

BOB: ~~You mentioned the Norwegian influence and the Norwegians, who came over, being Socialists as one reason for Socialism being relatively strong in that Williams Divide County area.~~ What were some of the other things <sup>that</sup> you think contributed to the strength of the Socialist Party there <sup>in northwestern North Dakota in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century?</sup> ~~or Socialist ideas anyway?~~

HENRY: Well, I think the publication, ~~Appeal to Reason~~ Appeal to Reason, did more than any other one thing, but the homesteaders there ~~when they read about they could understand what the, Appeal to Reason, was trying to tell 'em.~~ <sup>That they were being exploited by the money men in New York and so on and so forth. They had it right before their eyes, <sup>A</sup> the way ~~that~~ the interest they were charging and so forth and so on.</sup> And, of course, they had a lot o' time; the time was not of the essence at all. They could read and they did read everything they got hold of. ~~They didn't have much ~~money~~ money so~~ <sup>The Appeal to Reason was</sup> pretty well distributed throughout the territory and I suppose that contributed in the large measure. And talk--visiting was one of the main recreations there and if there was a <sup>f</sup> socialist there in the territory, why, of course, that worked like leaven. He would <sup>indoctrinate</sup> ~~indoctrinate~~ ~~there~~ everybody within the neighborhood if he could! And another thing, ~~there was~~ out there in the wilderness, why, they weren't afraid of new ideas. There was nothing there; there was really nothing to tell 'em different either. There were no businesses there or anything of that kind and the person that sold us the goods ~~was~~ was just as much of a homesteader as the rest of us; therefore, there was nothing in that neighborhood that would talk against any progressive ideas.

BOB: ~~What sort of reading material would you find in the Appeal to Reason?~~

HENRY: ~~You'd find short socialistic articles about how the people-- Capitalists then were exploiting the working people and so forth and so on.~~

BOB: ~~Was there anything in the way of serialized stories or fiction or anything?~~

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HENRY: ~~No, no fiction whatsoever in the magazines--short, pithy articles. I don't know if you've read anything socialistic or not, you maybe haven't.~~

BOB: ~~Well, I've read some; ya, I know the general theme of it, but I was just wondering if there was any strictly popular fiction in it?~~

HENRY: ~~No, no, no, there was no fiction in it whatsoever and I don't know ~~as~~ there was in any of the leading Socialist papers at that time and even in the paper now, the Socialist Labor ~~Party~~ Party paper that's The Peoples Weekly--you maybe have heard of it. They have no ticket in here, but they have in Minnesota. They got a fairly good organization in there. There's never any fiction! There used to be in the Non-Partisan League Leader; they have fiction. I got a couple of bound volumes of that dating from 1915 to about 1918. I'm going over them again now. I'm gonna see if I can build up something from an organizer's point of view!~~

BOB: ~~Oh. Did anybody pay much attention to in your article you refer "Comes a Revolution" you refer to them as "the good people of Minot"--or was there any opposition <sup>among them</sup> to the Socialists in Divide County?~~

~~Henry:~~

HENRY: ~~No, none whatsoever! There maybe was in town in Crosby, although Crosby was really quite a socialist town. They had so many business people--a number of them there were Socialists!~~

~~BOB: Oh?~~

~~Henry:~~

HENRY: ~~(And that was true of other towns ~~to~~ like Mohall! That was really a phenomenon! ~~because no, of course, that wouldn't happen, but then it was from an ideological angle!~~ They got the idea and it appealed to them and it was kind of a heady thing to handle because imagine changing the system of the whole world! That was the ~~aim!~~ <sup>game!</sup> Course, we can laugh ~~now~~ now; that was 60, 65 years ago! But, as an aside, I think we're closer to it now than we ever have been in the history of the world and it's only about--less than 200 years old, our capitalist ~~system~~ system. ~~I was just reading about the French Revolution and Victor Hugo's Story and Leonard Baehus' Story.~~~~

BOB: Do you think that it was ideology that motivated the businessmen?

~~Henry:~~

~~I think definitely it was for this reason: That in Minot, ~~the~~~~

for instance, ~~where~~ we had a strong socialist movement <sup>and</sup> we had very few working people compared to others like middle class, ~~you know~~ And we even had real estate people, insurance people, and businessmen, and ~~we~~ had a lawyer, we had a banker, and we had several lawyers, ~~bankers~~. ~~It~~ was strictly ~~in~~ In my opinion, it was from an ideological approach that they became socialists. The organized labor was not interested! In fact, there was no organized labor to speak of at that time in the western part of the state. ~~Course, in '09, and~~ ~~we had one cigar maker~~ <sup>union</sup> there in the union; ~~he~~ <sup>then at that time</sup> was an ardent Socialist. I wasn't a union man 'cause there was no union to belong to.

BOB: ~~I don't want to go over this too much or sound like I'm trying to cross-examine you,~~ <sup>or anything!</sup> ~~but~~ Why would a man, who is a banker, or an insurance man whose every day work <sup>is</sup> dedicated to the capitalist system ~~it would seem like~~ why would he get involved and be enthusiastic about socialism? ~~which would level him with everybody else?~~

HENRY: The only way I can explain it that he got so absorbed or infatuated with the idealism of it, the ideological part of it, that it got the best of him. The banker there, his name was Grant <sup>Youmans--</sup> ~~the~~ other bankers tried to put him out of business and they just about succeeded! He kept our paper going there for quite awhile after it really was supposed to be dead. We lost our advertisers ~~and so forth~~ and many of our subscribers because the Non-Partisan League ~~took over~~, but he kept his ad in there and paid a ~~good~~ good big sum of money for it. And he advanced us money besides and he did all our bookkeeping--that was when I was editor. He had his girls do it.

BOB: ~~Henry~~ You're talking about the organization in Minot now?

Henry: ~~Henry~~ Ya, Minot! Out there, ~~there~~ there was really no opposition to the socialists ~~there~~ and ~~the~~ socialism was more incidental <sup>out</sup> there. We had no local and we were just ~~individual~~ individual socialists, ~~and there was nothing much we could do about it out there because they had~~ <sup>end</sup> there was nothing much we could do about it ~~out there~~ because we had no contact to speak of

with the socialists and the rest o' the country except through the paper.

BOB: Did you elect anybody who was sympathetic with socialist ideas to the state legislature ~~from~~ from the counties out there?

~~Henry:~~ Henry: As far as I can remember we didn't even vote as long as I was out there!

~~Henry:~~ Henry: We didn't have anything to vote for; we weren't particularly interested in voting. As I said we were a law unto our ourselves! In Minot, of course, it was different.

BOB: ~~When~~ When did you move into Minot?

~~Henry:~~ Henry: ~~(?)~~ In 1906 or '07 after I proved up my homestead.

~~BOB:~~

~~Henry:~~ I worked at my trade there.

BOB: So Art ~~Le Sueur~~ <sup>Le Sueur</sup> and the socialists in Minot were just starting to get rolling when you came there. ~~then? then, huh?~~

~~Henry:~~ Henry: Well, not right away, no! They didn't really start going 'til about 1912.

~~BOB:~~ ~~They had an organization there.~~

~~Henry:~~ ~~They had an organization, <sup>but</sup> I don't think we had an organization there until about 1912! I joined ~~about~~ in oh, I don't remember, it was after that ~~///~~, maybe about 1914. I gave one of my cards ~~my stuff is~~ at the university here. Some of my stuff--old red cam and a few things at ~~///~~ what they call Regional Institute there.~~

BOB: What did you take up in Minot when you moved there?

~~HARRY:~~ ~~What did I take up?~~

~~BOB:~~ Ia.

~~Henry:~~ Henry: Well, I took my ~~///~~ trade until I got a touch o' lead poison ~~and~~ had to quit painting for awhile. And then I operated a little restaurant there until the IWW's found out about it <sup>and I went broke</sup> because they went in and ate and forgot to pay generally! And I was editor of the paper there <sup>and</sup> that was the last of my occupations there. ~~the last one of them~~ And I was Secretary of the Socialist Party for several years after they organized

the Non-~~Partisan~~ League!

BOB: ~~You started out there as a painter?~~

HARRY: ~~Oh, ya, I worked at my trade ~~///In/Id//~~, there for years! In fact I lived there until about 1918; I went down and organized southern Minnesota for the Non-Partisan League and worked for them a couple o' years!~~

~~BOB: Did you join the Socialist Party in Minot? You were one of the people that help organize it?~~

~~HARRY: Ya, I joined the people in Minot.~~

BOB: ~~I know you've mentioned this in your article "Comes a Revolution";~~ ~~but~~ who were some of the leading men in the ~~///Socialists~~ <sup>group</sup> in Minot?

HENRY: Well, some of the leading men there became some of the leading men in the Non-~~Partisan~~ League, too! Course, we had two factions. ~~there as I explained.~~ We had the, well, the more opportunistic faction and we had the ~~Marxist~~ faction. I belonged to the ~~Marxist~~ faction. Course, the ones who were more opportunistic ~~they~~ didn't think ~~///we~~ we were going fast enough politically, so at the last convention we had there they took off and organized the ~~Non-Partisan~~ Non-~~Partisan~~ League. But we had <sup>such people</sup> as I mentioned--we had Grant ~~Yamans~~ <sup>Yamans</sup> as a banker, of course, and ~~///we~~ we had <sup>LeSueur.</sup> Art ~~LeSueur~~. He became one of the leaders in the Non-~~Partisan~~ League; he ~~also~~ was interested in a correspondence school. ~~And we had Alfred Tigon~~ And we had <sup>Griffith;</sup> Henry ~~Tigon~~ <sup>Teigan</sup> and he become ~~Manager~~ Manager of the League. We had L.L. ~~Griffith;~~ <sup>Griffith;</sup> he was one of Townley's lieutenants. ~~and we had a number of 'em, you know? I can't even~~ ~~remember~~ remember all of them, but we organized our own ~~///local~~ local there. We could do that under the Socialist regulations. We organized what they call a "~~language~~." We organized a Norwegian or Scandinavian branch of the ~~///Socialist~~ Socialist Party ~~there~~ because the others were too ~~Reformist~~ Reformist for us and that's the one I belonged to ~~///toward the last~~ ~~until~~, of course, ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> had our free speech fight and <sup>they practically</sup> put most of us in jail. ~~///That~~ That kind of took the ~~crimp~~ crimp out of some of 'em, but we kept on there until I put the old Socialist ~~///Party~~ Party and I put <sup>The Econoclast</sup> ~~the Econoclast~~ <sup>last resting place</sup> in its place ~~there~~ there when I left. There were hardly any members left; the paper was gone;

~~we~~ sold the machinery and so forth; ~~and so on~~. There was nothing left there and that was ~~it~~ about in 1918.

BOB: Ya, what bank was it that Yeomens was President of or owner of, do you remember?

HARRY: I don't even remember; I could take you ~~right~~ to the spot in Minot!

BOB: Where was it located?

HARRY: It was located right on the corner--are you acquainted in Minot?

BOB: Ya.

HARRY: Well, you know, coming from the Soo Depot north and then the first main street going ~~on~~ the other way it was the second from the corner there--  
*that was going up* toward the viaduct toward the Great Northern Depot.

BOB: Oh, ya!

HARRY: Right in there! Course, I don't know--the Iconda ~~Class~~ too was right underneath there and the Socialist Headquarters. We got that practically rent free!

BOB: Ya, that must be the same <sup>now</sup> block <sup>of been</sup> that--well, it must ~~be~~ close to Central Avenue!

HARRY: Is that ~~the~~ one going....

BOB: ~~Central~~ Avenue runs east and west.

HARRY: Ya, ya, that is Central Avenue! Ya, it must be. It runs along there. ~~You know where~~ You go over the--you know where the viaduct was; You go from the Great Northern Depot; you cross the viaduct and you keep on going. It's at the end of that first block after you leave the viaduct there, see? Center Avenue and then Broadway goes up the hill there, you know?

BOB: Ya.

HARRY: Right on the corner there, but his bank, as far as I can remember, wasn't right on the corner. It was about the second building.

BOB: And the <sup>Ironclast</sup> ~~Iconda~~ Class Office was there too?

HARRY: Ya, that was underneath there in the basement really! We had base-

~~ment quarters.~~

BOB: ~~Now~~, Art <sup>LeSueur</sup> ~~LeSueur~~ was a lawyer in Minot, right?

HENRY: Art <sup>LeSueur</sup> ~~LeSueur~~ was a corporation lawyer--that is, most of his business was railroad--a railroad corporation lawyer.

BOB: Oh?

~~And~~ And Henry <sup>Teigan</sup> ~~Teigan~~ was a schoolteacher and they needed somebody to edit the paper and to be State Secretary. He was a Socialist and we knew that so they went out and interviewed him. ~~He~~ He promised to come in and take over and he did!

BOB: Where did he teach before he moved in?

HENRY: It was not too far from Minot! I don't remember exactly, but I think it was in that Ryder country there.

~~BOB: Oh?~~

HENRY: ~~Somewhere in there~~ Or maybe it was ~~Winnell, Idaho~~ ~~near~~ Blaisdell. I don't know <sup>just</sup> exactly, but it was a country school anyway. ~~And~~ And he was very happy <sup>to come</sup> ~~because~~ because he didn't get along <sup>with</sup> the schoolboard, a conservative schoolboard ~~and~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~and~~ take a job that really suited him better than teaching ~~the~~ that goddamn farm kids how to spell rat and cat! ~~He had brains! He was~~ ~~Marxian too; he read Marx~~ He had brains and he was <sup>growing up</sup> Marxian too! He read Marx, but ~~as I explained in my article~~ he also had three daughters and an ambitious wife ~~and~~ and it got the best of him really. I don't blame anybody. I got along with <sup>Teigan</sup> ~~Teigan~~ really good! In fact, they gave me the job because I was one of the most radical of 'em and they wanted somebody to take over that <sup>Iconoclast</sup> ~~iconoclast~~ ~~class~~ that would lambast the League so the people wouldn't believe it was merely the Socialist Party ~~that~~ that was breaking out into another episode like the Non-<sup>2</sup>Partisan League. That was the reason I got the job and they told me so frankly. I was happy over the situation and I thought, "Here I get a chance to put over some of my own ~~ideas~~ ~~ideas~~!" And I did until I maybe was a little bit too open-minded. Finally, they told me that I had better ~~kind~~ kind o' hedge ~~a~~ a little bit because we were a little bit too strong, but I was supposed to attack

Iconoclast!

the League in the ~~Trade Clubs~~! That was the idea, but I don't think anyone was ever deceived! I doubt it very much; politics being what it is.

BOB: ~~You~~ you had two ~~socialist~~ organizations in Minot?

HARRY: No, there weren't two ~~socialist~~ organizations! They were one organization, but we were merely a branch of the other one. What they called the ~~Language~~ branch; we were the Scandinavian ~~branch~~ <sup>socialist</sup> branch of the ~~local~~ there. ~~We~~ had our own meetings, but we'd meet together too! There was really no open antagonism and we worked together, but we had our own Scandinavian ~~branch~~!

BOB: ~~Did you both start out that way?~~

HARRY: No, we started out as one organization; no branches whatsoever. We got permission from them. We had to in order to start our little branch, but we were all Norwegian! Oh, there might o' been a Swede among us, but practically all Norwegians. ~~New/~~Newcomers from Norway practically all of 'em. I and another fella from near there--we were practically the only two that weren't born in Norway.

BOB: Oh?

HARRY: But our parents were, o' course, and we talk Norwegian and so forth.

BOB: When did your Language Group form its own little Branch?

HARRY: I don't remember the exact date, but chances are it was somewhere along about 1915.

BOB: ~~Oh, and you formed ~~it~~ separately, I suppose, ~~correct me if I'm~~~~  
~~was~~ for social purposes?

HARRY: That is correct; that was a part of it! We were all young people and some girls too! All the Norwegian newcomer girls joined too because how ~~otherwise~~ otherwise would they be able to get a husband? ~~they didn't~~

BOB: But generally you and the Norwegian ~~language~~ group were more ~~purist~~ when it came to ~~socialism~~?

HARRY: That is correct! We were really more ~~Marxian~~ and ~~we ~~were~~ really~~ more like the ~~socialists~~ were in Norway at that time. The ~~socialist~~ movement was rather opportunistic ~~at that time~~ in this country. ~~was~~

~~Walter~~ A. F. Garner, of course, in Milwaukee got elected to the Congress and he was a moderate German Socialist. We ~~even had~~ even a moderate German Socialist up there at Minot! ~~They~~ **American Socialists** were more moderate and believed in more of a ~~state~~ **state** socialism. Some call it even a ~~state~~ **state** capitalism even now; ~~something like they had in Germany before Hitler.~~ That is government ownership and government regulation of things, ~~you know?~~ Course, the real Socialists ~~we don't~~ **we don't** be socialists--we don't believe ~~in~~ **in** the state, ~~you know?~~ We believe that the people should collectively own ~~the~~ the mines and mills and so forth.

BOB: The people you refer to as being more opportunistic, ~~then~~, believed more in pushing for some immediate economic goals?

HENRY: That's right! We had immediate demands, ~~you know?~~ ~~The Socialist Party~~ ~~did~~ like ~~equal~~ **equal** suffrage and ~~elimination~~ **elimination** of ~~child~~ **child** labor. All of those things, ~~you know,~~ and ~~The Non-Partisan League~~ put many of them into ~~effect~~ **effect**. After they got into power that one year, 1919, they established ~~workmen's~~ **workmen's** compensation, ~~minimum~~ **minimum** wage law, and ~~railroad~~ **railroad** safety and all those things. Those were the immediate demands of the Socialist Party. The ~~things~~ things that we should get or work for before we got ~~socialism~~ **socialism**, to kind o' take up the slack a little bit, ~~and~~ **and** make the people a little better off than what they were, and apply a little salve to ~~capitalism~~ **capitalism**! That was really the intent.

BOB: Well, ~~if those were your immediate goals too, then~~ where ~~did~~ did you differ from the more moderate or ~~right-wing~~ **right-wing** Socialists?

HENRY: We differed in this way: We believed that we should keep on educating according to Marx ~~until we got a good, sizable~~ ~~in economics~~ until we got a good, sizable number of people, ~~perhaps~~ ~~not the majority,~~ ~~educated~~ ~~to the point where they could understand real Socialism.~~ ~~The opportunists~~ ~~wanted~~ to go out and work politically and get political power with half-socialistic promises, and so forth and so on, ~~and~~ ~~they did~~ ~~it~~ through the Non-~~Partisan~~ **Partisan** League. ~~They~~ ~~believed~~ **The League believed** in state ownership, o' course, ~~the League did!~~ They believed in ~~workmen's~~ **workmen's** compensation and so forth and

so on, but it wasn't ~~/~~ socialism. It was ~~/~~ socialistic, perhaps!

BOB: ~~Ya, I see what you mean.~~ Where did Art ~~LeSueur~~ <sup>LeSueur</sup> and Henry ~~Teigan~~ <sup>Teigan</sup> line ~~up~~ up in relation to the Moderates and Purists?

HENRY: Well, Henry ~~Teigan~~ <sup>Teigan</sup>, ~~as I stated before,~~ ~~he~~ knew better. ~~He knew~~ ~~better.~~ ~~I use the term because~~ ~~then~~ <sup>That is, when</sup> I say, "He knew better," I use the term because I was ~~on the~~ <sup>a</sup> part of the ~~left-wing~~, but Art ~~LeSueur~~ <sup>LeSueur</sup> ~~he~~ never had really studied ~~/~~ socialism. He was a little bit like the banker there, ~~LeSueur~~ <sup>Youmans.</sup> The idea caught their fancy! That is, they were going to reform and they were going to create something new. ~~They~~ They were convinced that there were too many people in this country that were ill-housed and ill-fed and too many of them exploited by the bankers and that the farmers were exploited by the ~~grain~~ grain gamblers and the terminal elevator people and so on. They were satisfied with ~~that!~~ <sup>doing</sup> That was really the difference. We believed in strictly adhering to the line and not trying to establish anything until we had the people educated to the point where we wanted to go, ~~and where~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> knew what they wanted. ~~and~~ <sup>Then the</sup> ~~the~~ real ~~/~~ socialist principle would be established: a ~~/~~ profitless world, no exploitation, collective ownership, industrial management ~~instead~~ <sup>instead</sup> of the government we got now. ~~I~~ <sup>I</sup> think they'd maybe fall for some that now!

BOB: Both ~~of~~ ~~the~~ groups in Minot ~~that~~ belonged to ~~the~~ <sup>the same</sup> national organization?

HARRY: Oh, yes, definitely!

BOB: And that national organization was--there were a couple of Socialist Parties in the United ~~U.S.~~ U.S., were there not then?

HARRY: Well, yes, we had the Socialist Labor Party. That's been in effect for, oh, over 100 years, you know?

BOB: Yes.

HARRY: And they are ~~still~~ <sup>are</sup> going good and the regular Socialist Labor Party. They have always been strictly Marxian and ~~adhered~~ <sup>adhered</sup> to the line. ~~They~~ They never deviated from the time they were organized until the present day. While the other Socialists, you know--we have them out

there in California like Heramann, you know? He established this colony, The Delreo Colony, and sold memberships for \$100! They thought that was Socialism. You ~~heard~~ heard about some of these counties they established in this country?

BOB: Ya.

HARRY: They thought they could establish it in small parts by getting people together and working together and so forth and so on; but they found out their mistake, o' course, they can't do that!

BOB: ~~Was~~ <sup>was</sup> the party you were affiliated with ~~was~~ the same one that Eugene Debs ~~was affiliated with?~~ belonged to?

HENRY: Oh, yes, ~~We~~ <sup>we</sup> only had one Socialist Party, and that was the party of Eugene Debs and ~~Yumpers and Framann and so forth and so on.~~ <sup>others.</sup> Practically all those people that organized the League--now ~~Wood was not a socialist~~ <sup>[Fred B.]</sup> and ~~LeSueur~~ <sup>Frazier</sup> ~~was~~ <sup>ware</sup> not a socialist--were socialists. Townley was and Griffith and ~~LeSueur~~ <sup>LeSueur</sup> and ~~Teigan~~ <sup>Teigan</sup>; they were all socialists! That is, ~~they~~ they were what we called the Opportunistic Socialists.

BOB: ~~Maybe I'm supposing something on my part, but let me ask you this.~~

How did you feel as a young man ~~and being~~ in the Socialist Party? Did you feel that you were going to make a new world ~~pretty~~ soon?

HENRY: Oh, very definitely! We were young and in prime of life and hopes were high and, of course, the blood was running ~~in my veins~~ <sup>bit</sup> a little faster and ~~a little faster~~ <sup>more</sup> freely through the veins than ~~in my veins~~ <sup>at 91.</sup> Many of us actually thought that socialism was right around the corner. I never became assured that Non-Partisan League would ever solve anything! The only reason I went to them, well, ~~in~~ in the first place, I was absolutely broke and had to make a living some darn way, and in the second place, I thought I might talk a little socialism to the farmers and I did! Most of their organizers were socialists; they couldn't get anybody else that they could rely on! They welcomed socialists! ~~I'll say that for 'em as organizers!~~ I'll say that for ~~them~~ <sup>them</sup> as organizers! I know ~~Teigan~~ <sup>Teigan</sup> said dreadfully to me

that the only ones that made a success of organizing were the ~~S~~ocialists because they knew how!

BOB: How many members did you have in the Socialist Party in Minot at its height?

HENRY: Oh, I'd have to again estimate, <sup>bit</sup> I would say that we had <sup>400</sup> or 500 men and women. That is, we'd take in whole families, you know, at one time. It was going pretty good there for awhile. We even had a good movement here in Fargo and other parts of the state, too! They were scattered over the country and in small towns.

~~BOB: When did the headquarters of the Socialist Party in North Dakota move from Fargo to Minot? When was that? About when was that? Minot? about when was that?~~

~~HENRY: That must of been in about 1915 along in there or '14, '15, '16 maybe '15. I was never very good at pinning down dates!~~

~~BOB: What prompted that move?~~

~~HARRY: Well, I believe I mentioned it in my article that the Movement began to get stronger really out in the western part of the state than it was in the eastern part of the state. // I know it was more militant and I know it and it was more militant, I know, out West. Here many of 'em were more pretty much on the old English-Fabian Socialist order and they'd sit and talk for hours at the Viking Hotel, but they never did anything particular. And the secretary here--I forget his name at the moment on the spur of the moment; maybe I'll think of it--was an older fellow and he was very Opportunistic. They were better in the West than what they were here. In fact, it was beginning to die down a little bit really here while we were increasing their membership and interest.~~

BOB: Why do you think it was stronger in the West?

HARRY: Well, ~~out~~ several reasons. In the first place, the people that came out West there were ~~more~~ inclined to be more progressive than the people that stayed home, whether it was in <sup>the</sup> Minnesota town or Wisconsin or eastern North Dakota. The very fact that they went out there and pio-

neered or at least they thought they did indicated that they were more progressively-inclined. ~~And~~ there's something about the life there. Everything was pretty much western. Homesteaders and the towns were wide open! Take, for instance, <sup>in</sup> Minot ~~there~~ you'd think you were out in the towns that the storybooks described. It was all gambling down in the basements, you know, and liquor freely flowing, ~~and so forth and so on.~~ They didn't wear any six-shooters on the streets; but I noticed in ~~the~~ <sup>ONE</sup> gambling place ~~they~~ <sup>the owner</sup> had one in his hip, but that was a kind of a spirit that prevailed there. ~~For many~~ Ya, it was pioneer spirit really! ~~It~~ It sounded like ~~socialism, ~~but it~~~~ but it was the pioneer spirit out there. And then the fact that the newcomers <sup>began to really</sup> ~~really started to~~ crowd in there by the dozen, you know! There'd be a new one almost <sup>every day</sup> ~~every day~~ there for a ~~while from Norway and Sweden especially.~~ Most of the newcomers were working people and most of 'em were ~~socialists,~~ →

~~BOB: Was there more of a tendency to experiment do you think in a more frontier-like environment? Did that play a part?~~

~~HARRY: Yes, that too would play a part. and the Socialistic Idea was ne~~

~~Everything was new, o' course, and the ~~socialistic~~ <sup>socialistic</sup> ~~idea~~ <sup>idea</sup> was new. Course, it wasn't new to the newcomers, but others ~~too~~ caught it. For instance like Art <sup>Le Sueur</sup> ~~Le Sueur~~ and <sup>Youmans</sup> ~~Youmans~~ and Henry <sup>Teigan.</sup> ~~Teigan~~ <sup>Teigan</sup> ~~Teigan~~ became a Socialist through reading, ~~o' course,~~ and ~~o' course,~~ ~~and so forth and a lot of 'em did!~~ The fact that ~~they had~~ those people there, they were well-known leaders in the community, helped, too, ~~of course,~~ because the people looked up to them, you know? There was leadership in the Socialist Party ~~too just like in every other~~ that developed like in every other <sup>party</sup> and the fact that it caught hold among the more intellectual people indicated to those that were not so intellectual that it must be something ~~really~~ <sup>really</sup> worth <sup>finding</sup> out about.~~

~~BOB: What was the population of Minot about that time in, <sup>oh,</sup> 1912/1912, 1915?~~

~~HARRY: Well, I don't really know. It was maybe about between 12 and 20~~

~~20,000~~

~~20,000, somewhere along in there; but I know when I first came there in 1906~~  
~~1906, why, it was a regular cow town, a western cow town. Everything, as~~  
~~I said, wide open! That element that kept the town wide open there pretty~~  
 well ruled the ~~the~~ "roost" too because they had time to do it and they had  
 the money and they had the backing--receiving it--and other <sup>business</sup> elements. Oh,  
 there were some real respectable businessmen there. One of the largest was  
 a man by the name of Phoccall. He ~~had~~ <sup>had money enough</sup> a big department store on the corner  
 and he <sup>had money enough</sup> educated his daughter so that she became quite a singer; she sang  
 all over the world. She was educated in Germany at that time and other  
 countries where they really taught the arts. We had another one there that  
 homesteaded part o' Minot and, of course, he was really well-to-do. He  
 run a hardware store there.

BOB: He was a Socialist?

RP

HARRY: ~~No, he wasn't a Socialist, neither was Phoccall,~~ <sup>N</sup> None of the big  
 business people were Socialists as far as I can remember. We had several  
 smaller ones! We ~~had~~ <sup>did have</sup> a small grocery man ~~there~~ on the south side that was  
 a Socialist. They were all mixed! We had one <sup>Prayman</sup>; but he never knew  
 why he was a Socialist, ~~he~~ <sup>one</sup> He was <sup>v</sup> just because he was a Norwegian and he  
 didn't know of any other place to go except to this <sup>socialist</sup> <sup>local</sup> ~~the~~  
 when they had their meetings!

BOB: How dedicated do you think the average Socialist in Minot was? ~~Were~~  
~~they much concerned with ideology?~~

HARRY: He was very dedicated <sup>but</sup> of course, there were variances. Some  
 were dedicated because they had studied socialism and some were dedicated  
 merely because they saw <sup>and</sup> ~~the difference~~ <sup>if</sup> knew the difference between  
 the ~~poor~~ <sup>poor</sup> people and the capitalists ~~at that time~~ and how hard  
 the working people had to work; <sup>at</sup> that time they got <sup>darn</sup> poor wages!  
 They had very little organization. They'd work 16 hours a day <sup>and</sup> ~~even~~  
~~the skilled labor there that came from Norway~~ <sup>on the railroad</sup> I worked for <sup>35¢</sup> ~~thirty five~~  
~~cents~~ a hour ~~as~~ as a skilled painter and I knew my trade too! Every-  
 body else ~~worked~~ <sup>worked</sup> in proportion. We just really got our board and

room for working and somebody <sup>else</sup> was getting rich! We knew that! ~~and the only~~  
~~And~~ The only way we could figure out how they were getting rich was from  
 our labor because we believed that labor produces all wealth! ~~of course!~~  
 That was one of the fundamentals of socialism.

BOB: It would appear to me ~~just off hand, that if you had a membership of~~  
~~4 to 500 in a city the size of Minot and if your members were quite dedi-~~  
~~cated, that you would be pretty powerful. ~~It must of had quite a~~~~  
~~had a lot of clout!~~ <sup>→ that Minot socialists must have</sup>

HENRY: We were! We elected a mayor there! There ~~wasn't~~ <sup>weren't</sup> enough members to  
 elect him, but the influence of those members was enough on the ~~commonest~~  
~~people~~ <sup>LeSueur</sup> of the common people to ~~have~~ elect a mayor. Art ~~LeSueur~~ <sup>LeSueur</sup> was ~~our~~  
 Mayor there and we elected a Commissioner of streets, Dewey Dorman, and  
 we ruled the roost for ~~a~~ <sup>But</sup> little while! ~~And, I think, I explained it in my~~  
~~article where LeSueur made his mistake, whereas he ~~started~~ <sup>began</sup>~~ from the top to  
 clean up the town. We had promised to do away with all this damn graft in  
 town, ~~you know, gambling and so forth and so on~~ and "blind pigging" I  
 wasn't a party to that; I didn't think too much o' that. That wasn't my  
 idea of socialism. But the opportunists were in control pretty much and,  
~~of course,~~ as soon as he got into power, why, he began cleaning up the  
 town or trying to. ~~and~~ He didn't make it, so the socialists lost out politi-  
 cally.

BOB: ~~Well, LeSueur was elected Mayor, was it in 1914?~~

HARRY: ~~I think so; I'd have to look that up! I maybe got that~~

HARRY: ~~I think so; I'm not sure of the date! I'd have to look that up.~~

~~I maybe got it in the article. I did some research in writing that, but I~~  
~~don't remember, but I did some research in writing that article. My memory~~  
~~isn't as good as it used to be.~~

BOB: ~~Then~~ He was forced out of office, wasn't he?

HARRY: Ya, I'm sure he was recalled, but Dewey Dorman stayed on quite  
 awhile! In fact he was still, ~~if I remember correctly,~~ Commissioner of  
 streets when they put us all in jail ~~there~~ for speaking on the streets!

Course, they put Art <sup>LeSueur</sup> ~~LeSueur~~ in, too, ~~you know?~~ He wasn't a mayor then, but

he had been! He was an ex-mayor, but as far as I can remember Dewey Dorman was still ~~Commissioner of~~ streets. He came from a well-to-do family, ~~too,~~ ~~by the way,~~ and they didn't agree with him either!

BOB: Did <sup>LeSueur</sup> ~~he~~ run on a platform to clean up Minot? ~~Was that his main appeal?~~

HENRY: Yes, he did! ~~Yes, he did.~~

BOB: And is that why he was elected, do you think?

HENRY: Well, I know that we didn't have enough Socialist votes, ~~you~~ ~~law~~ there to elect him, so we got a lot of other votes besides. People who believed that the town should be cleaned up! The majority of the people didn't believe in running a town the way they did. Why, it was wide open!

BOB: Did <sup>LeSueur</sup> ~~he~~ advertise that he was a Socialist? ~~Did he run on a Socialist ticket?~~

HENRY: He didn't have to advertise! Every mother's son knew that he was a ~~socialist~~ in that region, perhaps in the state! ~~He didn't pretend to be anything else but a Socialist. He'd stop on the street.~~ He didn't make any bones--he didn't pretend to be anything else <sup>except</sup> but a ~~socialist~~. He was proud of it and he'd stop on the street any darn time and tell ya so!

BOB: Was there any strong opposition to the Socialists in Minot? Did you ever have any trouble with ~~some~~ people who would try to bait you ~~as a~~ ~~Socialist~~ or call you names? ~~on the street, or anything like that?~~

HENRY: Not too much of that! We had people that opposed us. I know I belonged to the Sons of Norway at that time and just to have a little fun more than anything else they would--<sup>Ranquid</sup> ~~Ronald~~ Nestos, the ~~governor~~, ~~he would belong to~~ get he and I to debate there, you know? ~~I still remember it or get somebody else to debate with him. No, he paraded as quite a~~ ~~Progressive at one time! He's got his picture in my file of Non-Partisan Leaguers there, you know? No, he pretended to be quite~~ ~~and he pretended to be quite~~ ~~he pretended to be quite~~ ~~progressive.~~ ~~In fact, he claimed to be, but as he used to say at the meetings, "You ~~socialists~~ may have good ideas alright--~~progressive~~, he talked with a <sup>brogue</sup> ~~brogue~~--but it takes us Progressive Republicans to put 'em into effect!" I can still see him~~

there. He got to be quite a speaker; he was on the Chatauqua Platform a number of times!

BOB: Oh?

HARRY: Oh, ya! He was born in Norway, in \_\_\_\_\_, Norway, and that's where he got his dialect. They got a special dialogue; they talk about you hear hail on a tin roof steady.

BOB: Oh? Did you know Nestos when he ran against Frazier in 1921?

~~HARRY~~/HARRY: Yes, of course, I knew him ya, ya!

BOB: Were you ever with him then during 1921 when he was running against Frazier?

HARRY: No, I wasn't. I really wasn't with him then--I had moved out of-- but I knew him, you know?

BOB: Ya.

HARRY: I got to--course, I was 28 years there in the State Capitol, you know, as Labor Commissioner and he was there. But I was here then and I didn't really have too much to do. We had our own political doings here. Course, I joined the labor forces here. There was no other place to go really for a Progressive Socialist than into the Labor Movement. If I had been in Minnesota, I 'spose I'd have gone in with the Socialist Labor Party there, but we haven't got anything here! Non-Partisan League ~~and the Democrats have got MPL~~is out and the Democrats have got NBL as a tail to their kite, but it don't mean a damn thing!

BOB: Was their any particular area in Minot that was a center of corruption back <sup>there</sup> ~~their~~ in the teens?

HARRY: Well, I think the most open and the most corrupt was the Leland Hotel!

BOB: Oh?

HARRY: The whole bottom part of that was a real western gambling den and you could buy beer, o' course, and whiskey too and they had regular dealers there. You could even get a game of ~~farrow~~---farrow--mostly black-

jack and stud poker though that they played there. I go into that in my article there; ~~but~~ In looking back at it there was really a lot o' humor associated with it too, but we didn't see it then. We were deathly serious of course! Now I can see where a lot of it was pure unadulterated humor. Course, we had no real power in the country, of course, except as agitators, but I think we left our mark though.

BOB: Well, how could that corruption and gambling and serving liquor get by that openly?

HARRY: Because ~~that~~ <sup>the</sup> goddamn town hall was ruled by that gang!

BOB: Oh?

HARRY: I ran on the ticket there. I came up early to vote and there were pickers and blank diggers and everything else; they were ruling the "roost" up there in city hall. ~~and they were short~~ And they were short a clerk and they said, "Put him on there! Hell, we don't care who gets on there." They didn't have--so I did! And then they found out I was on the ticket running on the Socialist--"Oh, hell, we can't have him!" But the saying was that--there was quite a few colored people there then--'A live nigger four times--same nigger, you know, they couldn't tell the difference--but a ~~live~~ dead one from graveyard they'd only vote him twice!' Oh, it was the corruptest goddamn spot, looking back it, in the whole United States or one of 'em anyway! But we made our mistake in trying to clean it up, although I think it did some good though.

BOB: Did you ever know a fellow named John Hallinger in Minot?

HARRY: John Hallinger? Yes, he run the hotel there! Oh, my God, he had <sup>a little</sup> a little place there. He imitated the Leland, oh, ya; you know in his basement, ~~sure! s-sure!~~ There were a number of 'em and competing with the goddamn ~~paper shacks out in back~~ tarpaper shacks out in back of the--oh, back of <sup>Phocalls</sup> Phocalls, a big Department Store, and back of that restaurant I was running. I know that! There were tarpaper shacks and they'd sell liquor, ~~too and gamble~~ of course, and gamble too, the little poker games,

but for real honest-to-God professionalism you had to go to Leland or to Hollinger too! He ran quite a place there. They were the two main places and they were full! That goddamn place in the basement<sup>of</sup> both places was just chucked full of people, you know, gambling or watching! It was interesting.

BOB: What was the name of Hallinger's Hotel? Do you remember offhand?

HARRY: Well, ya, it was--didn't I mention it? I can't think of it on the spur of the moment. I know it just as well as...

BOB: Was it the Grand Hotel or something?

HARRY: No, there was a Grand Hotel! I may think of it before I....

BOB: The only reason I ask<sup>d</sup> is because I was born and raised one-half mile from a farm Hallinger had! Course, he was dead by the time I was born.

HARRY: Oh, ya, oh!

BOB: Oh, swell buildings, you know, oh, just a real showplace! I s'pose some o' the money went out there from his operation in Minot.

HARRY: Ya, where was that about then?

BOB: That was about ~~10~~ 10 miles north and 6 miles east of Minot.

HARRY: 10 miles north? I'll bet I maybe threshed there one fall.

BOB: Oh?

HARRY: Out in the hills? Was it kind o' hilly?

BOB: No, it's gently rolling.

HARRY: Oh!

BOB: Ya, he may of had some other land too somewhere else; I don't know.

HARRY: Ya, funny I can't remember that name. I was so damn familiar!

BOB: ~~well~~ <sup>W</sup>hen did the Socialist Party start to decline?

HARRY: Just as soon as the League got<sup>redly</sup> going. Then the membership began to decline and the advertisers began to find it out and ~~the Iconoclast~~ <sup>the Iconoclast</sup> began to lose ground. I was editor then ~~at that time~~ when it ~~was really~~ <sup>bad</sup> went real ~~bad~~ and I was secretary of the party. It didn't take long

either after it started to go downhill because the Non-~~Partisan~~ League, of course, went like a prairie fire over the whole darn state when it got started. And most of the Socialists went over to the League. There were a few diehards, ~~around~~ especially the Finnish people around ~~Warden there,~~ <sup>Belden.</sup> ~~you know?~~ They were the diehards and even like Doctor Stuckey--he was a ~~Legislator here lately~~ and one of the last Socialists. They'd keep on sending in dues, a few of 'em, but it didn't amount to enough to make it worthwhile so I folded the thing up and left, ~~with another socialist there that wasn't going anywhere.~~ And I stopped in Chicago and talked with Adolph Garmer, he was National Secretary then, and told him what I had <sup>I'd</sup> done. Well, I kept on going until I got to New York, thought I had a job reading Norwegian or Scandinavian there in the Censor's Office--that was in wartime o' course--but they found out I'd been editing a paper called The Iona Class there and they told me, "No, we can't use you!" Never will be able to," they said.

~~BOB: They didn't want to take any chances at all!~~

~~HARRY: I~~ I headed back ~~to~~ to Twin Cities and as I stated, 'I didn't have a damn cent!' I phoned one of my brothers to send me ~~20~~ 20 dollars immediately so I could eat and I went up to ~~The~~ National Headquarters up there in St. Paul. Henry <sup>Teigan</sup> ~~Tigen~~ was secretary; he was ~~National~~ Manager really, then! He welcomed me very thoroughly, put me to work, gave me a Ford car, a copy of the Wilson's New Freedom, and a Liberty Bond. "Here you go," he says, "go down and organize."

~~BOB: Now Henry Tigen by that time was an official in the National Non-Partisan League?~~

~~HARRY: Yes, oh, ya, ya!~~

~~BOB: Did he go over to the League straight from Minot then from the Socialist Iona Class, the state secretary?~~

~~HARRY: Yes, he was ~~the state secretary~~ in the state office, you know, in Fargo here for awhile too, you know?~~

BOB: Of the League you mean?

HARRY: Ya!

BOB: Ya.

HARRY: Ya, I don't think he was state manager here, but he soon became National Manager of Organization, you know, there in St. Paul. Oh, ya, he was very capable! He had a mind like a steel trap! He was elected to Congress there, you know, from St. Paul?

BOB: Oh?

HARRY: I still got his card, but I got it up in the office!

BOB: Oh, no, I didn't know that.

HARRY: Ya, sure, from that district there comprised of St. Paul. Sure, he was in Congress, a member of Congress! ~~I still got his card!~~

~~BOB: I got his card! Still got it.~~

BOB: Well, that was about 1915 or so that you took over the Icona Class?

HARRY: Oh, it was later than that! It must of been about '17 along in there.

BOB: Oh!

HARRY: Because I think it was about 1918 when I organized that out in Minnesota there. ~~It was an election year~~ It was an election year and if I'm not mistaken, that famous flyer's father--what the <sup>hell was</sup> ~~hell's~~ his name?

BOB: ~~Carl Ben Ilsen that guy?~~ Carl Ben Ilsen, that guy?

HARRY: ~~Ilsen?~~ Carl Ben Ilsen? Huh?

BOB: Ilsen? Carl Ben Ilsen?

HARRY: No, the fella that flew across the Atlantic that time.

BOB: Oh, Lindbergh!

HARRY: Ya, he was running then, I think, or he was out lecturing ~~then~~ anyway!

BOB: Oh.

HARRY: He was an ardent Non-Partisan Leaguer. Course, he was a Socialist

~~before that; I don't know whether the boy was or not!~~

BOB: Did <sup>Teigan</sup> ~~Teigan~~ stay at the <sup>Iconoclast</sup> ~~Iconoclast~~ until 1917 or thereabouts?

HENRY: Ya, he was editor. I took over from him! He was editor and state secretary and they had to get rid of that. They had to do something with that ~~you know~~, before they began really organizing a Non-Partisan League, and they were going strong and, oh, it was going like wildfire! They preferred to have somebody, a Left-Winger, like myself, ~~as I said~~ to take the stigma away and ~~pretend that~~ <sup>pretend that</sup> it was the radicals running the Socialist Party and they were merely reformers, ~~But as I said~~ I doubt if they fooled very many people. ~~Going over the old Leaders~~ ~~where the propa-~~ ~~ganda--that is really interesting!~~ <sup>that's</sup> Like to relive the old days they have ~~to going over those~~ ~~ben volumes of the Leaders~~ from 1915 to 1918 I ~~think~~ <sup>guess</sup> it was. That was really the ~~informative~~ <sup>informative</sup> period of the League!

BOB: What did the Non-Partisan League have that accounted for its appeal? ~~that the Socialists didn't have?~~

HENRY: They took those immediate demands that the people could understand. The farmers ~~know~~ ~~they~~ could understand that they were being exploited by the grain gamblers, ~~And big business,~~ ~~they continuously~~ ~~fought all the time.~~ But they couldn't understand ~~why~~ ~~in~~ ~~explain~~ Karl Marx! ~~Why,~~ ~~of course,~~ ~~that would~~ ~~maybe~~ ~~most of 'em~~ ~~never~~ ~~would understand,~~ ~~but they could understand those demands!~~ They wanted relief and they wanted better prices for their grain. They wanted terminal elevators. ~~They didn't want to get~~ ~~gyped on~~ ~~grade,~~ ~~so they knew that.~~ ~~They could see that sending it into the terminals!~~ ~~And they could see~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>saw</sup> they were being exploited--the prices that were being charged them for machinery and everything. That they could understand!

BOB: Do you think the label "socialist" ~~would preclude the party from get-~~ ~~ting any support from some people?~~ ~~Just the name Socialist,~~ <sup>would</sup> ~~that~~ immediately conjure up visions of free love or something like that with ~~many~~ <sup>many</sup> ~~at~~ ~~to~~ people?

HENRY: Ya, it would, some of 'em. I know us organizers who were ~~Socialists~~, talked ~~about~~ socialism and they didn't seem to be afraid of ~~Socialism~~; but we didn't get to 'em, you know? The Socialist Party didn't get to 'em. Where we got to 'em, ~~we~~ we did pretty well like ~~in~~ in the small towns and in the farming districts! Take, for instance, there was one township in Oliver County where "Dad" Walker became one of the Non-~~Partisan~~ Leaguers. In his township they'd get 21 ~~votes~~ ~~that~~ socialist votes ~~in~~ every darn election ~~and they were Socialist~~ when they were ~~Socialist~~! Most of ~~the~~ ~~socialists~~ out in these towns only understood about the reform part of it, ~~you know~~ They didn't stop to analyze it. They couldn't begin to think in terms of ~~Marxian~~ ~~economics~~; that was impossible. And, of course, us ~~socialists~~ were really silly in believing that we could convert 'em, ~~although~~ <sup>convert</sup> We did <sup>convert</sup> some of 'em, but it wasn't enough to really make an impression on the political scene. We couldn't get the majority ~~of~~ of 'em like the Non-~~Partisan~~ League <sup>did;</sup> but, by the same token, the Non-~~Partisan~~ League failed, too, after they got into power. It didn't take very long because of the very fact that their membership <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ not educated. They got some of the things that they wanted. They got their ~~state~~ ~~bank~~; they got ~~state~~ ~~mail~~ ~~insurance~~; they got their ~~state~~ ~~mill~~; the workers got their ~~workmen's~~ ~~compensation~~, <sup>and</sup> ~~minimum~~ ~~wage~~ ~~law~~. "Well, maybe that will do it," they thought in their minds. "Maybe we should quit now; we shouldn't be quite so hardheaded." ~~They did quit~~ ~~And~~ They did quit!

BOB: Course, before the 1920's, there hadn't been too much antisocialist propoganda. ~~That heavy Red scare business and all that kind o' came along later, didn't it?~~

HENRY: ~~Ya, it did~~ ~~and~~ I think maybe the reason for <sup>it</sup> ~~it~~ was that the people that were really opposed to Socialism didn't know how fast it was going! You know, we almost got a million votes <sup>in 1912</sup> ~~there~~ with Eugene Debs and they began to ~~figure~~ figure, "We can't stop it!" They even put <sup>Debs</sup> ~~him~~ in prison when they couldn't stop it! So <sup>then</sup> ~~it~~ really hit the Non-~~Partisan~~ League harder than it ever did. Matter o' fact, I understand they <sup>tared</sup> ~~tared~~

and feathered a couple o' Non~~y~~artisan Leaguers! They never did that to ~~S~~ocialists up in this part o' the country. The business people, especially the smaller business, ~~many~~ were more afraid of the Non~~y~~artisan League than they were of the ~~S~~ocialists because the Non~~y~~artisan League attacked them really where it hurt when they started establishing banks, mills, ~~factories~~ and even stores like the consumer stores. My God, that threatened their way of life!

BOB: What kind of a man was A.C. Townley? You must have known him!

HENRY: Well, he was kind of a complex character. They have pictured him as kind of a boss, a despot, ~~unscrupulous~~, <sup>and a</sup> racketeer, but he wasn't ~~any~~ of them. In fact, my notion is <sup>that</sup> he was inclined to be <sup>bit</sup> a little religious and he was very intense-natured and he was one of those pugnacious ~~fellows~~ fellows. He wanted to stand up for his rights and he'd fight for them, and he was one of the best organizers <sup>and</sup> crusaders that has ever been in this part of the country! He wasn't strictly a ~~Marxian-S~~ocialist. I don't think he ever understood ~~S~~ocialism from that angle and perhaps that was all to the good ~~in~~ in so far as organizing a ~~League~~ League is concerned. And, of course, he had his failure there. Crop failure, flax, and it embittered him; there's no question about that! And he was just the temperament to organize a ~~League~~ League! He was a wonderful speaker to the people that he spoke to ~~and he talked with ~~with~~ them; he didn't talk to them~~. He talked their language. And he talked with 'em; he didn't talk to them. He was good-hearted and he certainly didn't make any money. He died poor! <sup>A</sup> Of course, we never could agree because he was against everything that a ~~S~~ocialist was for! Those last years he had a racket that was associated with attacking ~~Communists~~ Communists and that was after the League. That was in the '50s. ~~I suppose, '60s maybe, '50s.~~ He was doing that when he died--when he killed there in an automobile accident. But he'd shake down the businessmen, you know? At that time they were bitter against the ~~Communists~~ Communists. He would get a magazine and maybe an article

against communists telling what they were doing and how they were going to take over and everything like that and he'd slam that down before a businessman and he'd say, "Here, ~~Here~~ is what ~~'s~~ gonna get you and contribute \$100 or \$200 or whatever! I'm fighting this!" And he was, you know, over the radio. And he was up to see me quite often! Of course, I was no ~~Communist~~. I was a ~~socialist~~ and they're diametrically opposed to each other in a way although they both believe in eliminating <sup>the</sup> profit system. ~~But that is what he turned into. He was bitter against them.~~ I

~~think maybe part <sup>of</sup> the reason ~~maybe, course, he was broke, too, o' course!~~ <sup>was that he</sup>~~

It was a darn good racket! There was ~~a~~ little bit of the racketeer spirit in him. He knew about those oil wells, you know? He knew darn well there wasn't any oil there when he was trying to promote those oil wells although ~~ugh~~ he was honest about it! He told the farmer, "Now, I don't know! ~~What~~ You're gambling; do you wanna put in a \$100 in this? Go ahead! You might win; you never can tell!" Course, I never bought any. But he was really a good-hearted fellow! ~~What~~ Good ~~and, gosh, you know,~~ especially to us organizers. We'd sometimes be dead broke! We couldn't get commissions or nothin' or live on it in some territories and he'd dig down in his pocket; his hand was always in his pocket dishing it out to somebody! Anybody that thinks he was a Non-~~Partisan~~ Leaguer and led the ~~the~~ League to make money they don't know what <sup>they're</sup> ~~that~~ talking about! They don't know him! ~~His wife there, you know~~ ~~He~~ was really into the ~~Socialist~~ Movement pretty deep. Although, as I said, he never was what we used to call a well-grounded <sup>socialist, he was</sup> more superficial. But his wife there was even caretaker of our ~~Socialist~~ <sup>in Minot</sup> Library ~~and~~ and we had some pretty darn radical books in that library, but somebody got to her and through the grapevine we found that it was very likely the church he belonged to and told her that she would have to quit and she did! But I'll say this much for Townley, ~~he~~ was a fighter and the people believed in him! Why, one time in August, ~~that was~~ <sup>when</sup> when they had airplanes and they had a meeting up in the northern part <sup>of the state,</sup> ~~where~~ and he come in on a plane, you know? He

had a sense o' dramatics too, ~~you know~~ <sup>they thought it was</sup> ~~A~~ and the people, why, <sup>v</sup>practically the ~~second coming!~~ ~~you know~~

BOB: Well, ~~he has often been pictured by the, oh, in the anti-league papers, you know, The Red Flame and all them and the IVA papers as a power hungry man and I'm sure you've seen the cartoons of him stuffing that six dollars from some farmer in his pocket or something. Do you think there was some power-hungry drive in him?~~

HENRY: I think that was minimal and I can explain it because of the fact that the ~~Lieutenant's~~ <sup>he</sup> ~~picked~~ ~~men~~ were real brainy people and he listened to them and he'd ask their advice. <sup>(?)</sup> ~~Now L.L. Griffith out on the farm and, by the way, L.L. Griffith wouldn't stand for that! He just simply made him understand he was not welcome there, but he selected men like that.~~ <sup>Charles</sup> ~~He'd get men and work with men like~~ <sup>v</sup> Edward Russell and Walter Thomas Mills, really brainy, nationally and internationally-known people. <sup>Teigen</sup> ~~And men like Henry~~ <sup>Leon Duracher,</sup> ~~the speakers, and they had more brains and they did more to direct the course of the League than Townley ever did. So I'm sure that he never wanted to be a despot or a dictator or anything like that! I know that! No, I knew him real well! These people that wrote in the Historical Magazine, those last several~~ ~~did you read that? They pictured him as a despot, you know?~~

BOB: ~~Oh, ya, I know the article you mean ya~~

HARRY: ~~I started in a article kind of in defense of Townley although Townley and I didn't see eye to eye at any time really except give him credit for what he was. Held-call-us-organizers together~~