

the NORTH STAR DAKOTAN

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EUROPEAN WAR WORRIES NORTH DAKOTANS MOST AGAINST INTERVENTION

Fryburg
December 15, 1915

The war in Europe has been going on for over a year. The Central Powers (Germany and Austria) and the Allied Powers (England and France) are engaged in bloody trench warfare in western Europe. To the east Russia, an ally of England and France, is in fierce combat against the German armies. Neither side is close to winning the war.

In this country President Woodrow Wilson is advancing a program of preparedness, in case the United States becomes involved in the war. The preparedness movement has little support in North Dakota. Its representatives in Congress have voted against Wilson's plan to enlarge the army and navy. Most North Dakotans blame the munitions makers for pushing the preparedness movement.

From all corners of the state come demands that the United States stay neutral in the conflict. Many fear that British propaganda will influence Americans to enter the war on the Allied side. British propaganda posters are making their way

to this country. They depict the Germans, who are referred to as Huns, in the worst possible way. Here in Fryburg, Gerald P. Nye,

the editor of the Pioneer, vows that he will not support American intervention until the Kaiser's German army marches on American soil.



FARMERS TOLD "GO HOME AND SLOP THE HOGS" STATE-OWNED ELEVATOR BILL IS DEAD

Bismarck
February 4, 1915

The American Society of Equity, which has been active in North Dakota since 1907 organizing farmer-owned elevator cooperatives, decided at its convention last year to plunge into political action. Its goal? A state-owned terminal elevator that would treat farmers fairly. It has waged an intense campaign to convince this legislature to pass such a bill.

Last night farmers argued long into the night with legislators about the merits of their proposal. The farmers were angry; the legislators unresponsive. Finally, the heated discussions broke up when Treadwell Twitchell, a Cass County Republican, told the farmers, "Go home and slop the hogs and leave the lawmaking to us."

Bitterly disappointed with this rebuff, the farmers realized that the elevator bill was a dead issue and that, if they were going to advance

their cause, some bolder action was needed. No one knew that better than A. C. Townley who witnessed the evening's events. The farmers are riled up, and Townley sees this as the opportune time to organize them into a political force. He has for several months thought that North Dakota was ripe for a farmer revolt, and after last night he is certain of it. He told the North Star Dakotan today that he immediately plans to organize farmers into a political alliance that he calls the Farmers' Nonpartisan League. Whether he will be successful or not, only time will tell.

A PROFILE: CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, FARMS, TOWNS

About one out of three North Dakotans belongs to a church. Congregations are generally small, 225,800 members for 2,500 churches. Roman Catholics make up the largest religious group with 96,000 members; Lutherans have a membership of 72,000. Five other denominations (Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist and Episcopal) together have 40,400 members.

Because about 70 percent of the population is immigrant, just over half of church services are conducted in a foreign language—13 different languages in all. Scandinavians and some Germans and Germans from Russia are Lutherans. And some Germans and Germans from Russia along with Poles, the Irish, French-Canadians, and German-Hungarians are Roman Catholic.

School attendance has been on the increase, although most students put in fewer than 80 days a year. About half of the state's 120,000 public school students attend the almost 5,000 one-room country schools.

High schools have become more common; there are now 144 classified high schools. Only 60 of them have more than 50 students. Less than 11 percent graduate and senior classes are quite small.

More and more North Dakotans are attending the university and the colleges. There are now more than 3,000 enrollees and during the last five years, 2,400 have received college diplomas.

North Dakota remains overwhelmingly rural and agricultural. Only about 12 percent of the people live in towns with a population over 2,500. The 75,000 farms average about 400 acres and generate most of the state's wealth. Crops account for 75 percent of farm income, livestock 25 percent. Wheat remains the most important crop, accounting for two-thirds of crop income. Wheat is followed by flax, barley, oats, and rye. Livestock income is evenly divided among beef cattle, hogs, and dairy cows. Most farms are self-sufficient and diversified. Families grow their own vegetables, have a milk cow or two, and raise pigs and chickens.

While the population growth of the state has slowed somewhat during the past five years (from 600,000 to 637,000), the towns have grown at a faster rate. Fargo, the largest, has nearly 20,000 residents and Grand Forks has passed 13,000. Minot is close to 9,000, and Bismarck over 6,000. Devils Lake, Dickinson, Mandan, Williston, and Valley City have surpassed 3,000 and are pushing toward 4,000.

The towns have vastly improved their services. New city buildings, parks, water and sewage systems, and lighting have greatly modernized the towns. Of special importance has been the establishment of modern medical facilities. Most towns have new hospitals, and most counties provide medical help for poor people at tax-supported county hospitals.

ST. JOHN'S HOSPITAL, FARGO, N.D.



FESSENDEN, N.D.



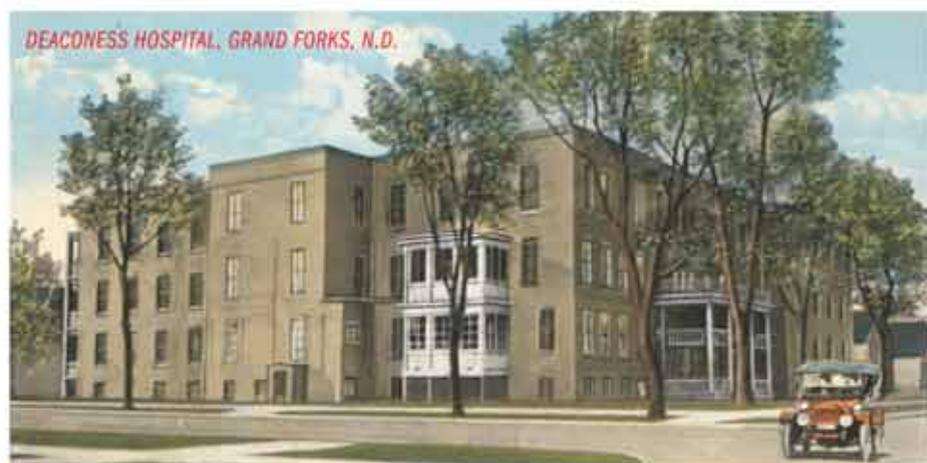
SCENE NEAR BOTTINEAU, N.D.



BIRD'S EYE VIEW, GARRISON, N.D.



DEACONESS HOSPITAL, GRAND FORKS, N.D.



TOWNLEY ORGANIZES NEW FARMERS' LEAGUE

McHenry County Farmers Enthusiastic

*Deering
February 20, 1915*

The North Star Dakotan has learned that A. C. Townley has just completed a several-day stay in McHenry County near Deering at the Fred Wood farm. His purpose was to convince Wood, an old Equity friend, and Wood's sons, Howard and Edwin, that his idea for a farmer political action organization is sound. Townley laid out his plan to the Woodses. Farmers would be asked to join the Farmers' Nonpartisan League with a membership fee of six dollars to help pay for organizational work. The program, drawn up by Townley and Howard Wood, has been devised to appeal to farmers: state ownership of terminal elevators, flour mills, packing houses, and cold-storage plants; state grain inspection; exemption of farm improvements from taxation; an improved state hail-insurance program; rural credit banks operated at cost.

Townley reasoned that only state-owned businesses could be fair in dealing with farmers. Fred Wood was not convinced that the scheme would work; he had heard plenty of plans to help farmers before and none of them had been successful.

To test his idea, Townley, along with Howard Wood, went out into the county to sign up farmers for the League. To Fred's surprise, they signed up the first 79 farmers they talked to. Fred Wood was now a believer! The Woodses and several neighbors have signed bank notes for the purchase of three Ford cars and a supply of gas to support organizational work.

Townley is certain that his Nonpartisan League (NPL) will be successful. He told the North Star Dakotan: "Make the farmers pay their money to join and they'll stick—stick 'til hell freezes over."

WHO IS ARTHUR C. TOWNLEY? WHAT ARE HIS PLANS?



A.C. Townley

*Bismarck
March 1, 1915*

Arthur C. Townley, the mastermind behind the new Farmers'

Nonpartisan League, has lived in North Dakota eleven years. Born in Browns Valley, Minnesota, near the South Dakota border, on December 30, 1880, he grew up on small farms and attended rural schools in the area. He went to high school in Wadena and Alexandria, Minnesota, and worked summers as a farmhand in North Dakota.

In 1904, during the Second Boom, he homesteaded near Beach in Golden Valley County near the Montana border. There he organized a cooperative with his neighbors to buy plowing and harvesting equipment. By 1908, in partnership with several other "Second Boomers," he developed a bonanza-type farm of 23,000 acres. He hoped to prove the productivity of the land and then sell off smaller tracts to prospective farmers, realizing a tidy profit. Lack of rainfall, however, doomed the project. Townley left for

Colorado. When he returned, along with his new bride, in early 1912, he and his brother took options on 7,000 acres of land about 50 miles north of Beach at Squaw Gap. He convinced equipment and supply merchants to advance him money to purchase nine gas tractors, seed, and other equipment for the new bonanza operation—Townley Brothers.

Townley projected a crop of 100,000 bushels of flax which was selling for \$3.50 a bushel—a gross income of \$350,000. That expectation was never realized. An early frost damaged some of the crop and the price of flax dropped below the cost of production. Townley lost everything.

The flax fiasco turned Townley into a bitter man. He blamed commodity speculators for his failure. He turned to the Socialist party. In 1913 he took

a job as an organizer for the Socialist party which was trying to enlist farmers in western North Dakota. His immense energy and speaking ability led to his promotion to head state organizer.

In July 1914 he created the party's Organization Department. He agreed wholeheartedly with the North Dakota Socialists' program: a rural credit program, state-owned elevators and mills, a state insurance program against agricultural calamities, and unemployment insurance for workers. While not a statewide force, the Socialist party had been successful in electing a few local officials.

Many farmers joined the party, and soon Townley had four organizers working for him. In January 1915, however, despite his superb progress, the state Socialist convention discontinued the Organization Department, believing the party had developed a strong core of members who could spread "the word" themselves. Miffed at the action, Townley left the Socialist party and headed for the American Society of Equity convention in Bismarck. He is now at work putting together a new farmer organization—the Nonpartisan League.

NSD

POLITICAL PULSE: THE NPL'S ROAD TO POWER

TOWNLEY EXPLAINS MOVEMENT

Bismarck
March 3, 1915

Today A. C. Townley explained the nature and purpose of his Nonpartisan League. He maintains that the program is intended to give the farmers independence from what he calls "Big Biz"—grain-buying companies, bankers, and millers. Townley emphasizes that the NPL is a political movement. His plan is to become powerful enough so that the NPL

can endorse candidates and run them in the Republican primary election—in other words, capture the Republican party, the state's majority party.

NPL HOLDS ORGANIZERS' CLASSES

Bismarck
March 15, 1915

Knowing from experience that organizing is the key to any movement, Townley is running courses for NPL field workers. Topics covered include: How a Salesman Puts Ideas Across, Motives by Which People Act, How to Arouse and Hold Interest, and Difficulties That Will Be Encountered. One of the course leaders emphasizes, "You must appeal to the emotions as well as to reason." Townley's advice to the class of new organizers comes to

the point: "Find out the farmer's hobby and then talk it. If he likes religion, talk it; if he's against the government, blast the Democrats; if he's afraid of whiskey, preach prohibition; if he wants to talk hogs, talk hogs—talk anything, but talk, talk, talk, until you get his signature on a check for six dollars."



SMALL TOWN PAPERS SUPPORT NPL

New Rockford and Carrington
September 10, 1915

The Carrington Record has editorialized, "If

the farmers get one-fourth value for the \$6 they have put in the nonpartisan organization, it will be the most profitable \$6 they ever invested." The New Rockford Transcript believes that, "a six-dollar flyer will improve politics." Many newspapers, however, do not support the NPL, calling farmers who join it, "six-dollar suckers."

NPL NEWSPAPER DEBUTS

Fargo
September 23, 1915

The Leader, the Nonpartisan League's official newspaper, has hit the streets with its first issue. Devoted to promoting the principles of the League, The Leader contains editorials, news, political cartoons, and special articles that explain the NPL's program. Townley believes that

no movement can be successful without a newspaper to spread, in his words, "the truth."

NPL HOLDS LOCAL RALLIES

Edmore
December 19, 1915

The temperature may be near 40 below but the NPL is having a hot time at its hundreds of meetings that are being held across the state this December. The opera house last night was filled to capacity with farmers who stomped and yelled approval to what League speakers were saying. A local banker, no friend of the NPL, admitted to the North Star Dakotan, "I have never in the history of Edmore seen as many rigs as are here today." A local politician told us, "The League has the state all sewed up in a bag."

AC PRESIDENT SUPPORTS NPL

Fargo
January 20, 1916

NDAC President John Worst told the Tri-State Grain Growers Association today that farmers needed to protect themselves politically. "The remedy is in your

hands," he told the convention. "If the laws do not suit you, if the constitution stands in the way, if public officials are not sympathetic, farmers need to be told where their remedy lies."

PRECINCT MEETINGS DRAW THOUSANDS

Bismarck
February 23, 1916

A month ago when Townley set February 22 as the date for NPL precinct meetings, he admitted that he was worried that not very many farmers would show up. He worries no more. More than 26,000 farmers met in every one of the state's precincts to lend their support to the NPL's people and program. The League's opponents cannot believe that in a matter of a few months, Townley's movement has gained such incredible strength.

NPL HOLDS FIRST CONVENTION

Fargo
March 30, 1916

Over 3,000 people have jammed into this city to hold wild parades and to eagerly hear dozens of



TOWNLEY AT CROSBY

speakers. The NPL convention has endorsed an entire slate of candidates to oppose regular Republicans in this June's primary election. Among those nominated are Lynn J. Frazier, a Pembina County farmer, for governor; Thomas Hall, the present secretary of state, for that same office; William Langer, Morton County state's attorney, for attorney general; Carl Kositzky,



CLOWNS AT NPL PICNIC

a commissioner in Burleigh County, for auditor. By running its candidates in the Republican primary, the NPL believes that it can capture that party. This way farmers who usually vote Republican can now vote for a radical program.

The Fargo Forum, an ardent foe of Townley and the NPL, admits, "The Nonpartisan League is no small power in the state." If crowd enthusiasm is an indicator, the Forum may be right. The NPL now has nearly 50,000 members.

CAMPAIGN ENDS: NPL SET FOR ELECTION

Bismarck
June 24, 1916

With the primary election less than a week away, one of North

Dakota's most hotly contested political campaigns is winding down. The NPL has sent speakers into every town in the state. Crowds at rallies have been huge. Over 6,000 people turned out at Maddock, 5,000 at Bottineau. People have driven a hundred miles to hear Frazier or Townley. Picnic rallies are very popular with the people.

The NPL has held meetings once again in every precinct and Frazier has covered the state by rail on his "Victory Special." Usher Burdick, the regular Republican candidate for governor, has received the support of most newspapers.

The Northwood Gleaner is typical. The editor likes Frazier as a person but warns its readers: "His election would be the gravest menace that North Dakota has ever faced." Roman Catholic Bishop Vincent Wehrle of the Bismarck diocese has denounced the NPL and has called its candidates "unprincipled office seekers." He urges Catholics to vote against what he calls "Socialists and infidels."

LEAGUE SCORES BIG WIN

Bismarck
June 29, 1916

In spite of violent storms, voters went to the polls in record numbers yesterday. The result was a smashing victory for the NPL. Every candidate for state office won by wide margins and the League nominated a sizeable majority for the House of

Representatives. The Senate, however, is out of reach due to its four-year staggered terms. Frazier carried 46 of the 53 counties. The NPL now controls the Republican party.

FALL CAMPAIGN ENDS; NPL WINS ELECTION

Bismarck
November 9, 1916

The campaign just completed has been listless. In August Usher Burdick finally got around to congratulating Frazier on his June victory and pledged his support to the NPL's Republican candidates. Anti-League Republicans like Jerry Bacon of the Grand Forks Herald have been in a quandary. They do not want to support Democrats and they do not want to support NPL Republicans. They mostly have written little but have given lip service to the NPL ticket.

The NPL had no trouble defeating the Democrats in this election. All but one on the ticket have been overwhelmingly carried into



LYNN J. FRAZIER

office. The 113-member House is now controlled by the NPL. The 49-member Senate, however, remains in anti-NPL hands. This astounding victory marks, to use the NPL terms, "a new day for North Dakota." President Wilson has won North Dakota; the people like the slogan, "He kept us out of war."



**FRAZIER JOINS PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON (BACK SEAT)
IN A BISMARCK PARADE**

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LYNN J. FRAZIER: A POLITICAL UNKNOWN

A PROFILE OF THE NEW GOVERNOR



LYNN J. FRAZIER

Hoople
December 1, 1916

“Who is Frazier and is Hoople a place or a disease?” That is the question asked by many North Dakotans when Lynn J. Frazier was nominated for governor last March. Now the answer is, “Frazier is governor and Hoople is his hometown.”

When the NPL endorsed Frazier, the NPL endorsed a real farmer, not a politician. Frazier, a life-long Republican, was born on a farm in Rice County, Minnesota, on December 21, 1874. When he was seven years old in 1881, his father moved to near Hoople where he homesteaded.

Young Frazier attended country schools and graduated from Grafton High School.

He taught rural school for two years, saving his money in the hope that someday he could attend medical school. He attended the normal school at Mayville for a year and then taught country school for two more years. In 1897 he entered the University of North Dakota. In 1901 he graduated with high honors and a letter in football, dreaming still of a career in medicine. The dream never materialized. His brother, who had taken over the farm after the death of the father, died suddenly. Not wishing to lose the homestead, Frazier’s mother asked him to return to the farm. He gave up his dream and became a farmer. At 42 Frazier is a physically rugged man,

a bit portly and quite bald. He is a family man who has never smoked, drank, or uttered an off-color word.

His nomination came as a complete surprise. When Mrs. Frazier answered the telephone call from Fargo, the call that would tell him that he had been nominated for governor, she responded: “He’s out slopping the hogs.”

He changed his clothes and headed for Fargo. There Townley introduced him to the delegates as one of the first cases since George Washington where the office had sought the man rather than the man seeking the office.

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HB 44 CONSUMES SESSION

SENATE DEFEATS NPL PROGRAM

Bismarck
March 11, 1917

The 1917 legislative session is history and, as expected, the anti-NPL senate sent the League’s program down to defeat. The NPL decided to write a new constitution through concurrent resolution that, when approved by the people, would enable it to complete its objectives.

The proposed constitution was embodied in House Bill 44, around which raged the main controversy of the session. Its central provisions proposed to permit the state or its political subdivisions to enter agricultural or manufacturing industries, make possible the exemption of farm improvements from taxation, and allow taxation for hail insurance. Adoption of these proposals would have made possible the implementation of the League’s program.

After weeks of wrangling over the measure, the House passed it, 81-28. To no one’s

surprise, the Senate killed HB 44 by a vote of 29 to 20.

Although the key NPL proposal failed, the legislature has passed several reform measures. Of those, the most important appear to be a state grain grading system, a constitutional-amendment proposal to exclude farm implements from taxation, a nine-hour workday for women, the tripling of financial aid for rural education, support for and expansion of woman suffrage.

The NPL has not gotten what it wanted but the tone of the legislature, generally, was progressive. If the League is ever to establish its state-owned industries, it is clear that it must maintain control of the House and win control of the Senate in 1918.

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THE NPL PROVIDES A DOSE OF GOOD MEDICINE



NPL GAINS TOTAL VICTORY AMENDMENTS PAVE WAY FOR PROGRAM

Bismarck
November 19, 1918

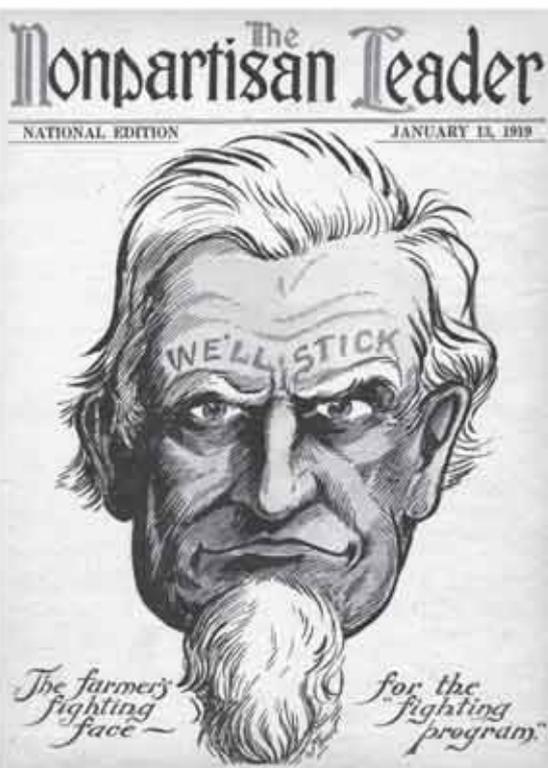
There is joy in the Townley camp tonight. This year has brought total victory for the Nonpartisan League. In the June primary election anti-NPL Republicans put up only token resistance and the League won every Republican nomination for state and congressional office. Enough legislative candidates were nominated on the Republican ticket to insure NPL control of the 1919 legislature.

Since nomination in the Republican primary means victory in November over the candidates of the weak Democratic party, Leaguers have been more concerned about the passage of constitutional amendments that will enable them to enact their state-ownership program.

Just before this fall election anti-League Republicans and Democrats finally came together to try to stem the tide of Townley's movement. The Independent Voters Association (IVA) organized by Theodore G. "Two Bit" Nelson, began publication of the Independent, a newspaper to counteract the Leader and to publicize IVA candidates. It was too little, too late.

League candidates have again swept North Dakota including the Senate and the Supreme Court. Now the NPL truly controls the state. With the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government in its pocket, the League cannot be stopped. And, the voters approved the constitutional amendments. The NPL has triumphed and passage of its program in the 1919 legislature is a sure thing.

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of the Grand Forks Herald has said it most directly: "The state is now the socialistic laboratory of the country."

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NEW DAY DAWNS NPL PROGRAM FINALLY PASSED

Bismarck
March 3, 1919

The League has just published a booklet of the laws passed by the legislature entitled The New Day in North Dakota. Indeed it is a new day, for the NPL has placed the state on the road to state socialism.

Five laws set up the framework for the NPL's program. First, an Industrial Commission (the governor, the attorney general, the commissioner of agriculture and labor) was empowered to set up and manage all the state-owned businesses. A second law created the Bank of North Dakota with a capital of \$2 million. All state and local governmental funds have to be deposited with the bank which will provide low-cost rural credit.

A third law formed the North Dakota Mill and Elevator Association to engage in the manufacture and marketing of farm products. The fourth law improved the state hail insurance program and a fifth created the Home Building Association through which the state will finance homes, 20 percent down and 20 years to pay for it.

Other changes also came: a constitutional amendment proposal for the recall of public officials, a workmen's compensation law, income and inheritance taxes, and a state printing commission (NPL officials) to select one official newspaper for each county until the next election when the people will select it. The work is done; Townley's program is now law. In less than five years North Dakota's political climate has changed completely. Eastern newspapers are calling this "the Townley revolution." And, indeed, it is a revolution. Perhaps Jerry Bacon

THE LEAGUE GOES INTO BUSINESS EXPANSION SEEN IN OTHER STATES

Bismarck
January 15, 1918

Depending upon its loyal membership for financial support, League leaders have gone into merchandising, banking, and newspaper publishing. The Consumers' United Stores Company has opened up stores in Kenmare, Minot, and Crosby. Two dozen more are planned for other towns. The stores buy directly from manufacturers and sell groceries, clothing, farm implements, and hardware to their customers at a

price lower than other local businesses can charge. The League Exchange, operated by NPL insiders, has gained control of the Scandinavian-American Bank in Fargo and is convincing farmers to put up capital for banks in many other towns.

Realizing that control of the press is important for success, the League is acquiring as many newspapers as it can. It has purchased the Fargo Courier News and has organized the Northwest Publishers' Service which is in the process of buying or establishing 45 small-town papers.

Townley and League leaders are not content with just their success in North Dakota. They have moved their offices from Fargo to St. Paul, and the North Dakota Farmers' Nonpartisan League has become the National Nonpartisan League. Townley has organizers working throughout Minnesota and 12 other farm states. He hopes eventually to make the League a powerful national third party.

NSD

ARE YOU FOR OR AGAINST THE NPL?

NO MOVEMENT IN NORTH DAKOTA'S HISTORY HAS BEEN MORE CONTROVERSIAL THAN THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE. No program has ever been so far-reaching. No organization has so clearly divided the people of the state into for and against viewpoints.

FOR

H. P. Knappen, the publisher of Bismarck's Capital Daily Press:

For twenty-six years the farmers of North Dakota have been fighting for terminal elevators. More recently they have included in their demands state hail insurance, the exemption of farm improvements from taxation, rural credit banks, and other economic reforms.

Now for the first time in the history of the United States, representatives of the plain people compose the majority of the legislature of an American state and it is possible to enact this promised program into law.

Naturally Big Business interests howl. They will lose millions of dollars in excess profits if these measures pass. Consequently, their agents, lobbyists and subsidized newspapers, are trying to frighten and fool the legislators into abandoning the program.

"Go slow," they cry, "go slow"; or "be fair, be fair." They had the power for twenty-six years and failed to enact these measures. That is how slow they would have the farmers go. And how fair are they? When they were in power they told the farmers to "go home and slop the hogs."

The time has come to act. The farmers of North Dakota expect the legislature to act. And farmers and workers all over the United States are looking toward this state in the hope that its lawmakers will write a new Declaration of Independence which will free the producers of America from the oppressive shackles of monopolistic exploiters.

A. C. Townley, the mastermind of the League:

For the first time in the history of the United States the lawmaking power of a sovereign state has been taken away from the exploiters and devourers, the beasts that prey, and has been placed in the hands of white men—men who have a noble purpose, who are raised from out themselves.

We can depend upon the collective judgment of this group of men. Do not rely on my judgment, for I make mistakes. Every man makes mistakes.

My only fear is that we may become entangled in the jealousies and prejudices that have kept the people apart for centuries, that we may let little personal desires intrude and so forget the big things.

Let us guard this magnificent instrument which is ours to employ for the betterment of humanity. Let us make it an organization to serve the people, for everything in the League belongs to the people and it will survive only so long as it dedicates itself to unselfish service.

We have arrived at the place and the time to either accomplish the League program or quit coming to Bismarck. Much depends upon our action—not only the prosperity, safety, and happiness of the people of North Dakota, but the fate of the toilers all over the United States.

The special interests are not saying much just now, but this is only the lull before the storm. In a few days the most vindictive, vituperative, vile, dishonest flood of criticism in the history of the United States will be let loose. We will be abused as few men have ever been abused because we have the courage to stand for a new order.

But if you can really succeed in carrying out the League program, you will have done more toward the common good than any group of men in the world before you.

AGAINST

Jerry D. Bacon, publisher, Grand Forks Herald:

The apparent purpose of that man (A.C. Townley) is to revolutionize the financial, business, and economic life of the commonwealth into a Socialistic commune. Nationwide socialism is the true purpose of the Townley propaganda and the farmers of the state of North Dakota and of other states have gone into it without the least suspicion of the real purpose of Townley and his allied Socialists, Pacifists, and I.W.W. leaders—not to say disloyalists. The farmers of North Dakota are not Socialists at heart, with very few exceptions, and Townley camouflaged his true purposes as long as he possibly could. No farmer can now say, however, that he did not know Townleyism was Socialism, unless he has closed his mind against the mountain of Truth. Townley has many times said his movement would "sweep the nation."

There is a wide difference between the purpose of Townley and the program of Townley. The Townley purpose is the creation of an autocracy that shall dominate the states of the northwest and the central west with the hope and ambition that it will be strong enough to dictate to one of the major political parties its policies and candidates in 1920, and to make it the tool of national Townleyism, which means radical "Red" Socialism. But the Townley program is a fearful and wonderful thing. It is capable of as many variations and changes as there are peoples to whom the autocrat desires to make appeal. It is a case of being "all things to all men" so long as the money comes rolling in and the votes are being lined up so that he can dictate to them.

The Red Flame, the anti-NPL magazine:

The Red Flame (the NPL) is SOCIALISM!

Blind, unreasoning, radical SOCIALISM that has stolen into North Dakota under the guise of a "Farmers' Movement." Political power and millions of dollars are being misused and squandered by a small coterie of red-tide fanatics who are not farmers, not workers, not property-holders, not taxpayers, not homeowners, not producers in any sense—in a number of instances not even American citizens—and who are not Socialists of any philosophical or constructive type, but who are agitators, bent upon rending, destroying, and tearing down.

Inaugurated as a farmers' movement, the National Nonpartisan League has degenerated into pure Bolshevism.

It is dominated wholly by Mr. A. C. Townley and a group of radical, international, socialists, who have nothing in common with and no real sympathy for the farmer.

They are, a majority of them, men who have never done an honest day's work; men who despise work, and have nothing but contempt for the worker.

They are parlor socialists, men who live by their wits, and who eat bread produced by the honest toil of others.

VIEWPOINTS

CARTOONS ENLIVEN NPL'S NEWSPAPER

BAER ATTACKS "BIG BIZ"



Bismarck
November 10, 1918

Believing that a picture is worth a thousand words, A.C. Townley has enlisted the services of a very talented cartoonist to put the NPL's message into visual form. Each issue of the Nonpartisan Leader carries an illustration from the pen of John Miller Baer.

Baer first met Townley after the cartoonist moved to Beach in 1909.

A graduate of Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin, Baer was managing his father-in-law's 5,000-acre flax farm when he was introduced to Townley who also was in the flax

business. In 1913 Baer was appointed Beach's postmaster and also served as secretary of the town's commercial club.

Townley liked Baer's drawing skills and his liberal political views. In 1916 Townley convinced Baer to resign his postmaster's job and to become a full-time cartoonist for the NPL's newspaper.

In his cartoons Baer depicts the North Dakota farmer and the NPL in a very positive way. In contrast the League's opponents, "Big Biz" and "Crafty," are evil, bloated characters who are always out to cheat and rob the farmers. To Baer, the farmer is the most important

producer of wealth; on the other hand "Big Biz" and "Old Guard" politicians are overstuffed windbags who are out to crush the farmer and the NPL.

Baer's cartoons have made him one of the most popular leaders of the NPL. Just this year North Dakotans elected him to a term in the U.S. House of Representatives. Now a cartoonist represents North Dakota in Washington. Baer's comment about his election: "I caricatured my way into Congress."



WORLD-WIDE FLU KILLS 50 MILLION

NORTH DAKOTA DEATHS NEAR 1,400

Bismarck
November 30, 1918

The worst of it seems to be over. After being closed since early October, the state's churches, schools, and movie theaters are again open. The ban on public gatherings has been lifted, and residents are trying to return to normal lives after several terrifying and fear-filled weeks.

The Spanish influenza spread from nation to nation and town to town with unbelievable speed. Sixteen million people died in India, a half-million in Germany, over a half-million in the United States. It moved like a wildfire from the East Coast, killing 9,000 in Boston and 12,000 in Philadelphia during late September and early October.

Then, like lightning it struck North Dakota. On September 27 Fargo's health officer reported no flu cases in the city. Six days later more than 100 people had contracted the deadly virus. In Jamestown more than a thousand in three days. Eighty percent of Dickinson's population became sick. Even the remotest of communities could not avoid the Spanish flu. Apprehension gripped the state as health officials handed out masks, ordered fines against those who coughed in public without covering their mouths, and closed down public gathering places. Hospitals overflowed with flu victims. In Ramsey County six nurses died, attending to patients. Death from this aggressive flu strain has been commonplace: 173 in Fargo, 76 in Dickinson, 123 in Jamestown, 36 in New Rockford - 1,378 in North Dakota - all within a few weeks!

Those who have tended to the dying describe flu death in words such as horrific and gruesome. A very high fever and terrible shakes accompany the shutting down of bodily functions and the buildup of fluid and blood in the lungs. Some bleed from the ears, nose, and mouth. Most gradually turn blue as they seemingly drown in their own bodies. No one knows why 70 percent of the flu fatalities have occurred among young adults between the ages of 18 and 35. North Dakotans have gone through weeks of torment.

POLITICAL PULSE: THE NPL'S ROAD TO RUIN

MINNIE J. NIELSON OUSTS MACDONALD

Bismarck
November 8, 1918

Minnie J. Nielson, supported by anti-NPL forces, defeated NPLer Neil MacDonald for state superintendent for schools by 5,000 votes. MacDonald had played an important role in school reform since 1911.

THREE OFFICIALS EXIT NPL

Bismarck
April 1, 1919

Attorney General William Langer, Auditor Carl Kositzky, and Secretary of State Thomas Hall have declared their separation from the NPL. They support the League program but maintain that they can no longer tolerate Townley and his dictatorial methods. Langer has openly attacked Townley as a liar who has deceived North Dakota's farmers. Townley responds that Langer is a traitor.

IVA GAINS STRENGTH IN DEFEAT

Bismarck
June 26, 1919

The Independent Voters' Association's attempt to kill the League program through a special referral election has fallen short. The voters upheld the laws that were passed during the last legislative session. The election campaign, however, has

solidified the IVA's resolve to unseat League officials. The IVA now has 20,000 members.

NEW MAGAZINE ATTACKS NPL

Minot
November 18, 1919

North Dakota has been blanketed with issues of a magazine called The Red Flame. Begun by Langer and Kositzky the 40-page publication, which will be published monthly, is devoted to destroying the NPL. This first issue especially emphasizes the League's radicalism, asserting that Townley and his followers are communists who have nothing in common with North Dakota farmers.

SPECIAL SESSION CONTROVERSY

Bismarck
December 16, 1919

When Governor Frazier called a special session of the legislature, it was to ratify the national women suffrage amendment and to refine measures that were passed during the last session. It, however, has gone much further. The NPL slashed the budgets of Langer, Kositzky, and Hall and removed them from important boards. Of the 72



J.D. BACON

bills passed, four especially are seen as NPL efforts to hold its power. One, any woman living one-half mile or more from a voting place may cast an absentee ballot. Two, a legislative investigation committee is empowered to probe any public official or department. Three, the "anti-liars law" makes it a felony for a state employee to publish false statements about the state's industries. Four, the position

of state sheriff was created to have direction over all the state's deputies and sheriffs. These new laws have aroused a storm of protest from the IVA. Theodore "Two Bit" Nelson has told the North Star Dakotan: "This is the end of democracy. Nothing is sacred."

IVA CONVENTION PACKS 'EM IN

Grand Forks
May 5, 1920

Boasting a membership of more than 25,000 and sensing that many people are disturbed by the results of the legislative special session, the IVA believes that, to use "Two Bit" Nelson's words, "The Socialists are on the run." The convention selected William Langer to run against Governor Frazier in the primary election.



THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION
WILLIAM LANGER, GOVERNOR FRAZIER, JOHN HAGAN

IVA ASSURED TO HOUSE CONTROL

Bismarck

June 30, 1920

After a heated campaign in which name-calling was the chief issue, the primary election votes are counted and things are looking good for the IVA. Frazier edged out Langer by only 5,000 votes, a clear indication that the NPL is losing support. The IVA has nominated enough members of the House of Representatives to assure control of that body, thus giving it the ability to block any NPL legislation.

NPL LOSES HOUSE

Bismarck

November 10, 1920

The League has elected by slim majorities those candidates whom it nominated last June. Frazier, however, defeated Democrat J.F.T. O'Connor by less than 5,000 votes—the strongest showing a Democrat



WILLIAM LEMKE

has made since 1910. To no one's surprise the IVA now holds the House of Representatives. The NPL no longer has an iron grip on the legislature.

FISTFIGHTS MAR SESSION

Bismarck

March 4, 1921

NPL Supreme Court Justice James Robinson told lawmakers: "Throw politics to the wind. Repeal the bad laws; reorganize and put on a solid not a sandy foundation the state bank and state industries." No one listened. Fistfights and parliamentary feuding were commonplace. Although the state is facing a difficult economic slump, the legislators did nothing but bicker. Politics of the worst kind took precedence over the good of the state.

MINNESOTA COURT SENDS TOWNLEY TO JAIL

St. Paul

April 29, 1921

The Minnesota Supreme Court has upheld a lower court's conviction of A.C. Townley for seditious activity in 1918. He has been fined \$500 and is to begin a 90-day jail term.



FRAZIER, LEMKE, HAGAN OUSTED

Bismarck

October 29, 1921

Using the recall, which the NPL earlier introduced, the IVA has thrown the members of the Industrial Commission out of office and elected its own slate. Ragnvold Nestos defeated Frazier by 4,102 votes. Attorney General Lemke lost to Sveinbjorn Johnson by 6,787 and Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor Hagan to Joseph Kitchen by 5,335. The IVA's measure to kill the state businesses, however, failed. It seems that the people want the bank and the mill but think that the IVA can do a better job of running them.

IVA SMASHES NPL

Bismarck

November 10, 1922

It's over. The Nonpartisan



GOVERNOR NESTOS

League, as we know it, is dead. A. C. Townley has resigned as its head and the IVA has completely swept the NPL out of office. Governor Nestos has been reelected and other IVAers have won statewide offices. The Independent Voters Association has won both houses of the legislature and the supreme court. It has done this year what the NPL did four years ago—win control of all three branches of state government.

NSD

1924 INTERVIEW WITH GEORGE PATERSON

ROBERT GEORGE PATERSON is associated with the Fargo Forum and is considered to be one of the most astute observers of North Dakota and its politics.

How have people generally viewed the events of the last few years—the rise, success, and fall of the Nonpartisan League?

North Dakota's revolt has been one of the century's outstanding political events in America. It has had as many interpretations as it has had observers. Many passively noted it as one of those freakish experiments in which in the name of progress certain western states occasionally have indulged themselves, a temporary obsession to be viewed with no more concern than a city changing to the commission form of government. To some it has seemed the heroic effort of the second generation of a pioneer people to conquer political chiefs, economic overlordship, and the forces industrial civilization has erected, as their father subdued Indian chiefs and the forces of nature. Others saw it as a conflagration fired by the incendiary bombs of demagogues whose personal destruction offered the only hope for its extinction. Still others have fancied it everything from the first American foothold of the foreboding international to a result of the tenantry.

To which of these theories do you subscribe?

None of these estimates is wholly correct. North Dakota has been greatly misunderstood, for it is not a state of Marxian idealists. Prior to the Nonpartisan League's appearance it had but a straggling socialist element scarcely able to muster two thousand votes on election day. Unlike its neighbors of South Dakota and Iowa to the south, it never had any land tenantry worth mentioning. It has not been bothered by labor disturbances, as it has no laboring class except its floating farm helpers who come and go in the spring and autumn. While in 1913 there was a brief I.W.W. flurry at Minot, the rioters were not North Dakotans but the typical western rovers who frequent the trans-Mississippi region during the harvest season together with a boisterous handful of Butte's mining element who had strayed eastward out of Montana. Of all the states North Dakota is one of the freest from poverty. Nearly all of its half million people are landowners. A country of magnificent distances, its mighty expanse adapted itself to the acquisition of enormous tracts. The "bonanza farm," covering thousands of acres, sprang into vogue. Inconsequential indeed was the farmer possessing less than a section—640 acres—of land. The forty or eighty-acre farm of the middle or eastern states is inconceivable to the average North Dakotan. The majority of the 30 percent of its people that are not Scandinavian are keen-faced Yankees who migrated from Iowa, Illinois, and western New York to get rich quick in the early land boom, but on seeing the country's possibilities decided to stay. The years have dealt generously with them, and though North Dakota

boasts only a few millionaires nearly everyone is well to do. Virtually every farmer has his car, some three and four. A few years ago the tremendous business of the Ford plant at Fargo ranked it near the top of that company's branches throughout the country.

What specifically do you think brought about the farmers' revolt, the NPL?

*North Dakota's revolt came as the direct result of its complete subjection to outside domination. Hunger, poverty, class distinctions, religious oppression, political graft, and chicanery all prompt rebellion. But nothing is more certain to provoke it than the attempt of one people to govern another. Nominally a sovereign state, in reality North Dakota has experienced few of the thrills of sovereignty. From the hour of statehood it has been merely the "flickertail" of the Minnesota gopher. Albeit Bismarck is the capital where the governor resides and the legislature convenes, the actual seat of the state government always has been in St. Paul and Minneapolis, homes of the overlords who played with its destinies. At the outset James J. Hill became its acknowledged patron saint and colonized it with Norwegians as Minnesota already had been settled by their Swedish cousins. Throughout the years his excellent paternal care well entitled him to the fond sobriquet of "Father of North Dakota." From St. Paul he watched over its interests—so closely interwoven with his own—with the same anxious eye a keen guardian displays for a wealthy ward. From a carefully guarded chamber in the West Hotel in Minneapolis its political wires were manipulated with rare dexterity by that most astute of all the Northwest's political chiefs, the frequently mentioned but infrequently seen "Alec" McKenzie of Klondike fame—fame suggested, if not exactly extolled, by Rex Beach in *The Spoilers*. Perchance because of the proprietary concern exhibited in the state by these two gentlemen, the financiers, merchants, and millers of Minnesota's chief centers assumed that North Dakota was their private preserve. And few moves in North Dakota became possible without their sanction, as its legislators, bankers, and grain growers soon came to understand.*

Were there signs of rebellion against outside domination before the NPL came to power?

Sporadic outbursts from the beginning revealed North Dakota's unconscious groping for self-determination. Queer things, impulsive and incoherent, were done in this battle for independence, but all revealed the underlying aim. At its second election it chose a Populist governor. The experiment did not last. The next uprising in 1906 had more enduring effect and made North Dakota a vital contributor to the subsequent Republican schism. For six years a Democratic governor and an "insurgent" Republican legislature fought the McKenzie "Stalwarts" for control. In that time they enacted into law nearly every suggestion that promised hope of deliverance from outside political and financial influence. The statutes bristled in their defiance of the railroads and all outside business operating within the state. They affected nearly every commodity used, inasmuch as North Dakota is wholly agricultural and manufactures practically nothing for its own consumption.

Could you be more specific concerning the dependence of North Dakota?

Farming on a huge scale, the ills of the North Dakotan lie in marketing. His crop is wheat and small grains. He is dependent on the railroads to move it and on the grain commission men of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce to sell it. Between the two he early found himself a helpless victim of strange price fluctuations and freight tariffs that more frequently favored the big elevator, milling, and railroad interests than himself. The chief Twin City millers and elevator magnates controlled the Chamber of Commerce, and the trading privileges of its floor were largely restricted to their representatives. As they were in position to buy grain virtually at their own grading, the North Dakota farmer felt himself at their mercy.



THE KU KLUX KLAN IN NORTH DAKOTA: AN INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Grand Forks
January 31, 1932

Following the American Civil War an organization called the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) spread like wildfire across the South. Begun as a social club in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1867, the KKK soon became a symbol of hatred and bigotry. Its main objective was to keep black people from voting and taking their constitutionally rightful place in society.

Led by the Grand Cyclops, the Klan, a secret organization, was organized into local "dens." Dressed in bizarre fashion—high-pointed hats, masks, and flowing white robes—KKK members promised to defend the constitution and to protect the weak and oppressed, but in reality they terrorized black Americans and filled their lives with fear and fright.

Having succeeded in reducing the black vote, in 1877 the KKK disbanded as a national organization. This did not mean, however, that local "dens" stopped tormenting blacks. Lynchings and cross burnings continued as part of the southern scene into the 1890s. The KKK then pretty much faded from view until 1915.

In that year a new Ku Klux Klan was organized in Georgia as a fraternal organization dedicated to the principles of white supremacy. It sounded and looked like the old KKK, but it was different. The new Klan added Roman Catholics, Jews, and left-wing political radicals to its list of enemies. The new KKK sought

to protect the purity and values of native-born, white, Anglo-Saxon Americans and claimed a higher morality and dedication to Christian ideals. Led by the Imperial Wizard, the KKK, like its predecessor, held secret meetings around fiery crosses with members hooded and robed in white. Its tactics for intimidation included whipping, branding, mutilating, and lynching.

In the summer of 1921 Klan organizers moved into South Dakota and gained many followers by attacking the politically radical Nonpartisan League. The national organizers attempted to recruit Protestant ministers who were staunchly anti-Catholic to serve as heads of the local klans/klavens. This has been a successful method in South Dakota.

At that time an Indiana Klansman traveled secretly to Grand Forks where the Presbyterian minister, F. Halsey Ambrose, had gained a reputation as a powerful orator, a staunch foe of the Roman Catholic Church, an arch-opponent of the Nonpartisan League, and a booster of white Protestant Americanism. Soon after arriving in Grand Forks in 1918 Ambrose began attacking the Nonpartisan League as "socialist" and "Bolshevist," endearing himself to the Grand Forks Herald and its owner, Jerry Bacon. Ambrose's pamphlet, "A Sermon on Applied Socialism," a violent assault on the League, was published with the help of the Herald and sold 5,000 copies in two weeks.

Ambrose believed that a Roman Catholic cannot be a good American because the Catholic's first allegiance is to the Pope in Rome. His sermons were full of anti-Catholic statements.

Ambrose was a clergyman who fit the KKK's qualifications for leadership. His popularity tripled church membership and his special Sunday night services usually have attracted 1,200 people. What more could the Klan want? Reverend Ambrose became its chief leader for Grand Forks and for North Dakota. Even though Roman

Catholics were outnumbered almost three to one by Protestants in Grand Forks, Ambrose persuaded Protestant civic leaders that the Catholics had a master plan to take over the city's government. The minister's charisma convinced business leaders that the town's Roman Catholics, led by furniture dealer and funeral director Moses Norman, presented a threat to their livelihoods and American values.

A source within the Klan has told the North Star Dakotan that the Grand Forks Klan first met 22 miles west of that city in September 1922, and that its leaders were members of the business community, including three bankers, three insurance men, seven store owners, two hotel proprietors, three lawyers, one doctor, one architect, and one clergyman other than Ambrose. According to our source, about 500 men have joined the Grand Forks klaven.

That North Dakota legislative leaders saw the KKK as a mounting threat became obvious in 1922 when a bill was introduced to outlaw the wearing of a mask or regalia which concealed the identity of the wearer except when such a mask was worn inside a building or by a person less than 15 years old.

Reverend Ambrose, who has never denied his leadership in the KKK, went to Bismarck and testified for an hour against the bill. He argued that no klansman had ever been convicted of a crime committed while wearing hoods. He insisted that hundreds of klansmen around the state were pillars of their communities and concluded that the KKK had to remain secret, in his words, "to do its valuable work."

Both houses overwhelmingly approved the bill and Governor R.A. Nestos signed it into law, earning him the hatred of klansmen.

That fall of 1923, paying no attention to the new law, Ambrose organized a Klan rally west of Grand Forks. A thousand hooded klansmen from all parts of the state gathered to hear Ambrose preach the virtues of the KKK. Amid burning crosses, he emphasized the Klan's patriotism and its desire to accomplish

_____ story continued on next page

KU KLUX KLAN MEMBERS MARCH DOWN PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE IN WASHINGTON DC 1928 WITH THE CAPITOL IN THE BACKGROUND



NORTH DAKOTA

its goals in a peaceful manner. A reporter has told the North Star Dakotan that he saw at least 300 carloads of klansmen arrive at the ceremony and that a major reason for the rally was to initiate new members and install a klaven in Larimore.

With a growing membership and increasing strength within the city, the Klan moved into civic politics, endorsing and working for candidates who were in the KKK or sympathetic toward it. In the 1924 Grand Forks city election, one Klan candidate won a seat on the five-person city commission, and a klansman defeated the incumbent city justice, a Roman Catholic.

Flushed with victory, the Klan entered vigorously into the school board election three weeks later. The division was clear: two Klan businessmen versus a physician's wife and the wife of a retired minister. In a Sunday night sermon Ambrose attacked the women as pawns of the Roman Catholics and charged that the Catholics were attempting to gain control of the public schools. The campaign tore the community apart. Mass rallies on behalf of the Klan and the anti-Klan candidates drew crowds numbering in the hundreds.

The Presbyterian clergyman told the North Star Dakotan that Moses Norman had started the petition drive for the women. "He will give his unqualified support to circulating those petitions," he stated. "Any woman who will accept his support absolutely deserves the disrespect of every respectable woman in the city. Any two ladies who will permit a dirty thing like this to take his support are unworthy of the name of woman." He referred to Catholic supporters as "the scum of the earth" and pledged that Catholics were the same the world over, "rotten." Jerry Bacon and his Grand Forks Herald now began to attack the Klan. The paper backed the women candidates, stating that Ambrose's reasoning was absurd. Tracy Bangs, a longtime Grand Forks lawyer, told the North Star Dakotan, "Ambrose has disturbed old friendships and has torn families asunder with his gospel of hatred."

The two klansmen easily won election to the school board. Their objective was to reintroduce



KU KLUX KLAN RALLY

Bible reading into school classrooms. This, the Klan believed, would make the schools safe from the Roman Catholic threat. The board passed a Bible-reading motion. The Klan achieved its goal.

After its political victory in 1924, the Klan became much more open. A statewide Fourth of July rally at Hillsboro drew hundreds of klansmen, mostly from Fargo and Grand Forks. The visit of the national head of the KKK, the Imperial Wizard, attracted a crowd of 5,000 to the Grand Forks fairgrounds. In 1926 the Klan won control of four of the five seats on the city commission. The klansmen voted as a block to dismiss many Roman Catholic and anti-Klan city workers. The fire chief, a Catholic

with 33 years in the department, and the electrician, a Catholic with 28 years of employment, were fired. In all, ten officials were let go, including the City Hall's janitor who was a Catholic.

A Klansman told this paper that most members believed that the KKK's work was finished with the housecleaning at City Hall and that there was no longer a need for the Klan. Ambrose tried to whip up Klan enthusiasm for last year's city elections and asked, "Will our citizens stand for a silent campaign?"

The answer was "yes"; the Klan began to run out of steam. Reverend Ambrose has departed Grand Forks for a pulpit in St. Paul. He has left behind a bitterly divided town. He convinced many of its people, through the force of his dynamic personality, that Protestant Grand Forks had much to fear from Roman Catholic Grand Forks. This, of course, was an imagined fear—a danger that existed in Ambrose's head. For all the hatred that he spread, the accomplishments were small: Bible reading in the schools and a dozen fired city employees. There were no whippings, mutilations, or lynching in North Dakota, but the mental scars left by the KKK run deep.

MSD



FORMER CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS FOUNDED THE KU KLUX KLAN (KKK) AFTER THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR (1861-1865). THE KKK USED VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION TO KEEP BLACKS SEGREGATED AND TO PREVENT THEM FROM VOTING AND HOLDING OFFICE.

INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

THE GREAT WAR: A BACKGROUND REPORT

When Congress declared war on Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in April 1917, the conflict in Europe was in its third year and the Nonpartisan League was on the verge of taking control of North Dakota. The war added one more dimension to an already politically divided state.

Clearly, most North Dakotans, regardless of political persuasions, did not want the United States to become involved in a European war. Yet, the NPL came under fire for some of its war aims. The League wanted to pay for the war with taxes on wealth and the conscription of wealth. A.C. Townley traveled around the state demanding that the government tax "the rotten rich" for the war. "Patriotism demands service from all according to their capacity," he maintained. "To conscript men and exempt the bloodstained wealth coined from the sufferings of humanity is repugnant to the spirit of America and contrary to the ideals of democracy."

In spite of the fact that the NPL supported the war once the country became involved, loyalty became a political issue. Opponents tried to portray the NPL as an unpatriotic organization. Red Cross officials refused to accept League donations and openly stated, "Here in North Dakota we consider the League

thoroughly disloyal."

The loyalty issue went beyond the Nonpartisan League. The Espionage and Sedition acts, passed by Congress in 1917 and 1918, made many anti-war acts illegal. Suspensions turned on the state's large German population. In some towns yellow paint was splattered on the homes of Germans who were thought to be unpatriotic German sympathizers. The colleges stopped teaching German; cafes changed the name of sauerkraut to "liberty cabbage."

Most serious, however, were the cases of anti-war activity that came to trial. In McIntosh County, John Wishek, who promoted settlement in the area during the 1880s, was indicted under the Espionage Act. Proud of his German ancestry, he had published a book about German achievements in America. Because he had given away a half-dozen copies, he was considered disloyal. After a three-week trial, the jury acquitted Wishek.

Others were not as fortunate. Henry von Bank, a naturalized citizen from Luxembourg and president of a school board near Fargo, was convicted for his statement that he would just as soon fly a pair of old trousers, rather than the American flag, over the schoolhouse. Reverend John Fontana of New Salem

received a sentence of three years in prison for refusing to buy Liberty bonds, to put up a flag at his church, and to give to the Red Cross. The von Bank and Fontana verdicts were, however, later reversed.

Both on the battlefield and on the homefront, North Dakotans did their share, and more, to win the war. In all, 31,269 served in various branches of the armed services. Of that, 4,195 were National Guardsmen who were called into service by President Wilson on July 3, 1917. Both the Guard and regulars saw action on the frontlines in France. When the war ended on November 11, 1918, among the dead were 1,305 North Dakotans: 514 in action; 149 from wounds; 642 of disease. In all, North Dakotans won 133 decorations, including two Medals of Honor.

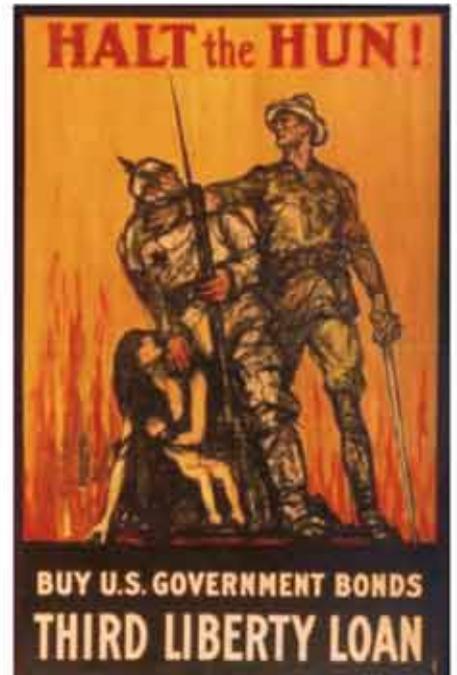
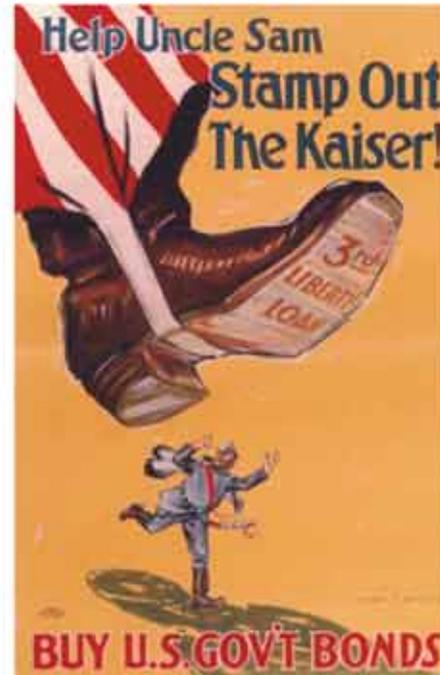
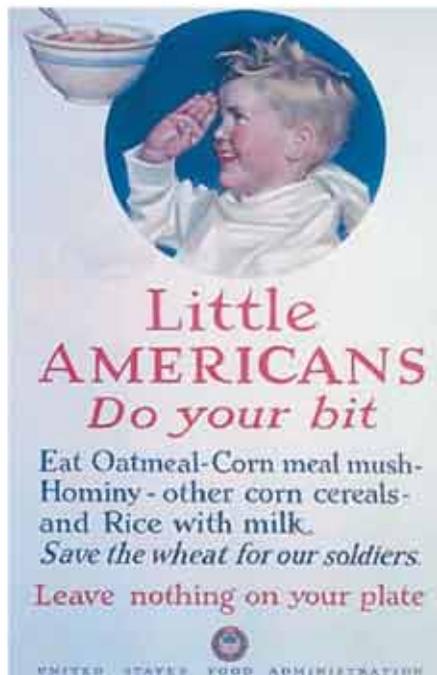
At home the people mobilized material and resources to help win the war. Almost 600 Four-Minute Men gave patriotic pep talks throughout the state. In the five bond drives, Liberty Loans, the state went far over the top of its quota, purchasing \$65 million worth of bonds. The Lakota at Standing Rock exceeded all expectations when they bought over \$10 million in bonds. In addition, residents generously gave to the Red Cross and the YMCA since both agencies worked to support the

troops. The Indian people especially helped the Red Cross, an agency which, they believed, reflected the ideals of the Sun Dance.

The war years did not make North Dakota as prosperous as it did the nation. In response to government demands, farmers increased production to help in the war effort; "food will win the war" was the government's slogan. But farmers did not enjoy the profit that they should have. Poor to average crops and a government-imposed wheat-price freeze at \$2.20 a bushel hurt farm income. The cash price per bushel at the time was \$3.06, meaning that farmers lost 80 cents per bushel.

Inflation also damaged the farmers' economic position. Prices that the farmer had to pay for goods went up; wheat prices, of course, did not. Farmers also went heavily into debt to purchase more land and modern machinery. The war cost North Dakotans millions of dollars.

When the war ended on November 11, 1918, the Lakota conducted victory dances—the first since Little Big Horn in 1876. According to the Lakota, the most appropriate punishment for German Kaiser Wilhelm, the instigator of the war, would be to make him farm an allotment on the reservation.

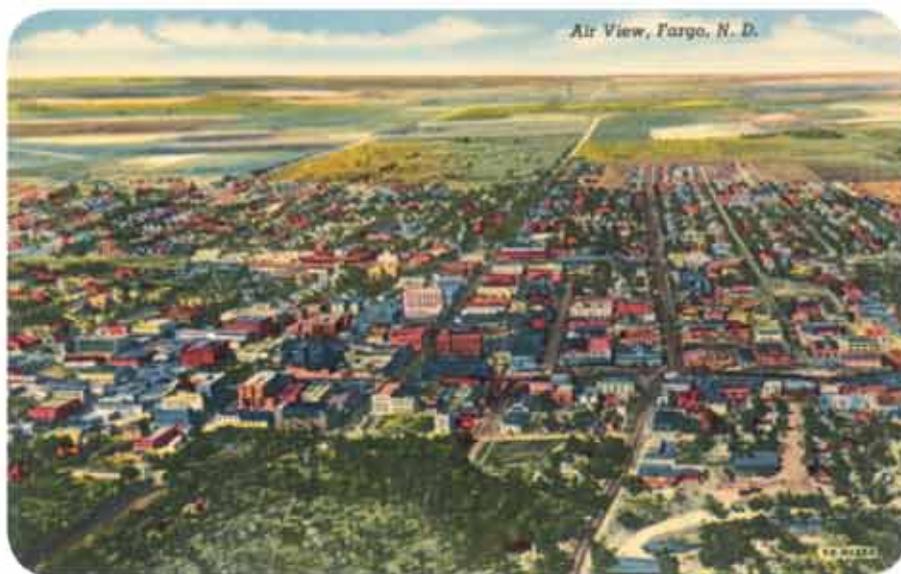


ND BACKGROUND REPORT

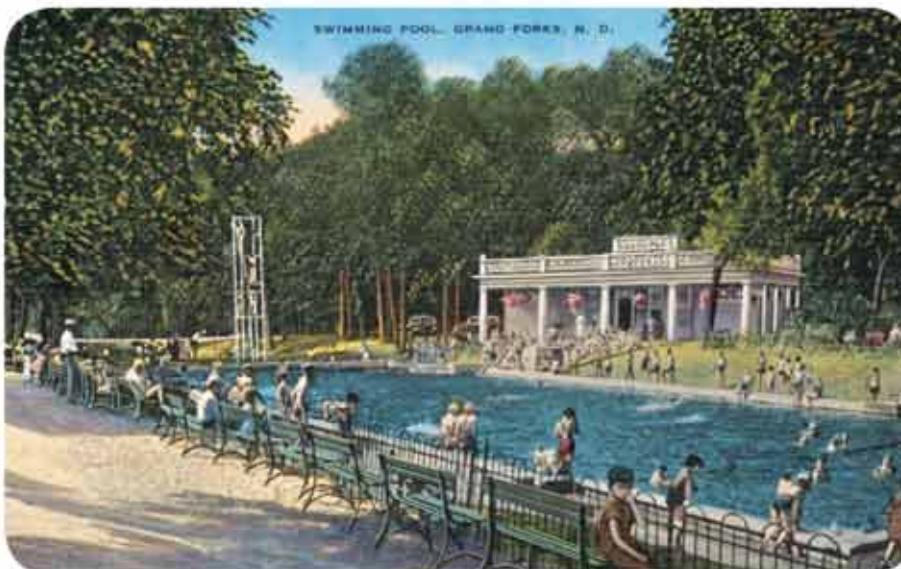
THE TWENTIES: BACKGROUND REPORT



BISMARCK'S MAIN STREET DOMINATED BY THE PATTERSON HOTEL WHERE MANY POLITICAL DEALS WERE MADE



FARGO, GROWING TO THE WEST



GRAND FORKS' DELUXE "SWIMMING HOLE"

In 1921 the strong agricultural market collapsed, sending wheat, the state's primary crop, from \$3 to 92 cents. During the war farmers went heavily in debt to buy land and expensive new equipment. About 70 percent of our farmers were in debt, owing \$286 million to banks and insurance companies. In 1913 a farmer could have bought a suit of clothes by selling 21 bushels of wheat. By 1923 that same farmer had to sell 60 bushels for that same suit.

By 1924 farm prices began to revive somewhat. Throughout the Twenties wheat ran between \$1.00 and \$1.25 and other livestock and crop prices also rebounded a bit from the collapse of 1921-1923. The Twenties is best described as a decade of agricultural distress—not total depression but hard times nonetheless. About 20 percent of the state's farmers gave up; those who stayed on the land made a living, just barely. The decline in consumer goods' prices took some of the sting out of the marginal times.

The state's politicians could do little to ease the situation. The IVA and the NPL, now much less radical, vied for political power. They took turns running the state. In 1922 Governor Ragnvold Nestos, an IVAer, was reelected governor. His faction of the Republican party also controlled the legislature. Two years later the NPL returned to power with Governor Arthur G. Sorlie. It retained control in 1926, but in 1928 George F. Shafer led the IVA back into control of the state.

Regardless of which group was in power, the main political issues were the state industries (the bank and the mill) and budget restraint. Some wanted to sell the industries, but the majority just wanted them to make some money, or at least break even. Neither the IVA nor the NPL was able to bring the mill into the black. Since the Federal government would not, and state government could not, help farmers in their economic

dilemma, the farmers themselves took the initiative through self-help. The farm cooperative seemed to be the answer; cooperative marketing might bring about higher crop and livestock prices, and cooperative buying might bring down the prices that farmers had to pay for goods. The idea was not new but the time seemed right for its revival. "Farmers, organize!" became the cry.

The American Farm Bureau Federation began an all-out effort to enroll the state's farmers, promising grain terminal facilities and lower goods prices through cooperative buying. Many cooperatives were organized for selling horses and turkeys and for buying insurance and binder twine. Opposition from the established Twin Cities' grain companies, however, made terminal marketing impossible. By the late Twenties the Farm Bureau had failed in its North Dakota efforts.

The most grandiose of cooperative plans was the North Dakota Wheat Growers' Association which was organized in 1922. It hoped to organize all spring wheat growers into a market monopoly that could set its own price. Grain buyers, if they wanted North Dakota spring wheat, would have to pay the Association's price. It planned to pay farmers 70 percent of the market price and then sell the wheat at the best market times. Profits would be divided among pooling farmers. In spite of a well-organized campaign and a good idea, by 1930 the Wheat Growers' Association was dead. It could never convince more than a third of the farmers to join the pool.

It was the Farmers Union that brought success to the North Dakota cooperative movement. Organized in Texas in 1902, it came to North Dakota in 1927. Membership offered significant advantages. Farmers could ship their grain to the Farmers Union Terminal Association and their livestock to the Farmers Union



DANCING THE NIGHT AWAY AT THE PATTERSON HOTEL

Livestock Commission, both in St. Paul. Farmers would receive the best possible prices. Members could buy coal, lumber, twine, and gasoline from local coops and insurance from the Farmers Union Company.

Led by energetic Charles C. Talbott of Dickey County, the Farmers Union soon had 20,000 North Dakota members. By 1930 Farmers Union locals had been organized in 46 of the state's counties.

The cooperative movements, whether successful or not, indicated that North Dakota farmers were in search of help, looking for a solution to their economic problems. The cooperative was not the solution, but it did give farmers a break at the marketplace.

The downturn in agriculture, of course, had adverse effects on the state's institutions as legislators grappled with budgets reduced by the inability of people to pay their taxes. Growth without much more financial support characterized education from the first grade through graduate study. About one-fourth of the state's population was enrolled in public schools. About half of those students went to the 4,335 one-room rural schools where salaries were very low and equipment and book budgets were very, very low. High schools grew rapidly as more and more employers required a graduation certificate. During the Twenties high-school registrations doubled and by 1930 one-fourth of graduates went on to college.



BISMARCK FROM THE AIR

North Dakota ranked second among the states in percentage of income spent on public education. The problem was there was not much income to spend. Low teacher salaries and inadequate money to strengthen schools were conditions that reflected the plight of agriculture.

The number of students in higher education doubled during the decade from 3,000 to 6,000. Valley City, Minot, Dickinson, and Mayville moved from two-year trade-teaching schools to four-year degree-offering colleges. The University and the Agricultural College expanded their course offerings and degree programs. Appropriations from the legislature fell far behind what was needed to support this expansion.

Not everything was gloom during the Twenties. The coming of radio considerably brightened life and brought the nation and the world into North Dakota. KDKA in Pittsburgh inaugurated commercial radio in 1920. On May 22, 1922, WDAY in Fargo began broadcasting with a fifty-watt transmitter. The signal did not go very far but WDAY was on the air. At the time there were fewer than 50 stations in the United States and none in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

By 1930 six stations were broadcasting in North Dakota: WDAY in Fargo and KFJR in Bismarck were the strongest with 1,000 watts. The other four with just 100 watts each were KDLR, Devils Lake; KGCU, Mandan; KLPM, Minot; and KFJM, Grand Forks. North Dakotans within range of a station were treated to events like the World Series, boxing matches, election returns, musical shows, news, and local talent. The new medium did a great deal to lessen a sense of isolation.

The automobile, too, helped end isolation and connect the state to

the larger world. By 1930 there was one car for every four people in the state. During the Twenties the state constructed miles and miles of new roads and improved old ones. By 1930 over 8,000 miles of roads facilitated car travel throughout the state. None of the roads were paved and a downpour could cause serious hazards. Nonetheless, North Dakotans took to the open road as never before. A trip from Fargo to Bismarck could be made in seven hours or so—if the weather was nice.

Although life on the reservations remained much the same as it had for decades, change was in the air. Congressional committees began to investigate matters of education, health, and land. Little came out of the hearings, but they paved the way for change that would come in the 1930s. In 1924 Congress granted full citizenship to those Indians who did not already have it. North Dakota Indians were both citizens of the United States and persons with tribal relations.

The stock market crash in 1929 ended the Twenties on a somber note. The decade had been difficult, but nothing like what would lie ahead in the Thirties.



THE LOOK OF THE TWENTIES

1932-1933 THE WORST OF TIMES: STATE FACES SEVERE CRISIS

Everywhere, North Dakota
1933

News from all parts of the state is indeed grim. North Dakota has never seen such awful times. The bottom has fallen out of the wheat market; between 29 and 35 cents a bushel—below levels of the depressed 1890s! Drought has cut into yields in a terrible fashion. Wheat production has dropped to half of what it should be. Those farmers who have any crop at all report yields of only seven bushels per acre. In 1925 a farmer could have paid off a \$10,000 loan with 6,000 bushels of wheat; today it takes about 35,000 bushels. Times are rough.

Nowhere is that more evident than in banking. North Dakotans have lost \$50 million as banks closed; 575 of our 898 banks have been forced to shut their doors. Banking regulations have been lax and during the past decade banks have extended loans far in excess of their deposits. Generally, a safe loan rate is 60 percent of deposits (money on hand) but many have loaned up to 120 percent and one bank to 285 percent of its deposits. Most of these loans were made against farmland. When land values dropped and farm prices and crop production plummeted, farmers could not make payments on their loans. Banks then could not meet depositors' demands; they had to close.

The depression has hurt most Americans, but none worse than North Dakotans. Stories of desperation are heard all over the state. In Cando merchants are accepting rabbit hides in exchange for goods. Bowman and Grant Counties have abandoned jury trials; there is no money to pay jurors. A Devils Lake farmer sold five head of cattle and reports that the profit was 76 cents a head. A Berwick farmer shipped five head of sheep to South St. Paul and waited for his check. Instead, he received a bill for \$1.56 to cover expenses.

Some humor comes through the dark clouds. In Hope a man owed his friend \$1.00 but only had 75 cents. He went to a pawn shop and pawned the 75 cents for 50 cents. He met a stranger on the street and sold him the 75-cent pawn ticket for 50 cents. He then was able to pay his \$1.00 debt. In Edgeley, a couple could not afford to buy Christmas cards. Instead they purchased penny postcards and in red and green ink wrote on the cards:

Postage went up and wheat went down,
Collections are punk all over town;
The voters gave our salaries a slash
And, we Republicans took an awful crash.
We wondered how we'd send a greeting to you,
And finally decided a postcard would do.
But in a big way it's full of cheer
For a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

All North Dakotans hope for better times. They could not get much worse.



THE SIGNS OF DROUGHT



IF 1933 WAS BAD, 1934 WAS REALLY BAD: DROUGHT RAVAGES STATE

Bismarck
December 31, 1934

In May the temperatures soared to well over 100 degrees and winds began to blow. Very little rain fell and the winds turned day into night as dust storms blocked out the sun. Many towns have had to turn on their streetlights during day-time hours. Needless to say, crops have been scant.

Farmers have salvaged only 21,000,000 bushels of wheat, about 15 percent of normal. Except for the Red River Valley, farmers have harvested very little; in the West around Williston and Dickinson there was no crop at all.

This 1934 drought has had a devastating effect on the economic welfare of farmers, and therefore, the state itself. In Divide County, the hardest hit, farm income has dropped over 50 percent. Nine out of every ten county residents have almost no income. One out of every five county farmers has gone out of business. Other western counties have fared a bit better, but not by much. In Sheridan County farm income is off by 40 percent; 30 percent of the people have no income, and one in seven farmers has been forced to quit.

Tax delinquencies have risen sharply, especially in the western half of the state where over 80 percent of the landowners have no money to pay their taxes. Traill County has the lowest number of tax delinquencies, and that figure stands at 14 percent.

The invasion of grasshopper hordes has made the situation even worse. They eat everything—even fenceposts. The clouds of hoppers were so thick at Mott in Hettinger County that the city had to turn on its streetlights during the day. At Killdeer the grasshoppers lay in piles four inches thick on the streets, making the driving of a car almost impossible. Counties have been trying to kill off the pests by placing a mixture of molasses and arsenic in the fields. It does not do much good. Rilie Morgan, who edits the newspaper in Grafton, sums it up well when he comments: "The state is face to face with a great emergency."

FLAMES DESTROY CAPITOL

Bismarck
December 19, 1930

A fire of undetermined origin has destroyed North Dakota's capitol building. The building served as territorial capital until 1889 when North Dakota became a state. No one was injured and some records were saved.



MEET YOUR NEW GOVERNOR: WILLIAM LANGER, A PROFILE

1932

William Langer, who has just been elected governor in a state facing drought and depression, is no stranger to North Dakotans. He has been involved in politics for nearly two decades. The 46-year-old Langer is a man of energy, optimism, and savvy. He takes over the leadership of a state that is mired in economic trouble.

Born on a farm not far from Casselton in Cass County to parents of German stock, Langer enjoyed an education unlike that of most farm boys. After he graduated from high school in Casselton, he enrolled in the new law school at the University of North Dakota. In two years, 1904-1906, he completed the law course and passed the North Dakota bar examination at age 19. Since he could not practice law until he was 21, he went to New York City where he decided to enter Columbia University for an undergraduate degree. He graduated in 1910 and returned to North Dakota.

In politics he identified himself as a Progressive Republican like Theodore Roosevelt. His ambitious goal became clear when in 1910 he told his friends, "I desire now to make a living and a record so I may some day become popular enough to be the most popular man in the state and be given some political office large enough to attract the notice of my former classmates in the East."

That very year young Langer received his first political office when he was appointed assistant state attorney for Morton County. He earned front-page news coverage when he won cases against the Northern Pacific Railroad that placed the company's land on the tax rolls. In 1914 Langer was elected state attorney for Morton County. Once again he became "big news" as he vigorously enforced compulsory school attendance laws and closed down illegal liquor establishments. In 1916 the newly formed Nonpartisan League endorsed Langer for attorney general and he won easily. Once again he grabbed front-page headlines when he raided illegal liquor places and bawdy houses in Minot and even, deputized as a U.S. marshal, raided an East Grand Forks, Minnesota, brewery because it was illegally shipping beer into North Dakota.

He won reelection in 1918 but soon got into trouble with the leadership of the NPL. Convinced that the League was going too far away from its original program, he began to speak out against the political groups that had supported him. Unhappy with the NPL, he decided to try for the gubernatorial nomination of the Independent Voters Association.

A master organizer, Langer soon had dozens of Langer for Governor clubs and had a part in starting *The Red Flame*, a violent anti-NPL publication. He won the IVA's endorsement for governor in 1920 but lost to Governor Frazier by 5,000 votes. During the 1920s Langer practiced law but kept his hand in the political whirl. Although he had run in 1920 as an IVA candidate, he leaned toward the NPL which by the 1920s was liberal, but far from radical or socialistic. In 1928 he became the NPL's candidate for attorney general but lost, as did most NPLers. With the NPL's fortunes at low ebb, Langer, who had done better in the 1928 election than other Leaguers, was appointed the NPL's lawyer and head organizer. The stage was now set for his run at the governorship.

Langer worked hard to reorganize the NPL as a faction of the Republican party from the precinct level and up. In many ways the NPL became the Langer League. And, his work has paid off. The Langer League has swept to power. Langer is the only Republican governor elected in the nation this year! He campaigned tirelessly and promised the people better times. Since the NPL dominates the legislature, it's certain that the new governor will have a friendly legislature.

NSD



MINNIE CRAIG WINS SPEAKERSHIP: FIRST WOMAN IN NATION TO SERVE IN THAT OFFICE

Bismarck
January 12, 1933

Not since 1922, when the voters of Des Lacs elected an entire slate of women to run their town, has an event brought such national attention to North Dakota. Newspapers as far away as New York City have called the country's attention to the unanimous election of Minnie Craig as Speaker of the North Dakota House of Representatives. First elected to the House in 1922, Craig begins her sixth term as one of the most politically powerful persons in the state.

Craig, born in 1883, grew up on a Maine farm. She graduated from high school in 1896 with a teaching



certificate. She met Edward Craig in 1901 and they married in 1906. Mr. Craig returned to North Dakota where his father managed a large farm. After a year of music study in Boston, Minnie Craig joined her husband in North Dakota.

Edward Craig opened a bank in Esmond, which became their life-long hometown. The Craigs became active members of and campaigners for the Nonpartisan League. By 1922 Minnie had developed significant political skill and decided to accept the NPL nomination for representative. She won easily and has been reelected five times. She has told the *North Star Dakotan*: "I think women should be laboring with the men."

POLITICAL PULSE: THE 1930's



HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE PROTESTED THE REMOVAL OF GOVERNOR LANGER

LANGER ACTS TO SAVE FARMERS

Bismarck
March 4, 1933

Governor Langer has wasted no time in attacking the depression. By executive order he has declared a moratorium on farm foreclosures. He vows that he will use the National Guard to protect farmers from moneylenders who try to take back farms because of mortgage nonpayment.

LANGER ISSUES EMBARGO

Bismarck
November 1, 1933

The governor has taken bold, and some say illegal, action to raise the price of wheat. By executive order he has forbidden the shipment of wheat out of North Dakota, believing that such action will raise wheat prices. So far wheat prices have risen a few cents so the embargo seems to be working.

FARM HOLIDAY ASSOCIATION ORGANIZES

Bismarck
December 1, 1933

The North Dakota Farm holiday Association, headed by Usher L.

Burdick, has been very active. It is part of a national movement that believes that farmers should strike, holding farm products off the market until prices rise. In North Dakota it supports the actions of Governor Langer and lobbies the legislature for laws that will help farmers.

LANGER GUILTY, OFF TO PRISON?

Bismarck
June 17, 1934

Governor Langer has been found guilty of misuse of federal funds after a month-long trial. He has been sentenced to 18 months in a federal penitentiary and fined \$10,000.



OLE OLSON IS SWORN IN AS GOVERNOR

CHAOS! FOUR GOVERNORS IN SEVEN MONTHS

Bismarck
February 2, 1934

The last seven months have seen more political maneuvering than most states ever see. On July 19, 1933, the Supreme Court removed Langer from office because he was a convicted felon. Lieutenant Governor Ole Olson then became governor. In the November 1934 election Democrat Thomas H. Moodie beat Lydia Langer, the former governor's wife, for the governorship. On February 2, 1935, the Supreme Court removed Governor Moodie from office when it was discovered by Langer supporters that Moodie, who had been a writer for a Minneapolis newspaper, had not met the five-year requirement for holding office. Lieutenant Governor Walter Welford then became governor. Four governors in seven months!

LANGER IS BACK!

Bismarck
November 8, 1936

William Langer has just been elected governor for a second time. A federal court reversed his 1934

conviction, and he was found not guilty in three subsequent trials for conspiracy and perjury during 1935. A political foe has commented: "Langer has more lives than a cat."

LANGER ACTIONS RAISE GRAIN PRICES

Grand Forks
July 23, 1937

Governor Langer has ordered the State Mill to pay farmers 35 cents a bushel above market for their wheat. Private grain-buying companies immediately met the higher price. Langer claims he made North Dakota farmers an extra \$12 million.

DEMOCRAT MOSES ENDS LANGER'S GRIP

Bismarck
November 10, 1938

Anti-Langer Republicans joined with Democrats to elect Democrat John Moses of Hazen as governor, breaking the NPL's and Langer's hold on state government. Langer's attempt to unseat U.S. Senator Gerald P. Nye also failed. Langer is presently out of work.

NSD



GOVERNOR WALTER WELFORD IN HIS OFFICE



GOVERNOR THOMAS MOODIE

INTERVIEW WITH LORENA HICKOK



KILLING A STARVED COW DURING THE 1934 DROUGHT, HETTINGER, ND



NO CROP ON GEORGE MURPHY'S FARM NEAR STEELE

**Dickinson
October 30, 1933**

Lorena Hickok is the chief field investigator for Harry Hopkins who is in charge of federal relief. She prepares confidential reports for Hopkins and the President concerning economic conditions and the progress of federal relief efforts. She is spending a few days observing North Dakota conditions.

You have just arrived here in Dickinson from Morton County. What conditions did you find there?

With a couple of Morton County Commissioners, I drove over a road so full of ruts that you couldn't tell it from ploughed fields up to a shabby little country church, standing bleakly alone in the center of a vast tawny prairie land. Grouped about the entrance to the church were a dozen or more men in shabby denim, shivering in the biting wind that swept across the plains. Farmers, these, bailed out last summer, their crops destroyed by two hailstorms that came within three weeks of each other in June and July, now applying for relief. Most of them a few years ago were considered well-to-do. They have land—lots of land. Most of them have 640 acres or so. You think of a farmer with 640 acres of land as being rich. These fellows are "land poor." A 640-acre farm at \$10 an acre—which is about what land is worth hereabouts these days—means only \$6,400 worth of land. Most of them have a lot of stock, 30 or 40 head of cattle, 12 or 16 horses, some sheep and hogs. Their stock, thin and rangy, is trying to find a few mouthfulls of food on land so bare that the winds pick up the topsoil and blow it about like sand. Their cows have gone dry for lack of food. Their hens are not laying. Much of their livestock will die this winter. And their livestock and their land are in most cases mortgaged up to the very limit. They are all away behind on their taxes, of course, some of them five years!

You have been taking applications for federal relief. How is that going?

I sat with an investigator who was taking their stories. Again and again on the applications appeared the statement "Hailed out. No crop at all." One man had sown—I believe, at that, they say "sowed" when

they refer to planting of crops—140 acres of wheat, 25 acres of oats, 20 acres of rye, 30 acres of corn, and 20 acres of barley. All he harvested was little corn. He was lucky, at that. I drove past cornfields today. There lay the immature stalks on the ground and the hail had beaten them down—half-starved cattle rooting around among them. From 800 acres of land one old German had harvested this year 150 bushels of wheat and seven bushels of rye.

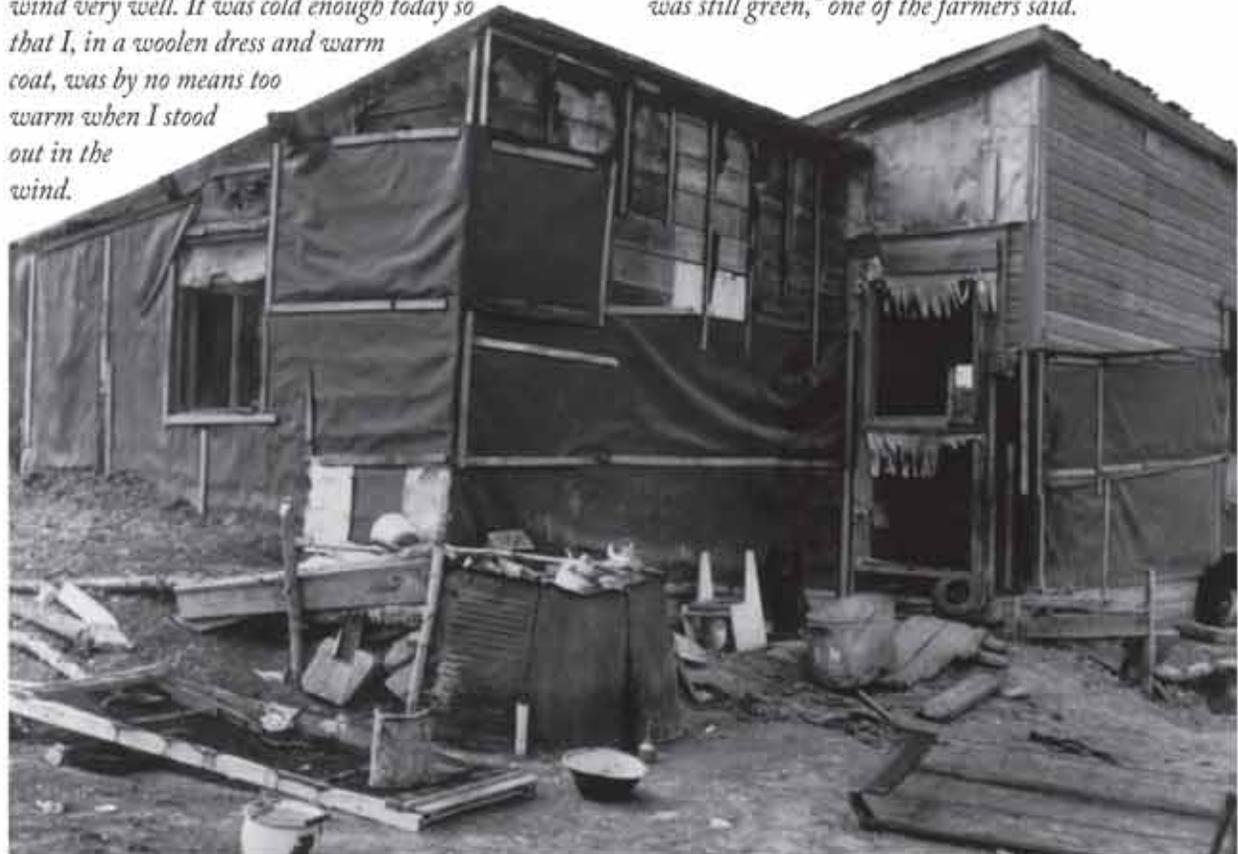
What do you see as the greatest need of North Dakotans?

For themselves and their families they need everything. Especially clothing. "How about clothes?" the investigator asked one of them. He shrugged. "Everything I own I have on my back," he said. He then explained that, having no underwear, he was wearing two pairs of overalls, and two, very ragged, denim jackets. His shoes were so far gone that I wondered how he kept them on his feet. With one or two exceptions none of the men hanging about the church had overcoats. Most of them were in denim—faded, shabby denim. Cotton denim doesn't keep out the wind very well. It was cold enough today so that I, in a woolen dress and warm coat, was by no means too warm when I stood out in the wind.

When we came out to get into the car, we found it full of farmers, with all the windows closed. They apologized and said they had crawled in there to keep warm. The women and children are even worse off than the men. Where there has been any money at all, it has gone for shoes for the children and work clothing for the men. The women can stay inside and keep warm, and the children can stay home from school.

Do you have any observations about the conditions of the livestock?

The plight of the livestock is pitiable. All these people have got to keep their stock alive this winter in roughage—and darned little of that. They've even harvested Russian thistle to feed to their horses and cattle. Russian thistle, for your information, is a thistle plant with shallow roots that dries up in the fall and is blown across the prairies like rolls of barbed wire. The effect on the digestive apparatus of an animal, if it were fed the dried plant, would be, I should imagine, much the same as though it had eaten barbed wire! However—"We tried to cut it while it was still green," one of the farmers said.



AN ABANDONED FARM HOUSE IN WILLIAMS COUNTY

THE NEW DEAL AND NORTH DAKOTA: A SPECIAL REPORT



PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT WAVES TO THE DEVILS LAKE CROWD THAT NUMBERED 35,000 IN 1934



WPA WORKERS DUG SEWER LINES IN MOST TOWNS



WPA WORKERS IMPROVED RECREATIONAL LIFE, INCLUDING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A SKI JUMP IN GRAND FORKS

In 1932 the American people and North Dakotans elected Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt as president. He promised the nation a New Deal. The depression was so severe that local and state governments were unable to remedy the crisis. Only the power of the federal government could fight the great depression. Federal spending and programs were the twin governmental responses.

The farmers of North Dakota, like those of the nation, needed immediate help. The depression was driving farmers off the land. In June 1933 Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act—one of the first pieces of major New Deal legislation. The act established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) which had the responsibility for raising farm prices by restricting production of crops. In return for cutting production, the farmer received a “benefit check.” For example, wheat farmers received about 30 cents a bushel on 54 percent of their average production. When the Supreme Court declared AAA unconstitutional, immediately Congress passed the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act which provided for benefits to farmers who would reduce acreage of soil-depleting crops and take steps to rebuild the land. In 1937 Congress enacted a new Agricultural Adjustment Act which maintained the soil-conservation idea and provided direct support to prices. All three acts were designed to provide the farmer

with “equality” or “parity” to bring farm prices more in line with the prices the farmer had to pay for goods.

“Many farmers are going to have to depend on this money for a large part of their food and fuel,” declared J.H. Langford, the first North Dakota farmer to receive a wheat benefit payment. “There won’t be much of this left in another month or two and for whatever purpose the money may be used, it will stimulate business in the territory.” Langford who had farmed in Griggs County for 44 years was, like most farmers, happy about the program. “I certainly think the allotment plan is all right. I believe they are sincere in their efforts to help us and their program will be successful if it is given the proper backing.” Between 1933 and 1940, farm programs paid the state’s farmers over \$142 million.

The severity of the depression, however, called for more than just aid for the farmer. In the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) Congress appropriated \$500 million to battle the depression. Because of severe drought and crop failures, the people of North Dakota welcomed the outpouring of federal relief. During the two-year period of FERA, 1933-1935, North Dakotans received almost \$25 million for work relief, direct relief, emergency education, and college-student aid.

When FERA began in July 1932 only 5.5 percent of North Dakota’s population needed government financial

aid. After 1933, however, crop failures forced thousands more North Dakotans on relief. By spring 1934 FERA funds went to one in every three North Dakotans, and throughout that year the state had a higher percentage of the population on relief than any other state. By July 1935, when FERA was terminated, North Dakota was second only to New Mexico in percentage of population receiving federal assistance.

Although direct cash relief was available throughout the life of FERA, the program encouraged work. FERA work-relief projects touched all parts of North Dakota. Projects dealt with small construction and road improvement. During its two years, the FERA work program in North Dakota built 2,300 miles of road, 114 dams, 60 bridges, 30 wells, almost 1,000 outhouses, 14 swimming pools, 11 playgrounds, 88 tennis courts, 32 golf courses, 108 skating rinks, 40 baseball fields, 30 airports, and 23 parks.

Not all FERA work programs dealt with construction. It supported endeavors such as recreation, immunization of children against disease, historical research, and hot lunches. FERA sponsored statewide smallpox immunization for 55,000 children whose parents had no money. During five months in 1935, FERA served 600,000 hot lunches to school children in 1,000 North Dakota schools.

North Dakotans benefitted immensely from the other help programs. The Federal

Surplus Relief Corporation (FSRC) distributed surplus beef, veal, pork, cereals, and fruit to the destitute. Surplus cotton was used to make clothing, mattresses, and towels. To those who faced starvation, the surplus-commodities program meant the difference between life and death. In all, the programs brought North Dakotans over \$8 million worth of goods and produce. FERA programs brought \$35 million to the aid of North Dakotans. To a state where one-third of its population faced ruin, the FERA played a paramount role in keeping North Dakotans alive. The Civil Works Administration also ran work projects. At its peak the North Dakota program employed about 35,000 people in a variety of work projects, most of which were similar to those of FERA. In Minot, 600 men worked on a new sewer system. In Walsh County 363 men labored on road construction. In Griggs County 100 men shoveled snow off the highways after a blizzard. In Olga School District 24 men dug cesspools for the schools; in Bismarck 400 men repaired school buildings. At Langdon, two sewing units made mittens, surgical nightgowns, sheets, and other garments.

The young were not forgotten. The Civilian Conservation Corps began to furnish work and training to young men and war veterans who were unemployed and to carry out a nationwide conservation program. CCC enrollees improved forests and parks, helped control soil erosion, developed recreational areas, worked on flood control projects, and assisted in the protection of wildlife. In North Dakota men from every county participated in the program, and by 1940 over 30,000 had taken part.

They earned \$30 a month of which \$25 was sent home to their families. About \$10 million went home to needy families as a result of CCC work in the state. Most North Dakota projects focused on parks, dams building, and tree planting. CCC helped develop the Theodore Roosevelt National Park and completed many important water-control projects. FERA, CWA, and CCC aided thousands of North Dakotans. These New Deal programs fed, clothed, and provided security to half the state's population, pumped over \$50 million into the state's economy and lifted the spirits of the people.

In 1935 the New Deal created the Works Progress Administration (WPA). During the fall and winter of 1936-1937 almost 53,000 North Dakotans found work on WPA projects. WPA workers earned about \$40 a month for working 100 hours. Much of the work that WPA carried on concerned the construction of bridges, sewer systems, public buildings, highways, and sidewalks. By 1940 WPA had built 13,643 miles of highway, 465 bridges and 425 new public buildings. Each county had a WPA sewing project. The program employed 800 women, who produced garments for distribution to the needy.

Most communities participated in WPA recreational programs, and many had WPA-sponsored bands. WPA offered literacy classes and vocational courses in electricity. WPA employees served almost a million hot lunches and repaired a half-million library books. The WPA Federal Writers Project prepared an excellent book, *North Dakota: A Guide to the Prairie State* (1938).

The New Deal created

the National Youth Administration. It provided part-time employment for students between the ages of 16 and 25. High school students could earn up to \$6 per month, college students up to \$20, and graduate students up to \$30. Most students did light construction or library and research work. Nonschool youth between the ages of 18 and 25 could earn an average of \$16 per month working for local public agencies. The program invested about \$2 million in North Dakota youth.

The average value of farmland per acre fell from \$22 in 1930 to \$12 in 1940. Per capita income was less than half of the national average. The depression cost the state's farmers over \$1 billion. Population declined as thousands sought a better life elsewhere. Between 1935 and 1940, 86,699 North Dakotans fled the state. And by 1940 the population had dropped to 642,000. Farm population decreased 17 percent. Tied to a one-crop economy, North Dakotans fell victim

to drought. The depression was severe, but the drought delivered the knockout punch. North Dakota could not have survived without huge federal subsidy. The federal government became the state's main business during the Thirties. Federal programs spent \$266 million in the state between 1933 and 1940. Citizens occasionally grumbled about the massive bureaucracy which had enveloped them, but they also realized that federal money meant survival.



A NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION POTTERY CLASS



THE UNIVERSITY'S WINTER SPORTS BUILDING REFLECTS THE WPA'S ART DECO STYLE



A WPA CREW WORKS ON STREETS IN LEITH

INTERVIEW WITH RILIE MORGAN

Grafton
September 14, 1933

Rilie Morgan is an avowed political enemy of Governor William Langer and his Nonpartisan League. Morgan is the editor of the Walsh County Record in Grafton and has often spoken out against Langer.

Tell us, what don't you like about Governor Langer?

I don't like the way he treats the rank and file of good Nonpartisans who have stood by their party through thick and thin, in poor seasons and good seasons. I don't like the way he orders everyone around; I don't like his craving for the limelight; I don't like the kind of clothes he wears or the way he parts his hair. In fact, I get so mad every time, I gnash my teeth, froth at the mouth, have fallen arches, and am threatened with apoplexy.

How do you evaluate his leadership qualities?

In spite of my feelings toward Governor Bill politically, I just can't help but admire him in a lot of ways. Regardless of what we may think of him, we all have

to admit that he has a way of getting things done as he wants them. He is firelessly energetic. He knows the value of publicity and the limelight. And in addition to all this, he has a natural talent for leadership.

Could you give us an example?

Take the last session of the legislature, as an example. It was made up mostly of farmers. These farmers think progressively along political lines. They believe in hitting the big fellow and protecting the little man. I venture to say that nine out of ten of them, deep down in their own hearts, were opposed to the sales tax. Yet Governor Bill finally wheedled it through the legislature. The passage of this measure was a glowing tribute to the dominant personality and leadership of Governor Langer and I doff my hat to him for it.

Is Langer an ambitious politician?

There are some people who criticize Governor Bill because he is ambitious. Being ambitious is no crime in my eyes. In fact, I call it a virtue and I do not hesitate to say that I, too, am imbued with some of the spirit which animates Governor Bill. I do not mind confessing that I would like to be governor of North Dakota some day. It is a worthy ambition for any man to hold. I would like to be governor because of the

personal glory and satisfaction which it would bring to me, but more especially I would like to be governor because of the wide opportunities it offers to serve a large number of people.

Is there any one thing you admire about the governor?

Another thing which one has to admire about Governor Bill is his tenacity of purpose. Langer was starting his political career just about the time I came to North Dakota in 1914. He was the state attorney of Morton County then which is just across the river from Bismarck. From the very beginning he had a great and consuming desire to be governor of his native state. The way in which he stuck to his purposes, through all the years and under the most adverse circumstances, speaks volumes for his bulldog determination.

Governor Langer will be in Grafton next week. Any thoughts about what you might say to him?

I don't know whether he will come around to the Record office or not. If he does, I will probably tell him what a rotten governor I think he is. At the same time I will be secretly admiring some of the qualities which have taken this rather remarkable man so far.

SPORTS BRIEFS

SIX-MAN FOOTBALL POPULAR

Sykeston
October 31, 1939

Six-man football has caught on all over the state. The North Dakota Consolidated League organized the sport here three years ago for small schools. Now over 180 participate. A team consists of two ends, a center, a halfback, a fullback, and quarterback. The playing field is 80 by 40 yards.

Sectional and regional play leads to a state tournament. This year the West Fargo Packers defeated the Westhope Sioux, 18-14; last year the Drake Trojans edged out the Minnewaukan Midgets, 38-34; in 1937 the Page Panthers beat the Haynes Trojans, 47-19; and in 1936 the Ray Jays lost to the Sykeston Wildcats, 30-19.



1938 FESSENDEN CHAMPS

MYTHICAL CHAMP CROWNED

Mohall
October 24, 1938

Undefeated this season, the Mohall Yellowjackets, an eleven-man, Class B football team, dared any team in the state to play them for an unofficial state title. The Fessenden Orioles took the challenge. The final score was Fessenden 7, Mohall, 0. A new champ has been crowned.

LANKIN FIVE HARD TO BEAT

Jamestown
March 3, 1933

The Lankin Lions have just defeated the Eckelson Eagles 37-17 in the small-town basketball tournament's title game. The Lankin boys have won five titles in the last six years. Their other wins have been over the Pingree Wildcats, the Killdeer Pirates, the Svea Midgets, and the Dodge Bobcats.

TIOGA GIRLS WIN TITLE

Tioga
October 17, 1933

The Tioga girls basketball squad has won the county champion's playoffs, defeated Berthold by 25 to 2. Last year Plaza was victorious over Hamlet in the title game, 52-14.

CWA HELPED THOUSANDS GRAND FORKS COUNTY REAPS BENEFITS

Grand Forks
March 15, 1934

It lasted only four months, but the Civil Works Administration has helped 13,000 North Dakotans get through the tough winter months. Right here in Grand Forks County 480 people found employment with the agency, thus providing income to buy food and fuel.

In November with winter fast approaching, President Roosevelt created the CWA to provide jobs for the countless Americans who were out of work. How did it operate? First of all, each state received a quota based upon population and the number of people who needed help. North Dakota was allowed to hire 13,000 people. Each county was allotted a certain number of workers—480 for Grand Forks County.

Workers were paid 50 cents an hour for unskilled work and \$1.20 for skilled. Each worker was limited to 30 hours per week—about \$15 for unskilled and \$36 for skilled workers. Not everyone who wanted to work on CWA could. In this county 2,300 signed up but only the 480 jobs were available. The County Commission selected the most needy and later cut weekly hours to 24 so more people could work.

As with most federal-help programs, control rested at the local level. Local government boards suggested what projects should be done, and county officials selected those that would be done. In Grand Forks County, CWA's work benefitted a broad range of people. In the city of Grand Forks workers renovated Central High School, remodeled the five elementary schools, constructed a 200-foot high ski jump in Lincoln Park, landscaped three parks, and made repairs at the airport, courthouse, and auditorium. At the University of North Dakota, over 500 workers (not included in the county's allocation) conducted surveys, repaired library books, and generally improved the physical plant.

The small towns and rural folks also received help. Municipal improvements were made in Manvel, Thompson, Reynolds, Niagara, Kempton, and Inkster. Workers graveled miles of rural roads and repaired country schools.

What has gone on here in Grand Forks County has gone on in every part of North Dakota. Because of special federal projects such as those at the University, many more people than the 13,000 job allocations have found work. At the employment high mark on January 18, just over 35,000 North Dakotans were at work on CWA projects. That is somewhere between 25 and 30 percent of the state's total workforce. Clearly, the CWA has saved thousands of North Dakotans from a very cold and hungry winter. At the same time CWA's work greatly improved the quality of North Dakota life.

CCC IMPROVES LAND AND LIVES NEW DEAL FOR YOUNG A SUCCESS

Bismarck
January 31, 1939



CWA WORKERS ON THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA CAMPUS



UND PRESIDENT JOHN C. WEST PREPARES A MEAL FOR SOME UNEMPLOYED MEN



CWA AND CCC HELPED KEEP THOUSANDS OF NORTH DAKOTANS FROM HUNTING FOR JOBS THAT WEREN'T THERE

Just under 32,000 young North Dakota men have been employed over the last few years in the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps, the CCC. Together the men have earned about \$7.5 million of which about 80 percent has been sent back home to help out their families.

Each young man is assigned to a camp. In North Dakota these camps are located near the towns of Fargo, Grand Forks, Medora, Bismarck, Mandan, Dunseith, Foxholm, Kenmare, Kramer, Larimore, Kelvin, Edmunds, Upham, and Mohall. Most of the camps are engaged in soil conservation work. Improvements have been made at the International Peace Garden, Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park, and the Theodore Roosevelt Park. CCCers have planted over one million trees, built almost a thousand miles of park roads, re-vegetated almost 7,000 acres of rangeland, and constructed dozens of park buildings. The work program of a CCC camp is demanding. The men rise at 6:00 AM, have a hearty breakfast and are ready for work at 8:00 AM. They go out to their projects and work hard until 4:00 PM, stopping only for a lunch break.

The government tries to make life in camp as rewarding as possible. Social and educational programs keep the men busy when they are not working on projects. Most camps have baseball, softball, and basketball teams. Intramural and intercamp games are very popular. Each camp has its own newspaper which reports on camp activities and serves as an informational outlet for camp administrators. Regular dances are held on Saturday nights when town girls are allowed and encouraged to come to camp.

Each camp runs an educational program that offers a wide variety of opportunities for self-improvement. Academic courses in subjects such as journalism and grammar allow the men to earn high school and college credit. Vocational courses such as auto mechanics and carpentry provide basic skills that may qualify men for jobs after their stay (usually six months) in the CCC.

The CCC is doing what it was intended to do. Give employment to young men and improve the land. But, it has done much more. The CCC has given thousands of young North Dakotans direction in life. Trygve Wiseth, who has completed his time in the CCC, has told the North Star Dakotan, "I enjoyed all the time I spent in the CCC because I know I bettered my education, am making friends, securing a better understanding of life and its problems. I have found myself and know what I want to do with my life."

LABOR TENSION ERUPTS IN FARGO MILK DRIVERS STRIKE

Fargo
November 21, 1934

North Dakotans have rarely witnessed labor unrest such as that which developed in Fargo over these past months. Milk-wagon drivers who were earning \$15 for a 70-to-90 hour week became bitterly disillusioned when local dairies refused to consider a pay increase or shorter hours. The drivers knew that Minneapolis drivers, who were unionized, received \$34 for a 48-hour week.

In late 1933 the milk drivers organized Local 173 of the Teamsters Union with 100 members. Dairy industry employers flatly refused to negotiate with the union. At this point, Minneapolis-based union officials traveled to Fargo to assist Local 173 in its efforts. Within a month membership zoomed to 700. Again the union demanded negotiation; again the dairies refused the demand. "There is grave danger of a strike here," commented a Minneapolis organizer. "The bosses have refused to deal with the union although the men are 100 percent organized." And, the strike came. On November 4 the dairy workers refused to work and began to picket the dairies. Not a truck moved within Fargo and Moorhead. When "scabs" tried to move two milk trucks, five picketers attempted to roll the



**GOVERNOR
OLE OLSON**

trucks over. They, along with a Minneapolis labor leader, were arrested for encouraging a riot. Night after night hundreds of workers rallied at the union hall, wildly cheering fiery anti-dairy speeches. Union membership grew to 900.

North Dakota's governor, Ole Olson, agreed to mediate the strike. When he arrived in Fargo three days ago on November 17 he told a reporter for the North Star Dakotan: "My sentiment, as everybody knows, is for the 'underdog'—for the man who probably hasn't had much to say about his own destiny." He did assure the public that he would be fair to both sides.

Within three days Olson had settled the strike. The dairies have agreed to pay milk drivers \$20 a week plus a 4 percent sales commission, to limit the work week to 48 hours, and to reinstate all strikers.

Olson deserves praise for his role in the settlement. An official of the Farmers Union has summed it up well: "His simple and kindly manner dispelled the mists of hostility and drew the factions together."

NSD

NYE COMMITTEE CONCLUDES WORK BANKERS, MUNITIONS MAKERS BLAMED FOR GREAT WAR

Washington, D.C.
February 20, 1936

Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota has just wrapped up three years of the investigation into the roles of bankers and munitions makers in forcing the United States into the Great War in 1917. Nye, the former editor of the Griggs County Sentinel Courier News and a U.S. senator since 1925, has gained a national

reputation for his Senate hearings into these controversial matters.

His committee has questioned 200 witnesses, compiled 13,750 pages of testimony, and issued seven major reports. Often the brunt of administrative and partisan criticism, the Nye Committee has delved deeply into business records and correspondence. It has not been an easy task. The committee at one point charged the internationally powerful House of Morgan with obstructing justice when it refused to cooperate. J.P. Morgan himself met face to face with Nye over the hearing table. The discussion was heated; Morgan backed down; Nye got the records.

With Japan at war with China and with Germany and Italy on the march, the American people are



**A 1938 CAMPAIGN FOLDER CARRIED
THIS PICTURE WITH THE CAPTION:
"SENATOR NYE CHALLENGES
J.P. MORGAN."**

very interested in the Nye hearings. Perhaps, they think, there may be ways to avoid getting into another war. Nye and his committee are convinced that there are lessons to be learned from the Great War. He is certain that the selfish interests of financiers and munitions makers were responsible for American entry into the Great War in 1917.

The Nye committee has proposed legislation that may keep us out of what looks like another war; government ownership of the munitions industry, high wartime profits taxes, stringent regulation of wartime industrial mobilization.

Regardless of the outcome, North Dakota's Nye has emerged as one of the nation's most well-known and popular political leaders.

NSD



**SENATOR NYE SPEAKING OUT AGAINST AMERICAN
INVOLVEMENT IN ANOTHER WORLD WAR**

NEW DEAL FOR INDIANS

THREE TRIBES MOVES TO INCORPORATE

Washington, D.C.
July 1, 1936

"I do believe that no one exceeds him in knowledge of Indian matters or his sympathy with the point of view of the Indians themselves." Those are the words that Harold Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior, uses to describe the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt made the Collier appointment in 1933, he knew that Indian policy would change for the better because Collier had long been an energetic defender of Indian rights.

In his executive actions Collier has reversed policies that have existed for a half-century. He believes that the culture and ways of Native people should be preserved and cultivated, not

attacked and abolished. Thus, he has reversed the land allotment system under which non-Indians have gained much Indian land. His hope is that Indian land will remain as Indian lands.

Amid great controversy and a flurry of church opposition, he has issued a directive which states, "No interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression will hereafter be tolerated." The old ways are deemed good ways.

Collier has also insisted that New Deal work and relief programs be used to improve depressed conditions on the reservations. A special Indian Civilian Conservation Corps (ICCC) is in operation and is presently enrolling young men on North Dakota's reservations. The ICCC will work to improve land management among Native peoples.

Collier considers his most significant achievement to be the recently passed Indian Reorganization Act which incorporates the principle of self-determination. If tribes so decide, they are now encouraged to establish their own constitutions and self-government.

In North Dakota only at Fort Berthold have the people voted to establish constitutional forms of government and to incorporate into the Three Affiliated Tribes. At Turtle Mountain and Fort Totten the people have decided to wait. On Standing Rock the decision not to reorganize is based on the fact that since 1914 the tribe had been operating under a constitutional form of government that was serving the people well.

MSD

HIGHER EDUCATION SUFFERS DEEP CUTS

SCHOOLS FEEL DEPRESSION

Fargo
September 1937

The depression and tax delinquency has brought many school districts to insolvency. In 1935 the legislature passed a 2 percent sales tax to raise money, in part, for schools. The new money was first distributed on the basis of need, then to all schools on a teacher-student formula. By 1937 the state was paying nearly a third of public school costs as compared with 8 percent in 1929.

The new source of financial support has helped, but still the schools are in difficult straits. Budgets and teachers' salaries have suffered—rural teachers receive less than \$500 a year.

The depression has hit the state's campuses very hard. State appropriations in 1933 were slashed between 55 and 60 percent for the university and the colleges. The professors' salaries dropped from \$3,650 to \$1,914. There is no money for equipment or library books. This situation has hurt accreditation. The AC has lost its accreditation and the UND medical school is in trouble.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROCERY STORE

Most North Dakotans buy their groceries at a small nearby store. They are usually owned and operated by a family who lives upstairs over the store or have their quarters attached to the store. Credit is almost always offered and most provide home delivery. Fresh fruit and vegetables are not always available. In larger cities many neighborhood stores are only a few blocks apart.



ELECTRICITY MAKES LIFE EASIER

Grand Forks
June 30, 1939

Since 1920 almost all of North Dakota's town have access to electricity. Some communities have their own power plants. Some are served by electricity providing companies such as Ottertail Power Company and Northern States Power Company. Farms, unless they are within a mile or two of town, have no wired-in electricity. Many, however, have large farm Delco battery systems that can power lights and small appliances. The passage of the New Deal's rural electrification bill will bring power through cooperatives to all farms. As of yet very few North Dakotan farms have electricity.

Electrical appliances have changed North Dakota life. Radios have brought residents closer to the world. Who would have thought that North Dakota people could hear an opera at the Met, the World Series, or the adventures of Superman in their living rooms. Electric washing machines, irons, stoves, fans, curling irons, and refrigerators have made homemaking much easier. Even movie theaters have cooling devices.

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO LYNN J. FRAZIER?

Washington, D.C.
December 31, 1940

You remember Lynn J. Frazier, don't you? He was the Nonpartisan League's governor for almost three terms. Almost, because in 1921 the voters recalled him, threw him out of office.

He has spent almost two decades in the United States Senate. In a strange twist of fate, the voters who tossed him out as governor in 1921 elected him to the Senate in 1922. He has been there ever since.

In the Senate he has worked very hard on behalf of farmers, Indians, and peace. He has fought vigorously for a farm program that would provide farmers with the cost of production and has insisted upon fair settlements of Indian land claims. He may be best known for his efforts in the peace movement. In every session of Congress from 1926 to 1939, he has introduced a resolution for a constitutional amendment that would make American participation in war legally impossible. Short of this, he firmly believes that for the United States to go to war should take a majority vote of the American people. He is best known as a pacifist.

His senate career has just come to an end. He lost his reelection bid to former Governor William Langer and will retire to his Hoople farm.



APPLIANCE STORES OFFERED CONSUMERS THE LATEST IN ELECTRICAL INVENTIONS



BY THE END OF THE 1930'S, THE NORTH DAKOTA HOME WITHOUT A RADIO WAS RARE



Night Scene on Third St Looking North, Grand Forks, No. 20

GRAND FORKS' "GREAT WHITE WAY"

NEW AIR SERVICE ANNOUNCED NORTH DAKOTA ON ROUTE TO SEATTLE

Minneapolis
September 1, 1936

Northwest Airlines has just announced daily airplane service that connects Minneapolis with Seattle, Washington, with stops in Fargo and Bismarck en route. Since 1931 the airline has provided some flights to Fargo and

Grand Forks and since 1935 daily flights to those cities from Minneapolis. Northwest flies the Lockheed Electra 10A which accommodates ten passengers. Each plane has a small restroom to the rear. Box lunches are served. The airline assures customers that air travel is safe. Before a pilot takes off from one city to another, the city of destination must certify that the weather is clear for landing.

A NORTH DAKOTA AIRPORT WAS A COLD PLACE IN FEBRUARY OF 1935



RAILROADS IMPROVE TRAINS GN, NP, AND SOO SERVE MOST TOWNS

Fargo
December 30, 1939

The three largest freight and passenger railroads that run through North Dakota report an increase in ridership during the past year. The Great Northern, which serves the northern part of the state, touts its streamlined Empire Builder. Now one can leave

Minneapolis at 9:00 AM and be in Fargo by 2:50 PM and Williston by midnight. Connections to the north of the mainline have also been improved. If Antler is the destination, one can board a train in Rugby at 2:30 PM and be in Antler by 6:00 PM—with 12 stops in between, including Bottineau.

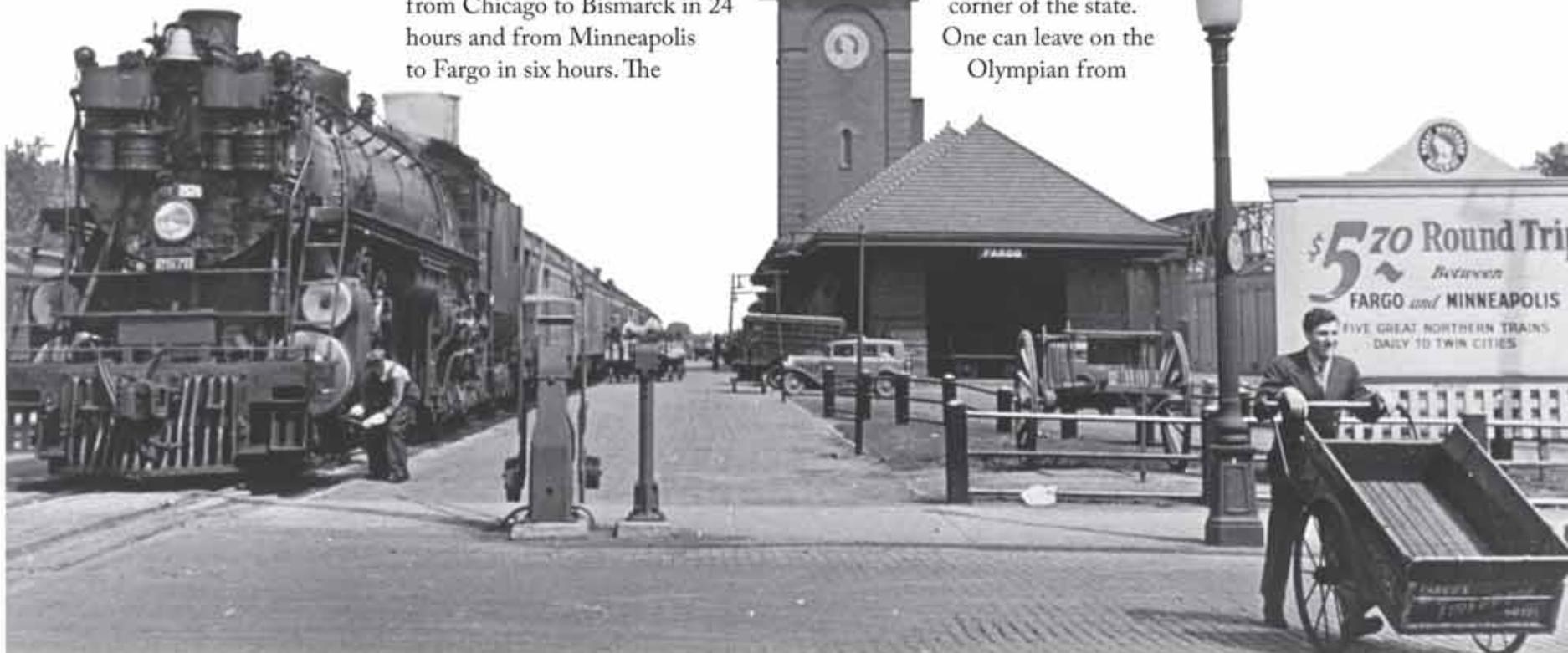
The Northern Pacific's new North Coast Limited can get a person from Chicago to Bismarck in 24 hours and from Minneapolis to Fargo in six hours. The

Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Sault Ste. Marie, known as the Soo, runs through the middle of the state. One can catch a train in St. Paul at 8:30 AM and be in Enderlin by 6:00 PM, Fessenden by 11:00 PM, and Minot by 2:30 AM.

Marmarth is an important railroad center for the Milwaukee Road which cuts through the very southwestern corner of the state. One can leave on the Olympian from

St. Paul at 8:10 AM and arrive in Hettinger at 8:41 PM and Marmarth at 10:25 PM.

All the railroads provide fine dining and roomy sleeping compartments. I.M. Cornelius of the NP tells the North Star Dakotan: "Our newer trains have cut almost two hours off the St. Paul to West Coast run."



ABOUT THIS ISSUE OF THE NSD

How quickly things changed – that, in a way, is a major theme of the years 1915 to 1940. The years of the Second Boom, 1900-1915, were full of optimism about the future; it was, after all, the Golden Age of Agriculture. Prices for farm products were excellent and crop yields broke records. North Dakota prospered as it never had before. People poured into the state, opening up the western counties for cultivation. Population figures increased 135 percent as the wave of new settlers took up the remaining homesteads on the farmers' last frontier.

The progressives reformed the political system, ridding the state of McKenzie bossism and expanding democracy. By 1915, the political world seemed to be quite stable.

Neither the wonderful prosperity

nor the political stability would last forever. The first to go was the political stability. In 1915 a master organizer, Arthur C. Townley, began to organize the Nonpartisan League (NPL). Sensing that farmers were discontented because they were not getting their fair share of agricultural profits, Townley believed that they would be receptive to his plan of state-owned agricultural businesses. He was right. Like a prairie fire the NPL spread throughout the state until it captured the Republican party and total political control of North Dakota.

Its meteoric rise to power was indeed exceptional. Never before and never since in the history of the United States had a farmer movement been that successful. It is a unique chapter in North Dakota and American history. The NPL

forever changed North Dakota. Today, the Bank of North Dakota and the North Dakota Mill and Elevator stand as testimony to that change. The NPL's story is a major focus of this issue.

Just as the NPL smashed the political status quo, the Great Depression ended the good economic years. In national history the Great Depression is usually associated with the 1930s. For North Dakota, however, the difficult times began right after the Great War in 1920-1923, when a prolonged agricultural depression began. The state did not recover until after 1940 with World War II. The second major topic of this issue deals with the economic turmoil and struggle that the Great Depression caused. Tied to the one-crop wheat economy, North Dakota fell

victim to drought and depression. By 1932 with no government programs in place, the situation was severe. Most people had little or no money and were helpless in the drastic condition. Only the federal government was in a position to cope with the Great Depression. Beginning in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal established dozens of government programs to fight the depression and to assist people.

That depression and the New Deal forever changed North Dakota and the nation as a whole. The government took on the new responsibility for the well being of its people. North Dakota became increasingly dependent upon the federal government—a dependency that still exists today.

The *North Star Dakotan* is funded and produced by the **North Dakota Humanities Council**, a nonprofit, independent state partner of the **National Endowment for the Humanities**. This issue was written by the NDHC's longtime consultant, D. Jerome Tweton, Ph.D. FOR INFORMATION ABOUT ORDERING this issue or previous issues of the *North Star Dakotan*, call the **North Dakota Humanities Council** at 1-800-338-6543, email council@ndhumanities.org, or stop by the office at 418 East Broadway Ave, Suite 8, Bismarck, ND.

Brenna Daugherty, Executive Director
North Dakota Humanities Council

PHOTO CREDITS

North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies (North Dakota State University): p. 5 Frazier; p. 6 cartoon; p. 7 cartoons; p. 9 cartoons; p. 10 Bacon, Industrial Commission; p. 11 Lemke, Nestos; p. 12 Ford plant; p. 16 Bismarck, Fargo; p. 17 dancing, Bismarck; p. 18 signs of drought, capitol; p. 19 Craig; p. 20 Olson, Welford, Moodie; p. 21 killing cow, Murphy's farm; p. 26 Olson; p. 31 service station. State Historical Society of North Dakota: p. 3 Townley; p. 4 Townley at Crosby; p. 5 clowns, Wilson; p. 19 Langer; p. 20 Langer demonstration; p. 22 Roosevelt; p. 23 WPA crew. Elwyn B. Robinson Department of Special Collections (University of North Dakota): p. 22 WPA workers, ski jump; p. 23 NYA; p. 25 CWA workers, West; p. 28 appliance store; p. 29 airplane; p. 31 auto parts shop. British Museum: p. 1 posters. Smithsonian Institution: p. 15 posters. Library of Congress (Farm Security Administration): p. 21 farm house; p. 25 employment office; p. 28 radio; p. 29 train. Grand Forks Public Library: p. 27 grocery store. Photographs not credited above are from the private collection of D. Jerome Tweton.

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The North Dakota Humanities Council invests in the people of North Dakota by creating and sustaining humanities programs which provide the people of North Dakota a better understanding of the past, a deeper appreciation for today, and a brighter hope for the future.

Our Vision:

We envision a society built upon respect and concern where the people of North Dakota are equipped by the humanities with engaged critical thinking, daring imaginations, empathetic reflection on the diversity of human experience, and an understanding of the complexity of the world in which we live.

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NORTH DAKOTANS DRIVING MORE CAR SALES BEGIN TO REBOUND

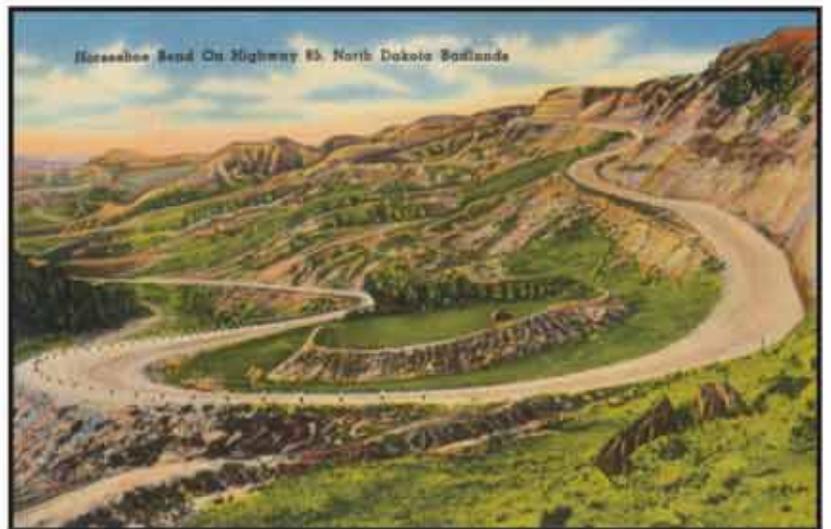
Bismarck
December 30, 1939

Although North Dakota has no paved roads, its main United States highways are kept in good repair with gravel. This is especially the case with Highway 10 which crosses from Fargo to Beach; Highway 2, "The Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Highway," from Grand Forks to the Montana line; and north-south highways 81, 83, 52, 281, and 85. In extremely wet conditions state highways and farm-to-market roads can be quite treacherous. Winter driving is very hazardous. Many high school students from farms board with a town family during the worst of winter.

Because of the depression the number of trucks and cars registered with the state is the same as it was ten years ago, 183,000. Most folks are keeping their old vehicles going with timely repairs. Miles driven per vehicle, however, have increased from 3,000 in 1920 to 5,000 in 1930 to 7,000 in this year. According to the North Dakota State Highway Department, the significant increase has been due to improved roads.

Because North Dakotans are driving more miles than ever before, service stations where one can purchase gasoline and have a vehicle repaired have become more plentiful. Gasoline has been selling for between 9 and 19 cents per gallon, and a regular automobile tune-up costs about \$3. Shops that sell car and truck parts, both new and used, have sprung up in most communities.

With the very darkest days of the depression over, the North Dakota Automobile Association reports that more and more people are looking at the new cars as they appear in showrooms and sales have improved.



NORTH DAKOTA

1915 – ND population reaches 637,000
Townley organizes NPL

1916 – NPL's Lynn J. Frazier elected governor
NPL wins control of House
Woodrow Wilson (D) carries North Dakota

1917 – NPL fails to enact program (HB44)
ND war bond drives go over top

1918 – Lynn J. Frazier is reelected governor
NPL wins control of House, Senate, Supreme Court
IVA organizes to oppose NPL
Minnie Nielson first woman elected to statewide office

1919 – NPL program of state business enacted
State Mill and Bank of North Dakota authorized

1920 – Lynn J. Frazier reelected governor
NPL loses control of Senate
ND population reaches 647,000

1921 – NPL's Frazier, Lemke, and Hagen recalled
IVA's Ragnvold Nestos elected governor
Farm prices fall 60 percent

1922 – Ragnvold Nestos reelected governor
IVA wins control of all branches of government
WDAY begins radio broadcasting
KKK holds first ND rally

1923 – North Dakota State Mill begins operation
Legislature passes anti-KKK bill
1,000 hold KKK rally

1924 – Arthur Sorlie elected governor
KKK controls Grand Forks school board

1925 – Gerald P. Nye goes to U.S. Senate

1926 – Arthur Sorlie reelected governor
KKK controls Grand Forks city government
KKK Imperial Wizard draws crowd of 5,000

1927 – ND farmers organized

1928 – George F. Shafer elected governor

1929 – ND KKK begins to wane

1930 – ND population peaks at 681,000
North Dakotans own 183,000 automobiles
George F. Shafer reelected governor
State Capitol burns

1931 – ND head of KKK leaves state; Klan dead

1932 – William Langer elected governor
ND's worst economic year

1933 – Minnie Craig elected Speaker of the House
Governor Langer issues farm foreclosure moratorium
and grain embargo

1934 – Governor Langer convicted of conspiracy
and removed from office
Lt. Governor Ole Olson becomes governor
Thomas H. Moodie elected governor
Severe drought

1935 – Governor Moodie removed from office
Lt. Governor Walter Welford becomes governor
Langer conviction reversed on appeal

1936 – William Langer reelected governor
Two-thirds of people receive government help

1937 – WPA employs drought-stricken farmers

1938 – John Moses elected governor
Langer's U.S. Senate bid fails

1939 – New Deal has poured \$266 million into ND
Lost farm income tops \$1 billion

1940 – ND population falls to 642,000
Langer elected to U.S. Senate

UNITED STATES

1915 – Ku Klux Klan rises in Georgia
Ford produces its millionth car

1916 – President Wilson reelected on "He kept us out of war"
Margaret Sanger opens first birth-control clinic
Golf's PGA formed

1917 – U.S. declares war on Germany
Recordings introduce Americans to jazz

1918 – Movie, Tarzan of the Apes, a big hit
Draft for army begins

1919 – Prohibition amendment ratified
Jack Dempsey is world heavyweight champ
Senate rejects League of Nations

1920 – Woman suffrage amendment ratified
Warren Harding elected president
National Negro Baseball League formed

1921 – 79 die in Tulsa race riots
Sacco and Vanzetti found guilty

1922 – Readers Digest begins publication
First Miss America pageant held

1923 – President Harding dies
Vice-President Coolidge sworn in
Milky Way candy bar a big hit

1924 – Calvin Coolidge elected president
George Gershwin creates Rhapsody in Blue

1925 – Scopes' trial ends in guilty
First motel opens in California

1926 – Charles Atlas opens first gym
Gertrude Ederle swims English Channel
Richard Byrd flies over North Pole

1927 – Charles Lindbergh flies Atlantic
Jazz Singer first movie talkie
Babe Ruth hits 60 homers

1928 – Herbert Hoover elected president
Electric razor introduced
Mickey Mouse makes first appearance

1929 – Wall Street crash
Al Capone rules Chicago
First Academy Awards given

1930 – Greyhound Company opens bus service
Great Depression begins

1931 – Star-Spangled Banner becomes official anthem
Empire State Building opens

1932 – Franklin D. Roosevelt elected president
14 million (1 out of 4) out of work
Farm prices halved
Bread lines become common

1933 – FDR begins New Deal
FERA, AAA, CCC bring relief
King Kong box office hit
Prohibition ends

1934 – Donald Duck makes film debut
New Deal for Indians announced
Monopoly new board game
Bonnie and Clyde killed

1935 – Shirley Temple gets Oscar
New Deal begins WPA, NYA, REA
Alcoholics Anonymous formed

1936 – Marx Brothers score with A Night at the Opera
FDR reelected president
Life magazine begins publication

1937 – Golden Gate Bridge opens
Schoolhouse fire kills 294 in Texas
Amelia Earhart disappears

1938 – New Deal labor legislation passes
Superman arrives in comics
Instant coffee hits market

1939 – Steinbeck pens Grapes of Wrath
Gone with the Wind premieres
DDT and nylon hose debut

1940 – FDR reelected president
US proclaims neutral position

WORLD

1915 – The Great War in second year
German U-boats sink Lusitania

1916 – Rasputin murdered in Russia
Denmark sells West Indies to U.S.

1917 – Russian Revolution; Bolsheviks in power
Spy, Mata Hari, executed in France
British support homeland for Jews

1918 – German's Red Baron killed
British women get the vote
Great War comes to an end; 9 million dead

1919 – Woodrow Wilson receives Nobel Peace Prize
Peace conference opens at Versailles

1920 – Earthquake kills 200,000 in China
League of Nations organized
Joan of Arc canonized

1921 – Sweden abolishes capital punishment
Irish Free State established

1922 – Vampire Nosferatu thrills moviegoers
King Tut's tomb discovered
T.S. Eliot publishes The Waste Land

1923 – 300,000 die in Japan earthquake
Adolph Hitler leads Munich putsch

1924 – Paavo Nurmi, the Flying Finn,
wins five Olympic golds
Lenin dead in Russia

1926 – Hitler publishes Mein Kampf
Ford begins German car plants

1926 – Winnie the Pooh makes appearance
Hirohito becomes emperor of Japan

1927 – Germans invent prefabricated housing
Herman Hesse writes Steppenwolf

1928 – Kellogg-Briand pact outlaws war
Erich Remarque writes All Quiet on the Western Front
Vatican City created

1930 – German Nazi party attacks Jews
Haile Selassie crowned emperor of Ethiopia
Hungary wins world ping-pong championship

1931 – Spain becomes a republic
Japan invades Manchuria

1932 – Depression spreads across Europe
Famine strikes Russia
Mussolini in tenth year of power in Italy

1933 – Hitler is new German chancellor
Germany leaves League of Nations

1934 – Nazis kill Austrian chancellor
USSR's Stalin imprisons opponents

1935 – Mussolini's Italy invades Ethiopia
Jews lose rights in Germany
TV service debuts in Germany

1936 – Mao leads Chinese communists
Civil war begins in Spain
England's Edward VIII abdicates

1937 – George VI crowned in England
Japan invades China
Hindenburg explodes in U.S.

1938 – Munich peace agreement
Germany extends borders

1939 – Germany invades Poland
World War II erupts in Europe

1940 – Continental Europe falls to Hitler
Churchill new British prime minister