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LISA R. LINDELL

# "All calls promptly attended to, day or night"

## Women Doctors in Southern Dakota Territory

On 19 June 1885, Emma Bertha Cross became the first licensed woman physician in Dakota Territory. The year 1885 marked the first year in which registration with the territorial superintendent of public health was instituted. By year's end, seven more women were licensed to practice medicine in southern Dakota, and by the time of South Dakota's statehood in November 1889, seventeen women are known to have registered, comprising around 4 percent of all physicians in the new state. Dakota's small numbers mirrored national figures. Women had been graduating from American medical schools since mid-century and were traditionally perceived as natural healers and nurturers, but they encountered barriers to full integration in a male-dominated, increasingly professionalized occupation. Even within such an environment, however, opportunities did exist, and South Dakota's pioneering women doctors made the most of the options available to them as they carved out their careers. Drawn to Dakota through family connections, pursuit of a healthful climate, or a perception of greater prospects in the open and sparsely settled West, these early female physicians experienced both the benefits and costs of their chosen path as they built medical practices, navigated professional and personal relationships, engaged in social causes, and used the knowledge they gained to pursue further ventures.[1]

1. Emma Bertha Cross was the fourth doctor of either sex to register with the superintendent of public health to practice medicine in the southern part of the territory. Rosters of physicians registered in Dakota Territory are found, with some variation, in James Grassick's *North Dakota Medicine, Sketches and Abstracts* (Grand Forks: North Dakota Medical Association, 1926), pp. 283–365; *License Register*, South Dakota State Medical Association Records, Center for Western Studies, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S.Dak. (hereafter cited as SDSMA Records); North Dakota State Board of Medi-

The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of expanding possibilities for middle-class, educated women in America. The groundbreaking efforts of women such as Elizabeth Blackwell, who, in 1849, became the first woman in the United States to graduate from a medical school, opened the field of medicine as a career choice for women. Underlying notions of women's physical, emotional, and intellectual frailty and fears of "feminizing" the profession persisted, however, and the regular, allopathic medical schools were slow to accept women. This reality gave rise to the founding of separate all-female medical schools. While these institutions struggled with continuing challenges to provide their students with clinical training and internships, they also offered patent benefits. Women's schools strove to equal the standards of established male institutions and, at the same time, fostered a sense of female solidarity and professional identity.[2]

Other women attended alternative, sectarian medical schools, attracted by their generally receptive policies and their nontraditional approach to medicine. An evolving dissatisfaction with the harsh, "heroic" therapies of bleeding, purging, and leaching, along with a reforming impulse, fueled the sectarian medical movements. Alternative systems included homeopathy, hydropathy, or water cure, and the botanical movements of Thomsonianism and eclecticism. Homeopathy, developed by German physician Samuel Hahnemann in the late eighteenth century, was the most popular and the closest rival to regular medicine. Central to homeopathy was a belief in testing drugs to determine their effects, the principle of "like cures like" (the idea that

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cal Examiners, *Register of Physicians, 1885–1889*, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck; and South Dakota, *Second Biennial Report of the South Dakota State Board of Health, 1897–1898*, pp. 43–70.

2. For historical background on American women doctors, *see* Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Ellen S. More, *Restoring the Balance: Women Physicians and the Profession of Medicine, 1850–1995* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Ruth J. Abram, ed., *Send Us a Lady Physician: Women Doctors in America, 1835–1920* (New York: Norton, 1985); *"Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply": Sexual Barriers in the Medical Profession, 1835–1975* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Meryl S. Justin, "The Entry of Women into Medicine in America: Education and Obstacles 1847–1910," *Synthesis* 4.3 (1978): 31–44.

what causes symptoms of a disease in a healthy person might cure similar symptoms in a sick person), and prescribing the smallest possible doses.[3]

As women began to enter medicine, the field was on the cusp of revolutionary changes. Advances in chemistry and laboratory technology led to discoveries by European scientists and physicians that would fundamentally alter thinking on the causes and treatment of diseases. The development of cell theory and germ theory would prove foundational. Bacteriology, virology, and other branches of microbiology would emerge, and the growing use of anesthetics and antiseptics would allow for extended and safer surgeries.

Scientific medicine and the resulting move toward specialization and professionalization would particularly affect those women who favored a holistic approach and sympathetic personal relationships with patients. A scientific medical mindset would contribute to a national tightening of medical-school admission standards and professional requirements by the early twentieth century. These developments, along with the increasing gender integration of medical schools, would lead to the closing of many women's and sectarian institutions and a decline in the overall number of women medical students. In the meantime, however, women of the late nineteenth century benefited from the variety of medical institutions and the flexibility in licensing regulations. Whether they chose to pursue regular or alternative programs, women graduates received the same degree and title as their male counterparts. As the turn of the century approached, women totaled around 15 percent of all homeopathic medical school graduates. In regular medicine, women physicians composed around 5 percent of the total.[4]

In Dakota Territory, the legislature first set forth standards for medical practitioners in 1869. Physicians were required to have completed

3. Anne Taylor Kirschmann, *A Vital Force: Women in American Homeopathy* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2004).

4. Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, pp. 29–30, 144, 232, 238–42, 249, and "The Female Student Has Arrived: The Rise of the Women's Medical Movement," in *"Send Us a Lady Physician,"* p. 61. For an overview of medical developments, *see* William G. Rothstein, *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

two full courses of instruction from a medical institution, or have practiced medicine in another state or been a medical practitioner for at least ten years, and be of good moral character. Not until 1885, however, was territorial registration instituted and standards enforced. In that year, legislation established territorial and county boards of health and the position of superintendent of public health, with whom all practicing doctors in Dakota Territory had to register. The 1880s also saw the founding of professional medical associations such as the Dakota Medical Society, formed in 1882, and the Dakota Territorial Homeopathic Medical Association, organized in 1884.[5] Of southern Dakota Territory's first registered women physicians, eight practiced regular medicine and nine practiced alternative medicine.

Emma Bertha Smith Cross, the first female physician licensed in Dakota Territory, was the daughter of a practitioner of eclectic medicine. Cross's mother, Anna Dalton Smith, had graduated from the Eclectic Medical College of the City of New York in 1878. Similar to homeopaths, eclectic physicians took a minimalist approach, avoiding the practices of bleeding and purging and promoting botanical, nontoxic remedies. They were eclectic in the sense of borrowing what was deemed most effective from other systems and therapies. Cross chose a path different from her mother's and, in 1879, graduated from a regular medical institution, the Woman's Medical College of the New York Infirmary, established by the trailblazing Elizabeth Blackwell in 1868.[6]

Born on 3 November 1852 and raised in Homer, Cortland County, New York, Cross was the oldest of three children of Anna Smith and patent attorney Samuel Trowbridge Smith. On 8 November 1883, she married a fellow doctor and Harvard graduate, Charles Edward Cross

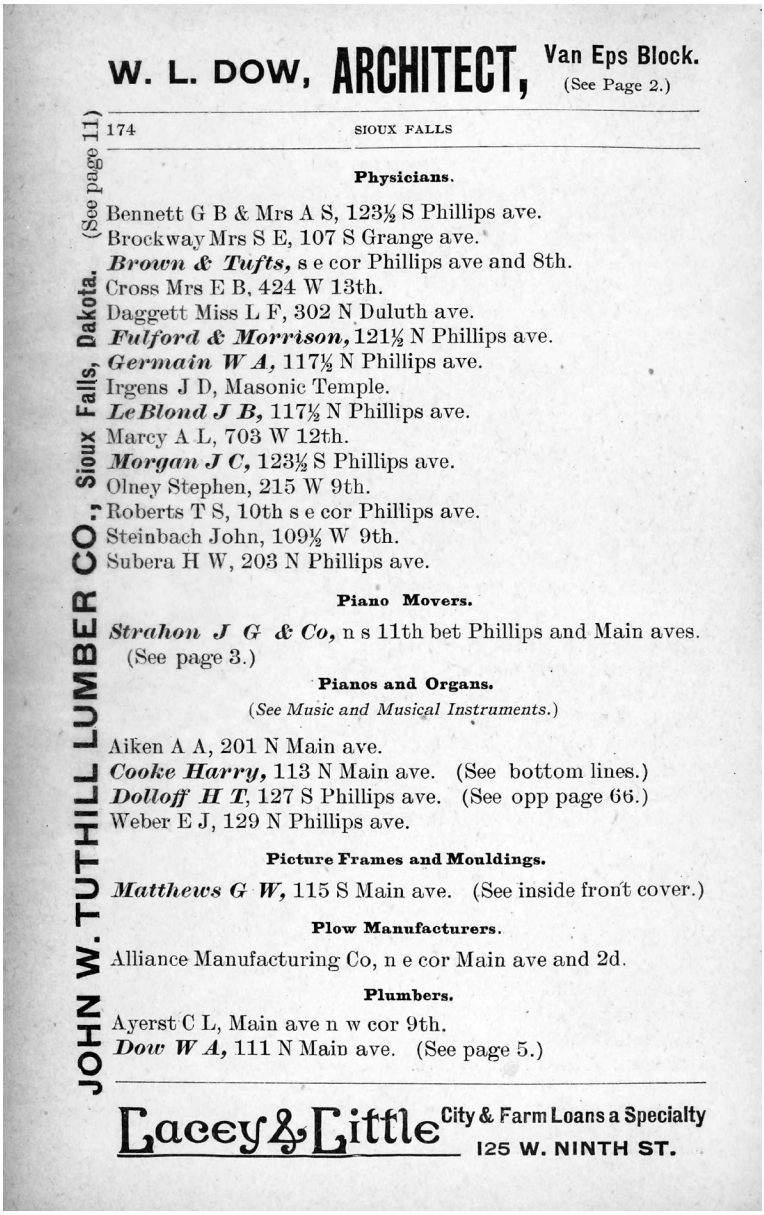
5. Dakota Territory, *General Laws, and Memorials and Resolutions, of the Territory of Dakota, Passed at the Eighth Session of the Legislative Assembly* (1869), chap. 14; Dakota Territory, *General and Special Laws Passed at the Sixteenth Session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Dakota* (1885), chap. 63; Clark Jaye Pahlas, "The History of the South Dakota State Medical Association, 1882–1956" (master's thesis, University of South Dakota, 1956), p. 2; William Harvey King, ed., *History of Homoeopathy and Its Institutions in America*, 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1905), 1:418. Dr. Edward M. Darrow of Fargo served as the first superintendent of public health.

6. University of the State of New York, *Ninety-Second Annual Report of the Regents of the University* (Albany, 1879), p. 315; *New York Times*, 23 May 1879.

in Manhattan, New York. Charles Cross's ill health soon brought the couple to Sioux Falls, Dakota Territory, where he hoped to find rest and recuperation, and where Charles's sister Clara and her physician husband Samuel Augustine Brown already resided. Emma Cross began advertising her medical practice in January 1885, and she and Charles both registered with the superintendent of public health in June. While in Sioux Falls, Emma served as a doctor and teacher of physiology and hygiene at All Saints School, a private day and boarding school for girls established in 1884 by the Episcopal Church. Cross's employment at a girls' school followed a common trajectory. Many women doctors of the era elected to specialize in the health of women and children, and, given the difficulties of getting established in private practice, to work in schools, hospitals, or dispensaries. Cross's tenure at All Saints was brief. Charles Cross died of tuberculosis in Sioux Falls on 24 November 1887, and Emma Cross soon returned to New York City. There, she worked as a doctor for the Little Mothers Aid Association, a society for girls left in charge of homes and younger children while their mothers were at work. Cross died in the Bronx at the age of ninety-six on 10 November 1948.[7]

The next two women to register in southern Dakota Territory were both homeopathic practitioners. Dr. Alma Bennett enthusiastically promoted homeopathic methods in several case histories she wrote for the *Minnesota Medical Monthly* in the 1880s. In the July 1887 issue, she described a case she was called to in Hudson, Wisconsin, to treat a

7. *Sioux Falls Daily Press*, 30 Jan. 1885; *Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader*, 26 Nov. 1887; George W. Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, and George Martin Smith, *South Dakota: Its History and Its People*, 5 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1915), 4:170; *Annual Association for the Advancement of Physical Education at its Fifth Annual Meeting* (Ithaca, 1890), p. 85; *Sioux Falls City Directory, 1888–89* (Sioux Falls, D.T.: Chas. Pettibone & Co., 1888), p. 59; *New York Times*, 5 Jan. 1890; *New York Herald*, 4 Jan. 1890, 9 Dec. 1894, 28 Nov., 4 Dec. 1896, 11 Oct. 1897; New York City, New York Co., N.Y., in U.S., Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, National Archives Microfilm Publication T9, roll 888, p. 513 (all references to the United States census throughout this article refer to the manuscript population schedules for the locations noted); Manhattan, New York Co., N.Y., in *Twelfth Census (1900)*, National Archives Microfilm Publication T623, roll 1105, sheet 10A; New York, Marriages, 1686–1980 Index, familysearch.org; Certificate of death, Bureau of Records, Department of Health, Borough of Bronx, New York City.



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(See Page 2.)

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***Fulford & Morrison,*** 121½ N Phillips ave.
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***LeBlond J B,*** 117½ N Phillips ave.
Marcy A L, 703 W 12th.
***Morgan J C,*** 123½ S Phillips ave.
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The Sioux Falls city directory for 1888 carried the name of Emma Cross, Dakota Territory's first licensed woman physician, along with those of four other women practicing medicine in Sioux Falls.

young mother whose heart beat so rapidly and violently that it shook her whole body. Over the protestations of another doctor who pronounced it useless to treat the woman, Bennett persisted in seeking a cure. She suspected rheumatic origins and prescribed two homeopathic plant-based remedies, Kalmia and Spigelia, which quickly alleviated the patient's symptoms. The next month, she described another Wisconsin case. The patient was a young man with bleeding from the lungs. The hemorrhaging was frequent and excessive, accompanied by pressure, shortness of breath, and a slight hacking cough. Again Bennett prescribed homeopathic remedies with successful results.[8]

Alma Bennett registered with the superintendent of public health just one day after Emma Cross on 20 June 1885. She was, in contrast to Cross, a long-term resident of Dakota Territory. Bennett and her husband had arrived in Dakota in 1866, and her parents and youngest siblings soon settled there, as well. Born 26 May 1845 in New York to James Keeler Wolcott and Augusta Perkins Wolcott, she moved west with her family to Wisconsin in 1854, and, in 1861, to Floyd County, Iowa, where she married Gilbert Potter Bennett on 24 August 1862. In that same month, Gilbert Bennett enlisted to fight in the Civil War. During the latter part of the war, Alma Bennett was stationed in Nashville, Tennessee, as a volunteer nurse for the United States Christian Commission.[9]

In Dakota Territory, the Bennetts lived in Elk Point, Union County. Their three sons and four daughters were born between 1866 and 1878. An active member of the Republican party, Gilbert Bennett served a two-year term in the Dakota Territory legislature and was subsequently appointed collector of internal revenue. In the late 1870s, Alma and Gilbert Bennett entered medical school in Chicago; in February 1881, both graduated from the Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital in

8. Alma S. Bennett, "Kalmia in Heart Lesions," *Minnesota Medical Monthly* 2 (July 1887): 74, and "A Clinical Case," ibid. (Aug. 1887): 111.

9. Potter-Clark-Duffy-Scymanky-Mintzer-Smith Family Tree, ancestry.com; *History of Western Iowa: Its Settlement and Growth* (Sioux City, Iowa: Western Publishing Co., 1882), p. 396; *Union County Courier* (Elk Point, D.T.), 7 Mar. 1883; Iowa, County Marriages, 1838–1934, Index, familysearch.org; *San Diego Evening Tribune*, 21 Oct. 1910; *Portland Oregonian*, 8 Nov. 1929.

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a class of 101. Alma Bennett received prizes for best final examination and for second-best medical clinic report. As with Cross, Bennett had, in her mother, a role model in the healing arts. The federal census of 1880 lists her mother, Augusta Wolcott, as a physician, although she probably had no formal medical training.[10] Upon her death from pneumonia in 1883 at the age of sixty, Wolcott was praised as "a true sister of mercy" who "was ever found where there was suffering, sorrow or distress," ready to do what she could for others, even at the expense of her own health. On the day of her funeral, Elk Point's other churches canceled their Sunday services so all could attend the Baptist service.[11]

In the early 1880s, Alma and Gilbert Bennett both practiced medicine in Le Mars, Iowa, and in Elk Point, and then relocated to Sioux Falls in 1885, where they occupied an office in the Phillips block. Alma Bennett was a leader in the Woman's Relief Corps, auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic, whose mission was to provide relief to sick and impoverished Civil War veterans, their widows, and families. She served as president of Sioux Falls's Joe Hooker Corps and of the territorial Department of Dakota upon its organization in September 1884 and traveled throughout the territory organizing local corps. By 1890, the Bennetts had moved to Missouri, where they continued to practice medicine. Gilbert Bennett died in 1910 in San Diego, California. In January 1914, Alma Bennett married Menzo Olden of Hillsboro, Oregon. She died 7 November 1929.[12]

Helen Buchanan, the third woman physician licensed in southern Dakota Territory, registered on 15 August 1885. Born in Evans, Erie County, New York, on 16 January 1849, the seventh child of Harvey and Mary Terry Barrelle, she grew up in Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, where she married Civil War veteran and Baptist minister James Buchanan on 24 October 1869. The couple, with their young daughters Winifred and

10. *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, 25 Feb. 1881; *San Diego Evening Tribune*, 21 Oct. 1910; Elk Point, Union Co., Dak., in *Tenth Census*, roll 114, p. 377.

11. *Union County Courier*, 7 Mar. 1883.

12. *Le Mars Daily Liberal*, 9 Feb. 1882; *Union County Courier*, 28 Mar. 1883; *Sioux Falls Daily Press*, 13 Jan. 1885; *National Tribune* (Washington, D.C.), 8 May, 9 Oct., 20 Nov. 1884, 26 Nov. 1885, 13 May 1886, 4 Aug. 1887; *San Diego Evening Tribune*, 19 Oct. 1910; *Portland Oregonian*, 8 Nov. 1929; *Heppner (Ore.) Gazette Times*, 13 May 1987.

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Alma Bennett posed for Civil War photographer A. S. Morse in 1864 while serving as a nurse for the United States Christian Commission in Nashville. She settled in Dakota Territory in 1866 and received her medical degree in 1881.

Henrietta, settled in Yankton, Dakota Territory, in May 1876. There, James Buchanan served as pastor of the Baptist church. In 1877, he was elected chaplain at the Dakota Territory Legislative Assembly.[13]

Helen Buchanan and her husband attended Chicago Homeopathic Medical College, and she graduated in 1882. "Medicine Men: Another

13. *Mayflower Quarterly* 56 (Aug. 1990): 216; "Rev. Noah Barrells Record of Marriage, 1823–1874," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 76 (1922): 277; *Yankton Press and Dakotaian*, 18 May 1876; Yankton, D.T., in *Tenth Census*, roll 115, p. 479; Kingsbury, *History of Dakota Territory*, 2:1019.

Batch Graduated," the newspaper headlines announced. The women of the class were singled out, however, in Professor J. W. Streeter's faculty valedictory: "Physically inferior, socially equal, morally superior, intellectually different," women now stood upon the same plane with men, he declared. This change of position was not the work of "strong-minded agitators or of aggressive, unsexed beings," he contended, but the doing of "womanly women," who had achieved recognition through patience and faith in their intentions.[14]

The Buchanans lived on a mineral spring farm near Yankton and set up practice together in an office on Yankton's Third Street. Among Helen Buchanan's patients was Mary Day, wife of territorial politician and speculator Merritt H. Day, whom she tended in Rapid City until Day recovered from mountain fever. In Yankton, the Buchanans served as mentors to Jennie Murphy, a young woman who worked as their bookkeeper. Murphy graduated from Hahnemann Medical College in Chicago in 1893 and practiced medicine in Yankton for decades. In September 1895, the Buchanans divorced. Helen Buchanan moved to Chicago, where she maintained a medical practice. She died 31 July 1933 in Chicago.[15]

On 29 September 1885, Delight Josephine Wolf became the fourth woman physician to register in southern Dakota Territory. Wolf was born in Pennfield, Michigan, on 10 October 1844, one of seven children of John and Anna Eliza Wolf. In the fall of 1870, she entered medical school at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. This year was the first year that women were admitted and, indeed, the first year that a state school offered coeducational medical classes. The women, though, were taught separately from the men.[16] Delight Wolf's class-

14. *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, 3 Mar. 1882.

15. *Yankton Press and Daily Dakotaian*, 6 May 1886; *Aberdeen Daily News*, 27 Oct. 1889; *Mitchell Daily Republic*, 4 Nov. 1959; *Cedar Rapids (Ia.) Evening Gazette*, 11 Sept. 1895; Chicago, Cook Co., Ill., in *Twelfth Census*, roll 289, sheet 5A; Illinois, Deaths and Stillbirths Index, 1916–1947, ancestry.com.

16. Pennfield, Calhoun Co., Mich., in *Seventh Census (1850)*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M432, roll 348, p. 172; Pennfield, Calhoun Co., Mich., in *Eighth Census (1860)*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M653, roll 539, p. 413; *University of Michigan General Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1837–1911* (Ann Arbor, 1912), p. 931; Chicago Woman's Medical College Alumnae Biographies, 1871–1889, Archives and

mate Emma Call later wrote of her experience, "The first class of women . . . were naturally the objects of much attention critical or otherwise (especially critical) so that in many ways it was quite an ordeal. I believe that only one of the medical faculty was even moderately in favor of the admission of women, so that it speaks well for their conscientiousness when I say (with possibly one exception) we felt that we had [a] square deal from them all."[17]

After leaving the University of Michigan in 1873, her studies interrupted by ill health, Wolf spent time at women's hospitals in Detroit and Cincinnati and then completed her medical studies at the Woman's Hospital Medical College of Chicago in 1875, one of eight members of the college's fifth graduating class. She chose blenorrhoeal conjunctivitis, an eye inflammation, as the topic for her required thesis. Before her arrival in Huron, Dakota Territory, Wolf practiced medicine in Hastings, Michigan, where she lived with two of her sisters and a niece. Upon her registration in Beadle County in September 1885, she was one of nine legally qualified doctors, and the only woman doctor, in the county. Little documentation exists of Wolf's practice in Huron. In October of 1885, she accompanied her patient Alida E. Winters of Belle Prairie Township to the territorial hospital in Yankton, after county commissioners judged Winters insane. Wolf left Huron in the fall of 1887, her career cut short by breast cancer. She died in Michigan on 9 June 1888.[18]

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Special Collections, Drexel University College of Medicine, Philadelphia, Pa. (hereafter cited as ASC/DUCM); Catherine J. Whitaker, *The Early Years of the University of Michigan Medical School: The Upjohn Family Experience* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Historical Collections/Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, 1982), p. 8. The medical schools at both the State University of Iowa and the University of Michigan became coeducational in 1870. Guangqiu Xu, *American Doctors in Canton: Modernization in China, 1835–1935* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2011), p. 138.

17. Emma Call, 1924 Alumnae Survey, Alumni Association, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

18. Chicago Woman's Medical College Alumnae Biographies; *Medical Examiner* 16 (15 Mar. 1875): 152; *Sixth Annual Announcement of the Woman's Hospital Medical College of Chicago, Illinois, Session of 1875–6* (Chicago, 1876), ASC/DUCM; *Alumnae of the Woman's Medical College of Chicago, 1859–1896* (Chicago: H. G. Cutler, 1896), p. 156; Hastings, Barry Co., Mich., in *Tenth Census*, roll 570, p. 127; *Daily Huronite*, 8 Oct. 1885, 15 Mar. 1886.

Lida Green, the fifth registered woman doctor in southern Dakota Territory, crafted a career by continually embracing the latest trends in medicine and women's health. Born in Brooklyn, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, in October 1848, the fourth of seven children of farmer Asahel Booth and Lydia Emily Fish Booth, she moved as a child with her family to Illinois.[19] There, in Kendall County in February 1871, she married John Green, a physician and native of England. Tragedy struck in May 1873, when their sixteen-month-old son Erwin died of what was termed "disease of the brain."[20] In April 1874, John died of consumption in Santa Barbara, California, where the couple had gone in a futile bid to restore his health. After her husband's death, Green fulfilled his wish that she study medicine, graduating in February 1878 from the Woman's Hospital Medical College of Chicago, three years after Delight Wolf. Her thesis was on puerperal mania, an acute mood disorder following childbirth. Green practiced in Aurora, Illinois, until 1882 and then headed west to Dakota Territory. She settled in what would soon become Sanborn County and registered as a physician with the superintendent of public health on 18 September 1885.[21]

As with many of the early women doctors, Green had family members in Dakota Territory. Her husband's brother George registered as a physician in neighboring Miner County on the same day as Green, and her parents and several of her siblings settled nearby in the 1880s. They, along with Green, filed for land under the Homestead Act.[22] A local history portrayed Dr. Green traversing Sanborn County in her "little topless buggy and old faithful brown horse," going wherever duty called, undeterred by distance or weather.[23]

19. Brooklyn, Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, in *Seventh Census*, roll 673, p. 60; Plainfield, Will Co., Ill., in *Eighth Census*, roll 238, p 164; Ohio County Marriages, 1789–2013, Index, familysearch.org.

20. Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, 1763–1900, cyberdriveillinois.com; *Kendall County Record*, 22 May 1873.

21. *Kendall County Record*, 23 Apr. 1874; *Ninth Annual Announcement of the Woman's Hospital Medical College, Session of 1878–9* (Chicago, 1878), ASC/DUCM; Rodolphus Waite Joslyn and Frank W. Joslyn, *History of Kane County, Ill.*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Co., 1908), 1:529.

22. U.S., Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office, Land Patents, Sanborn Co., D.T., glorecords.blm.gov.

23. Alice Mitchell Brown, *Sanborn County History, 1873–1963* (n.p., 1963), p. 43.

Green became interested in the physical culture movement then gaining wide popularity and gave several addresses and exhibitions. The exercises required skill with dumbbells, Indian clubs, and wands. In the spring of 1890, Green led a physical culture class of fifteen women in nearby Mitchell. After two months' practice, the class held an exhibition at the opera house, touted as the event of the season.[24] Despite a temporary interruption from a fire alarm and the resulting "near stampede," the local newspaper gave the evening a glowing review.[25]

In January 1894, Dr. Green moved west to the rising health-resort town of Hot Springs in Fall River County to serve temporarily at the hospital of the State Soldiers' Home. The home had opened in late 1890, with the hospital constructed two years later. Captain William Vincent Lucas, the home's first commandant, had advocated for the addition after experiencing a pneumonia epidemic without "nurse, hospital steward, medicine or resident surgeon."[26] His objective was realized through private donations and contributions from the Woman's Relief Corps. At the time of Green's arrival, the commandant and matron of the home were her friends Captain John P. and Josephine Megrew. Green remained at the hospital throughout the spring, taking charge when the surgeon, Dr. Nesmith, was away. During his absence in April, Dr. Green assisted in a successful operation to remove a tumor from the skull of a resident. At the end of July, Dr. Nathaniel Whitfield of Rapid City arrived to serve as the new surgeon at the Soldiers' Home. He was accompanied by his wife Amelia, also a physician.[27]

In August 1894, Dr. Green began work at the Evans hotel and bath house, Hot Springs's premier destination for those seeking the curative powers of the thermal waters. Headquartered in the ladies parlor, Green was employed for two seasons. She wintered in Chicago, where she strove to stay current on medical therapies, especially those for women.[28] In the local newspaper, Green described the variety of treat-

24. *Le Mars (Ia.) Sentinel*, 23 May 1890; *Albert Lea Freeborn County (Minn.) Standard*, 10 Dec. 1890; *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 17, 22 Feb., 15 Apr. 1890.

25. *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 18 Apr. 1890.

26. W. V. Lucas, "The Soldier's Home," *South Dakotan* 6 (August 1903): 10. *See also Hot Springs Daily Star*, 18 Jan. 1894.

27. *Hot Springs Daily Star*, 13 Mar., 4, 11 Apr., 1 Aug., 13 Sept. 1894.

28. Ibid., 8 Aug., 9 Oct. 1894, 8 Jan. 1895.

ments she offered. For the face were the Hydro-vacu system, "guarantee[d] to make a woman of mature years look twenty years younger" and the Galvanic and Faradic treatment to remove blemishes. She performed electrical treatments for the hair and magnetic massage for "rheumatic, neuralgic and nervous troubles." Also available were new methods in manicuring and chiropody. "I will still continue the practice of medicine in all its departments," she stated, "but the demands have been so great for this line of treatment that we had to secure it."[29]

In the fall of 1895, Judge M. J. Severance of Mankato, Minnesota, who, with his ailing wife, had recently spent several weeks in Hot Springs, delivered an encomium to the Evans hotel, its baths, and Dr. Green. "The hotel is simply elegant in all its appointments, heated by steam and lighted by electricity. It has every modern improvement," he wrote. "The baths at the Evans are presided over by experts and trained nurses and this is not all—a female physician of high repute and undoubted culture rules the whole system of treatment of patients at the Evans. . . . I do not know the amount of her salary, but she ought to receive as much as the general manager of the stock yards at South Omaha, which I am informed, is $25,000." His wife had been suffering intensely for several months, Judge Severance explained. "In this condition she began taking the baths at the Evans, under the direction of Dr. Green. The second bath cured her, and [she] has not felt a symptom of neuralgia since." The judge went on to describe the plunge bath at the Evans. Measuring seventy-five by two hundred feet, the pool "is under an elegant building, and supplied by a spring that pours into it one hundred barrels of warm water per minute. . . . Several ladies of eminent piety . . . told me that nothing could ever mar the bliss of Heaven, but a recollection of the plunge bath in South Dakota."[30]

In 1896, Dr. Green became an enthusiast for the new field of osteopathic medicine, developed by Dr. Andrew Taylor Still of Kansas and Missouri. Osteopathic physicians focused on treating patients in the context of the whole body, rather than treating specific symptoms or illnesses, and preferred manual therapy techniques over traditional

29. Ibid., 15 Jan. 1895.
30. Ibid., 3 Oct. 1895.

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drugs and treatments. Green began her studies at Dr. Still's American School of Osteopathy in Kirksville, Missouri, and then switched to the National School of Osteopathy in Kansas City, where she graduated in 1897 with a Doctor of Osteopathic Medicine degree. Two of Green's sisters and a brother also became osteopaths, as did two children of her sister Mary. After a short residence in Sioux Falls, Green assumed the presidency of the Illinois College of Osteopathy, Surgery and Medicine, a coeducational Chicago school she established with her niece's husband Darlington E. Kerr, who served as secretary.[31]

31. *Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader*, 13 Feb. 1897; Kerr and Green, Deposition of Witnesses, Sept. 1899, *National School of Osteopathy v. American School of Osteopathy*, Museum of Osteopathic Medicine, Kirksville, Mo.; Opie Read, "Osteopathy–Science of Drugless Healing," *Journal of Orificial Surgery* 7 (Aug. 1898): 97–108; Chicago, Cook Co., Ill., in *Twelfth Census*, roll 255, sheet 14A; Corcoran, Kings Co., Calif., in *Thirteenth Census (1910)*, National Archives Microfilm Publication T624, roll 79, sheet 10B; *Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago, 1901* (Chicago: Chicago Directory Co., 1901), p. 294. American School of Osteopathy records state that Green was expelled from the college

After medical ventures in Sanborn and Fall River counties, Lida Green embraced the new field of osteopathy in 1896 and cofounded the Illinois College of Osteopathy, Surgery and Medicine in Chicago.

The college's existence, however, was brief. Skepticism about the new field was common in those early years. Sioux Falls osteopathic physician Ella Ray Gilmour addressed these doubts in 1899: "Many people seem to think osteopathy is some kind of a faith cure or fad. A patient came to me recently with sciatic rheumatism but stated that it was a forlorn hope as he had no faith in osteopathy. I told him we did not care about his faith. Osteopathy does not depend on that, and in two weeks treatment he found his sciatica had disappeared and now I have no doubt he is even willing to confess faith in the science."[32] Ever wary of potential threats to their profession, members of the South Dakota State Medical Association opposed a bill in 1897 that would legalize osteopathy in South Dakota. The South Dakota legislature passed the bill, but Governor Andrew Lee vetoed it. Two years later, in March 1899, the legislature passed the bill again. This time Governor Lee signed it, and South Dakota became the sixth state to recognize osteopathy officially.[33]

In December 1903, Green married Henry K. Ashmore, a longtime resident of Artesian in Sanborn County, where Green had previously practiced. After their marriage, the couple wintered in Cuba, settled in Mitchell, and eventually relocated to Los Angeles. In March 1919, they divorced on grounds of desertion, with Henry Ashmore as the plaintiff. Lida Green Ashmore died 29 June 1937 in Los Angeles at the age of eighty-eight.[34]

Alice Gertrude Summerfield was the sixth woman to register in southern Dakota Territory. Unlike her colleagues, about whom the

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for engaging in regular practice before graduation. This statement is dated April 1898, however, after Green attended and graduated from the National School of Osteopathy. American School of Osteopathy student records, Museum of Osteopathic Medicine.

32. *Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader*, 16 May 1899.

33. Pahlas, "History of the South Dakota State Medical Association," p. 6; South Dakota, *Laws Passed at the Sixth Session of the Legislature of the State of South Dakota* (1899), chap. 118; Emmons Rutledge Booth, *History of Osteopathy, and Twentieth-Century Medical Practice* (Cincinnati: Jennings and Graham, 1905), pp. 112–13.

34. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 Dec. 1903; *Sanborn County Herald*, 12 Dec. 1903; *Artesian Commonwealth*, 14 Jan., 9 June, 7 July 1904; South Dakota, Department of History, Division of Census and Vital Statistics, Record of Divorce, 28 Mar. 1919; California, Death Index, 1905–1939, ancestry.com.

public record contains little negative coverage or criticism, she found her path strewn with controversy. Born 22 February 1852 in New York, she grew up in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, one of eight children of Henry and Nancy Utter Robbins. In 1874–1875, she attended medical school at the University of Michigan. Although her obituary and an 1899 biographical sketch list her as graduating in the class of 1876, the school's records identify her as a nongraduate. Summerfield, according to her biographical profile, served the following year as an intern in the Chicago Hospital for Women and Children and then went to Europe for rest and study. In 1881, she settled in Las Vegas, New Mexico, and married on 21 April. The marriage quickly fell apart and became the subject of speculation. The *Las Vegas Daily Gazette* reported that the husband's surname was not Summerfield, as he claimed, but actually Smith, and that he had deserted his wife after she had traveled east to join him in New York in 1882. The *Daily Gazette* insinuated that the organization of a territorial medical licensing board might have prompted Alice Summerfield's sudden departure, as well.[35] Yet, when Summerfield returned to Las Vegas without her husband, in poor health and reduced circumstances, the coverage took a sympathetic turn. The newspaper cheered her unbroken spirit and welcomed her back as "much loved and respected as a physician and a lady as ever."[36]

After her return, Summerfield initiated divorce proceedings. Her experience followed a more common pattern than that of Lida Green Ashmore. In the late nineteenth century, two-thirds of all divorces were initiated by women, the majority on grounds of desertion or cruelty. The western and central regions of the country, with the most liberal divorce laws, saw the highest rates. For female physicians and other professional women, factors that may have influenced the decision to end an unhappy marriage included the ability to earn their

35. Richland, Oswego Co., N.Y., in *Seventh Census*, roll 578, p. 236; Geneva, Walworth Co., Wis., in *Eighth Census*, roll 1434, p. 256; *University of Michigan General Catalogue of Officers and Students 1837–1911*, p. 938; *Memorial and Biographical Record and Illustrated Compendium of Biography: Containing a Compendium of Local Biography . . . of Central South Dakota* (Chicago: G. A. Ogle & Co., 1899), pp. 490–91; *Las Vegas Daily Gazette*, 15 Nov. 1881, 1 July 1882.

36. *Las Vegas Daily Gazette,* 8 July 1882.

own living, society's increasingly held view of marriage as a dissolvable contract, and women's growing sense of the right to personal liberty.[37]

For Summerfield, respite from conflict was fleeting. P. A. Ames, a local dentist distraught over the death of his wife following childbirth, wrote to the *Daily Gazette* to accuse Summerfield of incompetence and dishonesty in handling his wife's case, of practicing medicine "with no degree or certificate of qualification," and of marrying a man of whose deceit she must have been aware. "If she had her deserts," he declared, "she would be thrown astride the forked lightnings and be ejaculated into the hyperborean regions of space."[38]

Ames's attack drew an angry refutation from Summerfield: "To my friends and patrons: I desire to say the scurrilous article in the Sunday morning's Gazette over the signature of Dr. Ames, is a tissue of falsehood, worthy only of the irresponsible vagabond who wrote it. I scorn to further notice the article, but absolutely defy him."[39] Summerfield soon left Las Vegas. She attended a course at the Woman's Medical College of Chicago, graduating in February 1883, and came to Hughes County in Dakota Territory, where she filed on a claim and began practicing medicine in Pierre, specializing in the diseases of women and girls. She registered with the superintendent of public health on 26 September 1885. The next spring, she married William F. Baird, prominent in Pierre real estate.[40]

37. U.S., Bureau of Labor, *A Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1867–1886* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), pp. 169–71; Glenda Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 78–102; Alexander A. Plateris, *100 Years of Marriage and Divorce Statistics, United States, 1867–1967* (Rockville, Md.: National Center for Health Statistics, 1973), pp. 34–35, 49. Alice Summerfield's divorce proceedings stretched out until August 1884, when a decree of divorce was issued in Hughes County, Dakota Territory. The records identify her husband as Ase E. Smith, alias Ase (Asa) E. Somerfield (Summerfield), and charge him with abandonment and taking her money and jewelry. *See* Box 22, Civil Case Files, series VIII, Records of the United States Territorial and New Mexico District Courts for San Miguel County, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe; *Alice R. Summerfield vs. Asa E. Summerfield*, case no. 205, District Court, Hughes County, Pierre, D.T.

38. *Las Vegas Daily Gazette*, 30 July 1882.

39. Ibid., 1 Aug. 1882.

40. *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, 28 Feb. 1883; *Pierre Evening Free Press*, 1 May 1886; *Decisions of the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office in Cases Relating to the*

In 1895, Alice Summerfield Baird again found herself the center of controversy, accused of performing an illegal abortion. Antiabortion laws had been enacted in the United States beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, and Dakota Territory passed such a law in 1877. By 1880, abortion was a crime in every state of the union. Dr. Baird was charged with having performed an abortion on Maud Lee that led to Lee's death. Baird disputed the allegation. In circuit court, she testified that Lee had had syphilis for several years and knew it was incurable. The condition had led to a disease of the throat, which Baird believed to be the cause of Lee's death. Baird maintained she was unaware that Lee had an abortion or miscarriage. Four individuals who had treated Lee and whom Baird believed would corroborate her story were unavailable to testify, having moved from the state. A continuance was granted until May, at which time the case was dropped due to insufficient evidence.[41]

Alice Baird died in Pierre on 26 October 1900 at the age of forty-eight of "fatty degeneration of the heart," with her controversies behind her. In her obituary, she was remembered as "an excellent physician, a true friend [who] has done many acts of kindness and charity in her profession and out of it, that will long be remembered by the people of this country."[42]

In Dakota, the small number of medical women, the sparse population, and a prior supply of male doctors often meant that the pro-

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*Public Lands*, vol. 10, Jan.-June 1890 (Washington, D.C., 1890), pp. 372–73; *Memorial and Biographical Record*, pp. 490–91.

41. The text of Dakota Territory's antiabortion law read, "Every person who administers to any woman pregnant with a quick child, or who prescribes for such woman, or advises or procures any such woman to take any medicine, drug or substance whatever, or who uses or employs any instrument or other means with intent thereby to destroy such child, unless the same shall have been necessary to preserve the life of such mother, is guilty in case the death of the child or of the mother is thereby produced, of manslaughter in the first degree" (*Revised Codes of the Territory of Dakota, A.D. 1877* [Yankton, D.T.: Bowen & Kingsbury, 1877], p. 765). *See also* Leslie J. Reagan, *When Abortion Was a Crime: Women, Medicine, and Law in the United States, 1867–1973* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 13–14; *Pierre Daily Capital*, 25 Sept., 14 Nov. 1895; testimony, 12 Nov. 1895, and decision, 27 May 1896, *State of South Dakota, County of Hughes vs. Alice S. Baird*, Circuit Court, Hughes County, S.Dak.

42. *Pierre Capital Journal*, 27 Oct. 1900.

fession of a woman physician could be a lonely one. As Dr. Frances Woods of South Dakota wrote in 1900, she "has not the comfort of a consultant of her own sex, a loyal colleague to stand with her in time of need."[43] However, in the larger communities, a few women did form medical partnerships, as was the case in Mitchell in November 1885. That month, Susan Halverson and Regina Bigler Tracy, both March 1885 graduates of the Medical Department of the State University of Iowa, set up a joint practice over the Weil Brothers' store and began advertising in the local newspapers as physicians and surgeons. On 14 December, they became the seventh and eighth women doctors to register in southern Dakota Territory.[44]

Susan Lovina (Vina) Halverson was born 23 July 1860 in Ossian, Winneshiek County, Iowa, to Norwegian-born Tollev Halverson and Canadian-born Eliza Ross Halverson. Before entering medical school, Halverson attended Western College in Toledo, Iowa, founded by the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. At the University of Iowa, Halverson met fellow medical student Regina May Bigler. The seventh of eight children of Swiss-born parents John and Mary Ann Hague Bigler, she was born 29 March 1860 in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, and raised primarily in Shellsburg, Benton County, Iowa. There, her father died in 1867. On 5 May 1885, two months after graduating from medical school, Bigler married Millard Fillmore Tracy. Their marriage was short-lived. Tracy did not accompany his wife on her move to Mitchell, and Bigler received a divorce in May 1891, on the grounds of willful neglect, and reclaimed her maiden name. Not long before Drs. Halverson and Bigler arrived in Mitchell, Bigler's sister Elizabeth had settled there with her husband Charles Rathbun; on November 1885, she gave birth to twin boys. As with many of the early women doctors who practiced in Dakota Territory, family connections were an inducement for settlement.[45]

43. Frances Woods, "South Dakota," *Transactions of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Alumnae Association of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 123.

44. *Iowa City Vidette-Reporter*, 7 Mar. 1885; *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 23 Nov. 1885.

45. Military, Winneshiek Co., Iowa, in *Ninth Census (1870)*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M593, roll 426, p. 242; Henry W. Ward, *Western, Leander-Clark College,*

Bigler and Halverson quickly became professionally involved in the community and territory. In April 1886, they were among a group of physicians of Davison and adjoining counties who organized a district medical association. The Dakota South Central Medical Society met bimonthly at the women's office. In 1886, Halverson was elected secretary, and Bigler was appointed to the committee on constitution and bylaws. Dr. Frederick Andros of Mitchell served as president. Born in 1802 and the son of a Revolutionary War soldier, Dr. Andros had practiced medicine for over half a century, principally in Iowa. He believed himself to be the first regular physician to settle west of the Mississippi River.[46]

In May 1886, Dr. Bigler traveled to Yankton to attend the annual meeting of the Dakota Medical Society, the profession's official association formed four years previously in Milbank. At the 1886 meeting, the society elected Bigler as its first woman member and chose her for the office of "second vice-president."[47] In 1887, both Bigler and Halverson attended the annual meeting, this time held in Huron, where Halverson was granted membership and appointed to the committee on arrangements.[48] During the 1887 gathering, the Huron newspaper noted that most of the new members had graduated from medical school within the decade. "It is the rising generation who have come to Dakota, judging by these representatives," the report concluded. President-elect Dr. D. Frank Etter of Yankton addressed the physicians in a sentimental tribute, laying heavy emphasis on their professional and ethical standards: "This association is composed of no mean or insignificant body of men and women, but of the highest type of the body

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*1856–1911* (Dayton, Ohio: Otterbein Press, 1911), p. 343; "Descendants of John Bigler," familytreemaker.genealogy.com; "John Bigler," findagrave.com; Benton Co., Iowa, Researcher Contributed Marriage Records, iagenweb.org; *Mitchell Capital*, 19 June 1891; Mitchell, Davison Co., S.Dak., in *Twelfth Census*, roll 1548, sheet 3B; Decree of divorce, 4 May 1891, Fourth Judicial Circuit, Davison County Circuit Court, Mitchell, S.Dak.

46. *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 21 Apr., 2 June 1886; *Grand Forks Herald*, 11 Sept. 1889; D. S. Fairchild, "History of Medicine in Iowa," *Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society* 17 (1927): 11–13.

47. *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 23 May 1886.

48. *Daily Huronite*, 16 June 1887; Dakota Medical Society Membership Accounts, 1882–1912, SDSMA Records.

politic . . . in culture, in intelligence and in the divine art of healing," he declared, calling those assembled "a loyal band of unselfish, brave benefactors who toil without ceasing for the betterment of man, and often without the hope of fee or reward."[49]

Professionalism was an ongoing concern of the medical association. In defending their profession and what they considered proper training and practice, regular, "allopathic" physicians could be disdainful of alternative medicine, even conflating it with quackery.[50] An incident reported at the 1887 meeting of the Dakota Medical Society illustrates the perceived distance separating regular and homeopathic practitioners, as well as the desire of Halverson and Bigler, as regular physicians and the only female members of the association, to demonstrate their orthodox credentials: "During the evening's proceedings a man came to the hall door and called for a well known homeopathic physician. He called in a loud voice, and an equally loud voice responded: 'No, he isn't here.' (Laughter) Then the messenger said: 'Is Dr. Moody here?' Now Dr. Moody is as well known to his professional brothers as any physician in Dakota, and when he was called for as second to the 'bitter pills' doctor, the whole crowd burst out in a loud laugh. . . . The merriment didn't subside for some minutes, and the sisters joined in it as heartily as the masculines."[51]

In 1888, the Dakota Medical Association met at Redfield. There, Halverson delivered a paper entitled "The Anatomy and Physiology of the Sympathetic Nervous System." Dr. Andros of Mitchell was elected president and Halverson assistant secretary. Later in the year, Drs. Bigler and Halverson bid for the position of Davison County physician at $200 a year, but the post went to fellow Mitchell doctor R. C. Warne for $180. In January 1889, Dr. Bigler was appointed to a two-year term on the board of insanity. She served with county judge E. S. Johnston and police justice Winslow Abbey.[52]

49. *Daily Huronite*, 18 June 1887.

50. Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, p. 31; Kirschmann, *Vital Force*, p. 2.

51. *Daily Huronite*, 17 June 1887.

52. *Aberdeen Daily News*, 23 June 1888; *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 8, 14 Jan. 1889, 20 Mar. 1890.

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Bigler became involved in the suffrage cause when Susan B. Anthony visited Mitchell in December 1889 on her campaign through the newly formed state of South Dakota. In her lecture, Anthony urged South Dakotans to seize the opportunity to make their state the first to give women the right to vote. Anthony attended a meeting at the home of Bigler's sister Elizabeth Rathbun to discuss the formation of a county woman's suffrage organization. At the meeting, Bigler was appointed to a committee to solicit members and establish the organization.[53]

That same month, Dr. Bigler took on a case considered "absolutely hopeless."[54] Patrick Crampton, a farmer living twenty miles south of Mitchell, had accidentally shot himself and shattered his arm. Bigler, in consultation with Drs. Halverson and Warne, considered amputation, but the patient's condition was deemed too fragile. She and her colleagues feared blood poisoning and gave Crampton only a slim chance of recovery. With Bigler's care, however, the patient steadily improved, and his arm was saved.[55]

In 1891, at the annual meeting of the South Dakota State Medical Society held in Chamberlain, Susan Halverson was elected second vice-president. She would not finish her term. At the end of November 1891, Halverson sailed for Canton (Guangzhou), China, commissioned as a medical missionary by her Church of the United Brethren. The church had begun mission work in the province of Canton two years previously, and Halverson was the third woman missionary appointed. Halverson spent the first winter in Canton in a native house and began an intensive study of the language. In a letter to Bigler, she described the challenges of adapting to her new surroundings but expressed hope that she would soon acclimate. Bigler remained in Mitchell for a year and then, in November 1892, joined Halverson in China.[56]

53. *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 15, 17 Dec. 1889.

54. Ibid., 4 Dec. 1889.

55. Ibid., 6, 17 Dec. 1889, 21 Feb. 1890.

56. Ibid., 19 June, 4, 11 Nov. 1891; *Mitchell Capital*, 30 Oct., 13 Nov. 1891, 4 Nov. 1892; *Aberdeen (S.Dak.) Sun*, 10 Nov. 1892; Daniel Berger, *History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, Ohio: Otterbein Press, 1910), p. 473; *History of the Woman's Missionary Association of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton, Ohio: United Brethren Publishing House, 1910), p. 64.

The decision of Drs. Halverson and Bigler to serve as medical missionaries was not uncommon for women doctors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1900, around one-fourth of medical missionaries were women. The experience offered greater opportunities and authority than would be likely in America, with abundant and challenging cases and, for many, a sense of satisfaction and purpose. The role of women missionaries in the context of cultural expansion and imperialism has been a subject of debate in recent decades. It is certainly true that attempts to impress western models upon other cultures had oppressive and disruptive consequences. While acknowledging this legacy, scholars have also begun to recognize the active involvement of people of host cultures in engaging with and selectively adapting western ideas and practices and, in the process, recasting missionary endeavors to fit their own purposes.[57]

In 1894, Halverson and Bigler became the subjects of international headlines: "Missionaries in Peril"; "Anti-Foreign Riots in China: Two Ladies Missionaries Savagely Attacked."[58] The incident occurred in the midst of great anti-foreign sentiment. The bubonic plague was raging in the province, and some of the desperate Cantonese believed stories circulating that missionaries were administering poisonous drugs. In the midst of this frenzied situation, a man sick with the plague came to the mission house where Drs. Halverson and Bigler were dispensing medicines. Halverson was on her way to procure a boat to convey him to a nearby hospital when a mob attacked, beating and stoning her and dragging her through the streets. When Dr. Bigler attempted to come to her rescue, she too was attacked, but less severely. A custom-house

57. Connie Shemo, "Directions in Scholarship on American Women and Protestant Foreign Mission: Debates Over 'Cultural Imperialism,'" *History Compass* 10 (Mar. 2012): 270–83. *See also* Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984); G. H. Choa, "*Heal the Sick" Was Their Motto: The Protestant Medical Missionaries in China* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1990); Xu, *American Doctors in Canton*; Sara W. Tucker, "Opportunities for Women: The Development of Professional Women's Medicine at Canton, China, 1879–1901," *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, no. 4 (1990): 357–68; Hsiu-yun Wang, "Stranger Bodies: Women, Gender and Missionary Medicine, 1870s-1930s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003).

58. *Worcester (Mass.) Daily Spy*, 22 Aug. 1894; *Sydney (NSW) Mail*, 14 July 1894.

official and Chinese Christians rescued the two women who, upon recovery, continued their missionary and medical work.[59]

After the traumatic experience, Bigler wrote: "We are finding the dear Lord a very present help in every kind of trouble, verifying his promise, 'Lo, I am with you always'. . . . We feel secure in our work here. It seemed a sacrifice to give up and come, but now it is no cross to be here. I love my work, and would rather be here than anywhere else in all the world."[60] In February 1898, land was secured for a mission compound on the Canton island of Honam and named Beth Eden.[61]

The following year, in 1899, Halverson once again found herself the object of international attention when she announced that she would marry a Chinese man, Tsz Ying (T Y) Lam, with whom she had become acquainted through her mission work. Her intention met with disapproval from the missionary society and bigotry and condemnation from the press. "A lady missionary in China, named Miss Halverson, has the 'yellow craze' so bad that she has determined to marry her cook, a full blown Chinaman, with the regulation tail," declared a particularly hyperbolic report. "Much has been done by the friends of the lady to dissuade her from committing such a foolish act, but she remains obdurate, and the wedding is to be celebrated some time this month."[62] Another report announced that Halverson had been dismissed by the Canton mission over her approaching marriage "to an illiterate, unattractive Chinaman, formerly her cook."[63]

The Mitchell, South Dakota, newspaper sought to provide a more factually based account: "The man who Dr. Halverson is about to marry is neither illiterate nor a cook. It is true that when a young man he was left an orphan and on being taken up by the missionaries he did

59. *Tyrone (Pa.) Daily Herald*, 18, 20 Aug. 1894; *History of the Woman's Missionary Association of the United Brethren in Christ*, p. 65.

60. Quoted in Mrs. J. Hal Smith, "Dr. Regina M. Bigler, Beloved Physician of Cathay," in *Answering Distant Calls*, ed. Mabel H. Erdman (New York: Association Press, 1942), p. 35.

61. *History of the Woman's Missionary Association of the United Brethren in Christ*, p. 66.

62. *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* (Darwin, NT), 5 Jan. 1900. *See also Denver Post*, 13 Nov. 1899; *Aberdeen Daily News*, 18 Nov. 1899; *Ottawa Journal*, 15 Nov. 1899.

63. *Philadelphia Times*, 13 Nov. 1899.

some cooking but he showed so much intelligence that he was relieved of that duty after a short time. . . . The man is well educated and is a physician, having spent a year in this country in pursuing his studies. When Dr. Halverson was in Mitchell several years ago she made some reference to the young man, in whom she had taken quite an interest and was assisting him somewhat in his studies."[64]

Despite initial news stories that the marriage would follow Chinese custom, unsanctioned by the missionaries, the December 1899 ceremony was performed in Hong Kong by Rev. C. R. Hager, head of the South China Mission. Dr. Halverson had cared for Hager's wife Lizzie during her illness and death from kidney disease in March 1895.[65]

After the birth of three children in China, the Lamb family (having added a "b" to their surname) returned permanently to the United States in August 1910. Susan Halverson Lamb received a California medical license later that year and practiced in San Francisco's Chinatown, assisted by her husband. The couple's children, two daughters and a son, all became doctors. Susan Halverson Lamb died 4 May 1940 in Oakland, California.[66]

Dr. Bigler's career as a medical missionary spanned over forty years. During her time at Honam, she established a dispensary and a maternity hospital. In a tribute to Bigler upon her death, author and missionary Anna Churchill Smith described a typical year's work for the doctor: "Major operations, 10; minor, 359; obstetrical cases, 285; dispensary cases, 36,309."[67]

64. *Mitchell Daily Republican*, 16 Nov. 1899.

65. *Philadelphia Times*, 13 Nov. 1899; *Philadelphia Record*, 5 Feb. 1900; *Ottawa Journal*, 26 Jan. 1900; *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* 26 (Apr. 1895): 191–92.

66. California, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882–1959, ancestry.com; *Polk-Husted Directory Co.'s Oakland, Berkeley and Alameda Directory, 1911* (Oakland, Calif.: Polk-Husted Directory Co., 1911), p. 541; *Southern California Practitioner* 26 (Jan. 1911): 41–42; *Twenty-Eighth Edition of the Official Register and Directory of Physicians and Surgeons in the State of California* (San Francisco: Medical Society of the State of California, 1917), p. 71; California, Death Index, 1940–1997, ancestry.com. The stigma of being Chinese in the United States and the fear of being subject to its discriminatory laws had a profound effect on the Lamb children. One grandchild of Susan Halverson Lamb did not learn of her Chinese ancestry until after she had two children of her own. Susan Gitter to author, 26 Feb. 2013.

67. Smith, "Dr. Regina M. Bigler," p. 36.

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During four decades as a medical missionary in China, Regina Bigler mothered and educated many children, especially girls.

On a visit to Bigler's dispensary (a "light day" with 135 patients), Samuel Strickler Hough, general secretary of the United Brethren's Foreign Missionary Society, wrote, "So widely and favorably known is the work of Doctor Bigler that messengers come frequently for her services through three miles of tortuous, narrow streets, and they come at all hours of the day and night. The doctor responds willingly at all times, and she frequently crosses the entire city during the night when the only light to guide her is the little wax candles in the paper lan-

terns suspended from her sedan chair."[68] Bigler's nonmedical activities were numerous as well, including overseeing two girls' day schools and a women's school, supervising the evangelistic work for women, and leading prayer meetings and Bible and Sunday-school classes for women. Bigler also took in several Chinese children, launching many of them into careers in education, medicine, and the church. Regina Bigler died 15 December 1937 at the Matilda Hospital in Hong Kong and was buried in China.[69]

Reminiscent of Halverson and Bigler, two of the eight women physicians who registered in southern Dakota Territory in 1886 and 1887 formed a medical partnership. Of the group, five were homeopathic practitioners, two were regular physicians, and one was a graduate of an eclectic medical school. Although the partnership of Drs. Ellen Maltbie and Orie Grover lasted only a year, their successor, Dr. Friede Feige, would practice medicine in Huron for nearly half a century.

Harriet Ellen Maltbie registered in Dakota Territory on 1 June 1886. The oldest of three children, she was born in Trumbull County, Ohio, on 10 August 1854 to Lauren and Narcissa Webster Maltbie, graduated from the Cleveland Homeopathic Medical College in March 1884, and subsequently practiced medicine in Mendota, Illinois.[70] In April 1886, poor health and the hope that she would benefit from a change of climate drew Maltbie west to Huron, where she soon began advertising her services as physician and surgeon in the *Daily Huronite* under the motto, "All calls promptly attended to, day or night."[71] Dr. Maltbie's medical cases were occasionally reported in the local newspaper, in-

68. G. M. Mathews and S. S. Hough, *The Call of China and the Islands: Report of the Foreign Deputation, 1911–1912, for Every Member of the United Brethren Church* (Dayton, Ohio: Foreign Missionary Society, United Brethren in Christ, 1913), p. 31.

69. Smith, "Dr. Regina M. Bigler," p. 36; "Bigler, Regina M.," *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, 2 vols. (Nashville, Tenn.: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), 1:270. The Church of the United Brethren continued mission work in China until 1951. Heather L. Bennett, "Church of the United Brethren and the Evangelical Church, 1889–1946," *Western Medicine in China, 1800–1950: Guide to Collections in the United Methodist Church Archives, Madison, N.J.*, www.yale.edu/adhoc/WMC/WMC-Methodist.html.

70. Geneva, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, in *Ninth Census*, roll 1170, p. 153; *History of La Salle County, Illinois*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Inter-State Publishing Co., 1886), 1:720; Maltby Genealogy, wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com.

71. *Daily Huronite*, 7 June 1886.

cluding her helping to save the life of a patient who had attempted suicide by swallowing chloroform. Also covered was Maltbie's skillful handling of her team of horses when they attempted to run away while she was on her way to visit a patient. In 1887, Maltbie published an article on cervical lacerations in the *Minnesota Medical Monthly*, describing her successful treatment of several patients without the use of sutures. The article was reprinted in the *New England Medical Gazette*, along with the endorsement of a Chicago physician who had tested her method.[72]

In September 1887, Dr. Orie Messinger of Chicago joined Maltbie's practice, and, a month later, married Huron resident D. R. Grover, an attorney who would also become a doctor. Born in March 1862 in Wisconsin to Jerome and Lydia Brintnall Messinger, Orie Messinger was an 1883 graduate of the Chicago Homeopathic Medical College. Prior to arriving in Huron, she practiced in Baraboo, Wisconsin. She registered in Dakota Territory on 20 December 1887.[73]

Serious health issues continued to afflict Ellen Maltbie, including an attack of inflammatory rheumatism in June 1887, which caused her to leave Huron permanently in November 1888. Her health eventually improved, and on 6 April 1891, Maltbie married Clark D. Throop, a carpenter with two young children. By 1902 she had retired from medicine. She died 23 June 1911 in Ashtabula, Ohio.[74]

Dr. Orie Messinger Grover left Huron in the summer of 1888, moving with her husband to Wisconsin. She subsequently lived in Illinois and, after her husband's death, enrolled in a postgraduate course of medicine and graduated from Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Chicago in May 1908. Following graduation, Grover practiced

72. Ibid., 29 Sept. 1886, 23 July 1887; Ellen Maltbie, "Cervical Lacerations," *Minnesota Medical Monthly* 1 (Feb.-Mar. 1887): 255; "Cervical Lacerations," *New-England Medical Gazette* 22 (Aug. 1887): 390–91.

73. Elroy, Juneau Co., Wis., in *Tenth Census*, roll 1431, p. 484; Chicago, Cook Co., Ill., in *Twelfth Census*, roll 260, sheet 13A; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 2 Mar. 1883; *Dunkirk (Ill.) Evening Observer*, 6 Mar. 1933; *Elroy (Wis.) Tribune*, 19 June 1924.

74. *Daily Huronite*, 10 June 1887, 30 Nov. 1888; Index of Marriage Records 1811–1900, Ashtabula Co., Ohio, ancestry.com; Ohio, Division of Vital Statistics, *Death Certificates and Index, December 20, 1908–December 31, 1953*, State Archives Series 3094, Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

medicine in New York, including service as assistant physician at the state reformatory for women at Bedford Hills from 1914 to 1918.[75] Upon retiring in 1933, Dr. Grover reflected back on her career: "There has been a marvelous change in the science of medicine in the 50 years that I have been practicing. . . . When I was first in medical college, the germ theory was just beginning to be advanced. As students we heard about it, but we weren't taught that diseases are caused by germs. During those college years, I saw electric lights for the first time, and used a telephone." Throughout her life, Grover remained a staunch believer in the principles of homeopathy. She was active in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the prohibition cause. Orie Grover died 3 February 1956 in Marion, Indiana, at the age of ninety-three.[76]

Dr. Maltbie and Dr. Grover's successor in Huron, Dr. Friede Feige, was likewise a homeopathic physician. Born 7 June 1844 in Bitterfeld, Saxony, Germany, to Baptist minister Friedrich Christoph Werner and Johanna Kohler Werner, she received private medical instruction, according to a 1929 profile published in the *Daily Huronite*, from a follower of homeopathy founder Samuel Hahnemann. Upon her marriage to William Feige, a Prussian, in 1862, she and her husband immigrated to America, residing first in Albany, New York, and then in Missouri and Iowa. During the Civil War, in which her husband fought, Feige practiced medicine in Missouri. Following the family's move to Iowa, Feige continued working as a physician, while her husband served as a minister. The couple had four daughters and four sons (two of the sons would become physicians). In 1883, the family moved to Dakota Territory and homesteaded ten miles north of Huron.[77] The 1929 newspaper profile recalled Dr. Feige's early days in Beadle County: "Aside from preaching, her husband seldom worked and the doctor often tells of

75. *Daily Huronite*, 2 July 1888; *Clinique* 29 (June 1908): 382; *Dunkirk (N.Y.) Evening Observer*, 6 Mar. 1933. Dr. Grover became involved in an inquiry on the reformatory's methods of discipline. In 1919, she testified as a witness in a hearing conducted as part of an investigation requested by the governor on alleged cruel and unusual punishment inflicted upon the school's residents by reformatory officials. *Public Papers of Alfred E. Smith, Governor 1920* (Albany, N.Y.: J. B. Lyon Co., 1921), p. 180.

76. *Dunkirk Evening Observer*, 6 Mar. 1933. *See also* Indiana, Marion Public Library, Death Index, 1812–2011, ancestry.com.

77. *Evening Huronite*, 21 May 1929; Spiegel Family Tree, ancestry.com.

standing in the hay-field considering that the idea of a hay-stack must be to shed rain, therefore she must figure out how best to stack the hay to that end. All this was interspersed with sick calls answered on horseback, often as far as Highmore. Fearlessness was the high light of this little doctor's character, for she went through sieges like black diphtheria with success and calmness."[78]

In 1887, Dr. Feige moved to Huron and registered with the superintendent of public health on 4 October. Throughout her career, she delivered numerous babies and treated many injuries to children, including, as reported in the Huron newspaper, falls from loads of grain, wounds from rifles discharged, and kicks by farm animals. Feige's care extended to all ages, and she was active in tending the sick when diphtheria struck the community.[79]

In 1894, her marriage with William Feige having dissolved, Friede Feige married Judge Henry A. Van Dalsem.[80] In June of that year, at the annual session of the South Dakota Homeopathic Society in Huron, Dr. Van Dalsem presented a paper on neurasthenics in women. At the June 1902 meeting in Aberdeen, she, like her earlier female colleagues, was elected second vice-president of her medical society.[81] The doctor had strong views on the subject of contraception. In 1910, she wrote a letter to the editor of the *Medico-Pharmaceutical Critic and Guide* concerning the issue: "I fully agree with you in your attack on the stupid and vicious law which makes it a felony punishable by a fine of $5000 and imprisonment at hard labor for five years, for imparting information relative to the prevention of conception."[82] In a 1903 letter to the editor of the *Medical World*, she had observed that "if men had to carry the consequences of sexual intercourse, then we would have different

78. *Evening Huronite*, 21 May 1929.

79. *Daily Huronite*, 22 Aug. 1888, 12 Oct. 1891, 6 Jan., 20 July 1893, 1 Aug. 1907; *Aberdeen Weekly News*, 13 Oct. 1902.

80. *Evening Huronite*, 6 Mar. 1937. From 1887, William Feige resided at homes for disabled soldiers in Leavenworth, Kansas, Dayton, Ohio, and Hot Springs, South Dakota. He died in 1917. Leavenworth, Leavenworth Co., Kans., in U.S., Department of Veterans Affairs, *Historical Register of National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, 1866–1938*, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1749, p. 2326.

81. *Daily Huronite*, 14 June 1894; *Aberdeen Weekly News*, 16 June 1902.

82. "Race-Suicide," *Medico-Pharmaceutical Critic and Guide* 13 (Aug. 1910): 293–94.

laws concerning the product of conception."[83] Dr. Van Dalsem continued to practice in Huron until a few years before her death on 6 March 1937 at the age of ninety-two.[84]

Amelia Martha Whitfield registered as a physician on 11 August 1887 in Pennington County. Born 19 October 1857 in Bristol, Connecticut, to Roswell and Sarah Barnum Atkins, she graduated from the Homeopathic Medical College of the University of Michigan in 1878. On 14 March 1880 in Bristol, she married Dr. Nathaniel C. Whitfield, a Civil War veteran held in Libby Prison during the war whom she met while in medical school. After their marriage, the Whitfields lived in Rapid City, where Nathaniel Whitfield had already settled and been elected as a Republican to the legislature of Dakota Territory in November 1878. Amelia Whitfield and her husband took additional medical training at the Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Chicago, both graduating in February 1883. The couple practiced in Rapid City and then in Hot Springs at the State Soldiers' Home, where Amelia Whitfield served temporarily as matron. During her husband's absence of several months due to illness, Whitfield was physician in charge of the Soldiers' Home.[85]

Whitfield published numerous articles offering practical advice on health, hygiene, and the care of children, including a series for *Good Housekeeping* magazine in 1888 and 1889, titled "Our Babies and Their Mothers: The Claims of the One and the Duties of the Other." She also wrote short stories and articles on travel and, in 1900, wrote a book, *As It Might Be, or, Christian Socialism*. Whitfield was active in the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Woman's Relief Corps.[86] In Oc-

83. *Medical World* 21 (May 1903): 207.

84. *Evening Huronite*, 6 Mar. 1937.

85. Bristol, Hartford Co., Conn., in *Ninth Census*, roll 102, p. 77; *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914–1915*, p. 876; Amelia Atkins Whitfield, 1924 Alumnae Survey, Alumni Association, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; *Black Hills Daily Times*, 25 Mar. 1880; *United States Medical Investigator* 17 (3 Mar. 1883): 175; *Hot Springs Daily Star*, 13 Sept. 1894; "Annual Report of the South Dakota Soldiers' Home for the Year Ending June 30, 1895," in *Report of Inspection of State Soldiers and Sailors' Homes for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1895* (Washington, D.C., 1895), p. 168.

86. *Woman's Who's Who of America*, p. 876; *Hot Springs Daily Star*, 17 Dec. 1895; *National Tribune*, 26 Nov. 1896.

tober 1890, she agreed to take charge of arrangements for the visit of Susan B. Anthony to Rapid City, though "not enthusiastic in the [suffrage] cause."[87]

Whitfield believed that the moral status of the community depended upon women, yet she held that having the vote might actually limit their power to effect reform. "Without political fences to mend, or axes to grind," she declared, "[women] can speak out without fear or favor for the cause of right."[88] Whitfield expanded further on woman's influence and ability to overcome difficulties: "She has entered one vocation after another until now there is no profession or calling but that is open to her if she has the strength and mental ability. Whether she owes her present position in the business world chiefly to Susan B. Anthony, to man's chivalry, or to the pioneer women who have demonstrated their ability, is left for those more fond of solving the relative values of x y z than is the writer."[89] By 1900, the Whitfields were living in Los Angeles, California. Amelia Whitfield died there on 24 December 1951 at the age of ninety-four.[90]

Dr. Henrietta Marie Willeme Wheeler, also a homeopathic physician, registered to practice medicine in Custer on 3 June 1887. Born 1 March 1860 in Paris, France, she moved with her family to Chicago in 1874. A decade later, in March 1884, she graduated from Chicago Homeopathic Medical College, one of two women in a class of thirty-nine. On 12 June 1884, she married Thomas I. Wheeler, a druggist in Custer, and subsequently practiced medicine in that city.[91] One of her first cases, according to a later history, occurred when someone flagged down the train on which she was riding to get help for a man who had been shot through the chest. "Henrietta extricated the bullet with a sterilized hatpin," the story recounted, "and the man recovered."[92]

87. A. A. Whitfield, "Reminiscences of Susan B. Anthony," n.d., British Library of Political and Economic Science, London.

88. *Los Angeles Herald*, 24 Mar. 1901.

89. Ibid., 19 May 1901.

90. Los Angeles, Los Angeles Co., Calif., in *Twelfth Census*, roll 89, sheet 16A; California, Death Index, 1940–1997, ancestry.com.

91. Thelma Peters, *Lemon City: Pioneering on Biscayne Bay 1850–1925* (Miami, Fla.: Banyan Books, 1976), p. 195; *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, 7 Mar. 1884; *Custer Chronicle*, 14 June 1884.

92. Peters, *Lemon City*, p. 195.

The local newspaper's coverage of Dr. Wheeler's activity was more prosaic. It included her receipt of a payment of $8.50 for examining and treating a mentally ill patient under the county's care and a move of her office in December 1887 from the south side of Custer Avenue to a building also used as a hotel. A daughter Alix was born in March 1888. By June 1889, Wheeler was living in Central City in Lawrence County.[93]

The Wheelers divorced in the fall of 1889, with Henrietta Wheeler as the plaintiff. She then moved with her two-year-old daughter to Florida and established a medical practice there. In 1896, she married Norwegian-born Halfden Martens and for the next decade practiced medicine in Lemon Springs and Miami in Dade County.[94] Dr. Henrietta Wheeler Martens was an ardent believer in minimal dosages and lamented that people coming south for the winter found it difficult to find a homeopathic doctor. "The southern people as a whole are strictly allopathic; they live on calomel and quinine and a good many die on it," she wrote. Northerners, she reported, returned home "so filled with drugs" that a homeopathist "will find it hard work to do much for them until he gets rid of these poisons. You have no idea of the amount of morphine used in the south!"[95]

In 1906, the Martens family moved north to Estevan, Saskatchewan. Dr. Martens had planned to retire but found herself called into service during the influenza epidemic and in the delivery of many babies. The weather stopped her only once, a local history reported, when she was lost in a blizzard for eight hours. Martens was an active member of the Anglican church and also served as a French tutor to many Estevan students. Henrietta Martens died in Estevan on 4 March 1943.[96]

In 1886 and 1887, two regular women physicians were licensed in southern Dakota Territory. Laura Foster Daggett registered to practice in Minnehaha County on 19 June 1886. Born 26 August 1846 in

93. *Custer Chronicle*, 4 May, 17 Dec. 1887, 14 Apr. 1888, 29 June 1889.

94. Decree of divorce, 28 Sept. 1889, Custer County, Custer, S.Dak.; Peters, *Lemon City*, p. 196.

95. *Medical Visitor* 11 (Oct. 1902): 639–40.

96. *A Tale That Is Told: Estevan, 1890–1980* (Estevan, Sask.: Estevan History Book Committee, 1981), p. 1085.

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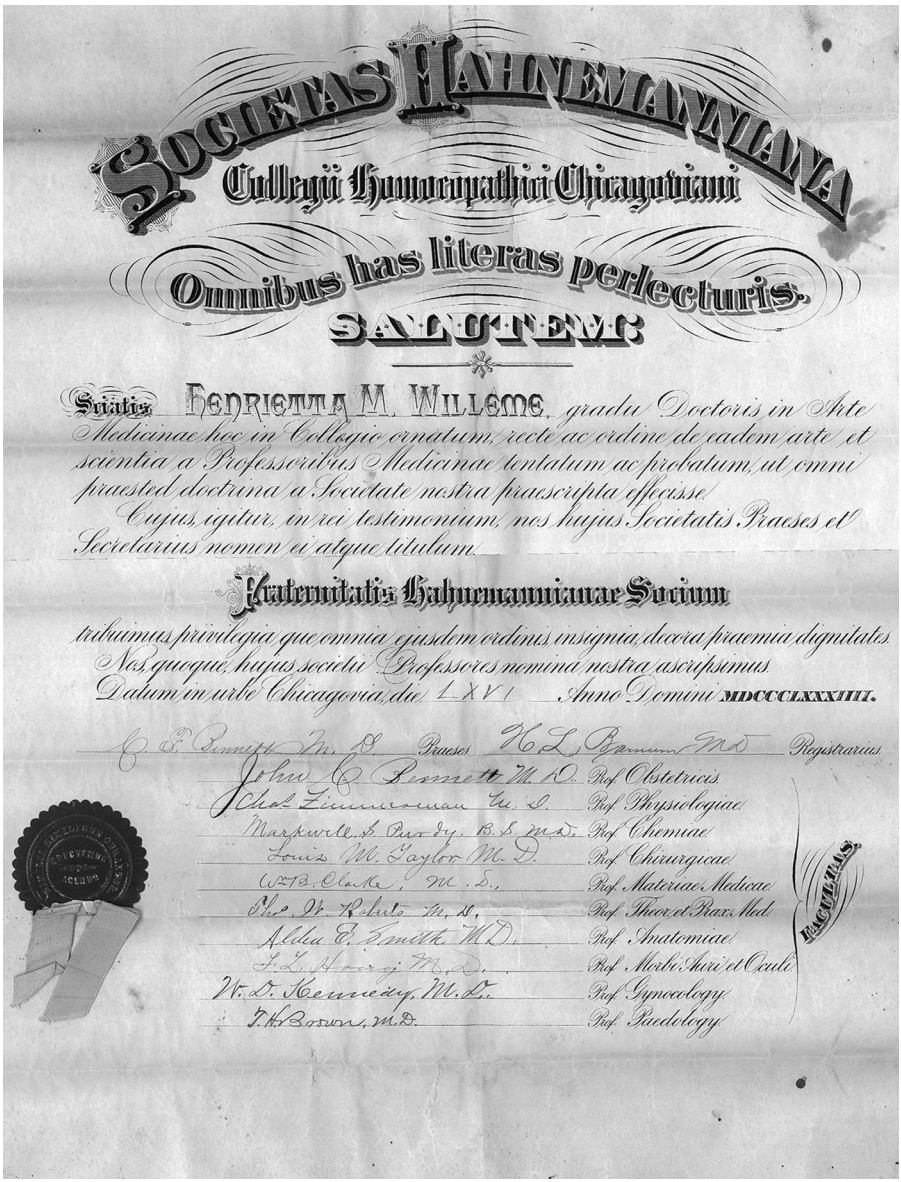

SOCIETAS HAHNEMANNIANA
Collegii Homœopathici Chicagoviani
Omnibus has literas perlecturis,
SALUTEM.

Sciatis Henrietta M. Willeme, gradu Doctoris in Arte Medicinae hoc in Collegio ornatum, recte ac ordine de eadem arte et scientia a Professoribus Medicinae tentatum ac probatum, ut omni praested doctrina a Societate nostra praescripta effecisse.
Cujus igitur, in rei testimonium, nos hujus Societatis Praeses et Secretarius nomen ei atque titulum.

Fraternitatis Hahnemannianae Socium

tribuimus privilegia, quæ omnia ejusdem ordinis insignia, decora praemia dignitates. Nos, quoque, hujus societi Professores nomina nostra ascripsimus.
Datum in urbe Chicagovia, die L X V I Anno Domini MDCCCLXXXIIII.

C. E. Bennett M. D. Praeses H. L. Barnum M.D. Registrarius

John C. Bennett M.D. Prof. Obstetricis
Chas Zimmerman M. D. Prof. Physiologiae
Marquis A. Purdy, B.S. M.D. Prof. Chemiae
Louis M. Taylor M.D. Prof. Chirurgicae
W.H.B. Clarke M.D. Prof. Materiae Medicae
Chas. W. Roberts M.D. Prof. Theor. et Prax. Med.
Alden E. Smith M.D. Prof. Anatomiae
F. L. Harris M.D. Prof. Morbi Auris et Oculi
W. D. Kennedy, M.D. Prof. Gynecology
T. H. Bowen, M.D. Prof. Paedology

FACULTAS

Henrietta Willeme Wheeler received her medical degree in March 1884 from Chicago Homeopathic Medical College, the same institution from which fellow Dakota doctors Helen Buchanan and Orie Messinger had graduated.

New Haven, New York, the youngest of seven children of Henry and Mary Bartlett Daggett, she graduated from the Woman's Medical College in Chicago in 1882 and practiced in Oswego, New York, before heading west to Sioux Falls in May 1885. In Sioux Falls as in New York, Daggett lived with her sister Mary, a widow, and Mary's two children. In February 1888, Daggett was admitted to membership in the Minnehaha Medical Society of Dakota, to whom she made a presentation on the topics of neurasthenia, pleuritis, and hemicrania. Daggett was elected corresponding secretary in 1891 and again in 1892. Fellow society member Dr. Frances Kyle, sister of United States Senator James H. Kyle, was the first woman licensed after South Dakota gained statehood. A graduate of the University of Michigan medical school in June 1889, Kyle was licensed in South Dakota on 4 June 1890 and began her medical practice in Sioux Falls that year. She was elected vice-president of the Minnehaha Medical Society in 1892 and 1893 and president in 1894 and 1895. Kyle died in July 1895 at the age of thirty-five from complications after a fall.[97]

In March 1892, Daggett relocated to Yankton, where she continued to practice medicine. She advertised herself as a "specialist in Diseases of women and in those of the Digestive and Nervous Systems." She practiced at the same address on Third Street from which her sister operated a millinery and dressmaking business. Laura Daggett died 3 January 1899 in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.[98]

Georgietta McClelland Dunlap registered on 2 May 1887 in Parker, Turner County. Born in Ohio in 1855, one of eight children of James Sharp McClelland and Mary Stewart McClelland, she received a degree in literature from Oberlin College in 1874. She graduated from the

97. Samuel Bradlee Doggett, *A History of the Doggett-Daggett Family* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1894), p. 425; George H. Daggett and Sydney B. Daggett, *A Supplement to the Sections Entitled Thomas Doggett-Daggett of Marshfield, Massachusetts and William Daggett of Saco, Maine* (Baltimore, Md.: Gateway Press, 1975), p. 22; *Woman's Medical College of Chicago: The Institution and Its Founders; Class Histories, 1870–1896* (Chicago: H. G. Cutler, 1896), p. 129; *Sioux Falls City Directory, 1889–90* (Sioux Falls, D.T.: Chas. Pettibone & Co., 1889), pp. 72, 187, 233; "Proceedings of the Minnehaha County Medical Society," SDSMA Records; *License Register*, SDSMA Records; *Sioux Falls Daily Argus-Leader*, 25 July 1895.

98. *Yankton Press and Dakotan*, 20 Sept. 1892. *See also* Wisconsin, Death Records, 1867–1907, Index, familysearch.org.

Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania in 1881 and married John Mark Dunlap on 26 November 1885 in Knox County, Ohio. The Dunlaps had a brief tenure in Dakota Territory. Subsequent places of residence included Kansas, Georgia, and Tennessee. In November 1890, Dunlap presented a paper before the Chattanooga Medical Society positing hysteria as a disease triggered through improper diet and inadequate exercise. Georgietta Dunlap died 17 August 1893 in Leland, Michigan.[99]

Eclectic practitioner "Mrs. Burns" registered 16 July 1887 in Miller, Hand County. Certain biographical details are difficult to substantiate, but she was apparently born Affia Hawley in Deposit, Broome County, New York, on 27 May 1839. In 1857, she and her first husband Oliver Perry Dickinson had a daughter Alice. This marriage ended in divorce, and she next married Dr. J. J. Ely of New York in 1860. She began to study medicine in 1861 and graduated from the Eclectic Medical College of Pennsylvania in June 1865. In April 1871, either widowed or again divorced, she married Dr. Charles R. Burns in Dixon, Kentucky. According to a family story, Affia Burns's husband was killed in a carriage accident as the couple were on their way to a deliver a baby, which, the story relates, she went on to deliver, collapsing afterward due to her own injuries. Among the locations where Dr. Burns practiced prior to settling in Dakota Territory were Mount Pleasant, Iowa; Saint Paul, Minnesota; and Janesville and Beaver Dam, Wisconsin, where her office was located over Mrs. Stout's millinery store.[100] She acquired sole rights in the county to employ the ozone treatment, "which is being used with great success by the progressive physicians of Philadelphia for the cure of Consumption, Asthma, Catarrh, and all germ diseases of the mucus membrane."[101] In 1887, she moved her prac-

99. Russia, Lorain Co., Ohio, in *Eighth Census*, roll 1002, p. 187; Ohio Marriages, 1800–1958, Index, familysearch.org; *Oberlin Review* 18 (23 Dec. 1890), p. 201; *Directory of Chattanooga, Tennessee, 1891* (Chattanooga, Tenn.: Connelly & Fais, 1891), p. 326; *General Catalogue of Oberlin College, 1833–1908* (Oberlin, Ohio, 1909), p. 614; G. T. M. Dunlap, "Uric Acid in Hysteria," *Virginia Medical Monthly* 17 (Jan. 1891): 828–35.

100. Wilmot, Bradford Co., Pa., in *Eighth Census*, roll 1081, p. 973; "Affia's Life," Dickinson Family Tree, ancestry.com; *The History of Dodge County, Wisconsin* (Chicago: Western Historical Co., 1880), p. 576; *Beaver Dam Argus*, 2 Jan. 1879.

101. *Beaver Dam Argus*, 13 Mar. 1879.

tice to Dakota Territory. "Mrs. D[r]. Burns, who has spent some time in Miller this summer has opened an office in the Bowne and Pusey building," the local newspaper announced in August, "and will make a specialty of chronic diseases giving medicated, artesian and electric baths with such other medicine as the case demands."[102] After leaving Dakota, Dr. Burns practiced medicine in Minneapolis. In September 1894, she married Addison Moffat in New Richmond, Wisconsin. The Moffats moved to Los Angeles, where Affia Moffat died on 19 September 1911.[103]

Emily Spork of Roscoe, Edmunds County, was licensed to practice medicine in Dakota Territory on 22 March 1889. She was born Anna Susanna Gunilla Emilia von Vegesack in southern Gotland, Sweden, on 27 March 1825 to Baron Emil von Vegesack and Sophia Lythberg. In 1856, she married Norwegian seaman Peter Bruno Spörck (later Americanized to Spork). After failed business ventures in Norway, the Sporks emigrated to America, where Emily managed to fulfill a long-held dream of studying medicine. She graduated from Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital in Chicago on 25 March 1873, recognized as one of the first two Swedish women to become a medical doctor. Spork built a large practice in Chicago, focusing on the health of women and children and serving the poor. The Sporks' marriage was a difficult one. In 1883, Peter Spork died after a long illness. Emily Spork subsequently came to Roscoe, Edmunds County, Dakota Territory, where her stepson, also named Peter, resided. There, she homesteaded and practiced medicine. Dr. Spork later settled in West Superior, Wisconsin. She died in Chicago on 19 February 1904 and is buried in Roscoe.[104]

At least fourteen women practiced medicine in southern Dakota Territory without officially registering with the superintendent of

102. *Hand County Press*, 18 Aug. 1887.

103. *Chippewa Falls (Wis.) People's Paper*, 15 Sept. 1894; California, Death Index, 1905–1939, ancestry.com.

104. Ingeborg Lingegård, "USA gav oss vår första kvinnligi läkare: Gotländskan Emily korsade Atlanten för sina drömmars mål," *Läkartidningen* 93 (1996): 3392–94; *Roscoe Herald*, 17 Apr. 1890, 22 Oct. 1891, 24 Aug. 1893, 6 Dec. 1894; Cook County, Illinois, Deaths Index, 1878–1922, ancestry.com. Fellow Swede Charlotte A. Yhlen received a degree from the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania two weeks prior to Spork's graduation in Chicago. Lingegård, "USA gav oss vår första kvinnligi läkare," p. 3394.

public health. Among these were Nettie Crabb Weems Hall of Wessington Springs and Elizabeth Brisbin Orr of Central City.[105] Born in Brownstown, Indiana, in April 1840, Nettie Hall studied medicine under her first husband, Dr. Robert Long Weems. After his death, and that of a son, she practiced medicine in Wessington Springs. She was remembered in local recountings for treating a man shot as a suspected horse thief soon after her arrival and for delivering many of the babies of early settlers. In March 1883, she married Cleveland T. Hall, who died in 1886 of wounds sustained during his Civil War service. Nettie Hall was a tireless organizer and lecturer for the territorial temperance union and also a committed suffragist. She provided the local newspaper with informative and detailed reports of her lecture trips.[106] In 1892, Hall became owner and proprietor of the Pioneer Drug Store in Wessington Springs. The store carried fresh and pure drugs and medicines, Hall advertised, as well as "toothache wax, Miller's Liquid Electricity and Golden Washing Compound."[107] A second room served as an ice cream parlor during the summer months. In 1894, Hall was elected vice-president of the State Pharmaceutical Association. She later became editor and owner of the *Enterprise* newspaper in Fitzgerald,

105. In addition to Hall and Orr, the other women listed in medical directories as practicing medicine in 1880s southern Dakota Territory but who were not officially licensed were Sarah Brockway (Sioux Falls, Minnehaha Co.), Mrs. C. E. (Chloe Emma) Cawthorne (Henry, Codington Co.), Mrs. T. A. Damm (Redfield, Spink Co.), Mrs. H. (Helen Rolfe) Dickerson (Richland, Union Co.), Mrs. J. B. Dickenson (Mitchell, Davison Co.), Sarah Gleason (Okobojo, Sully Co.), Emily A. Hammond (Iroquois, Kingsbury Co.), Mrs. W. H. (Maria Clark) Hedges (Tetonka, Spink Co.), Mrs. H. E. Kessler (Watertown, Codington Co.), Abigail Neville (Woonsocket, Sanborn Co.), Mrs. O. Offerson (Milltown, Hutchinson Co.), and Mrs. Phillip Schopp (Bridgewater, McCook Co.). *Medical and Surgical Directory of the United States* (Detroit, Mich.: Polk & Co., 1886 and 1890); *Medical Visitor* 5 (Jan. 1889): 25.

106. *75th Anniversary, Wessington Springs, S.D., Diamond Jubilee; Special Edition, 1882–1957* (Wessington Springs, S.Dak.: *Wessington Springs Independent*, 1957), n.p.; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* 4 (New York: James T. White & Co., 1895), p. 501; Jack Marken, ed., *The Making of a Community: A History of Jerauld County to 1980* (Wessington Springs, S.Dak.: Dunham Historical Society, 1982), p. 164; *Wessington Springs Herald*, 24 Mar. 1883, 26 Sept. 1884, 15, 29 Oct. 1886, 26 Aug., 2 Sept., 7, 14 Oct. 1887, 23 Mar., 22 June, 17, 31 Aug., 7 Sept., 16 Nov. 1888, 16 Aug., 13 Sept. 1889; *Dakota Sieve* (Wessington Springs, S.Dak.), 23 June 1892.

107. *Dakota Sieve*, 26 May 1892.

Georgia, a community formed to bring together Union and Confederate Civil War veterans. Hall died in 1908.[108]

Elizabeth Brisbin Orr was born in Quebec, Canada, in 1835. According to her own account, she studied botanic medicine under her husband in De Kalb County, Illinois, and practiced for several years in Waterloo, Iowa, prior to settling, now on her own, in Central City. In February 1882, she had a patient count of forty-three, the *Black Hills Daily Times* reported. On 28 December of the following year, Orr was charged with performing an abortion that led to the death of Deadwood resident Mary C. Holmquist. Over the next few months, the local newspaper exhaustively covered her two trials and ultimate acquittal in the deaths of the mother and her unborn child.[109] In 1888, Orr once again stood trial, this time charged for practicing without a license. "At a session of the territorial board of health in this city a few weeks ago, the would-be doctor, Elizabeth Orr, made application for license," the *Daily Times* stated on 22 February 1888. "She never received one, inasmuch as she possessed no diploma, and, in the opinion of the board, no knowledge whatever, of medicine." On 17 March, with the court drawing upon the 1885 territorial law regulating the practice of medicine, Orr received a verdict of not guilty due to insufficient proof to establish an offense.[110]

108. *Bulletin of Pharmacy* 8 (Sept. 1894): 427; Cam M. Jordan and Sherri K. Butler, *Fitzgerald* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), pp. 81, 93; *Jeffersonville (Ind.) Daily Reflector*, 26 June 1908.

109. Iowa, *1856 Iowa State Census*, Cedar, Black Hawk Co., Iowa, roll 69; Quebec, Vital and Church Records (Drouin Collection), 1621–1967, ancestry.com; *Black Hills Daily Times*, 8 Feb. 1882, 29 Dec. 1883, 19, 20, 22 Jan., 7 Feb., 11 Mar. 1884.

110. *Black Hills Daily Times*, 22 Feb. 1888. *See also* ibid., 17 Mar. 1888. Dr. Flora Stanford of Deadwood (licensed in South Dakota on 13 November 1893), is identified in some sources as practicing medicine in Dakota Territory before statehood, but it appears she did not settle in Deadwood until 1890. A graduate of Boston University Medical School in March 1878, Stanford practiced in Washington, D.C., before coming to Deadwood to seek a drier climate for her daughter Emma, who had tuberculosis. Emma's health continued to decline, and she died in Los Angeles in March 1893. Flora Stanford resumed her practice, dividing her time between Deadwood and Sundance, Wyoming. She died in Deadwood on 2 February 1901 and was buried in Mount Moriah Cemetery. *Black Hills Daily Times*, 2 Nov. 1890; *Daily Pioneer-Times*, 3, 7 Feb. 1901; Camille Yuill, "Flora Hayward Stanford, M.D.," *Bits and Pieces* 4 (Nov. 1968): 10–12; Helen Rezatto, *Mount Moriah: "Kill a Man—Start a Cemetery"* (Aberdeen, S.Dak.: North Plains Press, 1980), pp.

The medical women of southern Dakota Territory largely escaped the public scrutiny and trials faced by Elizabeth Orr and Alice Summerfield Baird, but, for each, the chosen life imposed difficulties—both personal (including divorce for several) and professional. The hope for eventual equality with which these women had entered medicine diminished in the early decades of the twentieth century as medical school admission standards and costs rose, alternative institutions closed, and views of medicine as a male domain persisted. Not until the 1970s would the percentage of women choosing medicine again significantly and steadily rise.[111] In their time, as the vanguard of a select group of women, the first female physicians in southern Dakota seized the opportunities open to them. Some practiced briefly, while others launched long careers that kept them in the state or carried them far away. They pursued regular or alternative medicine; worked alone, in partnerships, or in institutional settings; and often focused on the health of women and children. Though small in numbers, they evidenced a reach that was broad and diverse.

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204–7. Stanford is listed in Washington, D.C., in the 1890 *Medical and Surgical Directory of the United States*.

111. Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science*, p. 234; More, *Restoring the Balance*, p. 5.

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*On the covers:* As in the rest of the country, the Vietnam War divided South Dakotans. On college campuses around the state, students and faculty voiced their opinions through protests like those staged during the governor's review of ROTC cadets at South Dakota State University in 1970 (front) and by students at the University of South Dakota in 1972 (back cover). In this issue, Daryl Webb looks at both pro-war and anti-war sentiment on South Dakota's college campuses in the 1960s and 1970s.