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MINNESOTA SAVES THE WORLD FOR DEMOCRACY

Did you know that Minnesota once had a reign of terror?

There are still living many thousands of Minnesotans who remember this unfortunate period in the state's history and who were victims of the terror. Those Americans who look with baleful eyes in the direction of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy for America's fascist pattern would do well to cast their glances back to Minnesota during the World War days if they want to get a mild idea of what fascist terror would be like should it ever come to the United States. For in the period beginning roughly in 1917 and coming to a gradual conclusion in early 1920, Minnesotans got a sampling of what fascism is like. Were it not for the fact that Minnesota was only one of forty-eight states and that the sovereignty of the federal government acted as a brake on certain reactionary forces at the time, this unfortunate period might have been prolonged, the terror extended, and democracy wiped out of the state for a long time to come.

This era of terror took place during, immediately prior to, and in the early aftermath of the World War. Apologists for the notorious Commission of Public Safety and those others instrumental in the wholesale suppression of civil liberties in the state claim that the condition was necessitated by the strain of the World War and by the need to make the people united to assure an Allied Victory.[1] However, fundamental facts including the political and economic situation prevalant at the time, observations by President Wilson and agents of the federal government and others who since have been honored for their integrity and ability, belie this contention.[2] Fundamental facts indicate that the World War had no more to do with the wholesale curtailments of constitutional rights than had the Jews to do with economic collapse in Germany. Minnesota reactionaries and German Nazis use these arguments to

bolster their positions and to throw dust into the eyes of the world. They can cite facts and quote authorities to prove their positions. History, however, always has the last word in such arguments, and while history at present is powerless to speak out in Germany, it is now unshackled in Minnesota and its findings can be revealed to the public.

In order to understand the truth of the above assertions, it is necessary first to understand the background of the Northwestern states since frontier days. This has been dealt with in detail in previous chapters, and no more than a rough summary is necessary at this point to bring out its relationship to the subject at hand.

To start with, it must be remembered that liberalism had been propitiated since the turn of the century by the influence of such tremendous national figures as President Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Robert LaFollette [3] and by such state figures as Governors Lind, Johnson, Van Sant, and Eberhart. The class-conscious, Jacksonian-like farmers of the Northwest had been fighting for years against the victorious onslaughts and expropriations of the big trusts.[4] At the beginning of the war they had met with some measure of success. Every election saw more and more men of their choosing occupying seats in the state legislature or the national Congress. While they had never controlled a majority in either legislature or Congress, they were threatening to do so in the near future.

A liberal -- thanks to the split another liberal, Teddy Roosevelt, had engineered in the Republican party nationally -- sat in the White House during and in the years immediately preceding the war.[5] And throughout the nation and especially in the State House in St. Paul, such epithets as "Steel trust man," "Lumber jockey," Railroad tool," "Money Trust man" and other such terms were being used to ferret out and defeat those lawmakers and public officials whom the rank and file had decided were opposed to the best interests of the state.[6] These terms had been used before, but now, in the days

immediately preceding the war, they were becoming tellingly effective. Bribery, flattery, and cajolery were proving ineffective weapons with which to control lawmaking and law enforcing, as far as big business was concerned.[7]

The Northwest's radical farmers were definitely on the upsurge. In 1916 they had captured practically every state and national elective office in the state of North Dakota under the leadership of the Nonpartisan League and were threatening to do the same to Minnesota, capital state of the Northwest.[8] A. C. Townley, who had organized North Dakota's successful coup-d'etat, had returned home to his native state and in less than a year's time had organized a Minnesota farmer's Nonpartisan League with 50,000 dues-paying members.[9] These farmers were definitely and uncompromisingly anti-capitalist without being socialist. While their program therefore was of necessity a negative one, it did call for public ownership of practically every key industry, packing house, and method of transportation that affected the agricultural industry.[10]

Labor, too, was on the march. In the years just prior to our entry into the World War, the Industrial Workers of the World--popularly known as the IWW's or Wobblies--had succeeded in organizing agricultural workers, lumberjacks, and other types of labor. Both they and the Socialists were active on the Iron Range and in the Twin Cities. Successful strikes were engineered which brought cuts in the frequently exorbitant profits going to Capital as a result of the War raging in Europe.[11] To add to the seriousness--from Capital's point of view--of the situation, the Minnesota Federation of Labor, meeting at Virginia in 1918, voted to organize a Working People's Nonpartisan Political League to work in conjunction with the Farmer's Nonpartisan League.[12] The magnitude of the situation can well be understood from an entry in the minutes of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (I.W.W.) which had its national headquarters in Minneapolis to the effect that if the IWW and the Nonpartisan League could come to an understanding, the balance of power in Minnesota would be shifted from the state government to the IWW and Nonpartisan League

combine.[13]

However, some of the above picture might be likened to putting the cart before the horse. Other facts, more directly concerned with the period immediately prior to the world war should be brought out. While the farmers and their various organizations usually expressed themselves with a hybrid philosophy--anti-capitalism but not pro-socialism--many Twin City and Iron Range dwellers were more specific and extremely radical in their political thinking. In the organized, militant branch of the working class movement throughout the nation, Minnesota Comrades were always to the left of the national body. As witness, when the Socialist party throughout the World split as a result of the World War and its left elements organized the Communist party, almost the whole of the Minnesota Socialist party was in the vanguard of the organizers of the Communist party. When, much later in 1928, a second split occured, on the basis of Trotskyism, and the Trokskists were expelled on charges of being leftist extremists, the majority of the Minnesota branch were among those expelled.[14]

So effective were the Socialists in Minnesota that in 1916 they succeeded in electing one of their members, VanLear, head of the machinists' union, as mayor of Minneapolis.[15] Thus, apparently, city workers were becoming as class-conscious as the farmers. If these two groups started working together, there was no telling what they might do and how far they might go. At the time, it seemed as though nothing could stop the common people of the state from taking over everything. It must be remembered at this point that the Republican party was the bulwark of so-called invested interests, and that the tactics of the Nonpartisan League were to capture the Republican party in the primaries and take it away from these interests. They had failed in their first campaign in 1916 but at a terrific cost in money and energy to the tories, and now, strengthened by the lessons of this defeat, they were coming back stronger than ever.

Then, on February 3, 1917, the United States declared war against Germany. British propaganda already had paved the way for this and there was a strong anti-German feeling throughout the nation. This feeling became a hysteria after we entered the war and was fanned to flames by everybody interested in our military success. This pro-war, anti-German feeling found only a luke-warm acceptance in the Middle West, and Minnesota was in the very heart of the anti-war sentiment.[16]

There were several reasons for this. One was the above-mentioned anti-capitalist feeling coupled with a suspicion that capitalists had engineered our entry into the war. A second was the wide-spread influence of Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh and his exposes of the cause of war. A third was the fact that over half the state's population was either foreign-born or of foreign-born parents. The largest single element of these came from the traditionally pacifistic Scandinavian countries. The second largest group was German or Austrian born. And of the others, large numbers had come from nations held in control by Tsarist Russia and they could hardly see how a war in alliance with this nation could justifiably be called a war for democracy.

Still a fourth reason was the fact that Minnesota always has had a high literacy and educational rating, and it was difficult for people of background and education to believe the since-proven-untrue atrocity stories that were being used to whip up war sentiment.[17]

It was largely among these anti-war people that the agrarian and urban radical movements had their greatest strength.[18] Nothing could have been more fortunate or more opportune than this as far as the retreating reactionaries were concerned. They immediately took advantage of this situation to smash their enemies for many years to come. They adopted the War as their own, became vociferous in carrying it out, and wasted no time in taking a patent out on patriotism and loyalty. Then, utilizing every means at their command, they proceeded to brand the entire radical and liberal and union movements as un-

American, pro-German, agents of the Kaiser, and unpatriotic. What these dollar-a-year patrioteers lacked in numbers, they made up in energy, efficiency, and organization. In this, they were ably assisted by Governor A. J. Burnquist--elected with liberal and Nonpartisan League support--and the state legislature. No longer were indirection, persuasion, and bribery necessary. With the existing set-up as it was, they could establish an open military dictatorship under cover of patriotic necessity and thereby smash their enemies. This they proceeded to do.

At the time was was declared, the legislature was in session. Majority control in both houses was in the hands of the reactionaries and well-meaning but naive men who easily became their allies. Inasmuch as the Minnesota legislature would adjourn before the end of March and would not reconvene again before two years were up, it was decided to create a body vested with power to take care of any situation that might arise in the meantime. This commission was named the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety, consisted of seven men including the governor and attorney-general, and was given broader powers than a similar national body created by Congress. The state commission was supposed to cooperate with and not assume functions or duties that properly belonged to the general war administration. Thus, to all appearances, the Minnesota commission was created to go even beyond what the Federal government considered adequate for proper defense methods.

The state was given power, by the act, to remove from office any public official not a constitutional state official, if the commission recommended that the public interest seemed to require it. The Legislature deleted a section of the original bill that provided anyone disobeying an order of the commission guilty of a felony. This foresight on the part of the people didn't hamstring the commission, however, for a year later the little body of seven dictators themselves put teeth into the law by decreeing that any person violating or refusing or failing to obey any order of the commission should be guilty of a

misdeamor.

In addition to Burnquist and the attorney general, those selected to exercise these extraordinary powers were Charles H. March of Litchfield, Charles W. Ames of St. Paul, Anton C. Weiss of Duluth, and John Lind and John F. McGee of Minneapolis. The latter was chairman. When Attorney General Lyndon A. Smith died March 4, 1918, his place was taken by the new Attorney General, Clifford L. Hilton. Ames and Lind resigned and their places were filled by Henry W. Libby and Thomas E. Cashman respectively.[21]

Despite the fact that the federal government provided for the drafting and training of soldiers and private institutions handled Liberty Loans sales and fund raising for welfare work, the commission found plenty of work to do. It was in session 100 days, set up organizations consisting of 4000 men and 20,000 women operating in every county, and issued 49 orders. During its term it assumed executive, legislative, and judicial powers. It served as disrupter of radicals and liberals and as strike breaker. It organized a stellar home guard of more than 10,000 men and supplemented them with 600 plain clothes men and the services of the Pinkerton Detective Agency for espionage purposes. It took a large force to make the sovereign state of Minnesota safe for democracy.[22]

According to Ambrose Tighe, who drafted the original measure and served as commission counsel, the purpose of the commission was "to obviate the need of recourse to martial law by arming a state board with extraordinary powers to the end that trouble may be prevented instead of punished after it has come."[23] Mussolini and Hitler also subscribe to this philosophy.

Conservative historian William Watts Folwell comments on the commission in his history as follows: "Armed with extraordinary powers and granted an ample appropriation ($1,000,000) ... the commission proceeded to exercise functions the like of which the history of American law has never disclosed... If a large, hostile army had already been landed in Duluth and

was about to march on the capital of the state, a more liberal dictatorship could hardly have been conceded to the Commission."[24] Even Theodore Christianson, who at the time was a patrioteer himself, remarks in his history of the state that the Commission was perhaps too enthusiastic in exercising its powers.[25]

With newspapers daily haranguing the people, four-minute speakers getting in their licks, and a constant tour of nationally famous men and women entering the state and pleading for loyalty, public hysteria mounted to terrific heights. Minority opinions were used with scant courtesy. Foreign-born of all sorts and especially Germans and to a lesser extent Scandinavians, were suspect. Use of foreign language was considered un-American. The music of Schubert, Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, and Wagner was considered unpatriotic. Aliens were required to register, to answer a large number of questions, and to disclose, among other things, how much property they had.[26] Those who failed to do so were subject to interment. Persons conversant with the 1930 German situation, will notice a striking resemblance to these measures and to the measure enacted against Jews in Germany under the Nazis.

The Military dictatorship also saw to it that morals were regulated, and in this it followed a distinctly Puritan direction. It set the hours that saloons might be open and provided that no woman could ever enter a saloon at any time. The operation of dance halls and pool halls was also dictated.

Patriotic literature of all sorts was published, and county directors appointed by the commission were authorized to summon and question under oath those recalcitrants who resisted the please of four-minute men and refused or failed to subscribe to their quota of Liberty bonds. It might be well to mention at this point that of the five Liberty bond issues, all but the first loan were oversubscribed in Minnesota with approximately $450,000,000 being raised to help finance the war.

Law enforcement officers were directed to report the names of all able-bodied men not regularly or continuously employed. Strikes and lockouts were

forbidden, and a system of compulsory arbitration was set up. Whenever necessary, the home guard was employed to break strikes. Their major achievement in this direction was the breaking of a Twin City street-car strike in 1918 as part of their duty in helping the Allies win their war against the Central powers.[27]

Efficiency and cooperation from the citizenry was a keynote to the whole program. It became patriotic to engage in home-gardening. The Middle-West was the breadbasket of the nation and it was up to this section to raise food for the warring world. Minnesota increased its crop production considerably. The home gardening added to this supply and especially to the immediate needs of the civilian population. Even school children took to gardening and the lawns of many schoolyards became vegetable gardens during this period. In other ways Minnesotans conserved on food and other supplies that were necessary to the winning of the war. Many thousands denied themselves the use of sugar and other war-important foods. The consumption of coal was cut down. Every kind of waste was eliminated. Bandages were made up by women and children. Important social functions were turned into bandage-making occasions. Knitting became a popular pastime and a way of proving one's patriotism. Women, little children, and men all started knitting. Every place one went, knitters were to be seen -- in the home, the theater, and even on street-cars. And while the civilian and home population was thus contributing its share, 120,000 Minnesota youths enlisted in the United States military and naval forces.[28]

Some of these activities were done under the direction of the Commission of Public Safety; others were the results of initiative on the parts of the people themselves. Probably as much would have been accomplished had the Commission never existed. The Commission, itself, had other duties to accomplish before the war was completed. The Nonpartisan League and the workers' organizations were still going full force and something had to be done about them. As Judge John McGee, Commission chairman, stated, "A Non-Partisan Leaguer

is a traitor everytime....and....where we made our mistake was in not establishing a firing squad in the first days of the war. We should get busy now and have that firing squad working overtime."[29]

It was not long before farmers found that in their attitude toward the war, disloyalty was not considered nearly as heinous a crime as their efforts toward trying to make the war what it pretended to be--a war for democracy.[30] Wherever their speakers went, they were threatened with lynching or tar-and-feathering. As a matter of record, tar-and-feathering were not uncommon, nor were floggings.[31]

At its 1918 convention the Nonpartisan League went on record as being fully in accord with President Wilson's war aims. It declared German military autocracy a menace to the world and announced that Minnesota's farmers would continue their efforts in prosecuting America's war against autocracy. It did, however, condemn the Minnesota dministration "for its open espousal of lawlessness, as the only state that has permitted and encouraged mob violence against the organized farmers."

The convention made the mistake, however, of declaring that war is sponsored and fostered by profiteers and that it was profiteers who were handicapping the government and prolonging the war. After announcing their intention of continuing to fight big business, they reavowed their faith in democracy and in the future of America.[32]

Despite this declaration of loyalty, when the campaign was launched it was under the most trying of circumstances. The shadow of Judge Lynch fell over the state and the sacred American bill of rights was regarded the same way the Germans regarded the Belgium neutrality treaty--as a scrap of paper. Nonpartisan and Farmer-Labor meetings were mobbed, speakers pulled from platforms, and arrests made without warrants. Of the 250 League Meetings scheduled for Minnesota in the winter and early spring of 1918, 40 had to be abandoned. At others, speakers were stoned and rotten-egged. Halls would be engaged, and

then, just before the meeting was scheduled to start, the sheriff would padlock the door. Sometimes hundreds of farmers and sympathizers went miles out of their way after such occasions to the farm of some friend of the movement to hold their meetings.

Lindbergh, League candidate for governor, was led to jail on one occasion and almost lynched. On others, he was shot at. A farmer near Hinckley was making a speech at a school house when a mob of armed and masked men entered, took him prisoner, hurried him away to a spot several miles away, stripped him naked, beat him, and covered him with tar and feathers. Two days later this same courageous man returned and told his audience of close to a thousand farmers what had happened to him and that the masked mob had threatened death to any League speaker or organizer who entered the country.

Nor was there any protection from the law. Judges during these days were extremely variable and law enforcing officers under Burnquist's administration were frequently no more than armed, lawless hoodlums.[33]

Representatives of the federal government sent to Minnesota by President Wilson bitterly denounced these tactics against the League, repudiated the rumor that Wilson wanted Burnquist reelected, and even went so far as to contribute both financially and morally to the Nonpartisan-Farmer-Labor cause.[34] But to no avail. Reaction and tyranny, with practically every newspaper in the state backing them and with protected libels, hostile courts, hoodlum law officers, some of the clergy, and the Commission of Public Safety contributing tremendous weight in their direction, came through victors by a slim margin of 50,000 votes.[35]

While engaged in smashing the farmers' organizations, the Commission and its allies also turned their energies in the direction of labor.[36] It wasn't difficult to do this. Intolerant, narrow, and dictatorial, Judge McGee had absolute control over the weak Burnquist.[37] The Wobblies, who were organizing unions and preaching syndicalism among agrarian and mine workers, were forging

ahead in their work despite oppression and interference with their rights on the part of authorities. McGee's Commission, backed by Burnquist and Senator Nelson, put pressure to bear on the United States Department of Justice to smash this organization. The federal department's reply that it could find no federal statute warranting action did not dismay them. Their counsel pointed out that an emergency existed inasmuch as the Wobblies were succeeding in their demands for increased wages for harvest hands, and he suggested a technical way out of the slight difficulty that no statute warranting action existed. All that was necessary, the counsel said, was to paralyze the IWW temporarily. This could be done by arresting their leaders which was more important at the moment that their convictions. So a raid was made from coast to coast upon this organization, hundreds of its members, including Big Bill Haywood, were arrested, and after a year in jail, 101 were convicted of violation of the penal code and the Espionage act and sentenced to serve everywhere from 3 months to 20 years in jail.[38]

Thus did the Commission get its licks in at the radical and militant labor organizations. To round out their triumph, VanLear, Socialist mayor of Minneapolis, was defeated in 1918 after a close battle. Forces supporting him maintain stoutly that the Socialist was not defeated as much as he was counted out. Stories of ballot boxes floating down the river, of intimidation at the polls, and of other undemocratic methods were hurled against the powers that be. But nothing was done in reply to these charges.

Radical farmers and organized laborers were not the only sufferers. Judge McGee had said, "The disloyal element in Minnesota is largely among the German-Swedish people. The nation blundered at the start of the war in not dealing severely with these vipers."[39] McGee, however, was not the blunderer that the sovereign people of America were, and these "vipers" were made to suffer. Yellow paint was thrown on their walks and their homes. They were threatened, tarred and feathered, and beaten up. Legally, they were subject

to investigation, arrest, and questioning.

So-called "slackers" and pacifists were treated likewise.[40] Nor were intellectuals and the schools free from interference. Most important attack on intellectuals was the action instituted by Pierce Butler, utilities attorney and at present member of the United States Supreme Court, against Professor William Schaper, one of the best known and most influential authorities on municipal problems. His authority was so widely recognized that legislatures and municipal councils employed him on occasion to help settle their problems. He was a firm exponent of public ownership of public utilities which may or may not have been the reason Pierce Butler was interested in his case. Anyway, he was discharged from his post in disgrace and without even the right of a trial or a chance to defend himself according to American practice. In 1938, Farmer-Labor Governor Elmer Benson climaxed a long struggle by friends--sympathizers of the professor to right this wrong by granting him a complete pardon and by otherwise acting in his behalf.[41]

During all this time, Minnesota frequently was the center of front-page news and publicity throughout the nation and even the world. Congressman Lundeen won wide publicity when he polled his district on whether the United States should enter the war or not and was instructed by an overwhelming vote against the war. This was an unprecedented action for a congressman to consult his constituency on important legislation that affected them all.[42]

New Ulm, likewise, conducted such a poll and also won publicity. This little Minnesota city won further publicity when, on the night of July 25, 1917, 10,000 people gathered in one of its parks and held a meeting protesting infringements on their rights. They did not threaten to resist the government by force, but they did state mildly that they believed the draft law to be unconstitutional. The assembly was peaceful and was participated in by duly elected officials of the community including the mayor and city attorney of New Ulm and the auditor and treasurer of Brown county.

Patrioteers fumed when they heard of this meeting and on August 14, the four community officials were hailed before the Commission of Public Safety and then dismissed from their offices by Governor Burnquist.[43]

At approximately the same time, the state again made the nation's front pages when the People's Council for Democracy and Terms of Peace, a pacifist organization, accepted an invitation from Mayor VanLear and prepared to hold its national convention in Minneapolis. The sheriff of Hennepin county protested to the governor, insisting it would be impossible to maintain order if the convention assembled and that riots would ensue. So Burnquist obligingly issued an order forbidding the organization to hold its convention anywhere in the state.[44]

When Lindbergh, who had been defeated in his bid for the governorship, offered his services to both Burnquist and Wilson to help forward the progress of the war, and was appointed by the latter to serve on the War Industries Board, another howl of protest went up from the enemies of progress. Lindbergh was forced to resign.[45] It was apparant that reactionaries were not going to permit any outstanding fighter against monopoly control to do anything patriotic. If they did, it would be hard to brand progressives as un-American, pro-German, and unpatriotic, and such epithets seemed to be the only stock in trade the Tories had in Minnesota.

Perhaps one of the most sensational news stories resulted from the address of Senator Bob LaFollette at a producers and consumers conference in St. Paul, September 1917. Ten thousand persons gathered to hear the famous American liberal. The purpose of the gathering was to ask the government to protect consumers from wartime exploitation. Government regulation and limitation of profits was asked. For some unknown reason, this meeting and La Follette's address caused a tremendous turmoil. It was charged with being a disloyal gathering and the Wisconsin Senator was accused of uttering seditious statements. An investigation by the Safety Commission that followed failed

to yield any evidence warranting prosecution. Nevertheless, the Commission demanded that the Senate expel the great pacifist.[46]

A. C. Townley and Joseph Gilbert, Nonpartisan League Officials, were subjected to several trials and were finally convicted by a Jackson county jury. Townley was not allowed to argue his own case and although he was not in the county at the time he was charged with having made seditious utterances, he was nevertheless found guilty.

The jail terms of these two men were not served, however, until October 24, 1921, when their last plea was denied by the United States Supreme Court. By this time, democracy had returned to Minnesota, the Safety Commission had ceased functioning, and a conscience-stricken America was awakening from its nightmare. So when Townley presented himself at the jail to begin his sentence, he was accompanied by a tremendous retinue of admiring cheering citizens.[47]

While the liberal and progressive movement was set back several years by the advantage its enemies took of the World War, it nevertheless survived due to the heroism of its membership and leaders. Several years later, after democracy was once again reestablished in the state, this movement was ready to take office and initiate its program. But there were moments, during those black days, when it seemed as if only a miracle could save it.

(Submitted by Curtis Erickson)

FOOTNOTES: Minnesota Makes The World Safe For Democracy

1. Theodore Christianson "Minnesota" Vol. 2, pp. 390-403.

2. Lynn and Dora Haines "The Lindberghs" P. 279.

3. Minn. Alumni Weekly: "Minnesota On The Eve of the World War," A. J. Larson, Dec. 2, 1933.

4. C. R. Walker "American City" P. 46.

5. Minn. Alumni Weekly: "Minn. On The Eve of the World War," A. J. Larson, Dec. 2, 1933.

6. Minn. Alumni Weekly: "Minn. On The Eve of the World War," A. J. Larson, Dec. 2, 1933.

7. C. R. Walker "American City" p. 50.

8. " " " " " " "

9. " " " " " " " also B. H. Hibbard "Marketing Agricultural Products;" also Ernest Lundeen "Cong. Recd." Vol. 8, part 9, page 9708.

10. C. R. Walker "American City" p. 46, Haines "The Lindberghs;" Lundeen "Cong. Recd.

11. C. R. Walker "American City" p. 50, Christianson "Minnesota" Vol. 2, pp. 390-403.

12. C. R. Walker "American City", Haines "The Lindberghs;" Lundeen "Cong. Rec. same citation.

13. C. R. Walker "American City" p. 50

14. " " " " " p. 55

15. " " " " " p. 55

16. " " " " " Christianson "Minnesota;" Haines "The Lindberghs;" Minn. Alumni Weekly: "Minn. During the World War" Mary Wheelhouse, v. 33, p. 235-36.

17. (All references sames as those listed under footnote #16.)

18. Haines, "The Lindberghs."

19. " " "

20. C. R. Walker "American City" p. 50.

21. (All references same as those listed under footnote #16.)

22. " " " " " " " " "

23. Christianson "Minnesota."

24. Wm. Watts Folwell "Hist. of Minn."

FOOTNOTES: Minnesota Makes The World Safe For Democracy

25. Christianson "Minnesota"

26. (All references same as those listed under footnote #16.)

27. " " " " " " " " "

28. " " " " " " " " "

29. Haines "The Lindberghs;" also McGee's testimony at Washington, D. C. Quotation is taken from this latter.

30. Walker "American City" p. 51.

31. (All references sames as those listed under footnote #16.)

32. Haines "The Lindberghs" pp. 272-75.

33. (All references same as those listed under footnote #16.)

34. Haines "The Lindberghs."

35. (All references same as those listed under footnote #16.)

36. Christianson "Minnesota;" Walker "American City."

37. Cong. Record, Vol. 80, part 9, p. 9708.

38. Walker "American City" p. 52; Christianson "Minnesota."

39. Haines "The Lindberghs" p. 281.

40. (All references same as those listed under footnote #16.)

41. Christianson "Minnesota;" Folwell, "History of Minnesota;" Minn. Daily, 1938; New Republic; Twin City Daily Newspapers 1917, 1938.

42. Cong. Rec. Vol. 80, part 9, p. 9708.

43. " " " " " " " " ; Christianson "Minn."; Haines "The Lindberghs;" Walker, "American City."

44. Haines "The Lindberghs"

45. " " "

46. " " " ; Christianson "Minnesota;" Walker "American City;" Con. Rec. Vol. 80, part 9, p. 9708.

47. Haines "The Lindberghs", Cong. Rec. Vol. 80, part 9, p. 9708; Christianson "Minnesota."