding building evolution. The most frequently documented outbuildings were sheds for firewood in active use, an indication that many halls are still heated with wood-burning stoves as a primary or secondary heat source. The second most common outbuilding type was the pump house for well pumps.[29]

Setting and Landscape Elements

Many grange halls, whether purpose-built or adaptive reuse, are associated with distinctive landscape elements which convey aspects of their history, use and setting. Field data included a notation of each grange hall's setting, characterized by one of the following terms: rural, sub-rural, village, town or suburban.[30] All halls have adjacent parking areas, commonly gravel lots or grassy surfaces which can accommodate overflow parking for large gatherings.

Figure 5.23: Lower Naches #296 Yakima County (Example of traditional elongated rectangle form reproduced using new materials – concrete block, in this case)

Figure 5.24: [Left] Wheatland #952 Whitman County (Example of associated cultural landscape feature, a picnic grove); [Right] detail of picnic grove

Figure 5.25: Black Lake #861 in Thurston County (Example of “kitchen garden” installation)

Grange halls in rural settings characterized by working landscapes and minimal residential development comprise just over 40% of Washington's extant halls. These rural halls tended to have minimal decorative landscaping, but some included cultural landscape features such as picnic groves created by rows of trees planted to form wind breaks [figure 5.24]. Grange halls in village, town, suburban, and suburban / rural transitional settings commonly had some decorative perimeter plantings, and recently some halls have established native plant demonstration gardens to promote the use of drought-tolerant plants or kitchen gardens to promote local food security [figure 5.25].

Adaptive Reuse as a Hall Ownership Strategy

Approximately thirty-five percent of the buildings now owned and used as halls by subordinate granges were originally constructed for a different purpose and later adapted for use as grange halls. The assignment of buildings to this category was accomplished using a combined strategy of visual analysis of character-defining features, and review of historical documentation. The variety of examples of adaptive reuse among grange halls in Washington State is truly remarkable. Documented examples of building types converted for use as grange halls include schools, churches, community halls, commercial buildings, fraternal lodges, military barracks, a depot, a beer bottling plant, and a hotel.

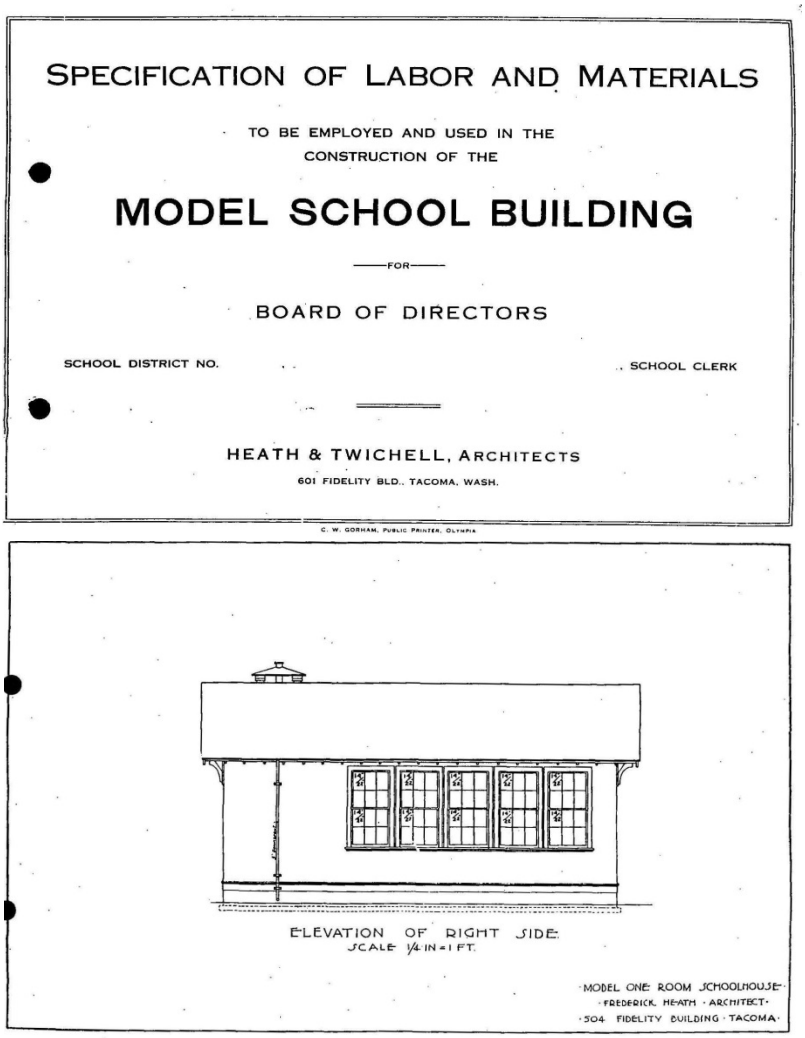
Schools

Of all building types, schools were the most frequently adapted for use as grange halls in Washington State, and this ownership transition was usually associated with the process of consolidation of rural school districts, a nationwide phenomenon which took place in the early part of the 20th century, based in part on recommendations from President Theodore Roosevelt's 1908 Country Life Commission.[31] National Grange leadership encouraged granges to consider acquiring schools, stating, "In sections where there is centralization of schools in progress, and where there are schoolhouses being sold, there is an opportunity to take over a building and make it into a proper grange hall."[32]

An early example of Progressive Era legislation in Washington State, the so-called "Barefoot Schoolboy Law" of 1895, provided for universal education and obligated the state to insure at least minimum school facilities for every child regardless of their place of residence.[33] This legislation mandated widespread construction of rural schools, typically small, one-room buildings. By the first decade of the twentieth century, education reformers and others interested in rural life advocated the construction of modern consolidated schools offering graded curricula and improved facilities constructed of brick or wood, with ample windows for natural light.

These larger centralized schools typically replaced several single-room schools, resulting in the transportation of pupils over distances of several miles.[34] Population density influenced the locations of consolidated schools, as did transportation, and, as a result, these buildings were often sited near crossings of macadamized roads. In Washington, voters had to approve consolidation at the local level, within a single district or among multiple adjacent districts seeking to consolidate, making the process slow and cumbersome.[35] Consolidated schools in rural Washington became the focus of community life, and legislation during the early twentieth century encouraged districts to allow public use of school facilities.[36] Many rural districts made schoolhouses available to civic groups and social clubs, including local granges.

In Washington as elsewhere, consolidated school buildings in the early twentieth century were commonly hipped-roof structures with rectangular or square plans and bands of large, multi-paned windows. Like other institutional buildings, schools were often constructed based on architectural designs from pattern books or plan services,[37] and two possible examples of plan-book schools which later became granges were identified during the present study. Plans for a "Model School Building" [figure 5.26], developed by Tacoma architect Frederick Heath, were endorsed by the Washington State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1908.[38] The Narcisse School, now Narcisse Grange #301 in Stevens County [figure 5.27] appears to have been built on those plans. Another apparent example of a



SPECIFICATION OF LABOR AND MATERIALS

TO BE EMPLOYED AND USED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE

MODEL SCHOOL BUILDING

—FOR—

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. . . . . SCHOOL CLERK

HEATH & TWICHELL, ARCHITECTS

601 FIDELITY BLD., TACOMA, WASH.

C. W. GORHAM, PUBLIC PRINTER, OLYMPIA

ELEVATION OF RIGHT SIDE.
SCALE 1/4 IN = 1 FT.

MODEL ONE ROOM SCHOOLHOUSE.
FREDERICK HEATH ARCHITECT.
504 FIDELITY BUILDING TACOMA.

Figure 5.26: Model School Building Specifications, Adopted by Washington State in 1908 (Included in "Rural Public School in Washington" Multiple Property Documentation form, 1987)

Figure 5.27: Narcisse #301 in Stevens County

Figure 5.28: Half Moon #907 in Spokane County

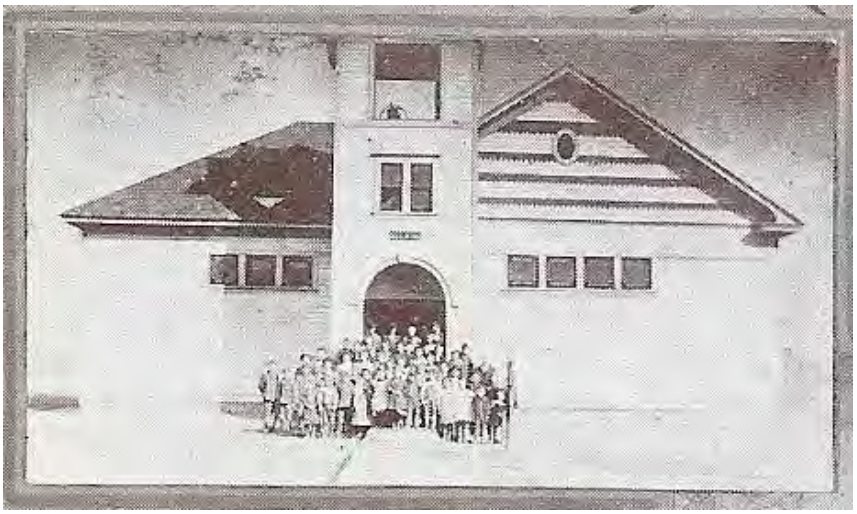


Figure 5.29: A school in Yakima County (1911), apparently built on the same plans as Half Moon School, now Half Moon Grange #907 (from Washington State Department of Education. *Consolidation of Rural Schools and Transportation of Pupils.* Olympia, WA: 1911, pp. 107)

plan-book design is Half Moon Grange #907 in Spokane County [figure 5.28], constructed in 1909 as Half Moon School, given its resemblance to a school building located in Yakima County, featured in a 1911 publication from the Washington State Department of Education [figure 5.29].[39]

In addition to locally funded projects, an increase in rural school construction occurred in the 1930s when federal assistance, administered through the Works Progress Administration, led to the building of new schools.[40] After World War II, school construction also increased, resulting in the surplus of older school buildings, many of which were acquired by local granges that had been meeting in the buildings already for many years. The ability to adapt schools for new uses such as grange halls extended the useful life of many rural historic buildings in Washington State.

The most common physical characteristics of grange halls originally constructed as schools are expansive banks of windows in former classroom spaces [figure 5.30]. Others building characteristics may include a belfry or other structure to hold a school bell, and a symmetrical primary façade with a center entrance. While purpose-built grange halls of the typical elongated rectangular plan generally have their short side oriented toward the road as their primary façade, school buildings reused as grange halls more often have their longer side oriented toward the road as their primary façade [figure 5.31]. Site characteristics may include a paved walkway between the building entrance and the road, a flagpole, a school yard with recreational amenities such as ball courts and playing fields, and an adjacent modern school facility, since many local school districts built modern schools next to older ones if they owned a large enough piece of property.

Churches

As with schools, the National Grange offered explicit encouragement to subordinate granges regarding the adaptive reuse of former churches as grange halls, observing, “The decline of a rural church is always sad, but whenever a rural church goes down and its

Figure 5.30: Malott #948 in Okanogan County (Example of window bank characteristic of former school buildings adapted for use as grange halls)

Figure 5.31: Pioneer #901 in Clark County (Example of orientation toward the roadway of former school buildings adapted for use as grange halls)

property is abandoned, there is nothing better to do with it than to turn it into a Grange hall."[41] While it offered no specific recommendations for physically modifying school buildings for use as grange halls, the publication *Grange Hall Suggestions* did include specific guidance regarding transforming church buildings into grange halls:

> Many of the old style rural churches with a good foundation can, by excavating a cellar, remodeling, and adjusting, make a Grange hall of value… Remove the steeple, excavate for a good basement, build a stage, put in necessary partitions and equipment.[42]

The comment regarding "necessary partitions" likely refers to construction of an anteroom, which was discussed above with regard to purpose-built halls. High center gable roofs and fenestration patterns of evenly spaced, tall, narrow, often peaked windows identify many former churches [figure 5.32]. While church bells may have been removed and steeples shortened, often some indication remains visible of these former features. Former churches adaptively reused as grange halls are more often found in village or town settings, while former school buildings converted to grange use are as likely to be in rural settings as in village or town locations.

Community Halls

The most challenging examples of adaptive reuse to identify were buildings originally constructed as general purpose community halls that later came into grange ownership, as these buildings often resembled purpose-built grange halls in plan and appearance. Many grange halls that exhibit a resemblance to the "Proposed Grange Hall Plan" described above, particularly in their elongated rectangle form and symmetrical evenly spaced windows, were initially categorized as purpose-built halls during field work for this study, but later identified as halls constructed by local community clubs based on historical evidence. This category of building cannot truly be called adaptive reuse, since the halls continued to serve their original purposes as community gathering places, after having transitioned to grange ownership at some point in their history. However, they are classified as examples of

Figure 5.32: Deer Lagoon #846 in Island County (Example of peaked side windows characteristic of former churches adapted for use as grange halls)

Figure 5.33: Alpha #154 in Lewis County (Example of a grange hall originally constructed as a community club)

Figure 5.34: [Left] Northport #928 in Stevens County (a former commercial building); [Right] Detail view of sign documenting building history near the entryway

adaptive reuse for the purposes of this study because they were not constructed as grange halls.

Alpha Grange #154 in Lewis County is a representative example of this building type [figure 5.33]. Constructed in 1905 by a local association, it was the focal point around which dances, community events, celebrations, and public policy activities revolved. A scholarly history of the region noted, "Gradually over the years, the Grange became the exclusive sponsor of nearly all community activities that the Alpha Public Hall Association had originally been created to sponsor."[43] Finally, the Public Hall Association turned control and responsibility of the hall over to the Grange in 1931.

The only indication found that some of the grange halls documented in this study were originally constructed as a general-purpose community buildings were public records held by county assessors that identified construction dates which preceded the organization dates of the local granges that own them. As noted in Chapter 4, the construction dates from such records are not always reliable; however, it is possible that a portion of the grange halls categorized as purpose-built for this study were built as community halls, and additional research may result in a larger number of Washington State's grange halls being classified as examples of adaptive reuse.

Other Examples

A few grange halls originally constructed for other purposes highlight their history on signs that identify the building's history, such as an example from Northport Grange #928 in Stevens County [figure 5.34] that stated,

> At one time this building was a men's clothing store and later a card and pool hall. In the 1950s it became a popular dance hall with Grange sponsored Saturday night dances for 30 cents. Now as a Grange Hall it is also used for everything from Northport Schools play performances to funerals and wedding receptions.[44]

Many other kinds of buildings have been converted to grange hall use in Washington State. Selected examples include Malo Grange #679 in Ferry County, a former Woodmen of

the World lodge [figure 5.35]; Molson Grange #1069 in Okanogan County, the former Molson Trading Company building [figure 5.36]; and Roy Grange #702 in Pierce County, a former military barracks from Fort Lewis [figure 5.37].

In 1925, a grange hall construction project in New York described as a "noteworthy accomplishment" blurred the distinction between construction and adaptive reuse. After renting a hall for several years, the Springwater Grange purchased land and then discovered an old church for sale twenty miles away. Grange members acquired and dismantled the church, moved the materials to their lot, and using additional lumber and other materials donated by members, constructed a new hall that even incorporated the former church's stained glass windows.[45]

In Washington State, Mossyrock Grange #355 in Lewis County employed a similar strategy in 1969, when it acquire a building from the nearby Mossyrock dam construction site, deconstructed it, and used the material to construct a new hall [figure 5.38] dedicated in 1961.[46] While it is not exactly adaptive reuse, members of Eaglecliff Grange #712 in Ferry County demonstrated a penchant for salvage in the early twentieth century, when they constructed a grange hall incorporating flooring, doors and windows from a former hotel in nearby Wauconda, and a wood stove to heat the hall obtained from a saloon in Greenwood, B.C.[47]

Additional research regarding the use of plan services and pattern books may identify published or archival sources of designs for churches, fraternal halls, and other types of buildings that later became grange halls. The appreciation of adaptive reuse as a strategy for historic preservation and environmental sustainability tends to be regarded as a contemporary urban endeavor, so documentation of this phenomenon as a widespread and well-established rural historical pattern, both in field work and in organization policy, was intriguing for this researcher.

Figure 5.35: Malo #679 in Ferry County (a former Woodmen of the World lodge)

Figure 5.36: Molson #1069 in Okanogan County (the former Molson Trading Company building)

Figure 5.37: Roy #702 in Pierce County (a former military barracks from nearby Fort Lewis)

Figure 5.38: Mossyrock #355 in Lewis County (Example of a grange hall reconstructed from salvaged materials)

Figure 5.39: Fredonia #545 in Skagit County

Figure 5.40: Burbank #630 in Walla Walla County

Understanding Dynamic Vernacular Buildings: Why Documentation Alone is Insufficient

Brief profiles of two grange halls documented for this thesis illustrate why just measuring building dimensions and documenting physical details proved insufficient as a basis for understanding the history and significance of grange halls, and demonstrate the necessity of archival research.

Fredonia Grange #545 in Skagit County [figure 5.39] is a purpose-built hall that has a rectangular plan measuring 36 x 130 feet, metal gable roof, open gable porch covering the main entry, and white clapboard cladding. Historical research regarding this hall added multiple layers of complexity, indicating that the grange was chartered in 1913, its first hall was a former warehouse, its second hall was constructed in 1920 and burned down in 1921, and the current [2012] third hall was constructed in 1923 on the foundation of the second hall. A few years after construction, a 10 x 50 foot lean-to with restrooms and a kitchen was added to the building's west side, and in 1941, a 36 x 36 foot dining room was built at the rear.[48]

Burbank Grange #630 in Walla Walla County [figure 5.40] provides a similarly complicated example of adaptive reuse. Its current [2012] hall has a rectangular plan measuring 58 x 76 feet, metal gable roof, and yellow aluminum cladding. Historical research determined that the building was originally constructed as a wing of the hospital at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation (approximately 40 miles away), was purchased in 1962 by the Burbank Grange, and was barged down the Columbia River and up the Snake River to its present location. In 1977, the Burbank Grange purchased a second building then located at the Walla Walla airport (approximately 45 miles away) that had been constructed by the Air Force in 1942, and was slated for demolition. Grange members deconstructed that building to salvage the lumber and fixtures, moved the materials to Burbank, and constructed a dining room addition on the north side of their hall.[49]

As these two accounts demonstrate, many grange halls have histories that reflect changing uses, changing technologies, and changing needs of building users. Given the complex history of many grange halls, the effort to develop a classification system based on observable physical characteristics (building form, roof form, porch form, and cladding) seemed possible but not necessarily useful. Interpreting current building forms and past histories of grange halls required substantial additional documentation that could only be found in historical sources.

C. Analysis of Grange Hall Design, Construction and Ownership

To interpret grange hall characteristics observed during fieldwork, it was necessary to address a variety of aspects related to the acquisition or ownership of halls, including a key document published by the National Grange, typical patterns of hall ownership based on the histories of individual granges, strategies for fund-raising to acquire or build halls, possible design sources, interior features, and detailed accounts of construction. This section explores each of these topics to better explain the buildings documented during fieldwork.

Grange Hall Suggestions*: A Key Documentary and Interpretive Source*

The original source of the "Proposed Grange Hall Plan" found in the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide* was identified after many months of searching, when the title *Grange Hall Suggestions* was noted on a price list of grange supplies and literature printed in 1933 by the Washington State Grange.[50] On request, staff at the National Grange headquarters in Washington, D.C., identified a copy of this booklet in their historical archives, and provided a digital copy. It must be noted that no reference to the title *Grange Hall Suggestions* was found in any publication on Grange history, nor is the title listed in commonly accessible library databases, indicating that it is a relatively unknown document today. The booklet includes neither a publication date nor an author attribution; both were identified through other sources.

An article, "Of Great Value to the Granges: Long Anticipated Book on Halls and Features Is at Last Available," appeared in *National Grange Monthly* in February 1928. The author proclaimed:

> Grange workers everywhere will be delighted to know that the long-promised book covering plans and suggestions for Grange halls has been issued by the National Grange and is already available for those in need of it. In cooperation with members of the faculty of the Ohio State University, National Master Taber and the Executive Committee have compiled a book of exceptional value, and in addition to many illustrations, floor plans, and other definite data covering possible grange halls, the book contains a great number of suggestions which building committees and others will do well to heed – all based upon the experiences of many Granges in constructing halls of their own.[51]

The publication of this booklet was also mentioned in a speech by Washington State Grange Master Albert Gross. In his 1928 Master's Address, Gross stated, "The National Grange has gotten out a booklet of hall plans which can be obtained from Secretary Lewis for thirty cents (30c) by any who contemplate building."[52] No author was listed on the booklet's cover or title page, but an acknowledgments section identified Benton M. Stahl, Professor of Agricultural Engineering at Ohio State University, as the primary author.[53] Several of Stahl's colleagues, including Alfred Vivian, Dean of the College of Agriculture at Ohio State University, were listed as contributors. Vivian was described elsewhere as "one of the best known Patrons in the state of Ohio,"[54] who gave lectures on grange history and ritual, so it is likely that Vivian instigated the development of the booklet, or at least coordinated the project and served as the primary link between the University and the National Grange.

Grange Hall Suggestions cannot be considered a traditional plan book, since it more-or-less codified existing practices that had been common for three decades, by recommending certain attributes found in existing buildings, but without necessarily providing detailed plans intended to guide construction of identical buildings. The halls depicted in the booklet were offered as inspirations. The "Proposed Grange Hall Plan" was the only detailed drawing included. Photographs and descriptions of fourteen halls were

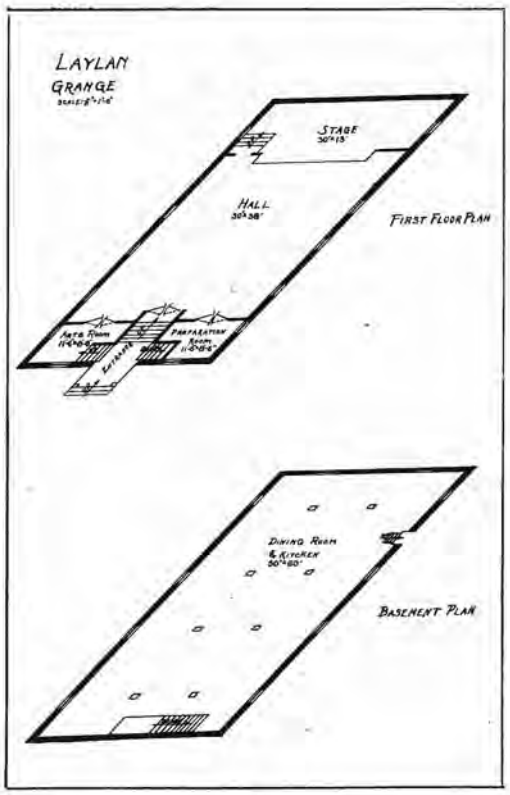
included, with very basic plan sketches for eight of them [figure 5.41]. Featured halls were minimally described, and interior features were critiqued in accompanying "architect's notes" intended to provide guidance to granges considering building new halls. The majority of the booklet was devoted to essays on the value of grange-owned halls and desirable interior features (discussed below).

The introductory statement explained that the National Grange had previously considered providing guidance regarding grange halls, but had declined to do so:

> More than fifty years ago the National Grange appointed a committee to consider plans for Grange halls, but it was decided that it was better to leave this matter to the states and communities, encouraging them to select their own designs and plans.[55]

While it is understandable that the National Grange chose not to address the issue of hall construction in the tumultuous decade that followed its founding in 1867, this statement curiously did not explain why the subject was not broached in the intervening five decades, nor why it was considered appropriate to address it in 1928. However, based on the research documented in this thesis it is possible to suggest three factors that may have influenced the development of *Grange Hall Suggestions*: (1) in spite of an agricultural depression in the 1920s, the decade was a period of relative growth and stability for the Order at the national level, and membership doubled in the previous twenty years[56]; (2) the Country Life Movement's emphasis on the value of community buildings in the 1910s and 1920s likely encouraged many granges to build or acquire their own halls[57]; and (3) the proliferation of plan books and pattern books available during the 1910s and 1920s for barns, houses, and even community buildings may have created an expectation among grange members who sought similar printed resources addressing the construction of grange halls.[58]

Perhaps the most notable aspect of *Grange Hall Suggestions* is its explicit endorsement of what later came to be called "adaptive reuse," an indication that the practice of reusing existing buildings was widespread by the late 1920s. In addition to



20

Laylan Grange Hall

LAYLAN GRANGE HALL is a splendid example of the medium type hall that has been constructed in large numbers in almost every state in the Union. The photograph clearly tells the story. It is a combination of the basement one story plan which gives good dining room and basement equipment, and yet complies with the one story regulations of some states for buildings that are not fireproof. This particular hall basement is 4 feet below ground, and 4 feet above grade line.

It is the home of a thriving young Grange and was built largely with donated labor. They own an acre lot with plenty of parking space. The photograph was taken before the sodding had been done. Landscaping and growing trees will greatly change the appearance. With the labor and lot donated, this property cost approximately $2,500, about one-half the contract price to duplicate such a building.

Architect's Note

This Grange hall has a pleasing appearance, simple and well proportioned. Too much ornamental detail would be entirely out of place in an inexpensive building such as this. Only one thing is needed to make this Grange really attractive, and that is landscaping. A well cared for lawn with some shrubbery would work wonders.

The floor plans indicate that nothing but the absolute essentials have been provided. The kitchen could be separated from the dining room at little expense. If possible, the furnace should be enclosed by walls separating it from the dining room, keeping out the dirt and improving the looks of the eating place. Even in the most inexpensive building, there should be toilet facilities, and water. Greater safety, in case of fire, would be secured if another exit were provided at the rear.

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Figure 5.41: Sample basic plan and description of existing building from Grange Hall Suggestions, 1928 (Laylan Grange Hall, pp. 20-21)

recommendations for building new halls, the booklet included a section on remodeling existing buildings, calling particular attention to the advantages of purchasing former church and school buildings for use as grange halls.[59] The authors also offered the advice that "There should always be a woman on the building committee,"[60] apparently to ensure that all aspects of hall planning were properly considered. This suggestion regarding the participation of women in construction planning may not have been typical of other fraternal orders at the time, but it is consistent with the Grange's adoption of gender equality as a founding principle. (The values embraced by the Order, and the symbolism associated with grange halls as presented in *Grange Hall Suggestions* are considered further in Chapter 6.)

Sequences of Hall Ownership, and Charter Year vs. Year of Construction

Grange leaders at the national and state levels strongly encouraged granges to own their own halls. Nordin explained, "Most subordinate chapters eagerly awaited the day when they could vacate their temporary quarters and move into their own lodge halls."[61] Research for this thesis has shown that this transition was rarely a straightforward, one-step process, and many granges have rented and owned multiple buildings. The histories of Washington Grange #82 and Stranger Creek Grange #374 illustrate the complexities of grange hall ownership.

Washington Grange #82 in Clark County has had at least four homes since it was organized in 1889, all located northeast of Vancouver, in the community historically known as Orchards. The Grange met in a rented hall from 1889 to 1891. In 1891 the grange purchased a former Oddfellows hall, which was destroyed by fire in 1929. The grange constructed a replacement hall of brick on the same site, which it owned until 1974 when that hall was demolished due to a road widening project. A new hall was constructed on a nearby property in 1974, and this building still served as the home of the Washington Grange [figure 5.42] in 2012.[62]

Figure 5.42: Washington #82 in Clark County

Figure 5.43: Stranger Creek #374 in Stevens County

Figure 5.44: Skookumchuck #584 in Thurston County

Stranger Creek Grange #374 in Stevens County, organized in 1910, had a similarly complicated history during its first four decades:

> The first meetings were held in the Stranger Creek School…when it was no longer possible to use the schoolhouse they met in homes until the Grange built the log building which still stands beside the Addy-Gifford Road about three miles east of Gifford. From there they moved to a building at Eadendale, a place now beneath the waters of Lake Roosevelt, and finally to the I.O.O.F. hall at Gifford.[63]

After unsuccessfully trying to buy the old Gifford schoolhouse, the grange voted in the 1940s to build its own hall and stepped up fund-raising efforts by sponsoring dances and other events. Eventually, the grange acquired a piece of property on the Addy-Gifford Road, and purchased a prefabricated metal building resembling a Quonset hut from Dix Steel Company in 1952 [figure 5.43].[64] This building still served at the grange hall in 2012.

In a few cases, granges built their own halls shortly after organizing. Skookumchuck #584 in Thurston County was organized in 1915 and constructed a hall using volunteer labor and donated materials in 1917 [figure 5.44].[65] This building remained in use as a grange hall in 2012. However, this uncomplicated sequence is rare. Even those granges that continued to own their original halls in 2012 typically met in rented quarters for years or even decades before building or acquiring halls. For example, Espanola Grange #698 in Spokane County was organized in 1919, and purchased the Espanola School (built in 1927) in 1954 [figure 5.45]. Similarly, Washougal Grange #69 in Clark County was organized in 1889, bought land in 1910, and "it wasn't until 1926, about 50 fund-raising dinners later" that their 2-story brick hall was finished [figure 5.46].[66] Both these buildings remained in use as grange halls in 2012.

While a majority of Washington State granges that were active in 2012 have remained continuously active since they were chartered, some granges organized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century experienced periods of dormancy, before being reorganized in the 1920s or 1930s. This period of inactivity may account for the gap of several decades between the date when some granges were founded and when they

Figure 5.45: Espanola #698 in Spokane County

Figure 5.46: Washougal #69 in Clark County

acquired or built halls.[67] For those granges that already owned halls that they had either built or purchased, the reason most commonly cited in historical materials to explain why new halls were needed, both nationally and in Washington State, was to accommodate membership growth.[68] The next most commonly cited reason was replacement of halls destroyed by fire.[69]

The variety of circumstances presented in the above-described hall ownership scenarios demonstrates why there is no pattern that connects the year in which a grange was organized (its charter year) and the date of construction of its present hall. A substantial majority (87%) of the 218 subordinate granges in Washington State that maintained ownership of halls in 2012 were chartered between 1900 and 1939, but the dates on which they acquired halls (through purposeful construction or reuse) varied widely [figure 5.47].

Intuitively, it might be expected that the granges having the oldest charter dates would also have the oldest halls. This is true in a few cases; for example, Columbia Grange #87 in Klickitat County was organized in 1889, and its members built a hall in 1890 that remained in use in 2012 [figure 5.48]. However, many older granges have new halls, since these older granges may have owned two, three, or even more halls during their history, and their current hall may be of relatively recent construction. Thus, for example, Waitsburg #1 in Columbia County, organized in 1873, owns a hall built in 1938 [figure 5.49]. Conversely, many of the buildings originally constructed for non-grange purposes, and later adapted for use as granges, were constructed before the granges that own them were organized. For example, Rimrock Grange #941 in Adams County was organized in 1930, and its hall is a former church built in 1905 and dedicated for use as a grange hall in 1938 [figure 5.50].[70] In other words, some old granges have new halls, and some new granges have old halls.

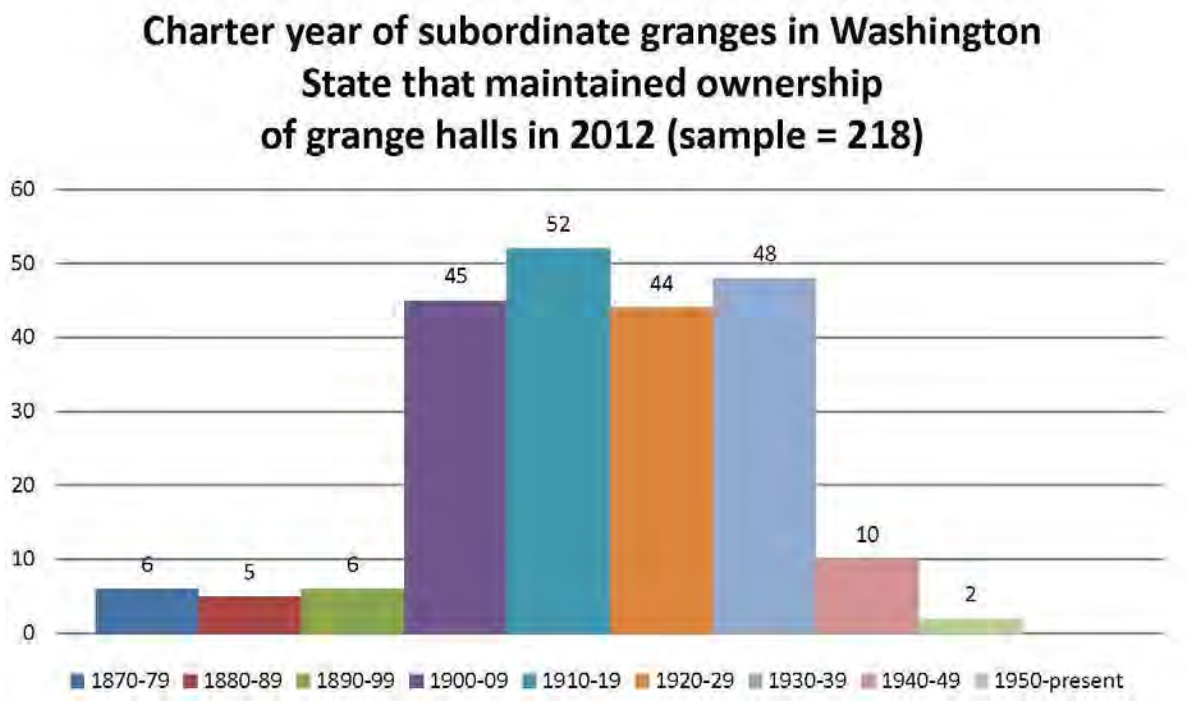


Figure 5.47: Chart depicting the founding years (grouped by decade) of granges having halls in 2012

Figure 5.48: Columbia #87 in Klickitat County (Appears to be the oldest purpose-built grange hall in Washington State)

Figure 5.49: Waitsburg #1 in Columbia County (built in 1938)

Figure 5.50: Rimrock #941 in Adams County (built in 1905 as a church)

Financing Grange Halls

Hall ownership meant fund-raising, whether a grange bought or built a hall. Donations of land, labor, and materials often greatly reduced expenses, but typically some money still needed to be raised or borrowed. Information about financing of grange halls was found in three major sources: the booklet *Grange Hall Suggestions*, articles in the *National Grange Monthly* documenting the dedication of individual grange halls throughout the country, and histories of subordinate granges in the Washington State Grange's historical collection. Just as grange hall construction relied heavily on volunteer labor and donations (discussed below), financing of halls relied on a variety of volunteer efforts, creative fund-raising activities, donations and loans.

Grange Hall Suggestions claimed, "There have been almost as many methods of financing the building of Grange halls, as there have been halls erected,"[71] and noted that no specific rules governed the process of fund-raising, leaving individual subordinate granges to decide which combination of strategies to pursue. The most common fund-raising activity, cited in nearly every account, was hosting dances which allowed granges to collect both admission fees and concession fees. Other activities included rummage sales, quilt sales, and even the cultivation of vacant property with proceeds of the sale of vegetables or other produce donated to the building fund.[72] A 1927 article published in the *National Grange Monthly* titled "40 Ways to Raise Money for Your Grange" recommended fund-raising activities that included a strawberry social, whist party, fiddlers contest, Grange fair, produce sale at a roadside stand, and musical night.[73]

A representative multi-faceted strategy was employed by Baw Faw #34 in Lewis County, which raised money for construction of a new grange hall dedicated in 1941 [figure 5.51], through "donations, chicken dinners, card parties and a very successful carnival. One of the members donated a saddle horse and the sale of the animal greatly increased the building fund."[74] The most unusual fund-raising method identified during this study was a successful effort by Greenwood Park Grange #590 in Stevens County to finance purchase

Figure 5.51: Baw Faw #34 in Lewis County

and remodeling of a former school building. In June 1963, the Grange purchased ten head of feeder cattle, which were pastured through summer and fall by members, and profitably sold at year-end by the Davenport Livestock Auction Company. The auction company also contributed their yard fees and sales commission to the Greenwood Park Grange.[75] Ultimately, the National Grange advised, "If a community really wants a Grange hall – if the membership is willing to put in some work and sacrifice – it will be no trouble to pay for the hall."[76]

Granges sometimes accumulated money in their building funds for a decade or more, in anticipation of eventually owning a hall. Funds contributed by grange members typically constituted a significant component of any grange hall building project, and took the form of outright donations, pledges, or interest-free loans structured as "subscriptions" or the purchase of shares.[77] By this method, members contributed specific amounts such as $10 or $100 to the building fund, and received stocks or bonds, which they held. When the grange accumulated funds, it declared a payment of a set percentage on its debts, and in time the members received back the funds they had advanced.[78]

Ongoing efforts to accumulate needed funds sometimes led granges to take an incremental approach to construction, and especially to renovation projects, an aspect of building histories which is examined in detail in Chapter 7. It was not uncommon for granges to hold meetings and even events in their unfinished halls. In an extreme example of phased construction, a grange in Virginia received a donation of land from one of its members in 1921, and started work on a hall. Initially, they "erected a concrete hall foundation 24 x 48 feet, floored it over and put a railing around the platform, which was used for open air country dances to raise money with which to go on with the hall project."[79] Other examples of incremental construction indicated that members planned which components of their building projects could be undertaken with available resources and which would be deferred. Two examples from Oregon illustrate this strategy. One grange built a hall in 1929 but postponed installation of wall board until the following year pending

additional fund raising, while another constructed the shell of a hall but noted that finances did not yet "provide for furnace, plumbing or flooring."[80] One Washington State Grange, Vale #468 (no longer extant), struck a deal with a lumber dealer who "agreed to furnish lumber and take payments from returns of dances and entertainments."[81]

The extent to which cash was needed to support grange hall construction depended entirely on how much effort members were willing to put into their halls, and construction of most grange halls relied on a combination of many types of donations:

> Some member may donate land; others may donate stone, gravel, or lumber. All members will give freely in accordance with their means, in enthusiasm, in money, and in time. In nine out of every ten of our Grange halls that have been built, there have been no charges for excavation and grading, for hauling, or much of the rough labor. This has reduced the expense items very greatly.[82]

A final note on financing relates to the inclusion of mortgage debt as a less desirable though common aspect of hall construction. *Grange Hall Suggestions* advised that "donations and contributions, plus entertainments and suppers, will nearly always fail to finance completely the Grange hall when built. This is not serious. A reasonable debt on a Grange hall at the time of dedication is no handicap. It is simply a guarantee that the members must stick together and work."[83] In an effort to capitalize on the visibility of a newly constructed or acquired hall, some granges conducted membership campaigns to broaden their base of ongoing financial and volunteer support.[84] After a grange hall was built or acquired, income from hall rentals was typically added to a grange's building fund, to pay debts or to support future maintenance or improvements. Granges sometimes marked the occasion of paying off a loan by holding a mortgage-burning party.

Design Sources: Planning a Grange Hall

Narrative histories of grange halls in Washington State often begin with some version of the nebulous phrase, "A building committee was formed and plans were drawn up for a new hall." Efforts to identify potential sources of plans revealed a fundamental issue in the study of vernacular architecture. As noted previously, the National Grange's 1928 booklet

Grange Hall Suggestions included a single detailed building plan, and a small number of built examples exhibiting some variation. The booklet's authors noted that the drawings were provided, "not as a definite guide, but more in the nature of suggestions. A good carpenter or architect can take the drawings, and by consulting the photograph and description, provide blueprints and specifications at reasonable cost."[85]

Other possible sources of grange hall plans included a series of pamphlets produced in the 1920s by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA).[86] These booklets promoted construction of rural community buildings, an outcome of the Country Life Movement of the 1910s and 1920s. One plan was specifically identified as suitable for use as a grange hall [figure 5.52], likely due to the presence of an anteroom, discussed previously in this chapter. Similar to USDA bulletins on farmhouse and barn designs, these booklets provided floor plans as well as commentary. State agriculture extension programs also offered plans and promoted construction of community buildings.[87] No grange halls documented during this study have been specifically attributed to these published design sources, but the general purposes and characteristics of community buildings depicted in these sources may have encouraged the construction of, or influenced the design of, grange halls in Washington State.

The *National Grange Monthly* published more than 80 articles between 1927 and 1951 documenting the construction or acquisition of grange halls throughout the United States. While this number is a fraction of the estimated 1,000 halls dedicated during that period, the halls described in the articles were a representative sample in that they included both new construction and adaptive reuse projects in at least 27 states.[88] In these 80 articles, the involvement of architects in preparing plans for construction or renovation was mentioned just three times, and in two cases the architects were identified as grange members who donated their services to support their grange's building program.[89] Similarly, in more than 60 reports documenting the history of individual grange halls in Washington State, an architect was mentioned only once, in association with design and

GRANGE-HALL FEATURE.

FIG. 34.—Grange Hall at Newbury, Mass.

Primarily for grange purposes, this building serves also as the community center of a town of 1,500 population and the surrounding farming community. It was erected in 1913 at a cost of $6,500, raised by the 350 members of the local grange from entertainments, sales, auctions, fairs, voluntary labor, and money contributions. Receipts from the bowling alleys and the refreshments stand help maintain the building.

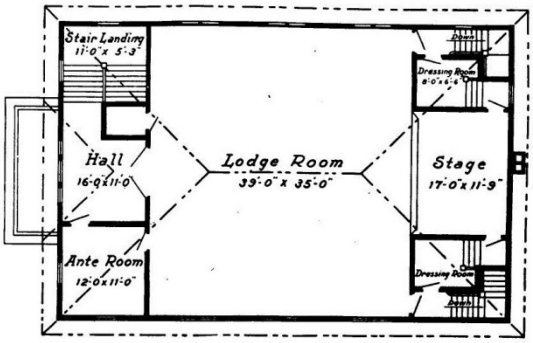


FIG. 36.—Second floor plan of Newbury building.

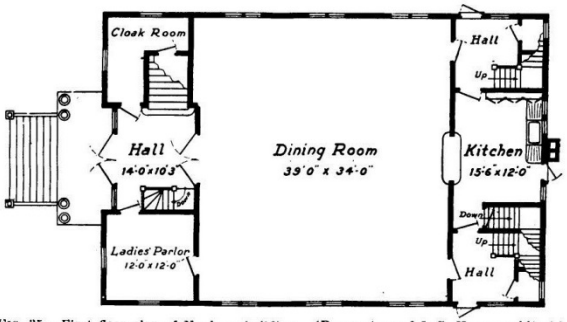


FIG. 35.—First floor plan of Newbury building. (By courtesy of I. S. Hann, architect.)

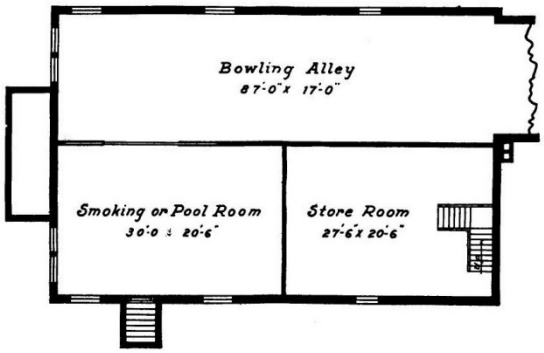


FIG. 37.—Basement plan of Newbury building.

Figure 5.52: “Grange Hall Feature” from United States Department of Agriculture Farmers’ Bulletin 1173: *Plans for Rural Community Buildings*, 1921 (pp. 26-27)

construction of a new hall in 1951-53 for Beacon Hill Grange #389 in Chelan County [figure 5.53], which had been forced to sell its previous hall to the Washington State Department of Highways for demolition prior to a road widening project.[90]

The paucity of references to architects in grange hall histories, both nationally and in Washington State, likely indicates that few of these buildings were designed by architects. Instead, documentation frequently identifies by name, or at least by profession, carpenters and building contractors (often grange members themselves) who collaborated with grange building committees to develop rudimentary plans, and then typically supervised volunteer construction crews.

Grange halls resembling the "prototypical" plan published in 1928 were constructed in Washington State as early as 1905 [figure 5.54], making it clear that ideas about the construction of community buildings were derived from other, earlier sources including traditional building forms. Hubka described a process of form generation employed by folk designers that may be relevant to the construction of some grange halls. Hubka observed that folk designers and builders generate design ideas within a vocabulary of existing building forms and "operate in a narrow, culturally defined field of possibility that is structured by tradition."[91] This dominant role of tradition explains the consistency in the form of many purpose-built grange halls – even if they were not all built from the same set of drawings (or from any set of drawings, for that matter), they were constructed from a shared set of ideas about how grange halls should be built.

Hubka's analysis also provides insight into a phenomenon observed during both field work and archival research, which is that many purpose-built grange halls exhibit or at least evoke relatively dated styles that had been popular decades earlier in urban areas. For example, the Hornbrook Grange in California was built in 1928,[92] with the type of boomtown façade commonly found on commercial buildings from the 1880s [figure 5.55]. Efforts to estimate the year of construction of halls documented during field work, based on familiarity with stylistic succession in the Seattle area, often proved to be more than a decade too

Figure 5.53: Beacon Hill #389 in Chelan County (built in 1953 after former hall was displaced by highway construction)

Figure 5.54: Hope #155 in Lewis County

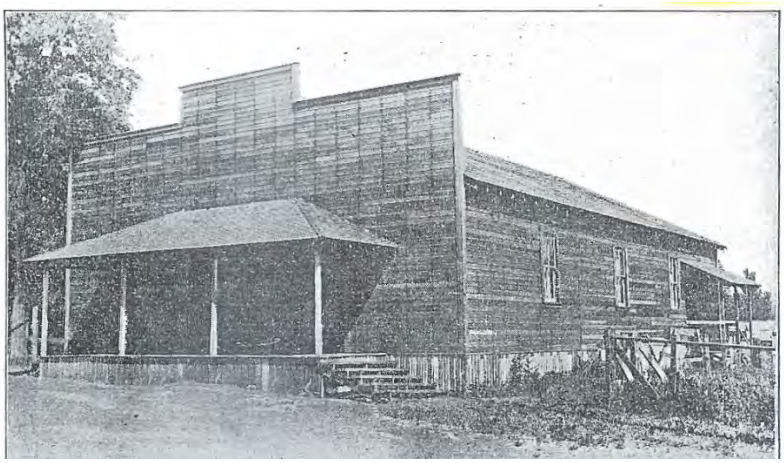


Figure 5.55: Hornbrook Grange, built in California in 1928 (from *National Grange Monthly*, July 1928, pp. 1)

early for grange halls elsewhere in the state. Many purpose-built grange halls in Washington are plain buildings exhibiting few stylistic elements beyond simple detailing such as exposed rafter tails, and decorative brackets or knee braces. These Craftsman elements common to many residential bungalows in the 1910s, and occasionally early 1920s, continued to be incorporated into grange halls constructed through the 1920s and 1930s [figure 5.56], illustrating an example of what historic preservationist Richard Longstreth described as "stylistic lag"[93] or stylistic conservatism. Longstreth observed that architectural styles regarded as fashionable for buildings constructed in urban areas may not have been accepted as mainstream popular designs for a decade or two in more conservative small towns in rural areas. This delay in popularization of styles is demonstrated by the construction of the East Wenatchee Grange #1012 in Douglas County in 1950, in the streamline moderne style which had been popular nationally in the 1930s [figure 5.57].

Ironically, newly constructed grange halls exhibiting a distinct conservatism in exterior appearance were routinely praised in the *National Grange Monthly* as "thoroughly modern" and "up-to-date," an indication that what mattered to grange members was what was on the inside of buildings – modern equipment such as indoor plumbing for restrooms and electricity for kitchen appliances – not what was on the outside. In seeking to develop an explanatory framework to interpret the eclectic appearance of grange halls documented for this thesis, the most revealing statement found in any historical text was found in *Grange Hall Suggestions*: "No attempt has been made to indicate the architectural features of the exterior."[94] That publication's guidance regarding grange hall construction focused entirely on interior characteristics, and noted that the architectural treatment of such buildings depended "largely upon the material that is available. Brick, shingles, stone, concrete, etc., require different types of architecture to secure the most pleasing appearance."[95] In the following sections, interior features are examined first, and building construction, including exterior features, is considered afterward.

Figure 5.56: Sunnyside #129 in Cowlitz County (built in 1939)

Figure 5.57: East Wenatchee #1012 in Douglas County (built in 1950)

Interior Features and Equipment

While specifications regarding grange hall exteriors are essentially non-existent in *Grange Hall Suggestions*, directives regarding proper interior features and equipment are found throughout the booklet. Similarly, descriptions in *National Grange Monthly* articles of newly dedicated grange halls focused almost entirely on interior functionality, and generally ignored exterior characteristics. These disparities suggest that grange leaders considered the interior configuration and furnishing of halls to be far more significant than exterior form or appearance.

Meeting Room

Information regarding the appropriate configuration, furnishing and equipment of grange meeting rooms can be gleaned through a variety of sources, including illustrations depicting grange meetings in session, recommendations included in the 1928 publication *Grange Hall Suggestions*, and instructions found in the *Grange Manual*. One of the earliest known depictions of a grange meeting room is a small inset drawing included in the 1873 poster "Gift for the Grangers"[96] discussed in Chapter 2. This miniature graphic [figure 5.58] depicts grange officers seated around the perimeter of a meeting room using a variety of chairs, lecterns and writing tables which appear to be portable. Officers are seated in precise locations during any grange meeting, and a sketch [figure 5.59] identifies the position of each grange officer. One notable element in this image is the presence of windows in the meeting room, which were common in grange halls but prohibited in the lodge rooms of other fraternal organizations such as the Masons.[97]

A large, decorative illustration from 1904 of a grange meeting in session [figure 5.60] provides a more detailed view of appropriate equipment, furnishings and regalia. A Bible lies open on an altar in the center of the room, as required by Grange ritual.[98] At the top of the illustration, officers Flora, Ceres and Pomona (sometimes referred to as "the Graces") are seated on a small stage or raised platform, at the end of the hall opposite from

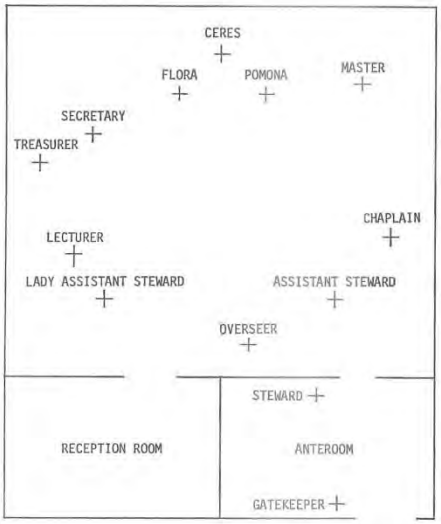


Figure 5.58: [Left] Detail from "Gift for the Grangers," 1873 Lithograph by Strobridge & Company (Library of Congress Collection)

Figure 5.59: [Right] "Plan of a Grange Room" from Nordin's *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange 1867-1900* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1974, pp. 12)

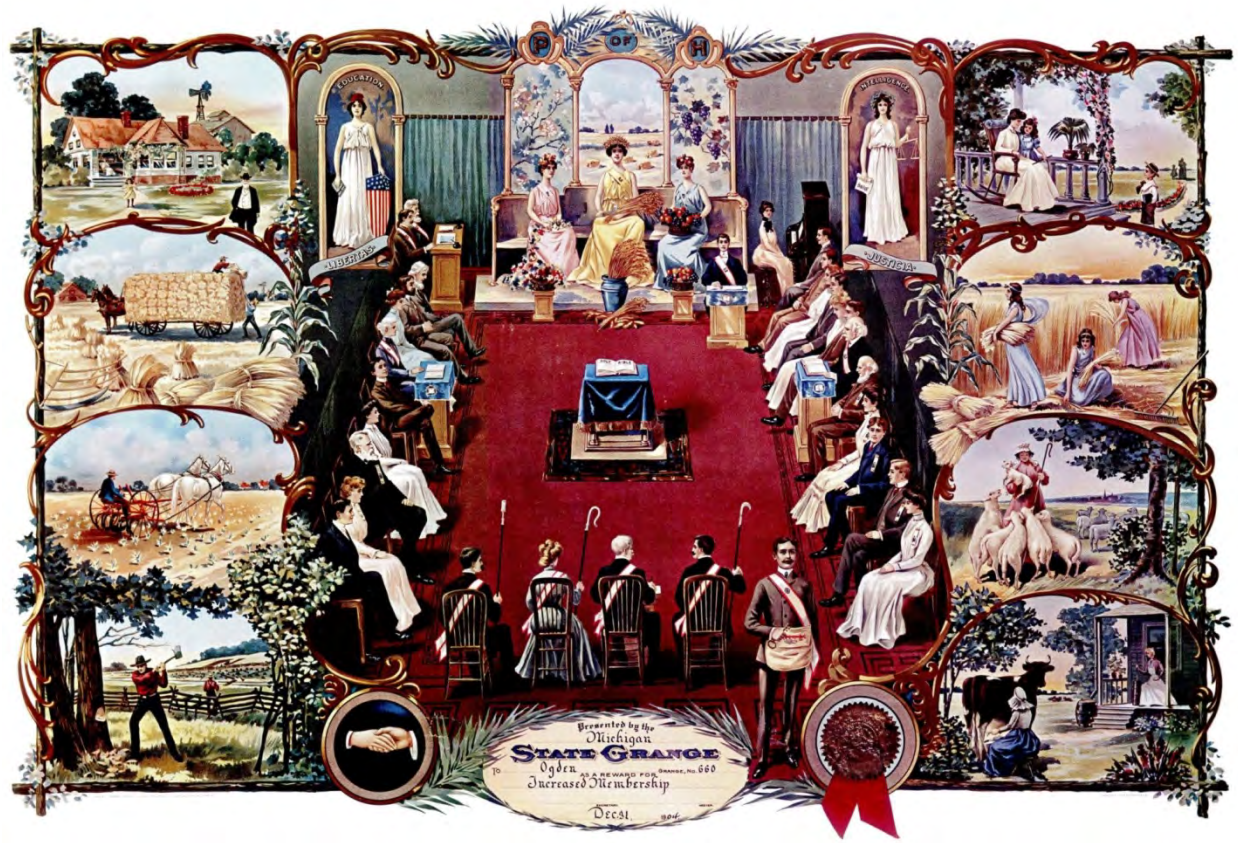


Figure 5.60: Display poster (1904) showing grange hall interior, with a meeting in session (National Grange Historical Collection)

the entrance, and they are holding their representative flowers, grains and fruits that are incorporated into ceremonies. On the left side of the hall are (from the top) the Secretary, Treasurer and Lecturer behind small desks referred to as "stations," interspersed with grange members. On the right are (from the top) the Master behind a small podium, and Chaplain with a desk, also interspersed with seated members. In the foreground of the illustration are four seated officers, and a fifth who is standing, and they are depicted holding staffs topped by unique emblems which figuratively convey their roles during grange meetings.

From left to right, the Steward, whose duty is to protect property, holds the emblem of a spud used to eradicate weeds. Next, the Lady Assistant Steward, who assists with opening and closing rituals and directs female degree candidates during ceremonies, holds the emblem of a shepherd's crook, symbolizing care and guidance of innocents. The overseer is without a staff, and the assistant steward, on the right, guides male candidates and holds the emblem of a pruning hook. The Gatekeeper stands at lower right holding a key; according to the *Grange Manual*, the Gatekeeper also holds the emblem of an owl on a staff, which symbolizes watchfulness.[99] Traditionally, during grange meetings the Gatekeeper was positioned in the anteroom (a building feature discussed previously in this chapter), for the purpose of controlling access to the meeting room. One feature omitted from the illustration, but required for conduct of grange meetings, is an American flag displayed in a flag stand.[100] A piano is included in the illustration, and was a common feature played to accompany singing during grange meetings and also for community entertainment.

The 1904 illustration shows officers decorated with sashes, another element of grange regalia in addition to the ritual implements described in Chapter 2, and the emblems described above. Sashes were initially handmade, and later were manufactured by "numerous well-established regalia houses"[101] serving the Grange and other fraternities. A pair of advertisements which appeared in the *National Grange Monthly* [figures 5.61 and

5.62] are representative of the way in which regalia was marketed to local granges in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, and a photograph of retired regalia held in a Washington State museum collection is included in Chapter 4. Articles in the *National Grange Monthly* about dedications of grange halls frequently documented gifts presented as memorials to deceased members and officers, including such items as regalia, altar and altar cloth, rug, master's station, lecturer's station, piano, light fixtures, and a variety of kitchen equipment.[102]

The interior features of grange halls were (and still are) influenced by two key considerations: requirements for appropriate conduct of grange meetings, and allowances for flexibility to encourage community use of the buildings. As *Grange Hall Suggestions* instructed:

> It must always be borne in mind that the real purpose of the building is for a Grange hall, and its first need is to be properly suited to Grange work. The other needs come after this, but it is possible to build a Grange hall with the lodge room of proper shape, size, and dimensions for grange work, yet suitable as a community auditorium.[103]

Another passage in *Grange Hall Suggestions* identified the ideal dimensions of a meeting room as 34 x 44 feet,[104] but no rationale was offered and overall building dimensions were not specified. An illustration from the *Grange Manual* shows the proper space needed for grange work, by depicting the processional paths that officers walk during ceremonies to open and close grange meetings [figure 5.63], and this motion requires open space inside the perimeter circle of seating for officers. An officer of the Pierce County Pomona Grange confirmed that the interior space required by the conduct of ceremonies is an important factor in determining appropriate meeting room dimensions.[105] Data collected during field work indicates that a majority of purpose-built grange halls constructed before 1928 (when *Grange Hall Suggestions* was published) are 30 or fewer feet wide, while those built after 1928 tend to measure at least 34 feet or wider, although it cannot be determined

Figure 5.61: [Left] Advertisement for grange regalia, 1927 (*National Grange Monthly*, February 1927, pp. 17)

Figure 5.62: [Right] Advertisement for grange regalia, 1936 (*National Grange Monthly*, November 1936, pp. 5)

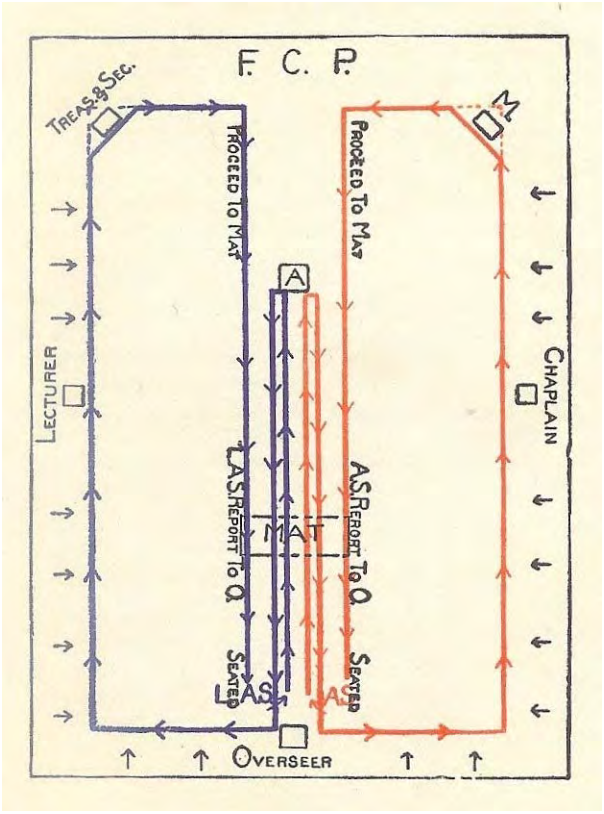


Figure 5.63: Processional route for opening and closing a grange meeting, an indication of the amount of space needed for a meeting room (*Grange Manual*, Tenth Edition 1915, pp. 83)

whether the book's recommendations regarding meeting room dimensions influenced or simply reflected this trend.

The presence of a stage is indicated in the 1904 illustration by a raised dais on which the Graces are seated, but by 1928 when *Grange Hall Suggestions* was published, the matter of a stage was highlighted as an integral structure in meeting halls. Because a stage is not required for the conduct of grange meetings, but served an important purpose for other activities such as performances and entertainments, the identification of a stage and dressing rooms as key structural components of grange halls appears to reflect the use of halls as community buildings, related to the Country Life Movement. *Grange Hall Suggestions* noted, "The stage should be of size and proportion to fit in with the rest of the hall. It should be built with a curtain, or so that a curtain can later be added when finances will warrant."[106]

At least one manufacturer, the Anderson Scenic Company of Buffalo, New York, developed a strategy to outfit grange halls with stage curtains at no cost to the granges. The company's advertisements which appeared in the *National Grange Monthly* throughout the 1920s, proclaimed:

> Your Grange Home Is your Grange Hall. Nothing will add so much to the appearance of your Grange Home as a new Stage Curtain. You can have one without expense to your Grange. We will install one of our beautiful had painted TASCO CURTAINS, on approval. TASCO CURTAINS are hand painted, with scenic center piece, of your own selection, around which we group the business cards of your local or county merchants and the whole blends into a very pleasing effect. The merchants' cards pay the cost of the curtain.[107]

This type of stage curtain was also common in movie theatres during the 1920s and 30s.[108] A photograph of the interior of Skamokawa Grange #425 in Wahkiakum County [figure 5.64] shows a curtain of this type, although the curtain's manufacturer could not be determined. Another example of a custom-manufactured accoutrement for grange halls advertised in the 1920s was a clock produced by the Hubert Scenic Company, also of

Figure 5.64: [Left] Skamokawa #425 in Wahkiakum County, interior showing stage curtain; [Right] Detail of curtain (Courtesy of Skamokawa Grange on Flickr)

Figure 5.65: Grange clock at Bainbridge Island #1051 in Kitsap County (Courtesy of *Kitsap Sun,* April 9, 2010)

Figure 5.66: South Fork #220 in Stevens County (Interior showing perimeter bench seating)

Buffalo, New York.[109] What appeared to be a more recent example of this type of clock [figure 5.65] was identified at Bainbridge Island Grange #1051 in Kitsap County.

As discussed in Chapter 2, grange halls are not just used for grange meetings, they have always been used by the public. All of the equipment used for grange meetings, including seating, officers' stations, speaker podium, the altar at the center of the room, and other furnishings and regalia are portable and can be moved out of the way and stored during community events. One exception to this general portability of furnishings is a permanent row of perimeter seating which was observed in meeting rooms such as at South Fork Grange #220 in Stevens County [figure 5.66]. Benches are often used, and Tualco Grange #284 in Snohomish County creatively reused theater seats from the now-demolished Avalon Theater in Monroe for this purpose.

Because of the general portability of furnishings and equipment, ritual use of meeting halls could be described as flexible and temporary, and is typically not evident in a grange hall's structure, with the exception of the anteroom. This small vestibule, or pair of small rooms, served multiple purposes. The ideal grange hall had two doors at its main entrance, one opening into the anteroom and the other opening directly into the meeting room.[110] As mentioned previously, during grange meetings which were only open to members, the main entrance was locked and the grange officer known as the Gatekeeper was stationed in the anteroom to ensure that anyone who wanted to enter the hall knew the appropriate grange password or grip or other sign.

In addition to this security feature, the anteroom was also used during degree ceremonies as a place for initiates to wait and prepare, under the supervision of the Assistant Steward and Lady Assistant Steward. When a hall was not in use for grange meetings, all of the portable fixtures such as the altar, regalia and furnishings, could be securely stored in the anteroom where it was inaccessible to the visiting public.[111]

Dining Room, Kitchen and Building Services

The primary grange hall interior space is the meeting room, but *Grange Hall Suggestions* and other sources also offered guidance regarding the provision of a dining room, kitchen, and other building services, and stated emphatically, "No grange has ever reached its full development unless it has had proper kitchen and banquet room facilities."[112] Reflecting typical gender attitudes of the early twentieth century, the booklet urged members of grange building committees to "lighten the women's work for years to come,"[113] by including convenient and modern cooking facilities. Dining rooms accommodating one hundred or more people were encouraged, primarily to serve large community gatherings such as Farmers' Institutes or holiday celebrations. Inclusion of a "Juvenile Room" was also encouraged, and this space served both as a place for children to play during grange meetings, and also a space for formally organized Juvenile Granges to hold meetings.[114]

Consistent with Progressive era emphasis on scientific methods, *Grange Hall Suggestions* reminded Patrons to check their local or state building code requirements, and adequately address issues related to light, ventilation, waste disposal and sanitary equipment, because "if the Grange is to be a symbol and a guide for the most progressive farm community, it is evident that it must stimulate its members by the force of its own example."[115] State agricultural colleges, it was noted, could furnish plans for septic tanks; however, anecdotal evidence indicates that many early grange halls in Washington were built without indoor plumbing, and outhouses served as sanitary facilities for some period of time, prior to building upgrades that allowed for installation of restrooms. Patrons were urged to install modern heating equipment, such as a coal or wood fired furnace,[116] and based on the widespread observation of stacked firewood during 2012 site visits, many grange halls in Washington appeared to still rely on wood as a heating source. Grange hall lighting and electrical systems were constantly upgraded, based on technological changes, access to power grids, and grange finances.

Guidance offered by the National Grange in the 1928 publication *Grange Hall Suggestions* reminded Patrons:

> The live, wide-awake Grange must have proper facilities and equipment to do the work. These cannot be supplied unless the grange owns its own hall, or can have reasonable control over the property. For example, kitchen equipment, stage equipment, musical equipment, are all reasonably dependent upon permanency of occupation of the hall.[117]

The recommendation to simultaneously control interior space in grange halls, while also explicitly encouraging the use of halls as community facilities, represents an interesting contradiction within the Order's traditions and policies, and one that distinguishes it from many other fraternal organizations which do not allow public access to or use of lodge buildings.

Grange Hall Construction: Reliance on Member Labor and Donated Materials

The most remarkable aspect of the history of grange halls identified during the course of this research was the widespread reliance on volunteer labor and donated materials, documented in articles published in the *National Grange Monthly*, and in various archival reports. Observed consistencies in the overall form of purpose-built grange halls, even if clad with a variety of materials and varied building details, may partly be attributed to the dependence on grange members for construction. Because grange members sometimes attended Pomona meetings at halls belonging to other granges in the same county, and visited halls in other counties for annual conventions and special events, members may have been more inclined to conservatively envision building their own halls based on familiar existing forms. These familiar forms were also depicted in photographs and praised in articles in the *National Grange Monthly* and the *Washington Grange News*, reinforcing the idea that these existing hall forms successfully served their purposes and were worth emulating.

Nordin observed, "Grange hall raisings were similar to barn raisings,"[118] with crews of amateur tradesmen working [figure 5.67], and he noted that this practice also applied to

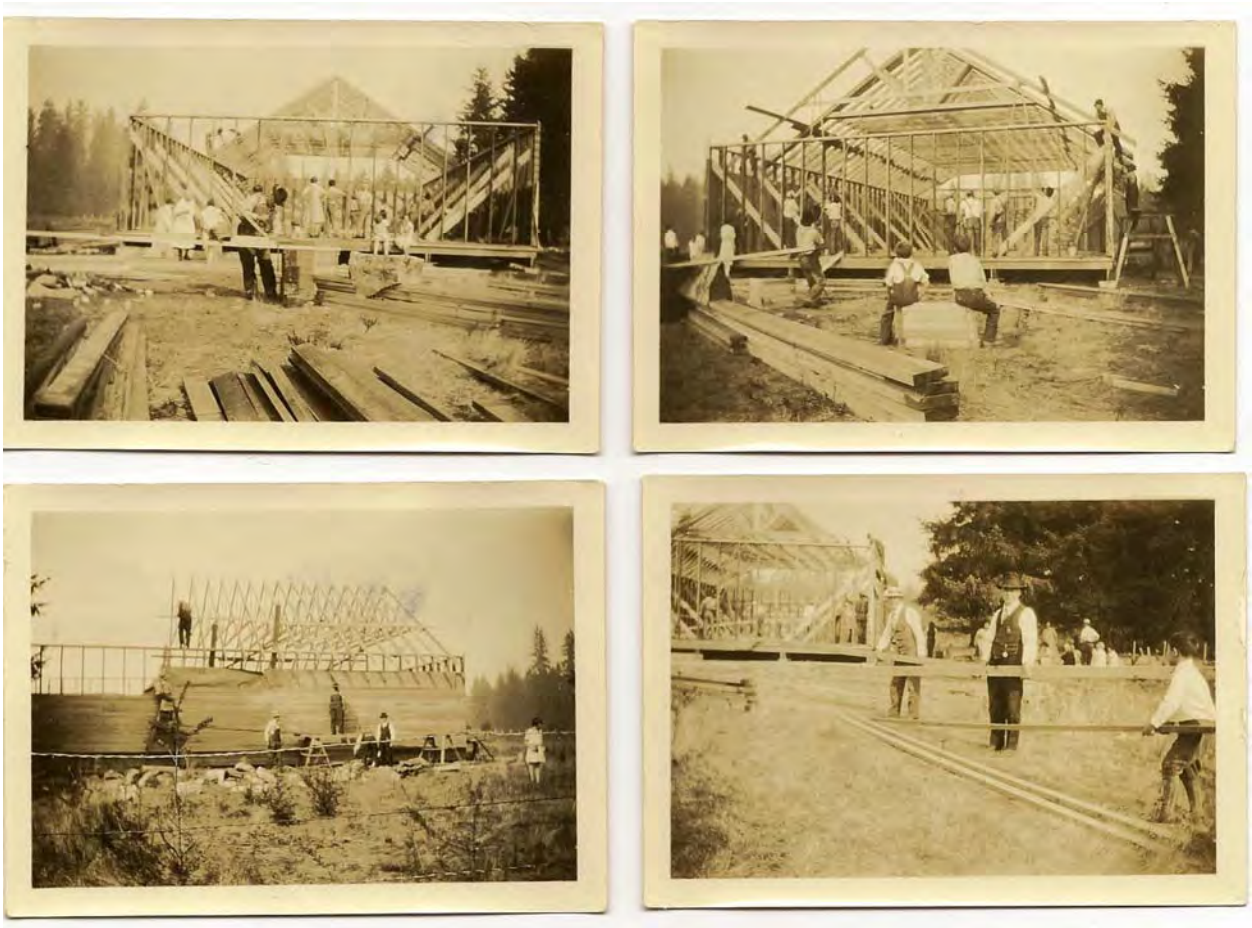


Figure 5.67: Elk Plain #782 in Pierce County, ca. 1927 (Members and community volunteers constructing the hall, courtesy of David Bryant)

the renovation of existing buildings for use as grange halls. Grange hall work parties were described as “building bees” when everyone came out, including the ladies, who served dinner.[119]

As stated previously, grange hall construction and renovation relied on member fund-raising to provide cash needed for project elements not supported by donations. Hall construction projects were generally a hybrid of elements that were purchased and elements that were donated. For example, some granges purchased land on which to build, or purchased existing buildings, while others received land or building titles by donation. Plan development appears to have typically been undertaken by volunteers with expertise in the building trades. Materials such as logs were often donated and milled by members, while cement and building hardware were usually purchased. Volunteer labor crews often worked under the supervision of one or more paid carpenters or building contractors; for example, to build Fairview Grange #619 in Clallam County in 1919, “a carpenter was hired and the Grange members donated their labor and worked under his direction until it reached a point where they could finish it themselves.”[120] The lead carpenter or builder sometimes played a decisive role in the appearance of a hall, such as in the case of an Idaho grange which built a log hall with volunteer labor in 1938 under the supervision of a member who built log buildings for the Forest Service,[121] possibly in a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) program.

Specific examples of each of these project aspects are discussed below, some of which intermingle considerations of labor and material donations with financing strategies to demonstrate the wide spectrum of approaches. Construction of some grange halls extended for multiple years, while others were built expeditiously, such as a building in Oregon constructed by members in just twelve days.[122] In contrast, Goldendale #49 in Klickitat County invested more than two decades in planning, building, and paying expenses for its hall. The building committee [figure 5.68] initiated fund-raising efforts in 1938, volunteers donated various equipment and labor over the course of several years, and the hall was

Figure 5.68: Goldendale #49 in Klickitat County (Building committee in 1948, Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

Figure 5.69: Terrace Heights #586 in Yakima County (Members and community volunteers constructing the hall in 1960, Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

dedicated in 1948, although efforts continued to pay off the mortgage and debts to members into the 1960s. More typical was the construction of a hall for Centerville Grange #81 in Klickitat County, where members dug a basement in 1936. Then, "In 1937 when it rained so farmers couldn't make hay they poured the foundation. Work progressed rapidly. Farmers would work on the hall, go home to do evening chores, and return to work. All labor was donated," and the hall was finished in December 1937.[123]

Another account from 1933 emphasized materials, and described which elements of the project required cash expenditures by members of Haynie Grange #169 in Whatcom County:

> The Depression was really being felt, but our Grange Hall was too small. One of our members…came up with the idea that if the members who had trees would donate them and members would cut and haul them, another member…who had a saw mill would saw the lumber. We sold enough gravel…to have the basement dug and money left over to buy nails, windows, and paid for the sawing of the shingles. Our carpenter member…had charge of the building of the hall and its planning. Everyone helped.[124]

While the examples above may highlight the resilience that characterized many communities during the Great Depression, the reliance on volunteer labor and donated materials for the construction of grange halls was not limited to the Depression era. Colville Valley Grange #249 in Stevens County began work on a new hall in 1947, by digging a basement, and the first meeting in their building was held in 1951. In the intervening years,

> Shriners, who had a moveable mill, sawed 34,000 feet of lumber, from logs donated by the Grangers, for $552. The lumber was piled so it could dry. In August 1950, 50 sacks of cement were purchased, and on September 23 they started pouring cement… In February 1951, Carl May, a local mason donated his work in building a chimney. The wiring was finished in February too. Two carpenter members went ahead with the work, receiving $1.25 an hour.[125]

In 1960, Terrace Heights Grange #586 in Yakima County relied on volunteer labor to build a new hall using concrete block [figure 5.69], to replace a previous hall destroyed by fire. Catlin Grange #199 in Cowlitz County similarly relied on member labor and

contributions to build a new hall in 1963, and noted, "Credit should also be given to the ladies who provided hot lunches and often wielded a mean hammer."[126]

Grange members also made significant contributions to construction projects adapting existing buildings for use as grange halls. For example, in 1949, Fern Bluff #267 in Snohomish County acquired a home located in the path of anticipated highway construction, and moved it to a new site. To renovate it for grange use,

> A number of members gave money pledges, and nearly all contributed labor or materials, or gave both. One donated logs, which were hauled to the mill, and sawed into lumber; another hauled cedar from a jam in the river, to make shingles; a third bulldozed the site and so on and on. Most of the money went for doors, windows, hardware and wiring.[127]

Members of Fern Bluff #267 continued to make incremental improvements to the building systems and envelope, and undertook a general refurbishment in 1962.

Histories of grange hall construction in Washington State and elsewhere document selective and targeted use of paid building contractors, and, in rare cases, a few granges, which had either the financial means or the willingness to take on mortgage debt, hired contractors to perform most of the work. According to articles in the *National Grange Monthly*, contractors were hired to build a two-story hall in Maine in 1929, and a modest hall in Iowa in 1939, but in most other documented construction projects, member contributions played a predominant role.[128] This reliance on volunteer labor and donated materials for grange hall construction is documented for halls built in Washington from the 1890s until the 1980s, and it explains a great deal about the simplicity of these buildings. It is also a significant factor in the evolution of the buildings, as volunteers repeatedly modified their grange halls to address functionality and maintenance, an issue considered in Chapter 7 in the context of historic preservation.

Summary

The features of grange halls commonly mentioned in articles published in the *National Grange Monthly* from the 1920s through the 1950s captured those aspects of the

buildings that were most significant to grange members. These features included the name and location of a hall, how the property was acquired, how much of the labor and materials to build or renovate the building was donated by members, how costs were financed, the furnishings and equipment in the hall, and why the hall was needed. Overall building dimensions, meeting room dimensions, and building materials were mentioned occasionally, the latter primarily to highlight the use of brick or concrete block. Architectural form and style were almost never mentioned, which indicates that interior features and other building qualities were far more significant to grange members than the range of exterior elements often of interest to architectural historians. Many of the features outlined above can only be documented through archival research, and efforts to analyze and interpret the physical characteristics of grange halls must rely as much if not more on archival research as on traditional field work.

Chapter 6: GRANGE HALLS IN WASHINGTON – Analysis of Significance

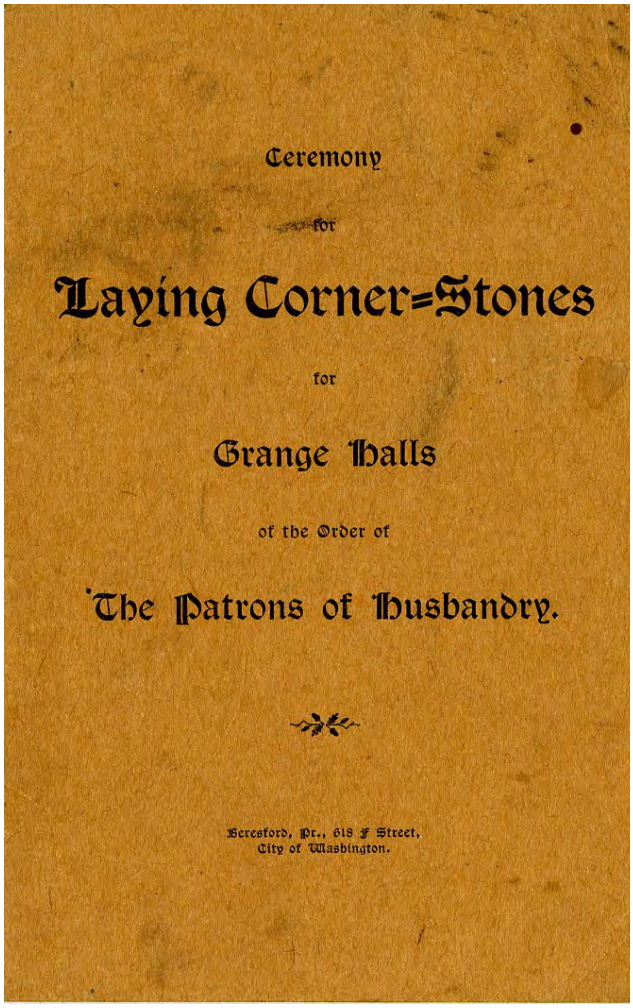
Following the presentation in Chapter 5 of the findings of the field research on grange halls in Washington State, as well as the discussion of their history, appearance and construction, this chapter addresses what grange halls *mean*, or what they represent. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section analyzes how grange halls have been described by grange members over the past century, through formal ceremonies and commentary. The second section examines the relationship between grange halls and texts addressing rural life that appeared in the early twentieth century, often in relation to the Country Life Movement. The third section considers grange halls in the context of late twentieth century writings by social theorists who advanced concepts such as collective memory and social capital.

A. Grange Halls as Understood by Grange Members

The value, significance and meaning of grange halls have been expressed in a variety of ways by grange members – through ceremonial oratory, through formal occasions such as remarks at annual conventions, and through documents published by the Order. This section critically considers a range of historical texts that were produced primarily for the purpose of instilling in grange members an appreciation for the importance of grange halls, and what these speakers indicated grange halls meant to the communities they served.

Meaning in Ceremonies

There are no more explicit statements regarding the meaning and symbolic value of grange halls than those found in the rituals related to grange hall buildings, the *Ceremony for Laying Corner-Stones for Grange Halls* and the *Dedication Ceremony for Grange Halls* [figure 6.1 and 6.2]. The latter was developed in 1875 by founders John Trimble, William Ireland and John Thompson for the use of subordinate granges that wished to mark the construction or acquisition of a hall with a formal occasion. Although minor revisions were



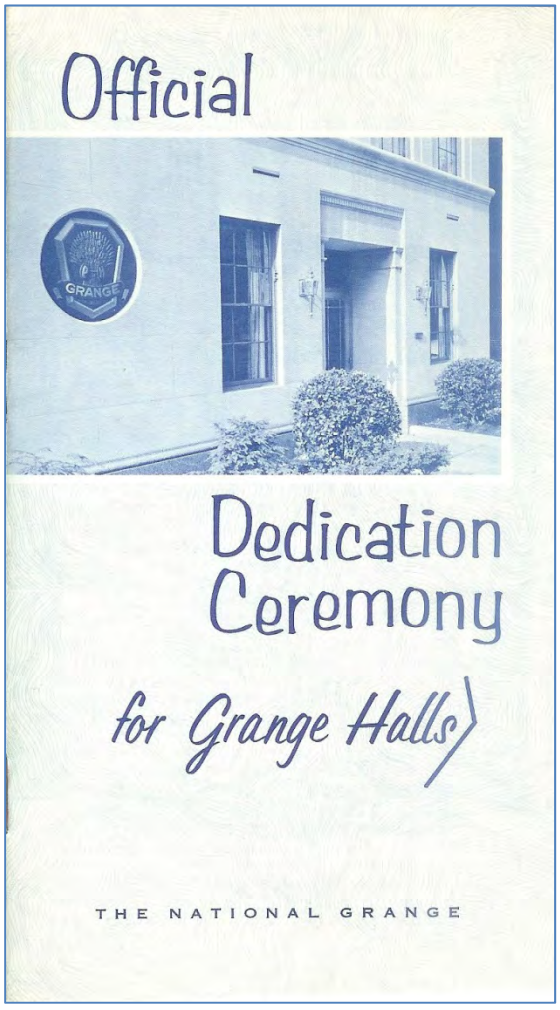


Figure 6.1: [Left] *Ceremony for Laying Corner-Stones for Grange Halls* (Washington State University Archives)

Figure 6.2: [Right] *Dedication Ceremony for Grange Halls* (Courtesy of the National Grange)

made by grange leaders in 1919 and 1925, the ceremony has remained essentially unchanged since it was first established more than a century ago.[1] Information regarding the origin of the *Ceremony for Laying Corner-Stones* could not be located in the course of this research, but it is likely that this ceremony was also developed during the nineteenth century in the early years of the Order's history.[2] Both ceremonies remain available for use, and can still be performed by any subordinate grange that might build or acquire a new hall.

The well-established tradition of holding community events for the purpose of formally dedicating buildings is evoked through similar language in the introductory sections of both ceremonies. The *Dedication Ceremony for Grange Halls* states,

> "The custom of celebrating in some formal manner the completion of public buildings is as old as the art of architecture. The formal dedication of halls and buildings to the purposes for which they are erected is equally venerable."[3]

This declaration places grange halls squarely in the category of "public buildings," a statement that is accurate in practical terms if not necessarily true in the technical sense of public (meaning governmental) ownership. This manner of formal dedication also elevates grange halls, which are often relatively humble vernacular buildings, to a status equal to grander types of public buildings such as courthouses and libraries.

In contrast with the secrecy associated with most other ceremonies that are part of grange ritual, the two ceremonies associated with building construction and use are specifically intended to be conducted as public events. This practice is consistent with the Order's intentions, discussed below, that grange halls serve public purposes as community centers in addition to their use for grange business meetings.

As with other ritual practices associated with the Order, some elements of the hall dedication ceremonies were likely drawn from similar Masonic rituals. Other ceremonial elements bear the unique characteristics of grange rituals, such as a segment during which officers known as the Graces – Flora, Pomona and Ceres – present offerings of flowers, fruit and grains that evoke ancient practices associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries. Because

the two building-related ceremonies are similar in tone and content, the remainder of this section focuses on the *Dedication Ceremony for Grange Halls*, as this ceremony speaks directly to the value of grange halls whether they are newly constructed buildings, or existing buildings acquired by local granges and re-purposed as meeting halls.

The opening address by the Grange Master begins with a statement praising the officers and members of the grange who, "through loyal cooperation and at great expense and labor, have erected [purchased or secured] the hall in which we are now assembled, in order that the Grange may have a permanent home."[4] The idea of permanency is evoked repeatedly in both ritual contexts and other settings, and is clearly paramount in the values espoused by grange members.

The hall is referred to as a "grange home" and members are described as a family, with specific comparisons drawn to domestic settings and activities. Describing the purposes that grange halls can be expected to serve, the dedicating officer at the Dedication Ceremony (the State Grange Master or his/her deputy) says,

> Within this Grange home, instruction and entertainment will be happily combined. Here plans for cooperative effort and community betterment will be laid; events of importance and accomplishment will be celebrated; the happenings of a vast world of action will be reviewed and the lessons thereof be emphasized. Here loyal service will be recognized, and here, finally, the members will gather to pay loving tribute to those who have served faithfully down through the years.[5]

From this proclamation, it is clear that grange halls are intended to serve many purposes in addition to simply providing a location for grange meetings. Included within this brief pronouncement is a recognition that grange halls host an array of activities, but what binds all of these tasks and purposes are the social connections among grange members and members of the larger community.

Washington State Masters' Comments on Grange Halls

Each year since the Washington State Grange was established in 1889, members from throughout the state have gathered for a convention, which included as its focal point

the Annual Address by the State Grange Master. The Master's Addresses served as "State of the Order" speeches, and the text of these speeches was typically included in the printed *Journal of Proceedings* distributed to grange members and available to the general public following each convention. In the context of Washington State Grange activity, the annual Master's Addresses convey most strongly the emphasis placed on grange halls and the values that halls represent.

In many of these addresses, State Masters cited statistics on the number of grange-owned halls in Washington State as a point of pride, and spoke generally about the symbolic value of the halls as both grange homes and community assets. Often, Masters highlighted specific halls that they or their deputies had dedicated in the previous year, undoubtedly through performance of the dedication ceremony described in the previous section. Echoing the examples from the National Grange, leaders in Washington State consistently spoke of permanence, stability and pride as the hallmarks of grange hall construction. For example, in his 1912 address, State Grange Master Carey B. Kegley said:

> One of the first moves after organization by a Subordinate Grange should be the building of a hall. Own your own home. It has been, and is now one of our boasts that no State can show a greater percentage of Grange halls than Washington can. We have now over 100 Grange halls and many more in course of construction, and other Subordinates are contemplating building during the summer. This is as it should be. To own your own halls speaks for permanency. Dormancy is rarely ever reported where a Grange community builds and owns a hall.[6]

This theme of industriousness was echoed by other State Masters, who noted that the land, labor, materials and funds contributed by grange members toward hall construction fostered a strong sense of cohesion as they celebrated the accomplishment of building or acquiring a hall and, in some cases, of collaborating to raise funds to pay off any debts incurred.

Grange Hall Suggestions – *Further Comments on Permanence, Stability and Pride*

In addition to the information about grange hall construction discussed in the previous chapter, the National Grange's 1928 booklet *Grange Hall Suggestions* includes a

lengthy discussion of the importance of grange halls for local grange organizations. While this publication may have been intended to resemble plan books widely available during the early twentieth century, a significant portion of the content is devoted to the use and value of grange halls. An epigraph from mid-nineteenth century British social critic John Ruskin established an idealistic tone: "All good architecture is the expression of national life and character; and it is produced by a prevalent and eager national taste or desire for beauty."[7] This opening statement conveyed the idea that while grange halls are utilitarian buildings, they embody a set of values that elevates their significance.

The introductory text in this booklet described in effusive terms the meaning of grange halls and what they symbolized for grange members and for rural community life. Like the dedication ceremony discussed above, *Grange Hall Suggestions* emphasized the qualities of permanence and stability represented by grange halls, and drew a parallel between the building of temples and churches in the growth of religious orders, and the building of grange halls as a necessary step in the growth of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry. The foreword stated,

> In the early days of our Order, private homes, schoolhouses and rented halls seemed to fill Grange needs, but in time it was found that the community and organization needed a home just the same as the church, government, or individual. The building of Grange halls has marked a definite step in the progress and permanency of our Order.[8]

The idea of a grange hall as the community's "home" is woven throughout the introductory essay in *Grange Hall Suggestions*, a concept that elevated the social purposes of the grange hall above the economic and political role that was arguably more important to the Order's identity in its early years. For example, a section of the booklet titled "Community Value" praised halls that were in constant use with activities serving both youth and adults, and included the following directive: "A Grange hall must be more than just a Grange home; it should be a community home; it should be constructed in such a manner that it can be used as a local community building."[9] This statement explicitly linked grange halls to broader contemporaneous sociological discussions regarding the importance and

value of rural community buildings, and also illustrated the public service mission at the core of the Grange's identity.

Statements from grange members regarding the value of halls are consistent across time and geography, but these speeches and publications do not necessarily indicate how grange halls were understood historically by the broader community.

B. Grange Halls as Community Spaces: Early Twentieth Century Social Values

This section examines rural sociological texts from the early twentieth century, related to the Country Life Movement. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, concern about declining rural populations around the country prompted sociologists and agricultural economists to propose a series of reforms intended to make rural life more satisfying. While some reformers focused on the quality of public education and advocated construction of modern consolidated school facilities (noted in Chapter 5), others championed the construction of multi-purpose community buildings to provide educational and social enrichment and to foster economic cooperation and civic engagement.

According to the United States Census, the population of many settled rural areas in the northern states began a downward trend in 1890. While the rural population of Washington State expanded for several more decades, the rural population of the nation as a whole declined as a share of overall population beginning in 1900. Sociologist G.T. Nesmith observed in 1903, "The urban problem is that of a growing congestion, but the rural problem is that of a growing isolation."[10]

Nesmith offered a detailed analysis of the dissatisfactions of rural life. He wrote,

> It is said that every individual acts always in reference to six ends or desires with which he is naturally endowed. These ends are health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty and rightness… Life in the rural districts today is in a state of growing discontent, because under present conditions it is impossible to satisfy those deep desires of the self and the community. The result is the tide of migration to the urban environment where these interests may be more successfully guaranteed.[11]

Weaknesses in the social structure of rural communities were identified as a primary cause of dissatisfaction, and Nesmith insisted that the problem must be studied scientifically and a program of reform must be adapted along sociological lines, an approach typical of the Progressive era. He found that "the great need of the rural communities seems to be for the socializing of education and culture,"[12] which required open and accessible public venues, hence the interest of reformers in community buildings.

Nesmith identified village improvement societies and farmers' organizations as the groups best positioned to address perceived shortcomings, because these groups were embedded in the social structure of rural life and were already adapted to its problems. Highlighting the Grange because of its expansive mission, Nesmith praised the Order's nineteenth century political accomplishments, but lamented what he saw as the Grange's past overemphasis on economic betterment and lack of attention to community life. Noting that by the early twentieth century, the Grange's primary focus had shifted to cultural life, Nesmith approvingly proclaimed that the Grange was "driving isolation out of the farming community,"[13] and observed that the grange hall itself was an educational center through its debating clubs, lecture courses, parliamentary societies, and circulating libraries that benefited the whole community.

Nesmith heartily endorsed the Order's program. He wrote,

> The Grange, doubtless, will ever exist and prosper, because it is based on right principles. It successfully combats the problem of isolation. It satisfies the sixfold interests of human life. It avoids the sectarian and political questions which might rift its unity. It includes the entire family.[14]

Nesmith and his contemporaries articulated explicit links between the problems of rural isolation and the solution of community buildings as gathering places intended to foster the civic, spiritual, social, and intellectual life of rural communities. Nesmith's early analysis was further developed by other social theorists who sought to understand demographic changes, and by officials at the United States Department of Agriculture

(USDA) whose primary concern was maintaining stability in the nation's agricultural economy.

Writing a decade after Nesmith, rural sociologist Henry Curtis observed, "The social center movement has taken a powerful hold on the imagination of the country during the last few years," and he noted that because the inhabitants of rural areas are widely dispersed and farm families typically work in isolation, the social center or common meeting-ground was more needed in the country than in the city.[15] Curtis considered the merits of various social institutions, and noted that for churches to be real social centers, they would need to broaden their allegiance to the whole community rather than to a specific sect. He advocated wider use of school buildings for public purposes such as meetings of the grange, women's clubs, and town hall forums, as well as for polling. While he seemed to favor public investment in community buildings, he endorsed a variety of public and non-public models for financing and managing such facilities.

Grange leaders appear to have embraced many of the tenets associated with rural reform movements, and they described grange halls as local institutions that "may well be placed side by side with the school and the church in the upbuilding of the ideal community and the enriching of country life."[16] This statement demonstrated an expansion of the Order's long-held commitment to enhancing rural social opportunities, in that it emphasized the idea of civic life in addition to recreational and educational activities that had been central to the Order since its founding.

By the 1920s, policymakers at the United States Department of Agriculture also embraced many of the ideas of rural sociologists and Country Life reformers, as evident in the Department's publication of a series of booklets on rural community buildings. In contrast to the USDA's usual practical advice for farmers on subjects like grafting and fertilizers, the first of these booklets on community buildings published in 1921 described the community house as a "tangible symbol of rural social unity,"[17] and observed that the

growing practice of erecting buildings dedicated to rural social uses made the question of plans for such buildings one of immediate interest.

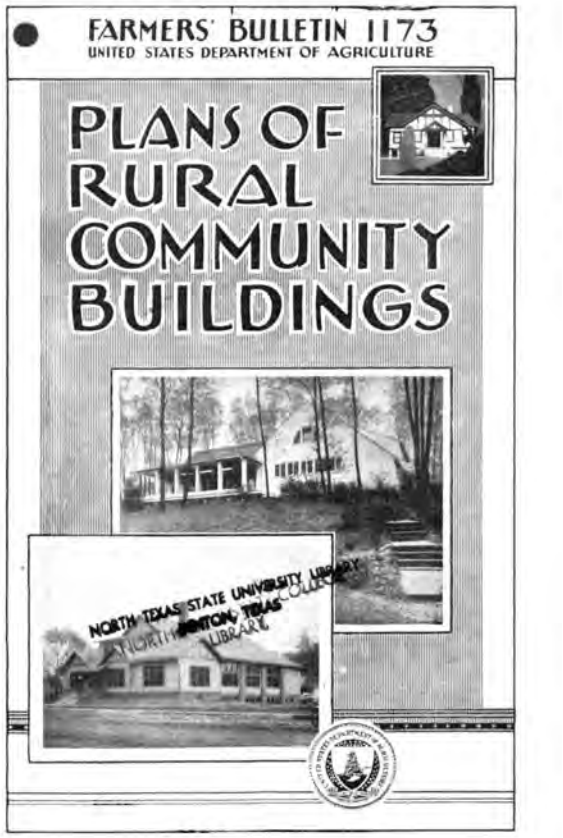
The USDA's *Plans for Rural Community Buildings* (1921) and its companion *Uses of Rural Community Buildings* (1922) [figures 6.3 and 6.4], both authored by W.C. Nason,[18] included designs for a wide range of buildings providing general accommodations such as meeting rooms, auditoriums, kitchens, and banquet rooms, as well as dedicated spaces for libraries, youth programs, and other needs. Nason identified the essential architectural qualities of community buildings as permanency, serviceability, harmony and expressive design, evoking in everyday language principles of good architecture (commodity, firmness, delight) asserted by Vitruvius two thousand years earlier.[19]

Nason's interest was not just limited to the construction of buildings. He also wrote eloquently about the importance of the social relationships that such facilities were intended to foster, especially in newly settled rural areas. Highlighting the need for common ties among people who moved to sparsely settled territories to establish homes and make their living from the soil, Nason wrote,

> Church, school, and fraternal ties of long standing had been severed. They were strangers to each other. Even the future occupation of many of them [farming] was new to them. New social, religious, fraternal and economic ties had not as yet been formed.[20]

This description conveyed the belief held by Nason and others that community buildings were necessary for the advancement of rural society.

These USDA booklets provide a link to later developments in the fields of sociology and anthropology, which inform a portion of the theoretical analysis developed in this thesis. A common theme in the early twentieth century commentaries from grange leaders, rural reformers, and government agents is that grange halls in particular and community buildings in general were intended to improve the quality of rural life by providing much-needed sites of social interaction. Aspects of this historical perspective continue to be



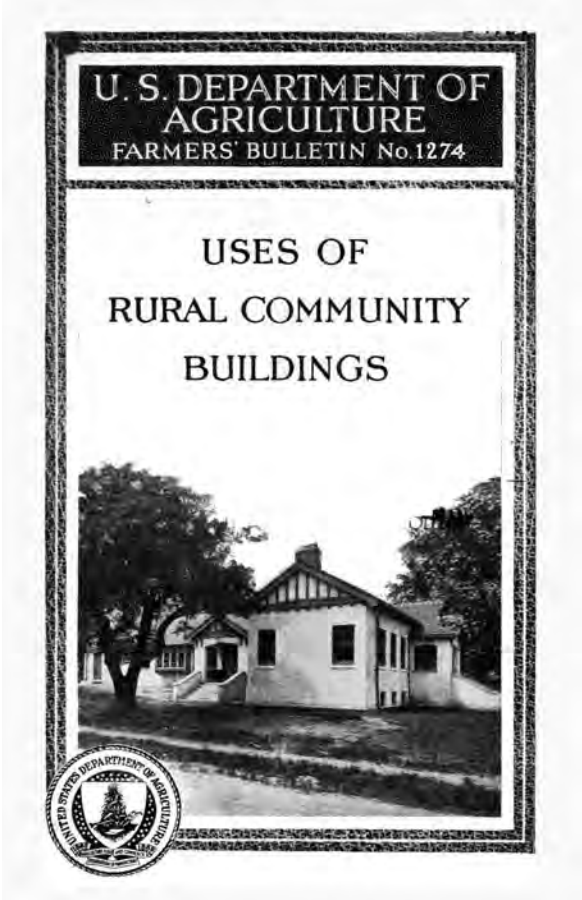


Figure 6.3: [Left] *Plans for Rural Community Buildings,* 1921 (Unites States Department of Agriculture, Courtesy of University of North Texas Digital Library)

Figure 6.4: [Right] *Uses of Rural Community Buildings*, 1922 (Unites States Department of Agriculture, Courtesy of University of North Texas Digital Library)

relevant to contemporary analysis of community buildings, although today the buildings can be analyzed in a more complex framework.

C. Grange Halls as Cultural Spaces: Late Twentieth Century Social Theories

Drawn from recent social theory, the interpretive frameworks discussed in this section explore the contemporary meaning and significance of grange halls, and the purposes they serve. The ideas of two widely read cultural theorists are considered: aspects of collective memory described by Maurice Halbwachs, and the concept of social capital presented by Robert Putnam. Both of these theories about social relations offer some insight into the purpose and value of grange halls and the role of the Grange organization in the present, as well as historically.

Collective Memory

In his essay "Collective Memory Before and After Halbwachs,"[21] scholar Nicolas Russell traced the evolution of the concept of collective memory, from abstract narratives shared within various population groups, to more dynamic shared memories based on lived experiences that contribute to group identity. To elucidate the significance of this shift, Russell briefly described three types of memory distinguished by cognitive scientists,[22] and he explained that Halbwachs's writing on collective memory in the 1940s established broad recognition of the degree to which groups reconstruct their past experiences collectively, and base their identity on this awareness of their shared experiences, often linked to specific places.

Halbwachs eloquently described the way that communal spaces are imbued with accrued memories shared among members of a social group, and he observed that individuals derive comfort from having access to such familiar places where a sense of connection to a shared past is derived in part from physical surroundings consecrated by memory. He wrote,

> Each aspect, each detail, of this place has a meaning intelligent only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it.[23]

This idea of collective memory relates to several aspects of Grange activity in addition to the construction of the permanent grange hall itself, including the Order's efforts to record its own history and founding principles, and to acquaint members with that history through publications and visual displays in grange halls. Somewhat parallel to the painting of George Washington by Gilbert Stuart that was once ubiquitous in American elementary school classrooms, portraits of National Grange founder Oliver H. Kelley and other early leaders grace the walls of most grange halls (as described in the previous chapter). Each grange also displays its original charter which includes the date of organization and the names of founding members, and granges practice a tradition known as "draping the charter"[24] with a black ribbon [figure 6.5] for a month following the death of any member, a practice which reinforces fraternal ties among grange members. Many granges also display historical photos of the hall and of earlier generations of grange members [figure 6.6], reinforcing a sense of familiarity and shared history even if this history is beyond the limits of personal memory of current members.

The construction or acquisition of a grange hall (described in Chapter 5), often achieved through great effort by members who contributed land, labor, materials and money, represents a particularly significant aspect of collective memory for each subordinate grange. Among members of those granges that built their own halls, stories conveying a shared sense of accomplishment are passed to younger members, through oral traditions, photographic displays, and written histories.[25] For example, an article published in the *Washington Grange News* documented construction of a hall in 1908 by members of South Fork Grange #220 in Stevens County [figure 6.7], and the article included a photograph likely taken on the occasion of the hall's dedication.[26] On the dedication centennial in 2008, members (including some descendants of individuals in the original

Figure 6.5: The memorial practice known as “draping the charter,” at Tualco #284 in Snohomish County

Figure 6.6: Historical photos on display at Sharon #800 in Grays Harbor County

Figure 6.7: South Fork #220 in Stevens County, 1908 (From Washington *Grange News*, June 10, 1939, pp. 13)

Figure 6.8: South Fork #220 in Stevens County, 2008 (Photo on display at South Fork grange hall)

photo) posed for a similar photo [figure 6.8], which is on display in the South Fork grange hall. Throughout Washington State, ongoing hall improvement projects continue to inspire a sense of pride and investment among grange members, even if they are not directly involved in the work.[27] Thus, hall ownership can be considered a powerful and tangible form of collective memory.

Overlaid on this collective memory is each individual grange member's participation in the Order's rituals. Ceremonies that convey traditional knowledge of agriculture, mythology and spiritual values, performed by individuals using prescribed texts and wearing traditional regalia [figure 6.9], have reminded unchanged for generations. The actions and even many of the songs performed by grange members are consistent across time and geography, creating a sense of continuity from one generation to the next. Even the annual county fair displays [figure 6.10], collaborative created by the members of most granges, highlight the bounty of local produce and the skills of food preservation, and demonstrate an adherence to tradition. In this sense, the participatory cultural practices associated with grange halls can also be understood as examples of "intangible cultural heritage," a category of valued resources defined as that which is "transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups…and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity."[28] (Preservation of cultural heritage is discussed in Chapter 7).

British historian Eric Hobsbawm advanced a theory regarding invented traditions[29] that helps to explain the role of rituals and regalia, such as those elements that are part of grange ceremonies, in establishing collective identity. Hobsbawm described invented traditions as processes of formalization and ritualization particularly associated with periods of rapid transformation of society, when old traditions and social patterns are weakened. He wrote,

> 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which

Figure 6.9: The Rose Drill, part of the Sixth Degree, 1938 (Photo taken at Union Gap Grange [no longer active] in the collection of the Central Washington Agriculture Museum)

Figure 6.10: Horseshoe #965 first-place display at the 2010 Evergreen State Fair (Photo by Flickr user Dan Bennett)

> automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[30]

Many aspects of grange participation, from the patriotic and spiritual to the economic and political, fit this description, and all contribute to the sense of social cohesion and collective memory perpetuated by the Order. Especially relevant to Grange history, given the Order's founding in 1867, is Hobsbawm's observation that the process of inventing traditions was prevalent in the United States following the Civil War, as a means of fostering a sense of national identity both by assimilating new immigrants and by reintegrating a war-torn nation. Hobsbawm explained, "Americans had to be made. The invented traditions of the U.S.A. in this period were primarily designed to achieve this object."[31] While national commemorations and even the rites of other fraternal organizations may have contributed to this "making of Americans," the invented traditions of the Grange specifically contributed to the making of American farmers, and have sustained that sense of identity and collective memory for a century and a half.

It is clear that the rituals and other formal elements of Grange participation, discussed above, foster a sense of shared identity among grange members, but other kinds of gatherings extend the experience of collective memory to non-members who attend events that are established community traditions. For example, the annual Hunters Breakfast at Swauk Teanaway #984 in Kittitas County [figure 6.11], is a tradition that has taken place on opening day of hunting season each October for the past twenty-five years.[32] The event is attended by hundreds of people who view it as an opportunity to reconnect with friends and neighbors, and to participate in a local tradition, even if they are neither hunters nor grange members. Pancake breakfasts, Christmas parties, dances, and many similar events are long-standing community traditions held at grange halls that draw not only grange members but also attendees from the larger community. The grange hall building, as the site of these events, is thus a setting that is shared by a larger community than just grange members and may become a site of memory for the larger group.

A key element of Halbwachs's theory is that every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework,[33] reinforcing the idea that not only are shared experiences such as rituals and celebrations important to people, but the locations such as grange halls where these experiences take place are inextricably linked to formation of community identity and collective memory. In explaining the value of familiar objects such as buildings that comprise the physical environment, Halbwachs recalled the writings of French philosopher Auguste Comte to invoke the same two words used so frequently by grange leaders to describe the symbolic meaning of their halls: permanence and stability.[34] Specifically, Halbwachs cited Comte's observation that "mental equilibrium was, first and foremost, due to the fact that the physical objects of our daily contact change little or not at all, providing us with an image of permanence and stability."[35]

A related approach to understanding the role of grange halls as community gathering places, and as sites of collective memory, can be found in the work of sociologist Émile Durkheim, who argued that societies require continuity and connection with the past to preserve social unity and cohesion.[36] The continuity of the Hunters Breakfast at Swauk Teanaway is especially remarkable considering that the grange hall, originally constructed as a school in 1904, burned to the ground in 2004, and was reconstructed with the help of numerous grange members and community members who donated money, time, materials and expertise.[37]

The importance of the Swauk Teanaway grange hall as a site of collective memory is demonstrated not only by its role in traditional celebratory occasions, but also in its role as a community gathering place in times of crisis. In 2012, during the Table Mountain Fire that burned more than 40,000 acres in central Kittitas County, the Swauk Teanaway grange hall served as a base camp supporting hundreds of firefighters engaged in the month-long operation [figure 6.12].[38] Similarly, in 2007, Baw Faw Grange #34 in Lewis County served as the emergency command center during a catastrophic flood on the upper Chehalis River,[39] illustrating the broad range of public purposes served by grange halls.

Figure 6.11: Annual Hunters Breakfast at Swauk Teanaway #984 in Kittitas County (*Ellensburg Daily Record* October 17, 2011)

Figure 6.12: Fire fighters' base camp at Swauk Teanaway #984 in Kittitas County (Photo by Barb Owens, *Ellensburg Daily Record* September 22, 2012)

Grange halls also illuminate a geographic aspect of collective memory and community identity. By remaining in active use as community buildings, some grange halls are actually helping keep their communities "on the map," in colloquial terms. As post offices, schools and stores close in rural areas, diminishing the identity and visibility of some communities, grange halls may be one of the last, if not *the* last, social institution that helps to distinguish a small town with a viable identity from one where, to quote a famous phrase, there is "no there there" anymore.[40] Camden Grange #687 in Pend Oreille County [figure 6.13] and Mondovi Grange #822 in Lincoln County [figure 6.14] are two examples of hamlets where grange halls play a role in preserving the geographic identity of their communities, and thus sustaining a sense of collective memory among local residents. Similarly, Marion Grange #276 in Pierce County [figure 6.15] is one of the few remaining places that distinguish the small farming community of Marion from the encroaching suburban development surrounding the town of Buckley.

Granges are not only significant in forming community identity, they can also play a key role in forming individual identity. Specifically, grange members sometimes refer to their "home granges,"[41] meaning the grange they originally joined as a young person, typically the grange to which their parents belonged. Life circumstances may cause members to relocate, and they may join different granges, but many members appear to maintain an ongoing sense of connection with their home grange, defined by a sense of shared identity and past experience that is retained in collective memory.[42]

Another dimension of collective memory may survive in association with grange halls that have prior histories, that is, buildings constructed for a different original purpose and later adaptively reused as grange halls. Preservationist Ned Kaufman noted that schools often serve as especially strong anchors of community memories.[43] The experiences of Helen Gardner and her son Jarrod Gardner [figure 6.16], third and fourth generation members of McMillin Grange #848 in Pierce County, exemplify this idea.[44] The McMillin grange hall was constructed as the McMillin School in 1926. Helen's grandfather

Figure 6.13: Camden #687 in Pend Oreille County

Figure 6.14: Mondovi #822 in Lincoln County

Figure 6.15: Marion #276 in Pierce County

Figure 6.16: Jarrod and Helen Gardner at McMillin #848 in Pierce County

participated in building the school, and also helped to organize the grange, which met at the school. Helen's mother taught there, Helen attended school there, and Jarrod was raised in this environment. In addition to the memories that link the Gardner family and other families in the community to the McMillin Grange, another distinct but interwoven layer of collective memory links the families to its previous (and for a time parallel) history as a school. This example contests the popular notion of a palimpsest in which previous meanings and layers of a site may be partially or almost completely erased by new uses, and instead supports the idea that collective memory can accrue in relation to historical places that have had uses that changed over time.

The structure of the Order, with its Subordinate, Pomona, State and National Granges, certainly perpetuates the sense of collective memory shared by grange members throughout the country.[45] While the concept of collective memory expressed by Halbwachs and others addresses the powerful role of shared experiences and the sense of a common past in shaping group identity, it does not necessarily address relationships among individuals within organizations or how the Grange and grange halls may contribute to community cohesion, which are discussed in the next section.

Social Capital: The Grange in Community Life

Theories of social capital provide the most important interpretive framework for examining the Grange and grange halls in the context of American social institutions. The term "social capital" was first used by Progressive Era reformers in the 1920s advocating community involvement in public schools. This concept, popularized by Robert Putnam in his 2000 book *Bowling Alone*,[46] can be traced through the writings of urbanist Jane Jacobs in the 1960s and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu in the 1980s, and it represents one way to understand the significance of grange halls as places that foster social capital.[47]

Putnam examined the apparently dwindling participation of Americans in social clubs and civic organizations in the post-World War II era, and sought to understand the value of

such community participation for individuals and for democratic society. Offering a succinct definition of the term, Putnam wrote, "Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals — social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them."[48]

One of the core ideas of Putnam's theory of social capital, that social networks have value and this value affects the productivity and well-being of individuals and groups, echoes many of the concepts advanced by founders of the National Grange nearly 150 years ago, as they worked to established a social framework intended to facilitate cooperation among rural people for mutual benefit. Putnam's observations about strategies for revitalization of community organizations help to explain, in part, the higher level of membership and vitality in the Grange in Washington State relative to other states (a point noted in Chapter 3). Finally, Putnam's analysis that some organizations generate social capital through both internal, restricted processes and external public purposes is useful for understanding the Grange's longevity, its future prospects, and the significance of grange halls as sites of civic discourse.

Grange founders recognized the value of what later came to be called social capital as early as the 1860s, when they observed that farmers had to "know one another socially and trust one another before they would agree to cooperate together in financial ventures."[49] While the ceremonial and social aspects of the Grange were not only intended solely to foster economic cooperation – they were also intended to offer enjoyment and to motivate ongoing involvement in the organization – the cultivation of what later came to be called social capital can be identified as implicit in the founding principles of the Grange. The National Grange's 1874 *Declaration of Purpose* includes the statement, "We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion

may require." This statement could easily be interpreted as a nineteenth century manifesto on the importance of social capital.

Long-time Washington State Grange leader Ira Shea offered an explanation regarding the status of grange halls relative to changes in modes of transportation. He wrote:

> Out in the country the rural residents who live miles apart often find the Grange the only social life they have. For that reasons a Grange hall soon becomes the community center of activity from social events to polling place. Before our country people owned motor vehicles and became so mobile, this was very important in rural areas.[50]

Undoubtedly, the limited mobility of earlier eras encouraged grange involvement, but that does not imply that people in the more highly mobile society of the late twentieth century and the twenty-first century have no interest in social interaction. In an article aptly titled "Community Matters Here," Claire Lucke, Master of Swauk Teanaway Grange #984 in Kittitas County, observed that, based on the turnout at many events and typical responses to requests for volunteer assistance, "plenty of people still like the idea of human contact."[51] Putnam's theory of social capital went beyond social contact, and highlighted relationships based on "reciprocity," which he defined as networks of mutual obligation based on community engagement.[52] His research focused on the types of organizations that foster such relationships.

In Putnam's analysis, organizations that foster social capital include both formally constituted groups established for explicitly public purposes, and informal groups that exist primarily for the private enjoyment of members.[53] Both types of groups, Putnam suggested, contribute to civic and social engagement among participants, which in turn strengthens society and democracy. Lack of participation in such groups, Putnam argued, contributes directly to civic disengagement, a rather specific application of the broad slogan "The personal is political,"[54] associated with the civil and women's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

The Grange not only excels at fostering social capital among its members, but also among other individuals and groups in the larger community. This activity can be seen in the wide range of clubs and organizations associated with grange halls. Gatherings of youth groups such as 4-H clubs and scouting troops, dance and music groups, organizations providing social services, and an array of community and political advocates, all hold regular meeting and special events at grange halls. A common but powerful demonstration of reciprocity in many rural communities is the existence of volunteer fire departments, and local granges in Washington State contribute substantial financial and human resources in support of these departments.[55] For example, in 2012, the Williams Valley Grange #452 in Stevens County threw a spaghetti dinner for Stevens County Fire District #1 volunteers and community,[56] the type of event that both expresses appreciation and raises money. This event evoked one of Putnam's most resonant and humorous examples of reciprocity, the T-shirt slogan used by the Gold Beach, Oregon, Volunteer Fire Department to publicize their annual fund-raising effort: "Come to our breakfast, we'll come to your fire."[57]

The Washington State Grange is keenly aware of the contemporary national discourse related to the idea of social capital and the problem of civic disengagement, as is evident on their web site in the response to this question: "Why is the Grange needed?"

> The Grange is fulfilling a great need in communities across the state. It is an organization in which men, women and young people assemble for fellowship, discussion and formulation of policies on current issues….For several decades, sociologists have been alarmed by the growing "civic disengagement" that has resulted in a lack of involvement by Americans in the affairs of their community. The Grange remains as a solid institution to counter this trend and in many communities the Grange is the only organization which remains. In those neighborhoods, the Grange is a spark plug for keeping the community together by providing social, educational and self-help opportunities.[58]

Conclusions

The significance of grange halls can be interpreted through various examples of cultural expression created by the Grange, such as ceremonies and publications; through historical texts documenting rural sociology and community buildings; and within theoretical

frameworks based on the ideas of collective memory and social capital advanced by scholars. Taken together, these aspects contribute to a broad understanding of the meaning of grange halls and demonstrate that these buildings are primarily important as places of social interaction that foster community identity and cohesion.

In this thesis, each of these ways of analyzing significance have been isolated and analyzed. However, these different perspectives are actually interwoven. The ritual elements of grange activities remain alive because they contribute to the continuity that Grange members today feel with their predecessors. In turn, collective memory is part of the basis of the social capital, and the social interaction that grange halls support and foster becomes part of each new generation's shared memories of each hall. Each of these perspectives contributes a slightly different dimension to understanding what most grange members may never state explicitly, but experience in their everyday interactions and use of their halls.

The significance of these grange halls as physical places underlies the development of the social capital and collective memory. The importance of the physical reality of these halls not only serves as a basis for building community, but it also means that preservation of these halls is essential as a way of maintaining and building social capital with each new generation of grange members. Thus, grange halls may be valued simply as buildings, but this thesis demonstrates that preservation of these buildings is most important in terms of their roles as social and cultural landmarks. Kaufman has observed,

> It is striking that many 'social capital' activities depend on appropriate spatial frames or settings – places that are conducive to them – and many of these, in turn, are outside the home…Within specific communities, activities need specific places, and the loss of these quite particular places could therefore have a local impact.[59]

There can be no doubt that the continuing use of, and preservation of, grange halls fundamentally contributes to the stability of the communities they serve.

Chapter 7: PRESERVATION OF GRANGE HALLS: Community and Professional Approaches

Given the significance of Washington's grange halls to their communities, their preservation is important for the future. Grange halls support community life, not just for grange members, but for a wide range of community residents. As discussed in Chapter 6, the buildings contribute to the development of social capital as well as serving as repositories of collective memory and community identity. Because the grange halls surveyed for this thesis remain in active use, one might ask why preservation needs to be considered if the resources are not currently threatened. Why even discuss preservation?

If one only considers historic preservation narrowly, as an effort to save endangered buildings, then its relevance to this thesis would be limited. However, the scope of preservation has expanded beyond its original focus on threatened architectural landmarks, to consider a broad array of places that tell stories of the past.[1] Today preservation as a discipline and practice encompasses a wide array of ideas and theories, and focuses on a diverse range of resources that are considered part of cultural heritage, including but not limited to the built environment. As the boundaries of preservation have expanded, so have the activities associated with the field.[2] In addition to actively attempting to protect endangered historic resources, preservation today also include proactively documenting and evaluating historic and cultural sites, developing management plans to assure continued survival of such places, and determining appropriate physical interventions and rehabilitation strategies.

As stated in Chapter 4, one of the guiding questions for this thesis research was: how should grange halls be understood and evaluated within a framework of historic preservation policy and practice? To answer this question, one must consider whether existing guidelines and policies offer sufficient support for the preservation of grange halls, or if other, more useful frameworks might be found.

This chapter is divided into three major sections. The first addresses the question of use. Those who deal with preservation recognize that the best way to preserve any building is to keep it in use. Thus, the primary way in which grange halls are preserved is simply by their continued use by subordinate granges. Further, as this thesis has shown, a substantial portion of grange halls are actually buildings originally constructed for other purposes (schools, churches, and so forth) that have been reused as grange halls. Although the Grange has never self-consciously identified itself as a preservation organization, it has actually played this role for many buildings.

Continued use has also meant change. Granges have maintained, updated, and, as necessary, altered their buildings. Under conventional preservation thinking, change may raise issues about what is referred to as "integrity." The topic of integrity is where modifications to facilitate continued use intersects with preservation theory.

The second section of this chapter addresses preservation ideas and theories. This discussion requires both a brief review of the history of historic preservation as well as the various ideas of preservation that have been embedded in its key documents such as the 1964 *Venice Charter* and the 1966 United States *National Historic Preservation Act*. This section also looks beyond these documents, and considers how the fields of history and architectural history have changed since these foundational documents were developed in the 1960s, specifically considering the emergence of the "New History," and of studies of vernacular architecture (and subsequently the broad study of cultural resources of all kinds). In turn, these new perspectives have influenced a series of more recent international charters such as the 1999 ICOMOS *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* that take these perspectives into account. Finally, this section also considers the issue of authenticity that has emerged from parallel disciplines such as anthropology and suggests how this concept might influence preservation thinking as related to grange halls.

The third section of this chapter specifically addresses how Washington State's grange halls have been and could be understood and evaluated within existing preservation

frameworks, a process that reveals shortcomings in preservation practice attributed to lingering biases in favor of high-style urban architecture. As a building type defined by use rather than style or form, grange halls present complex issues that challenge many typical historic preservation practices. Buildings are most easily protected legally as the local level where land uses are regulated. However, most grange halls are found in unincorporated rural areas and small towns, few of which have enacted municipal or county land use laws that support preservation. Therefore, this section focuses on the preservation framework that exists at the national level, the National Register of Historic Places.[3]

This section specifically examines how grange halls, which may not fit under conventional thinking about significant buildings or ideas like integrity, nonetheless could be considered for listing in the National Register. The section concludes with an explanation of why inclusion of grange halls in the National Register would be a good idea and how formally recognizing grange halls as historical and cultural landmarks could contribute to their long-term preservation as significant facilities in the lives of their communities.

A. Modification of Grange Halls as Community-Based Preservation

For more than a century, a guiding philosophy in historic preservation and restoration could easily be summarized as "the best of all ways of preserving a building is to find a use for it,"[4] and all of the buildings documented for this thesis research were selected based on their being in active use in 2012 as grange halls.[5] However, ongoing use of halls has most often been accompanied by incremental changes to the physical characteristics of the buildings. Based on field observation and historical research for this thesis, including comparison of photographs from 2012, from the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide*, and from archival collections, it is evident that every grange hall documented for this study has been altered to some extent since its original construction. This finding is consistent with scholar Dell Upton's general observation that the vernacular buildings that have survived in

significant numbers "are those that have been best adapted to the lives of subsequent generations,"[6] in that adaptation is often accomplished through modification.

A useful analysis of building modifications was developed by Stewart Brand, in his 1994 book *How Buildings Learn.* Brand recognized six distinct "layers of change," identified as site, structure, skin, services, space plan and stuff [figure 7.1].[7] Brand found the building layers least likely to be altered are site, described as eternal, and structure, regarded as long-lasting. According to Brand, other layers change with increasing levels of frequency, moving toward the interior: a building's "skin" or exterior surfaces may change every twenty years or so, services may wear out or become obsolescent every few years, space plans can change frequently as user needs change, and "stuff" such as furnishings are changed constantly.[8] Brand suggested that many buildings became more interesting as they age, and as modifications accrue in some building layers while others remain stable.

Patterns of modifications documented for grange halls conform to some aspects of Brand's analysis, such as frequent changes to skin and to services reflecting maintenance needs and technological changes. The layers that Brand found most dynamic, the space plan and the "stuff," have actually tended to be more static in grange halls, reflecting their consistent and ongoing use as meeting halls and community gathering places.

Modifications of grange halls range from maintenance-oriented tasks (such as replacing roofing, windows or porch supports) to significant construction projects. Analysis of historical and contemporary evidence as part of the research for this thesis has identified patterns of modifications that have shaped individual buildings over time. Modifications to grange halls fall into three general categories: (1) additions containing a kitchen and /or restrooms; (2) replacement of windows, cladding or roofing materials; and, (3) additions of a ramp for barrier-free access, and accompanying changes to the entryway where the ramp connects to the building. In keeping with the long-standing tradition of constructing grange halls using volunteer labor and donated materials (discussed in Chapter 5), such

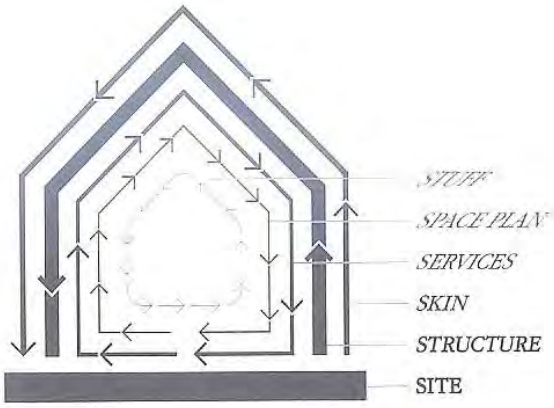


Figure 7.1: Stewart Brand's "layers of change" (*How Buildings Learn: What Happens After They're Built.* New York: Penguin Books, 1994, pp. 13.)


MONDAY, AUGUST 31, 1925.

PAINT UP, CLEAN UP OLD GRANGE HALL

Figure 7.2: [Left] Members making improvements to East Spokane #148 in Spokane County, 1925 (Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

Figure 7.3: [Right] Members making improvements to Dry Creek #646 in Clallam County, 1957 (Washington State Grange Historical Collection)

modifications were often undertaken by the members themselves as necessary repairs or upgrades to support ongoing use of grange halls [figure 7.2 and 7.3].

As architect Maximilian L. Ferro observed, "There are only so many things that one can do to an old building: one can 'upgrade' it, making it more modern than it was; one can 'restore' it, making it revert to some point in its past; or one can simply leave it as it is."[9] As a resource type, grange halls have been remarkably resilient and adaptable, and most have been altered or "upgraded" multiple times to incorporate changes in technology, to prolong the useful life of the buildings, and to meet regulatory requirements. A summary of the history of Centerville Grange #81, originally constructed in 1937 in Klickitat County, provides a typical example of grange hall modifications: "Many improvements were made to the Hall over the years. A metal roof, fresh paint, new windows, insulation and a new oil furnace made it more comfortable."[10] While many historic preservation professionals are ambivalent about the concept of remodeling (reasons for this are discussed below), grange members have consistently embraced remodeling as a way to prolong the useful lives of their halls.

Archival sources such as the Washington State Grange's historical files document extensive alterations made to many grange halls over the course of several decades. In general, grange halls constructed before 1930 have been most extensively altered, as halls before that time were often constructed without indoor plumbing and prior to the availability of electricity; later additions to accommodate these services were common [figure 7.4]. As noted in Chapters 2 and 3, the National Grange strongly supported rural electrification efforts in the 1930s, and the Washington State Grange championed establishment of Public Utility Districts to produce and supply local electric power during the same era. Thus, as electrical power distribution lines were constructed throughout the state, and access to local electrical service became available, granges were eager to upgrade and modernize their halls with electric lights, kitchen appliances, well pumps and other improvements.

Figure 7.4: Grays River #124 in Wahkiakum County (Example of older hall with additions to accommodate updated building services)

Figure 7.5: Lincoln Creek #407 in Lewis County (Example of interior with dropped ceiling)

Prior to the widespread availability of electricity, grange halls relied on a variety of technologies for lighting, and evidence of these early technologies may be found in some buildings. For example, kerosene lamps initially, and carbide gas lamps later, provided lighting for Skookumchuck #584 in Thurston County. A written history of the grange noted, "When the lamps dimmed, members in charge would dash outside and pump up the carbide. The lights would grow bright immediately."[11] Other granges initially relied on coal oil lamps, constructed their own dynamos (electric generators), or purchased Delco light plants to produce their own electric current.[12] Raised lines of electrical conduit on some grange hall exteriors, observed during fieldwork, have been interpreted as an indication that electric wiring was installed after construction was completed. Many grange hall interiors were later modified by the construction of dropped ceilings in meeting rooms that facilitated installation of lighting fixtures and other building service equipment [figure 7.5].[13]

Like electrical systems, water systems were often installed or upgraded after grange halls were constructed. Privies commonly provided early sanitary facilities (although none were documented during fieldwork), and archival reports document grange members bringing water jugs from home to provide water for use during meetings and other hall functions.[14] A typical water system improvement project was initiated by Columbia Grange #87 in Klickitat County, forty-five years after construction of their hall. In 1935, grange members hired a contractor to dig a well and pipe water into the hall; in 1941, members dug a basement and (presumably at the same time) installed restrooms; and in 1947, they installed a new well pump and pump house.[15] The process of upgrading building systems such as water, electricity and heat is not unusual, but whereas in residential or commercial buildings, these upgrades are often accomplished without altering a building's footprint, similar upgrades to grange halls often involved interior construction, and sometimes construction of additions, as necessary accommodations.

In an article documenting rural architecture in Utah, architectural historian Tom Carter described remodeling strategies for homes constructed without indoor plumbing. He

noted, “During the 1930s and 1940s when toilets became fashionable, space for them was frequently taken from the central passage.”[16] In grange halls, anecdotal evidence indicates that space was found or created for restrooms by re-purposing existing anterooms or cloakrooms, enclosing porches, constructing small side or rear additions, and constructing or converting basement space.[17]

In grange halls constructed in the 1930s or later, large dining rooms, commercial-quality kitchens, and other building services were typically installed in full basements, as recommended by the publication *Grange Hall Suggestions* (discussed in Chapter 5). Halls constructed earlier, and buildings converted from other uses, generally had side or rear kitchen additions constructed in the 1930s or after, depending on access to electricity and the ability of members to raise money and to undertake such projects. Some halls had large kitchen additions that included dining rooms, while in other halls, kitchens were more modest and meeting rooms were also used for dining. Examples of kitchen and dining room additions are shown in figures 7.6 through 7.9.

The history of modifications to Wilcox Grange #141 in Whitman County [figure 7.10] provides a comprehensive account of alterations made to one grange hall by members during a fifty-year period. The grange was organized in 1903, and members built a hall between 1908 and 1911, but the grange went dormant in the late 1910s and 1920s. It was reorganized in 1930, and members cleaned up and repaired the old hall after it had been closed for more than a decade. Members initiated successful fund-raising projects to support various hall improvements starting in 1931:

> Outside toilets were built. There was no water so many of the Grange members brought water in 5 gallon cream cans… In 1938, the R.E.A. [Rural Electrification Administration] built electric lines so the Grange Hall was wired for electric lights, so we did away with the gasoline lamps. We first installed just light bulbs but several years later put in fluorescent lights. A number of years later our members began to think of further improving our hall to make it more modern so more money had to be raised. Some of the women thought of making a cook book to sell and this was very successful. This project brought in enough money to build a new dining room and kitchen on the side of the hall in 1952. It was built by men of the Grange… The next year a well was drilled and water piped into the kitchen. Next project was

Figure 7.6: Ohop #812 in Pierce County (Example of purpose-built hall constructed in 1926, with later L kitchen addition)

Figure 7.7: Brighton Park #163 in Thurston County (Example of former school constructed in 1901, with later L kitchen addition)

Figure 7.8: South Camano #930 in Island County (Example of former community club adapted for use as a grange hall, with kitchen side addition)

Figure 7.9: St. Urban #648 in Lewis County (Example of former community club adapted for use as a grange hall, with kitchen rear addition)

Figure 7.10: Wilcox #141 in Whitman County (Modified repeatedly since its construction ca. 1911)

> adding restrooms onto the east end of the dining room with hot and cold water in each of them.
>
> Our next big hall improvement didn't take place until 1970 when we installed a new hardwood floor in the main hall… Our next project was to shingle the south side of the roof as it was leaking, with colored metal roofing. The new roof made the old siding look bad so the ladies made and sold another cook book that made enough money to put new colored [metal] siding on all sides of the hall, and also installed new windows to replace the old weather beaten ones… This completed our face lift of our hall in time for our 50th anniversary celebration in 1981.[18]

This lengthy account is an example not only the constant evolution of grange halls, but also the level of effort grange members invested in the preservation and maintenance of their buildings. As indicated in the history of the Wilcox grange hall, commercially produced metal or composite roofing commonly replaced original shingle or shake roofs. Metal, vinyl, asbestos, or manufactured wood cladding covered original milled wood siding on many halls. Aluminum and other metals were manufactured in large quantities during World War II for the defense industry, and the widespread use of metal for roofing, and to a lesser extent for siding, on grange halls likely began in the late 1940s and 1950s, when metal manufacturers seeking peacetime markets aggressively promoted metal roofing to farmers for their barns.[19] Metal required less maintenance and reflected the sunlight, helping keep these buildings cooler in the warm summer months. Other synthetic siding and roofing materials were more often marketed to homeowners, and were also touted for their durability and ease of maintenance.

Figure 7.11 and 7.12 show two grange halls, Silver Lake #105 in Cowlitz County and Tunk Valley #1019 in Okanogan County, as they appeared in the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide* clad in wood siding, and as they appeared in 2012 clad in metal siding. As these images indicate, the addition of metal or other new siding sometimes resulted in the elimination of door and window openings, although in both of these examples, distinctive gable windows were preserved. In other halls, particularly those in isolated or otherwise difficult locations, windows were sometimes covered to deter vandalism [figure 7.13]. Original wood six-over-six divided light windows have been preserved in a few pre-1940s

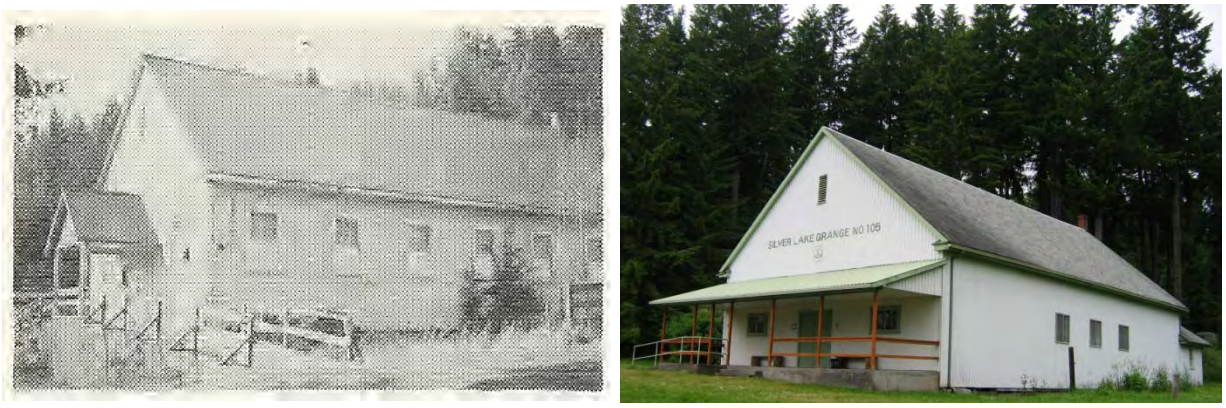


Figure 7.11: [Left] Silver Lake #105 in Cowlitz County, 1950 (*Washington Granger's Guide*); [Right] and 2012

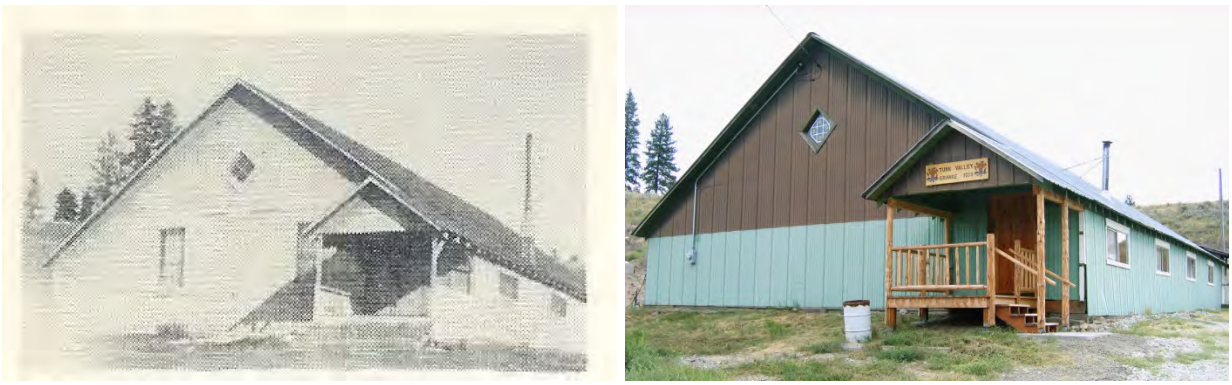


Figure 7.12: [Left] Tunk Valley #1019 in Okanogan County, 1950 (*Washington Granger's Guide*); [Right] and 2012

Figure 7.13: East Wenatchee #1012 in Douglas County (Windows covered to deter vandalism)

Figure 7.14: Mondovi #822 in Lincoln County (Detail of windows)

Figure 7.15: Rome #226 in Whatcom County (Detail of windows)

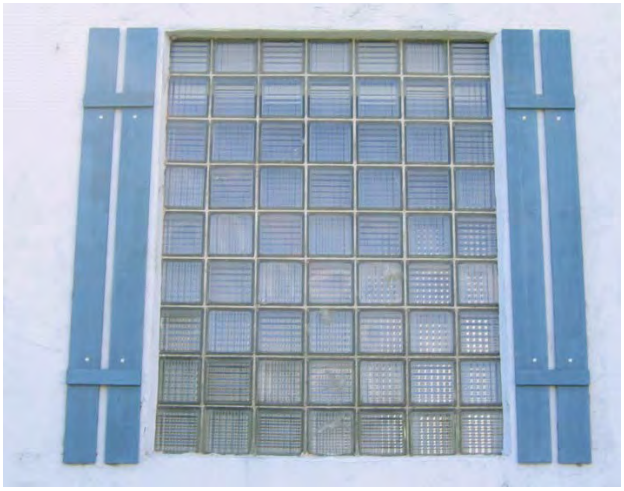


Figure 7.16: Manson #796 in Chelan County (Detail of windows)

halls [figure 7.14] but most have been replaced by wood, vinyl or metal one-over-one or fixed pane windows [figure 7.15], either due to deterioration or to improve energy efficiency. Halls built after 1940 commonly exhibit metal frame casement, horizontal fixed pane windows or even glass brick [figure 7.16].

Starting in the 1970s, ramps enabling barrier-free access were added to many grange halls originally constructed without an entrance at grade. Ramps documented in the field ranged from subtle to visually prominent; most provide access to the main entrances of halls, while some provide access to secondary ground-level entrances or basement entrances [figure 7.17, 7.18 and 7.19]. The *Americans with Disabilities Act* of 1990 encouraged, and in some cases required, that not only public facilities, but also many private facilities that are open to the public, eliminate physical and other barriers to accessibility, and granges that had not previously addressed this issue generally did so in the 1990s.[20]

In their 2005 book *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture*, Carter and Cromley recommended, if possible, soliciting information regarding how buildings were used or what they meant directly from the people who made or used them.[21] During the research for this thesis, Washington State Grange Master Jack Silvers, a long-time member of Buena Grange #836 in Yakima County,[22] explained that the Buena grange hall [figure 7.20] originated as a community club building that was partially constructed in the 1930s and left unfinished for several years before being sold to the grange for $1.00. After several years of fund-raising, the hall was eventually completed, partly by contractors and partly by members, including Silvers's father. When asked what year the building was finished, Silvers replied, "It's never finished – we just put in an elevator last year!"[23] He went on to explain that the grange hall was dedicated in the early 1950s, but his comment regarding the perpetual modification of halls suggests how grange members regard their buildings.

Similarly, a written history of Tualco Grange #284 in Snohomish County stated, "In 1944 we were able to lease the Tualco schoolhouse for a better hall which we later

Figure 7.17: Matlock #357 in Mason County (Examples of barrier-free access)

Figure 7.18: Fishers #211 in Clark County

Figure 7.19: Dry Creek #646 in Clallam County

purchased in 1947. We were happy to have a modern hall. Remodeling was soon started, and has been carried on ever since."[24]

Improvement as a Grange Value

The modifications to grange halls described above, including additions that expanded building footprints, changes to cladding and other materials, replacement of equipment, and upgrading of building systems and access, are all categorized as "improvements"[25] by grange members. The idea of ongoing modification, or improvement, of grange halls is ubiquitous in commentary from the National Grange and the Washington State Grange.

Grange Hall Suggestions proclaimed, "After the hall is completed…there is constant opportunity for development and improvement of the hall facilities."[26] A typical article in the *National Grange Monthly* in 1941 noted that a particular hall in Vermont was purchased in 1917, "but since then many improvements and additions have been made."[27] Another article in 1940 featured a grange in Tennessee that was planning for future alterations by building a hall "capable of enlargement as occasion may demand."[28] Undertaking successive remodeling projects demonstrated that a subordinate grange actively worked to improve its hall not only for its own use, but also to serve its community, and for this reason especially, such improvements were routinely commended.

In addition to praising hall remodeling efforts in its publications, the National Grange established a policy initiative, beginning in the 1930s, to encourage and reward hall improvement projects. By 1939, a nationwide Hall and Grounds Improvement contest recognized subordinate granges for their largely volunteer efforts.[29] In the early 1970s, the Washington State Grange launched its own Grange Hall Improvement Contest, sponsored by the Grange Co-op.[30] Another example of explicit encouragement for hall improvements was the Washington State Grange Hall Loan Fund, established in 1972, which provided up to $5,000 for granges wishing to upgrade or improve their grange halls at a 4% interest rate with reasonable terms for repayment.[31] In his 1981 Master's Address, then-State

Figure 7.20: Buena #836 in Yakima County

Figure 7.21: Barberton #571 in Clark County (2012 Grange Hall Improvement Contest winner)

Grange Master Jack Silvers noted that the loan fund complemented the Grange Hall Improvement Contest. He said, "It is important that we improve the Grange image in the community by keeping our Grange halls in good condition; making them a comfortable place to use as well as an asset to the community which they serve."[32] In 1985, Silvers's successor Ray Hill reminded grange members, "The upkeep of our Grange halls and the grounds that encompass it are a very important to our organization. The impression people have of the Grange many times is determined by the appearance of the hall and its surroundings,"[33] making it clear that the Washington State Grange viewed hall improvements as an important factor in both sustaining and promoting the Order. In announcing the 2013 Washington State Grange Hall Improvement Contest, State Grange Master Duane Hamp said, "In many instances our halls are the only thing that folks associate with the word Grange. We need to take pride on our Grange halls. They speak for us every day."[34]

Barberton Grange #571 [figure 7.21] in Clark County won the improvement contest in 2012, and the work that earned recognition reveals some of the challenges of maintaining halls, and also demonstrates that subordinate granges still rely on the contributions of community volunteers as they have historically. Barberton Grange was built in 1910 as a community club, and was purchased by the grange in 1917.[35] An article about Barberton's project noted that grange members "listened to the needs of their renters and other users of their hall and responded accordingly."[36] Improvements included electrical work; new lighting, carpets and plumbing fixtures; and acoustic upgrades. The grange also "got up to code with the Fire Marshall by installing a new front door complete with a panic bar." Much of the work was done by members, with the help of the Fort Vancouver Sail and Power Squadron, partly made up of retired carpenters, painters, and builders.[37]

Like Barberton, many grange halls in Washington are at or approaching one hundred years in age, and grange members sometimes struggle to meet public expectations as well

as to maintain compliance with changing building regulations, such as those established by local fire departments and public health departments.

Scholar Thomas Carter observed that remodeling is social commentary that directly expresses the remodeler's values.[38] Carter argued that values related to ideas such as privacy and innovation determine how people alter buildings, stating that, "Revamped houses become manifestations of current ideas concerning physical space, economic need, and community aesthetics."[39] Carter's observations regarding remodeling apply directly to grange halls, and the influence of the Order's values on treatment of the buildings.

The Grange's long-standing emphasis on ongoing improvements to grange halls is consistent with its founding mission and values, to improve life for farmers. For nearly 150 years, the Order has consistently advocated tangible, direct economic, social, and educational improvements benefiting rural residents (such as rural free postal delivery and parcel post, electrification, farm credit, the Agricultural Extension Service, broadband internet access, and many other national and statewide initiatives discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). The 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide* proclaimed, "the lot of the farmer has indeed improved, and much of the credit must go to the Grange which dared to 'do something' about it."[40] This guiding principle of improvement was extended to the management of grange halls, and ongoing modification of these buildings has preserved them by keeping them in active use.

The connection between the Grange's emphasis on improvement as a core social and political value, and the prevalence of modifications, additions, and other "improvements" typically made to grange halls during the course of their history, is important in that it links stewardship of the buildings to the broader goals and traditions of the organization. This point is discussed further in the context of historic preservation policies in section C of this chapter.

B. Theoretical Frameworks for Historic Preservation

As a basis for considering the relevance of professional historic preservation practices to the preservation of grange halls in the final section of this chapter, this section examines the ideas and theories that have influenced historic preservation policies in the United States over the past 50 years. This section also considers other concepts drawn from vernacular scholarship and international cultural heritage preservation policies that, if taken into account, could enrich American preservation practice by broadening its scope to make it more responsive to community values.

Historic preservation philosophy and activity originated in Europe and have their roots in concern for the appropriate treatment of classical and medieval monuments.[41] In contrast, the preservation movement in the United States originated in nineteenth century efforts to protect places such as battlefields and other patriotic sites associated with American national identity, as well as antiquities linked to pre-contact Native American cultures. The movement became much more formalized in response to federally financed destruction of historic neighborhoods in the form of large-scale urban renewal projects and interstate highway construction in the 1950s and 1960s.[42] Although interstate highways cut across thousands of miles of rural landscapes, the focus of preservation activity in the United States in the mid-twentieth century was primarily urban, and rarely addressed rural landscapes or buildings, with the exception of patriotic monuments or other nationally significant properties.

Even though the United States preservation movement in the 1950s and 1960s had a different focus than preservation activity in Europe, European ideas and values still influenced American preservation practice. One important work of early scholarship was Alois Riegl's essay "The Modern Cult of Monuments," first published in German in 1903.[43] Riegl's influential essay, written as part of an effort to develop a preservation policy for the Austro-Hungarian government, articulated an attitude toward the past that concentrated on architectural monuments as great works of art that may have "historical value" as

commemorative sites, or "age value" as ruins.[44] Riegl acknowledged the possibility of what he called "use value" in old buildings that retain an active purpose and must accommodate people, but he regarded such ongoing use as inherently in conflict with the historical value and age value that are the basis of an appreciation of the past.

Riegl observed that nineteenth century preservation of monuments rested essentially on the two premises of the originality of style (its historical value) and the unity of style (its art value or "newness-value").[45] These two premises influenced the development of historic preservation practices in both Europe and the United States through much of the twentieth century. This art-historical perspective which Dell Upton summed up as "a cherished regard for the maker's intention"[46] was enshrined in foundational documents which formalized European approaches to historic preservation, such as the *Venice Charter* of 1964 put forward by UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

Even Riegl's idea of "use value" was incorporated into of the *Venice Charter*, Article 5, which stated,

> The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted.[47]

Curiously, although the *Venice Charter* purported to address both great works of art and also more modest works of the past,[48] it conceived of ongoing use and modification of monuments only in terms changes of function, not in terms of continuity of use. Therefore, it did not offer an explicit way to interpret modifications that may be necessary to adapt a historic property for ongoing use associated with a consistent function. The *Venice Charter* evoked the ideal of universal human values in relation to historic sites, but actually presented a rather narrow focus on "ancient" buildings and the conservation of "monuments," without substantively addressing issues related to the ordinary historic built environment. The *Venice Charter*, in turn, strongly influenced the United States' *National Historic Preservation Act* (NHPA) of 1966.[49]

The National Register of Historic Places

The *National Historic Preservation Act* of 1966 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to expand and maintain a National Register of Historic Places, described as the "official list of the Nation's historic places worthy of preservation."[50] In 2012, the National Register included more than 88,000 historic properties. The Register is administered within the Department of the Interior by the National Park Service, and it includes not only nationally significant properties, but also properties significant at the state and local levels.[51] To be considered eligible for listing in the National Register, a property must be at least fifty years old and must meet evaluation criteria related to two key concepts, integrity and significance.

National Register Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, states:

> The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:
>
> **A.** That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
>
> **B.** That are associated with the lives of significant persons in our past; or
>
> **C.** That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> **D.** That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in history or prehistory.[52]

Four distinct layers of information are presented in this policy statement. One layer is the list of areas that a property may be associated with: American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. This often-overlooked introductory statement is important within the context of debates regarding the Register's purposes and limitations, in that it identifies "architecture" as just one of five distinct domains in which historic resources may be significant.

The next layer of information identifies the categories of historic properties that may be listed, namely districts, sites, buildings, structures and objects. Every historic resource proposed for listing in the National Register must be identified as one of these property types. Districts include things like neighborhoods as well as complexes of archaeological resources; sites can include both small parcels and extensive landscapes; buildings can include grand works of architecture as well as modest vernacular buildings; and structures and objects encompass a wide variety of resources such as bridges and vessels.[53]

The third layer identifies seven aspects of integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association; the definition and implications of these are examined in a later section of this chapter.

The fourth layer identifies four general criteria used in assessing the significance of historic properties. The concept of significance, which combines meaning and importance, clearly exhibits the theoretical influence of the *Venice Charter* on the basic structure of the National Register.

Assessing Significance

The four criteria of significance (A-D listed above) represent broad aspects of history or design derived from an understanding of ancient monuments and supposedly universal values characteristic of mid-twentieth century perspectives and expressed in the *Venice Charter*. Criteria A and B relate to historical values, and these criteria are less concerned with what a property actually is than with what it represents or is associated with. Criterion C relates to artistic or design value of architectural works, and Criterion D relates to research value.

These criteria can be interpreted within two distinct frames of reference. In one sense, the criteria can be viewed as consistent with historical perspectives focused on “greatness” – that is, on great, important and famous people, places and events, a traditional but antiquated approach to history – or on "great" works of artistic achievement,

again a traditional and narrow approach to the built environment. In another sense, these criteria can be interpreted and applied in a sufficiently flexible manner to recognize and convey the significance of a wide variety of historic places. This flexibility has been demonstrated by the manner in which interpretation of historic significance has altered considerably with shifting social interests and research agendas, demonstrated by the "discovery" in recent decades of ethnic history, labor history, the history of women's movements, and the reinterpretation of the Cold War.[54] The wide range of possible interpretations and applications of these criteria can be understood as both a strength and a weakness of the National Register: a strength in that new perspectives and innovative ideas can be accommodated, and a weakness in that such ideas and perspectives can also be ignored by practitioners who prefer to maintain a more traditional understanding of significance.

The wording of the National Register criteria for evaluation is encoded in federal law and has remained virtually unchanged for nearly fifty years. Basic guidelines for how to document and evaluate historic properties, meaning how to apply the significance criteria and how to assess integrity for specific property types, are found in a series of key bulletins published by the National Park Service, including Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria For Evaluation*.[55] In recent decades, the National Park Service has expanded this series of bulletins.[56] Some recent bulletins simply provide detailed guidelines regarding registration requirements for specific, familiar property types such as archaeological sites, cemeteries, battlefields, and vessels, based on conventional, well-established processes. Other bulletins, such as those addressing historic residential suburbs, rural historic landscapes, and traditional cultural properties[57] incorporate innovative approaches to documenting and evaluating significance, reflecting evolving perspectives regarding the ages, types and qualities of resources recognized as potentially eligible for listing in the National Register. One of these approaches is discussed below.

Traditional Cultural Significance

A potentially effective but underutilized approach to evaluating the significance of historic properties for listing in the National Register involves the documentation of "traditional cultural values" associated with the properties. According to the National Park Service,

> Traditional cultural significance is derived from the role a property plays in a community's historically rooted beliefs, customs, and practices. Properties may have significance under Criterion A if they are associated with events, or series of events, significant to the cultural traditions of a community.[58]

The concept of Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) was developed by cultural anthropologist Patricia Parker and archaeologist Tom King in 1990 specifically to address historic properties that are important in a living community's traditional beliefs, practices and identity,[59] and that may be eligible for listing in the National Register, but that may have significance which is not well understood by those who are not members of the community in question. Often-cited examples are locations in the landscape regarded by Native American tribes as places of origin or emergence, where their ancestors entered the world, or places associated with ceremonial activities.[60] Such places may appear, to outside archaeologists, preservationists, or cultural resource managers, to lack the kind of tangible, material qualities that they are accustomed to evaluating in archaeological sites or buildings. As a result, such places were often dismissed as ineligible for the National Register by outside "experts," and were subsequently left vulnerable to a variety of adverse impacts from development, public works projects or other large-scale landscape alterations.

Traditional cultural significance does not exclusively apply to Native American cultural sites, however, but can be applied to any historic property that can be demonstrated to be important for its association with the practices of an established community group, including people whose sense of identity may be based on such things as shared ethnic heritage, or long-term residence in a specific geographic area.[61] For example, in 2000, two historic sites in New York City, a beer garden and a religious grotto, were listed

in the National Register based on their traditional cultural significance.[62] A key distinction between traditional cultural properties and other historic properties is that the former are places where vital traditions, carried over from the past, are still being enacted. In other words, they are cultural or historical sites that are also "living landmarks."[63] While the *TCP Guidelines* have been available for more than twenty years, listings of properties in the National Register based on these guidelines are still rare, as are application of these guidelines at a state or local level.

Assessing Integrity

In addition to significance, a property must possess integrity to be listed in the National Register, and integrity is defined as the ability of a property to convey its significance through seven aspects: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.[64] Not all of these qualities are tangible, and not all of these qualities need to be present for a historic property to be considered eligible for listing in the National Register, though an overall sense of past time and place must be evident. A critically important point that is sometimes forgotten or ignored by preservation practitioners is that the criterion under which a property is nominated is supposed to determine which aspects of integrity are most relevant. *National Register Bulletin 15* states: "Determining which of these [seven] aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant."[65]

For example, if a property is nominated under Criterion C for its architectural or artistic value, then it is important for the property to possess integrity of design. However, if a property is nominated under Criterion A for its historical associations and cultural significance, then integrity of design related to the physical fabric may be less important than all other aspects of integrity which are more strongly correlated with cultural values and ongoing use, such as setting, feeling and association. Evaluation of integrity is

"sometimes a subjective judgment, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."[66]

The National Park Service has also provided extensive guidance regarding how to identify essential physical features, usually described as "character-defining features." These features may include:

> The form and detailing of exterior materials, such as masonry, wood, and metal; exterior features, such as roofs, porches, and windows; interior materials, such as plaster and paint; and interior features, such as moldings and stairways, room configuration and spatial relationships, as well as structural and mechanical systems.[67]

Reiterating the point introduced above, that not all seven aspects of integrity need to be present for historic properties to be considered eligible for listing in the National Register, the guidelines for defining essential physical features begin with the observation that, "All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain, however, the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity."

As with the significance criteria discussed in the previous section, the National Register guidelines for assessing integrity are flexible and multi-faceted, but in practice the guidelines are applied by some preservationists in a manner that strongly emphasizes physical integrity, specifically integrity of design and materials, and may even mistakenly equate physical integrity with an unaltered appearance since original construction. Preservationist Ned Kaufman explained:

> While not inflexible, the integrity criterion**…**prizes continuity of material and design over continuity of use or association. A building of substantially original form and materials that had lost its popular associations would likely meet the integrity criterion whereas one with powerful association appeal and importance to tradition whose form or materials had been altered since its first 'period of significance' would have difficulty qualifying.[68]

Like integrity of design, integrity of materials is a key evaluative aspect for properties that are significant for their architecture, but according to the National Register guidelines, replacement of original materials such as siding and windows should be a lesser

concern if properties are significant for other reasons.[69] However, alterations to original materials are frequently identified as factors that compromise the integrity of properties, rendering them ineligible for listing in the National Register.

Cultural geographer David Lowenthal observed that "for all preservation's emphasis on original substance, we identify and cherish most things for their form or genetic continuity, not for the stuff they are made of,"[70] further supporting the idea that if the cultural significance of historic properties is dismissed because some of their materials have been replaced or altered, preservationists may be missing the larger significance of a property. Many architects who work in the field of preservationist tend to place high value on preserving intact unaltered buildings as specimens of design history, at the expense of other considerations.[71] However, many people (both members of the lay public and professional preservationists) are concerned not just with preserving buildings, but also with preserving cultural heritage as active, lived experience. In the words of scholars Heike Alberts and Helen Hazen, it is a valid goal to protect lifeways as well as structures.[72]

Again, the *TCP Guidelines* offer an interesting and useful alternative to the typical process of evaluating integrity as described above.[73] In keeping with the emphasis on the values of living communities, the integrity of TCPs is most appropriately evaluated by members of the community that regards the property as significant, a policy which is consistent with several international charters such as the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994), *Declaration of San Antonio* (1996), *Burra Charter* (1999) and *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* (1999).[74] The *TCP Guidelines* state:

> In the case of a traditional cultural property, there are two fundamental questions to ask about integrity. First, does the property have an integral relationship to traditional cultural practices or beliefs; and second, is the condition of the property such that the relevant relationships survive?[75]

As the above discussion of integrity and significance indicates, the existing guidelines allow for a wide variety of resources to be considered potentially eligible for listing in the National Register, and also allow a degree of latitude regarding how these resources are to

be evaluated. However, interpretation of these guidelines can vary widely among preservation practitioners. Strict, traditional interpretations of National Register criteria can be traced back to Riegl's art-historical perspective, and to the *Venice Charter's* emphasis on monumental architecture. Both of these influences encourage the preservation of high-style architecture possessing a high degree of physical integrity, while discounting the significance of more modest historical and cultural properties, an approach sometimes criticized as elitist.[76]

Federal legislation and guidelines related to the National Register have served as the predominant model for historic preservation regulations at the state and local level, which means that the values and biases both inherent in the federal legislation, and characteristic of its interpretation, have been institutionalized in local preservation program throughout the country.[77] Preservationist Ned Kaufman conveyed the degree to which the guidelines and criteria encoded in federal law influence preservation activity at every level, when he noted that the National Register is "widely accepted as a sort of coin of the realm, the only national standard for preservation that we have, the tool that is in every preservationist's toolkit."[78] Considering the historical roots of preservation values and activities, as well as how preservation has been influenced by evolving academic perspectives and international charters, provide a basis for better understanding the development of differing elitist and populist perspectives in preservation.

Influences on Preservation Practice

Legal scholar Carol Rose identified three distinct strands or perspectives that have shaped preservation in the United States, beginning with the nineteenth century idea that preserving historical sites of national interest should inspire patriotism.[79] The second strand, which Rose traced to the early twentieth century, focused on the preservation of buildings having artistic and architectural merit. This perspective coincided with the growing involvement of professional architects in preservation, and a concomitant concern

with the integrity of architectural styles. In the late twentieth century, a third strand of preservation appeared that, according to Rose, incorporated some elements of the earlier two. Its most notable characteristic is a concern for the environmental and psychological effects of historic preservation. Rose explained:

> This [third] approach to preservation coincided with the environmental movement, and like that movement centers on the relationship of human beings to their physical surroundings. It stresses the 'sense of place' that older structures lend to a community, giving individuals interest, orientation, and a sense of familiarity in their surroundings.[80]

It is this recognition that both the built and natural environments foster a "sense of place" which people value, that compelled historic preservation to expand its traditionally limited focus on major historical events or personages or landmarks of architecture, to consider broad intangible qualities such as rural heritage, complex types of resources such as cultural landscapes, and widely varied vernacular resources. Further, according to Rose, contemporary historic preservation practice not only considers a comparatively broader range of resource types than in the past, but also takes a broader view of "historical significance" based as much on social, cultural and historical values as on the more traditional patriotic and architectural values, with age no longer holding central importance.[81] Rose's account of broadening values accurately reflects the work of those practitioners who share her focus on the importance of preserving a "sense of place," but her account may be overly optimistic in implying that this is the predominant viewpoint among practitioners.

Reflecting on broader trends in academia, architect and historian Thomas Hubka noted a parallel evolution between preservation values and historical scholarship, especially in the western United States where an approach known in recent decades as the "New History" has shifted the center of study from well-documented history of the elite to the less well documented history of the common people.[82] This broad, popular democratic movement has occurred throughout the humanistic disciplines,[83] and it was seen in preservation and architectural scholarship as both a groundswell of interest in ordinary life,

and in the reformulation of typical descriptive questions about what things are, to include more complex inquiries about what places mean to the people who created and inhabited them.[84] This intellectual approach is particularly characteristic of approaches to studying vernacular architecture.

The term "vernacular" is not consistently defined in relation to architecture. Vernacular architecture can denote specifically rural, pre-industrial buildings, in contrast to popular and elite architecture.[85] In a more expansive sense, vernacular architecture can also refer to the study of the kinds of buildings neglected by traditional architectural history, with its focus on academic or high style buildings.[86] English historian Eric Mercer's definition of vernacular architecture as those buildings "which belong to a type that is common in a given area at a given time,"[87] is useful in its applicability to both rural and urban settings, and both historic and contemporary resources.

While this broadening of inquiry has resulted in a more diverse range of resources being documented, analyzed and interpreted by architectural historians and vernacular scholars, it has had less impact on the standards by which these resources are evaluated in the context of historic preservation in the United States. For examples of how preservation standards might be productively re-evaluated to incorporate more contemporary perspectives, it is helpful to consider developments in international preservation practice, especially its recognition of diverse cultural perspectives in the post-colonial era.

International Perspectives

For more than a century, members of the international community have attempted to recognize and articulate the value of preserving cultural heritage. While the primary goal initially may have been preserving the monuments of classical antiquity,[88] international declarations also proclaimed the value of "living monuments" which continue to serve the purposes for which they were originally intended.[89]

As previously stated, the 1964 *Venice Charter* was envisioned by its drafters as a fundamental statement of international preservation values, and it championed ancient monuments as both the common heritage and common responsibility of all nations.[90] Since 1964, a proliferation of specialized charters declared respect for the principles of the *Venice Charter*, while using an ever-broader terminology to describe cultural resources and the value of their preservation.[91] The *Venice Charter*'s Euro-centric perspective on historic monuments as objectively significant and permanent has slowly expanded to include both monuments and sites having archaeological, architectural, historic or ethnographical interest in a 1965 international document, and the umbrella term "cultural property" in a 1968 United Nations report.[92]

Three protocol documents endorsed by the International Council on Sites and Monuments (ICOMOS) in the 1990s, the *Nara Document on Authenticity* of 1994, the *Declaration of San Antonio* of 1996, and the *Charter on Built Vernacular Heritage* of 1999,[93] all recognized the rights of local (especially indigenous) communities to identify and define on their own terms places of cultural significance. One of the main motivations for this proliferation of protocol documents is the effort to transcend Euro-centric art historical perspectives favoring monumental architecture, and to facilitate recognition and protection of a broader range of historic properties including vernacular resources. A key policy statement included in the *Declaration of San Antonio* is the idea that some physical changes associated with maintaining the traditional patterns of communal use of heritage sites do not necessarily diminish the significance of sites, and may actually enhance it,[94] an insight often missing from American preservation practice.

In contrast to traditional American preservation practice, the development of international preservation policies can be seen as an evolution from a narrow focus on the physical characteristics of integrity, to a broader focus on the less tangible and more subjective quality of authenticity. Authenticity and integrity are central to historic preservation values and policies worldwide, but definitions of these terms vary by era and

by culture. Somewhat confusingly, one National Register bulletin describes historical integrity as "the authenticity of a property's historic identity, evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics that existed during the property's prehistoric or historic period."[95]

While United States cultural resource policy emphasizes material integrity, international charters and guidelines focus on the more complex concept of authenticity. The preamble to the *Venice Charter* says, in reference to historic monuments, "It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity,"[96] but the charter does not explicitly define what that means. An attempt at a definition of authenticity was included in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention's original *Operational Guidelines,* which stated that, in order to be listed, cultural properties must "meet the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship, and setting."[97]

Following international adoption of the *Venice Charter* and dissemination of the *Operational Guidelines*, definitions and assessments of authenticity have expanded from an initial focus on tangible physical qualities, to a broader focus which includes intangible, culturally-specific qualities that apply not only to historic properties being considered for the World Heritage List, but also to cultural practices and traditions that nations wish to preserve as part of their cultural patrimony. Later charters also looked beyond monumental architecture to explicitly consider urban, archaeological and cultural landscape resources. The concept of authenticity, introduced into the preservation discourse nearly fifty years ago through development of the *Venice Charter*, is still a subject of debate in contemporary discussions about cultural heritage policy. The nuances associated with the concept have been further elucidated in international charters such as the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) and the *Declaration of San Antonio* (1996).

The *Nara Document* stated that, depending on the nature of the resources being considered, and their cultural contexts, "authenticity judgments may be linked to…form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling." The *Declaration of San Antonio* echoed the qualities of

authenticity identified in the *Nara Document*, and emphasized the importance of understanding the "origins and evolution of the site as well as the values associated with it."[98] Reiterating the idea that assessing authenticity is a complex process, the *Declaration of San Antonio* stated that authenticity is a concept "much larger than material integrity, and the two concepts must not be assumed to be equivalent."

For properties that are architectural landmarks, significant because of their design and physical appearance, prioritizing material aspects of integrity makes sense. But for those buildings that are significant for cultural reasons, traditional and ongoing use is more important. One of the primary differences between American definitions of integrity and international definitions of authenticity is that the latter recognize the importance of ongoing use of cultural properties, and elevate this consideration to be equal to other values such as design and materials.

In recent decades, consideration has been given to an even broader range of resources including landscapes and other environments, as well as intangible aspects of cultural heritage such as oral traditions, social practices and rituals.[99] The 1999 ICOMOS *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* represented a significant accomplishment in what historian Edward Chappell called the effort to "recognize and save buildings and landscapes once thought inconsequential."[100] The charter did not offer a precise definition of vernacular, but instead presented a series of contrasts intended to be inclusive. According to the charter, built vernacular heritage is "utilitarian and at the same time possesses interest and beauty. It is a focus of contemporary life and at the same time a record of the history of society."[101]

While this charter may have been intended primarily to address the value and unique management issues of indigenous pre-industrial architecture, it provided useful language related to vernacular resources in all countries. For example, the charter described built vernacular heritage as "the fundamental expression of the culture of a community" and called for an appreciation of changes over time, and a flexible approach to alterations that

legitimately respond to the demands of contemporary use.[102] The *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* did not spell out exactly how flexible the approach should be, but one of the charter's purposes was to ensure that places that are highly valued as material expressions of a community's cultural traditions are not excluded from recognition as such by international policies.

Such value statements encoded in international cultural policy documents might be especially useful in persuading American preservationists who hold more conservative or materialist viewpoints to consider the value of resources from the perspectives of the people who created and use them. The emphasis on continuing use of built vernacular resources, and the cultural traditions associated with these resources, may also provide significant policy guidance missing from (or simply neglected in) American legal frameworks related to historic preservation.

Critiques of American Preservation Policies

Critiques of American preservation policies are wide-ranging, and often begin with the fact that listing a property in the National Register does not actually guarantee its preservation; however, for the purposes of this thesis, the most relevant critiques of existing policies (and the theories on which they are based) are those focused on the way in which significance and integrity are evaluated with regard to National Register listings.

Critiques of significance primarily focus on two related issues having to do with shortcomings in existing policies and in the way in which policies are interpreted.[103] The first critique focuses on the perceived overemphasis on architectural significance (Criterion C), and the second critique focuses on the lack of meaningful criteria with which to evaluate properties that are primarily significant for their social value, that is, historic places having contemporary cultural significance. Data supports the first critique regarding the over-emphasis on architectural significance relative to other criteria, based on analysis of National Register nominations. Historian James Glass pointed out that in 1986, twenty

years after the *National Historic Preservation Act* was approved, seventy-five percent of the properties listed in the National Register were cited for architectural importance.[104] Although more recent analytical data could not be identified during the course of this thesis research, anecdotal evidence suggests this pattern has continued in recent years.

One of the problems with this concentration on architectural qualities, according to architectural historian and preservationist Richard Longstreth, is that it "favors resources that are rare, unconventional or even exotic over those deemed commonplace,"[105] and it overemphasizes unity of style as the primary demonstration of significance, at the expense of other aspects of history. The resulting problem, according to Kaufman, is that, seen through the lens of conventional preservation criteria, many buildings may not appear significant or worthy of preservation.[106] The challenge for preservationists is to look past the architecturally-oriented criteria of value to recognize other aspects of significance.

Examining preservation activity at the municipal level in New York City, Kaufman documented the practice of preservation review boards evaluating sites largely on their architectural merits, although nothing in law or history required that. He observed, "The city's landmark laws recognized many other reasons why buildings or sites might deserve protection, but for many years both the city's official preservation agency and the leading advocacy groups had emphasized architectural values."[107] Kaufman did not argue that architectural preservation is wrong, just that by itself it is insufficient. What is neglected or missing from the process of assessing significance, again according to Kaufman, is a strategy for protecting places that matter more for their stories than their material or aesthetic values.[108] Kaufman and others have noted the need to pay greater attention to community sentiment, memories, local traditions, and feelings of attachment as valid dimensions of heritage, and to "embrace a broader understanding of what made places important to people."[109]

Kaufman's comment in part points to the problem that the nation lacks options for recognizing the importance of historic places, especially those in private ownership. While

the history of any property can certainly be documented informally and shared with public, few alternatives to the National Register exist with regard to formal public processes for recognizing the importance of places, historically or in the present day. Nominating a property for listing in the National Register, or for state and local landmarks registers based on the National Register model, is the primary process available to document and offer some measure of public recognition of the importance of historic places.[110] For this reason, the National Register evaluation criteria have a high level of impact on how places of historic and cultural importance are understood at the national, state and local levels.

A longstanding critique of the influence of National Register policies was recently reiterated in a letter to the Secretary of the Interior by a group of preservation scholars and professionals calling themselves the Coalition for Cultural Justice. The letter stated:

> With regard to local historic preservation, the deference accorded to the National Register and the Secretary of the Interior's standards by many local ordinances amplifies the impact of too-narrow judgments at the top: these reverberate down the preservation ladder, leading local commissions to be less responsive to local needs than they should be.[111]

This critique of too-narrow judgments is largely related to the traditional, overly-materialist assessments of significance and integrity discussed above. These critiques identify potential improvements in the way that National Register evaluation criteria are written and interpreted. However, according to Longstreth, even in their current form, the criteria provide "a solid foundation for identifying resources and for determining which of their attributes must be retained to ensure their continued integrity."[112]

In summary, the development of historic preservation theory and practice in the United States, formalized in *the National Historic Preservation Act* of 1966, was strongly influenced by European perspectives regarding the preservation of monumental architecture. Even with this influence, a notable level of flexibility and inclusiveness has been incorporated into National Register criteria and guidelines, particularly for addressing properties considered significant for many reasons besides architectural design, and for making assessments of integrity based on a property's non-architectural significance.

However, this flexibility may not always be recognized or taken into account, and too often preservation practitioners choose to take a conservative approach with narrow interpretations grounded in traditional art-historical perspectives. As a result, historic properties that tell important stories of the past, and that matter to people but do not conform to traditional expectations regarding monumental architecture, are sometimes excluded from listing in the National Register. Since the 1960s, scholars and international organizations have developed a variety of innovative approaches to historic preservation, but the recognition of these contributions has sometimes been inconsistent, leading to a gap between preservation theory and practice.

C. Evaluating Grange Halls

This final section considers ways in which National Register eligibility may support preservation and ongoing use of grange halls. Then, approaches for assessing significance and integrity of grange halls are presented with the goal of establishing an appropriate analytical framework for evaluating buildings within the current legal system. Two developments in preservation theory described earlier – broader consideration of what kinds of resources are worth preserving and why those resource matter to people – provide a basis on which to consider grange halls as a category of vernacular buildings potentially worth preserving as an element of Washington State's and the nation's cultural heritage.

Grange halls in Washington State can be classified as vernacular architecture by some definitions included in the previous section, in that they are typically rural resources, but they do not fit other definitions, in that they are also post-industrial, dating primarily to the twentieth century. The traditional reliance on volunteer labor and donated materials for construction, and the buildings' typically plain utilitarian appearance, all identify grange halls as examples of vernacular architecture. Grange halls can also be considered vernacular in the general sense of being common buildings, and their significance can be interpreted in part by drawing on value statements articulated in international preservation

policies that recognize built vernacular heritage as a resource that "occupies a central place in the affection and pride of all peoples."[113]

Why National Register Listing Could Benefit Grange Halls

The honor associated with having a property listed in the National Register of Historic Places may be the primary reason that many individuals and organizations choose to nominate their buildings for listing. However, in addition to the prestige associated with this type of recognition, there is value in the documenting and sharing of community history that results from the effort to nominate a historic property to any landmark register. Inclusion in the National Register is an honorific designation, not a regulatory one, meaning that it does not require design review of proposed alterations, nor does it introduce other constraints that limit the ability of property owners to care for, modify or sell their buildings. As mentioned earlier, listing a property in the National Register does not guarantee its protection, but should the property subsequently be threatened, the listing might encourage or even require a public debate about its history and importance to the community.[114] The examples below illustrate some of the reasons why National Register listing of individual grange halls in Washington State would likely prove to be beneficial.

The first reason has to do with consideration of the impacts of "federal actions," which are defined as any project that is supported by federal funding or requires a federal permit. This definition applies to most public works projects, such as road construction, which has impacted numerous grange halls around Washington State. A property listed in the National Register might receive a higher level of consideration than one which is not, in terms of either avoidance or mitigation of construction impacts,[115] which would be less detrimental that what appears to have happened to Quillisascut Grange #372 in Stevens County [figure 7.22], which had its entrance drastically reconfigured due to a road widening project. (If a grange hall were listed in the National Register, and if the road project

Figure 7.22: Quillisascut #372 in Stevens County, 1950 (*Washington Granger's Guide*) and 2012; alteration of the entrance was likely required by a road widening project

included any federal funding, then federal transportation laws would require mitigation of any negative impacts.)

The second reason is related to disaster relief, and the treatment of National Register listed properties by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), and other federal agencies following events such as earthquakes, floods and fires. An especially poignant example of why this is important in Washington can be seen in the number of grange halls in Pierce and Thurston County that closed due to catastrophic damage sustained during the 2001 Nisqually Earthquake, that might have been stabilized and eventually rehabilitated if federal recovery aid had been available.[116]

The third reason is related to funding for grange hall maintenance or improvements. In the past, subordinate granges have not typically sought federal, state, or local government grants or appropriations; however, the combination of escalating construction costs, many aging members, and the high cost of construction even if volunteers have many of the necessary skills and materials, may make it necessary for granges to seek public support for preserving grange halls, in recognition that these buildings are historic facilities that serve the public.[117] Potential funding sources such as the United States Department of Agriculture Rural Development Program, federal Community Development Block Grants, the Washington State Community Facilities Program, and state and local landmark rehabilitation grant programs, all prioritize properties listed in the National Register for funding.[118]

As evidenced by this pragmatic if unglamorous list of possible benefits, National Register listing is unlikely to "save" any grange hall that is endangered by dwindling membership or lack of use, but such a listing could potentially support a grange's efforts to preserve its hall by requiring mitigation of adverse impacts caused by federally funded or permitted projects, and through potential access to enhanced disaster recovery aid, technical assistance, and rehabilitation funding.[119]

Regardless of all of the international charters and policies discussed in the previous section that relate to preservation of cultural heritage, UNESCO recognizes that vital traditions, alive in themselves, need no safe-guarding, and no lists.[120] However, the recognition and consideration associated with National Register listing (or a formal determination of eligibility for listing)[121] may bolster the efforts of grange members to preserve their halls. As previously noted, the grange halls included in this study are those buildings that remain in active ownership of local granges, and in active use, although there are a few examples of halls included in this study that did not meet those criteria in 2012 but may, and hopefully will, again. One example is Waitsburg Grange #1, a hall constructed in 1938 and historically significant for its association with the first grange organized in the state. The hall sustained flood damage some years ago, and is awaiting rehabilitation so that it can again host grange meetings and community gatherings.[122]

Some granges in Washington State have been revitalized in recent years, garnering new members and participating in new community initiatives. Chimacum #681 in Jefferson County [figure 7.23] and Sallal #955 in King County [figure 7.24] are widely recognized as re-energized granges, and each edition of the *Washington Grange News* tallies granges throughout the state that gained members in the previous month. Other granges may be struggling to remain viable as older members face the prospect of surrendering their grange's charter and giving up their hall. One grange that narrowly avoided that fate was Bainbridge #1051 in Kitsap County [figure 7.25], which had dwindled to just three active members in 2009 and was preparing to close, before local cabinetmaker and hobby farmer John Steiner got involved and began recruiting new members, activities, and volunteers.[123] Notably, it was Steiner's interest in the grange hall that motivated him to get involved in the organization, and new members have secured "grants and donations…to pay for improvements on the 80-year-old building."[124]

Figure 7.23: Chimacum #681 in Jefferson County

Figure 7.24: Sallal #955 in King County

Figure 7.25: Bainbridge #1051 in Kitsap County

Documenting and Assessing the Significance of Grange Halls

The history of any individual grange hall is obviously tied to the history of the Washington State Grange as a whole, but any nomination to the National Register must document an individual property.[125] Properties can be considered significant within one or more historic contexts,[126] and though it would be useful to be able to reference a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPD) or historic context statement on the Grange in Washington State, such as document has not yet been developed. The Multiple Property Documentation Form is a "cover document" and not a National Register nomination itself; however, the MPD provides a basis for evaluating the National Register eligibility of a group of related properties and would easily apply to grange halls in Washington State. In fact, MPDs have been developed for many other categories of Washington State resources, and approved by the Keeper of the National Register, including property types such as heritage barns, Carnegie libraries, rural public schools, and movie theaters.[127] These contextual documents identify relevant historical themes and provide background information that can be referenced to support the nomination of individual properties to the National Register. Without such an MPD, each National Register nomination for an individual grange hall would need to sufficiently document the areas of significance, or historic contexts, of agriculture and social organizations.

Presumably most grange halls would be considered locally significant for their role in the social, economic, political and cultural life of their communities. However, additional research may identify grange halls that are significant at the statewide or national level due to association with significant events or people.

The most obvious criterion under which every Washington State grange hall could be nominated to the National Register is Criterion A, given the association of halls with the long-standing Order of the Patrons of Husbandry and its nearly 150-year history, and potentially with the Country Life Movement, as well as the association of halls with patterns of local settlement, community development and agricultural history from the late

nineteenth century to the present. While this thesis focuses on grange halls in current use, it is important to note that former grange halls would potentially be eligible for listing under this and other criteria as well.

According to Kaufman, preservationists in the twenty-first century "continue to rely on the idea of association as a sort of catch-all for a wide range of cultural meanings which cannot be fully explained by a building's physical fabric or architectural character."[128] Even a far-ranging effort to identify historical associations would not necessarily document the aspects of cultural significance of grange halls discussed in Chapter 6, as sites that embody the collective memory of communities and foster the cultivation of social capital in the past as well as the present. However, documentation and analysis of these aspects of cultural significance could be integrated into the "statement of significance" portion of any National Register nomination.

Some grange halls may be found to be significant under any of the other three criteria. Additional research might identify strong associations between particular grange halls and significant people (Criterion B) perhaps who were involved in organizing subordinate granges, or leading major policy initiatives, or who became widely recognized as political leaders. However, as one historian noted, "The essence of the Grange is not about individuals but rather the local farm community."[129] The degree to which this association of a prominent person with a grange hall would be considered significant would depend in part on whether there are other properties more strongly associated with the person in question.[130]

Few grange halls stand out individually as architectural landmarks. They are not often clear examples of academic architectural styles. Still, some individual grange halls may be found to be significant under Criterion C, for their architectural or artistic value, although application of this criterion can be problematic with vernacular buildings (as discussed in the previous section). Typically, the criterion might be applied to buildings constructed from a design that can be attributed to a renowned architect or a noteworthy

style. The latter is more likely given the resource base, particularly if a grange hall can be demonstrated to be an intact example of a design from a specific pattern book, regardless of whether the building was originally constructed as a grange, church, school or other type. However, based on the research documented in this thesis regarding patterns in grange hall construction and modification, it would be a challenge to apply this criterion in most cases.[131]

It is conceivable that this criterion might be used to demonstrate the significance of grange halls having a distinctive method of construction based on the communal design and building process, based on detailed documentation that a hall was built with donated materials and volunteer labor, that construction was carried out as a community event akin to a barn raising, and that the variety of skill levels among participating workers remained visible in the physical fabric of the building. Finally, Criterion D is most often applied to archaeological sites that have the potential to yield information through data recovery and analysis, and this criterion is unlikely to relate to grange halls.

Grange halls can be considered collectively significant as a vernacular building type, and individually significant as community gathering places, cooperatively built and maintained, and associated with local traditions. Folklorist and historian Thomas Carter has said, "Common buildings are common because they're part of communities. To see the community values, we need to see them in relationship to the overall cultural system."[132]

Traditional Cultural Significance of Grange Halls

The historical and contemporary roles played by grange halls in their communities (documented in Chapters 3 through 6 of this thesis), include numerous examples of what could be considered traditional cultural practices according to *National Register Bulletin #38 Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* quoted in the previous section. In addition to their potential historical significance described above, grange halls that remain in active use have traditional cultural significance, and should be

considered eligible for listing in the National Register on that basis. Such a listing would be an appropriate reflection of the primacy of social value and the importance of ongoing community use, factors that are not sufficiently recognized by the primary significance criteria previously described.

If grange halls are recognized as having significance based on traditional cultural practices, then the process for evaluating integrity should be informed by *Bulletin #38* (the TCP guidelines). Rather than focusing disproportionately on unaltered physical appearance, as architectural assessments of integrity often do, the *TCP Guidelines* focus on a property's ongoing use. According to Kaufman, the integrity guidelines for TCPs "lift the [National] Register's heavy emphasis on unchanged physical condition and place it where it should be: on the ability of the place to sustain tradition or belief."[133] For grange halls, the most important aspect of their significance and integrity is their ongoing use as vital, functioning buildings that represent and contain a variety of traditional values and activities. These traditional practices are not diminished by the kinds of modifications typically made to grange halls that were described previously; rather, such modifications enhance the buildings by extending their life through proactive maintenance, and facilitating things like barrier-free access, food preparation, and efficient operation of the building.

A New Perspective on Integrity: Modifications as a Character Defining Feature

Chapter 5 documents the significant contributions of members and other volunteers in donating materials, labor and funds to support construction of grange halls, and the first section of this chapter documents the prevalence of incremental modifications characterized as "improvements" made to grange halls over the course of many years.

The Grange's emphasis on improvement as a core social and political value, at the national, state and local level, provides a demonstrable link between stewardship of the buildings and the broader goals and traditions of the Order. Based on the widespread and consistent patterns of these actions and attitudes, one of the most significant conclusions of

this thesis is that ongoing modifications to grange halls can be regarded as a "character-defining feature" of this building type. The idea that any historic property possesses "character-defining features" is a central concept in historic preservation, and it is based on a series of bulletins produced by the National Park Service providing technical information regarding the National Register of Historic Places and the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties*.

The materials and other physical aspects commonly regarded as "character-defining features" are identified in the previous section's discussion of assessing integrity. However, that list of material features is not sufficient to identify the key processes that contribute to the physical character of grange halls. These buildings are defined as much by ongoing modification, as they are by their original materiality and configuration. Therefore, ongoing improvement of grange halls can be regarded as an essential feature of this property type, a finding that has important implications for the evaluation of integrity.

Assessing Integrity of Grange Halls Based on Evolution and Ongoing Use

In addition to the approach presented in the previous paragraphs interpreting modifications as a fundamental aspect of grange hall integrity, other means of evaluating integrity in vernacular buildings can be derived from both the insights and critiques presented in the previous section about preservation theory.

Typical approaches to evaluating integrity that over-emphasize observable physical aspects and ignore other aspects may result in a building that appears to be unused and perhaps abandoned, but that retains an essentially unaltered physical appearance since its original construction [figure 7.26], being evaluated as having a high level of integrity by preservationists, whereas a hall that is in active use, that has been modified repeatedly to update building systems and accommodate ongoing use [figure 7.27] might be evaluated as having a low level of integrity, and therefore might be considered ineligible for listing in the National Register. Such a conclusion is, of course, completely opposite from the values held

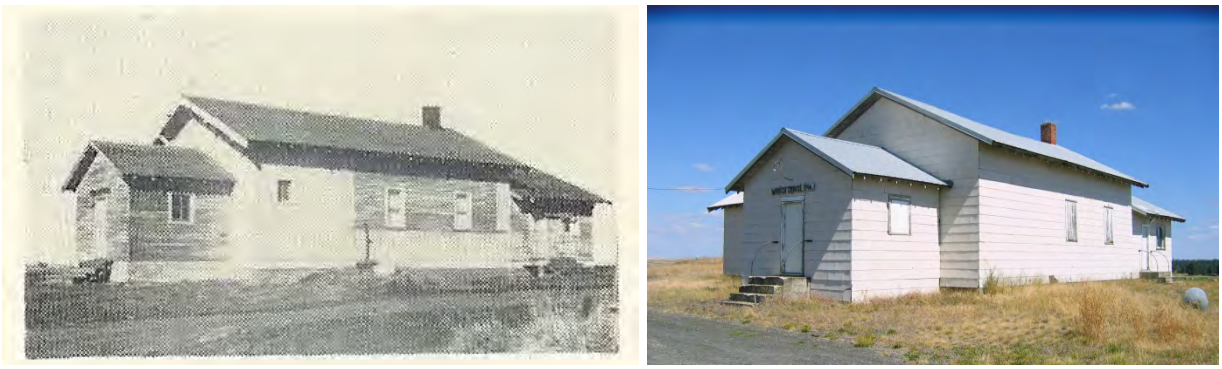


Figure 7.26: [Left] Waukon #894 in Lincoln County, 1950 (*Washington Granger's Guide*) and [Right] 2012 (Example of a hall exhibiting minimal modifications)

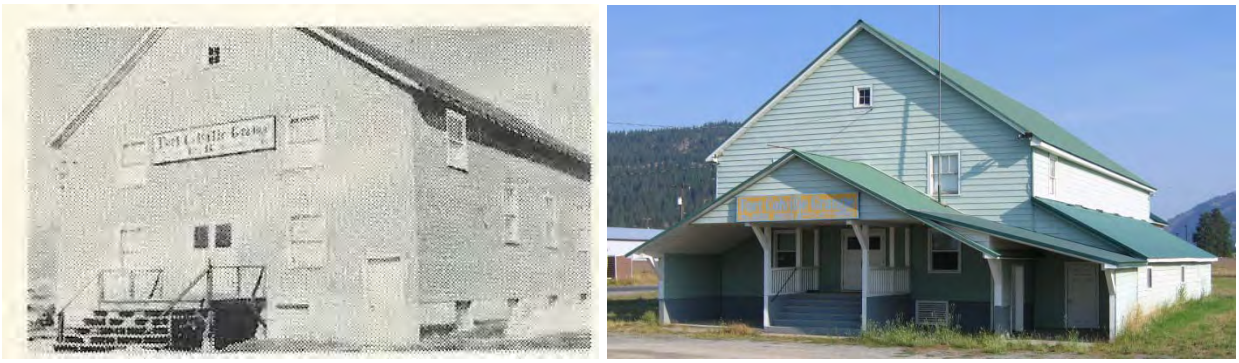


Figure 7.27: [Left] Fort Colville #533 in Stevens County, 1950 (*Washington Granger's Guide*) and [Right] 2012 (Example of a hall exhibiting major modifications)

Figure 7.28: Enterprise #784 in Stevens County

by grange members, as described in the first section of this chapter. For example, where grange members might approve of the investment represented by the relatively new metal roof and new vinyl siding installed at Enterprise Grange #784 in Stevens County [figure 7.28] as indications that the hall continues to be used and cared for, preservationists might disapprove of those same alterations as things that compromise the integrity of the building.

It must be said that there are a handful of grange halls in Washington State that appear to possess a high level of all aspects of integrity as they are defined in the National Register guidelines (integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association),[134] notably North & South Palouse #1004 in Whitman County [figure 7.29] and Mountain View #98 in Klickitat County [figure 7.30]. However, as the analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates, such a condition does not make those buildings more significant than other halls, and recognizing a small number of grange halls based on their physical appearance alone would likely be counter-productive to development of a comprehensive preservation strategy for this building type.

Drawing again on discussions of preservation theory presented in the previous section, the concept of authenticity articulated in international charters provides an important counterpoint to the more limited aspects of integrity, in that authenticity factors in the idea of use as a significant variable in assessing the condition of historic properties. Assessments of authenticity also offer opportunities to articulate the significance of historic properties from the perspective of the people who made them. The essence of a building's meaning and significance may be its ongoing use.[135] Adaptive reuse, characteristic of approximately one third of the grange halls documented through this study, presents another set of challenges in evaluating buildings, if one is overly concerned about physical integrity. In assessing a century-old school adapted for use as a grange hall [figure 7.31], should it really matter which alterations were made within the "historic period" that ended fifty years ago?

Figure 7.29: North & South Palouse #1004 in Whitman County

Figure 7.30: Mountain View #98 in Klickitat County

Figure 7.31: Hopewell #518 in Whatcom County

Figure 7.32: Wynoochee Valley #801 in Grays Harbor County

Preservation architect Pamela Jerome suggested the idea of "progressive authenticities" to recognize the legitimacy of layered, successive adaptations of historic places over time.[136] Building on this idea, historian Edward Chappell suggested that the process of long use and modification of vernacular buildings might be regarded as "character" rather than as examples of compromised integrity. He wrote, "Vigorous analysis of how a building evolved generally helps architectural historians…understand the purpose and significance of changes rather than simply finger them as not original and ferret out evidence for the premier state."[137] Chappell's perspective is instructive for preservationists attempting to reconcile their concerns about integrity with an awareness and perhaps even appreciation of the evolution of buildings.

Unfortunately, Chappell's perspective does not appear to have been shared by preservationists who have completed Historic Resource Inventory forms to document grange halls for the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.[138] For example, Wynoochee Valley Grange #801 in Grays Harbor County [figure 7.32] was documented in 2005 by a professional preservation consultant prior to a road construction project. This surveyor appears to have made no effort to understand or document the building's history, use or significance, and focused only on documenting changes to the building's plan, windows and other features. He wrote:

> The original rectangular structure has been significantly altered and expanded by a large addition eastward from the north end. The plan of the original building is otherwise intact, but most windows and one door have been removed and sided over. Visually obtrusive modifications are presented at all elevations of the buildings. The exterior siding represents two stages of construction and is in fair condition; dry rot is evident throughout. The condition of the interior is unknown. An accessibility ramp of poured concrete occupies a very physically and visually obtrusive space in the foreground of the building, having a significant impact on the appearance of the buildings.[139]

Based on this assessment, the grange hall was determined by the Washington State Historic Preservation Office to be ineligible for listing in the National Register. Fortunately, the building survived the road construction project, but the non-eligibility determination, and

the documentation on which it was based, clearly demonstrate that "building evolution" is not yet a widely appreciated phenomenon among some preservationists.

This example drawn from a standard documentation format demonstrates one of the problems raised in the previous discussion of preservation theory, namely the overemphasis on physical integrity regardless of the property's potential or documented significance. Such shortcomings in field assessments are often exacerbated by the fact that most preservation professionals are accustomed to evaluating historic resources in urban contexts where stylistic succession is well documented, architectural significance is more predominant, and design integrity is usually paramount. As this thesis has shown, these standards and expectations are inappropriately imposed on rural vernacular resources.

Milford Wayne Donaldson, preservation architect and former California State Historic Preservation Officer, has acknowledged the need to bring a more dynamic understanding of change over time into the National Register criteria, especially with regard to the analysis of integrity. Donaldson wrote,

> Although basic standards are necessary, a strict interpretation of architectural integrity can exclude properties that still possess considerable historical significance. Design and workmanship tend to be weighted most heavily when evaluating integrity. Instead, association, setting, and feeling should be more strongly considered when evaluating integrity to incorporate a large variety of resources."[140]

As chairman of the federal Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in 2012-13, Donaldson holds one of the most prominent positions nationwide in setting historic preservation policy, so his willingness to recognize and address this issue may provide an opportunity for either adjusting existing criteria or providing more explicit guidance regarding their appropriate application.

Interventions

In addition to developing guidelines for documenting and evaluating historic properties for potential listing in the National Register, the Secretary of the Interior has also established a series of standards for the treatment of historic properties that are intended to

promote responsible preservation practices.[141] These standards provide an interesting parallel to the guidelines for documentation and evaluation, and interpretation of the Secretary's Standards represents another area of discourse in which preservation philosophies are debated and critiqued.

One of the most highly contested aspects to these standards governs new additions and exterior alterations to buildings, and stipulates "new work shall be differentiated from the old and will be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment."[142] This standard presents an inherent contradiction in the idea of "differentiated but compatible," and this idea is especially problematic for vernacular buildings such as grange halls that are incrementally altered, in that the standard seems to presume that a building has an "old part" and a distinct "new part" rather than all-encompassing modifications to skin, systems and structure intended to extend a building's useful life.

In an effort to defend such modifications to buildings from the more recent past, architect David Fixler made the case that upgrades compatible with the original intent of a building's design and function, but which may not meet the strictest interpretation of rehabilitation standards, should not automatically be regarded as damaging a building's overall integrity.[143] Similarly, architect Robert Adam asserted that rather than attempting to conform to a designer's idea of differentiation, a historic building is ultimately better protected by alteration or continuity of construction carried out in the same traditions and manner of the original, such that the building maintains its symbolic significance and coherence. He then drily observed, "This runs contrary to almost all heritage policies in western governments."[144] Such statements express a deep ambivalence within the discipline of historic preservation regarding acceptable levels and processes for modifying buildings.

Overall, Washington's grange halls would clearly benefit from listing in the National Register. Taking a progressive approach to consideration of issues such as significance and

integrity, granges halls would be eligible for listing. However, in a context of sometimes quite conservative interpretations of preservation policies (as discussed in this chapter), including a disproportionate focus on architectural significance and physical integrity, practitioners may fail to recognize the latitude actually present in existing guidelines, and may therefore fail to support preservation at the grassroots level, including the efforts of grange members working over the course of multiple generations to maintain their buildings in active use.

In a broader perspective, interpretations that would exclude grange halls would also be detrimental to the efforts of preservation professionals to align their discipline with the burgeoning sustainability movement. For decades, preservationists have argued in favor of adaptive reuse of existing buildings. Recently, preservationists have embraced the mantra "the greenest building is the one already built."[145] And yet, many preservationists unconsciously advocate against the preservation of vernacular buildings, such as grange halls, that have been modified during the course of long-term use, even if such ongoing modification can be considered a character-defining feature, and can be demonstrated to support enduring preservation of the buildings.

Architect Pamela Jerome has observed that in the last two decades of preservation, "the anthropological view of cultural heritage has gradually superseded that of the monument,"[146] a recognition that both the categories of heritage properties and the evaluation of their authenticity has broadened, in theory, to reflect contemporary multi-cultural values. What is needed now is advocacy in support of this shift in perspective becoming more widespread within professional practice.

Chapter 8: CONCLUSION

Architectural historian and preservationist Daniel Bluestone articulated a powerful connection between the histories that scholars choose to document and the elements of the historic built environment that survive and are preserved. He argued for "the need for greater clarity among preservationists concerning what historical narratives and ideologies they foster in saving particular buildings and landscapes."[1] An optimistic interpretation of Bluestone's statement is that historical documentation can support preservation by bringing attention to endangered resources, or fostering awareness of familiar resources that are not widely understood or appreciated. Bluestone cautioned that the opposite is also true, that the process of devaluing certain buildings can lead to their destruction. He wrote, "Unlike academic historians, preservationists work in a world in which the traces of histories that they choose to ignore often disappear."[2]

While the world that Bluestone wrote about was urban Chicago, his observations are equally relevant with regard to the rural agricultural landscapes of Washington State. In 1950, the *Washington Granger's Guide* proclaimed, "In these halls many a progressive idea is made into a reality."[3] As Bluestone explained, preservation of historic places spatializes history, and harnesses the "power of actual buildings to make their histories more palpable."[4] Thus, while it may be possible to remember and understand past ideas of community life and civic engagement in an abstract way, the accessibility of these ideas and their connection to present experience is much stronger when they are connected to, and even embodied in, historic sites.

In documenting the history, character and significance of grange halls, this thesis has called attention to a relatively unappreciated and understudied group of vernacular buildings. Grange halls persist in a majority of states in 2012, and Washington State appears to have had the highest number of extant halls that remain in active use. However, that strength in numbers masked the reality that Washington State has simply

lost fewer halls compared to other states, primarily because grange membership in this state has declined at a slower rate than it has elsewhere.

Up to the present time, these buildings have been cared for and preserved by grange members, with little interest, recognition or support from preservationists or architectural historians. In fact, when preservationists have focused attention on grange halls, the stories they have chosen to tell have often focused only on aesthetics, and they often told these stories in a negative way that relegated the buildings to the realm of the "non-historic" by equating modifications with diminished integrity.

A goal of this thesis has been to provide an alternative narrative linking the history and traditions of the Grange as a progressive institution, and the cultural value of grange halls as rural community centers, with the material qualities of these buildings that have been improved by generations of their users. This story is not typically part of any privileged narrative about "how the west was won." In fact, grange halls rarely appear in historical narratives at all. The goal of telling this story is to support the preservation of these buildings.

A. Grange Halls in a National Context

In focusing on Washington State, this thesis has documented relatively little about grange halls nationally, so several strands of potential additional research relate to development of a broader analysis of this building type and its preservation. An ample area of inquiry would be a comparison of grange halls in Washington State to those in other parts of the United States, with regard to their built forms, historical numbers, on-going use and modification, and rates of preservation.

Articles published in the *National Grange Monthly* from the 1920s through the 1950s indicate that some aspects of grange hall ownership documented in Washington State also commonly occurred elsewhere, such as contributions by grange members of labor, materials and funds to build, acquire or remodel their halls. Some of the apparent differences

between grange halls in Washington State and elsewhere – for example, the relative age of surviving grange halls – raise questions about the buildings and their contexts. While adaptive reuse of existing buildings to serve as grange halls was a widespread phenomenon in other states as it was in Washington, the oldest buildings in Washington that were available and appropriate for reuse dated from around 1900, whereas granges in regions with older settlement histories such as New England and the South made use of churches and schools dating from the mid-nineteenth century.[5] Similarly, photographer Rose Marasco documented selected grange halls in Maine for the 1992 exhibit "Ritual and Community: The Maine Grange," and many of the buildings featured in the exhibit catalog appear to draw from vernacular building traditions of the mid-nineteenth century or even earlier.[6] Examples such as these would present opportunities for comparative studies of adaptive reuse.

Curiously, more than 90% of extant Washington State grange halls have just one level (though many have basements), but many halls featured in the *National Grange Monthly* in other states had two floors, with a meeting hall on the second floor, a pattern that may be associated with local building traditions, climate, differences in how the buildings were used, or other reasons (possibly including limited availability of land or expense of site acquisition). Further research could help to establish a national context for these vernacular buildings, and also draw comparisons to other types of fraternal halls and community halls.

In addition to research with a broader geographic perspective, a future study in Washington State could consider the many former grange halls which remain extant, but no longer serve as grange halls. When a subordinate grange surrenders its charter to the Washington State Grange, typically due to dwindling membership, it also surrenders ownership of its hall to the state organization. If efforts by state officers to reorganize the grange prove unsuccessful, the State Grange may sell the property, and set aside the proceeds for future operations. Many former grange halls have been sold to private owners

and converted for residential or commercial use, while others have been abandoned or demolished.[7] In the case of former grange halls, the arguments central to this thesis regarding cultural significance based on continued community use are not typically applicable. However, evaluation of the buildings for preservation purposes could still take conventional historical significance into account.

B. Recommendations for Historic Preservation Policy and Practice

The exercise of closely examining an established law such as the National Historic Preservation Act, and its associated guidelines, has offered an opportunity both to reflect on its laudable goals and to observe the ways in which it falls short of those goals. The Act's introduction includes the statement, "the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation should be preserved as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people."[8] Unfortunately, historic and cultural properties that strongly convey a sense of place and that are important to the public are not necessarily the resources that many preservation professionals value and consider worthy of preservation. This is especially unfortunate, given that more than thirty years have passed since legal scholar Carol Rose optimistically described contemporary historic preservation as a practice characterized by broadening perspectives on ideas related to historical significance and why places matter to people.[9]

In an effort to understand this gap between values and actions, discussion of theoretical frameworks for historic preservation in the previous chapter focused on the evaluation criteria in existing federal preservation law, because these policies provide the most wide-ranging legal approach currently available for considering the value of cultural resources. Analysis presented in this thesis supports the claim of Advisory Council for Historic Preservation Chairman M. Wayne Donaldson, who noted,

> The official systems for determining what is important are still flexible and viable. Future efforts to determine what is important need to address the disconnect between theory and practice in some aspects of the preservation system, the role of the preservation profession in making these

> determinations, and the…factors influencing the evaluation of culturally significant resources.[10]

As described in Chapter 7, the existing National Register guidelines do offer useful approaches for documenting and evaluating grange halls as traditional cultural properties or as historic properties, and these options could support the efforts of grange members to preserve their halls, particularly if preservationists recognize that guidelines as written call for a more nuanced approach to evaluating integrity than is too often typical in practice. Rather than calling for a change in policy, Chapter 7 advocated a broader interpretation of existing policy.

One pragmatic approach guided by existing policy that could provide direct and tangible support for the preservation of grange halls as historic and cultural properties would be the preparation of a Multiple Property Documentation form that could serve as a historic context statement for the nomination of individual properties in Washington State to the National Register. As noted in Chapter 7, Multiple Property Documentation forms have been prepared for numerous resource types, both urban and rural, and have proved to be a useful preservation tool.

While changes are rarely made to the National Register evaluation criteria or guidelines, they do occur, as evidenced by the 1990 publication of National Register Bulletin #38 *Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties*, which developed an innovative perspective and approach to resource assessment. With that in mind, two specific revisions to National Register evaluation criteria or guidelines could be considered, based on this thesis research, to enhance preservation options for vernacular buildings in ongoing use, such as grange halls.

1. Add “social value” as a criterion of significance, to provide an explicit mechanism for recognizing those historic properties that are important not only for their connection to the past, but also for their role in the present; in other words, “living landmarks.”

Among international preservation policies, the *Burra Charter* (1999) lists social value as one kind of cultural significance (along with aesthetic, historic, and scientific, i.e. archaeological), based on Australia's conclusion that existing heritage assessment methods were too narrow and failed to reflect people's "deep sense of attachment to place."[11] Preservationist Ned Kaufman noted that places especially likely to possess social value are public in nature, and "valuable for their ability to convey history, support community memory, and nurture people's attachment to place."[12] Based on the discussion in Chapter 6 regarding the significance of grange halls as sites of collective memory and places that foster social capital, the addition of this criterion to the National Register criteria of significance would enhance support for preservation of places central to community life.

2. Add "integrity of use" as an aspect of integrity on par with the current seven qualities, which are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.

This addition would broaden the current consideration of integrity to make it more consistent with the concept of authenticity widely referenced in international preservation policies. As with the suggestion above, such a change would shift American evaluation criteria away an overemphasis on aesthetics or physical characteristics, and toward a more balanced and experiential approach. One of the benefits of this change might be a greater appreciation for how vernacular buildings and other historic properties evolve over a period of ongoing use.[13]

The fiftieth anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act in 2016 provides an opportunity to reevaluate the existing framework for historic preservation, and in particular, to take into account the contributions of more than 40 years of scholarship coming out of the field of vernacular studies. Such scholarship, to which this thesis is intended to contribute, looks broadly at opportunities to preserve not just American architecture but also American culture.

Notes on Chapter 1

[1] William Louis Robinson, *The Grange, 1867-1967: First Century of Service and Evolution* (Washington D.C.: National Grange, 1966), 52.

[2] David H. Howard, *People, Pride and Progress: 125 Years of the Grange in America* (Washington, D.C.: National Grange, 1992), 308, 311. A note regarding capitalization: Throughout this thesis, when the word grange is used as an adjective for which lodge could be substituted (i.e. grange halls, grange members), it is generally lower case. If it is a noun substituting for, or in, the formal name of the National Grange or Washington State Grange, or a formal title such as Subordinate Grange Master, it is capitalized. This practice is consistent with scholarly publications documenting the history of the organization. Original capitalization is preserved in quotations, reflecting the practice of some grange members who tend to capitalize the word Grange whenever it is used.

[3] Membership data for Washington State was provided by National Grange Master Ed Luttrell during a presentation at Tualco Grange #293 in Snohomish County, Washington on May 21, 2012. Number of subordinate granges based on listings in the Washington State Grange 2012 Roster. Number of halls based on buildings documented for this thesis; active grange halls are located in 37 of Washington's 39 counties. There are active granges in all 39 counties, though in 2012 the groups in Garfield and Skamania Counties did not own their own halls. Comparative data from other states was difficult to confirm regarding numbers of active subordinate granges and grange-owned halls.

[4] Peter Lamborn Wilson, "Grange Appeal," *Fifth Estate* #360, Spring 2003 (Posted in the Anarchists Library http://theanarchistlibrary.org, accessed 4/22/12), 1.

[5] Thomas C. Hubka, "American Vernacular Architecture," *Advances in Environment, Behavior and Design,* V. 3, Plenum Press (1992), 157.

[6] *National:* Charles M. Gardner, *The Grange ~ Friend of the Farmer, 1867-1947* (Washington, D.C.: National Grange, 1949); Oliver H. Kelley, *Origin and Progress of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry in the United States: A History from 1866 to 1873* (Westport, CT: Hyperion Press, 1975 [orig. 1875]); D. Sven Nordin, *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange 1867-1900* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1974); Robinson, *Century*; Thomas A. Woods, *Knights of the Plow* (Ames: University of Iowa Press, 1991); *Washington:* Harriet Ann Crawford, *The Washington State Grange, 1889-1924: A Romance of Democracy* (Portland, OR: Binfords & Mort, 1940); Gus Norwood, *Washington Grangers Celebrate a Century* (Seattle: Washington State Grange, 1988); Ira E. Shea, *The Grange Was My Life* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1983).

[7] Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 47.

[8] Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, "Introduction: Toward a New Architectural History," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 4 (1991), 5; Thomas Carter and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Invitation to Vernacular Architecture: A Guide to the Study of Ordinary Buildings and Landscapes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), ix.

[9] Carter & Cromley, *Introduction*, ix.

[10] Kaufman, *Place*, 393.

Notes on Chapter 2

[1] Edward Winslow Martin, *History of the Grange Movement; Or, The Farmer's War Against Monopolies* (Chicago: National Publishing Company, 1874), 443; John G. Wells, *The Grange Illustrated; Or, The Patron's Hand-Book* (New York: Grange Publishing Company, 1874), 40.

[2] Vernon Carstensen, "Growth and Change in American Agriculture, 1865 to 1900," *Farmer Discontent 1865-1900*, ed. Vernon Carstensen (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), 1.

[3] George Draffan, "Taking Back Our Land: A History of Land Grant Reform," Railroads and Clearcuts Campaign, 1998. www.landgrant.org/takingback.pdf

[4] Carstensen, "Growth and Change," 1.

[5] Carstensen, "Growth and Change," 1.

[6] Carstensen, "Growth and Change," 4-12.

[7] Martin, *History*, 467.

[8] J. Wallace Darrow, *Origin and Early History of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry in the United States* (Chatham, NY: New York State Grange, 1911), 59.

[9] Charles W. Ferguson, *Fifty Million Brothers: A Panorama of American Lodges and Clubs* (New York: Farrar & Rhinehart, Inc., 1937), 5.

[10] Albert C. Stevens, *The Cyclopaedia of Fraternities* (New York and Patterson, NJ: Hamilton Printing and Publishing Company, 1899).

[11] Wilson, *Grange Appeal*; Adam Parfrey and Craig Heimbichner, *Ritual America: Secret Brotherhoods and Their Influence on American Society* (Port Townsend, WA: Feral House, 2012); David T. Beito, *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890-1967* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 2, reports that 1 in 3 adult males in 1920 were members.

[12] William D. Moore, *Masonic Temples: Freemasonry, Ritual Architecture, and Masculine Archetypes* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006), xv.

[13] Freemasonry as oldest & largest organization in Ferguson, *Brothers*, 16; mystical origins Stevens *Cyclopaedia,* xvi; first American Masonic lodge in Beito, *Mutual*, 5; other groups in Ferguson *Brothers*, 218.

[14] Parfrey, *Ritual*, xvii discusses Masonry as ritualistic model; Kelley, *Origin*, 81, explicitly acknowledges Masonry as the primary inspiration for the Grange; Gardner, *Friend,* 24, references influence of Masonic rituals; subsequent fraternal groups mentioned are profiled in Stevens *Cyclopaedia* and Ferguson *Brothers*.

[15] Profiled in Ferguson *Brothers* and Parfrey *Ritual*.

[16] Beito, *Mutual*, 5, discusses class issue.

[17] Beito, *Mutual*, 1; for more information on mutual aid, see Beito, *Mutual*, 2, 14.

[18] Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*, v, makes this distinction but considers them all fraternal orders

[19] Ferguson, *Brothers*, 94.

[20] Thomas Clark Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial History of the Patrons of Husbandry* (New York: Orange Judd Company, 1916); Solon Justus Buck, *The Granger Movement: A Study of Agricultural Organization and Its Political, Economic and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880*

(Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press [originally published, Harvard University Press], 1913); Darrow, *Early History*; C. Jerome Davis, *Notes & Quotes on the Origin of the Ritual and Early Years of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry* (Washington D.C.: National Grange, 1974); C. Jerome Davis, *Proud Heritage: A Composite History of the Early Years of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry* (Washington, D.C.: National Grange, 1987); Gardner, *Friend*; Howard, *People*; Kelley, *Origins*; Martin, *Monopolies*; Nordin, *Harvest*; Robinson, *Century*; Wells, *Illustrated*; Woods, *Knights*.

[21] Biographical profile Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 12-14; Itasca is in the vicinity of Elk River, approximately 30 miles northwest of Minneapolis.

[22] Kelley, *Origins*, 13.

[23] Kelley, *Origins*, 15

[24] All are profiled in Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 16-24.

[25] Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 3.

[26] Kelley, *Origins,* 53.

[27] Kelley to Saunders, *Origins*, 17-20.

[28] Kelley, *Origins*, 15, 42, 56, 71 on equal status for women; 226 for library subjects; pomology is the scientific study and cultivation of fruit.

[29] Kelley, *Origins*, 30, 35, 44

[30] Kelley, *Origins*, 28, 30, 34, 40.

[31] Meaning of the word 'grange' discussed in Martin, *Monopolies*, 422, and Gardner, *Friend*, 253.

[32] Gardner, *Friend,* 256.

[33] Kelley, *Origins*, 48-57.

[34] Kelley, *Origins*, 58.

[35] Kelley, *Origins*, 58; national intelligence office idea referred to in Martin, *Monopolies*, 464.

[36] Washington State Grange, *Constitution and By-Laws of National Grange and Washington State Grange* (Seattle, WA: Washington State Grange, 1933), 14.

[37] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial,* 53. Pomona refers to the Roman Goddess of Plenty, associated with orchards and gardens, and symbolized by fruit. County or other district-level granges are comprised of officers representing subordinate granges, and address regional issues within the grange structure.

[38] See Gardner, *Friend*, 255 for a description of Grange officers and Parfrey, *Ritual*, 27 for a description of Masonic officers.

[39] National Grange, *Manual of Subordinate Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry* (Philadelphia, PA: G.S. Ferguson, 1915 [Tenth Edition]), 2, commented on in Nordin, *Harvest*, 11.

[40] Description of ritual Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 142; quote from Ferguson, *Brothers*, 3.

[41] Kelley, *Origins*, 129.

[42] Kelley, *Origins*, 81.

[43] Woods, *Knights*, 172.

[44] Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 81 on unwritten work; see also National Grange, *Manual*, 17, 32, 88.

[45] National Grange, *Manual*, 11.

[46] National Grange, *Manual*, 25-26; also discussed in Woods, *Knights*, 167.

[47] Gardner, *Friend*, xiv; Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 23 particularly discusses Grosh's insertion of numerous Biblical admonitions in the degree ceremonies and other rituals.

[48] Woods, *Knights*, xx.

[49] National Grange, *Manual*, 59.

[50] National Grange, *Manual*, 44-5; discussed in Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 10.

[51] Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 13.

[52] Mircea Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas, Volume 1: From the Stone Age to the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 290-301; See also: Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 3, 7, 145. Eleusis and its association with Demeter should not be confused with Elysium (or the Elysian Fields), the abode of the blessed dead in Greek Mythology.

[53] Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 12, 31-32; Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 9.

[54] Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 24.

[55] Kelley, *Origins*, 64.

[56] Gardner, *Friend*, 348; Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 21.

[57] This includes Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*; Buck, *Granger Movement*; Darrow, *Early History*; Gardner, *Friend*; Howard, *People*; Martin, *Monopolies*; Nordin, *Harvest*; Robinson, *Century*; Woods, *Knights*.

[58] Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, and Davis, *Proud Heritage.*

[59] Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 6.

[60] Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 141.

[61] Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 141.

[62] Howard, *People*, 20.

[63] Both circulars are printed in their entirety in Kelley, *Origins*, 67-71 and 125-30.

[64] Kelley, *Origins*, 128.

[65] Woods, *Knights*, 165.

[66] Cited respectively in Kelley, *Origins*, 163; Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 62 and 76.

[67] Kelley, *Origins*, 113 letter from Kelley in Minnesota to National Grange officers in Washington, D.C.

[68] Kelley, *Origins*, 61 for Potomac #1; Gardner, *Friend*, 34 for Fredonia #1.

[69] Gardner, *Friend*, 34. As an interesting side note, the Chautauqua Assembly, a rural cultural and educational movement associated with the Populist era, was founded near Fredonia in 1874.

[70] Gardner, *Friend*, 38; subsequent information regarding organization of new granges in the early period also drawn from this source, and also from Kelley, *Origins*, 216-295; and Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 93.

[71] Kelley, *Origins*, 361.

[72] Sam E. Adams letter to O.H. Kelley in Kelley, *Origins*, 222; second comment regarding three no votes W.M. Paist letter to Kelley, January 23, 1870 in Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 59 (from National Grange archives, does not appear in Kelley book)

[73] Kelley, *Origins*, 222.

[74]Kelley, *Origins*, vii.

[75] The significance of the 1873 leadership transition is discussed by Kelley, *Origins*, 421; Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 48, and Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 151.

[76] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 51, 60.

[77] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 310 and Gardner, *Friend*, 4-5 both recall the goal of post-war tolerance and forgiveness in relation to the accomplishments of the 1873 session.

[78] Buck, *Granger Movement*, 281-2.

[79] Buck, *Granger Movement*, 282-3.

[80] VandeCreek, Drew, Ph.D., "The Panic of 1873," in *Illinois During the Gilded Age*, a project of Northern Illinois University. dig.lib.niu.edu/gildedage/narr3.html; additional discussion of the era, especially the critique of middlemen, in Martin, *Monopolies*, 294-5, 448; and Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 36.

[81] During the post-Civil War era, anything west of the Mississippi River and the Ohio River was widely considered part of the western states and territories.

[82] Kelley, *Origins*, 186 and Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 97 for number of granges organized; Buck, *Granger Movement*, 63 for number of individual members. For comparison, Darrow, *Early History*, 60 states that approximately 20,000 Masonic lodges existed worldwide at that time.

[83] See Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 100 and 110 for more info on bulk purchasing, and Martin, *Monopolies*, 477 and 481 regarding cooperatives. Darrow, *Early History*, 65 describes failures of numerous economic ventures; Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 112 states that while some mutual fire insurance companies existed prior to 1873, support from Grange members made them stronger and more wide-spread.

[84] Buck, *Granger Movement*, 63.

[85] 1874 *Declaration of Purpose* reprinted in Gardner, *Friend*, 517-519. Notably, a slightly modified version of the *Declaration* continues to guide the Order in the 21st century.

[86] Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 20; also Gardner, *Friend*, 517.

[87] 1874 *Declaration of Purpose* reprinted in Gardner 1949: 517-519.

[88] Darrow, *Early History*, 60 describes the growing political clout of the Order, while Martin, *Monopolies*, 6 describes the public's interest and press attention.

[89] Library of Congress www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96512563/; see also Woods, *Knights*, 175.

[90] Published August 30, 1873; Lib. Congress www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3a06931/

[91] Darrow, *Early History*, 62; Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 32 also examines use of the term "granger" to refer broadly to farmer activism.

[92] Darrow, *Early History*, 61; Buck, *Crusade*, 31-34. These cases, which began with an effort by the state of Illinois to regulate railroads litigated in *Munn v. Illinois*, were collectively decided by the Supreme Court in 1877, and later led to the passing of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 which allowed the federal government to regulate railroads and other industries, to protect the public interest.

[93] Image source: Northern Illinois University digital collection "Illinois During the Gilded Age." http://lincoln.lib.niu.edu/fimage/gildedage/image.php?id=3502&themedb=GildedAge

[94] National Grange Executive Committee report of 1874, quoted in Gardner, *Friend*, 51.

[95] Nordin, *Harvest*, vii.

[96] Buck, *Granger Movement*, vi.

[97] Originally printed by the American Oleograph Company, Milwaukee, WI, 1875. Image source: Library of Congress www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003690771/

[98] Nordin, *Harvest*, 35.

[99] Quotation from Darrow, *Early History*, 66; Decline of the granger movement discussed in Woods, *Knights*, 164, 178, 207; Davis, *Notes & Quotes*, 86-7; Nordin, *Harvest*, 36-8; Gardner, *Friend*, 58.

[100] Woods, *Knights*, 207.

[101] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 115; Atkeson is regarded as having an especially conservative point of view by more recent Grange historians who do not necessarily share his perspective.

[102] Growth during the 1880s is described in Donald B. Marti, *Women of the Grange: Mutuality and Sisterhood in Rural America, 1866-1920* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 2, and Nordin, *Harvest*, 14, 99, and 117. Links between the Grange and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, formed in 1873 in Ohio, are discussed in Ferguson, *Brothers*, 61.

[103] William D. Barns, "Oliver Hudson Kelley and the Genesis of the Grange: A Reappraisal." *Agricultural History*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (July 1967), 238.

[104] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, iii.

[105] Nordin, *Harvest*, 213; see also Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 304.

[106] For Agricultural Secretary, see Gardner, *Friend*, 103 and Ferguson, *Brothers*, 182; Postal policy see Gardner, *Friend*, 111, 116 and Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 194; Senators, Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 259.

[107] For a discussion of the Hatch Act, see Gardner, *Friend*, 127, 130, and 134; other 1890s issues Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 194; Gardner, *Friend*, 156 and 174.

[108] Credit and loan info Gardner, *Friend*, 117, 122, 124; farm bill info National Agricultural Law Center www.nationalaglawcenter.org/farmbills; post-WWII info Howard, *People*, 217, 253.

[109] Gardner, *Friend*, xv.

[110] Insurance programs Gardner, *Friend*, xv and Howard, *People*, 165; Cooperatives Howard, *People*, 164; 1956 statistics *Grange Blue Book* 1956 page 17, in Washington State University Manuscripts and Archives Collection, Cage 512, Box 1.

[111] "Read It Twice," *National Grange Monthly*, February 1927, 17.

[112] Acreage and population data from Gardner, *Friend*, 431; farm data from Carstensen, "Growth and Change," 2.

[113] This point is documented by William L. Bowers, *The Country Life Movement in American 1900-1920* (Port Washington, NY: National University Publications, 1974).

[114] Clayton S. Ellsworth, "Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission" *Agricultural History*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Oct. 1960), 163.

[115] Emilia E. Martinez-Brawley, *Seven Decades of Rural Social Work: From Country Life Commission to Rural Caucus* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), 1.

[116] Ellsworth, *Commission*, 157; see also, Scott J. Peters and Paul A. Morgan, "The Country Life Commission: Reconsidering a Milestone in American Agricultural History," Agricultural History, Vo. 78, No. 3 (Summer 2004), 289-316.

[117] Bachelder's reaction described in Gardner, *Friend*, 73; cynicism regarding the urban food supply describe in William L. Bowers, "Country-Life Reform, 1900-1920: A Neglected Aspect of Progressive Era History," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (July 1971), 216.

[118] Bowers, *Country Life Movement*, 105.

[119] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 254.

[120] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 245.

[121] The *National Grange Monthly* published in a newspaper format until the mid-1950s, then transitioned to a more feature-oriented periodical, and was recently replaced by less formal electronic media.

[122] Quotation from Ferguson, *Brothers*, 179; history of the *National Grange News* Gardner, *Friend*, 376.

[123] See in particular Donald B. Marti, "Sisters of the Grange: Rural Feminism in the Late Nineteenth Century" *Agricultural History*, Vol. 58, No. 3, (July 1984), 247-261; Marti, *Women*, and Marilyn P. Watkins, "Political Activism and Community-Building Among Alliance and Grange Women in Western Washington, 1892-1925," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Summer 1996), 130-140.

[124] Nordin, *Harvest*, 32.

[125] Stevens, *Cyclopaedia*, 213; Ferguson, *Brothers*, 296.

[126] Document in Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 59 and Nordin, *Harvest*, 27.

[127] Based on interviews with former Washington State Grange Master Jack Silvers (11/16/12) and Tualco Grange #284 officer Dana Wells (2/29/12).

[128] Howard, *People*, 175, 222-4.

[129] National Capital Planning Commission, www.ncpc.gov/map/detail.php?id=83. "Memorials in Washington D.C."

[130] Acquisition described in Gardner, *Friend*, 260; see also sites.mnhs.org/historic-sites/oliver-h-kelley-farm

[131] Data for 1962 from Howard, *People*, 227; 1948 membership is noted as 805,017 in Gardner, *Friend*, 497, see also Howard, *People*, 172; waning of fraternal membership discussed in Howard, *People*, 304 and 307, and Moore, *Masonic Temples*, xix.

[132] For causes of decline, see Howard, *People*, 227; 1935 data from *Grange Blue Book* (WSU Archives); 1966 data from Robinson, *Century*, 9.

[133] Barns, *Reappraisal*, 239; Wilson, *Grange Appeal*, 11 and 17.

[134] Silvers quotation from interview 11/16/12; stamp described in Howard, *People*, 231; for membership appeals see Robinson, *Century*, 15.

[135] Howard, *People*, 245.

[136] Use of the Alternative Manual remains a topic of lively debate among members, as witnessed in audience comments following remarks by National Master Ed Luttrell at Tualco Grange #284 in Snohomish County, Washington on May 21, 2012. Discussion of the updated *Declaration* in Howard, *People*, 245.

[137] Washington State Grange, "This Is Your Grange." Olympia, WA: 2004, 4.

[138] 2013 data from National Grange website www.nationalgrange.org

[139] Wilson, *Grange Appeal*, 3.

[140] Wilson, *Grange Appeal*, 11 and 14.

Notes on Chapter 3

[1] Atkeson, *Semi-Centennial*, 305; see also Buck, *Granger Movement*.

[2] Columbia County was established in 1875 from a portion of eastern Walla Walla County, and so Waitsburg #1 is identified in subsequent chapters of this thesis as being located in Columbia County.

[3] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 56; the store was later demolished when the Camas Paper Mill expanded onto the site.

[4] For earliest granges in Washington and Oregon, see Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 47-50; for California, see www.californiagrange.org/history.html; for Idaho, see Canady et. al. *Grange Halls in Idaho*, National Register Multiple Property Document, Section E pp. 23.

[5] Crawford, *Washington State Grange*, 249; Gordon B. Ridgeway, "Populism in Washington," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Oct. 1948), 288 and 292.

[6] Washington State Department of Agriculture, *Atlas of Washington Agriculture* (Olympia, WA: Washington State Department of Agriculture, 1963), 9-10.

[7] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 51; and Watkins, "Political Activism," 132, both address growth of the Washington State Grange; Good roads advocacy, see Gardner, *Friend*, 110; state-level election reform see Howard, *People*, 135.

[8] John M. Findlay, *History of Washington State and the Pacific Northwest* "Lesson Seventeen: Reform and the Pacific Northwest, 1880-1920," Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, University of Washington www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom%20Materials/Pacific%20Northwest%20History/Lessons/Lesson%2017/17.html; see also Padraic Burke, *A History of the Port of Seattle* (Seattle: Port of Seattle, 1976), 13; and *Port in a Storm: A Historical Review of the Founding of the Port of Seattle* (Seattle: Port of Seattle, 1981), 8-11.

[9] Perception of conservative attitudes discussed in Harriet P. Crawford, "Grange Attitude in Washington, 1889-1896." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (July 1939), 244-5; Farmer's Alliance electoral strategy discussed in Ridgeway, "Populism," 293, 296-7.

[10] Crawford, *Washington State Grange*, 110.

[11] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 71; Ridgeway, "Populism," 311.

[12] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 149.

[13] Carlos A. Schwantes, *Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), x.

[14] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 88.

[15] Carlos A. Schwantes, "Farmer-Labor Insurgency in Washington State: William Bouck, the Grange and the Western Progressive Farmers." *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (Jan. 1985), 4.

[16] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 69.

[17] Watkins, "Contesting," 133.

[18] Schwantes, "Farmer-Labor," 4.

[19] Sid White and S. E. Solberg, eds., *The Peoples of Washington: Cultural Perspectives*. Pullman: Washington State Press, 1989, pp. 53; Jorgen Dahlie, "Old World Paths in the New: Scandinavians Find Familiar Home in Washington." In *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, April 1970, 66.

[20] Schwantes, "Farmer-Labor," 7.

[21] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 83, 88.

[22] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 90.

[23] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 90.

[24] 1935 data Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 115; 1937 Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 179-80.

[25] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 113; Shea, *Life*, 178.

[26] "Washington Granges Leading the Nation In Many And Varied Cooperative Successes," *National Grange Monthly*, Nov-Dec 1942, 3.

[27] On fire insurance and wholesale supplies, see Gardner, *Friend*, 318-9; gas distribution in Shea, *Life*, 143; Grange Supply in Issaquah http://grangesupply.com/

[28] Commodity marketing see Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 126; milling see Gardner, *Friend*, 319; national perspective, see "Washington Granges Leading the Nation In Many And Varied Cooperative Successes," *National Grange Monthly*, Nov-Dec 1942, 3; Group Health, see Howard, *People*, 164.

[29] Membership increase and discussion of public utility issue, see Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 102; other Depression-era advocacy, Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 71, 114.

[30] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 97-106

[31] Charles Pierce LeWarne, *Utopias on Puget Sound 1885-1915* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 3.

[32] Howard, *People*, 163.

[33] Lange's "General Caption No. 35" quoted in Anne Whiston Spirn's *Daring to Look: Dorothea Lange's Photographs and Reports from the Field* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2009).

[34] Mimi Sheridan, *Belltown Historic Context Statement and Survey Report.* Prepared for the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods Historic Preservation Program, November 2007, 25-26.

[35] "Mighty Achievement by Washington State Grange: All of Its Varied Activities Brought Under One Roof, With Exceptional Equipment," *National Grange Monthly*, July 1935, 17. For Olympia building, see Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 168.

[36] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 131.

[37] WA Dept. of Agriculture, *Atlas*, 10.

[38] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 119, 156-7.

[39] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 142.

[40] "Your Washington State Grange." Pamphlet, Washington State University Manuscripts and Archives, Washington State Grange Collection, Cage 512, Box 1.

[41] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 156.

[42] Interview with Jack Silvers, 11/16/12

[43] Cartoon and "sleeping giant" reference from undated clippings in Washington State Grange historical collection appear to be from 1977 in association with the campaign for Initiative 59, and appear to be in the style of the Seattle Times or Seattle Post-Intelligencer op-ed political cartoons, but the date and place of publication could not be verified.

[44] The last definitive membership figure published in Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 180, listed just over 60,000 members in 1987. In 2004, then-State Grange Master Terry Hunt was quoted as saying that there were more than 50,000 members in the state ("The Grange Is People" by Leslie Moriarty, *Seattle Times,* January 21, 2004), and as recently as 2007, the *Seattle Times* cited 40,000 as the membership number ("Beyond Potlucks" by Sonia Krishnan, *Seattle Times*, Pacific Northwest Magazine Cover Story, July 29, 2007).

[45] Shea, *Life*, 104, 142-3.

[46] WA State Grange website www.wa-grange.org

[47] Shea, *Life*, 22.

[48] Watkins, "Contesting," 133.

Notes on Chapter 4

[1] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 169; artifact dominant methodology characterizes classic scholarly works in the field of vernacular architecture by Henry Glassie and those who he influenced.

[2] Carter, "Western Vernacular," 3-4.

[3] David Gebhard, "Pattern Books," In *Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects,* Diane Maddex, ed. (Washington D.C.: Preservation Press, 1985), 68-73; and Daniel D. Reiff, "Houses from Books – Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738–1950: A History and Guide," (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000) document widespread uses of pattern books and plan services.

[4] Kelley, *Origins*; Gardner, *Friend*; Robinson, *Century*; Howard, *People.*

[5] Buck, *Granger Movement*; Nordin, *Harvest*; Woods, *Knights*.

[6] Crawford, *Washington State Grange*; Shea, *Life*; Norwood, *Washington Grangers*.

[7] Barns, *Reappraisal*; Marti, *Women*; Marti, *Sisters*; Schwantes, *Radical Heritage;* Schwantes, "Farmer-Labor;" Marilyn P. Watkins, *Rural Democracy: Family Farmers in Western Washington, 1890-1925* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Watkins, "Contesting."

[8] Schwantes, "Farmer-Labor."

[9] Marti, *Women*; Marti, *Sisters*; Watkins, "Political Activism;" Watkins, *Rural Democracy*; Watkins, "Contesting."

[10] Edna A. Scott, "The Grange Movement in Oregon 1873-1900" (M.A. Thesis, University of Oregon, 1923) and Linda Marie Thorstad, "The Historical and Cultural Geography of the Grange in Minnesota and Louisiana 1870-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1999).

[11] *Washington Grange Agricultural News* [1912 to present] and the *Journal of Proceedings of the Annual Sessions of the Washington State Grange* [various years]

[12] "Washington State Agricultural Bibliographies" of Books, Journals and Theses prepared by the University of Washington Libraries for the *U.S. Agricultural and Rural Life Project* www.lib.washington.edu/preservation/archive/projects/washag

[13] *Roster* from the Washington State Grange, 2012.

[14] "Granges of Washington Territory and State, 1873-2011" prepared by Jarrod Gardner in 2012, provided by Gardner via email on May 23, 2012.

[15] Washington State Grange, *Washington Granger's Guide*, Seattle, WA: Washington State Grange, 1950.

[16] This committee, chaired by Helen Gardner of McMillin Grange #848 in 2012, is responsible for preparing historical essays for publication in the Washington *Grange News* and for planning commemorative programs associated with the 125th anniversary of the Washington State Grange in 2014.

[17] Carter & Cromley, *Introduction*, xvi.

[18] Carter & Cromley, *Introduction*, xviii-xxii.

[19] The author was invited to attend a meeting of the Pierce County Pomona at Riverside Valley #1047 in 7/14/12; all other examples noted are activities randomly encountered during fieldwork: wedding reception Newaukum #198 (Lewis County), band rehearsals Oakview #311 (Lewis County), exercise class Salmon Creek #849 (Clark County), bible study meeting Sharon #800 (Grays Harbor County), and pancake breakfast Sequim Prairie #1108 (Clallam County).

[20] The Swauk Teanaway Grange #984, located in the vicinity of Cle Elum in Kittitas County, burned to the ground just a few weeks short of its centennial in 2004, and was reconstructed and rededicated as a grange hall in 2006 (www.swauk-teanawaygrange.com). Originally constructed as the Ballard School in 1904, the building was deeded to the Grange following school district consolidation in 1937. The only community gathering place in the rural Swauk Prairie and Teanaway Valley areas, the grange hall is a beloved landmark in part because it preserves the local place names, identity and traditions of an area which is transitioning from wheat and cattle ranching to a mixture of vacation homes, recreation and

sustainable energy development. The grange hall was reconstructed with approximately $100,000 from an insurance policy and $200,000 worth of donated cash, labor and materials (Robert S. Allen, "Building from the Ashes: Grange Hall rises again, thanks to fund raisers, volunteers, donors and persistence," *Ruralite Magazine* www.ruralite.org, Kittitas Edition, June 2007), and accounts of the rebuilding process are reminiscent of the community-wide barn raising traditions from a century ago. Notably, many residents who are relatively new to the area participated.

[21] Tualco initial site visit and interview with Dana Wells 2/29/12, National Master Lutrell's presentation 5/21/12.

[22] Grange halls that may survive but are no longer owned or used as grange halls were not included in this study in part because their locations were not included in any directory and so would be difficult to locate, and in part because these properties tend to be either in private ownership or in an abandoned state, neither of which are conducive to fieldwork. Grange-owned halls in active use are regarded by grange members as quasi-public buildings and all are available for event rentals, and most are visually accessible for visitors.

[23] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 171.

[24] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, was the book published in 1988 by the Washington State Grange in honor of its centennial.

[25] Central Washington Agricultural Museum, 4508 Main Street, Union Gap, Washington http://centralwaagmuseum.org/

[26] This interview was a delightful, but unplanned encounter, and unfortunately was not recorded.

[27] Cornell University's "Core Literature of Agriculture" database (national in scope) http://chla.library.cornell.edu/; finding aids for archival collections related to the National Grange at Cornell University http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM03020.html and the Minnesota State Historical Society www.mnhs.org/library/findaids/00155.xml.

[28] Washington State Historical Society www.washingtonhistory.org and the Washington State Library Rural Heritage Collection www.washingtonruralheritage.org

[29] No comprehensive effort has been made by DAHP to identify and document grange halls statewide, so the inventory data represents a haphazard set of properties mostly documented in the course of state highway projects and other public works or development undertakings that required Section 106 review under the National Historic Preservation Act. Descriptive information varies in quality. However, the inventory provided a sample data set which was useful in identifying patterns in building construction and use; for example, many of the current or former grange halls documented in DAHP's inventory were constructed between 1900 and 1920. The inventory forms typically documented construction dates (accuracy varied), and provided physical descriptions of buildings including alterations as well as brief histories of how buildings have been used. https://fortress.wa.gov/dahp/wisaard/

[30] A draft copy of *Grange Halls in Idaho* was provided to this researcher by author Tricia Canaday of the Idaho State Historic Preservation Office. *Rural Public Schools in Washington from Early Settlement to 1945* prepared by Leonard Garfield and Greg Griffith (1987) Documents are accessible through the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation web site www.dahp.wa.gov or directly through the WISSARD database at https://fortress.wa.gov/dahp/wisaard/ by selecting "historic register full search" and selecting document titles in thematic drop-down menu.

[31] A copy of the San Juan County report was obtained from the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

[32] LaConner Civic Garden Club (Historic Grange Hall), LaConner, Skagit County, Washington, National Register of Historic Places nomination form , 1970 https://fortress.wa.gov/dahp/wisaard/documents/RN/0/2/2051.pdf

[33] Carter & Cromley, *Introduction*, ix.

[34] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 168.

Notes on Chapter 5

[1] National Grange (Benton M. Stahl, primary author). *Grange Hall Suggestions* (Washington D.C.: National Grange, 1928), 4-5.

[2] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 79-80.

[3] Kelley, *Origins*, 195.

[4] Woods, *Knights*, 166 and 176.

[5] Gardner, *Friend*, 365.

[6] Donald R. Tarpley, "A History of the Bennett Valley Grange." Unpublished manuscript, no date, posted on California State Grange web site, www.californiagrange.org/news/pdf/bennettvalley.pdf, accessed 3/17/12.

[7] Tarpley, "Bennett Valley," 7.

[8] Tarpley, "Bennett Valley," 10, 15.

[9] "Fifty Six Years in Use as a Grange Hall," *National Grange Monthly*, May 1929, 1.

[10] Woods, *Knights*, 165.

[11] Nordin, *Harvest*, 113; see also Buck, *Granger Movement*, 280.

[12] "Beautify Grange Hall Interiors," *National Grange Monthly,* September 1927, 8.

[13] "Mighty Achievement by Washington State Grange," *National Grange Monthly,* July 1935, 17.

[14] 1949 data from Gardner, *Friend*, 366; 1956 data from 1956 *Grange Blue Book* 16, Washington State University Archives.

[15] "Granges of Washington Territory and State, 1873-2011" prepared by Jarrod Gardner.

[16] 1917 figure from Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 79.

[17] 1913 claim from Carey Kegley 1913 *Master's Address*, 6.

[18] 1925 *Master's Address* Albert Goss, 27-28.

[19] "Year's Grange Progress Told By State Masters: Ervin E. King of Washington," *National Grange Monthly*, December 1938, 32; Data for 1937 from Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 180.

[20] Washington State Grange, *Washington Granger's Guide*, Seattle: Washington State Grange, 1950. Hall numbers from 1950 are based on simply counting entries in the guide, and interpreting guide listings which distinguish between granges that owned their halls, and those that met in other rented locations. Hall numbers from 2012 are based on

counting entries in the current roster, and identifying grange-owned halls in active use through field survey.

[21] Norwood, *Washington Grangers*, 180.

[22] The total numbers of grange halls in Washington State and throughout the country cited in this chapter do not account for the pattern of "turnover," meaning granges that replaced previously owned halls with newly constructed or acquired buildings. Archival sources documented this as a widespread phenomenon. Statistics on hall ownership were primarily derived from annual reports submitted by subordinated granges to their state granges, and those reports simply asked granges if they owned their own halls, not whether their current hall replaced a previously owned one.

[23] Washington State Grange, *Guide*, 88.

[24] The term "character-defining features" is commonly used in the field of historic preservation to refer to the essential physical features that enable a property to convey its historic identity. According to *National Register Bulletin 15*, the essential physical features are those features that define both *why* a property is significant and *when* it was significant. They are the features without which a property can no longer be identified as, for instance, a late 19th century dairy barn or an early 20th century commercial district (46). Identification of these features is discussed in Chapter 7.

[25] Barbara Wyatt, "The Challenge of Addressing Vernacular Architecture in a State Historic Preservation Program," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 2 (1982), 40-41.

[26] Interviews with Helen and Jarrod Gardner, 7/14/12

[27] Concrete blocks (first mention) "Very Few Finer Halls Than This – Pluck of Schuyler Falls Patrons Brought New Hall After Fire Loss," *National Grange Monthly*, May 1930, 14.

[28] Thomas Carter, "Traditional Design in an Industrial Age: Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Victorian Utah," *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 104, No. 414 (Autumn 1991), 420.

[29] Historical documentation was found for a variety of additional types of outbuildings, including privies, horse sheds, and carbide gas houses, but these resources were not identified during field work.

[30] See Appendix A for explanation of how each term is defined.

[31] Harry Johnson, *Washington Schools in the Good Old Days* (Olympia, WA: State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1969), 18.

[32] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 9.

[33] Frederick E. Bolton and Thomas W. Bibb, *History of Education in Washington* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office [Dept. of the Interior Bulletin 1934, No. 9], 1935), 138.

[34] Louis Rapeer, ed., *The Consolidated Rural School* (New York: Scribners, 1920), iv. An interesting historical note is that promotion of the school consolidation movement came not only from education reformers but also from bus and tire manufacturers, for example, Firestone Ship by Truck Bureau Bulletin No. 6, *Consolidated Rural Schools and the Motor Truck* (Akron, OH 1920).

[35] Rapeer, *Consolidated*, 114; see also George Knorr, *Consolidated Rural Schools and Organization of A County System* (United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), 92-3; and Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The Improvement of Rural Schools* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912).

[36] Leonard Garfield and Greg Griffith, *Rural Public Schools in Washington from Early Settlement to 1945* (National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 1987).

[37] Gebhard, "Pattern Books," 68-9.

[38] Garfield & Griffith, *Rural Public Schools*, G3.

[39] Washington State Department of Education. *Consolidation of Rural Schools and Transportation of Pupils* (Bulletin No. 7). Olympia, WA: State of Washington, 1911.

[40] Garfield & Griffith, *Rural Public Schools*, E7.

[41] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 9.

[42] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 9.

[43] Victor J. Kucera, *Alpha: The Classic Hills of Alpha Prairie, Washington* (Ketchikan, AK: Pacific Star Press, 2012), 198, 225.

[44] Transcription of sign at the main entrance of Northport Grange #928, Northport, WA.

[45] "Grange Home To Be Proud Of – Springwater Grange in New York State Very Happy Over Its Noteworthy Accomplishment," *National Grange Monthly*, September 1928, 17.

[46] Washington State Grange historical files: Mossyrock Grange #355.

[47] All historical information derived from Washington State Grange historical files.

[48] Washington State Grange historical files: Fredonia Grange #545.

[49] Washington State Grange historical files: Burbank Grange #630.

[50] The title *Grange Hall Suggestions* was included in the "Price List of Grange Supplies & Literature" that appeared on the back cover of the 1933 *Patrons of Husbandry Constitution and By-Laws of the National Grange and the Washington State Grange,* a small booklet in the circulating collection at the Washington State University library. The price list included more than fifty documents and other items available by mail and of use to subordinate granges, such as *Grange Manuals*, dues receipt books, and stationary.

[51] "Of Great Value To The Granges: Long Anticipated Book on Halls and Features Is at Last Available," *National Grange Monthly*, February 1928, 13.

[52] 1928 *Master's Address* Albert Goss, 8.

[53] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 10.

[54] "Everybody Should Hear It: Dean Vivian to Give Illustrated Lecture on the Ritual," *National Grange Monthly*, November 1927, 24.

[55] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 1.

[56] Membership in 1928 was just under 600,000; for National Grange in the 1920s, see Howard, *People*, 150-154; membership statistics in Gardner, *Friend*, 497.

[57] Scott J. Peters and Paul A. Morgan, "The Country Life Commission: Reconsidering a Milestone in American Agricultural History," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (Summer 2004), 309.

[58] Popular plan books for houses and barn were published by Sears, Radford, Gordon-Van Tine and many other companies; plans for schools and churches were also distributed by public agencies, architects and various denominations, and the United States Department of Agriculture published plans for community buildings starting in 1920.

[59] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 9-10.

[60] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 8.

[61] Nordin, *Harvest*, 113.

[62] Washington State Grange historical files: Washington Grange #82.

[63] Washington State Grange historical files: Stranger Creek Grange #374.

[64] Washington State Grange historical files: Stranger Creek Grange #374.

[65] DAHP historic resources survey: Skookumchuck Grange #584.

[66] Washington State Grange historical files: Washougal Grange #69.

[67] Periods of dormancy and dates of reorganization are documented for more than forty granges in the "Granges of Washington Territory and State" table compiled by Jarrod Gardner, a member of the Washington State Grange Historical Committee.

[68] For example, Lower Naches Grange #296 in Yakima County constructed a new hall in 1953 "when the old hall finally became too small," and Moran Prairie Grange #161 built a new hall in 1939 after for former hall "became too small and inadequate for the large membership and community purposes demanded," as noted in the Washington State Grange Historical Collection files.

[69] Many granges that owned their own halls built of wood shown in the 1950 *Washington Granger's Guide* that in 2012 own concrete block halls that have been built since 1950 were replacements of halls that burned down.

[70] DAHP historic resources survey: Rimrock Grange #941

[71] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 6.

[72] Nordin, *Harvest*, 113.

[73] "40 Ways to Raise Money for Your Grange," *National Grange Monthly*, June 1927, 9; long-term growth of building fund balances *National Grange Monthly,* March 1930, 18.

[74] "New Hall in Washington," *National Grange Monthly* November 1941, 41.

[75] Washington State Grange historical files: Greenwood Park Grange #590.

[76] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 7.

[77] "Missouri Pluck and Perseverance Win Out," *National Grange Monthly* June 1927, 1.

[78] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 7.

[79] "Attractive Virginia Grange Home," *National Grange Monthly,* November 1930, 11.

[80] "Grange Has Comfortable Home – Oregon Example Which Proves What a Grange Can Do With Little Money if Lots of Pluck," *National Grange Monthly,* January 1929, 11; "No Joy in the World Equals That of Honest Toil," *National Grange Monthly,* May 1934, 1.

[81] "Another Washington Grange Hall," *National Grange Monthly* March 1927, 6.

[82] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 6.

[83] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 6.

[84] "Empire State Patrons Proud of this Hall," *National Grange Monthly*, February 1940, 13.

[85] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 11.

[86] These include *Rural Community Buildings in the United States* (Bulletin No. 825) by W.C. Nason and C.W. Thompson, 1920; *Plans of Rural Community Buildings* (Bulletin No. 1173) by W.C. Nason, 1921; and *Uses of Rural Community Buildings* (Bulletin No. 1274) by W.C. Nason, 1922.

[87] One example of this is Justus Wheeler Barger, *Rural Community Halls in Montana* (Bozeman, Montana: University of Montana, Agricultural Experiment Station, 1929).

[88] *National Grange Monthly* articles reviewed at Washington State University Library; estimate of more than 1,000 halls dedicated 1927-1951 is based on published estimates of 3,000 halls nationwide in 1928 (*National Grange Monthly* September 1927, 8) and 4,000 in 1949 (Gardner, *Friend*, 366).

[89] "Happiest Grange in Rhode Island," *National Grange Monthly* February 1931, 16; "Newest Grange Hall in New Jersey Dedicated," *National Grange Monthly,* September 1939, 21;"A Useful Grange Home," *National Grange Monthly*, February 1942, 7.

[90] Washington State reports refers to the grange histories in the Washington State Grange collection and inventory records held by the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. Information regarding Beacon Hill #389 was found in the former source.

[91] Thomas C. Hubka, "Just Folks Designing: Vernacular Designers and the Generation of Form," In *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, Dell Upton & John Michael Vlach, eds. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 429.

[92] "Mighty Challenge to All the Granges," *National Grange Monthly,* July 1928, 1.

[93] Richard Longstreth, "Compositional Types in American Commercial Architecture," In *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, Vol. 2* (1996), pp. 12-23.; see also "The Problem with 'Style,'" *The Forum*, Bulletin of the Committee on Preservation, Society of Architectural Historians 6 (December 1984), 1.

[94] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 17.

[95] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 17.

[96] "Gift for the Grangers," Lithograph by Strobridge & Co., 1873 (Library of Congress, reproduction number: LC-DIG-pga-04170).

[97] Moore, *Masonic Temples*, 26; the National Grange, *Manual*, 73, does specify that curtains in the meeting room are to be closed during degree work.

[98] *Your Washington State Grange*, ca. 1960, 3.

[99] Officer roles and emblems described in the National Grange, *Manual*, 51-64.

[100] *Your Washington State Grange*, ca. 1960, 3.

[101] Gardner, *Friend*, 354.

[102] "Grange Hall is One of the Finest," *National Grange Monthly*, March 1930, 18; "New Jersey Hall Dedication," *National Grange Monthly*, July 1940, 5

[103] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 7.

[104] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 16.

[105] Jarrod Gardner, interview July 14, 2012.

[106] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 7.

[107] Advertisement, *National Grange Monthly*, all issues in 1928.

[108] "Historic Painted Theater Curtains," www.curtainswithoutborders.org accessed 6/1/13.

[109] "A Grange Hall Clock," National Grange Monthly, October 1929, 9.

[110] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 16.

[111] Use of anteroom during ritual, National Grange, *Manual*, 32 and 35; use of anteroom for storage, National Grange, *Manual*, 63.

[112] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 8.

[113] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 7.

[114] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 8.

[115] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 13.

[116] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 14-15.

[117] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 5.

[118] Nordin, *Harvest*, 114.

[119] "Another Washington Grange Hall," *National Grange Monthly,* March 1927, 6.

[120] Washington State Grange historical files: Fairview Grange #619.

[121] "This New Grange Hall A Fine Idaho Property," *National Grange Monthly*, September 1938, 20.

[122] "Grange Has Comfortable Home – Oregon Example Which Proves What a Grange Can Do With Little Money if Lots of Pluck," *National Grange Monthly*, January 1929, 11.

[123] Washington State Grange historical files: Centerville #81.

[124] Washington State Grange historical files: Haynie #169.

[125] Washington State Grange historical files: Colville Valley Grange #249.

[126] Washington State Grange historical files: Catlin Grange #199.

[127] Washington State Grange historical files: Fern Bluff #267.

[128] "Few Grange Halls Are Any Finer," *National Grange Monthly*, February 1929, 19; "Hard Work Wins An Iowa Hall," *National Grange Monthly*, December 1939, 11.

Notes on Chapter 6

[1] Gardner, *Friend*, 353, and Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 143. A copy of the *Dedication Ceremony for Grange Halls* was obtained from the National Grange headquarters in 2012, and though undated, this edition appears to have been published in the 1970s, based on the document's graphic style.

[2] A copy of the *Corner-Stone* ceremony was found in the Washington State University Archives, and though the publication was undated, this edition appears to have been produced in the 1930s, based on the document's graphic style.

[3] National Grange, *Official Dedication Ceremony for Grange Halls* (Washington, D.C.: National Grange, no date), 3.

[4] National Grange, *Dedication Ceremony*, 3.

[5] National Grange, *Dedication Ceremony*, 5.

[6] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 6.

[7] National Grange, *Suggestions*, inside cover.

[8] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 1.

[9] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 5.

[10] G. T. Nesmith, "The Problem of the Rural Community, with Special Reference to the Rural Church," *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 8, No. 6 (May 1903), 814.

[11] Nesmith, "Problem," 817.

[12] Nesmith, "Problem," 821.

[13] Nesmith, "Problem," 827.

[14] Nesmith, "Problem," 828.

[15] Henry S. Curtis, "The Rural Social Center" in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (July, 1913), 79.

[16] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 4.

[17] W. C. (Wayne Crocker) Nason, *Plans of Rural Community Buildings* (United States Department of Agriculture: Washington, D.C., 1921), 2.

[18] Nason, *Plans, and Uses of Rural Community Buildings* (United States Department of Agriculture: Washington, D.C., 1922). University of North Texas Digital Library, http://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc6479/, accessed October 23, 2012.

[19] Nason, *Plans*, 5; *firmitas, utilitas, venustas* [commonly translated from the Latin as solid, useful, beautiful] in Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*.

[20] Nason, *Uses*, 12.

[21] Nicolas Russell, "Collective Memory Before and After Halbwachs," *The French Review*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (Mar. 2006).

[22] Russell, "Collective," 797-798, defines procedural memory as the ability to repeat certain performances and develop skills {example: swimming}; semantic memory as storage of abstract information independent of experience {example: Pythagorean theorem, what Alexander the Great did}; and episodic memory as past experiences {example: my trip to London, not yours}. He notes that episodic cannot be passed from one person to another, and semantic is objective and can be remembered by anyone who learns it.

[23] Maurice Halbwachs, "Space and the Collective Memory," Chapter 4 in *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980 [orig. 1950]), 2.

[24] Interview with Dana Wells, Steward of Tualco Grange #284, Snohomish County, at the grange hall on February 29, 2012. According to Davis, *Proud Heritage*, 142, the tradition of draping the charter was adopted in 1921.

[25] Interview with Jamie Dunlin, Secretary of South Fork Grange #220, Stevens County. Interview at the grange hall, November 4, 2012. This sentiment was also expressed in many of the grange histories in the collection of the Washington State Grange.

[26] "South Fork Grangers Hewed Lumber, Built Hall in 1908," *Washington Grange News* Golden Jubilee Edition, June 10, 1939, 13.

[27] Washington State Grange historical files, mostly comprised of reports written in the 1960s-1980s include numerous examples of past work proudly described in first person plural (i.e. "what we accomplished") although the projects were completed many decades past.

[28] Yahaya Ahmad, "The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12/3 (May 2006), 298-99.

[29] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," In *The Invention of Tradition.* Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[30] Hobsbawm, "Introduction," 1.

[31] Eric Hobsbawm, **"**Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," In *The Invention of Tradition.* Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 279.

[32] Justin Pittman, "Hundreds Get a Bite at the Grange," The *Ellensburg Daily Record*, October 17, 2011.

[33] Halbwachs, "Space," 6.

[34] Halbwachs, "Space," 1.

[35] Halbwachs "Space," 1.

[36] Durkheim's work discussed in Karen Christensen and David Levinson, eds. *Encyclopedia of Community* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Reference, 2003). Accessed 4/28/12 *Gale Virtual Reference Library*, Document Number GALE|CX3452300104, 237-8.

[37] Robert S. Allen, "Community Matters Here" *Ruralite*, Kittitas Public Utility District Edition, August 2011, 4. Another example of a grange hall being reconstructed following a catastrophic fire is Centerville #81 in Klickitat County, reconstructed in 1981.

[38] Washington State Department of Natural Resources, "Table Mountain Fire Update – Final," October 12, 2012, accessed 5/1/13. www.dnr.wa.gov/RecreationEducation/News/Pages/2012_10_12_table_mt_nr.aspx Mike Johnston, "Fire Camp a Place to Rest, Recharge," Ellensburg Daily Record, September 22, 2012.

[39] "Grange Hall is Nerve Center for Flood Recovery Efforts," *Washington State Grange News,* February 2008, 1.

[40] From a memoir by Gertrude Stein describing Oakland, California as an urban wasteland, ca. 1937 http://museumca.org/theoaklandstandard/preface

[41] The idea of a "home grange" is referred to in *National Grange Monthly* articles such as "home grange of former state lecturer" (April 1942, 20), and in Ira Shea's personal descriptions of himself and others found in *The Grange Was My Life* (1983). This idea was also referenced in personal interviews conducted with Helen and Jarrod Gardner.

[42] This practice complements Halbwachs' notion that the identity of a group may remain unchanged, even as members depart and are replaced, particularly if the group shares a sense of collective ownership or management of possessions (Halbwachs, *Space*, 8).

[43] Kaufman, *Place*, 47.

[44] Helen and Jarrod Gardner were interviewed July 14, 2012 during a site visit to McMillin Grange.

[45] Determining whether this collective, sense of nation-wide shared identity based on grange membership serves as the basis of a broadly shared rural identity, in contrast to an urban identity, is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the possibility that group membership could be strongly associated with a sense of identity based on geography represents an intriguing aspect of the relationship between people and place.

[46] Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

[47] Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 19.

[48] Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 19.

[49] Woods, *Knights*, 165.

[50] Shea, *Life*, 22.

[51] Allen "Community," 5.

[52] Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 20-21. Putnam defined reciprocity in more detailed terms as either *specific:* I'll do this for you if you do that for me, or (even more valuable) *generalized*: I'll do this for you without expecting anything specific back from you, in the confident expectation that someone else will do something for me down the road.

[53] Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, pp. 22-23.

[54] Often attributed to Robin Morgan's 1970 book *Sisterhood is Powerful*, this catch phrase appeared in at least two earlier publications about sociology and political organizing.

[55] Fire stations staffed by volunteers are located adjacent to many grange halls, including Prosperity #315 in Thurston County and Baw Faw #34 in Lewis County, and informal surveys of the Washington State Grange News indicate that granges frequently host fund raisers and other events that support volunteer fire departments.

[56] *Washington Grange News*, April 2012, 12.

[57] Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, 21.

[58] From the Washington State Grange website: www.wa-grange.org/aboutus.html

[59] Kaufman, *Place*, 44.

Notes on Chapter 7

[1] This summary statement combines definitions in the *National Historic Preservation Act* of 1966 as amended, Section 101(c)(4), found at www.achp.gov/docs/nhpa%202008-final.pdf with an explanation by the National Trust for Historic Preservation found at www.preservationnation.org/what-is-preservation/.

[2] Paul Bentel, "Where Do We Draw the Line? Historic Preservation's Expanding Boundaries," *Future Anterior*. Volume 1, No. 2 (Fall 2004), 43-49.

[3] Most aspects of the evaluation criteria and other policy issues discussed in this section in relation to the National Register also apply to the state-level Washington Heritage Register.

[4] Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Restoration," In *The Foundations of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire Raissonné* (New York: George Braziller, 1990 [orig. 1854]), 222.

[5] Determination of what constituted active use was discussed previously in Chapter 5.

[6] Dell Upton, "The Power of Things: Recent Studies in American Vernacular Architecture," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (1983), 279.

[7] Stewart Brand, *How Buildings Learn: What Happens After They're Built* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 13.

[8] Brand, *How Buildings Learn*, 13.

[9] Maximilian L. Ferro, "Scrape Vs. Antiscrape: A Modern American Perspective," APT Bulletin 17/3-4 (1985), 21-25.

[10] Washington State Grange historical collection: Centerville Grange #81.

[11] Washington State Grange historical collection: Skookumchuck Grange #584.

[12] Dynamo construction in Washington State Grange historical files: South Fork #220; "Electric Lights Are Possible – Even Where Current is Not Available," *National Grange Monthly*, July 1936, 9; See also www.delcolight.com (accessed 6/18/13) for explanation of technology.

[13] Interview with Brian Thompson at Lincoln Creek Grange 6/29/12.

[14] Washington State Grange historical collection: Wilcox #141 & Skookumchuck #584

[15] Washington State Grange historical collection: Columbia Grange #87

[16] Thomas Carter, "It Was In the Way, So We Took It Out: Remodeling as Social Commentary," *Material Culture*, Vol. 19, No. 2/3 (Summer-Fall 1987), 118.

[17] Washington State Grange historical collection: various

[18] Washington State Grange historical collection: Wilcox Grange #141

[19] Advertisements by metal roofing manufacturers were common in periodicals such as *Better Farming* and *Farm Journal*.

[20] Specifically, the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) required that barriers in existing facilities of public accommodations must be removed when it is "readily achievable," or in other words when it can be accomplished easily and without great cost. It also required that construction of new facilities and alterations of existing facilities in public accommodations must comply with the ADA Accessibility Guidelines. Elevators are generally not required in small buildings. [*42 U.S.C.A. chapter 126, subchapter III; §12182 et. seq*.] www.hhs.gov/od/about/fact_sheets/adafactsheet.html

[21] Carter & Cromley, *Introduction*, xvii.

[22] Jack Silvers interview 11/16/12.

[23] Jack Silvers interview 11/16/12.

[24] Washington State Grange historical collection: Tualco #284.

[25] The term "improvement" evokes a specific element of Western U.S. history, as anyone attempting to claim land under the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850 or the Homestead Act of 1862 was required to live on the land for five years, and carry out certain "improvements." These usually included construction of a residence of at least 10 x 12 feet with at least one window, and the cultivation of a percentage of the land for agricultural crops. If these improvements were accomplished and documented, a claimant was said to have "proved up," and could be granted title to their claim by local agents of the General Land Office. Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest. *Northwest Homesteader:*

Introduction http://content.lib.washington.edu/curriculumpackets/homesteaders/intro.html accessed 6/1/13.

[26] National Grange, *Suggestions*, 5.

[27] "An Attractive Grange Hall in Vermont," *National Grange Monthly*, February 1941, 9.

[28] "First Grange Hall to be Formally Dedicated in Tennessee," *National Grange Monthly* November 1940, 21.

[29] Washington State University Archives, Washington State Grange Collection, Cage 218, Box 1: Misc. publications.

[30] Washington State Grange 1972 *Master's Address* by Jack Silvers, 24.

[31] WSU Archives Cage 218, Box 7, 1976 Proceedings p.81

[32] Washington State Grange 1981 *Master's Address* by Jack Silvers "Grange Hall Loans," 28.

[33] Washington State Grange 1985 *Master's Address* by Ray Hill, 30.

[34] "Take Pride In Your Hall," *Washington Grange News* December 2012, 3.

[35] DAHP Historic Resource Inventory: Barberton Grange #571

[36] "2012 Grange Hall Improvement Contest Winners Announced," *Washington Grange News* June 2012, 1.

[37] "2012 Grange Hall Improvement Contest Winners Announced," *Washington Grange News* June 2012, 6.

[38] Carter, "It Was In the Way," 114, 124.

[39] Carter, "It Was In the Way," 114.

[40] Washington State Grange, *Guide*, 8.

[41] Pietro Gazzola, "Restoring Monuments: Historical Background," *Preserving and Restoring Monuments and Historical Buildings* (UNESCO: 1972).

[42] James A. Glass, *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957-1969* (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1990), 4.

[43] Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and Its Origin," *Oppositions* 25 (Fall 1982), 20-51.

[44] Riegl, "Modern Cult," 22-34.

[45] Riegl, "Modern Cult," 46.

[46] Dell Upton, "The Tradition of Change," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Volume 5, No. 1 (Fall 1993), 12.

[47] *Venice Charter* (1964), Article 5. Riegl's analysis placed use in opposition to preservation, but ongoing use of grange halls is precisely what has preserved many of them for decades, and is what will continue to preserve them as places of significance in rural communities.

[48] *Venice Charter* (1964), Article 1

[49] W. Brown Morton III, "What Do We Preserve and Why?" In Stipe, Robert E. and Lee, Antoinette J., eds. *The American Mosaic: Preserving a Nation's Heritage* (Washington, D.C., 1987) 146-177.

[50] National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended through 1992, Public Law 102-575, TITLE I, Section 101 (16 U.S.C. 470a), www.nps.gov/history/local-law/nhpa1966.htm; Quotation and data from National Park Service, National Register home page www.nps.gov/nr/

[51] Carol M. Rose, "Preservation and Community: New Directions in the Law of Historic Preservation," *Stanford Law Review* 33 (1981), 530.

[52] National Park Service (NPS), *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (U.S. Department of the Interior, revised 2002), 2.

www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/

[53] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*, 4-5.

[54] Rose, "Preservation and Community," 476.

[55] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*.

[56] Listed at www.nps.gov/nr/publications/

[57] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletins*: Historic Residential Suburbs (no number, 2002); Rural Historic Landscapes (Bulletin 30, revised 1999); Traditional Cultural Properties (Bulletin 38, revised 1998).

[58] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*, 13.

[59] National Park Service (Patricia L. Parker and Thomas F. King, authors), *National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties.* (U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1990, revised 1998, 1. www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38/

[60] Thomas F. King, *Places That Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management* (Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 2003), 118-19.

[61] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 38*, 1.

[62] Kaufman, *Places*, 65.

[63] Kaufman, *Places*, 65.

[64] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*, 44.

[65] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*, 44.

[66] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*, 44.

[67] National Park Service Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings accessed 6/1/13. www.nps.gov/hps/tps/standguide/rehab/rehab_approach.htm

[68] Kaufman, *Places*, 64.

[69] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*, 44-45.

[70] David Lowenthal, "Material Preservation and Its Alternatives," *Perspecta* 25 (1989), 68.

[71] Personal observation based on professional experience.

[72] Heike C. Alberts and Helen Hazen, "Maintaining Authenticity and Integrity at Cultural World Heritage Sites," *Geographical Review* 100/1 (January 2010), 67.

[73] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 38*, 10.

[74] International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), *Nara Document on Authenticity*, 1994 www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf; ICOMOS *Declaration of San Antonio*, 1996 www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/188-the-declaration-of-san-antonio ICOMOS Australia, *Burra Charter* (The Australia ICOMOS *Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*) 1999, http://australia.icomos.org/publications/charters/ ICOMOS, *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage*, 1999 www.international.icomos.org/charters/vernacular_e.pdf

[75] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 38*, 10.

[76] Hubka, "American Vernacular;" Kaufman, *Places*; Richard Longstreth, "Taste vs. History," *Historic Preservation Forum*, May/June 1994, 40-45; Richard Longstreth, "Architectural History and the Practice of Historic Preservation in the United States," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (September 1999), 326-333; Upton, "Power."

[77] Longstreth, "Architectural History" 327; Wyatt, "Challenge," 37.

[78] Kaufman, *Places*, 369.

[79] Rose, "Preservation and Community," 479-80.

[80] Rose, "Preservation and Community," 480.

[81] Rose, "Preservation and Community," 476; Kelli Shapiro, "From Modernism to McDonald's: Ideology, Controversy, and the Movement to Preserve the Recent Past," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 2007, 7.

[82] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 165.

[83] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 165.

[84] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 168; Thomas Carter, interviewed by Catherine Lavoie and Beth Savage, "Changing Vernacular," *Common Ground: Preserving Our Nation's Heritage*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Winter 2004), 11.

[85] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 158; Upton, "Power," 262, Camille Wells, "Old Claims and New Demands: Vernacular Architecture Studies Today," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 2 (1986), 1.

[86] Hubka, "American Vernacular," 155; Upton, "Power," 263.

[87] Carter & Herman, "Introduction," 1.

[88] Bouguslaw Szmygin, "*Venice Charter* – The Universal Document or Burden of the Past? A Conservator's Point of View," in *The Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century*, ed. Matthew Hardy (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 76.

[89] International Congress of Architects, Madrid 1904: §1.

[90] *Venice Charter* (1964).

[91] Szmygin, "*Venice Charter*," 79.

[92] Ahmad, "Scope," 1-3.

[93] International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), *Nara Document on Authenticity*, 1994; *Declaration of San Antonio*, 1996; ICOMOS Australia, *Burra Charter* (The Australia ICOMOS *Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*) 1999; *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage*, 1999; www.international.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts

[94] *Declaration of San Antonio*, 1996 §5.

[95] National Park Service (NPS), *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1991, revised 1997), Appendix IV:2. www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb16a/

[96] International charters tend to focus on the concept of authenticity, while U.S. preservation policies focus on the concept of integrity. Both concepts imply consideration of a spectrum of tangible and intangible qualities, although in practice authenticity seems to be assessed through a more balanced approach while integrity seems to be assessed with an emphasis on materiality; Pamela Jerome, "An Introduction to Authenticity in Preservation," *APT Bulletin* 39/2-3 (2008): 3-7.

[97] Jerome, "An Introduction to Authenticity," 3.

[98] *Nara Document* §Values and Authenticity, No. 13; *Declaration of San Antonio* §B. "Considerations and Analysis," No. 2.

[99] See, for example, the UNESCO "Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage" (2003) www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00006, and other international doctrinal texts at www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts

[100] Edward A. Chappell, "Viewpoint: Vernacular Architecture and Public History," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, Vol. 14 (Fall 2007), 2.

[101] ICOMOS *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* (1999), Introduction. www.international.icomos.org/charters/vernacular_e.pdf

[102] ICOMOS *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* (1999), Guidelines in Practice.

[103] For critiques, see Kaufman, *Places*, 267-272; Longstreth, "Taste vs. History," 41; and King, *Places*, 157-167.

[104] Glass, *Beginnings*, 59.

[105] Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," 41.

[106] Kaufman, *Places*, 237.

[107] Kaufman, *Places*, 226-7.

[108] Kaufman, *Places*, 17.

[109] Kaufman, *Places*, 227.

[110] Unfortunately, the National Register is procedural rather than proscriptive, and cannot be said to truly protect historic places. The analysis of this structural problem is beyond the scope of this thesis.

[111] "A Letter to the Secretary of the Interior from the Coalition for Cultural Justice," to Secretary of the Interior Sally Jewell 5/6/13, signed by Tom King, Ned Kaufman, Daniel Bluestone and others, http://crmplus.blogspot.com/2013/05/a-letter-to-secretary-of-interior-from.html accessed 6/1/13.

[112] Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," 41.

[113] ICOMOS *Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage* (1999), Introduction.

[114] Kaufman, *Places*, 324.

[115] This refers to impact assessment conducted under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act www.achp.gov/106summary.html

[116] See for example FEMA "Historic Preservation and Cultural Resources: Protecting Our Heritage," www.fema.gov/library/viewRecord.do?id=2059; information regarding Nisqually Earthquake impacts from Jarrod Gardner, interviewed 7/14/12.

[117] Washington State law requires any agency receiving public funding to provide quantifiable public benefit, which grange halls do as de facto community centers.

[118] The potential for local landmark grant funds is especially important as all counties in Washington are authorized to collect revenue under RCW 36.22.170, for use as what is commonly known as an "HPHP fund" for historic preservation and historical programs that can be established at the county level. In addition to reasons identified in the text, many private foundations that fund non-profit organizations look favorably on National Register-listed properties, and most granges are incorporated as independent nonprofits organizations.

[119] The fact that "strings" are usually attached to any public funding for historic properties, in the form of requirements that funded work meet the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards* could be problematic for grange halls, without careful consideration of how those standards should be applied to this property type, as discussed in a later section of this chapter.

[120] Stephen Frith, "Ise and Ngunnhu: Intangible *Memoria* and the Authentic Copy," in *The Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century*, ed. Matthew Hardy (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 692.

[121] A determination of eligibility (DOE) is a decision by the Department of the Interior that a district, site, building, structure or object meets the National Register criteria for evaluation although the property is not formally listed in the National Register. While such as determination does not make properties eligible for financial incentives that require actual National Register listing, a DOE does provide the same level of consideration accorded to listed properties, and thus is essentially equivalent for the purposes of this discussion. National Register Federal Program Regulations Sec. 60.3(C) Definitions www.nps.gov/nr/regulations.htm

[122] Interview with Terry Hunt, Washington State Grange property manager (and former Washington State Grange Master), December 3, 2012.

[123] Baurick, Tristan. "Bainbridge Grange, at 80, Brought Back to Life." *Kitsap Sun*, April 9, 2010.

[124] Baurick, "Bainbridge."

[125] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16A*, 15.

[126] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16A*, 4.

[127] All Multiple Property Documentation Forms that have been prepared for Washington State resources and approved by the Keeper of the National Register are maintained by the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, and can be accessed https://fortress.wa.gov/dahp/wisaard/ using the historic register full search in the category of thematic listings.

[128] Kaufman, *Places*, 4.

[129] Canady et. al. *Grange Halls in Idaho MPD*, F 33.

[130] For example, in another forty years, Grays River Grange #124 in Wahkiakum County might be eligible for listing in the National Register based on its association with musician and activist Krist Novoselic, founder of Nirvana and Master of Grays River Grange since

2008. Washington State Legacy Project interview with Novoselic www.sos.wa.gov/legacyproject/oralhistories/kristnovoselic/pdf/complete.pdf

[131] The challenge of applying Criterion C to grange halls is due more to inflexibility in the expectations of historic preservation professionals interpreting and applying the criteria, than to actual rigidity in the National Register guidelines.

[132] Carter, "Changing Vernacular," 13.

[133] Kaufman, *Places*, 66.

[134] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15*, 2.

[135] Melissa E. Baldock, "Preserving the Honky-Tonk: Coney Island's Future in Its Amusement Past," *Future Anterior*. 1/1 (Spring 2004), 22; Kaufman, *Places*, 64.

[136] Jerome, "An Introduction to Authenticity," 4.

[137] Chappell, "Viewpoint," 5. Interestingly, as historic and cultural landscapes are increasingly documented and managed within a framework of historic preservation guidelines and policies, these living resources are understood as changing and evolving, a perspective which may contribute to a broader acceptance of the idea that alteration does not necessarily diminish significance, an insight offered by Dr. Thaisa Way.

[138] Since the 1990s, these forms have generally been prepared by professional consultants, and in rural areas, most inventory forms are generated based on survey work undertaken to comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act.

[139] Wynoochee Valley Grange #801, Grays Harbor County, Historic Property Inventory Report, Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

[140] Milford Wayne Donaldson, "To Whom Does Cultural Heritage Belong?" *Preservation Matters: The Newsletter of the California Office of Historic Preservation*, Volume 5, Issue 3, (Summer 2012), 4.

[141] The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties, "Introduction: Choosing an Appropriate Treatment" www.nps.gov/hps/tps/standguide/overview/choose_treat.htm, accessed 6/1/13.

[142] The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation of Historic Properties, Standard #9. www.nps.gov/hps/tps/standguide/rehab/rehab_standards.htm, accessed 6/1/13.

[143] David N. Fixler, "Appropriate Means to an Appropriate End: Industry, Modernism and Preservation," *APT Bulletin: Journal of Preservation Technology*, 39: 4 (2008), 36.

[144] Robert Adam, "Heritage," in *The Venice Charter Revisited: Modernism, Conservation and Tradition in the 21st Century*, ed. Matthew Hardy (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 12.

[145] Introduction of this phrase into the sustainability discourse is attributed to Carl Elefante www.thegreenestbuilding.org, and the phrase has been repeated endlessly by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

[146] Jerome, "An Introduction to Authenticity," 4.

Notes on Chapter 8

[1] Daniel Bluestone, "Preservation and Renewal in Post-World War II Chicago," *JAE: Journal of Architectural Education* 47 (May 1994), 210.

[2] Bluestone, "Preservation and Renewal," 210.

[3] Washington State Grange, *Guide*, 89.

[4] Bluestone, "Preservation and Renewal," 210.

[5] "South Carolina Age Record Hard to Beat," *National Grange Monthly*, April 1942, 1; "An Indiana Grange Home," *National Grange Monthly,* April 1942, 20; "A Vermont Grange Home," *National Grange Monthly*, September 1942, 16.

[6] Rose Marasco, *Ritual and Community: The Maine Grange* (Rockland, ME: Farnsworth Museum, 1992), www.rosemarasco.com.

[7] Interview 7/14/12 with David Bryant, member of Elk Plain #782, Pierce County Pomona, and State Executive Committee, which is the body that deals with halls after charters have been given up. In instances where land was donated, there is often a reversion clause (i.e. land to be given back to donor if grange use ceases).

[8] National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended through 2006, Section 1.

[9] Rose, "Preservation and Community," 476.

[10] Donaldson, "To Whom…," 1.

[11] Kaufman, *Places*, 4.

[12] Kaufman, *Places*, 38; Kaufman credits Chris Johnson, *What Is Social Value? A Discussion Paper* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1992).

[13] A concern regarding the addition of use to an already long list of aspects of integrity is that it could negatively impact the perceived integrity of buildings and sites that are no longer used for their original purpose, but that have, or could have, new uses that would help ensure their preservation. This concern highlights the idea that any potential change in policy must be carefully scrutinized to avoid unintended harm or even greater uncertainty, since these guidelines form the basis of a complex web of review and assessment processes.

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Appendix A: FIELDWORK DATA

Introduction

This appendix includes descriptive information for 218 grange halls documented for this thesis, listed alphabetically by county. All photographs were taken by the author in 2012 unless otherwise noted. Data collection was based on the Washington State Grange's 2012 roster, and is accurate as of 2012; however, changes may be anticipated in the number of grange halls in active use in the future, as established subordinate granges surrender their charters, dormant subordinate granges are re-organized, and others are newly chartered.

Challenges encountered during data collection and research are discussed in Chapter 4, particularly with regard to identification of construction dates for grange halls, and identification of halls as either purpose built (PB in the data catalog below) or adaptive reuse (AR in the data catalog below, with original purpose identified if known). Some dates included in the catalog are identified as estimates by the author, while others are identified as unverified (marked with an asterisk), particularly if different information sources provided contradictory dates.

Granges are listed according to the county in which they are physically located. While this may seem like an obvious statement, several granges in Washington State are affiliated with the Pomona Grange of an adjacent county, primarily due to historic transportation accessibility. For example, Kettle River #1120 is located in Ferry County but affiliated with the Stevens County Pomona and is listed in the Washington State Grange Roster as a Stevens County Grange. Such affiliations are mentioned in the "notes" section.

Data Fields Included in Catalog

Image
: Typically oblique angle showing main elevation and side, including significant additions

Name of Grange
: Formal name including charter number, which is considered part of the name of each subordinate grange

Organized
: Year in which the grange was organized and the charter was granted by the National and Washington State Granges; dates when subordinate granges were re-organized are occasionally noted, especially when those dates coincide with hall construction or acquisition.

Hall constructed (* indicates unconfirmed information)
: Date of construction of hall in use in 2012, based on best available information. Estimates by author are identified as "est." Source(s) of construction date included in notes.

PB or AR [Building Type] (* indicates unconfirmed information)
: PB = purpose built; AR = adaptive reuse, for buildings that were originally constructed to serve another purpose; original purpose is noted if known

Location
: Street address including town or vicinity of town

Setting

- Rural: characterized by working agricultural landscapes, sparse residential development, and minimal commercial development;
- Village: characterized by a small enclave of commercial and institutional buildings, typically one or two blocks long, associated with limited residential development, surrounded by working landscapes;
- Town: characterized by multi-block commercial and institutional development, and associated residential development, surrounded by working landscapes;
- Sub / rural: characterized by remnant working landscapes interspersed with areas of suburban residential or commercial developed;
- Suburban: characterized by extensive commercial development (sprawl) and extensive residential neighborhoods

Building Dimensions

Primary elevation is listed first. If recorded, core building measurements are listed separate from porch / vestibules or other additions (rear or L). Est = estimate

Plan

Typically Rectangle, Rectangle L, Irregular

Stories

Number of stories not including basement. 1½ story indicates second floor windows in spaces with sloping ceilings rather than full-height second floor rooms.

Basement

Presence or absence of full or partial finished basement, as indicated by ground-level windows or entrances to lower level spaces. Basements typically contain kitchens, restrooms, dining rooms and building services.

Porch / vestibule

Form [gable, hip, shed] of porch / vestibule, whether it is open or enclosed, and whether it extends fully across the primary façade (large), or is medium or small size.

Roof form

Gable, hip, barrel, flat or gambrel; also building orientation relative to roof form.

Roof material

Typically metal or composition

Cladding / material

Common materials include: Aluminum siding, Asbestos shingle, Brick, Concrete block, Metal clapboard siding, Metal prefab, Metal standing seam siding, Plywood, Vinyl siding, Wood clapboard, Wood drop siding, Wood shingle, Wood shiplap, Wood vertical siding

Color

White, grey and unpainted are most common; many other colors noted

Notes

This section includes dedication date if identified during research, and sources for construction date. Typical sources include WSG files (Washington State Grange files of individual grange histories, located at Grange headquarters in Olympia) or CA (County Assessor). Also, descriptive information in the 1950 WGG (*Washington Granger's Guide*), and notes regarding ADA access

Adams County

 Ralston #943 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1953 PB or AR: PB	Location: Ralston Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 40x75 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Grey no paint Notes: WGG “own hall” photo different bldg.; 3 pier 4 bay; const date CA; confirmed by newspaper article ; ADA access: Main at grade
 Rimrock #941 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1905 PB or AR: AR church	Location: Washtucna Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 40x100 Plan: rect; Stories: 1; Basement? partial; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood Drop siding; Color: White Notes: dedication mentioned in masters address 1938; WGG “own hall” no photo; Date built & church origin on sign; DAHP 1904; ADA access: Main (sm step)

Asotin County

 Clarkston Heights #982 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1932 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2220 Reservoir Rd, Clarkston Heights Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 30x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood Clapboard; Color: Grey Notes: WGG “own hall” same bldg; actual location Asotin County but affiliated with Garfield County Pomona; const date CA; ADA access: Rear ramp

Benton County

 Buena Vista #415 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1950 PB or AR: PB	Location: 155503 W Old Inland Empire Hwy, Prosser vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x80 Plan: Rect ; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Grey no paint Notes: WSG file: bought property 1937, laid brick for basement 1947, finished 1950; WGG “own hall” unchanged; sign “dedicated 1950” 3 pier 4 bay; const date BE CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Finley #414 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1975 PB or AR: PB	Location: 223005 Main St, Kennewick vic. Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 40x100 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal prefab; Color: Blue Notes: WGG “own hall” photo different bldg; Exterior vestibule added to prefab; const date BE CA; ADA access: Main at grade

 Kennewick Highlands #1037 Organized: 1934 Hall Constructed: 1950 PB or AR: PB	Location: 1600 S. Union St., Kennewick Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 36x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Hip open wrap around; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: metal; Cladding material: Wood horiz siding MDF; Color: Green Notes: WGG “meet Am Legion hall” diff bldg, diff location; const date CA [city owns, now located in city park]; ADA access: Main ramp
 Kennewick Valley #731 Organized: 1920 Hall Constructed: 1909 PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 2611 S Washington, Kennewick Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 80x80 est Plan: Irreg; Stories: 1; Basement? N ?; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Hip multi; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file: land acquired by Kennewick Valley Club from Northern Pacific Irrigation Company 1915 for $1, community social hall built 1909 or 1910; social club members joined grange, ownership transferred to grange 1926; dedication mentioned in masters address 1935; WGG “own hall” appears to be same bldg. wood siding w/out additions; CA has 1906 as const date; ADA access: Main at grade

Chelan County

 Beacon Hill #389 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1952 PB or AR: PB	Location: 323 Easy St, Wenatchee Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 75x75 Plan: Squ; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Flat ; Roofing Material: Built-up; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: tan Notes: WSG file: Originally met at school, land donated, 1911 hall built, sold for highway project $25,000 1951, first meeting in new hall 1953; WGG “own hall” small wood bldg.; 16-light side windows; const date CH CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Bee Hive #385 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1954 PB or AR: PB	Location: 4511 Squilchuck Rd, Wenatchee Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 48x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Grey no paint Notes: WSG file: Named after mountain behind hall, met at homes then at school, donated land, first hall built 1912, burned 1953, rebuilt 1954, dedicated 1955; WGG “own hall” older wood bldg same site; lg double gable appears to be kitchen in front; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade

 Chumstick #819 Organized: 1925 Hall Constructed: 1910 PB or AR: AR RR depot	Location: 621 Front St., Leavenworth Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 70x35 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Stucco; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Met in schoolhouse, Knights of Pythias, 1939 leased Womens Club Building former Great Northern Depot, bought lots, bought hall 1940, moved; WGG "own hall" appears to be same bldg w/wood siding; decorative painting; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Entiat #1014 Organized: 1933 Hall Constructed: 1960 PB or AR: PB Multi-use *	Location: Entait Setting: Town Building Dimensions: Co-located with public services in large bldg Plan: rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Flat; Roofing Material: Built-up; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Grey no paint Notes: WGG "own hall" diff bldg unknown loc; Only ex of co-location w/ post office; const date CH CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Manson #796 Organized: 1923 Hall Constructed: 1948 PB or AR: PB	Location: 157 E Wapato Way, Manson Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 35x70 Plan: rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y ; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Grey stucco Notes: WSG file: first old school; ground breaking 1945; new hall built 1948; WGG "own hall" same bldg; modified; glass block windows; const date CA 1947; ADA access: Rear at grade
 Stemilt Hill #1095 Organized: 1937 Hall Constructed: 1906 PB or AR: AR school	Location: Stemilt Hill Rd, Wenatchee vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 25x50 + 16 Plan: Rect w/ L, end add; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood Drop siding; vert replacement; Color: green Notes: Bought former school in 1937 (CA has 1921 as constr date, incorrect); WGG "own hall" appears to be same bldg; ADA access: Main at grade

Clallam County

 Crescent #1123 Organized: 1947 Hall Constructed: 1961 PB or AR: PB	Location: 50870 Hwy 112, Port Angeles vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x80, L 50x50 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N ; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front & side low; Roofing Material: Comp ; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: WSG file: New hall constructed 1951, burned 1960, current hall built 1961; WGG "meet at Joyce schoolhouse" no photo; const date from CM CA; ADA access: Main at grade

 Dry Creek #646 Organized: 1917 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: 3520 W Edgewood Dr, Port Angeles Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x60 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Hip enclosed; Roof form: Gable; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood Drop siding; Color: White Notes: Hall originally was a school; unclear, may have acquired hall in 1917 same year as charter, sounds like grange used old school, then bought it, remodeled extensively; WGG "own hall" same bldg. w/open porch; no CA info; ADA access: Rear ramp
 Fairview #619 Organized: 1916 Hall Constructed: 1919 PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 161 Lake Farm Rd, Port Angeles vic Setting: Rural, adjacent to school Building Dimensions: 35x70 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1½; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Shingle; Cladding material: Wood Drop siding; Color: Grey Notes: WSG file: Purpose built as community hall, taken over by grange 1953; WGG diff bldg.; side addition; const date newspaper article; WGG photo a mystery; no CM CA info; ADA access: Main ramp
 Mount Pleasant #1112 Organized: 1945 Hall Constructed: 1941 PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 2432 Mount Pleasant Road, Port Angeles vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 60x70 est Plan: Rect w/side add; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood vert; Color: Tan Notes: Leased from Mount Pleasant Community Association; construction date from Peninsula Daily News "Grange members seek funds to save Mount Pleasant Community Hall" 6/1/13; ADA access: Main ramp
 Sequim Prairie #1108 Organized: 1942 Hall Constructed: 1912 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 290 Macleay Rd, Sequim vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 60x60 est Plan: Squ; Stories: 1; Basement? N ; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp ; Cladding material: Wood Clapboard; Color: White Notes: Former school leased to community club 1944; WGG "meet Macleay Schoolhouse"; built date on bldg sign & conf by CM CA; multiple additions ; ADA access: Main

Clark County

 Barberton #571 Organized: 1914 Hall Constructed: 1910 PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 9400 NE 72nd Ave, Vancouver Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x70 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG “own hall” same bldg.; const date DAHP conflicting records 1910/1930; orig “Home Sweet Home Boys” social club purchased 1916; CA const date 1930 (incorrect); ADA access: Main ramp
 Fargher Lake #853 Organized: 1927 Hall Constructed: 1920 PB or AR: AR school *	Location: 37813 NE Wiehl Rd, La Center vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 25x75 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” same bldg ; CA const date; ADA access: Main ramp; assumed to be school based on building orientation and appearance
 Fern Prairie #866 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1930 PB or AR: PB	Location: 1814 NE 267th Ave., Camas vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal sheet siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Early meetings at school, then meetings and dances in prune dryer, land donated 1930, WGG “own hall” same bldg; CA const date; ADA access: No
 Fishers #211 Organized: 1907 Hall Constructed: 1930 PB or AR: PB	Location: 814 NE 162nd Ave., Vancouver Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: Gable open lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Green Notes: WSG: decided to build new hall 1926, completed 1931; WGG “own hall” diff bldg.? ; CR CA const date; ADA access: Main ramp
 Hazel Dell #1124 Organized: 1947 Hall Constructed: 1925 PB or AR: AR Community hall	Location: 7509 NE Hazel Dell Ave., Vancouver Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 60x120 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Aluminum siding; Color: Tan Notes: WGG “meet Hazeldell Community Club” photo looks like same bldg; CA const date; ADA access: Side?

 La Center #48 Organized: 1874 Hall Constructed: 1875 * PB or AR: PB	Location: 328 W 5th St., La Center Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 25x50 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo; CA const date 1926 (incorrect?) If 1875 is correct, then this is the oldest purpose built hall in the state; ADA access: Main at grade
 Manor #1101 Organized: 1939 Hall Constructed: 1950 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 17901 NE 72nd, Battleground vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Brick – roman; Color: Unpainted Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo; date & PB from DAHP; CA const date; ADA access: Main at grade; may be former church based on building apperance
 Minnehaha #164 Organized: 1905 Hall Constructed: 1922 PB or AR: PB	Location: 4905 NE St. Johns Blvd., Vancouver Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl sm; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood Clapboard; Color: Green Notes: WSG file describes construction; WGG "own hall" same bldg.; CA has const date as 1910 (incorrect); ADA access: Main at grade
 Mountain Valley #79 Organized: 1889 Hall Constructed: 1937 PB or AR: PB	Location: 40107 NE 221st Ave, Amboy Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood Drop siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Bought land 1936 for 3rd hall, sold previous hall, first meeting in new hall 1937; WGG "own hall" no photo; CA has 1930 const date (incorrect); ADA access: Basement ramp
 Pioneer #901 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1935 est PB or AR: AR school	Location: 3803 NE 199th St., Ridgefield vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Brick; Color: Unpainted Notes: First met at Pioneer school, bought Good Hope School 1951; WGG "meet Pioneer School Auditorium" no photo; current setting is schoolyard; DAHP says ca. 1935, school maybe built by WPA, grange 1951; CA const date 1960 (incorrect); ADA access: Side?

 Salmon Creek #849 Organized: 1927 Hall Constructed: 1953 PB or AR: AR school *	Location: 1900 NE 154th St., Vancouver Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x50 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Grey Notes: WGG "meet in schoolhouse" sounds like same location; 1950 photo of bldg. w/hip roof but different windows; Six-light windows look 1930s; CA const date; ADA access: Main at grade
 Washington #82 Organized: 1889 Hall Constructed: 1974 PB or AR: PB	Location: 7701 NE Ward Rd, Vancouver Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 40x100 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file: previous hall to be torn down, land purchased for new hall 1970, dedicated 1974; WGG "own hall" photo shows brick bldg; CA const date 1976; ADA access: Main at grade
 Washougal #69 Organized: 1883 Hall Constructed: 1926 PB or AR: PB	Location: 621 - 17th St, Washougal Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 2; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Brick; Color: Unpainted Notes: Dedicated 1927; WGG "own hall" same bldg.; const date DAHP; CR CA says 1930; ADA access: Main at grade

Columbia County

 Waitsburg #1 Organized: 1873 Hall Constructed: 1938 PB or AR: PB	Location: Hwy 12, Waitsburg (in Walla Walla County when chartered) Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 38x86 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: Grey Notes: Dedicated 1938; WGG "own hall" same bldg.; const date from Kirk & Alexander 1990 p182; 1996 flood damage, donations received, not yet rehabilitated; ADA access: Side at grade

Cowlitz County

 Catlin #199 Organized: 1907 Hall Constructed: 1964 PB or AR: PB	Location: 205 Shawnee St., Kelso Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 70x35 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable side low; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood vert wide b&b; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file first meeting in new hall 1964; WGG "rent Cowlitz Grange Supply Hall" no photo; const date from CA; ADA access: Main at grade

 Pleasant Hill #101 Organized: 1891 Hall Constructed: 1892 PB or AR: PB	Location: 4741 Pleasant Hill Rd., Kelso Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 26x40 + add sim size Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front, add hip; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Aluminum clapboard; Color: Grey Notes: WGG “own hall” photo may be the same bldg.; const date from CA (low confidence); ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Rose Valley #953 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1953 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 1520 Rose Valley Rd., Kelso vic. Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x60 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Blue Notes: Rebuilt after fire; WGG “own hall” no photo; windows look 1930s; const date from CZ CA (low confidence); ADA access: Main at grade
 Silver Lake #105 Organized: 1892 Hall Constructed: 1920 PB or AR: AR school gymnasium	Location: 3104 Spirit Lake Hwy. (SR 504), Castle Rock vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Metal sheet over clapboard; Color: Grey Notes: WSG: present hall purchased in 1936 from the Silver Lake School District (another source says 1943-44); WGG photo same bldg. before siding; Rear kitchen addition; woodshed outbuilding; const date from CA (low confidence); ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Sunnyside #129 Organized: 1902 Hall Constructed: 1939 PB or AR: PB	Location: 214 Cowlitz St. W., Castle Rock Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 30x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med off center; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood rough sawn horiz; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG “own hall” no photo; const date from CZ CA (low confidence); ADA access: Main at grade
 Woodland #178 Organized: 1906 Hall Constructed: 1910 PB or AR: AR hotel	Location: 404 Davidson Ave., Woodland Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 40x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 3; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Flat; Roofing Material: Built-up; Cladding material: Wood shiplap; Color: Yellow Notes: dedication mentioned in masters address 1937 but may be a different building (VFW hall across the street?); WGG “own hall” looks like diff bldg; const date & orig use DAHP, CA const date ; ADA access: Rear ramp

Douglas County

 East Wenatchee #1012 Organized: 1933 Hall Constructed: 1950 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3400 Sunset Hwy, E Wenatchee Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 36x86 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Rounded encl; Roof form: Flat; Roofing Material: Built-up; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Tan Notes: WGG: "own hall" same bldg.; Art Deco / Moderne style stepped parapet, rounded corners; const date newspaper, conf DAHP; CA says 1947; ADA access: Rear at grade
 St. Andrews #832 Organized: 1926 Hall Constructed: 1976 PB or AR: PB	Location: St. Andrews Rd, Mansfield vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 70x30 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert wood; Color: White Notes: WSG file does not include current building; WGG "own hall" photo is diff bldg (extant); const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade

Ferry County

 Eagle Cliff #712 Organized: 1919 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: Customs Rd, Ferry / Toroda vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x50 +25' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding over old wood drop ; Color: Green Notes: WSG file: hall built on leased land using pieces of existing buildings; WGG "hall owned by Kroupa Brothers" no photo; ADA access: Rear at grade
 Kettle River #1120 Organized: 1946 Hall Constructed: 1910s, 1950s est PB or AR: PB + AR school	Location: 25262 Hwy 395 N, Boyds Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 24x36 orig, 36x86 add Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl full; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl over wood orig; concrete block add; Color: White Notes: WGG "old Barstow schoolhouse" could be orig bldg. moved from site & modified; ADA access: Main at grade; affiliated with Stevens County Pomona
 Malo #679 Organized: 1918 Hall Constructed: 1906 PB or AR: AR Woodmen of the World hall	Location: 17531 Hwy 21, Malo Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x60 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open; Roof form: Gambrel w/false front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal, wood front; Color: Unpainted Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg. w/orig wood siding; Woodmen of the World & const date DAHP; Photo (Shea p.16) of hall in 1921, looks the same; ADA access: Rear?

 San Poil #684 Organized: 1918 Hall Constructed: 1902 PB or AR: AR beer bottling plant	Location: 405 Creamery Rd, Republic Setting: Town (near fairground) Building Dimensions: 28x42 Plan: Rect; Stories: 2; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: Unpainted Notes: WSG file: Building constructed 1902 as Republic Bottling Works operated until 1916, purchased by grange 1921; WGG "own hall" same bldg; ADA access: Side at grade
 Columbia Valley #938 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1998 PB or AR: PB	Location: Road 64 & Court St, Pasco Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 50x75 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable side low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal prefab; Color: Grey Notes: WGG "own hall" diff bldg.; const date FR CA; affiliated with Walla Walla County Pomona; ADA access: Main at grade

Grant County

 Moses Lake #971 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1930s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: Grant Co. Fairgrounds, Moses Lake Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 100x40 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl sm; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal; Color: Grey Notes: Hall located at Grant County Fairgrounds; appears to be no longer grange owned; ADA access: Main at grade
 O'Sullivan #1136 Organized: 1956 Hall Constructed: 1967 PB or AR: PB	Location: 14724 Rd 3 SE, Moses Lake vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x84 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable side low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: not listed in WGG (chartered after 1950); const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 White Trail #1143 Organized: 1960 Hall Constructed: 1963 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3392 Rd 5 NW, Ephrata vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable side low; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: not listed in WGG (chartered after 1950); const date GR CA; ADA access: Side?

 Wilson Creek #935 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1948 PB or AR: PB	Location: Corner of Main St. & Third, Wilson Creek Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 40x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Yellow Notes: WSG file: frame erected 1947; built 1948; old hall auctioned off to be torn down and moved away; flood damage 1951; Hall for sale in 2012; ADA access: Main at grade

Grays Harbor County

 East Oakville #902 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1900 PB or AR: AR school gymnasium	Location: Harris Ave. & Temple St., Oakville Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 60x44, add on 2 sides Plan: Rect; Stories: 2; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Metal & comp; Cladding material: Wood shingle; Color: unpainted Notes: 1956 bought old grade school gymnasium as hall for $500; WGG "meet at Oakville Am Legion" photo of diff bldg.; form of current looks like school, upper windows boarded; const date CA (low confidence); ADA access: Main ramp
 Elma #26 Organized: 1874 Hall Constructed: 1902 PB or AR: AR church	Location: 401 W Waldrip, Elma Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 36x56, 18' add R side, 14' add rear Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: Old Catholic Church, moved; dedicated 1931; WGG "own hall" same bldg.; narrow side windows could be replacements; const date WSG file & GY CA; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Olympic View #774 Organized: 1921 Hall Constructed: 1922 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 466 Old Monte-Brady Rd., Brady Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 48x94 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? n; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood b&b w/ clapboard gables; Color: Unpainted wood Notes: WGG "own hall" two story w/windows, but form and location appear same; No windows in current bldg.; siding and form look old; const date CA; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Satsop #183 Organized: 1906 Hall Constructed: 1902 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 401 Market St., Satsop Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 34x80, 16' add side Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open sm; Roof form: Gable front, hip rear; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg. unpainted wood in photo; const date CA; either it was originally built as a community hall or actual construction date is later; ADA access: Main ramp sm

 Sharon #800 Organized: 1923 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: 912 South Banks Rd., Oakville vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable end; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: Tan Notes: Met at Oddfellows Hall at Porter, orig Porter Grange changed to Sharon 1948, moved into Fords Prairie School House, remodeled, dedicated 1948; photo of 2 story 1946; photo 1 story 1948; WGG "own hall" same bldg., 1 story; historic photo during school years shows 2 story; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Wynooche Valley #801 Organized: 1923 Hall Constructed: 1923 PB or AR: AR community hall & school	Location: 708 Wynooche Valley Rd., Montesano vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 34x72, L30x36 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Met at school until community hall completed 1923 on school land; bought both buildings 1939; former school dedicated as grange hall 1940; demolished school and remodeled community hall 1958, added kitchen (1910 date from CA?); WGG "own hall" diff bldg. looks like old school; puzzling as current bldg is old; const date DAHP but not info on orig use; ADA access: L ramp lg

Island County

 Deer Lagoon #846 Organized: 1926 Hall Constructed: 1908 PB or AR: AR church	Location: 5142 Bayview Rd, Langely, Whidbey Island Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x40, L add Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? partial; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg. in photo, intact; const date DAHP; became grange 1935; ADA access: Main at grade
 South Camano #930 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 2227 S West Camano Dr, Camano Island Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x70, add side 20' Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: Yellow Notes: dedication mentioned in masters address 1934; WGG "own hall" same bldg. in photo; ADA access: Side at grade

Jefferson County

 Chimacum #681 Organized: 1918 Hall Constructed: 1932 PB or AR: PB	Location: 9572 Rhody Dr, Chimacum Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 28x60, 24x12 vestibule Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial; Porch / vestibule: Gable enclosed add; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: 1928 bought property, built new hall dedicated 1932, WGG "own hall" same bldg. in photo, intact except entrance; across highway from schools; ADA access: Main & side ramps
 Quimper #720 Organized: 1919 Hall Constructed: 1930s est PB or AR: AR military bldg. *	Location: 1210 Corona St, Port Townsend Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 30x70 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Clapboard (vinyl?); Color: yellow Notes: Met at Redmen's hall, then chicken house, 1970 dedicated new building on donated land; WGG "own hall" same bldg. in photo, mostly intact; CA says "Ft Worden bldg moved 1969?"; ADA access: Side ramp

King County

 Cedar #534 Organized: 1913 Hall Constructed: 1911 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 25531 SE 218th, Maple Valley Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 24x78 Plan: Rect; Stories: 2; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: Grey Notes: WGG "own hall" same location but no resemblance to current bldg.; const date CA incorrect? Or is there a small, old building buried in there?; ADA access: Lower at grade
 Happy Valley #322 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1910 PB or AR: PB	Location: 19720 NE 50th St, Redmond Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 32x68, L add 34x40 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N ?; Porch / vestibule: Gable partially enclosed; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: Grey Notes: WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg. detail; const date DAHP (KC), conf KI CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Meridian #265 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: 15422 SE 272nd, Kent Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 60x70 incl side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: Grey Notes: East Hill #786 also meets here; WGG both Meridian and East Hill had historic halls; neither resemble current form; ADA access: No

 Sallal #955 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1950 PB or AR: PB	Location: 12912 - 432nd Ave SE, North Bend Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 40x80, L add 30x30 est Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip ; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood shingle; Color: Green Notes: WGG “meet at Si View”; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Sammamish Valley #286 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1967 PB or AR: PB	Location: 14654 - 148th Ave NE, Woodinville Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 36x90 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood rough cut; Color: Grey Notes: WGG “own hall” Hollywood School (diff bldg., diff location); const date CA; ADA access: No
 Steele Lake Highline #805 Organized: 1924 Hall Constructed: 1970 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2902 S 298th, Federal Way Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 36x128 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable side low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal prefab; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file history ends, new building 1970, likely due to I-5 construction; WGG “own hall” cool old wood bldg.; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Vashon-Maury #1105 Organized: 1941 Hall Constructed: 1953 PB or AR: AR Community hall	Location: 10365 SW Cowan Rd, Vashon Island Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 36x48 incl side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: none; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood vert siding; Color: Red Notes: WGG meet at former IOOF hall (Blue Heron); current hall was Vashon Heights Community Club; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade

Kitsap County

 Bainbridge Island #1051 Organized: 1934 Hall Constructed: 1915 PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 10340 Madison Ave, Bainbridge Island Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x56, 20’ rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding, old clapboard under it; Color: Red Notes: WSG file: ca. 1935, bought Old Homestead Social Club (built 1915), CA has 1930 const date (incorrect); WGG “own hall” same bldg.; ADA access: Side at grade

 Bethel #404 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1973 PB or AR: PB	Location: 5998 Bethel Rd SE, Port Orchard Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x80, L 40' rear Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Clapboard; Color: Yellow Notes: WSG file: School met initially, land set aside, land clearing and building bees, first hall in Kitsap Co, discussion about remodeling 1950-1970, unknown if the building was just incrementally altered, Report ends 1970; const date from CA. WGG "own hall" photo of diff bldg.; meeting room with stage, dining room with kitchen; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Crystal #1126 Organized: 1947 Hall Constructed: 1928 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 2160 Paulson Rd, Poulsbo vic. Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x90 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip open sm; Roof form: Hip center, gable sides; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding ctr, vert wood end adds; Color: Grey Notes: Former Brownsville School leased 1948, purchased 1953, dedicated 1967; WGG "meet Brownsville school" same bldg, has been substantially modified, orig. center bldg. 50' wide; const date CA; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Olalla #1125 Organized: 1947 Hall Constructed: 1940s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: 7554 SE Fragaria Rd, Olalla vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 40x70 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Tan Notes: old Fragaria School purchased 1959 for $2,250; construction loan from state grange; www.olallagrange.org; ADA access: Main at grade
 Silverdale #879 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1935 * PB or AR: AR church	Location: 12535 Clear Creek Rd NW, Silverdale Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 24x54, L 30x40 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Tower encl; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: Grey Notes: Meetings at Yeoman Hall to 1940, bought old Clear Creek Church 1947; WGG "own hall old Clear Creek Church"; CA const date 1935 but that sounds too late; ADA access: Side ramp

Kittitas County

 Menastash #1054 Organized: 1934 Hall Constructed: 1956 PB or AR: PB	Location: 4931 Manastash Rd, Ellensburg Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x70, vest 14x18 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Grey no paint Notes: WGG "rent Dammon Schoolhouse"; const date CA; ADA access: No?
 Swauk Teanaway #984 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1904, 2006 PB or AR: AR school (reconstructed)	Location: 1361 Ballard Hill Rd, Cle Elum vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 32x58, 30' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard (MDF?); Color: White Notes: WGG "meet schoolhouse on Ballard Hill" same bldg.; reconstructed 2006 after fire per newsletter article ; ADA access: Main ramp

Klickitat County

 Alder Creek #890 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1936 PB or AR: PB	Location: 304 E Market St, Bickleton Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Aluminum horiz siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: first rented then bought M.E. church; new hall built 1936; WGG "own hall" photo same bldg.; CA has const date as 1930 (incorrect); ADA access: Side at grade
 Centerville #81 Organized: 1889 Hall Constructed: 1980 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2288 Centerville Hwy, Centerville Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 36x90 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal vert siding; Color: Yellow Notes: WSG file: Earlier hall built 1937, burned 1979, rebuilt 1980; WGG "own hall" same bldg. resided? or new construction? Old porch reused. CA has 1985 as const date (incorrect); ADA access: Rear
 Columbia #87 Organized: 1889 Hall Constructed: 1890 PB or AR: PB	Location: Grange Hall Rd & 120 Old Hwy, Lyle Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 34x84 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm, hip encl; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood board & batten old; Color: Unpainted Notes: WSG file: detailed history; WGG "own hall" same bldg., intact; const date from KT CA wrong (1935/40); ADA access: Main at grade

 Glenwood #94 Organized: 1890 Hall Constructed: 1996 PB or AR: PB	Location: Main & Division, Glenwood Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x40 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert rough sawn ; Color: Grey Notes: WGG "own hall" photo of diff bldg. diff location; const date CA; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Goldendale #49 Organized: 1874, 1911 Hall Constructed: 1948 PB or AR: PB	Location: 228 E Darland, Goldendale Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 50x90 Plan: T; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Curved; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Green Notes: Dedicated 1948; article in WA Grange News 5/8/1948; WGG "own hall" photo same bldg.; prefab annex in back larger than many halls; const date WSG profiles; CA 1950 ; ADA access: Rear at grade
 Mountain View #98 Organized: 1890 Hall Constructed: 1935 * PB or AR: PB	Location: 1085 N Main Ave, White Salmon Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 35x75 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: Red Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg., intact; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Trout Lake #210 Organized: 1907 Hall Constructed: 1929 PB or AR: AR community hall*	Location: 2390 Hwy 141, Trout Lake Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 42x64 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open lg; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Aluminum horiz siding; Color: Tan Notes: Hall purchased 1939 from Masons, unclear if it is the same building; WGG "own hall" no photo, dimensions indicate diff bldg.; const date KT CA; ADA access: Rear at grade

Lewis County

 Adna #417 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1920 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 123 Dieckman Rd, Chehalis vic. Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 40x50 est, 20' rear add Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: gable open med; Roof form: gable front low; Roofing Material: metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding; Color: Grey Notes: WGG "own hall" diff bldg. in photo; const date DAHP; const date CA may not be reliable; rehabbed after major flood damage; ADA access: Main ramp sm

 Alpha #154 Organized: 1904 Hall Constructed: 1905 PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 3397 Centralia Alpha Rd, Onalaska Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: Detailed history in Kucera *Alpha: the Classic Hills of Alpha Prairie*; built by Alpha Public Hall Association, hall ownership assumed by Grange 1931, WGG "own hall" no photo; includes small rear kitchen add; CA has 1935 for const date (incorrect); ADA access: No
 Baw Faw #34 Organized: 1874 Hall Constructed: 1941 PB or AR: PB	Location: 995 Boistford Rd, Curtis (Klaber) Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 28x80, L48x30 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood shingles; Color: White Notes: Dedicated 1941; WGG "own hall" same bldg. incl add; adjacent to school; const date from NGM November 1941 pp. 41 article on ded; DAHP says 1939, CA says 1940; ADA access: L ramp
 Cowlitz Prairie #737 Organized: 1920 Hall Constructed: 1989 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 5184 Jackson Hwy, Toledo Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 54x84 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl horiz siding; Color: Green Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo; const date LE CA may not be reliable; ADA access: Main at grade
 Fords Prairie #33 Organized: 1874, 1911 Hall Constructed: 1924 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2640 W Reynolds Ave, Centralia Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x60, 12' rear, L 46x22 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding, new wood vert; Color: White Notes: 1918 voted to build a hall; 1920 bought property; 1924 first meeting in present hall; old hall burned; WGG "own hall" same bldg. in photo includes L; adjacent to school; const date WSG file (CA has 1920); ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Forest #153 Organized: 1904 Hall Constructed: 1916 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3397 Jackson Hwy, Chehalis vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x90 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal sheet over wood; Color: Green Notes: WSG file info; WGG "own hall" no photo; DAHP legacy data IDs as "early 20th century" no other info; const date LE CA may not be reliable; ADA access: Main ramp lg

 Hope #155 Organized: 1904 Hall Constructed: 1905 PB or AR: PB	Location: 120 Antrim Rd, Winlock vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 28x60, L 64x26 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable front and side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood shingles (raked) orig; drop siding add; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Const date; CA says 1930 (incorrect); Electricity 1925; 1949 addition; WGG “own hall” same bldg. including addition; ADA access: L at grade
 Lincoln Creek #407 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1911 PB or AR: PB	Location: 1500 Lincoln Creek Rd, Galvin Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 35x70, 12’ rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip open full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding new; Color: Tan Notes: WGN 6/10/39 p15 built 1911, WGG “own hall” same bldg., mostly intact; rear kitchen add, two sm side additions to relocate stage; CA has 1920 as const date (incorrect); ADA access: Rear?
 Logan Hill #1086 Organized: 1937 Hall Constructed: 1920 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 105 Hewitt Rd, Chehalis Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x100 includes multiple additions Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert b&b, siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Former school rented then purchased ca. 1940; WGG “own hall” no photo; const date CA may not be reliable; ADA access: Main at grade
 Mossyrock #355 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1970 PB or AR: AR salvaged bldg	Location: 152 Isbell Rd, Mossyrock Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 76x34 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding; Color: Blue Notes: WSG file: WSG file: Donated land site of former hall, building materials from dam construction building 1969, Dedicated 1971 WGG “meet Birley Hall” no photo; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Newaukam #198 Organized: 1907 Hall Constructed: 1930 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 104 Brown Rd E, Chehalis Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x60 est, L 40x30 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1½; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip open sm; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood shingles (raked); Color: Green Notes: WGG “own hall” could be same bldg. now modified; const date CA may not be reliable; ADA access: Side at grade

 Oakview #311 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1905 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 2715 N Pearl St, Centralia Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 36x60 est, sm side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood shiplap; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" appears to be same bldg.; const date CA may not be reliable; ADA access: Side?
 Silver Creek/Ethel #150 Organized: 1904 Hall Constructed: 1925 PB or AR: AR school *	Location: 1624 US Hwy 12, Silver Creek Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x50 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Flat square encl; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: Tan Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo; DAHP legacy data IDs as school but no const date; const date CA may not be reliable; ADA access: Side ramp
 St. Urban #648 Organized: 1917 Hall Constructed: 1910s PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: Military Rd & Sargent Rd, Winlock Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x50 + 12', vest 60' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood shingle; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Booster Club hall of St. Urban district rented for meetings 1917; bought for $400 in 1920, building moved across the road 1925, dedicated 1925; WGG "own hall" no photo; const date LE CA may not be reliable; ADA access: Rear ramp sm

Lincoln County

 Bluestem #776 Organized: 1921 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: Bluestem Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 40x50 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl siding?; Color: Green Notes: WGG "own hall" looks like an old school 2 story; may be same bldg. if fire damaged 2nd floor? Entry gable looks same. May be new. CA says 1920 (reliable?); ADA access: Main at grade
 Canniwai #837 Organized: 1926 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR school *	Location: Marlin vic. (10 miles north of Marlin) Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 24x60 est, w/rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hipped encl med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood horiz siding; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg.; may be former school; Vandalized, appears to be abandoned; ADA access: unknown

 Grand Coulee #807 Organized: 1924 Hall Constructed: 1900s? PB or AR: AR *	Location: Bagdad Rd @ LaFollette Rd, Almira vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 25x40 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg. intact; ADA access: Main (sm step); assumption of church or school based on location and building appearance
 Mondovi #822 Organized: 1925 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: 28715 Mondovi Rd N, Davenport vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x60 + 10' front Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg. without 10' enclosed entry gable in front; appears to be purpose-built as former school is on adjacent parcel; ADA access: Main alt at grade
 Waukon #894 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: AR school *	Location: Waukon vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 20x40 est +10' f & b, L20x20 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg 10'deep; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" photo same bldg. w/ front and rear add; ADA access: No; assumed to be former school based on building appearance

Mason County

 Matlock #357 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1934 PB or AR: PB	Location: W Beeville Rd, Matlock Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x60, 10' ent, 35' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file & WGN 6/10/39 p8 1929-30 built new hall 34x60; (?)Land donated 1929, 1934 built; CA had 1930; WGG "own hall" same bldg. in photo including 10' enclosed vestibule; ADA access: Main ramp
 Skokomish #379 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1922 PB or AR: AR school *	Location: 2320 W Skokomish Valley Rd, Shelton vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 64x64 Plan: Squ; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable double front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood shingle; Color: Grey Notes: WGG "meet community hall" no photo, would guess same location, AR of school; const date MA CA ; ADA access: Main ramp

 The Agate #275 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1951 PB or AR: PB	Location: 1631 Agate Loop Rd, Shelton vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x75 Plan: rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Blue Notes: Former hall sold 1948, land adjacent to school donated 1949, construction underway when school burned in 1951, hall rented to school for two years, addition 1953, dedicated 1954 WGG "meet at Agate schoolhouse" diff location; const date 1949-50 CA; ADA access: Main (sm step)

Okanogan County

 Brewster #1018 Organized: 1933 Hall Constructed: 1940 PB or AR: PB	Location: 25905 Hwy 97, Brewster Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 25x75, 25' add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: White Notes: WGG "meets in Oddfellows hall" diff location; current co-located w/Spanish speaking Masons; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Malott #948 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1917 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 54 B & O Rd, Malott Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 65x40 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: Met at school then community club; Bought old school 1948; WGG "own hall in Malott across from schoolhouse" same bldg., contemp school is across the street; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Molson #1069 Organized: 1935 Hall Constructed: 1918 PB or AR: AR commercial bldg	Location: Main St, Molson Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 60x120 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Flat; Roofing Material: Built-up; Cladding material: Brick; Color: Unpainted Notes: Bought trading company 1940; WGG "own hall formerly Molson Trading Co."; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Mt. Olive #986 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1953 PB or AR: PB	Location: 317 N Main, Riverside Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 50x70 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Shingle; Color: Tan Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo or location info., dimensions diff; const date OK CA; ADA access: Main at grade

 Okanogan #1103 Organized: 1940 Hall Constructed: 1939 PB or AR: PB	Location: 305 Tyee St, Okanogan Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 30x60, side add 16x50 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal sheet siding; Color: Green Notes: WGG "meet in Townsend Hall" photo could be same bldg; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Oroville #985 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1956 PB or AR: PB	Location: 622 Fir St, Oroville Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 35x85 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Curved; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Blue Notes: WGG "meet at IOOF" no photo or location info but dimensions don't match; const date CA; ADA access: Main alt at grade
 Tunk Valley #1019 Organized: 1933 Hall Constructed: 1934 PB or AR: PB	Location: Omak vicinity [14 miles E of Riverside] Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x65, 20' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding over orig; Color: Green Notes: WGG "own hall" photo matches (diamond window in gable); rear kitchen add; const date CA; ADA access: Rear at grade
 Twisp Valley #482 Organized: 1911 Hall Constructed: 1948 PB or AR: PB	Location: 344 W 2nd Ave, Twisp Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 35x90 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Unpainted Notes: 1942 decide to build a new hall, 1945 old hall sold, 1948 new hall started, dedicated 1961; WGG "meet in Beaver Creek Schoolhouse" no photo. glass brick windows & curves; const date CA; ADA access: Rear at grade

Pacific County

 Long Beach #667 Organized: 1918 Hall Constructed: 1931 PB or AR: PB	Location: 5715 Sandridge Rd, Long Beach Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 50x100 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding?; Color: Yellow Notes: Met early community hall then at school, 1928 bought land, built hall dedicated 1931, WGG "own hall" same bldg., est. 20' front addition since; ADA access: Main ramp; courtesy photo

 North River #946 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1950s est PB or AR: PB	Location: 2637 North River Rd., Brooklyn Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x65, 14' add rear Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med (8' deep); Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block, shingled gables ; Color: Grey no paint Notes: WGG "own hall" photo of diff bldg. in diff location; Pacific Co. is actual location, but affiliated with Grays Harbor Pomona; ADA access: Main at grade
 North Willapa Harbor #947 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1967 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3198 State Rt. 105, Grayland / Tokeland vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 32x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding; Color: Blue Notes: WSG file: Old hall built 1931, lost to ocean 1966, new hall built on donated land, first meeting in new hall 1967; WGG "own hall" diff build – high gable w/hip open porch; ADA access: Main at grade
 West Union #527 [also called Willapa Valley] Organized: 1912 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB	Location: 290 Camp One Road, Raymond vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 42x56, L 50x28 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg., has L add; Pacific Co. is actual location, but affiliated with Grays Harbor Pomona; ADA access: Main ramp sm

Pend Oreille County

 Calispel #500 Organized: 1912 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: 10171 LeClerc Rd S, Cusck (Newport vic.) Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 32x68 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl part full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal sheet siding; Color: Brown Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo; ADA access: Main at grade
 Camden #687 Organized: 1918 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: Camden Road, Elk / Newport vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x60, rear add 26' Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo; ADA access: Main at grade

 Davis Lake #501 Organized: 1912 Hall Constructed: 1900s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: Corner of Turner & Baker Lake Rd, Dalkena (Newport vic.) Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Irreg; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable orig, mansard add; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard, plywood, vert wood; Color: Blue Notes: Met at Dalkena School House acquired 1916 after new school was built; WGG "own hall" photo detail of same bldg., multiple additions, may be 2 school bldgs. combined; ADA access: Main at grade
 Diamond Lake #506 Organized: 1912 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: 322932 N Hwy 2, Scotia (Newport vic.) Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 32x40 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal sheet siding; Color: White Notes: WGN 6/10/39 p16 bought school 1939; WGG "own hall" photo looks like same bldg; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Fertile Valley #1094 Organized: 1937 Hall Constructed: 1930s est. PB or AR: PB *	Location: 511 Old State Rd, Elk Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 22x56, L 50x25 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front & hip side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding, shingles L; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" appears to be same L hip roofline, L was original log bldg., "main" extended; ADA access: Main at grade

Pierce County

 Collins #893 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1930 * PB or AR: PB	Location: 3404 - 120th St E, Tacoma Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 80x90 incl side adds Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood vert siding; Color: Tan Notes: dedication 1934 (mentioned in masters address 1935); WGG "own hall" photo same bldg. w/first side add; Per Pomona member: Donated land, hall built w/in 2 years; side add is kitchen; CA has const date as 1925 (incorrect); ADA access: Side ramp
 Edgewood #266 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB	Location: 1806 Meridian E, Puyallup vic. Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x70 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding?; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" photo same bldg., has hip enclosed entry & false front; PB per member; const date 1920s DAHP; ADA access: Main ramp

 Elk Plain #782 Organized: 1921 Hall Constructed: 1930 PB or AR: PB	Location: 21817 Mountain Hwy, Spanaway Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x60 est Plan: Rect xgab; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable side & front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood vert & horiz siding; Color: Tan Notes: WGG "own hall" photo is same site, bldg rebuilt per Pomona member, conf PB; const date CA; construction photos ca. 1927 provided by member; ADA access: Side?
 Fruitland #999 Organized: 1932 Hall Constructed: 1938 PB or AR: PB	Location: 112th St E @ 86th, Puyallup Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 40x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 2; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gambrel side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg. intact; Designed & built by members; date & description Vest article; DAHP says 1950; ADA access: Main at grade
 Gig Harbor #445 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1912 PB or AR: AR church	Location: 5725 Artondale Dr NW, Gig Harbor vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 24x40, 6'porch, 8' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop, clapboard, shingle; Color: Tan Notes: WGG "meet in Mikich Bldg" diff bldg, diff location; DAHP const date & orig use; grange bought 1956; ADA access: Side at grade
 Marion #276 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1900s est PB or AR: AR school *	Location: 27225 Buckley-Sumner Hwy E, Buckley vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 45x70 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip w/gable; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" same bldg. but has windows. Assumed to be school based on building form; ADA access: No – sm steps
 McMillin #848 Organized: 1927 Hall Constructed: 1926 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 12707 State Rt 162, Puyallup vic Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 80x80 est Plan: Squ; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Brick; Color: Unpainted Notes: WGG "meet McMillin schoolhouse" became grange 1963 per member, School built date on sign; DAHP says 1924; ADA access: Rear ramp

 Ohop #812 Organized: 1924 Hall Constructed: 1926 PB or AR: PB	Location: 41608 Mountain Hwy E, Eatonville Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 32x70, L 30x32 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Aluminum siding, plywood, old wood clapboard rear; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Land donated 1924, construction started 1926, dining room and kitchen 1928; WGG "own hall" photo same bldg. mostly intact has L; PB and date conf by member, assume donated land, kitchen & dining in L; const date DAHP; ADA access: L ramp, main sm step
 Riverside Valley #1047 Organized: 1934 Hall Constructed: 1950s est. PB or AR: PB *	Location: 6715 N Levee Rd, Puyallup Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 36x40 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Blue Notes: WGG "meet in Riverside School" photo diff bldg; ADA access: Main at grade
 Roy #702 Organized: 1919 Hall Constructed: 1962 PB or AR: AR barracks	Location: 102 Water St, Roy Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 80x20 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable part encl med; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: Blue Notes: WGG "meet in Murray's Hall" no photo; 2 barracks from Ft. Lewis per Pomona member; const date CA; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Waller Road #1111 Organized: 1945 Hall Constructed: 1962 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2708 - 64th St E, Tacoma Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 60x50 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Comp?; Cladding material: Wood clapboard?; Color: Blue Notes: WGG "meet in community hall" photo diff bldg; PB & date per Pomona member, school district surplus prop bought for $1, gr master was bldg. contractor; const date CA; ADA access: Side ramp

San Juan County

 Lopez Island #1060 Organized: 1935 Hall Constructed: 1904 ca. PB or AR: AR school	Location: 452 Richardson Rd, Lopez Island Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x50 est Building data not collected Roof form: Gable front Notes: Const date & orig use DAHP; grange bought 1940s; background info in Maddox 1980; courtesy photo
 Orcas Island #964 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1915 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 3252 Orcas Road, Eastsound, Orcas Island Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 60x33 est Building data not collected Notes: Const date & orig use DAHP; grange bought 1935; courtesy photo
 San Juan Island #966 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1890 PB or AR: AR church	Location: 152 1st St N, Friday Harbor, Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 29x54, 22x52 add Building data not collected Notes: Const date & orig use (Methodist Episcopal Church) DAHP; grange bought 1975; background info in Maddox 1980; courtesy photo

Skagit County

 Fredonia #545 Organized: 1913 Hall Constructed: 1923 PB or AR: PB	Location: 1225 McFarland Rd, Mount Vernon vic. Setting: Rural (industrial site) Building Dimensions: 36x130 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGN 6/10/39 p10 built hall, burned 1921, built new hall 1923; WGG “own hall” photo same bldg. intact; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Rexville #815 Organized: 1925 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: 19299 Rexville Grange Rd, Mt Vernon vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” photo same bldg. intact; ADA access: Lower at grade

 Samish Valley #926 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1960s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: 4320 Hwy 9, Sedro Wooley vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 25x45, T rear 42x22 Plan: T; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Dbl gable encl full; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood vert rough sawn; Color: Brown Notes: WGG “Meet Samish Schoolhouse” no photo; ADA access: Main at grade
 Skagit Valley #620 Organized: 1916 Hall Constructed: 1929 PB or AR: PB	Location: 21273 Cook Rd, Sedro Wooley Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 50x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 2/1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Curved; Roofing Material: Unknown; Cladding material: Metal sheet siding; Color: Tan Notes: WGG “own hall” same bldg. brick under siding; 2 story front 30’, 1 story rear 70’; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Summit Park #261 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1950 PB or AR: PB	Location: 8716 Stevenson Rd, Anacortes Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 32x82 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable side low; Roofing Material: Unknown; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” no photo; const date SK CA ; ADA access: Main at grade

Snohomish County

 Bryant #791 Organized: 1922 Hall Constructed: 1953 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 26830 - 53rd Ave NE, Arlington Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 40x90 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y?; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Shake; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: WSG: first met in Mohler’s Hall, new hall moved into 1953, unclear if hall was newly constructed or was renovated former Wagner building; construction date from CA; WGG “own hall” no photo; ADA access: Main at grade
 Cedar Valley #306 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1921 PB or AR: AR temporary building & warehouse	Location: 20526 - 52nd Ave SW, Lynnwood Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Plywood, shingle, clapboard; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file: New hall built onto temporary building 1921, old warehouse used as dining room and kitchen, name changed 1927, 1928 remodeled, 1948 land purchased and hall moved; WGG “own hall” no photo; CA const date 1926 ; ADA access: Main alt at grade

 Fern Bluff #267 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: AR residence	Location: S of Hwy. 2, Sultan Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 40x60 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl side; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle, clapboard; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Moved to Sultan 1910, bought existing house in highway ROW in 1949, moved to current location WGG “meets in IOOF hall” photo diff bldg.; ADA access: Main at grade
 Garden City #280 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1920 PB or AR: PB	Location: 801 [810?] 2nd St, Snohomish Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 32x90 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Green Notes: 1923 building, or at least are planning to build a new hall. Agricultural Grange News August 20, 1923, Vol. XII, No. 1, “A New Hall” WGG “own hall” photo same bldg. intact; CA const date 1920 ; ADA access: Lower ramp down
 Granville #857 Organized: 1927 Hall Constructed: 1908 PB or AR: AR school *	Location: 9401 - 163rd Ave NE, Granite Falls vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x98 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl; Color: Tan Notes: WGG “own hall” bldg. looks same; const date from CA, assumed to be school based on building form; ADA access: Rear
 Horseshoe #965 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1959 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 16428 Broadway, Cathcart, Snohomish vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 36x72 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood horiz rough sawn; Color: Tan Notes: WGG no photo, “meets” unspecified; const date from CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Kellogg Marsh #136 Organized: 1903 Hall Constructed: 1924 PB or AR: PB	Location: 10005 – 67th Ave NE, Marysville vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 30x70 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front (j-head); Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl; Color: Grey Notes: WGG “own hall” photo same bldg. orig cladding; const date from CA; ADA access: Main ramp lg

 Mansford #710 Organized: 1919 Hall Constructed: 1955 PB or AR: PB	Location: 28806 - 463rd Ave NE [1265 Railroad Ave], Darrington Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 32x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable side low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding w/ wood shingle; Color: Tan Notes: Bought land 1944, buildings donated, 1953 roof caved in under heavy snow, built new hall 1955, WGG “own hall” diff bldg. in photo; const date from CA; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 North Creek Valley #769 Organized: 1921 Hall Constructed: 1949 PB or AR: PB	Location: 19510 Bothell-Everett Hwy Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 40x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Curved; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood Shingle; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file: met at North Creek School (cookhouse for Stimson logging camp); bought land 1940s, broke ground 1948; CA has 1942 for const date (incorrect); WGG “community hall”; ADA access: Main at grade
 South Lake Stevens #690 Organized: 1919 Hall Constructed: 1949 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2109 - 103rd Ave SE, Everett Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 36x60, L 34x54 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front & side low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file: Opened new hall 1932, burned 1949, new hall built same site 1949; WGG “own hall” photo is same bldg., R wing orig; L sing sm; CA has 1948 as const date ; ADA access: Main at grade
 Stillaguamish #1058 Organized: 1935 Hall Constructed: 1912 PB or AR: AR dance hall	Location: 6521 Pioneer Hwy, Stanwood Camano Fairgrounds Setting: Rural (fairgrounds) Building Dimensions: 40x116, side add 20x20 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl side lg; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl; Color: Grey Notes: dedication mentioned in masters address 1937; WSG file: originally constructed as a dance hall; WGG “own hall” photo is same bldg. intact w/orig siding; CA const date (predates grange charter); ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Tri-Way #1093 Organized: 1937 Hall Constructed: 1940 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3509 Seattle Hill Rd, Snohomish Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 32x64 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard front half, concrete block rear; Color: Grey Notes: Purchased site of former Thomas Lake School 1940, constructed new building on foundation of old (CA has 1928 as constr date, incorrect); WGG “own hall” photo same bldg. ; ADA access: Main alt at grade

 Tualco #284 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1910 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 18933 Tualco Rd, Monroe vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x40, rear add 30x25 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip main; gable rear add; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard (?); Color: White Notes: WSG file Purchased school in 1947; WGG "meet in old Tualco School" same bldg. in photo, Grange purchased 1947 per Monroe Hist Soc article; const date from CA; ADA access: Main ramp

Spokane County

 Central #831 Organized: 1926 Hall Constructed: 1910 PB or AR: AR church	Location: 7001 E Bigelow Gulch Rd, Spokane (Hillyard) vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x70 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: bought Congregational church 1929; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., intact; const date & orig purpose from DAHP; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 East Cheney #885 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: Cheney Spangle Rd Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x50 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding; Color: Green Notes: WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., intact; ADA access: No?
 East Spokane #148 Organized: 1904 Hall Constructed: 1900s PB or AR: AR school	Location: 1621 Park Rd N at Mission St, Spokane Valley Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 40x55, 15' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: Grey Notes: WSG file: Orchard Park School bought 1905, moved to adjacent lot; old warehouse purchased; "new hall" from rehabbed bldgs completed 1936; WGG "own hall" appears to be same bldg. & location; CA 1904 const date (incorrect); ADA access: Main at grade
 Espanola #698 Organized: 1919 Hall Constructed: 1927 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 23607 W Manila Rd, Medical Lake Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Flat; Roofing Material: Built-up; Cladding material: Brick; Color: Unpainted Notes: School purchased 1954 after consolidation; WGG "meet in Espanola Schoolhouse" photo of same bldg., intact; const date SP CA; ADA access: Main at grade

 Five Mile Prairie #905 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1913 PB or AR: AR apple packing shed	Location: 3024 W Strong Rd, Spokane Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 42x48 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Side ext under gable; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG “own hall” photo appears to be same bldg; const date CA assumed to be reliable; if accurate then hall must be an example of AR; ADA access: Main ramp lg; per 2013 (centennial of construction) newspaper article built as apple packing shed, by 1930s used as school, then new school built across the street; grange purchased 1936
 Gardenspot #278 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1948 PB or AR: PB	Location: 43030 N Short Rd, Deer Park vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x60 est, 10’ side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: hall built 1945-48, dedicated 1948 WGN 6/10/39 p16+ (old) WGG (SP) “own hall” photo of same bldg. w/out side add; now looks abandoned; CA const date; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Green Bluff #300 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1935 PB or AR: PB	Location: 9809 E Green Bluff Rd, Colbert Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x70, 6’ front porch, 10’ rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg w/encl ramp; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: White Notes: 1912: Green Bluff Grange preparing to build a hall Agricultural Grange News October 1, 1912 Vol. 1, No. 1, Grange News p.14, that hall burned; current hall built 1935 using wood salvaged from building in Elk; WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg., intact; const date CA, ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Half Moon #907 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1909 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 511 E Half Moon Rd, Colbert Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x72, 24’ ext front gable Plan: Irreg; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Tower open; Roof form: Hip w/ gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WSG file report confirms school but no dates; WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg., intact; const date DAHP 1900 & 1909; grange bought 1930s; const date CA; ADA access: Main ramp sm

 Inland #780 Organized: 1921 Hall Constructed: 1922 * PB or AR: PB + AR school	Location: 37411 Conklin Rd N (at Nelson Road), Elk Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 26x54, 30' ent add, L 26x36 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood shingle; Color: Unpainted Notes: WSG file: Land donated 1921; new hall moved into 1922; old schoolhouse moved to property in early 1950s; CA has 1910 for construction date (unclear) WGG "own hall" " photo of same bldg.; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Mcintosh #1001 Organized: 1932 Hall Constructed: 1964 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 319 S 1st St, Rockford Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 25x70 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal sheet siding; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" photo diff bldg. diff location; const date SP CA; ADA access: Rear
 Moran Prairie #161 Organized: 1905 Hall Constructed: 1940 PB or AR: PB	Location: 6106 S Palouse Hwy, Spokane Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial?; Porch / vestibule: Gambrel encl lg; Roof form: Gambrel front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: 1930 bought old apple warehouse, outgrew it; details construction of new hall started 1939; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., intact; const date DAHP; const date CA; ADA access: Main alt
 Spring Hill #909 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1935 PB or AR: PB	Location: 8717 N Brooks Rd @ Coulee Hite Hwy, Spokane vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x86, 10' entr add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos brick siding; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file: detailed construction; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., intact; const date SP CA; ADA access: Main & lower at grade
 Triangle #927 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1935 PB or AR: PB	Location: 304 E Main St, Fairfield Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 50x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Aluminum siding; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., intact; Dedicated 1936, mentioned in masters address 1937; DAHP says built 1935; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade; appears to be owned by city

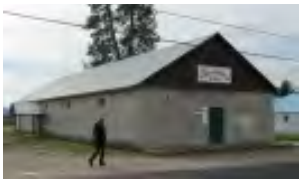
 Tri-Community #1008 Organized: 1933 Hall Constructed: 1962 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 25025 E Heather Lane, Newman Lake Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal prefab; Color: Red Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of diff bldg. (old church) ; const date SP CA; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Tyler #610 Organized: 1916 Hall Constructed: 1942 PB or AR: AR	Location: 231915 S "B" St, Tyler Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 26x68 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal prefab or sheet siding; Color: White Notes: Met at township hall, used school building, unclear arrangement, school torn down 1959 and grange received title, fire in 1960, purchased two existing buildings, first mtg in new hall 1961 WGG “meet in Tyler school” no photo; school site appears to be adjacent, bldg. gone but concrete walk remains; const date CA; ADA access: Rear at grade
 West Deep Creek #880 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1960s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: 27514 State Rt 2 W, Deep Creek / Reardon vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x50 est, L 30x40 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl?; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of diff (old wood) bldg.; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Windsor #980 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1931 PB or AR: PB	Location: 4417 S Assembly Rd, Spokane vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x80, 10’ ent, 50’ rear Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Constructed on donated land 1931; additions early 1950s; WGG “own hall” photo appears to be same bldg. no front add, w/jhead gable; const date SP CA; ADA access: Main at grade

Stevens County

 Addy #603 Organized: 1916 Hall Constructed: 1940 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 1376 Main St, Addy Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 40x80 est, 20’ side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y?; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full; Roof form: Curved; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding ent, asbestos shingle sides; Color: Unpainted / white Notes: WGG “own hall” no photo or info; CA says constr 1940, appears to be older; possible built as a dance hall?; ADA access: Main at grade

 Camas Valley #842 Organized: 1926 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR warehouse *	Location: Main St at Hwy 231, Springdale Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 70x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Brick; Color: Unpainted Notes: WGG “own hall” detail photo does not appear to be same bldg; ADA access: Main at grade
 Clayton #456 Organized: 1911 Hall Constructed: 1926 PB or AR: AR Moose Lodge	Location: 4478 Railroad Ave, Clayton Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 40x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Encl; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Brick; Color: Unpainted Notes: by 1958 needed bigger hall, bought from school district, sold old hall; originally built by volunteer Moose labor; WGG “own hall” photo of diff bldg.; Built date on sign (Moose Lodge), was also a school per member; 1958 became grange per Hist Soc article; CA conf const date; ADA access: Lower side at grade
 Colville Valley #249 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1951 PB or AR: PB	Location: Williams Lake Rd, Colville vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 32x84 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: Gable open lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding ent, asbestos shingle sides; Color: Green, grey Notes: WSG file construction detail; land for new hall donated, clearing land started 1945, WGG “own hall” photo of diff bldg; ADA access: No?
 Enterprise #784 Organized: 1921 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: PB *	Location: Hwy 25, S of Fruitland Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x60, 10’ add front Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” appears to be same bldg.; transom looks like church window; assumed to be PB based on relatively isolated location; ADA access: Rear at grade
 Fort Colville #533 Organized: 1913 Hall Constructed: 1941 PB or AR: PB	Location: 157 Hwy 20 E, Colville Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 36x90, 12’ ext porch, 12’ side add full Plan: Rect; Stories: 1½ ; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open full; Roof form: gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal clapboard siding; Color: Green Notes: land bought 1940, new hall finished 1941; WGG “own hall” same bldg. (gable window ID), w/out entrance mod and add; Across the hwy from schools; ADA access: Main alt at grade

 Greenwood Park #590 Organized: 1915 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: Columbia River Rd, Hunters Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 60x70, multi adds Plan: Irreg; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Hip; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file unclear: 1917 site chosen for lease, hall dedicated 1918, 1963 old school purchased, Dedicated 1965; appears to combine at least two older buildings; WGG "own hall" appears to be diff bldg.; bank of windows & school bell; ADA access: Main at grade
 Narcisse #301 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: 1123 Narcisse Creek Rd, Colville vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x40, 20' rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: appears to be based on "model school" plans ca. 1909 WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg. intact; bank of windows s. side of bldg.; DAHP IDs orig use but no const date or info; ADA access: Main (sm step)
 Northport #928 Organized: 1929 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR commercial bldg	Location: Summit and 3rd Ave, Northport Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 28x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding,vert; Color: Unpainted Notes: WGG "own hall" no photo; plaque on front identifies past uses; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Quillisascut #372 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1912 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2604 Pleasant Valley Rd, Rice vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 24x60, 30' rear add; 60' across front Plan: T; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl two sided; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: shingle / shake; Color: white Notes: WGN 6/10/39 p14 1912 built by members, donated land; ADA access: Altered entry
 South Fork #220 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1908 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2655 Aladdin Rd, Colville vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 24x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WGN 6/10/39 p13: 99 year lease on plot of ground large enough for a hall, picnic ground and stable, WGG "own hall" no photo; ADA access: Main at grade

 Stranger Creek #374 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1952 PB or AR: PB Quonset hut	Location: 3388 Addy-Gifford Rd, Gifford vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Curved; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal, shake ends; Color: Unpainted Notes: Building from Dix Steel Company 1952; Dedicated 1955; WGG "meet IOOF" photo of diff bldg.; CA conf const date; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 The Valley #1048 Organized: 1934 Hall Constructed: 1966 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3091 Waitts Lake Rd, Valley Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 32x86 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Unpainted Notes: dedication mentioned in masters address 1938; WSG file: tore down old building and built new 1966; WGG "own hall" photo of diff bldg; ADA access: Main at grade
 White Lake #484 Organized: 1911 Hall Constructed: 1930s est PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: Hwy 20 at White Lake Rd, Colville vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x40, 8' full side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: diag wood side add; clapboard orig; Color: Unpainted wood, white Notes: hall built 1912, reorged 1933, 1973 hall burned to ground, 1979 White Lake Club House purchased and moved to original hall site, extensive remodeling; WGG "own hall" unidentifiable; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Williams Valley #452 Organized: 1911 Hall Constructed: 1938 PB or AR: PB	Location: 4904 Cassberg-Burraughs Rd, Loon Lake vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Asbestos shingle; Color: White Notes: work began on new hall 1936, 1938 dedication mentioned in masters address WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; ADA access: Main ramp lg

Thurtson County

 Black Lake #861 Organized: 1927 Hall Constructed: 1910 * PB or AR: AR school	Location: 6011 Black Lake Blvd SW, Olympia vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 80x50 Plan: T; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood (?) drop siding; Color: White Notes: Early meetings at old community hall near Black Lake School; then 1938 met at school, bought school 1946 after consolidation; WGG "former Black Lake School"; next to fire station; const date & orig use DAHP; CA says 1925; ADA access: Main at grade

 Brighton Park #163 Organized: 1905 Hall Constructed: 1901 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 815 - 73rd Ave SW, Tumwater Setting: Sub/rural (industrial area) Building Dimensions: 30x60, L 25x45 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open med; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: Grey Notes: WGN 6/10/39 p9 built hall, burned 1917, moved back to Brighton School, purchased it 1917; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; L kitchen & restrooms; const date & orig use DAHP; const date CA; ADA access: L ramps
 Deschutes #222 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1920 PB or AR: AR school	Location: 16435 - 143rd Ave SE, Yelm vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 60x30, L 30x30 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Tower encl; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding narrow; Color: Grey Notes: Acquired school 1930 & dedicated same year; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; intact; school yard ball fields intact; DAHP orig use, no const; const date CA; ADA access: Rear ramp lg
 McLane #383 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1975 PB or AR: PB	Location: 931 Delphi Rd SW, Olympia vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 40x60 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: WSG file: Old school used until roof collapsed 1969, new hall built with construction loan from state, completed 1979, furniture from Michigan Hill Grange WGG "own hall" photo of diff bldg; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Prosperity #315 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1930 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3701 Steamboat Island Rd NW, Olympia vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 25x50, 10' rear L 25x28 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Vinyl siding; Color: White Notes: Old hall burned 1928, new constructed 1930, volunteer fire department given 99 year lease to build station WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; intact; between park & fire station; const date DAHP; replace fire damaged orig hall; const date CA; ADA access: Main ramp sm
 Skookumchuck #584 Organized: 1915 Hall Constructed: 1917 PB or AR: PB	Location: 5303 Skookumchuck Rd SE, Bucoda vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x75, 30' add rear Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood shiplap; Color: Yellow Notes: Built by members 1917; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; intact; kitchen rear; const date & good history DAHP; CA has const date 1910 (incorrect); ADA access: Main ramp sm

 South Bay #250 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1911 * PB or AR: AR school	Location: 3918 Sleater Kinney Rd NE, Olympia Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 60x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Hip pyramid; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Plywood; Color: Grey Notes: after 1948 earthquake the grange and school traded property; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; const date & orig use DAHP; CA says 1916; ADA access: Main at grade
 South Union #860 Organized: 1927 Hall Constructed: 1920s est PB or AR: AR school	Location: 10030 Tilley Rd, Olympia vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 24x36, L 30x40 est Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl full; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood shingles raked; Color: Green Notes: WGG "own hall" photo same bldg. w/out L add; DAHP grange bought 1930 but no const date; CA says 1930 sounds too recent; ADA access: Main at grade
 Violet Prairie #996 Organized: 1931 Hall Constructed: 1935 PB or AR: PB	Location: 17028 Violet Prairie Rd, Tenino vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x68, L 24x34 Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front & side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard narrow; Color: White Notes: WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., intact, built date on sign; conf DAHP; CA says 1936; ADA access: Main ramp

Wahkiakum County

 Grays River #124 Organized: 1901 Hall Constructed: 1905 PB or AR: PB	Location: State Rt 4 W, Grays River Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x70 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert new siding over old drop; Color: Grey Notes: WGG: "own hall" no photo; const date & PB DAHP; ADA access: No?
 Skamokawa #425 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1943 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 16 Fairgrounds Rd, Skamokawa Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 40x80 est, 20' L add Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: Recently restored after 2006 flood damage; Const date estimated by CA; ADA access: unknown; courtesy photo

Walla Walla County

 Burbank #630 Organized: 1917 Hall Constructed: 1958 PB or AR: AR hospital & hangar	Location: 44 N 4th, Burbank Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 58x76 incl side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Aluminum; Color: Yellow Notes: Original hall purchased 1962, floated down Columbia River then up Snake River, had been a wing of the hospital at Hanford (date of original construction unverified). 1977 bought building built by the Air Force in 1942, then at Walla Walla airport, torn down, lumber and fixtures salvaged, moved, used for dining hall and kitchen addition, done 1981. (CA has 1958) WGG "meet in Burbank schoolhouse" photo looks like diff bldg.; const date CA; ADA access: Side?
 Prospect Point #1067 Organized: 1935 Hall Constructed: 1938 PB or AR: PB	Location: S Howard & Prospect Ave, Walla Walla Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 44x72 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WGN 6/10/39 p16 built 1938; Dedicated 1939 (mentioned in Master's address) WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; intact; Across road from school; CA says 1935; ADA access: No?

Whatcom County

 Haynie #169 Organized: 1906 Hall Constructed: 1933 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3344 Haynie Rd, Custer vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x90 incl add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Hip encl full, open gable; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: WSG file describes construction; old hall torn down to build larger hall; dedication mentioned in masters address 1934; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg. intact, kitchen add rear; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Hopewell #518 Organized: 1912 Hall Constructed: 1912 * PB or AR: AR school	Location: 3441 Hopewell Rd, Everson vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 50x65 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Hip w/ entr gable; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg. intact; Date over front door might be charter not construction; WM CA const date estimate; ADA access: Rear ramp

 Laurel #208 Organized: 1907 Hall Constructed: 1978 PB or AR: PB *	Location: 6172 Guide Meridian, Lynden Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x90 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed open full; Roof form: Gable front low; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal prefab; Color: Green Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of diff bldg. (old wood); CA const date; ADA access: Main at grade
 Lummi Island #925 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1930s est PB or AR: AR commercial bldg	Location: 2215 N Nugent Rd, Lummi Island Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x38, 26x36 add Plan: Rect L; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Shed encl sm; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood shake, b&b; Color: Unpainted Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg. intact; addition recent; WM CA const date est. 1920s; ADA access: Rear at grade; Grange purchased Alf’s Tavern in 1936, major addition 1970s (*Shared Heritage: A History of Lummi Island*, 2004, p.30)
 North Bellingham #201 Organized: 1907 Hall Constructed: 1910s PB or AR: AR school	Location: Northwest & Smith Rd, Bellingham vic. Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 40x64 incl side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front w/false front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal sheet siding; Color: White Notes: As a new schoolhouse was being build, the grange purchased the old school 1919, moved to a different site 1929 [WGN 6/10/39 p14 does not include date of construction]; WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg. intact; next to school; Trinity Biker Church; CA const date estimate; ADA access: No?
 Rome #226 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1910 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 2821 Mt. Baker Hwy, Goshen Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x80 incl rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Recessed; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: Yellow Notes: WGG “own hall” no photo, rear kitchen add; WM CA const date estimate; ADA access: Main low at grade
 Ten Mile #399 Organized: 1910 Hall Constructed: 1920 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 6958 Hannegan Rd, Lynden Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x80, 24’ rear add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y?; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg. intact; CA const date estimate; ADA access: Main ramp med

Whitman County

 North & South Palouse #1004 Organized: 1932 Hall Constructed: 1935 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: Hwy 272, Colfax vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 35x70 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood drop siding; Color: White Notes: dedication mentioned in masters address 1935; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg.; DAHP says 1910, but the hall appears to be PB 1930s; ADA access: No?
 Pine Grove #115 Organized: 1899 Hall Constructed: 1910s est PB or AR: AR garage	Location: Albion Setting: Village Building Dimensions: 30x80, 16' side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Minimal; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding, fake brick siding; Color: Grey, brown Notes: WSG file: hall had been a garage, early 1950s old Catholic Church in Pullman demo'd, used lumber to remodel the present hall. WGG "own hall" photo looks like same bldg. w/false front, has side add already; ADA access: Main at grade
 Wheatland #952 Organized: 1930 Hall Constructed: 1938 * PB or AR: PB *	Location: 9752 SR 23, St. John Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 50x80, 15' side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding; prefab? Or over wood?; Color: White Notes: dedication mentioned in masters address 1938; WGG "own hall" photo of old wood bldg. same dimensions so current is siding not prefab; DAHP says ca. 1910; ADA access: Main at grade
 Whelan/Ewartsville #114 Organized: 1899 Hall Constructed: 1948 PB or AR: PB	Location: 5082 SR 27, Pullman Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 36x80 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood vert siding, concrete block?; Color: White Notes: Dedicated 1949; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg. intact; bank of windows could indicate school; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Wilcox #141 Organized: 1903 Hall Constructed: 1911 PB or AR: PB	Location: Hwy 195, Colfax vic. Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x70, 20' side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal siding over wood; Color: Tan Notes: WSG file detailed renovation history; mentioned in 1911 Proceedings; WGG "own hall" no photo; ADA access: Main at grade

Yakima County

 Ashue #795 Organized: 1923 Hall Constructed: 1964 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3841 Branch Rd, Ashue (Wapato vic.) Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: old hall burned 1961-62, new hall completed 1964; WGG "own hall" photo of diff bldg. (old wood); CA has const date as 1960; ADA access: Main at grade
 Broadway #647 Organized: 1917 Hall Constructed: 1949 PB or AR: PB	Location: 909 W Washington Ave, Yakima Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 30x90 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable open sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Yellow Notes: WSG file: First met at school, first hall burned 1948, mtg in new hall 1949; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., intact; const date CA; ADA access: Rear
 Buena #836 Organized: 1926 Hall Constructed: 1925 PB or AR: PB (started as community hall)	Location: 170 Highland Dr, Buena Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 30x60 est Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood clapboard?; Color: Tan Notes: Community Club poured foundation, started framing, sold to the Grange for $1. Dedicated in the 1950s; WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg., has been modified, across from school; const date CA; ADA access: Main alt at grade
 Fruitvale #348 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1930s est PB or AR: AR community hall	Location: 2908 Castlevale Blvd, Yakima Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 38x86, 30' side add Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Stucco orig, conc block add; Color: Yellow Notes: Reorg 1935, 1937 purchased hall from the Come and Help Club, dedicated 1937, remodeled 1948, WGG "own hall" photo of same bldg. w/out side add; ded 1937 (MA); CA says 1940; ADA access: Side ramp
 Lower Naches #296 Organized: 1909 Hall Constructed: 1952 PB or AR: PB	Location: 1800 Old Naches Hwy, Gleed Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 50x100 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Y; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl sm; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Red Notes: WSG file: old school bought, became too small so members built new hall in 1952-3, pavement inlay 1952, dedicated 1954; WGG "own hall" photo of diff bldg., diff location; ADA access: Side at grade

 Outlook #256 Organized: 1908 Hall Constructed: 1931 PB or AR: PB	Location: 4400 Van Belle Rd, Outlook Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 30x80 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl lg; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Metal clapboard siding; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg., intact except entrance; dedicated 1934 (MA); const date from newspaper article; CA says 1925; ADA access: Main alt at grade lg
 Selah Heights #608 Organized: 1916 Hall Constructed: 1940 PB or AR: PB	Location: 2040 McGonagle Rd, Selah Setting: Sub/rural Building Dimensions: 30x78 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? Partial; Porch / vestibule: Gambrel encl full; Roof form: Gable front; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Wood shingles, clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg., intact; const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Sunny Valley #870 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1984 PB or AR: PB	Location: 780 Factory Rd, Sunnyside Setting: Rural Building Dimensions: 36x84 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: Unpainted Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of diff bldg. (old wood); const date CA; ADA access: Main at grade
 Terrace Heights #586 Organized: 1915 Hall Constructed: 1960 PB or AR: PB	Location: 3701 W Birchfield Rd, Yakima Setting: Suburban Building Dimensions: 120x40 Plan: Rect; Stories: 1; Basement? N; Porch / vestibule: Gable encl med; Roof form: Gable side; Roofing Material: Comp; Cladding material: Concrete block; Color: White Notes: Old hall burned 1960, rebuilt in cement block; WGG “own hall” photo of diff bldg., diff location; hall ded 1936 from MA 1937 but must be diff bldg.; const date CA 1960; ADA access: Main ramp lg
 Tieton #875 Organized: 1928 Hall Constructed: 1935 PB or AR: PB	Location: 1306 Naches Ave, Tieton Setting: Town Building Dimensions: 44x44 Plan: Squ; Stories: 1; Basement? N?; Porch / vestibule: None; Roof form: Gable front & cross; Roofing Material: Metal; Cladding material: Wood shingle (raked) & clapboard; Color: White Notes: WGG “own hall” photo of same bldg.; intact; across street from schools; const date CA; ADA access: Main (side) ramp lg

Included in 2012 Washington State Grange Roster are 34 subordinate granges that do not appear to have their own grange halls, and so were not included in this study. They are:

Adams: Lind #1035 (meets at Grange Consolidated Supply?), Marcelllus #942, Othello #1134

Clallam: Quillayute Valley #661 (meets at Forks Masonic Hall)

Columbia: Patit Valley #1039 (meets at Masonic Temple), Upper Whetstone #1034

Franklin: Chiawana #1141

Garfield: Mayview #133, Pleasant Grove #978 (meets at IOOF Hall, Pomeroy)

Grant: Adrian #911

Grays Harbor: Humptulips #730 (former hall for sale)

Island: Penn Cove #1149

Jefferson: Rhododendron #1137 (meets at Gardiner Community Center)

King: East Hill #786 (meets at Meridian Grange), Issaquah Valley #581 (meets at Masonic Lodge), Newcastle #1100, Belltown #1144 (meets at Grange Insurance Bldg.)

Lincoln: Highland #808, Almira vic., Spring Creek #951 (meets at West Deep Creek in Spokane Co), Odessa #931 (meets at Old Town Hall), Crab Creek #933 (meets at Sprague Lodge), Wilbur #798 (meets at the Community Center)

Mason: Harstine #568 (meets at Harstine Community Hall), Twanoh #1118 (meets at Grapeview Fire Department)

Okanogan: Methow #1142 (meets at Methow Community Club)

Skamania: Stevenson Grange #121 (recently reorganized)

Spokane: Paradise #884, Spangle #1063

Whitman: Johnson #118, Pullman (meets at WSU?), Ladow #995 (meets at American Legion Building in Garfield), Kenova #556 (meets at Pine City Community Hall?), Palouse #177, Steptoe #1005

Yakima: Nob Hill #671 (meets at Grotto Hall)