

THE PRAIRIE FIRE EXTINGUISHED:  
PROHIBITION IN TERRITORIAL AND EARLY STATEHOOD NORTH DAKOTA,  
1880-1900.

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in History

Middle Tennessee State University  
August 2018

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible if it was not for the multitude of positive influences in my historical career. I would like to first thank my professors at the North Dakota State University. Dr. Angela Smith, my public history advisor, gave me the encouragement for this paper idea during my undergraduate studies and helped me realize the significant public history that is accompanied with local history. I would like to thank Dr. Tom Isern for providing me with a background in western historical approaches, and for an appreciation of western history. Without these two professors I would not have pursued this topic.

It would not be appropriate to leave out the assistance of the North Dakota State Archives staff, notably the assistance of Jim Davis, head of reference, and Sarah Walker, reference specialist. These two professionals assisted me greatly in finding primary sources to study and to work through my ideas on the topic. Both gave me sources on where I should look for more information, told me about what previous articles may have been useful, and they offered encouragement. The staff at the state archives helped make this paper a reality.

The thesis committee I chose for this paper have done a considerable amount of working assisting the creation of this paper. I would like to acknowledge the efforts made by Dr. Susan Meyers-Shirk in helping write and research as an academic historian. Her research methods course gave me a solid foundation for this paper, and she gave me the skills to craft the rest of the paper. Dr. Van West's input was invaluable to the creation of this paper. His insight in western historical trends, upper great plains history, and public

history methodology refined my paper into a more coherent work of western public history.

## ABSTRACT

Prohibition in North Dakota is an often-forgotten moment of North Dakota's history. This is a period in which newly-developed modes of mass-media and national influences developed the political and social landscape of the state. The prohibition period saw the development of one of the most successful Women's Christian Temperance Unions in the country, and its prohibitory law encourages the public to engage with it. However, North Dakota historical narratives are primarily focused on romanticizing the frontier life. This narrative creates a historical focus on figures like Teddy Roosevelt. Early statehood prohibition was a significant moment in defining the state, and it should return to the collective consciousness of the state through increased public history projects.

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## INTRODUCTION

The prohibition era in North Dakota is one of the most influential periods of the state's history. It began at the state's creation in 1889, and continued for a generation plus. North Dakotans chose to make prohibition not a law but a fundamental clause in their first state constitution. Once prohibition had been established temperance groups in the state were incredibly effective at maintaining and promoting prohibition. They created a new state where prohibition seemed to be an accepted way of life.

However, the story of prohibition in ND has fallen out of most of western or North Dakotan history. It also has receded from the public memory of the state, and it is not reflected in the current historical narratives of popular myths and fascinating figures such as Teddy Roosevelt and General George Custer continue to dominate the state's late nineteenth century history.

Prohibition in North Dakota is worthy of re-examination. The era combines the potent influences of national temperance organizations through mass printed newspapers, booklets, and speeches, while highlighting the expanding role of women in politics through the influential Women's Christian Temperance Union. The prohibition story defines a time when civic participation in local government mattered.

Within the western United States, North Dakota had a significantly different relationship with prohibition. Other than Kansas, North Dakota possessed one of the most successful prohibition parties and programs in the country. It is vital for the development



of the field and for local histories of prohibition to diversify. Documenting that story and development strategies for public interpretation are the goals of this thesis

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

A primary reason prohibition has been neglected in North Dakota history is the basic fact that it falls outside of dominance of the frontier and the frontier man in western history. Frederick Jackson Turner's essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" launched the modern field of western history. He posited that the United States was not an extension of European traditions. Instead, the United States was a country separate and superior to Europe. Because the cycles of constant frontiering made the American pioneer a uniquely strong force of civilization.<sup>1</sup> Walter P. Webb's book, *The Great Plains*, then bolstered this thesis. Webb argued that the American pioneer was the most successful not because he was inherently superior, but he was the first to truly adapt to the unforgiving arid desert of the plains.<sup>2</sup> These two theses formed a parallel interpretation of the great plains that led to a belief called "western exceptionalism".<sup>3</sup> Western exceptionalism is the continuation of these early romantic interpretations of the west. Exceptionalists viewed the region as a place where only a certain heroic spirit could live. The pursuit of a simplistic heroic west narrative undermined its own complex history. Western exceptionalism is often viewed from anti-national, anti-urban, mono-

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<sup>1</sup> Michael P. Malone, "Beyond the Last Frontier: Toward a New Approach to Western American History." *The Western Historical Quarterly* 20, (October 1989): 410.

<sup>2</sup> Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1931).

<sup>3</sup> Further readings on the foundations of western exceptionalism include, as outlined in Michael Malone's above would include: Ray Allen Billington and Martin Ridge, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier*, 5th ed. (New York, MacMillan, 1982); Ray Allen Billington, *Frederick Jackson Turner: Historian, Scholar, Teacher* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1973); Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (New York, University of New Mexico Press, 1966); Martin Ridge, "Frederick Jackson Turner, Ray Allen Billington, and American Frontier History," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 19 (January 1988); Michael C. Steiner, "The Significance of Turner's Sectional Thesis," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 10 (October 1979): 437-66; and William Cronon, "Revisiting the Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 18 (April 1987).

ethnic, and masculine perceptions.<sup>4</sup> These perspectives grew out of Turner and Webb's theses, and the frontier era dominance has become an incredibly difficult paradigm to break from in western history. Yet, the mythic pioneer or frontier-era does not reflect the reality of the groups and corporations in developing the region.<sup>5</sup> A study of prohibition does reflect that counter-narrative reality.<sup>6</sup>

Existing studies on prohibition naturally, regionally, and in North Dakota, in particular, shape this case study research. The historiography of prohibition highlights the connection between temperance and prohibition. Knowing the difference between these two terms is vital. Scholars define temperance as a collection of the social forces centered around banning liquor. They define prohibition as the political machine that implemented this idea. With these differences identified, what are the similarities?

On the national level, multiple groups advocated for prohibition in the early 1880s. The three most important were the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Anti-Saloon League, and the Prohibition Party. These groups brought their own ideas of temperance to the prohibition cause prior to the end of the nineteenth century. However, by the beginning of national prohibition in 1920, these groups had become so fragmented, based on their own split ideologies, that their influence waned or disappeared entirely. The Anti-Saloon League and the Prohibition party were some of the first to highlight a connection between temperance and prohibition. According to K.

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<sup>4</sup> Malone, "Beyond the Last Frontier: Toward a New Approach to Western American History." 423.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 423.

<sup>6</sup> For example, see, Donald R. McCoy and Richard Lowitt, "The New Deal and the West," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (1985). Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed the Impact of the Second World War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990). Leonard Arrington, "The New Deal in the West: A Preliminary Statistical Inquiry," *Pacific Historical Review* 38, no. 3 (1969).

Austin Kerr's book *Organized for Prohibition: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League*, (1985), one of the core temperance beliefs of the league was its emphasis on legally banning liquor and the education of temperance beliefs in schools. In wanting to both educate and punish, the league inadvertently created two camps of activists. In time, the two became rival factions and split the party just after the adoption of national prohibition.<sup>7</sup> Larry Engelmann's *Intemperance: The Lost War Against Liquor*, (1979), found the education-punishment factors particularly powerful in Michigan. Constant divisions within the temperance movement in the state prevented any form of cohesive political action. Engelmann argues that the prohibition party took on too many social issues and thus never had the political focus to succeed.<sup>8</sup>

The Women's Christian Temperance Union proved a far more successful political party than the Prohibition party and Anti-Saloon League. The WCTU was founded on core social temperance policies, but it associated these policies with more than just prohibition, and particularly promoted the interests of women at the time. One of the leading issues with alcohol came from the destabilization of the core family unit. During the women's crusade of the 1870s, the early leaders of the WCTU rallied around the need to protect the family. In Adam Chamberlain, Alixandra B, and Nicholas Pyeatt's article "The Connection Between the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Prohibition Party", they reviewed the early relationship between the WCTU and the other mainstream prohibition elements. Temperance, the authors conclude, was a highly gendered issue. In many situations women were unable to join the official temperance

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<sup>7</sup> Austin K. Kerr. *Organized for Prohibition: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> Larry Engelmann. *Intemperance, the Lost War against Liquor*. (New York: Free Press, 1979).

lodges and clubs that existed. However, one of the few groups that accepted women was the International Order of the Good Templars which eventually became the prohibition party. The authors argue that the founders of the WCTU used their admission in the order as a springboard to greater political autonomy. The WCTU eventually split with the prohibition party in the 1880s over what social issues should be prioritized.<sup>9</sup>

Prudence Flowers, in her article “White Ribboners and the Ideology of Separate Sphere”, explored the WCTU split from the prohibition party in greater depth. Many WCTU activists believed, temperance meant something more for women; it could be the vehicle that could reform society into something better.<sup>10</sup> Alison Parker’s article “Hearts Uplifted and Minds Refreshed: The WCTU and the Production of Pure Culture in the US 1880-1930” highlighted the efforts of the WCTU to bridge women’s rights and anti-liquor sentiments for public consumption. Parker argues that the WCTU sought to portray to its members the importance of prohibition for women. The group produced art, literature, songs, gospels, and other popular media to connect their version of temperance to more mainstream strategies of prohibition.<sup>11</sup>

Another relationship between temperance, the WCTU, and prohibition was the development of new scientific practices regarding liquor and changing perceptions of women and drinking. Michelle L. McClellan’s article “Lady Lushes, Gender, Alcoholism, and Medicine in Modern America”, (2017), explores how the scientific

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<sup>9</sup> Adam Chamberlain, Alixandra B. Yanus, and Nicholas Pyeatt. "The Connection Between the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Prohibition Party." *SAGE Open* 6, no. 4 (2016).

<sup>10</sup> Prudence Flowers. “White Ribboners and the Ideology of Separate Spheres”, 1860s-1890s." *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 25, no. 1 (2006): 14-31.

<sup>11</sup> Alison M Parker. (Alison Marie). "Hearts Uplifted and Minds Refreshed": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Production of Pure Culture in the United States, 1880-1930." *Journal of Women's History* 11, no. 2 (1999): 135-58.

community bridged the social policies of temperance along with a growing desire for prohibition. The medical community had decided that addiction was an affliction wherein an individual lacked the willpower to resist their drug. Prohibition then would be an important policy to help end alcoholism in the United States. The medical community and the WCTU also both saw liquor as a direct threat to the health of women in the country.<sup>12</sup>

These studies are just a few of the many that highlight the relationship between the multifaced social elements of temperance and the political legal process of prohibition. Different prohibition groups shared a belief that alcohol was a social evil and needed to be outlawed. However, each group created strategies to achieve temperance that fit their own agendas. The Anti-Saloon League and Prohibition Party focused heavily on enacting laws that would prohibit the sale and production of liquor and broad sweeping education reform. The WCTU sought to improve the lives of women along with curbing the use of alcohol in society. Finally, the medical communities and the WCTU sought to use temperance to improve the health of the country and protect it from the unhealthy effects of liquor.

Prohibition initially proved most effective at the local level, then regional with different ideologies and strategies in the Northeast, the West, and the South. The Northeast witnessed the primary battlegrounds over fighting for and against prohibition. Michael Lerner's *Dry Manhattan: Prohibition in New York City*, (2008), highlights the

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<sup>12</sup> Michelle L. McClellan. *Lady Lushes: Gender, Alcoholism, and Medicine in Modern America*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2017).

development of prohibition in the city.<sup>13</sup> He argues that adopting prohibition here was more of a political fight than in other regions. New York City held more political power within its state than any other city did in their respective state. Other states like, Ohio and Massachusetts, saw an expansion of prohibitory sentiment in rural settings first and then the cities.<sup>14</sup>

Immigration also shaped the temperance prohibition debate in the northeast. A primary reason prohibition was so significant for the Northeast was it assuaged Anglo-American fears of drunken immigrant communities. Middle-class white elites backed prohibition policies, to suppress and control elements of immigrant communities, such as the Germans, Central Europeans, and Irish. Jed Dannenbaum's *Drunk and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washington Revival to the WCTU* explores these immigrant issues in larger American cities.<sup>15</sup> Dannenbaum displays how many prohibition policies in the city were directly related to controlling the cultural practices of Germans who had immigrated there.

The West saw a similar approach to prohibition as the Northeast did. Prohibition first started in rural communities and then moved into city centers, but at a much quicker rate than the Northeast. In this region, city centers were not as developed as the Northeast and so their political power was nowhere near as dominant. However, the difference in the west lays with the reasons for temperance and prohibition reform. Prohibition

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<sup>13</sup> Michael A. Lerner. *Dry Manhattan: Prohibition in New York City*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> Mary E. Kuhl, Katharine Lent Stevenson, Frances W. Graham, Elizabeth Preston Anderson, Frances H. Ensign, and Sara H. Hoge. "Organization and Accomplishments of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, and Virginia." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 32 (1908): 43-60.

<sup>15</sup> Jed Dannenbaum. *Drink and Disorder: Temperance Reform in Cincinnati from the Washingtonian Revival to the WCTU*. (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1984).

activists saw the west as an unruly and sinful collection souls that had fallen under sway of demon rum, and much of the work that occurred here was evangelistic in nature.

In the Midwest and north plains, many prohibition groups focused on rehabilitating western society. Robert Smith Bader's work *Prohibition in Kansas: A History*, highlights the efforts of the WCTU and the Prohibition Party in Kansas. This work provides an excellent overview of how prohibition developed politically over the late 1800s. It shows that the primary reason prohibition came to the west was to reform the notion of the "wild west" into a more progressive and civilized area. Prohibition forces wanted to curb the excessive drinking in the region and hoped this would stop the overflowing vices occurring in the region.<sup>16</sup> Ellen Baumler's "The Making of a Good Woman: Montana and the National Florence Crittenton Mission", highlights this reform impulse. The WCTU built a Crittenton home so that they could spread their message of temperance to the women of Montana. Here, they hoped to reform the acceptable practices of family life through the mother and wife of the family unit. The WCTU used the same tactic in North Dakota.<sup>17</sup>

Burton W. Folsom's "Tinkerers, Tipplers and Traitors: Ethnicity and Democratic Reform in Nebraska during the Progressive Era" displays the political struggles that existed among the Democratic Party under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan. Folsom highlights the efforts of democratic leadership trying to convince its constituents on the merits of prohibition as a moral movement, and not an authoritarian stranglehold

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<sup>16</sup> Robert Smith Bader. *Prohibition in Kansas: A History*. (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 1987).

<sup>17</sup> Ellen Baumler. "'The Making of a Good Woman': Montana and the National Florence Crittenton Mission." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 53, no. 4 (2003): 50-63.



on society.<sup>18</sup> Dale E. Soden's "The Women Christian Temperance Union in the Pacific Northwest: The Battle for Cultural Control" continues the trend of western prohibition. The Northwest was considered a center of vices, and Alcohol consumption enabled much of it. He argues that the evangelistic temperance beliefs of the WCTU were used to reform and restructure society in the mining and logging communities of the Pacific northwest.<sup>19</sup>

While western temperance activists did not emphasize the control of immigrant populations and drinking like their compatriots in the Northeast, it did focus on restructuring how society viewed liquor. Many of the Western prohibition movements placed an emphasis on moralistic campaigns directed at the family unit, and how they should be fixed to fit a more progressive belief in the family lifestyle.

The final region, The South, had the most varied reasons for prohibition than the rest of the country. While at its core Southern prohibition followed a similar evangelistic sentiment of the West, it also was more concerned with regulating notions of masculinity and enforcing an economic and racial hierarchy.<sup>20</sup>

Ted Ownby's *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South 1865-1920*, (2014), highlights the efforts of prohibition reform on the traditional Southern concepts of masculine honor. Ownby shows that the South possessed a rigid

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<sup>18</sup> Burton W. Folsom. "Tinkerers, Tipplers, and Traitors: Ethnicity and Democratic Reform in Nebraska during the Progressive Era." *Pacific Historical Review* 50, no. 1 (1981): 53-75.

<sup>19</sup> Dale E. Soden. "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the Pacific Northwest: The Battle for Cultural Control." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (2003): 197-207.

<sup>20</sup> Mason Krausz Christensen, "The Saloon in Nashville and the Coming of Prohibition in Tennessee", 2013, Michael Lewis. *The Coming of Southern Prohibition: The Dispensary System and the Battle over Liquor in South Carolina, 1907-1915*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2016). C. C. Pearson, and J. Edwin Hendricks. *Liquor and Anti-liquor in Virginia, 1619-1919*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1967).

hierarchy of who could drink freely and in what quantities. Which granted that only elite white men were able to fully enjoy liquor. Elite white men had no interests in giving up their privileges even if temperance activists insisted that prohibition led to a better Christian life, and a stronger family.<sup>21</sup>

Prohibition directed at African Americans was acceptable, and scholars have recently investigated this theme in depth. Lees Willis's *Southern Prohibition: Race, Reform, and Public Life in Middle Florida*, Joseph Locke's, "Making the Bible Belt: Texas Prohibitionists and the Ponticization of Southern Religion", Brendan J. Pane's "Defending Black Suffrage: Poll Taxes, Preachers, and Anti-Prohibition in Texas 1887-1916", Joe L. Cocker's *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement*, and Paul Thompson Jr.'s *A Most Stirring and Significant Episode: Religion and the Rise and Fall of Prohibition in Black Atlanta 1865-1887* all showcase the racial elements of southern prohibition.<sup>22</sup>

For white communities, pro-prohibition groups were both supportive and racist towards African American communities. The groups who were supportive were often abolitionists who sought to help African American communities. Those who were racist feared an uprising of drunken former slaves and wanted to limit African American liquor consumption by using similar policies enacted during enslavement. The anti-prohibition

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<sup>21</sup> Ted Ownby. *Subduing Satan Religion, Recreation, and Manhood in the Rural South, 1865-1920*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

<sup>22</sup> Lee Willis. *Southern Prohibition: Race, Reform, and Public Life in Middle Florida, 1821-1920*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011, Joseph Locke. "Making the Bible Belt, Texas Prohibitionists and the Ponticization of Southern Religion " *Oxford Scholarship Online*, 2017, Brendan J Payne. "Defending Black Suffrage: Poll Taxes, Preachers, and Anti-Prohibition in Texas, 1887–1916." *Journal of Southern History* 83, no. 4 (2017), Joe L. Coker. *Liquor in the Land of the Lost Cause: Southern White Evangelicals and the Prohibition Movement*. (Lexington, KY: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 2007). H. Paul Thompson. *A Most Stirring and Significant Episode: Religion and the Rise and Fall of Prohibition in Black Atlanta, 1865-1887*. (DeKalb, IL: NIU Press, 2013).

groups again either wanted to improve the freedoms of African American communities, or they wanted to undermine them by giving them cheap liquor to create a dependency on alcohol. These tactics were like how white settlers treated Native Americans.

For African American communities, pro-prohibition groups saw prohibition as a method to strengthen themselves. They viewed liquor as a destabilizing influence and used stories of failed slave rebellions, due to an inebriated slave, as proof. They wanted to display that they possessed the willpower to resist the drug and lift themselves up to a more Christian life. The anti-prohibition groups viewed prohibition as nothing more than another attempt by white elites to inhibit African American freedom. They felt that liquor consumption was a right for all not just rich white men.

What do these varied national and regional trends mean for North Dakota prohibition? In a national sense, prohibition was a bottom-up movement that started with the people. However, at the regional level, it was a top-down approach that often tried to force its way onto local populations and control the elements of minority groups.

The current historiographical trends in prohibition research are focused on highlighting the significant involvement of women in prohibition and displaying the racial elements of southern Jim Crow prohibition. This thesis will focus on the former. North Dakota prohibition would not have happened without the leadership efforts of women. The North Dakota WCTU were one of the primary forces behind implementing prohibition. They organized, rallied, and engaged with the public across the state. However, they were not the only group. Influential temperance leaders in North Dakota, mostly women, contributed to prohibition enforcement through public engagement and encouraging temperance sympathizers to actively volunteer to enforce prohibition.

Finally, this thesis explores how mass media influenced the prohibition vote in North Dakota. The dissemination of newspapers, speeches, and the writings of influential national temperance leaders played a large role in developing North Dakota's early tilt towards prohibition.

## CHAPTER 1:

### The Printed Crusade:

#### National, Local, and Newspaper Ideologies in North Dakota Prohibition

During the nineteenth century, the United States experienced an impressive reform movement. Demon rum had been considered one of the preeminent threats to a civilized Christian society, and by the end of the century what to do about alcohol was a divisive, significant issue. Temperance advocates fought across the nation to rid society of its influences, and on January 29, 1919, they succeeded. Congress passed the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act prohibiting the sale of liquor in the country. National prohibition was a tremendous victory for temperance advocates, but the most impressive aspect was the state ratification of the amendment. Forty-six of the forty-eight states voted for prohibition, seemingly making the new amendment impervious to future change.

In North Dakota, the process occurred mostly through the newspapers. National figures like J. Ellen Foster, a prominent lawyer and activist from Iowa, and Albert Griffin, Kansan who took part in Kansas prohibition and national Republican conventions, were considered some of the leading voices in the movement, expressed their views in the newspapers. They and many others used this as a platform to discuss the ideas of temperance, how to implement it, and what role should it play in society. This chapter examines the impact newspapers in North Dakota had on the prohibition debate, arguing that newspapers were the primary platform that drove temperance ideologies in North Dakota.

Using both rural and urban newspapers North Dakota largely from 1885-1889, this chapter will use the arguments to explore how they shaped the discussion, and who was arguing it. It becomes apparent that the voices of national leaders shaped opinions in North Dakota. It is also apparent that Dakotans were paying attention to debates and strategies from other states.

While there is little scholarship on prohibition in North Dakota, other historians have explored state-level prohibition. Robert Smith Bader's *Prohibition in Kansas*, Pearson and Hendricks *Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia 1619-1919*, and P. E. Isaac's *Prohibition and Politics: Turbulent Decades in Tennessee, 1885-1920* will examine prohibition campaigns in other states. Three works provide additional historical context: Lisa M. F. Anderson's *The Politics of Prohibition: American Governance and the Prohibition Party, 1869-1933*, John Krout's *The Origins of Prohibition*, and W. J. Rorabaugh's *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* are used. The arguments in the North Dakota newspaper articles will then be deconstructed and examined to see how they relate to other state prohibition movements. Observing how the newspapers relate to other states, and what elements of the prohibition narrative was unique to North Dakota.

Before examining North Dakota and its newspapers, it is important to provide the historical context of drinking in the United States. As shown in Rorabaugh's work, during the revolutionary period, the primary drink of choice was rum and its annual consumption estimates at four gallons.<sup>1</sup> After the war, this consumption decreased

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<sup>1</sup> Rorabaugh, W. J. *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition*. 1 edition. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 6-8.

because of issues of trading with the British West Indies, but soon the consumption rate rose again.<sup>2</sup> Greater advancements in distilling allowed brewers to supplement the lack of Caribbean rum and sugar with local spirits distilled from corn and rye, creating whiskey. This new boom of spirit consumption accelerated liquor consumption from 1800-1830.<sup>3</sup> Bringing the annual national drinking average up from four gallons in 1770 to well over five gallons in 1830.<sup>4</sup> However, spirits were not the only source of major liquor consumption. Hard cider, with an average alcohol percentage of eighteen, can be considered the most popular form of liquor intoxicants, especially in the apple orchard belt of the east coast. Even considering the five-gallon consumption rate of spirits, a national high, cider was still more popular. Americans consumed roughly fifteen gallons of hard cider a year up until the beginning of the temperance movement in the 1830s.<sup>5</sup>

The years between 1800-1830 saw a significant increase in alcohol consumption and with it regulations. However, the nineteenth century was not the beginning of extensive national management of alcohol. The states sought to tax and limit the use of liquor since the colonial era.<sup>6</sup> John Krout shows, these regulations focused towards limiting consumption for specific racial and economic groups. Virginia, for example, sought to limit the credit given out by taverns to indentured workers and severely limited the sale of intoxicants to Native Americans and African Americans.<sup>7</sup> Other forms of regulations involved the creation of provincial tariffs, increased licenses, and focusing on

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 9-10.

<sup>6</sup> Krout, John Allen. *The Origins of Prohibition*. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1953) 1-15.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 17.

taxing the sale of liquor.<sup>8</sup> These new liquor regulations were not for moral reasons. As Anderson showcases, the laws drafted concentrated on generating revenue from liquor sources. The most critical post-colonial liquor regulation was the internal revenue act of 1862. This institutionalized liquor sales into the US government adding liquor taxes and transactions directly into the nation's coffers.<sup>9</sup> This led to the liquor industry and the government working together to generate revenue. The same year as the IRS act brewing operations began to form their national organizations, and they started to work as lobbying groups in the US government.<sup>10</sup>

Reformists noticed this significant growth in liquor consumption and professionalization. During the early 1800s newspapers began to highlight incidents of drunken husbands beating wives and children, or they would showcase the tempting allure of liquor.<sup>11</sup> This growing anxiety over liquor consumption increased significantly after the civil war. Temperance advocates were shocked to see the rate at which soldiers consumed liquor.<sup>12</sup> They argued that the liquor industry saw the civil war as an opportunity to lure soldiers into drunkenness. In response to the growing professionalization of the brewing industry, temperance advocates sought to fight against the spread of liquor. From the 1830s to the 1870s temperance groups organized into large national organizations. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Anti-Saloon Republican Movement were two of these.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 17-25.

<sup>9</sup> Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 14.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 13-14.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>12</sup>, Ibid., 13-14.



The WCTU originated in Hillsboro Ohio, where, on December 23, 1873, Dr. Diocletian Lewis gave a temperance talk. He recalled the story of his mother and her friends shutting down a tavern by continually praying inside of it.<sup>13</sup> This sermon energized large groups of temperant women to organize against saloons. Creating the "Women's Crusade," they journeyed across the Midwest and east coast praying in saloons. Visiting roughly nine-hundred and twelve towns in over thirty-one states, the Women's Crusade covered an impressive amount of ground over the course of a few months.<sup>14</sup> Then in November 1874, the leaders of the crusade formed the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Hillsboro, Ohio.<sup>15</sup>

The Anti-Saloon Republican Movement started in 1886 over concerns that the national Republican Party was not committed enough to temperance.<sup>16</sup> They started as one of the first political pressure groups in the country and grew out of the Republican failure of the 1884 election.<sup>17</sup> Prohibitionists formed their own party for the election and ran a competing presidential candidate. Since many of the party's members consisted of temperance Republicans dissuaded by the Democrats, they voted prohibition and were surprised by the election of Grover Cleveland, a Democrat.<sup>18</sup> Republican supporters blamed the prohibition party for splintering the vote. After the election, many leading members of the Prohibition Party chose to refocus and reform themselves into a non-partisan pressure group. They campaigned as a moralist organization that was above

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<sup>13</sup> Bader, *Prohibition in Kansas*, 31.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>16</sup> Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 123.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-111.

party politics, arguing for law and order, the more efficient enforcement of current laws, and constitutional prohibition.<sup>19</sup> While the group claimed they were bipartisan many of the founding members were Republicans which led to an inherent cooperation between the two entities.<sup>20</sup>

The WCTU and Anti-Saloon Republican Movement were two of the primary groups providing literature to North Dakota newspapers. The WCTU started in the Midwest and heavily focused on moving into the newer western territories, and the Anti-Saloon movement's influence was felt mostly in newer western states.<sup>21</sup> This political cooperation leads to the first element of national influence in North Dakota, and arguably the most effective. Republican political party campaigns in the territory were prominent and tied heavily to the prohibition movement. Linking these two platforms together was essential to anti-saloon groups. As a newly formed political pressure group, the Prohibition Party saw itself as an element of the Republican Party. Since many of the founding members were Republican, it made sense to cast their lot in with them, which is why in an article in the August 3, 1888 edition of the *Griggs Courier* the efforts of the Anti-Saloon Republican National Committee were presented.<sup>22</sup> An address by Albert Griffin, chairman of the Committee, is printed in this paper, and in it, he assuages the fears of prohibitionists. The Republican National Committee voted down a resolution to adopt the Anti-Saloon plank into their national platform. However, instead of highlighting this failure, he lists that three victories came from this convention instead

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 114-116.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 115-117.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>22</sup> *Griggs Courier*, August 03, 1888.

and that the prohibition and Republican Party were working together.<sup>23</sup> The implications of this article are twofold. First, it showcases that temperance and Republican sympathies were strong enough in rural North Dakota to warrant publishing the address of a special interest group from a national Republican convention in a local paper. Secondly, it demonstrated that the Republican media could extend its message to the remote territory.

The Republican political machine was eager to exert its influence in the Dakotas. This political expansionist mentality was entirely on display in an issue of *The Hope Pioneer* on October 3, 1884. A private letter of Mrs. J. Ellen Foster was published in the paper showcasing her stance with the Republican Party.<sup>24</sup> Foster was a leading national temperance leader. She had committed herself to the cause of temperance in 1874 after meeting with representatives of the WCTU in Cedar Rapids, Ohio.<sup>25</sup> She became friends with Francis Willard at the National Convention in Cleveland and was convinced to join the group. Willard named her the superintendent of the department of legislation of the WCTU.<sup>26</sup> In 1886 she joined the executive board of the Anti-Saloon Republican Movement.<sup>27</sup> A leader in the national temperance scene, Foster told her North Dakota audience that the only way prohibition could gain traction was through widespread popular support.<sup>28</sup> She argued that this cannot be a mandate sent from the federal government, but instead should come from state legislatures and working its way up to the national level.<sup>29</sup> If this method was not used then surely the population will riot

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> *The Hope Pioneer*, October 03, 1884.

<sup>25</sup> Mott, David C. "Judith Ellen Foster." *The Annals of Iowa* 19 (1933), 132.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>27</sup> Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 116-117.

<sup>28</sup> *The Hope Pioneer*, October 03, 1884.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

against the measure.<sup>30</sup> She cited the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment as proof, and claimed that this piece of legislation was so contentious because the government chose to adopt it without the country voting on it as one.<sup>31</sup> Foster insisted that prohibition could succeed but it had to work from the ground up.<sup>32</sup> Her second point concerns the political bias of prohibition. Foster argued that if the states voted for this, it must be bi-partisan.<sup>33</sup> “Good Christians” across the country knew that Temperance was not a political issue, but rather it was a spiritual one.<sup>34</sup> Foster believed that the Republican Party was the party best suited to bring about prohibition.<sup>35</sup> She used the Republican political machine in the western territories to spread their message into smaller rural temperance-leaning towns. Her choice to claim temperance as a bipartisan effort was another political tool used to isolate the issue from party politics.<sup>36</sup>

Another example of Republican efforts to tie themselves to temperance appeared in the September 21, 1888, edition of the *Griggs Courier*. An anonymous prohibitionist wrote to the editor of the *Independent*. Saying that he could not vote Democrat or Republican because they do not represent his values.<sup>37</sup> The editor proceeded to address every concern of his, and either agree or dismisses his argument. This dialogue is structured to promote the Republican Party. The concerned temperance advocate presented the extremes of the temperance argument and demanded that they are met.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 117.

<sup>37</sup> *Griggs Courier*, September 21, 1888.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

The editor, much like Foster, then highlighted how the Republican Party could address these concerns, and how the Democratic Party was wholly unequipped to address temperance.<sup>39</sup>

The October 19, 1888 issue of the *Griggs Courier* showed what the Republican platforms looked like in North Dakota. The newspaper reported that the Watertown Republican convention in Griggs County adopted a prohibition stance in its platform where members stated, "That we endorse the platform of the Watertown convention especially its utterances on the temperance issue and we desire especially to put ourselves on record in favor of the strict enforcement of the temperance laws of this country."<sup>40</sup>

The Republican Party message in North Dakota was loud but was it heard? Some residents questioned whether government could regulate individual agency. Mr. Pinkham, a minister from Wahpeton, made this argument in a published sermon in the April 7, 1887, edition of *The Wahpeton Times*. He insisted that "No man was ever made better – No man was Christianized by law".<sup>41</sup> According to Pinkham, taking away the source of temptation would only weaken the soul to Satan's works. However, Pinkham claimed that true discipline is the most Christian way. It followed the "Narrow Path" hemmed in by temptation on the left and right. Pinkham argued that eliminating vices cuts our connection to a virtuous life.<sup>42</sup> He used this argument to discredit the WCTU perspective which sought to remove temptation entirely. Pinkham urged that the best approach to

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> *Griggs Courier*, October 19, 1888.

<sup>41</sup> *The Wahpeton Times*, April 07, 1887.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

saving a soul was to live a Christ-like life.<sup>43</sup> Completely removing temptation, or placing the burden on others, would not teach the lessons of temperance.<sup>44</sup>

David Bartlett, from Griggs County approached self-temperance from a different angle, arguing that teaching liquor moderation to society at a young age is the preferable route.<sup>45</sup> Mr. Bartlett addressed a temperance meeting in Cooperstown the previous Sunday and laid these claims out to the crowd.<sup>46</sup> He claimed that temperance groups should stop trying to create a society in their vision, and instead they should focus more on educating the youth. Temperance advocates should encourage community members to abstain from drinking through education, not through laws.<sup>47</sup>

This definition of temperance was a fundamentally different conception for national advocates. Pinkham and Bartlett, however, were in the minority. To temperance advocates, preventing liquor from corrupting society, was the central issue. This belief presents itself clearly in WCTU columns in the state. The October 27<sup>th</sup>, 1887 issue of *The Bottineau Pioneer* displays an example of why local governments should regulate the sale of liquor.<sup>48</sup> The writer argued that creating a society in which alcohol is illegal will dissuade the saloon keepers from selling liquor to unconfirmed drunks. They would not risk the punishment that came from a well-regulated society committed to ending the consumption of alcohol. Fearing the consequences of the state's retribution, the writer assumed, would be enough to stop any who wanted to drink.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> *Cooperstown Courier*, August 17, 1883.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> *The Bottineau Pioneer*, October 27, 1887.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

Local voices like Pinkham and Bartlett had claimed that the issues of drunkenness lay solely with the individual, and to curb it the individual must live a Christ-like life. They must live with temptation but resist it to strengthen themselves. The state WCTU letters approached the discussion differently. They viewed drunkenness as an institutional problem. Drinking had become such a pervasive element of contemporary culture that individuals could not escape the passive temptation surrounding them. The WCTU insisted that society must rid itself of liquor so that the citizenry could isolate itself from it, and this isolation was only achievable through prohibition. Discussions found in North Dakota territory mirrored those of Kansas.<sup>50</sup> Ultimately temperance in both states became a belief calling for the “abstaining from anything harmful, and moderating anything beneficial to the body.”<sup>51</sup>

Understanding the context of how temperance was defined in the state now allows a greater examination of what other arguments were used by oppositionist and prohibitionist sides in North Dakota. One of the main concerns over prohibition was the efficacy of the law and the feasibility of enforcing it. Oppositionists like reverend Chas MacLean, a minister in Pembina, argued that the law was fundamentally impractical to administer<sup>52</sup> He claimed that the codification of prohibition would only accomplish a disrespect of the law. Those who chose to drink would continue drinking. Once society ignores prohibition, then what will be ignored next?<sup>53</sup> MacLean argued that these prohibition laws would not save society, instead, they would cause it to deteriorate

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<sup>50</sup> Bader, *Prohibition in Kansas*, 9.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *The Pioneer Express*, June 15, 1888.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

further. Contemporary prohibition laws in Iowa and Maine as examples.<sup>54</sup> Quoting Governor Bodwell of Maine, “I am trying to enforce prohibition in Maine, but I find it the biggest job I ever undertook in my life.”<sup>55</sup>

Reverend Pinkham argued that the enforcement of prohibition was doomed to fail from the start.<sup>56</sup> He claimed that the current temperance organizations are movements that believed that they were on equal footing with the church and that they were an extension of the church's authority. Pinkham's rebuttal focuses on the folly of their self-importance, and reliance on the laws of man. He argued that we should fall onto the commandments of God instead, and that it was illogical to believe that a man is redeemed in God's eyes by the laws of man.<sup>57</sup>

Prohibitionists used core arguments from national sources to defend legalized prohibition. The following discussion highlights the differences in their perception of drunkenness. Legal action must be taken to prevent the corruption of individuals. The same published article from the WCTU in *The Bottineau Pioneer* showcased these national beliefs in combatting institutionalized drunkenness.<sup>58</sup> Coming from the WCTU column in the paper, the article argued that it is unreasonable to think that prohibition stops all sale of liquor. Citing Kansas, Maine, and Iowa, alcohol was still sold, bought, and drank even though it was illegal.<sup>59</sup> However, this information was not a surprise at all when one considers how drunkenness works and the fate of those who were afflicted with

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> *The Wahpeton Times*, April 07, 1887.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> *The Bottineau Pioneer*, October 27, 1887.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.



it. The writer argued that the Lord had given humanity ten laws to live a holy life and that these are the way to experience salvation.<sup>60</sup> However, defying these commandments was a sure way to promise a miserable life on earth and damnation in death. The writer continued by arguing “If individuals are willing to violate the laws of God, then they will not hesitate to break the laws of man.<sup>61</sup>” The article argued that when a man is committed to the drink he cannot be saved. Is it a surprise that a drunkard “whose stomach is scarred like a Virginian battlefield decides to continue to drink till they die?”<sup>62</sup> No, it was not a surprise that they continue to sin, it was merely an unfortunate truth. The writer continued to claim that any individual could argue for the adoption of Prohibition after accepting that even though people break laws, including God's, this failure does not mean that laws are inherently useless. In fact, society could recognize that there are individuals that just could not be saved by the works of man, and society could only hope God's salvation can save them.<sup>63</sup>

These arguments over legalizing prohibition highlight another concern; which group should have the authority to enforce it? Reverends MacLean and Pinkham had already shown that they believed in the power of the church, arguing that only the laws of God could enforce temperance.<sup>64</sup> However, G. B. Barnes, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Wahpeton, dismissed these claims and provided an alternative argument. The authority of prohibition should rest with the constituents of the state.<sup>65</sup> In a counter

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> *The pioneer Express*, June 15, 1888, *The Wahpeton Times*, April 07, 1887.

<sup>65</sup> *The Wahpeton Times*, May 12, 1887.

argument written in *The Wahpeton Times* addressed to Reverend Pinkham, Barnes accused him of not knowing who Pinkham represented.<sup>66</sup> Barnes claimed that the Episcopalians of North Dakota wanted prohibition, and they were misled by a preacher who was in the pockets of the liquor industry.<sup>67</sup> A populist approach to temperance was a widespread tactic in state prohibition campaigns. In Virginia in the 1870s, public outcry was a common tactic to make political change.<sup>68</sup> In this case, the populace clamored against the corrupting influence of local liquor retailers, and their impact on the local university population. Community members saved the learned men of the institution from being led away by liquor.<sup>69</sup> Barnes' argument possessed similar trappings to this Virginian example. He argued that Pinkham was willfully misrepresenting the Episcopalian community with his "sermons".<sup>70</sup> Barnes claimed that this community wanted an end to the destabilizing influence of liquor, and that they needed a new voice for their concerns. Barnes implicitly agreed to be this voice of concern for the community.<sup>71</sup> The argument about who has authority to demand prohibition was a common one that played out in many states. In Virginia, it led to public outcry and the adoption of the local option, or the county's ability to choose for itself whether it should go dry or not, in many counties.<sup>72</sup> Tennessee saw a similar approach to Virginia and

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Pearson and Hendricks, *Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia*, 167-169.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> *The Wahpeton Times*, May 12, 1887.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Pearson and Hendricks, *Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia*, 167-170.

many other southern states for local option and prohibition.<sup>73</sup> In Kansas, this populist authority brought about statewide prohibition in 1881.<sup>74</sup>

The prohibition debate focused around the social and economic spheres of daily life. As addressed already, many were concerned over how over what enforced prohibition could look like, and how it would affect daily life. However, other voices were concerned with how this would affect the economic sphere in North Dakota. Nationally, liquor taxes provided roughly one-third of the total revenue of the United States economy.<sup>75</sup> This amount allowed the country to rapidly expand before and after the Civil War.<sup>76</sup> Some concerned citizens felt that the elimination of liquor businesses would then decrease the territory's ability to trade and finance itself. A man named H. J. Ross expresses these concerns in a September 28, 1888 edition of *The Pioneer Express*.<sup>77</sup> He argues that prohibition is an unjust law that should not be enforced through any measure. The amount of money lost through this legislation would be enormous and could be used to significant effect. Ross' findings show that at 250 dollars for a license, each liquor establishment provides valuable income to the state.<sup>78</sup> In 1886, forty-two saloons applied for this licensure bringing in a little over ten thousand dollars. In 1888 however, the territory legislature priced this licensing process at one thousand dollars maximum and five hundred dollars minimum.<sup>79</sup> Forty saloons had registered bringing in twenty thousand dollars of revenue. Ross points out that this money is something that the

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<sup>73</sup> Isaac, *Prohibition and politics; turbulent decades in Tennessee, 1885-1920*, 74-80.

<sup>74</sup> Bader, *Prohibition in Kansas*, 56-60.

<sup>75</sup> Andersen, *The Politics of Prohibition*, 15.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>77</sup> *The pioneer Express*, September 28, 1888.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

territory cannot afford to lose, and further arguing that many will drink even if liquor is illegal so that there is no reason to eliminate this income.<sup>80</sup>

The economic practice of licensing liquor establishments was as old as the country itself.<sup>81</sup> This process was meant to generate revenue from a liquor establishment where it would force saloons, retail businesses, and any site that sold liquor to apply for a license so that they would be taxed.<sup>82</sup> This led to an initial revenue generation for the state whenever an establishment was founded, and then subsequent revenue from taxing the liquor sold. The process of asking for higher licensing fees was a common tactic used by prohibitionists. The higher the licensing cost, the higher the barrier to entry was for a new saloon to open. Then in the 1830s, prohibitionists used it as a method to limit the sale of alcohol.<sup>83</sup> Initially, licensing affected spirituous drinks like rum and whiskey, but in the 1840s licensing across many states began to include beer, cider, and wine as well.<sup>84</sup> This widened the ability of the state to tax more products served by businesses. All alcoholic drinks could now be taxed in a saloon, not just high alcohol percentage spirits like whiskey. The high licensing movement of the 1830s then led to a shift towards local option, which meant that counties could decide on whether they could sell liquor at all. This high licensing process played out in North Dakota through its newspapers. David Bartlett in the *Local Laconic* section of the *Cooperstown Courier* argued for greater licensing to curb the drinking problem in the territory.<sup>85</sup> He claimed that the only

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Bader, *Prohibition in Kansas*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> Pearson and Hendricks, *Liquor and Anti-Liquor in Virginia*, 12-13.

<sup>83</sup> Bader, *Prohibition in Kansas*, 13.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>85</sup> *Cooperstown Courier*, August 17, 1883.

practical way of limiting the sale of intoxicating liquids, other than through education, was to increase the barrier to entry by increasing the licensing fees, and taxes on liquor.<sup>86</sup>

High licensing was the preferred method for local oppositionists. However, national prohibition advocates refused to believe that this was a preferable alternative to prohibition. Instead, it should be a stepping stone to it. The WCTU article in *The Bottineau Pioneer* again provided a view into how this organization viewed high licensing. The writer admitted that high licensing fees were the most consistent method of achieving prohibition in a community, and it would dissuade those seeking rum.<sup>87</sup> The article presented statistics of annual money spent on liquor consumption in the United States and claimed, that “one thousand millions of dollars per annum for drink alone” was wasted. They cited Toledo, Ohio as a specific example of frivolous spending. The author argued that the city spent three million dollars on liquor every year. When their police, fire, health, and local departments only cost eighty thousand dollars.<sup>88</sup> The author asked, “Why then do people waste money on alcohol when spending it on critical public institutions is an alternative?”<sup>89</sup> Another example of anti-high licensing appeared in the *Cooperstown Courier* in 1883. An anonymous author named Charity argued that high licensing could be a viable path, but they could only be considered successful if it led to full prohibition.<sup>90</sup> This practice would then make liquor so expensive that most could not afford it.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> *The Bottineau Pioneer*, October 27, 1887.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> *Cooperstown Courier*, August 17, 1883.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

Oppositionists and national prohibitionists possessed a fundamentally different view of how temperance could be regulated and the high licensing debate represented this. Oppositionists saw high licensing as a method of limiting the pervasive temptation of liquor while still maintaining the economic institution of generating taxes from liquor. Prohibitionists saw this as an opportunity to reshape society into a better liquor-free form. By making liquor too expensive people would refuse to drink, and then society could simply rid itself of demon rum once and for all. The money used in support of institutionalized liquor could then be applied to social works. The two groups wanted to limit the sale of liquor, but their end goals were fundamentally different.

The efforts of national and local groups in North Dakota played out over this period and became more intense as the territory grew closer to the vote for statehood. The arguments shown above highlight a portion of the discourse found within the newspapers from 1885-1889. They expressed the two group's platforms, and they showcased to the reading public what prohibition meant. The elections of 1887 and 1889 highlight the effects and methods of temperance influence. The results provide potential evidence showcasing the efficacy of national prohibition literature.

The 1887 territorial election was a watershed moment for the Dakota Territory. This election saw two significant pieces of legislation appear on the ballot. The first called for separation of the territory into North and South Dakota and the adoption of prohibition through local option. The vote on local option was an early method to implement prohibition within the state. Rural counties felt that prohibition best represented their wishes. However, a vote on state-wide prohibition seemed unlikely to pass. Voting on local option meant that counties that wanted to become dry could do so

even if the rest of the state refused. This compromise allowed a de facto prohibition vote to commence even though it would not be applied state wide.<sup>92</sup>

*The Bismarck Weekly* showcased the election results from 1887. The vote showcased a growing desire for prohibition in North Dakota. The only counties that voted in favor of prohibition were a single block of mid-western counties. Lamoure, Eddy, Foster, Steele, Pembina, and Wells. The counties that voted against local option voted in favor of high licensing instead, opting to raise the fees of liquor instead of outright banning it.<sup>93</sup>

These results show where the major centers of influence for prohibition were in this election. Rural counties exhibited a desire for prohibition, despite the potential difficulties in policing it. Also, most printed opposition to prohibition came out of some of the mid-western counties in North Dakota territory. These results show the efforts of national prohibition leaders were far more effective than the local resistance. Members of the WCTU and Anti-Saloon movement managed to make their message heard, and the residents of these counties listened. However, this election also pinpoints where significant centers of opposition to prohibition existed. Every county that had a city center voted down the local option, as city centers sought to protect the saloon industry.

However, this voting record would change just two years later. The 1889 vote was the most influential one in North Dakota's history. This was the election that would determine if the territory would become a state and where prohibition would pass. The *Bismarck Weekly Tribune* provided coverage of election results over multiple weeks.

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<sup>92</sup> *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, July 15, 1887.

<sup>93</sup> *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, November 11, 1887.

Temperance advocates received bittersweet news on October 4, 1889. Early results of the elections were coming in, and they did not look good for the prohibition vote. As reported in the *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, Republican officials swept the state. Every county west of the Missouri River elected a Republican official, and only a handful of Democrats in the eastern part of the state gained seats. However, the vote for prohibition was likely to fail by under two thousand votes, greatly upsetting these advocates. These numbers can tell just how effective temperance work had been in the state. First, it is essential to examine the number of counties for and against the bill. Below is a table of incoming election results printed in *The Bismarck Weekly Tribune*.

<b>County</b>	<b>For Prohibition</b>	<b>Against Prohibition</b>
Stark	47	41
Dickey	500 vote majority	
Nelson	Small majority listed	
Hettinger	12	6
Ramsey	200 vote majority	
Eddy	Listed majority	
Cass		Strongly Opposed to Prohibition
Burleigh		517 majority for no
Stutsman		2 to 1 majority against
Morton		2 to 1 majority against
Grand Forks		Small majority

Chart 1<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, October 04, 1889.



The other counties of the state all voted either heavily against prohibition, or they managed small majorities. The areas of highest opposition to prohibition are the most populated counties in the state.<sup>95</sup> They showcased that the WCTU's arguments resonated with voters in rural areas, and urban voters were motivated by commercial reasons. *The Dickinson Press* provided a detailed vote count for the resolutions of Stark County just a day after the above votes were printed by *The Bismarck Weekly Tribune*. When looking purely at prohibition results, the totals were 293 votes against and 174 for the bill. The results in this county mirror the overall state quite well. The majority of "no" votes came from larger urban areas like Dickinson, Taylor, and Richardton. Although, even in these areas there was a strong prohibition presence. Compared with the 1887 results the temperance party improved significantly in just this county.<sup>96</sup>

If temperance advocates were disappointed on October 4th they were jubilant on October 18th. *The Bismarck Weekly Tribune* received the final tally for prohibition in the state. The bill carried by a vote of 18,547 supporting the law, and 17,425 rejecting it. Prohibition had won. Over the course of nearly a decade, temperance advocates rallied potential voters and managed to squeeze out a victory. However, even in this issue, there was contention with the vote and citizens either disappointed or concerned with the outcome. The article immediately preceding the results in this issue of *The Bismarck Weekly* was a piece done by the editor of the paper. In it, the editor derides the result stating, that "The Tribune believes it impractical and in a business way, will prove disastrous." Ultimately the editor argued that this is now the law of the land, and had to

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> *The Dickinson Press*, October 05, 1889.

be followed. A follow-up article relayed an exchange between a Mr. Goodkind, a wholesale liquor dealer, and Mr. Pollock, an influential attorney and prohibitionist from Fargo. The author of the piece summarized the telegrams the two sent out concerning the legality of the prohibition vote. Goodkind argued that prohibition could not be added to the constitution since it did not win by a large enough majority. Mr. Pollock showed that the vote only needed a majority of the total votes cast. Prohibition achieved this by over three hundred votes.<sup>97</sup>

An article in the *Grafton Advocate* from Walsh County expressed a more tempered opinion than the *Tribune's*. Printed in the same issues of the *Tribune*, The *Advocate* argued that this vote was a significant experiment for the state, and it had to be accepted. However, the writer framed it as an experiment in retrograde, that this process had been grafted onto the newly adopted state constitution and could not change for three years. In this time, prohibition supporters had every opportunity to apply the theory of temperance into a practice. However, the *Advocate* pointed out that issues concerning enforcement had already arisen. The Supreme Court had decided that it was unconstitutional for states to limit railroads from hauling intoxicating liquors across their boundaries. Already the liquor trade in the state could not be stopped. The newly illegal trade in liquor would stunt the growth of North Dakota cities. This decision would cause real estate to plummet, taxes in the state to dry up, and limit the growth of the business sector. The article from the *Advocate* ended with a quote from President Grover Cleveland "We are now confronted with a condition, not a theory, and we shall watch

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<sup>97</sup> *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, October 18, 1889.

with deep interest the workings of our new law, we hope to see the law strictly enforced."<sup>98</sup>

The passage of prohibition shocked many in the state. Forty-eight percent of North Dakota wanted to stay wet and were utterly opposed to prohibition, and the fifty-two percent that won rejoiced over the passage of landmark legislation. North Dakota had joined the states who had also adopted the "Kansas plan" of prohibition. The others are Iowa in 1882, Maine in 1884, Rhode Island in 1886, and now North and South Dakota in 1889.<sup>99</sup> The plan originated from the implementation of state prohibition in Kansas in 1881. However, winning the election was just the beginning. The real difficulty of prohibition would come in enforcing it, and keeping it as the law of the state.<sup>100</sup>

In North Dakota newspapers proved to be the primary vehicle for temperance. Newspapers gave Republican leaders a platform to convince voters of their commitment to temperance and showcased how they would accomplish it. They also gave a voice to those who opposed prohibition. Local leaders and concerned citizens from across the state used newspapers to amplify their voice so that their whole territory could hear them. Newspapers also worked as a medium for these actors to discuss and deliberate over the issues of temperance. Questions such as, how these terms are defined, how does religion relate to temperance and prohibition, and who has the authority to enforce temperance are all explored. North Dakota, a new state in 1889, became a place where the experiment of prohibition would have thirty plus years to prove its worth.

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Bader, *Prohibition in Kansas*, 109.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

CHAPTER 2:  
CONTINUING THE CRUSADE:  
THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION IN NORTH DAKOTA, 1880-  
1900

The most significant prohibition group in the Dakota Territory was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Growing out of the women's crusade of 1873-1874, the WCTU grew to become one of the largest women's organizations in the country. Quickly expanding into the Dakota Territory in the 1880s, the WCTU became one of the primary proponents of prohibition. Passionately arguing for the establishment of prohibition, the organization met success with the adoption of the 1889 prohibition clause in the state's constitution. The North Dakota WCTU then became committed to make prohibition a success in the newly organized state.<sup>1</sup>

A reaction to industrialization, urbanization, increased leisure time for middle-class white women, and recent education achievements for middle-class, mostly-white, women had helped create the WCTU in the mid-1870s. What made this group appealing to other women? Historian Ruth Bordin argues that the impressive breadth of the WCTU's goals was what attracted most of its members.<sup>2</sup> The WCTU was initially formed solely as a temperance-oriented organization, but it soon broadened its interests to suffrage, women's rights, and improved equality between the sexes, which in turn,

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<sup>1</sup> Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty 1873-1900*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press), 1990, 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, 13.

broadened its appeal to women.<sup>3</sup> This expansion of focus started shortly after Frances Willard was elected president of the WCTU.<sup>4</sup> She, and her colleagues, realized that to fix these issues the WCTU would have to influence legislation. The clearest way to do this would be through voting, and securing the right to vote for women became an important fight for the WCTU.<sup>5</sup>

The North Dakota WCTU was not that different from the national organization. Middle-class white women, who worked to influence legislation within the state, created an influential network of engaged women who fought for prohibition and women's rights. Like their counterparts across the nation, the North Dakota WCTU members had leisure time to pursue forming meetings and traveling to events. They had the education to create a successful social and political movement. Finally, they had the personal wealth and business acumen to create an organization that generated enough wealth to fund one of the most successful WCTU chapters in the country.

The first recorded meeting of the Dakota Women's Christian Temperance Union happened in 1877, and Ms. T. L. Riggs of Fort Sully led the meeting.<sup>6</sup> The early records of the Dakota WCTU are sparse, but they provide some context for the organization. In 1878 Ms. S. Sheldon of Yankton was elected superintendent of this early organization.<sup>7</sup> In 1882 in Canton, South Dakota members formed the Dakota Territory chapter with Miss Cynthia Cleveland as president.<sup>8</sup> The territory-wide organization sought to connect

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Emma L. Swartz *History of the Dakota WCTU Illustrated. 1900*, (Rapid City SD, Daily Journal Steam Printing House), 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Preston Anderson, *1889-1939 The Story of Fifty Years: North Dakota Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, (n. p. 1939), 1.

all the local organizations into one, unified effort. Local unions ranged from only a few members to hundreds. At chapter gatherings members would meet, distribute literature, pray, meet with local leaders, and discuss issues related to their region.<sup>9</sup>

Under the leadership of Dakota Territory president Mrs. E. J. Coggins, union incorporation continued from 1883 to 1885.<sup>10</sup> In her presidential address from the 1884 convention in Mitchell, South Dakota, Coggins sought to energize the members. She argued that “many of the women who came to the WCTU led timid lives, but now is not the time for timid women. It is now time for these ‘timid women’ to fight demon rum and dabble in politics to protect their home.”<sup>11</sup> Coggins’ address highlighted one of the most powerful effects of the WCTU’s influence in the territory. It provided women an outlet for political and social action that was normally not given to them. Coggins showed that it was possible, and encouraged, for women to go out and fight for their family. The years 1885-1889 saw the expansion of the Dakota WCTU within the territory.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>11</sup> 1884 minutes, 3-7.

<sup>12</sup> WCTU 1885 Minutes, 21

Chart II

Unions	73
Members	1,165 (plus 50 from the year before)
Youth WCTUs	5
Bands of Hope groups	23
Reading Rooms	8
Libraries	2
Letters Written	430
Letters Received	233
Papers and Leaflets	139
Furnished Unions	8
Papers Written	15
National Minutes Distributed	100
Territorial Minutes	168

In 1885 Mrs. Helen M. Barker was elected president of the Dakota WCTU and would continue to hold this position until the separation of the territory.<sup>13</sup> Barker was described as a woman of unusual organization and executive authority, and she was credited with organizing some of the first unions in North Dakota.<sup>14</sup> By 1886, the Dakota WCTU has grown to 127 unions.<sup>15</sup> Most unions were founded east of the Missouri River and in South Dakota, and only two unions were reported to have existed west of the river, Mandan, in North Dakota, and the African American Hills in South Dakota.<sup>16</sup> Barker addressed this rapid growth in the Dakota Territory in her presidential report and called for a North Dakota Representative to oversee the northern counties but no position was created.<sup>17</sup> Barker's enthusiasm for growing the organization was shown clearly in her

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 1.

<sup>15</sup> WCTU 1886 Minutes, 16-19

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 19

presidential address. She encouraged members to assist struggling unions, and to work even if nothing was accomplished. She argued that “even smelting gold produces waste, and so does the WCTU.”<sup>18</sup>

Expanding the Dakota WCTU was not the only goal of the early years. Temperance education and rallying the women who chose to join the WCTU were important elements of early presidential addresses. In her 1885 address, Barker and her superintendents lobbied for increasing temperance education in schools and homes across the territory.<sup>19</sup> The entire Thursday session of the 1885 convention was dedicated to temperance education.<sup>20</sup> Mrs. H. Murphy, superintendent of Sunday school work, presented her report on how teaching abstinence from liquor was beneficial towards students.<sup>21</sup> Mrs. D. W. Meyer, Superintendent of Scientific Instruction, urged the members of the conference to go out to the schools near their unions to observe them, and then urge the instructors to adopt appropriate curriculum.<sup>22</sup>

In her 1887 address, Barker likened the struggle of slavery in the Civil War to the fight for temperance.<sup>23</sup> She claimed that “while there are slaves being freed by the union, the rest of the country is enslaved by king liquor.”<sup>24</sup> She continued by saying that “just like the union, prohibition shall prevail. Even though it had lost near battles in Texas and Michigan, the United States is fighting against the tyranny of alcoholism.”<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 16.

<sup>19</sup> 1885 minutes, 10-17.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, 10-17.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>23</sup> 1887 minutes, 22-24

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 22-24.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 22-24.



The 1888 Dakota WCTU convention was a bitter sweet moment as members prepared to split the organization into two new state-based groups. In her 1888 presidential address, Barker recounted all the work they had accomplished. She argued that the WCTU is more important to the world than it had ever been before.<sup>26</sup> It provided women an opportunity to express themselves in their communities and gave them positions of authority from where they could speak against the corrupting influence of liquor.<sup>27</sup> Barker then argued that their training in organization and advocacy would serve them well once the territory voted to split.

In 1889 the WCTU had 3,094 members across 375 unions throughout the territory.<sup>28</sup> Barker commanded that every member should go out and fight for prohibition. Each union was sent an organizer who distributed literature related to temperance and why it was needed.<sup>29</sup> The 1889 election for statehood saw an increase in the WCTU's outreach efforts, but the organization had been incredibly successful at sending out its message through the 1885-1889 period. The table below shows the growth of the territorial WCTU.

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<sup>26</sup> 1888 minutes, 26-27.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 26-27.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 30.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 30.

Chart III

	1885 <sup>30</sup>	1886 <sup>31</sup>	1887 <sup>32</sup>	1888 <sup>33</sup>	1889 <sup>34</sup>
Unions	73	119	190	192	257
Unions in ND	N/A	1	12	42	N/A
Members	1,165 (plus 50 from the year before)	1109 (reported numbers)	1757	2505	3094
Youth WCTUs	5	4	6	8	20
Letters Written	430	475	855	1112	1550
Letters Received	233	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Postals	N/A	275	485	375	N/A
Addresses		113	137	154	165
Papers and Leaflets	139	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Papers Written	15	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Circulars	N/A	600	1000	N/A	3,200
Petitions	N/A	N/A	8500	N/A	1750

This data shows that the WCTU experienced extensive and consistent growth throughout the territorial years. It also shows that the organization was not an immediately recent political group entering the territory. The WCTU, since its informal beginning in 1878, was a long established political interest group that represented the

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<sup>30</sup> WCTU 1885 Minutes, 21

<sup>31</sup> WCTU 1886 Minutes, 26.

<sup>32</sup> WCTU 1887 Minutes, 33.

<sup>33</sup> WCTU 1888 Minutes, 42.

<sup>34</sup> WCTU 1889 Minutes, 30-42.

interests of a significant number of communities. However, the above data is not a complete set. While Barker was consistently the president of the organization the superintendents would change more regularly and the quality of their data along with them. For instance, the 1889 year is sparse since the secretary was sick for most of the year. Other years were dependent upon whether representatives of each union could travel or if they had sent in a letter updating the secretary. What this data ultimately shows is the growth of the WCTU in the territory. Even with inconsistent reporting and unions failing to report, the records document an organization with continued growth.

While the Dakota territory saw increased WCTU expansion over a decade, the data above shows that most it occurred in South Dakota. For the years that were reported, the WCTU only made significant strides into North Dakota from 1887 onward.<sup>35</sup> The unions that were formed in North Dakota were either in the southeast section of the state or in larger city centers like Bismarck or Casselton.<sup>36</sup>

In 1890 members officially created the North Dakota WCTU (NDWCTU) chapter. Adelaide M. Kinnear was elected the first president at the Jamestown convention, and she served in this capacity until 1893.<sup>37</sup> The 1890 convention was a celebratory event. Helen M. Barker and Susan B. Anthony were the honored guests, and Kinnear used this as an opportunity to establish what the immediate goals of the NDWCTU were. She wanted to improve the lives of women and North Dakota society.<sup>38</sup> The first three years saw the creation of the Florence Crittenden home in Fargo and the

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<sup>35</sup> WCTU 1887 Minutes, 33.

<sup>36</sup> WCTU 1884 Minutes, 20. WCTU 1886 Minutes, 27-40.

<sup>37</sup> Elizabeth Preston Anderson, *1889-1939 The Story of Fifty Years: North Dakota Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, (n. p. 1939), 2-3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 2-3.

rapid expansion of WCTU unions in the state.<sup>39</sup> In 1893 Elizabeth Preston Anderson was named president of the NDWCTU and became the longest lasting president in the organization's history.<sup>40</sup> In 1894 the NDWCTU covered most of the eastern state of North Dakota.

The following figures show the spread of the WCTU in six years. The counties in red represent a location with an official organized union. Figure one is the 1888 list of counties with unions in them. Roughly fifty unions existed in North Dakota this year.<sup>41</sup> Figure two showcases the WCTU presence in 1894.<sup>42</sup> By this year, the NDWCTU had roughly 111 active unions that were in regular contact with one another. The organizer's report showed that close to 1500 letters and circulars were sent out along with 115 public addresses given.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 2-3.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>41</sup> WCTU 1888 Minutes, 42.

<sup>42</sup> WCTU 1894 Minutes, 51.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 51.

Figure 1

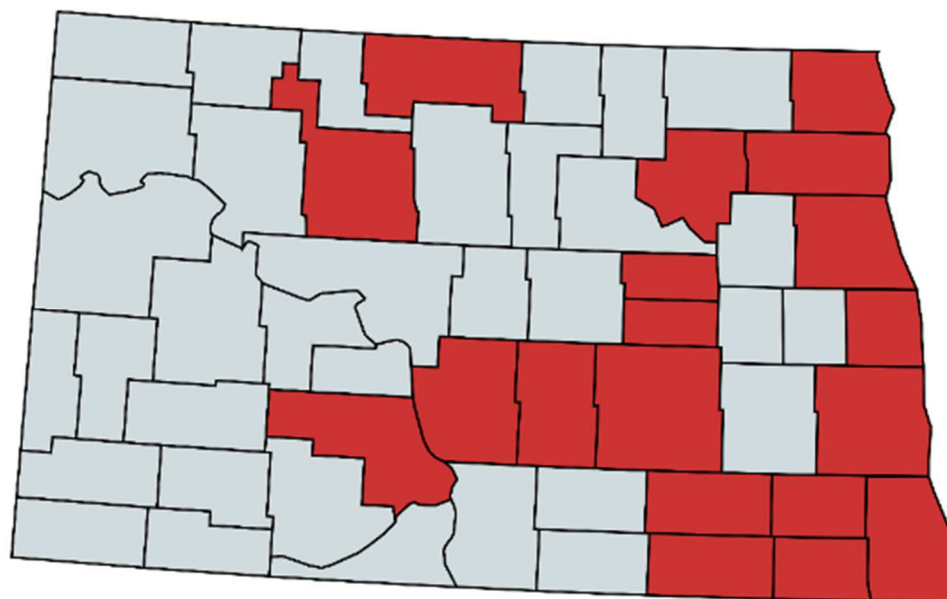
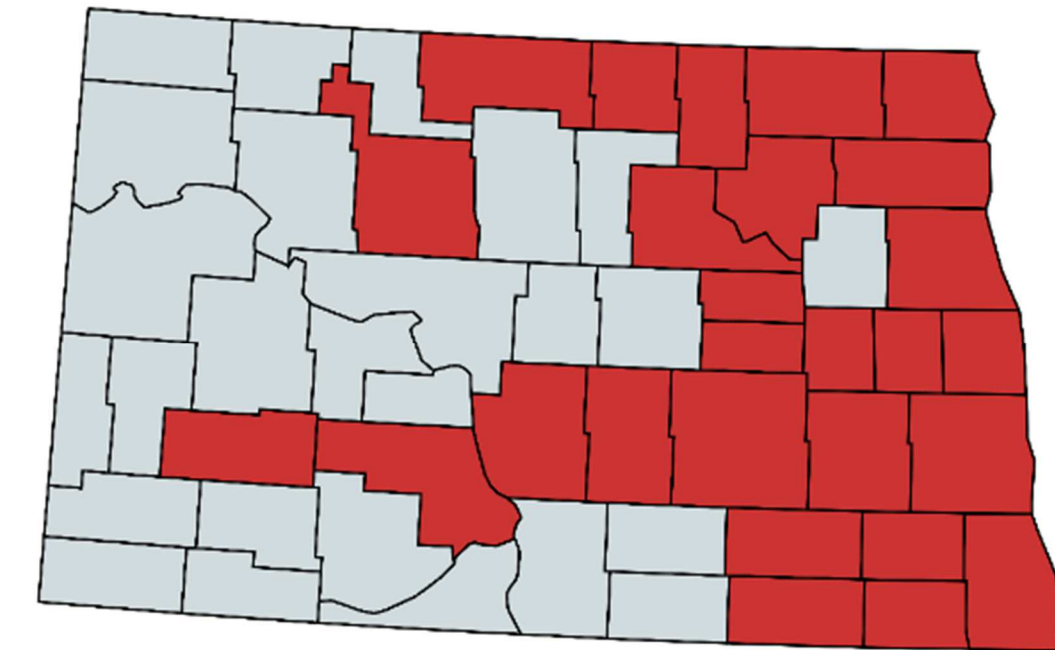


Figure 2



1894<sup>44</sup>

Elizabeth Preston Anderson started in the NDWCTU in 1890 when the chapter was officially created. She spent her first four years as the assistant organizer and evangelist.<sup>45</sup> When Adelaide Kinnear stepped down for health-related reasons Anderson was elected president in 1893, Anderson immediately wanted to bring her skills as an evangelist to the mission of the NDWCTU.<sup>46</sup> She believed that temperance could not be achieved purely with laws, instead the public needed to believe that it would work.<sup>47</sup> She

<sup>44</sup> WCTU 1888 Minutes, 42.

WCTU 1894 Minutes, 84-84.

<sup>45</sup> Elizabeth, Preston Anderson, "Under the Prairie Winds: An Autobiography", (n. p.) 98.

<sup>46</sup> Anderson, 98.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 98.

argued that the best way to accomplish this was to create a local union in every town and city in the state.<sup>48</sup> She insisted that adding more members to the NDWCTU was a top priority. In 1897 there were roughly 2,040 regular paying members, and one out of every seventy-six state residents had joined the organization.<sup>49</sup>

Anderson's NDWCTU had built an effective, and influential, base for prohibition promotion. As the number of unions expanded, the avenues for outreach expanded as well. Anderson's 1896 report at the Jamestown convention listed the areas where members should distribute literature and hold talks.<sup>50</sup> She argued that the best places to spread the WCTU message were everywhere, she mentioned public meetings, social events, churches, Sunday school, house to house visitation, personal calls, mother's meetings, freight train cabooses, in stores, giving to threshing crews, letters, mailing boxes in depots, hotels, barber shops, post offices, public places, friends, and related families. The goal was to get a widespread distribution across all mediums and to all potential readers.<sup>51</sup> This distribution infrastructure created an effective outlet for the WCTU to spread its message and its influence. To reach their audiences, members typically focused on literature and itinerant meetings.

Literature was one of the largest elements of the NDWCTU. In 1896 alone, the organization put considerable effort into its distribution methods. According to Anderson's presidential report for the convention, the organization was incredibly

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 98.

<sup>49</sup> WCTU 1897 minutes, 42.

<sup>50</sup> WCTU 1896 minutes, 74-75.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 74-75.

successful at moving pages. The table below showcases the number of letters and papers Anderson personally distributed.

Chart IV<sup>52</sup>

Letters and cards	1583
Circular letters	850
Leaflets and papers	8365
Union signal subs	453
Young crusader subs	116
Western womanhood	450
Money spent on literature	\$110.77
Total pages distributed	306,912
Total money spent	\$212.14

Providing written temperance materials was one of the most consistent methods for WCTU members to reach new audiences. As discussed in the previous chapter, one form of distribution was by sending in articles to local newspapers, which allowed smaller unions, or individuals, to engage with the community at large. This was an effective method for when the WCTU lacked a large distribution infrastructure. However, by 1896 the organization no longer relied solely on newspaper readers. The NDWCTU distributed copies of *The Union Signal*, *The White Ribbon Bulletin*, and *Western Womanhood* to members in North Dakota.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, 74-75.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 74-75.



*The Union Signal* was the WCTU's national periodical.<sup>54</sup> The paper started in 1882 when *Our Union* and *The Signal* merged into one publication, which served as the WCTU's official organ.<sup>55</sup> This act also moved the publishing of the journal to Chicago under the efforts of the Woman's Temperance Publishing Association (WTPA).<sup>56</sup> Its goal was to increase the subscriber list of the journal as quickly as possible. By 1885, *The Union Signal* had 13,000 subscribers throughout the country, and by the end of 1891 it had reached 85,000.<sup>57</sup> The North Dakota WCTU distributed this publication and used its contents and messages to further their mission.

*The White Ribbon Bulletin* was the official journal of the NDWCTU. It started in July of 1890 in Fargo.<sup>58</sup> The editor was Mrs. Anna S. Hill and the Business Manager was Mrs. H. L. Campbell. *The White Ribbon Bulletin* served two purposes. First, it served as a method to improve communications between unions. The bulletin provided overviews of reports, prohibition efforts, and policies that the NDWCTU supported. It also allowed local unions to submit their own articles.<sup>59</sup> Second, it acted as a local version of *The Union Signal*. The bulletin provided NDWCTU members a look into the operation of their community chapters of the WCTU and political developments related to women's issues in North Dakota.<sup>60</sup> This information provided many members with a platform that succinctly presented political talking points the WCTU favored along with supporting arguments. In the first issue, for instance, Alice Stone Blackwell presented twelve

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<sup>54</sup> Jane L. McKeever. "The Woman's Temperance Publishing Association." *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* 55, no. 4 (1985): 370. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4307894>.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 370.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 370-371.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 374

<sup>58</sup> *The White Ribbon Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1890.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

reasons in support of women's suffrage and its social importance.<sup>61</sup> In the same issue, another article explains the differences between sweet and hard cider, since the alcohol content in the latter was an important distinction for temperance women. The article argued that apples for hard cider were refuse not even fit for animals.<sup>62</sup>

The last journal highlighting the efforts of North Dakota Women was *Western Womanhood*. The journal started in July 1894 in Buffalo, North Dakota, and it billed itself as a magazine for women's interests. According to Anderson's report in 1896, the journal had sold roughly 450 copies throughout the state.<sup>63</sup> Initially, this periodical was aimed at promoting inclusive messages for all women across the state, and was an independent journal from the NDWCTU.<sup>64</sup> The editor states that "*Western Womanhood* has been established for the advancement of no single sect or faction of womankind, but for the advancement as a whole."<sup>65</sup> The journal focused more on women's issues in the state and country rather than solely about temperance.<sup>66</sup> In addition, *Western Womanhood* reviewed NDWCTU activities. Its regular column, called the "White Ribbonettes," presented NDWCTU related news to readers who may not have been involved with the group.

Temperance news was not limited to only the "White Ribbonettes" column. *Western Womanhood* published articles from leading North Dakota temperance women. In the August 1894 edition the journal published two articles supporting the NDWCTU.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> WCTU 1896 minutes, 64.

<sup>64</sup> *Western Womanhood*, Vol. 1, No.1, July 1894.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

Elizabeth Preston Anderson provided a history of the WCTU and its role in the Dakotas. Anderson used this article to acquaint readers with the National WCTU and the progressive social works they accomplished.<sup>67</sup> In the second article Mrs. H. L. Campbell discussed the benefits the Florence Crittendon house in Fargo provided.<sup>68</sup> This mission acted as a shelter for women who had been cast out of their homes and needed a place to stay. The WCTU offered them respite for their bodies and souls at the Florence Crittendon house.<sup>69</sup> Campbell asked for donations from the “white ribbon women of the state”, and it gave a history of the house along with its mission.<sup>70</sup> In the October 1894 edition, *Western Womanhood* officially partnered with the NDWCTU.<sup>71</sup> The two agreed upon adding a new three-page section dedicated to NDWCTU news.<sup>72</sup>

In November of the same year, the NDWCTU adopted *Western Womanhood* as an official organ of the organization.<sup>73</sup> This merger allowed the NDWCTU to provide information on their meetings while still providing lifestyle columns for women in the state. Anderson’s emphasis on spreading the message to all audiences through multiple mediums proved to be effective here.

These three journals highlighted the core of Anderson’s efforts to widely distribute WCTU news. *The Union Signal* provided readers with updates on WCTU efforts across the country and globe, and it provided the NDWCTU with an efficient way to receive reports from the national offices. *The White Ribbon Bulletin* provided a similar

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<sup>67</sup> *Western Womanhood*, Vol. 1, No. 2, August 1894.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Western Womanhood*, Vol. 1, No. 4, October 1894.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Western Womanhood*, Vol. 1, No. 4, November 1894.

effect as *The Union Signal* but on a local scale. It made communication more consistent, provided an easier way to engage with the legislative process, and it provided members with a means to engage with NDWCTU leaders. Finally, *Western Womanhood* allowed the NDWCTU to approach non-members in the state. It expanded their physical and ideological reach. A journal focused more on lifestyle would reach women who were not immediately interested in joining the NDWCTU. *Western Womanhood* was also the most affordable journal offered by the NDWCTU. *The White Ribbon Bulletin* was offered at 50 cents for an annual subscription, and *Western Womanhood* was priced at 25 cents a year.<sup>74</sup>

Itinerant meetings were an important strategy for WCTU efforts in North Dakota. Anderson spent her first twelve years in the field raising awareness of temperance issues.<sup>75</sup> Anderson used these meetings to meet with local WCTU unions, with community preachers, and talk with residents of the town. At such gatherings, Anderson could witness the influence of the WCTU and spread it further. One visit that stayed with her for the rest of her life was one in a rural church where she officiated a district convention. Anderson stayed with a family living in severe poverty, and the wife of the family was a dutiful member of the WCTU.<sup>76</sup> Anderson described how the house was empty of many creature comforts, the family had taken on raising children from family members, and the wife needed to help run the farm. However, even in this poverty, Anderson was impressed that this woman made sure she saved enough for a copy of *The*

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<sup>74</sup> *Western Womanhood*, Vol. 1, No.1, July 1894.

*The White Ribbon Bulletin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1890.

<sup>75</sup> Elizabeth, Preston Anderson, "Under the Prairie Winds: An Autobiography", (n. p.) 98.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, 99.

*Union Signal*.<sup>77</sup> Meetings like these not only improved the resolve of members, but of Anderson as well. She says that “Women like her, explain why North Dakota was able to keep the liquor business out of the prairie state for forty-seven years.”<sup>78</sup> However, these meetings were not all easy. Many “wets” attended her visits as well.<sup>79</sup> In one instance a drunken man came into the meeting and began to yell at Anderson. He demanded that she “shut up” and leave.<sup>80</sup> Anderson spoke to him and eventually the police removed him.<sup>81</sup> No matter how difficult travel became, Anderson still viewed this outreach as a necessary element of temperance work.<sup>82</sup>

Another goal of itinerant meetings was to provide outreach to immigrant communities. In 1889, before the territorial split, the WCTU reached out to local Russian communities in the territory.<sup>83</sup> These meetings showed that these communities were receptive to prohibition.<sup>84</sup> Mary A. Bennett presented her “work among foreigner’s report” to the 1898 convention in Park River.<sup>85</sup> She reached out to the Scandinavian population in eastern North Dakota. Anderson estimated that there were 90,000 Scandinavian immigrants living in the state, and she described them as the most progressive of the Europeans to move there.<sup>86</sup> Bennett travelled to their communities and

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid, 100.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, 100.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 100.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid, 101.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 101.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 101.

<sup>83</sup> WCTU 1889 minutes, 42.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 42.

<sup>85</sup> WCTU 1898 minutes, 97.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 54.

distributed over six hundred pages of leaflets and several handbooks discussing the benefits of temperance.<sup>87</sup>

Travelling across the state allowed NDWCTU leaders to meet with their constituents and new members. Engagement with members provided meaningful moments that reaffirmed the goals and desires of both parties. Anderson felt vindicated after seeing members engage with WCTU materials, and members were given another outlet to voice their concerns. These meetings also gave the NDWCTU another way to identify new members.

Through the combination of literature and itinerant meetings the NDWCTU rapidly expanded its reach after 1893. By 1898 the NDWCTU was an influential force within the state. The amount of literature and number of visits they provided had expanded to incredible numbers. The table below shows the 1898 report of NDWCTU work.

Chart V<sup>88</sup>

Members	2,768
Unions	151 <sup>89</sup>
Leaflets and papers	4,395
Total pages	206,988
Money spent on literature	\$174.64
Number of <i>Signals</i> taken	573
<i>White Ribbon Bulletins</i> taken	1,500
Addresses given by Anderson	126
Visits by other members	1,486

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>88</sup> WCTU 1899 minutes, 70-94.

<sup>89</sup> WCTU minutes 1894-1899.

At the 1898 convention Anderson argued that the pro-prohibition sentiment was the strongest it had ever been within the state.<sup>90</sup> But she reminded her members to be vigilant for anti-prohibition forces, and they should continue to reach out, organize, and recruit new members to the cause.<sup>91</sup> The NDWCTU had been so effective in fighting for prohibition that Governor Joseph M. Devine, in his 1899 farewell address, mentioned the WCTU and the efficacy of North Dakota prohibition.<sup>92</sup> Anderson relayed his remarks to the convention assembly in her president's address. Devine claimed that "prohibition may not be entirely effective, but it has been a positive change for the state. It has increased local commerce, taken revenue from the saloons, and improved the working environment of the farmer."<sup>93</sup> Anderson claimed that prohibition has been so effective that at least 20,000 young North Dakota boys have never even seen a saloon.<sup>94</sup>

The NDWCTU became an influential political force under Anderson's presidency. The organization took a greater role in affecting legislation related to prohibition and women's issues. In the 1895 minutes Anderson used her presidential address to highlight the effective changes brought about by the NDWCTU. This year saw a resubmission vote for the prohibition clause.<sup>95</sup> Since prohibition passed with a majority of 1159, many of the liquor interests in the state believed that it could be overturned if

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<sup>90</sup> WCTU 1899 minutes, 46.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid, 46.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 45.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 46.

<sup>95</sup> WCTU 1895 minutes, 42-43.

voted on again.<sup>96</sup> Resubmission meant that if enough state legislators agreed, a new state vote on prohibition would be required.<sup>97</sup> The state legislature voted on resubmission every year until 1899 when liquor interests gave up.<sup>98</sup> Anderson had a vested interest in these votes and would regularly attend them at the state capitol.<sup>99</sup> The 1895 resubmission vote was exceptionally close, and Anderson was there to assist the dry interests.<sup>100</sup> The North Dakota senate accepted the resubmission vote and sent the bill to the House. However, Anderson overheard that the state senators were lobbying the house members to vote for resubmission. She asked the speaker to postpone the vote, and after conferring with other dry leaders he did.<sup>101</sup> Anderson, along with Major Edwards, editor of the *Fargo Argus*, called attention to this illegal lobbying and house members defeated the resubmission bill.<sup>102</sup>

At the 1895 convention, Anderson took credit for multiple laws that passed during that year's general assembly. A bill was passed increasing the fine of public drunkenness from five to twenty-five dollars.<sup>103</sup> Another bill redefined alcoholic beverages. It stated that any drink with higher than two percent alcohol by volume would be considered alcoholic and illegal. It also prohibited the sale of drinks containing narcotics.<sup>104</sup> Another piece of legislation championed by the NDWCTU was the State Temperance Commissioner Bill. This sought to create the position of "State Temperance

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<sup>96</sup> Anderson, 102.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>98</sup> WCTU minutes 1899, 45.

<sup>99</sup> Anderson, 102.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid, 102-103.

<sup>103</sup> WCTU 1895 minutes, 43.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 43.



Commissioner” to enforce the prohibition clause of the state constitution and any related bills to the prohibition of liquor.<sup>105</sup> The bill made its way through both chambers, but Governor Roger Allin vetoed it. He argued that it was unfair to make tax payers pay for a new position in the state government when only a small majority wanted prohibition.<sup>106</sup> Anderson claimed that this argument was insufficient. She argued that prohibition was a unique type of law, and that sufficient enforcement of the bill must come from a proactive government. The state needed to create an official organ to uphold the prohibitory clause.<sup>107</sup> Anderson relayed the failed efforts to pass the State Temperance Commissioner Bill to NDWCTU members at the 1897 convention. She claimed that this failed effort was one of the largest challenges to true prohibition. This bill would have strengthened the enforcement of prohibition and ensured its success.<sup>108</sup>

Political work was a vital element of the NDWCTU. When candidates announced for state offices, the NDWCTU ensured that local women interviewed them to determine their positions on WCTU issues.<sup>109</sup> The WCTU members would report to Anderson the results of the interviews.<sup>110</sup> Once legislative sessions began, Anderson had a complete dossier on most state legislators, and used this information to win many hard-fought battles for the WCTU and temperance.<sup>111</sup> She was so effective in political maneuvering that Francis Willard wrote to her saying “I do not know of another state that has secured so many victories from a legislature in a single session.”<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> WCTU 1897 minutes, 38.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, 38-39.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid, 39.

<sup>109</sup> Anderson, 109.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid, 109.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, 109.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 109.

By the end of the nineteenth century the North Dakota WCTU was a powerful political and social force. The organization boasted well over two thousand members and almost two hundred unions across the state.<sup>113</sup> In every union each of those members spread the ideas of the WCTU to others in their families and communities. Their impressive distribution network ensured that literature would find its way into every family in North Dakota. They preached against the evils of liquor from 1889 to 1930 when national prohibition was repealed. The North Dakota WCTU was tireless in its mission, and took pride in its achievements. In 1917 Anderson received a letter from a prominent lawyer of Charlotte, North Carolina.<sup>114</sup> North Dakota had sent a regiment of volunteer soldiers to train at Camp Green to serve in World War One. The lawyer told her that the town was worried that soldiers from the “wild and wooly” west would descend upon their town. However, they were delighted that North Dakota soldiers made up 50 percent of the congregation at mass on Sunday.<sup>115</sup> He told her that “they have taken the town, and we have surrendered”.<sup>116</sup> If this anecdote is any indicator of the influence of the WCTU in North Dakota it shows how effective they were at creating social prohibition. By 1917, North Dakota was dry for almost thirty years. An entire generation of North Dakotans had grown up under prohibition and the influence of the WCTU. Anderson and the members of the WCTU had created an organization that was able to influence state policies and the beliefs of those who lived in North Dakota.

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<sup>113</sup> WCTU 1899 minutes, 70-94.

<sup>114</sup> Anderson, 111.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid, 111.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, 111.

In 1910 Judge Charles A. Pollock of Fargo North Dakota, known nationally as the father of North Dakota prohibition, published his *Manual of the Prohibition Law of North Dakota*.<sup>117</sup> In it he dedicated a paragraph to Elizabeth Preston Anderson and the NDWCTU. He said “An historical fact, however, should here be noted. The credit of the enactment and preservation of the constitutional and statutory provisions in their complete integrity, is due to the encouragement and sleepless energy and devotion of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union.”<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid, 122.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, 122.

## CHAPTER 3

### The Creation of Public Prohibition:

#### How the Prohibition Manual was built for Public Use

Enforcing prohibition was a significant hurdle for its continued success in North Dakota. The WCTU had focused more on selling the idea of prohibition, and explaining why prohibition would be beneficial. The WCTU rarely explained how prohibition worked, how it was created, and how the public could actively engage in the enforcement of prohibition, until the creation of the State Enforcement League and the publication of Charles A. Pollock's *Manual of the Prohibition Law of North Dakota* in 1910. The league and the manual were important tools to actively enforce prohibition in their state.

The prohibition law's creation was a multi-step process that incorporated political and social maneuvering. After the 1887 election, where local option was enacted in many counties, prohibition leaders began to draft a bill that could make prohibition work. Shortly after 1887, multiple counties started to hold temperance conventions, and they deliberated on how it should be implemented. Attendees also voiced their concerns on why they wanted prohibition. Many farmers were concerned with the "rainy day" problem. Their hired hands would spend all day at the tavern if it was rainy and would be gone the next day as well due to a hangover or other related issues.<sup>1</sup> These smaller conventions culminated in a larger convention in Grand Forks after the election. Members of this convention unanimously agreed that prohibition should be a part of the

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<sup>1</sup> Charles A., Pollock, *Manual of the Prohibition Law of N.D.*, 1910, 4.

North Dakota constitution, but they disagreed on how it should be added. Another significant development of this convention was the election of county representatives for the constitutional convention in 1889.<sup>2</sup>

The temperance convention members had major concerns over how to best implement legal prohibition. They debated over which two methods would be more effective: implementing the bill as a part of the original constitution or adding it as a separate amendment after the constitution was created. When the convention met, a temperance committee was created, and it formally drafted the prohibition amendment. Some delegates argued that the temperance people of the state wanted prohibition to be a full part of the constitution. Robert M. Pollock, a temperance committee member, responded to this claim saying, “if we do not have the majority of the people in favor of it, it will be useless.”<sup>3</sup> After deliberations, the temperance convention agreed that the bill should be added as a separate clause to the North Dakota Constitution. The temperance committee drafted a version of the clause, titled paragraph 217 or Article 20, that read:

“No Person, association or corporation shall within this state, manufacture for sale or gift, any intoxicating liquors, and no person, association, or corporation shall import any of the same for sale or gift, or keep or sell or offer the same for sale or gift, barter or trade as beverage. The legislative assembly shall by law prescribe regulations for the enforcement of the provisions of this article, and shall thereby provide suitable penalties for the violation thereof.”<sup>4</sup>

After this provision was drafted, the North Dakota Temperance Alliance, a group formed in Fargo to assist passing this bill, created a committee to graft prohibition onto the constitution. Charles A. Pollock, Robert M. Pollock, and George F. Goodman were

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 5.

selected to be on the committee. All three of these men were prominent lawyers in eastern North Dakota, and all three were ardent supporters of prohibition.<sup>5</sup> The greatest issue facing them was the origins of the bill's structure. The North Dakota prohibition clause was a carbon copy of the Kansas plan. North Dakota prohibition lawmakers changed virtually nothing of the language of the bill through which Kansas adopted prohibition in November of 1880.<sup>6</sup> By 1889 there had been multiple state court rulings in Kansas regarding how prohibition should be enforced. North Dakota prohibitionists changed the Kansas plan enough so that their law could be considered its own entity, and thus ensuring that Kansas' legal precedents would not apply.<sup>7</sup> In 1889, when the constitution was accepted, and public voted in prohibition, Governor John Miller approved the prohibition bill into the constitution.

The passage of the prohibition bill saw a severe split in support between the public and the North Dakota legislature. Though the vote for prohibition passed by only a few thousand votes, fifty-nine representatives voted yes, one voted no, and two were excused from voting. Senators voted in a similar fashion for prohibition. According to the *Senate Journal* for Wednesday, December 18, 1889, twenty-three senators voted in favor of the bill, and eight voted no.<sup>8</sup> Both chambers strongly favored prohibition, and many attended the local temperance conventions and were sympathetic to the prohibition cause.

Constitutionality of the prohibition bill especially the legality of inter-state shipping through a dry state, came under attack.<sup>9</sup> Foreign entities and other states found a

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Smith Bader. *Prohibition in Kansas: A History*. (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> Pollock, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 10.

loophole where they could still legally ship liquor to and from North Dakota. This completely undermined the efforts of state prohibition. In 1910, the issue was finally resolved. The US Congress passed a bill titled *The Miller-Humphreys-Knox Interstate Shipment Bill*. This bill severely limited the ability of companies to trade liquor. It gave more control to the states over their ability to fine agents of a shipping company selling liquor in a dry state. If an agent of a shipping company sold any spiritous, vinous, or malt product, if they did not mark the packages properly, or if they sold them to another person, they would be fined five thousand dollars or face two years in jail for a first offence.<sup>10</sup>

Passing the prohibition bill was not an effortless task for prohibitionists, but it was far simpler than getting the public's approval for it. In his *Manual of The Prohibition Law of North Dakota*, Charles A. Pollack adamantly encouraged readers to do their civic duty. He stressed that prohibition could only be fully enforced if the public would defend it.<sup>11</sup> As time went on, the reliance on the public proved to be a more effective tactic. However, the early years of prohibition were largely enforced by those who initially supported it. Charles A. Pollock was one of the leading defenders of legal prohibition.

Pollock was born in Essex, New York, in 1853.<sup>12</sup> He studied law, and in 1885 he became the district attorney of the Fargo district, and in 1896 he was elected judge of the third judicial district. He spent most of his political career fighting for prohibition.<sup>13</sup> Pollock's efforts to enforce prohibition focused on the legislative and judicial issues, but

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, 3-10.

<sup>12</sup> *Compendium of History and Biography of North Dakota*. Chicago: G.A.Ogle, 1900. 191.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 192.

he also believed that public participation in enforcing prohibition was key to keeping the cause alive. Working with the WCTU in 1895, Pollock organized a state meeting of temperance minded citizens of North Dakota. Pollock and the WCTU wanted to create an organization of volunteers that would assist in enforcing the prohibitory law, and this desire created the State Enforcement League. The only requirement to be a member of the league was to pay an admission fee of five dollars, and then promise to pay another five dollars for the next four years in dues.<sup>14</sup>

The State Enforcement League met with initial success. Members held their first convention in Grand Forks on March 24-25, 1896, and they presented their results for the first year they were active. According to the League's report, which was presented by Elizabeth Preston Anderson, "Evidence was found in 274 cases, injunctions were successfully served in 200 cases, thirty-five arrests were made, nineteen have been fined 200 dollars and ninety days in jail, two broke jail and left the state before trial, nine were discharged in district court."<sup>15</sup> The league also developed a reciprocal relationship with the WCTU. Anderson asked WCTU unions to each present three names of individuals who would be interested in joining the State Enforcement League. They would continue this practice until the end of prohibition nationally.<sup>16</sup>

One of the largest issues that faced the State Enforcement League was understanding the limits of its judicial influence. According to Pollock, "some have believed that it is an organization provided by the statute for the specific purpose of securing punishment. Such, however, is not the case." Pollock reminded everyone that

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<sup>14</sup> WCTU minutes, 1896. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 37-38.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, 37-38.



the State Enforcement League is a volunteer organization that exists solely to assist law enforcement.<sup>17</sup> Elizabeth Preston Anderson, in her 1898 presidential address, told the convention that the State Enforcement League operated outside of the law which allowed the league to investigate where law enforcement cannot.<sup>18</sup> She campaigned extensively for the temperance commissioner bill, which would create a government position to oversee enforcing prohibition, but when it failed she campaigned harder for more people to join the League.<sup>19</sup>

Pollock produced the *Manual of The Prohibition Law of North Dakota* as another means to engage the public. This book reviewed the history of prohibition in North Dakota and provided the laws in their proper legal language, along with summaries for clarification. The manual provided forms for volunteers of the State Enforcement League to use when lodging complaints and finding evidence. It also gave guidelines for how volunteers should act in their investigations. Pollock urged league volunteers and citizens to exercise their civic responsibility by reporting any crime that they see and thus assist law enforcement. He also urged them to actively vote in local elections. Pollock believed, like many other prohibitionists, that the most permanent and significant change would only happen with the election of temperance minded officials.<sup>20</sup> Pollock's easily accessible manual assisted the public in understanding how prohibition worked, and why the bill was so important. *Manual of The Prohibition Law of North Dakota* doubled as a

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<sup>17</sup> Pollock, 61.

<sup>18</sup> WCTU minutes, 1898. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 56.

<sup>20</sup> Pollock, 60.

rule book and a pro-prohibition pamphlet that sought to energize North Dakotans.

Appendix one highlights the effective presentation Pollock achieved in the manual.<sup>21</sup>

Pollock provided the relevant court cases, bills, and other laws that impacted the bill at the end of a section. Then when another section would start he would provide his own annotated summary of the bill. Since Pollock was an accomplished lawyer and public speaker, he had the ability to provide an easily understandable synopsis of each section. Another important element of the manual were the forms he included. These forms would provide League volunteers or temperance-minded citizens with the proper paperwork to ensure that their complaints would be adequate for the justice system. Appendix two provides an example of these.<sup>22</sup>

Forms like these could act as official government documents if the proper authority administered an oath. These forms created a guideline for state volunteers so that they could lodge proper complaints, giving citizens an opportunity to work with law enforcement and expediate prosecution of prohibition criminals.

However, the most important aspect of this book may be its emphasis on defining prohibition and what elements of it should be enforced. According to the prohibition law liquor is “any drink that produces any form of intoxicating affect.”<sup>23</sup> This section outlines all the popular forms of alcoholic beverages, but also other types of drinks. It makes special note to prohibit any drink containing coculus indicus, copperas, opium, cayenne pepper, picric acid, Indian hemp, strychnine, darnel seed, extract of logwood, or any

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid, 17.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 65.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, 26-27.

compounds of methyl alcohol.<sup>24</sup> This description provided an excellent working definition for volunteers or any other prohibitionist who wanted to combat liquor. However, it also served as a warning towards many pharmacy products at the time.

*The Manual of The Prohibition Law of North Dakota* succinctly identified different types of criminal offenders to prohibition including, Boot-leggers and Blind Pigs. Boot-leggers were itinerant liquor salesmen who moved throughout the state peddling their wares. Blind pigs, or common nuisances, were either liquor establishments or stills that produced alcohol and were perceived to be the bigger threat of the two. A blind pig could exist in any property ranging from a hotel to a tent on the prairie.<sup>25</sup> These operations were deemed such a threat because they supplied liquor to their communities. They were actively participating in undermining the community, as the prohibitionists believed. Pollock spent considerable time in his manual describing these places, and how best to approach them. An establishment can be a blind pig, he explained, if it answers any of these three stipulations. Firstly, if liquor is bartered or given away in any capacity it is a blind pig. Secondly, if individuals go to this place solely for drinking it is a blind pig. Thirdly, if intoxicating liquors are kept here for the purposes of selling, it meets the definition of a blind pig.<sup>26</sup> Definitions helped readers to readily identify an establishment when they encounter one. Even after this description Pollock displays what the process is for shutting down one of these establishments. However, he once again emphasizes public engagement towards enforcing prohibition. Pollock states that “the only remedy against a violator of section 9353 (the prohibition law) is by complaint in the justice

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 26-27.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 62.

court.”<sup>27</sup> To shut down a blind pig or boot-legger, in other words, the individual must act. The prohibition law even included clauses that encouraged citizens to provide information to the police. These operations could be shut down either through a civil action brought against the proprietor, or their complaint alone could lead to a criminal case.<sup>28</sup> Emphasizing the citizen’s role in enforcing prohibition is one of the most important messages created by temperance advocates. Pollock’s *Manual of The Prohibition Law of North Dakota* gave the public a tool to know what prohibition is, how it is enforced, and what they can do.

The most infamous type of blind pig was the club house. The club house operated as a business that was catered to men for recreation. Often, they would house pool tables and other games. However, many would “gift” alcohol to their patrons.<sup>29</sup> Prior to 1920, it was very difficult for these organizations to exist. Law enforcement would receive a tip and shut the business down since this activity created a common nuisance. However, in 1920, the legislature severely gutted the prohibition. Originally, this law ensured that the Attorney General could send officers in to inspect these halls for alcohol. The special legislative session in June, of that year, shifted this responsibility to the state sheriff, a position that did not exist.<sup>30</sup> Anderson and Pollock were dismayed and viewed this legislative loophole as a severe blow to prohibition in North Dakota. The WCTU and State Enforcement League wanted to reinstate the original laws but found the process difficult. The difficulties in enforcing prohibition would intensify after 1920.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, 62.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 64.

<sup>30</sup> WCTU 1920 minutes, 22.

Prior to national prohibition, punishment for breaking prohibition laws was rather consistent in North Dakota. For example, the punishment given to the proprietor of a club house prior to 1920, the fine for a first offence was no less than three hundred dollars and no more than one thousand dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail for no less than ninety days and no more than one year.<sup>31</sup> However, once national prohibition was enacted it subverted the ability of the State to prosecute prohibition crimes. Now that prohibition was a federal crime, many lawbreakers were tried under federal authority rather than the state's. According to Anderson in her 1923 presidential address, lawbreakers were now encouraged by lighter sentencing.<sup>32</sup> The above crime's minimum state penalty was three hundred dollars and ninety days in jail. There was no set minimum sentence for federal prohibition crimes.<sup>33</sup> This lack of sentencing guidelines meant that it was possible that those convicted of a crime related to prohibition would not receive any fees.

Federal prohibition was a double edge sword for prohibitionists in North Dakota. Temperance leaders believed that to bring about prohibition it needed to start locally and expand to the national level. In 1920 this happened, but the federal laws made enforcing local ones much more difficult. Anderson even argued that some law enforcement members were choosing to ignore club houses. She claimed that some officers did not believe in the anti-cigarette bill passed in 1895 and refused to close clubhouses.<sup>34</sup> Clubhouses had become safe havens for drinking and smoking in cities and towns. One of the solutions to issue was a revoking of their licenses. Anderson believed that if state

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<sup>31</sup> Pollock, 47-48.

<sup>32</sup> WCTU 1923 minutes, 25.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 25.

congressmen chose to do nothing about clubhouses, then the city councils should revoke the business licenses for clubhouses.<sup>35</sup>

Some advancements for prohibitionists came in the early 1920s. In 1923 the state passed its first drunk driving law, which came with, a fine of 25-100 dollars and no more than a year in jail. On repeat offenses, the driver would lose driving privileges for up to two years. Prohibitionists also amended their definition of intoxicating beverages to include peyote, an intoxicating drink made by Native Americans.<sup>36</sup> However, the most significant change came in 1907 with a new amendment to the prohibition clause. House Bill number 190, titled *Seizure of Intoxicating Liquors*, allowed police offices to seize and search for liquor without a search warrant. An officer, under reasonable suspicion that liquor was there, could search a premise. If they found any liquor they could seize it and send an invoice to the owner of the liquor.<sup>37</sup>

The suspension of search warrants in liquor-related cases highlighted a sharp change in prohibitionists. Many leaders began to advocate for more strict punishments to curb the renewed tide of lawbreakers. For instance, Anderson wanted to abolish the federal no minimum sentencing. She believed that simply setting every punishment to the maximum would deter people from breaking the law. She believed that proper enforcement came from a full punishment, jail time and fees commensurate with the crime should be standard.<sup>38</sup> The failure of state officials to effectively police prohibition infuriated Anderson. She gave the example of Judge Cole in Fargo. This Judge suspended

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 25.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 28-29.

<sup>37</sup> Pollock, 57.

<sup>38</sup> WCTU 1924 minutes, 26.

the jail and fee sentence for the same man, convicted of prohibition violations, four times in a row over a two-year period. This same judge suspended the jail sentencing in 85% of liquor cases. She argued that there are many who claim that prohibition is a failure. She cited anecdotal tales of high school boys carrying flasks, businessmen with bags of liquor.<sup>39</sup> Although some federal officials were adamant in enforcing prohibition as a federal crime. Some like The Federal Enforcement Office Director, Arthur A. Stone, used the state courts to enforce liquor prohibitions more stringently.<sup>40</sup> At the end of 1923: 725 violators of prohibition were arrested, of these 476 were convicted, 29 acquitted, 80 dismissed, 137 pending by the end of the year, Total fines and costs assessed against violators: \$95,318.29, and \$12,931.35 were collected.<sup>41</sup> This shows that prohibition was still being enforced, but it was not as effective as it was a decade earlier.

However, not all prohibitionists believed that prohibition was in decline, or at least not in North Dakota. Reverend F. L. Watkins, the superintendent of the State Enforcement League, was proud of the efforts of North Dakota's Prohibition law. In an article in the *Bismarck Tribune*, Watkins argues that prohibition had never been more effective. In fact, he claimed that by 1921 the number of stills in the state were at their lowest.<sup>42</sup> He offered remarks on whether federal prohibition was inhibiting North Dakota by saying "the howl about the infraction of personal liberty indicates that the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment is becoming effective."<sup>43</sup> However, Watkins also believed that stronger

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 27-31.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>42</sup> "Liquor Traffic Dealt Heavy Blows in North Dakota", *Watkins Assesses, The Bismarck Tribune*, May 25, 1922, Image 1

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

punishment was the best option. In a 1921 article in the *Bismarck Tribune*, Watkins emphasized the need to punish prohibition.<sup>44</sup>

However, anti-prohibition sentiments were rising after 1920. According to Anderson in her 1923 presidential address, there were thirty-five recorded groups in North Dakota that opposed prohibition.<sup>45</sup> The most prominent of the groups was “The Association Against the Prohibition Amendment” (AAPA). The association was a national organization who focused on repealing the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment. One of its main goals was to change the current definition of what constitutes an intoxicating liquor. In an Article in the *Bismarck Tribune*, the AAPA wanted to increase the alcohol by volume percentage (ABV) in light wines to twenty from twelve, and to four from one in light beer.<sup>46</sup> The AAPA also argued that it is the right of the working class to enjoy a beer and light wine. They believed that this was a right taken from them, and that prohibition only helped the liquor industries and boot-leggers. The AAPA’s reason for ending prohibition was to protect the working class and their rights.<sup>47</sup> The AAPA and prohibitionists were adamantly opposed, but their methods were similar. The AAPA, and other groups, believed in fighting for the working class and protecting. The AAPA believed that corporate interests were taking advantage of them, but the prohibitionists believed that the intoxicating influence of alcohol was the most significant detriment on the poor. Another difference between them is when and how they achieved their goals. Prohibitionists fought state by state to achieve national prohibition over a fifty-year

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<sup>44</sup> *Watkins Acts to Stop Flow of US Liquor, Bismarck Tribune*, September 21, 1921, Image 3.

<sup>45</sup> WCTU 1923 minutes, 1923.

<sup>46</sup> *The Bismarck Tribune*, November 21, 1922, Image 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Grand Forks Herald*, May 04, 1922, Image 6.



period. In just thirteen years, groups like the AAPA would see the end of prohibition in 1933.

Enforcing prohibition in North Dakota required active participation from the public. The legislative process only acted as the framework for prohibition. The State Enforcement League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union gave an avenue for citizens to engage with the prohibitory law. Pollock gave them a means to interact with the state government and allowed temperance-minded individuals to actively support prohibition. Ultimately, these methods proved to be effective when North Dakota had prohibition before national prohibition was active. After some time, North Dakotans began to support the bill. The early effectiveness of the State Enforcement League showed how well volunteers can act. This effectiveness also shows itself during the ratification of the twenty-first amendment. North Dakota was a part of a small group of states who did not vote to approve the amendment.<sup>48</sup> North Dakota prohibition had deep roots some forty years later after its implementation.

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<sup>48</sup> Brown, Everett Somerville. *Ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: State Convention Records and Laws*. Clark, NJ: Lawbook Exchange, 2003.

CHAPTER 4:  
FRONTIERISM:  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROHIBITION'S COLLECTIVE MEMORY

North Dakota prohibition is a defining moment for the state's history. This period saw the creation of a new social and legal political ideology. If a success story for prohibition exists, North Dakota would be a strong candidate for it. Yet, more historic research on North Dakota prohibition is needed. Academics have lacked interest in North Dakota's prohibition story. Nor do local museums and historic sites in North Dakota show interest in the topic.

In his article "Beyond the Last Frontier: Toward a New Approach to Western American History", Michael P. Malone argued that western history has seen a revival in historical research. However, judging from John Lauck's recent book, the region still maintains a stigma that it is nothing more than a collection of facts and trivia.<sup>1</sup> In *The Lost Region: Toward a Revival in Midwestern History*, the west is not a meaningless swath of prairie and hills. Instead, it is a significant element of US history. It has been an area of exceptional economic, industrial, and social experimentation for the country.<sup>2</sup>

North Dakota Prohibition is one of these experiments. It is a moment in western history that is diverse enough to warrant its own research. However, to fully understand prohibition it cannot be viewed as a regional history. It is intertwined with temperance

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<sup>1</sup> Malone, 409.

<sup>2</sup> Jon Lauck. *The Lost Region toward a Revival of Midwestern History*. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2013).

groups in Chicago, New York, Indianapolis, and states in the west. Prohibition is not the only area of western history that this can be applied to. In North Dakota for instance, studying the history of the territory's creation requires a study of the Dakota-Indian War and the Civil War, studying the development of the railroads requires an examination of railroad development in the US and the western world, and the study of settlement in North Dakota requires insight into emerging agro-industrial practices during the turn of the nineteenth century. Counteracting western exceptionalism requires more than adopting new social history to the study of the west. It requires a reexamination of what regionality means, and how the west interconnects with the country.

The other reason North Dakota prohibition has not been discussed is its disappearance from the public's collective memory. However, it is important to address how public memory forms. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* by George Lipsitz addresses some of the ways public memory is created. Lipsitz lists forms of popular media, like music, film, television, and documentaries, as active devices of memory creation.<sup>3</sup> Using prohibition as an example, the wealth of cultural material often creates a sense of popular historical memory that the public holds onto. Films and television series like *The Untouchables* or HBO's *Boardwalk Empire* create a romanticized and popularized form of prohibition that is accessible and endearing to the population at large. This process of historical memory making is particularly effective for communities that did not live through the specific event. For communities that did, David Lowenthal addresses in his book *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the*

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<sup>3</sup> George Lipsitz. *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture*. (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2006).

*Spoils of History*. This book, written in 1997, addresses the relationship between “heritage” and “history”. Lowenthal describes heritage as the public’s remembrance and consciousness of the historic past. Whereas history is defined as the academic research and interpretation of the past. Lowenthal argues that the contention between the two lay in their methods. Heritage often cites itself as history and is equivalent to researched history. Historians however, often view heritage as nationalistic, problematic, exaggerated, chauvinistic, or racist.<sup>4</sup>

The contention between heritage and history can be seen in popular representations of the west. Malone argues that “a major part of the region's shared cultural heritage lies in the drama and recency of the frontier's passing”.<sup>5</sup> The “loss of the frontier” can be seen in many of the historic sites, parks, and museums that exist across the west. Americans have a fascination with the frontier, and they have exhibited this in many elements of their historic representation of the past. Using Lipsitz’s model, the west is romanticized heavily in all forms of popular media. The mythmaking of Teddy Roosevelt and Lewis and Clark are an example of frontier mythmaking in North Dakota.

Michael Frisch’s article *American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography* explores the relationship between public memory and historical mythmaking. His data represents college-aged survey level history students, but his work highlights larger public trends. Fischer argues that many students come into a class with a heavily entrenched bedrock of popular historical interpretations, which makes them resistant to accepting different historical

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<sup>4</sup> David Lowenthal. *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. (London: Free Press, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Malone, 419.

interpretations. Often, public historians make the mistake of trying to use this bedrock to teach history. Frisch argues that public historians should instead use this established interpretation as a teaching tool. It is better to understand how the public views history, and then to use it to add layers of complexity to their perception.<sup>6</sup> A good example of what this means for prohibition and public memory comes from a 2014 exhibit at the Hjemkomst Center in Moorhead, Minnesota titled *Wet and Dry*.<sup>7</sup> The local documentary *Wet vs. Dry* used the same methods. They approached local history through entrenched national prohibition history but used it as a contextual element for local prohibition studies.<sup>8</sup> Frisch also warns that an authoritative approach is folly as well. He argues that a “quick and violent burst of history is often followed by a quick retreat back into previous habits”.

This thesis on North Dakota Prohibition works against the frontier narrative of most North Dakota history. Even though North Dakota was a heavily rural state, pocketed with small urban centers, it was still directly connected to national interests, like the railroads or bonanza farming, that had a stake in how the state formed. As a public historian, it is important to recognize the significance of public memory and academic history. Both are constructions of their time, and both often change in interpretation. When the public engages with history they should become aware of their own biases, and they should become aware of the methodological tools of historians. The public should not only be taught what happened during a historical event, but also how to interpret it.

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<sup>6</sup> Michael Frisch. "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (1989).

<sup>7</sup> For more information on this exhibit see: <http://www.wday.com/video/BaPUgdlu>.

<sup>8</sup> Kim Stenehjem, *Wet vs. Dry*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ih20EqAlDY8>, edited by Anderson, Ann Hall. 2017.

The methodology of public history encourages this. Through continued interaction with community groups, public history transmits its methodology to the public. In David Glassberg's article *Public History and the Study of Memory*, he provides an overview of what public memory means for public historical efforts. When working with communities it is important to understand and incorporate what their interpretation is. The active historical memory of a community can tell as much about their history as archival documents.<sup>9</sup> One of the greatest benefits of the social history movement and the Post-Modern approaches in history has been the reformed view of primary sources and historical interpretation. The historian's sources are more varied now than they were one hundred years ago, and our understanding of shifting perceptions are varied now as well. This is vital to public history work. The field inherently relies upon working with communities and their shared history. North Dakota prohibition requires this type of primary research. Local newspapers, bulletins, and first-hand accounts all provide another layer of interpretation of prohibition. They highlight what it meant for their communities, and what they had hoped to achieve from it. Their reports add another layer to prohibition studies.

Expanding North Dakota prohibition can occur through academic or public paths. Academically the solution is relatively simple to conceive but difficult to act upon. More historians should be encouraged to study the west and prohibition. Nationally, prohibition studies are expanding quickly, but the west still suffers from a lack of interest. To address this, western historians need to reenergize the field and develop more interest. This thesis

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<sup>9</sup> David Glassberg. "Public History and the Study of Memory." *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (1996): 7-23.

however, is focused more on engaging the public. As has been shown, there have been recent North Dakota prohibition exhibits created. A common theme among them is how the information is presented. The popular national prohibition narrative focuses on a romanticized interpretation of gangsters and law enforcement. Local prohibition narratives should use this historical bedrock the public has. Local historical sites and museums should create exhibits that highlight how prohibition affected their town in North Dakota. Modern technology has made research easier and more accessible. Local museums could use newspaper articles to exhibit local arrests, or how did some community members subvert prohibition laws. If they can find a few local individuals to present, local exhibitions can tap into the mythmaking narrative process that already exists. Once in place, the complexities of prohibition studies can be explored by the public.

Western exceptionalism and the frontier narrative will be here for some time. Even the motto for North Dakota tourism is “*Legendary*” which is meant to evoke the mythmaking of these individuals.<sup>10</sup> North Dakota prohibition cannot exist within the frontier narrative. In fact, the development of North Dakota prohibition, and statehood, is defined by its reliance on outside forces. The drive for prohibition came into the state from outside parties. News of the women’s crusade made its way to the women of the Dakota Territory and encouraged their mobilization against liquor. Statesmen and settlers from the northeast brought their conviction for prohibition as well. Charles A. Pollock, the father of the North Dakota prohibition bill, came from rural New York where

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.ndtourism.com/articles/delve-north-dakota-history-culture>.

temperance groups had moved into. The republican party, and its politics, took root during this period and convinced even more citizens of prohibition's merits. All these factors directly fight against the narrative of "frontier life" and western exceptionalism. North Dakota did not develop within a vacuum. Instead it grew during an age of mass media. Temperance groups from across the country used a system of meetings, pamphlets, newsletters, articles, and speeches to fight for prohibition in the state. North Dakota was developed by a network of social, economic, and political influences. Prohibition is a culmination of these efforts, and it displays the interconnectedness of North Dakota's past with the rest of the country.



## APPENDIX 1

## MANUAL OF THE PROHIBITION LAW OF N. D.

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It is for the jury to determine in a prosecution against a pharmacist for illegal sales, whether from the frequency of sales to the same persons and from the appearance of the persons to whom the sales were made, and from the fact as to whether the sales were with or without a prescription of a physician, it appears the sales were or were not for the actual necessities of medicine.

State v. Huff, 76 Iowa 200, 40 N. W. 720.

Although prior to the passage of the so-called Wilson Bill, authorizing the regulation by the states of intoxicating liquors shipped from one state into another, the statutory provisions for seizure of liquor were unconstitutional as to liquors shipped from one state into another, yet an officer acting in good faith under such statutes was not liable for such act.

Anheuser-Busch Brewing Ass'n. v. Hammond, 93 Iowa 520, 61 N. W. 1052.

1. A person who receives money from another with a request to procure whiskey therewith, and who shortly afterwards delivers it, may be treated as the seller if no other person filling that character appears, and it is not shown where, how, or from whom he purchased the whiskey.

2. The jury may be instructed to the effect that if the defendant acts for himself in selling whiskey or as the agent of the owner in furnishing the same to the persons paying for it, the jury may properly find that the transaction was a sale.

3. Even though a person acts as a messenger or agent for the buyer and receives payment for the liquor, no other person in the transaction being known to the buyer, it would constitute a violation of law, irrespective of whether the liquor belonged to himself or another.

4. In order that one who acts as middleman in an illegal sale of intoxicating liquors may be free from criminal responsibility, he must act solely as the agent of the buyer, as he will be guilty if he induces the transaction, acts as agent of both parties, or receives a profit from the transaction. (64 S. E. 1101.)

5. If the means by which the defendant procured the liquor was a device, trick or subterfuge resorted to by the owner of the liquor to evade the law, and the defendant with knowledge thereof assisted in furnishing the liquor, he should be found guilty. (64 S. W. 435.)

6. Where it appears that the witness left a half dollar on the defendant's table, and a short time later received a pint of whiskey—the defendant testifying that he induced a third person, who was not produced as a witness, to bring it for the benefit of the purchaser, the jury might convict him of a violation of law, although they could acquit him if they believed his story. (72 S. W. 182.)

7. One who purchases liquor for another, keeping it at his place of business for the latter's accommodation, will be guilty of an illegal sale as a clear intent to evade the law is shown. (43 S. W. 331.)

8. Whether one acts as agent, or whether the claim of agency is merely a device to make it appear that he was acting for another in the sale of intoxicating liquor, are both questions of fact to be determined by the jury. (64 S. W. 657.)

9. If the jury is convinced that the defendant's story of the agency is merely a sham or subterfuge to conceal an unlawful sale by himself, they may convict. (42 S. E. 776; 56 S. E. 404.)

10. As to the effect of participating in the purchase and division of a quantity of liquor to render one guilty of an unlawful sale, see the case note to Strong v. State, 22 L. R. A. N. S. 560.

All the foregoing ten paragraphs are found in a note to Reed v. the State of Oklahoma, 24 L. R. A. N. S. 268.

Sales are consummated and executed upon delivery and transfer of title. Hence, where liquor is sold to be delivered f. o. b. the cars at a certain place, it becomes the property of the purchaser when it is delivered at such place to the carrier, who for the purposes of delivering represents the purchaser.

Bollinger v. Wilson, (Minn.) 77 Am. St. Rep. 643.

**Section No. 9354. Druggists's Permit, How Obtained.** It shall be unlawful for any person or persons to sell or barter, for medical, scientific, sacramental or mechanical purposes, any malt, vinous, spirituous, fermented or other intoxicating liquors, without first having procured a druggist's permit therefor from the district judge of the judicial district wherein such druggist may be doing business at the time; and such district judge is hereby authorized in his discretion to grant a druggist permit for a period of one year, to any person of good moral character who is a registered pharmacist under the laws of this state, and lawfully and in good faith engaged, personally and individually, in the

APPENDIX 2

The state's attorney will usually act upon being informed of violations of law, but should he refuse, without cause, then the citizen can act under the provisions of Section 9368, beginning at about the last third of the Section, at the words, "Provided further that when the state's attorney has been notified in writing under oath," etc. The notice should be in substance as follows:

....., North Dakota,
....., 19....
To .....
State's Attorney of
.....County, North Dakota.

My Dear Sir:—
You are hereby notified that one (Here insert the name of the violator of law) is believed to be violating the Prohibitory Law of North Dakota at the (Here insert the city, village or township, giving lot and block if possible); and that the facts concerning the same can be proven by the following named persons: (Here insert the names of the witnesses, and the facts in your possession.)
Yours respectfully,

STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, )
) ss.
County of..... )
(Insert name or names of party signing above notice)..... being
first duly sworn, do upon oath depose and say that I have read the foregoing notice, which was signed by me, and know the contents thereof, that the same is true to my best knowledge, information and belief.
Subscribed and sworn to before me this ..... day of.....
19.....

Notary Public.
My Commission Expires.....
(This oath can be administered by any officer empowered by law to administer an oath and can be signed and verified by one or more persons.)
Always execute the above notice in duplicate; serve one and retain the other. If the state's attorney shall fail, neglect or refuse to make an investigation, then the party signing the above notice can make another notice addressed to some Justice of the Peace of the township, city or county wherein the crime has been committed, in substantially the following form:

....., North Dakota.
....., 19....
To .....
Justice of the Peace of
the .....County, North Dakota.

My Dear Sir:—
You are hereby notified that one..... is believed to be violating the Prohibitory Law of North Dakota, at (Here insert the city, village or township, giving lot and block if possible,) and that the facts concerning the same can be proven by the following named persons:.....(Here insert the names of the witnesses.) X.....that I have previously notified the state's attorney by notice, a copy of which is hereto attached, and said attorney fails to act. You are therefore requested to proceed against the party suspected of violating the law under the provisions of Section 9368 Revised Codes, 1905.

Respectfully yours,
STATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, )
) ss.
County of..... )
..... being first duly sworn does upon oath depose and say that he has read the foregoing notice, signed by him, and knows the contents thereof, that the same is true to the best of his knowledge, information and belief.
Subscribed and sworn to before me this ..... day of.....
19.....

Notary Public.
My Commission Expires.....
(This oath can be administered by any person authorized to administer an oath.)

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