Land, Liquor, and the Women of Hatton, North Dakota

By Barbara Handy-Marchello

On the afternoon of January 10, 1890, a group of women, numbering about ten to fourteen, gathered outside of **Hatton, North Dakota**. They carried axes, hammers, and long sticks. At three o'clock they rode into town on sleighs and entered saloons owned by Oscar Brandon, Charlie Gunderson, and L.O. Fisk, determined to curb the abuse of the liquor trade in Hatton. Wielding their tools as weapons, they smashed tables, windows, and mirrors. They broke whiskey bottles and kegs. They kept at it until "their shoes and long skirts were wet" with the liquor that poured onto the floor as they went about their carefully and quietly planned mission.[1] To save his saloon from destruction, Fisk liberally sprinkled the room with pepper which kept the women out. In Brandon's saloon one of the patrons, Peter P. Lomen, tried to take Orlaug Aasen's shingling hammer away from her. She resisted, "swinging the hammer in all directions to keep people away from her."[2] Lomen was hit on the head and fell to the floor. Pastor C.J.M. Gronlid, who accompanied the women, helped Lomen out of the saloon. By evening, the women had returned to their homes, the saloons were back in business, and Mr. Lomen was drinking at Charlie Gunderson's saloon. Lomen, who was drunk that day and was known as a regular in the Hatton saloons, died three weeks later after infection set into the wound.

This event has nearly disappeared from the history of North Dakota. It was a local event, of little interest elsewhere. The Fargo *Daily Argus* printed the overwrought account of an excited reporter because it was an anti-prohibition newspaper and, perhaps, because the Hatton women might have set off a backlash that would turn the voters of the new state against prohibition.[3] The Woman's Christian Temperance Union of North Dakota gave the Hatton women neither notice nor support in their monthly journal, *The White Ribbon*.

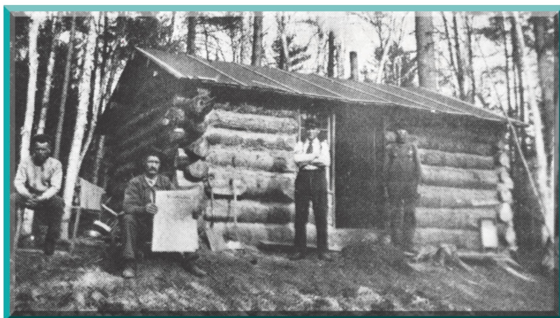


Figure 1. L.O. Fisk (center with newspaper) was one of the founders of Hatton and its first postmaster. He protected his saloon from destruction by sprinkling it with liberal quantities of pepper. *(SHSND 978.414H289h 1983p25)*

Perhaps the event drew so little attention because the anger of the women who confidently strode into **Hatton's saloons** that January day seemed anachronistic. North Dakota had entered the union in November 1889 with a prohibition clause in the state constitution. Article XX, **the prohibition clause**, had been submitted to the vote of the people separate from the rest of the constitution. Though the vote had been much closer on Article XX than on the rest of the document, and it had not passed in some counties, including neighboring Cass County, the people of North Dakota had voted in favor of prohibition. The saloons were to remain open until July 1890 in order to allow saloonkeepers to make arrangements for changing the nature of their business.[4] In addition, Dakota Territory had had a local option law since 1887, and the saloonkeepers of Hatton operated their establishments under that law.

Figure 2. Hatton in 1889. *(Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo, 2000.237.1)*

The concept of legalized temperance came to Dakota Territory with the influx of "boomers" in the 1880s. Judge Charles A. Pollock, a tireless campaigner for **temperance laws** and temperance enforcement, credited James S. Campbell, who came to Dakota from Maine, with the inspiration for prohibition ideas in the territory.[5] In the push and shove of Dakota's territorial politics, however, temperance found little support. It was on the list of reforms, along with woman suffrage, favored by a small group of politicians who met as part of an extralegal constitutional convention in Sioux Falls in 1883. The reformers did not have enough political strength to bring these issues before the convention, so temperance and woman suffrage were set aside. Temperance came up before the territorial assembly in 1885, but again made little headway.[6]

The **local option law of 1887** placed the temperance battle in the cities and towns of the state. In some areas, a vote on temperance was only the beginning. Enforcing the law if the city voted dry, and preventing abuse of the law if the city voted wet, kept temperance advocates alert. Hatton had seen consistent efforts before 1890 to prevent the legal saloons from abusing the law. T.E. Tufte, a deacon of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hatton, had sworn warrants against four saloonkeepers in Hatton for serving minors. He encountered disinterest and purposeful delays on the part of the prosecutors and courts, but continued to "interfere with the demoralizing and dangerous saloon traffic" for several years.[7]

For most temperance advocates, the question was strictly moral and largely personal. **Charles Pollock**, who was active in the territorial and state legislatures and in enforcement of the prohibition law, recalled in his memoirs that when he left Iowa to settle in Tower City he was already personally committed to temperance. He recognized larger issues associated with liquor traffic, though some might have been exaggerated. "The drinking habit was quite universal; taxes were increasing; crimes were multiplying," he wrote in 1910. But what bothered him most was that "the saloon influence dominated the politics of the state."[8] His assessment of the situation in the legislature was that those legislators who drank voted **"wet,"** and those who did not voted **"dry."** Railroads, mill and elevator companies, and their powerful agents and allies did not figure into his understanding of the political situation.

The **Woman's Christian Temperance Union** (WCTU) of Dakota Territory held much the same position. This organization went about their "work for God, for home, for native land" with an evangelical spirit.[9] Indeed, **Elizabeth Preston Anderson**, the long-time president of the North Dakota WCTU, became active in the organization because she had felt "called to service."[10]

The national movement to inhibit the manufacture and use of alcohol was a by-product of the social changes of the nineteenth century. Early in the century, rising middle-class culture spurned alcohol consumption as detrimental to the stability of a good home.[11] Later on, women took to the streets to rid communities of saloons which interfered with their duty to maintain the moral standards of the home. But sobriety was not the work entirely of women. Men signed pledges of abstinence, joined temperance societies (but not the all-woman WCTU), and filled some leadership roles, particularly in the all-male legislatures of most states. Among middle-class men, the ability to support a family was a measure of success and high community standing. Proponents of absti-

nence assumed that consumption of alcohol to any extent would prevent a man from attaining that success.[12]

The women who attacked the saloons of Hatton that day were not part of the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, professional and middle-class, urban movement to rid the state of alcoholic drink. These women, for the most part, comprised Norwegian-born farm women. Rural immigrant women rarely joined the WCTU, primarily because of the organization's condescending attitude toward the foreign-born.[13] The WCTU acknowledged the important role of Scandinavians in the passage of Article XX, but only began to think about inviting some of North Dakota's large foreign-born population to join the organization in November 1890. At the annual convention that year, the membership resolved to "make our work among [the foreign population] more practicable by distributing literature in their language, inviting the more intelligent to join our unions and so insure their cooperation with us in enforcing these laws and banishing from their homes the original package and the curse in any of its forms."[14] When the WCTU organized chapters in Northwood and Portland, communities not far from Hatton which had primarily Norwegian-born populations, Elizabeth Preston Anderson managed to find two Yankee-American women in each town to be the presiding officers.[15]

The North Dakota WCTU preferred moral suasion as the means to effect change. Volunteers lectured and organized women and young people into local chapters. They held public meetings and tried to persuade their husbands and their husbands' friends to vote temperance. They never smashed saloons. Excluded from state and national electoral politics by their sex, and from the WCTU by their culture and immigrant status, the women of Hatton had to take direct action to make their point about the evils of the saloons in their town. While the powerful leaders for temperance in North Dakota and the nation stood squarely on moral grounds, the women of Hatton acted on principles that reflected their Norwegian culture, their Lutheran faith, and the hard facts of homesteading in the Goose River country. Their main concern, shared by their sympathetic friends and neighbors, was economic.

Many of the women who raided Hatton's saloons lived and worked on homestead farms.[16] Though the details of their lives varied, they all shared in the experience of settling the Goose River country in Steele, Traill, or Grand Forks counties

Figure 3. Members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union marching in Devils Lake, North Dakota. The WCTU did not welcome immigrants and only reluctantly recognized their influence in securing the prohibition clause in the state constitution. *(SHSND 0239-134)*

near Hatton. Several of the women were from **Newburgh Township** in Steele County west of Hatton where families began to settle in 1874, before the land had been surveyed.[17] It was wheat country but had the added attraction of a good water supply in the Goose River and wood along its banks. The families that settled Newburgh Township in the northeast corner of Steele County were almost all Norwegian. Most were pioneering for the second time, having left Iowa or Minnesota for the northern plains wheat country. Newburgh Township became a close-knit community of related families and neighbors. Hatton, just over the line in Traill County, became a railroad and marketing center for northeast Steele and northwest Traill counties.

Figure 4. A "blind pig" in White Earth, North Dakota, 1902. In spite of prohibition, illegal saloons continued to operate openly, especially in the western part of the state. *(SHSND DO722)*

Newburgh farmers were a little better off than the average Steele County farmer according to the 1885 census. Newburgh Township farms did not differ markedly from average agricultural production in the county, but the Norwegian origins of the majority of the population is evident in the agricultural statistics. Nearly one-third of the county's 392 head of sheep were found in Newburgh Township. Not every farm kept sheep, but there was enough wool available locally to keep women at work with spinning wheels and knitting needles. Farms in Newburgh Township, settled earlier than much of the rest of the county, averaged a little more in total value than those in the rest of the county, and valued their production one-half higher. Much of that advantage was due to the work of farm women who produced more than 2.3 times more butter than women in the rest of the county. Three women in Newburgh Township made nearly half the hard cheese produced on Steele County farms. Women, men, and children all contributed labor and skills to insure the success of the family on the homestead.[18]

In spite of good, well-watered "free" land as well as cultural consistency among the residents, the wealth of Newburgh Township was not evenly distributed. According to the 1885 agricultural census, nearly two-thirds of the farms fell below the average value of $2,670 for farm and improvements. Some farmers had been able to acquire a good deal more than the 160-acre homestead; others had sold portions of their farms or had arrived too late for homestead claims and found it necessary to buy land.

Many of these farms, along with the farm implements and livestock, were mortgaged. State mortgage statistics indicate that in 1890 nearly half the farms in the state were mortgaged.[19] During the settlement period, farm loan companies made loans to settlers and sold the paper to eastern investors. The trade in paper was profitable, and agents encouraged settlers to sign. For some homesteaders, a mortgage was a fast way to cash in on what seemed a losing proposition. They borrowed and disappeared. For others more determined to stay, the mortgage provided capital for buying seed, implements, lumber, and livestock. Though mortgage rates were controlled by law, fees tacked on to the contract as well as undervalued collateral contributed to the profitability of the mortgage and increased the costs to the farmer.[20] Typically, the 160 acres and the equipment were put up as collateral for a loan to buy implements. Livestock was often used as collateral on a loan for seed. A couple of bad crop years brought on by drought, hail, early frost, prairie fire, or grasshoppers could mean losing everything on a mortgaged farm.

Women had a lot to do with the economic health of the northern plains farm. Women and children were usually responsible for milking cows and churning butter, for raising chickens, and for garden produce. The **Raaen family** lived on income from selling cream and wild raspberries when Thomas drank away the farm profits. Farm income in the Goose River country was always threatened by adverse weather conditions, but butter and egg money kept many families fed while they waited for a better crop. Young women frequently worked as domestics in other farm or city homes and sent the money home, or bought necessities for the family.

In her biography, ***Grass of the Earth***, Aagot Raaen wrote about her father's alcoholic binges and their effect on family finances:

> Far had sold the grain as soon as the threshing was done, intending to pay the money on the mortgage. Instead he had gone away and had not returned until all the money was used up. Then he had sold three steers and two cows and used that money, too. The worst of all was when he took the cream checks. [Aagot had threatened], "After this I'll milk the cows onto the ground; I'll not carry those heavy milk pails up and down that steep hill for the saloon.[21]

Figure 5. Aagot Raaen was the daughter of Ragnhild and Thomas Raaen. In her biography, *Grass of the Earth*, Aagot Raaen wrote about her father's alcoholic binges and their effect on family finances. *(Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo, mss 8 File 1.1)*

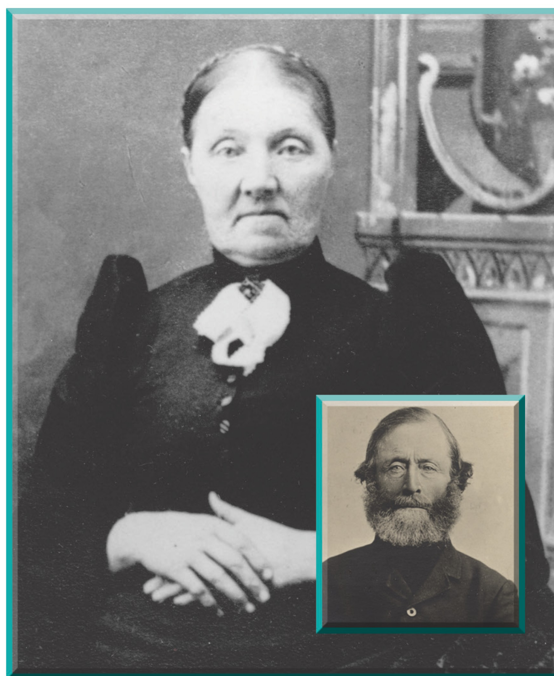
Others also perceived drinking as an economic problem, particularly for farmers. Judge Charles Pollock, remembering the origins of the Prohibition Law, wrote in 1910, "Many persons, owners of land, not able to withstand temptation were wasting their substance in riotous living and were fast losing their holdings by mortgage foreclosures."[22]

For Norwegian immigrant farm women, holding onto the land was a little more important than it was for Yankee-American settlers. They had severed cultural and familial ties in Norway in order to claim land in America. They had established a community where Norwegian culture was understood and *Norsk* was the everyday language. The homestead right was a one-time opportunity. If they lost their land claim to mortgage foreclosure they would not be able to claim another quarter-section under that law. In addition, these Norwegian immigrant women understood that losing the farm might mean moving out of the community. If they had to move, they might end up in a Yankee community where they would be outsiders. With all of these threats, these ordinary Norwegian immigrant women felt the necessity of doing something, even something illegal, to protect their farms and homes and the integrity of the Newburgh community.

Cultural and religious factors also provided an atmosphere of approval and contributed to the motivation for the saloon smashing. The Norwegian Lutheran community believed in temperance and voted in favor of prohibition. After the event became known, the people of Hatton and

Newburgh Township offered verbal support for the destruction of the saloons.[23] However, while community interest in temperance activities was strong, women's public role had not been defined. For women, temperance was a rule for living and a project for Ladies' Aid Societies.[24] Public activity, such as T.E. Tufte's legal action against saloonkeepers, was usually reserved for men. Political activity was closed to women, and the question of women's right to speak, even within the church, would soon become a divisive topic of discussion in the rural Newburgh community.[25] Though there was no clear approval in the community for women to take public, destructive, and illegal action, their Lutheran faith strengthened the women's resolve, and the tradition of community activity fostered by Ladies' Aid Societies in Norway and the United States set a precedent for women to act in concert.[26]

The role of Pastor Gronlid as leader of the group is unclear. The *Argus* listed Gronlid, who was pastor of St. John's Lutheran Church in Hatton, as a leader. Raaen's account has him meeting with the Newburgh Township women in Orlaug Aasen's home to plan the attack, and taking a supporting role during the destruction of the saloons. In his testimony at the coroner's inquest, Gronlid indicated that he was only peripherally involved and knew only a few of the women. It is possible that Gronlid introduced women to others from different neighborhoods who shared a concern about the saloon problem. Whatever Gronlid's part was, neither his church nor the other Lutheran churches of the area were directly involved. For some women, like **Ragnhild Raaen**, the violent attack on the saloons was a very personal act. Her husband Thomas was not suited to farming though he had been educated at an agricultural college in Norway. He missed the intellectual life of Oslo and found solace only in books. He suffered the indignity and social isolation of *kjerketukt*: he was excluded from the church because of his drinking. Impoverished by Thomas' drinking and inattention to the farm, Ragnhild managed the farm with the help of three of her children.[27] She lived in fear of foreclosure because she had signed a mortgage paper. Her neighbor, **Orlaug Aasen**, walked two miles across



Figures 6 & 7. Ragnhild Raaen, ca.1900. Forbidden by her husband to carry a hatchet to Hatton, she smashed the saloons with no weapon but her strong arms. **INSET Thomas Raaen,** a quiet, soft-spoken man who loved books and learning, but never liked farming or the intellectual isolation of the prairie. *(Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo, 75.2.1)*

the prairie to comfort Raaen when Thomas was away on a drinking binge. It was during these visits that Aasen first began to talk of taking control of the situation. Orlaug Aasen was the leader of the women who attacked Hatton's saloons. In 1890 she was forty-five. Her household consisted of five daughters, ages five to twenty-four, her husband, Halvor, and his father. They lived in a sod house on an unmortgaged quarter-section farm about one mile east of the Goose River and, proudly, owed no one. In spite of this, or perhaps because of it, the Aasen family was among the poorest in the county. Their farm was valued at $2,155 in 1885 and the value of all production was only $175. Orlaug worked hard milking four cows twice a day to produce 150 pounds of butter a year. She was one of the few women who made hard cheese. She kept twenty hens which produced fifty-dozen eggs in 1885.[28] Aasen was tried for the murder of Peter Lomen in May 1890. She was acquitted and did

Figure 8. Orlaug Aasen, seated, with Halvor and their five daughters, ca. 1888. Aasen's insightful speeches encouraged other women to join her in an attack on the saloons of Hatton. *(SHSND 978.414H289h 1983p301)*

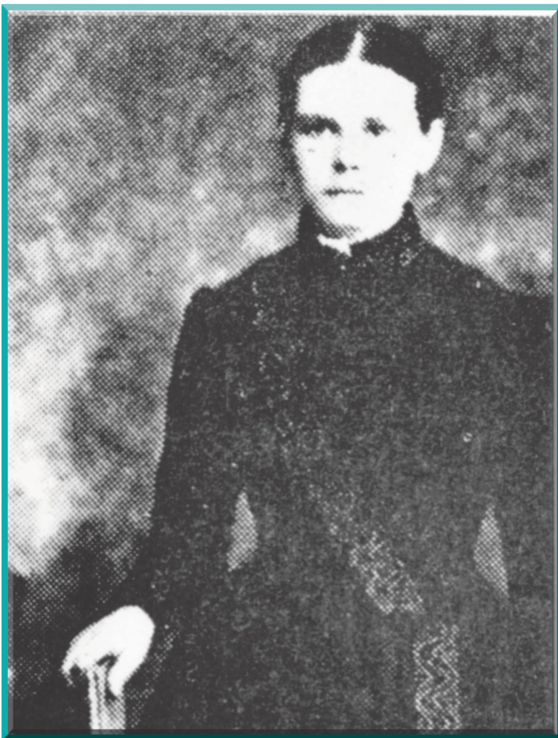


Figure 9. Mathea Aasen joined her sister-in-law, Orlaug Aasen, in a female network of relatives, friends, and neighbors. *(SHSND 978.414H289h 1983p301)*

not find the trial experience disturbing. She and the friends who accompanied her found the four days they spent in a hotel in Caledonia a restful change from the usual farm and house work. There were "no chores, no milking."[29]

Though Orlaug took a leadership role among the women, her concern was for others. Her own husband did not drink. She convinced other women to join her in this action including her quiet sister-in-law, Mathea Aasen, and her neighbor, Ragnhild Raaen.

On the prairie outside of Hatton, Orlaug Aasen addressed the group with an "exciting talk." Her speech sounded like a sermon as she reminded the women of their duty. Her speech might have been similar to one she gave on another occasion:

> Hatton has one general store, one post office, two elevators, and six saloons. I know three of the saloonkeepers: Fisk, Gunderson, and Bry. They were poor when they came here a few years ago; they are rich now, and we all know where they got their money. The saloons are kept warm and cozy so the farmers will want to come in when the weather is cold. I have often seen the saloonkeepers on the streets begging men to come in for a hot drink before starting on a long, cold drive home—only to keep them there until their money was gone. There are men in the saloons who do not drink; they buy liquor and treat until they get the farmers drunk; then they take their money. The saloonkeepers get half. Those who have formed the drink habit can't stop when things are bad. There are others, also, who did not drink before but who are drinking now. ... Many families will have to suffer because they bought machinery and mortgaged their farms; others, because they built frame houses they could not afford; and still others will have to pay dearly for all the things they bought on credit at the stores. But all that is nothing in compari-

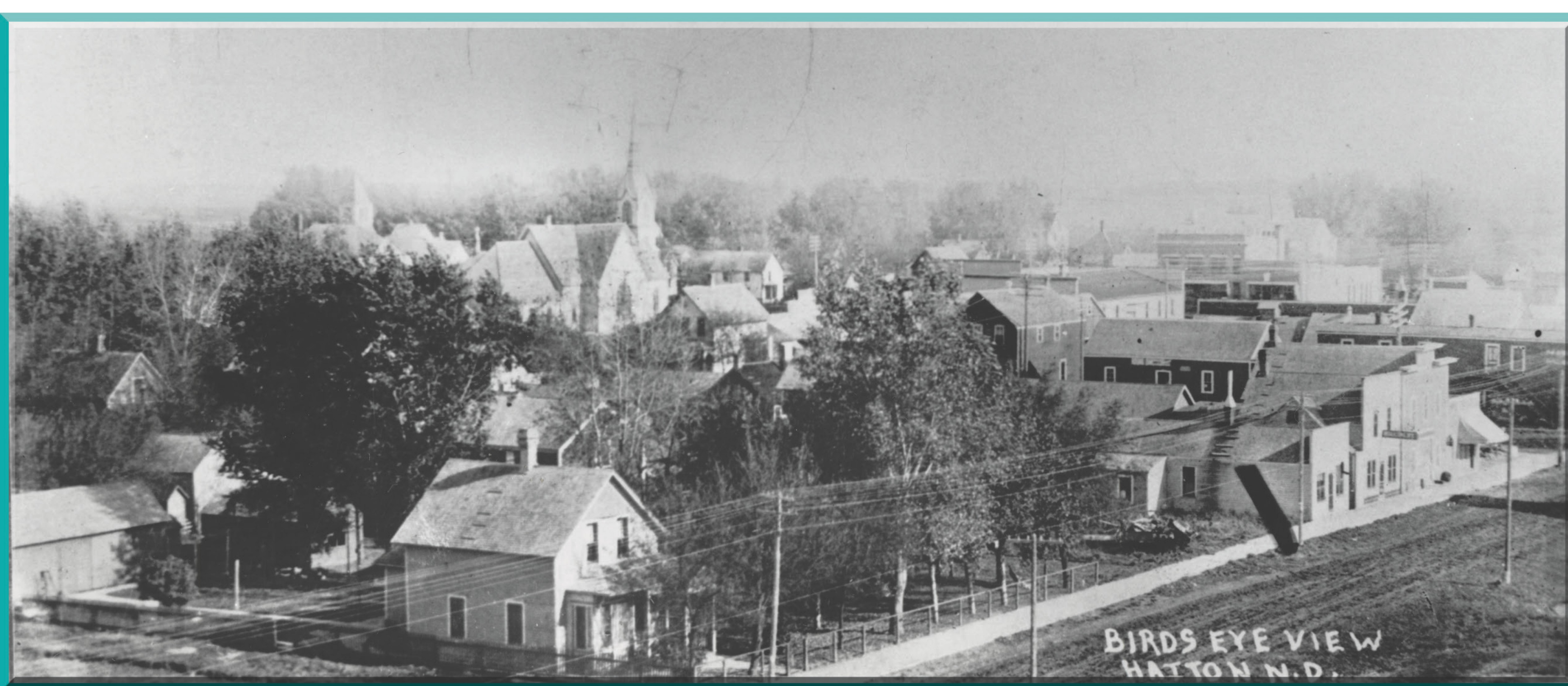


Figure 10. Bird's-eye view of Hatton, North Dakota, 1890. *(Institute for Regional Studies, NDSU, Fargo, 0021.04)*

> son with the suffering, shame, disgrace, and loss brought on by the saloon![30]

Though they attacked one of the most venerable of patriarchal institutions, the saloon, these women were not out to re-order society along egalitarian lines. They accepted patriarchalism as part of the routine order of their lives but wanted to modify it in ways that would diminish it as a threat to their well-being. **Thomas Raaen**, in spite of his drinking and his absences, was patriarchal in his home. "He was the head of the home, his authority was felt to the extent that the rest adjusted their lives to the conduct he expected of them," wrote his daughter Aagot in later life.[31] The evidence of his rule and the family's submission to it could be seen on the day of the attack on the saloons. As Ragnhild Raaen prepared to leave home that morning, she threw her red plaid shawl around her shoulders, pulled on her mittens, and picked up a hatchet. Thomas, who must have suspected the nature of her journey said, "You had better leave the hatchet here." Ragnhild put the hatchet down.[32] In the midst of her preparations to force changes in the patriarchal social and economic structure of Hatton, she obeyed the patriarch in her own home. There is no evidence in the record that she tried to control or change Thomas, just the places where he drank.

Though the event in Hatton may have been extraordinary, it represents a way in which women took part in the shaping of new communities on the northern plains. Immigrant women—who are often pictured as isolated by the homestead, frightened by space and wind, and disempowered by language differences, domineering husbands, and a political system that gave them practically no voice—participated in the shaping of their communities directly through their communal activities. Though other individuals and organizations in North Dakota sought similar goals, the women who attacked the Hatton saloons had their own reasons and their own methods for their actions. They understood quite clearly why they had to act, the justification for their illegal actions, and what the consequences would be. Ragnhild Raaen, who had to go to town without her ax, used the strength she had gained delivering calves, milking cows, and pitching hay to hurl chairs at the windows and smash whiskey kegs. When a saloonkeeper yelled at her, "You'll pay for this, you wildcat!," Ragnhild replied, "I am not destroying more than I have already paid for."[33]

About the Author

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the new introduction to the Minnesota Historical Society reprint of *Grass of the Earth* by Aagot Raaen (1994), and *Women of the Northern Plains: Gender and Settlement on the Homestead Frontier 1870–1930* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2005) which won the Caroline Bancroft Prize in 2006.

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1. Aagot Raaen, *Grass of the Earth: Immigrant Life in the Dakota Country* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1950), pp. 121–122. This is one of the few, and probably best known, accounts of the events in Hatton that day. Raaen's mother was one of the participants in the destruction of the Hatton saloons. *The Daily Argus* (Fargo), January 15, 1890, carried a rather hysterical account and appears to be the only existing newspaper account of the event. The rest of the details have been gathered from the Coroner's Inquest held on February 8, 9, and 10 in Peter P, Lomen's home in Garfield Township, Traill County.
2. Oscar Brandon testimony at the coroner's inquest.
3. The *Argus* reported that "warfare against the saloons of Traill County has been commenced in earnest, and there is no telling where it will end." It went on to say that other merchants in Hatton, afraid the women would set fire to the saloons, removed important records and closed their doors. Testimony recorded at the coroner's inquest indicated that the people of Hatton were far calmer than was the *Argus'* correspondent.
4. Charles Pollock, Papers. North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, Fargo, North Dakota.
5. Charles A. Pollock, *Manual of the Prohibition Law of North Dakota* (no city: North Dakota State Enforcement League, 1910), p. 3.
6. Howard Roberts Lamar, *Dakota Territory 1861–1889: A Study of Frontier Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), pp. 228–229.
7. H. A. Foss, Simon Johnson og B. Olson, eds., *Trediveaarskrigen mod Drikkeondet: Kort oversight over avholds og forbudsarbeidet, saerlig blandt skandinaver i Nord Dakota* (Minot, ND: Nord Dakota Totalavholdsselskab, 1922), pp. 46-47.
8. Pollock, Manual, p. 4.
9. A. M. Cramond, letter to the editor, *North Dakota White Ribbon*, July 1890.
10. Elizabeth Preston Anderson, "Under Prairie Winds," Papers. State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck.
11. Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 139–140.
12. Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), pp. 1, 4.
13. Nancy M. Sheehan, "'Women Helping Women': The WCTU and the Foreign Population in the West, 1905–1930," *International Journal of Women's Studies*, 6 (November/December 1983), p. 398. Sheehan's research is particularly important in describing the socioeconomic class of WCTU members in the Canadian provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.
14. "Resolutions of the First Annual Convention," *The North Dakota White Ribbon*, November 1890.
15. Notice, *The North Dakota White Ribbon*, June 1891.
16. The exact list of women's names cannot be determined, nor can the exact number of women. Because they were not officially organized, because of the secrecy and confusion surrounding their actions, and probably because of a tendency in the community to protect them, I have not been able to confirm a full list. The names vary in the testimony recorded at the coroner's inquest, and most witnesses could name only a few women. The English-speaking clerk of the court grossly misspelled the names, and one woman apparently married sometime during this period, changing her name, or her last name was mistaken on several lists. I have found eight names consistently on several lists and consider them confirmed. They are: Orlaug (Mrs. Halvor) Aasen, Ragnhild (Mrs. Thomas) Raaen, Mathea Knutson (Mrs. Erick) Aasen, Mrs. Julius Kamphaug, Margit Borgen (Mrs. Peder) Kamphaug, Miss Ause Borgen, Miss Gro Borgen, and Gro Severson. There were probably a few more participants. Some lived in Newburgh Township of Steele County, others lived in Hatton, or in rural Garfield Township of Traill County. Those I have the most information on are Orlaug Aasen and Ragnhild Raaen.
17. Nicolai Berg, Writer's Project, Pioneer Biography Files, Steele County, State Historical Society of North Dakota. The survey began in 1875.
18. 1885 Dakota Territorial Census, Series 1031, State Historical Society of North Dakota.
19. Donald C. Horton, "Number and Percentage of Farms Under Mortgage," *Agricultural Finance Review*, 1 (November 1938), p. 11.
20. For a mortgage agent's view, see Seth Humphrey, *Following the Prairie Frontier* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931), pp. 95–97. For a settler's view of mortgage problems see Raaen, *Grass of the Earth*, pp. 120, 123.
21. Raaen. *Grass of the Earth*, p. 119.
22. Pollock, *Manual of the Prohibition Law*, p. 4.
23. Gyda Pladsan. Telephone conversation with author, June 25, 1991. Mrs. Pladson is Orlaug Aasen's granddaughter. Ragnhild Raaen's relatives, Nicolai and Tonetta Berg, indicated their support for Ragnhild Raaen and her companions. They added, rather apologetically, that Tonetta did not participate in the raid though Nicolai "often spent money unwisely." "The Bergs of Newburgh," unpublished manuscript, Steele County Historical Society.
24. Erik Luther Williamson, "'Doing What Had to Be Done': Norwegian Lutheran Ladies Aid Societies of North Dakota," *North Dakota History*, 57 (Spring, 1990), pp. 2–13.
25. Ole K. Haugen, *Aurdal Through Seventy Years 1874–1944*, (Portland, N.D.: Aurdal Lutheran Church, 1944).
26. Williamson, pp. 2–13.
27. Aagot Raaen, *Hamarsbon-Raaen Geneology* (self-published, 1954), pp. 12–13.
28. Information on Aasen has been compiled from Dakota Territory Semi-Decennial Census of 1885, and Raaen, p. 120.
29. Gyda Pladson. Telephone conversation with author, June 25, 1991. See also Raaen, *Grass of the Earth*, p. 122.
30. Raaen, *Grass of the Earth*, pp. 114–120.
31. Raaen, *Hamarbon-Raaen Geneology*, p. 13.
32. Raaen, *Grass of the Earth*, p. 121.
33. Ibid., p. 121.