South Dakota Gubernatorial Inaugural Addresses, 1889-1931

Terry L. Peterson

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SOUTH DAKOTA GUBERNATORIAL
INAUGURAL ADDRESSES
1889-1931

BY
TERRY L. PETERSON

A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Master of Arts, Major in
Speech, South Dakota
State University
1974
This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Master of Arts, and is acceptable for meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

/Thesis Advisor/ Date

Head, Department of Speech Date
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TLP
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I. INTRODUCTION ............................................. 1
   Origin and Statement of the Problem .......................... 1
   Procedures Followed .............................................. 2
   Definitions and Boundaries ..................................... 4
   Scope and Limitations ........................................... 5

Chapter II. ANALYSIS OF GUBERNATORIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES ... 7
   Role of Gubernatorial Inaugural Addresses ................ 8
   Gubernatorial Inaugural Addresses 1889-1931 ................ 9
      Arthur C. Mellette 1889 ...................................... 9
      Arthur C. Mellette 1891 ..................................... 14
      Charles Sheldon 1893 ......................................... 20
      Charles Sheldon 1895 ......................................... 26
      Andrew E. Lee 1897 .......................................... 31
      Andrew E. Lee 1899 .......................................... 36
      Charles Herreid 1901 ......................................... 40
      Charles Herreid 1903 ......................................... 47
      Samuel H. Elrod 1905 ......................................... 51
      Coe Crawford 1907 ............................................ 56
      Robert S. Vessey 1909 ....................................... 60
      Robert S. Vessey 1911 ....................................... 65
      Frank M. Bryne 1913 ......................................... 70
      Frank M. Bryne 1915 ......................................... 75
      Peter Norbeck 1917 .......................................... 80
      Peter Norbeck 1919 .......................................... 85
      W. H. McMaster 1921 ....................................... 91
      W. H. McMaster 1923 ....................................... 96
      Carl Gunderson 1925 ........................................ 101
      W. J. Bulow 1927 ............................................ 105
      W. J. Bulow 1929 ............................................ 110
      Warren Green 1931 .......................................... 114
   Summary .......................................................... 118
   Footnotes ........................................................ 120
### III. THEMATIC CHANGES IN GUBERNATORIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES  . 135

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific Thematic Recurrence</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology of Themes</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topical Recurrence of Themes</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Thematic and Specific Chronological Topical Recurrence</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Changing Role of the Gubernatorial Inaugural Addresses</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS  . 175

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications for Further Study</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### BIBLIOGRAPHY  . 183
CHAPTER II

ANALYSIS OF GUBERNATORIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

The basic purposes of Chapter II are threefold. The first purpose is to report the particular issues that were significant at the time and prior to the inaugural addresses. The second purpose is to identify the place, date, and audience involved at the time of the inaugural address. The third purpose is to include an identification of the specific themes that were involved in the inaugural addresses. Hopefully through the achievement of these three goals, a better understanding of the rhetorical environment surrounding South Dakota gubernatorial addresses has been accrued.

The chapter is based on reports from leading newspapers within the state prior to each address, on an in depth study of each inaugural address, and on other miscellaneous sources.

Three basic procedures were followed in assembling the chapter. The first step was to attempt to discover the dominant issues present in the state at the time of each address. Principal sources used were the December issues of the Aberdeen American News, the Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, the Rapid City Journal and the Sioux Falls Argus Leader. The second step was to discover the place, date, audience and surrounding details for each of the inaugural addresses. These details were discovered primarily through analysis of the addresses, newspaper accounts, and other
Procedures Followed

In order to answer the questions raised above and to insure originality in the research, the following steps have been taken:

A. Because of the nature of the study under consideration, it was necessary to survey literature from 1934 through 1972 to determine if any previous inquiries or studies had been made on the specified subject matter. The following publications were surveyed:


No previous research concerning gubernatorial inaugurals was discovered. However, Donald Wolfarth did complete a Ph.D. Dissertation concerning Presidential Inaugural Addresses. The
author reviewed the article: "John F. Kennedy in the Tradition of Inaugural Addresses," Quarterly Journal of Speech, April, 1961, before beginning this study. No specific references were discovered in the article that pertained directly to gubernatorial inaugural addresses.

B. Texts of inaugural addresses were gathered from several sources. Thirteen catalogued copies were obtained from the Lincoln Library at South Dakota State University. Four copies were obtained from the Beulah Williams Memorial Library at Northern State College. Three of those copies were obtained from journals including the 1899 and 1907 copies from the South Dakota House Journal and the 1889 copy from the South Dakota Senate Journal. The fourth copy was a catalogued version. The remaining five copies, in hardcover and xeroxed sheets, were obtained through interlibrary loan at Northern State College and from the State Historical Society, Pierre, South Dakota.

C. Selected daily newspapers from four cities in the state of South Dakota were used to provide accounts to reconstruct the rhetorical environment surrounding and preceding the inaugural addresses. These were the Aberdeen American News, the Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, the Rapid City Journal and the Sioux Falls Argus Leader.

D. On the basis of the data procured, an attempt was made to identify any changes in the rhetorical environment of inaugural addresses over the years of 1889-1931.
E. The December issues of each of the above newspapers were analyzed in an attempt to discover the prominent issues immediately preceding the inaugural addresses.

F. The rhetorical environment and the addresses themselves were analyzed in an effort to discover the basic role of South Dakota Gubernatorial inaugural addresses.

G. Each individual inaugural text was analyzed by constructing an outline so as to identify the themes expressed.

H. The themes discovered by the above process were then analyzed to observe any instances of specific thematic recurrence.

I. The themes were then divided into four historical periods in order to ascertain the topics common to each of those periods.

J. Additionally, the themes were topically categorized in order to assess the topical recurrence from inaugural to inaugural.

K. Lastly, conclusions were drawn concerning the five questions raised on page 1.

Definitions and Boundaries

For the purposes of this study it was judged necessary to define two terms:

1. Rhetorical environment has been defined as including the place of the inaugurals, the audiences present, and the issues prominent in the state at the time an inaugural address was delivered.
2. A theme is defined as an original statement that encompasses an overall idea and may have supporting assertions. A theme is subordinate only to the thesis and is coordinate with other themes.

This particular study began as an analysis of all gubernatorial South Dakota inaugural addresses from 1889 through 1973. However, after the research was initiated it was determined that such an undertaking would require an unreasonable amount of time beyond the normal expectations of a masters thesis. Therefore, with the advice of the thesis advisor, it was decided to treat the first half of the project (1889-1931) with the hope that some other student might complete the second half of the project (1933-1973).

Scope and Limitations

Because this study was limited specifically to the inaugural addresses in South Dakota, the conclusions drawn are not necessarily applicable to inaugural addresses in other states. Additionally, this particular study, in dealing with only those inaugurals between 1889-1931, left much material of concern with inaugural addresses in South Dakota untouched. Any further study of gubernatorial inaugural addresses after 1931 might not reveal similar conclusions.

Despite these limitations, this study should be of value both to scholars in Speech and in History as a partial record of the historical role of rhetoric in government in South Dakota. The study should give some evidence of the role of rhetoric in the
development of a society or a culture. It should, in particular, be helpful in identifying the rhetorical significance of the South Dakota gubernatorial inaugural address.
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miscellaneous sources. The third and final step was to identify the themes within the actual addresses. Each address was outlined so that subordinate and coordinate relationships could be identified. Themes were identified as being subordinate to nothing or only to the thesis statement.

**Role of Gubernatorial Inaugural Addresses**

The gubernatorial inaugural addresses traditionally have come at the beginning of each legislative session in South Dakota. They were presumed to have a prime function that was important to all concerned with the state and its development. The first edition of the *Encyclopedia of South Dakota* probably best pointed out the intended role of the inaugural addresses. It noted, "The gubernatorial inaugural addresses have played a functional role in the history of South Dakota. They have generally come at the beginning of each legislative session and have been used by governors to express concerns to legislators." Thus, the idealistic role of expressing concerns to legislators was indicated. The actual role is ambiguous and apparently has not been stated in publicized accounts. Perhaps a more detailed account of the role and purpose of the inaugural addresses as revealed in this chapter may be helpful.
Although the year 1889 was the time of the beginning of the state, it was not the beginning of political activity in the area as South Dakota had been a part of the Territory of Dakota since 1861. Great numbers of settlers moved into the territory and by the 1870's many of them were calling for a division of the territory into two equal parts. It was not until 1883 that the southern half drew up a constitution. In 1885 South Dakota applied for admission to the Union. Admission was denied by the United States Congress. By 1889 the voters of South Dakota had accepted the constitution of 1885 with revisions, and Congress admitted both North and South Dakota to the Union.²

With a state population of close to 329,000, Pierre was chosen the temporary capitol.³ Arthur Mellette, a Republican, was elected the first governor with 69.4 percent of the votes in the election.⁴ As a new state there were many problems to resolve in beginning the progression of government.

Prior to the first gubernatorial term in January of 1890, issues were expressed. One of the biggest problems, as always, was that of finance and government spending. The problem itself was concerned with both economy in spending and with the need for an equitable tax system; whereby, as was noted in the December 18,
1889 issue of the Aberdeen Daily News, "the landowners will not have to pay the burden of the tax and moneyed institutions will also have to pay their fair share."  

Another issue was that of concern over needed water supplies for crops and animals. The problem itself was reported in the December 8 issue of the Rapid City Daily Journal to be one of concern over the needed surveys to look for artesian wells, and to decide whether the state would provide money to cover those expenses.

Certainly there were many actual issues surrounding the financial situation in the state as was noted above. A closely related issue was concern over the existing exemption law. The exemption law itself allowed certain personal property and real estate to be exempted from taxation. The Pierre Free Press reported that the issue was of concern to many and that a change in the law that would limit exemptions was being called for by many.

With the beginning of the state, aid for school legislation came into question. In 1889 that legislation took several forms including the law surrounding mandatory school attendance and the prospective law providing free school books to all students and making the actual texts uniform throughout the state. The December 29 issue of the Aberdeen Daily News described and reported a view of those particular issues.
One early statehood issue was also an issue of national concern. The December 17 Aberdeen Daily News reported on the controversial woman suffrage movement, which at that time was being discussed nationally as well as in South Dakota.9

Many people were arguing for ballot reform. The Aberdeen Daily News again in January 2, 1890 reported that some of these people were calling for the Australian secret ballot as a most needed reform of the democratic process.10 Up until that time, the balloting was done in a small building where the people were given a ballot on which they used to write down the names of the people they wanted and then the voters stuck them in the ballot box. Nothing was secret. The voters voted while being watched by people who would often try to influence their decisions by threats and with bribes.11

These aforementioned concerns seem to have been the prominent issues in 1889 prior to Governor Mellette's first inaugural.

Environment

On October 1, 1899, Pierre was chosen as the temporary capitol of South Dakota. With that realization, state planners had to erect some form of capitol building to house the state government. A flimsy wooden structure, just large enough to house the Governor and the Legislature was constructed between October 1st and January 9th. Thus, with limited space, the governor presented his address to the joint session of the House and Senate
in the House Chambers on January 9, 1890. The governor had to wait until the Senate and the House had chosen their leaders before he could present his address. Therefore, the address was presumed to have been presented late on that legislative day.¹³

Themes

Arthur C. Mellette's first inaugural address covered a variety of themes. Specifically the themes expressed were divided into areas of finance; state institutions—charitable and educational; political and government; and miscellaneous themes. It can be noted that these were general categories not main points or specific themes, as many themes fell under one or several of the general categories.

The governor opened his inaugural with a salutation to the members of the Legislature and others present, realizing that there were few non Legislators due to lack of the available space. Governor Mellette's first major theme concerned itself with finances as that probably held the spotlight. Although there is no available documentation, it probably can be assumed that the two states divided up the monies in the Territorial Treasury. It was from that point that the governor said, (1) "To meet the financial emergency it is recommended to annul all appropriations made by the territorial legislature and to put all unexpended balances remaining into the general fund . . ."¹⁴ The governor wanted the monies for South Dakota to be put in a general fund.
The second theme was a call for appropriations for penal and charitable institutions. He said, (2) "It would be desirable if you would appropriate all necessary funds for the different state institutions that are badly in need of help ... "15

The governor next dealt specifically with educational institutions as he said, (3) "... it is suggested that a decided reduction of expenditures for the institutions devoted to higher education might safely be made for the relief of our taxpayers ... "16 The governor had called for a reduction of the monies given to education from previous years under the territorial government.

The governor felt that public schools were also of concern as he noted that (4) it would be good if the Legislature were to help the schools by changing the school attendance regulation and providing students free school books which up to now were being purchased by the students.17

Another theme expressed by the governor was his nearly unlimited support of the railroads. The governor said that (5) it would be bad for the state to adopt anything but the most fair policy towards the railroads.18 The governor was worried about proposed controls against railroads when the railroads were not actually fully developed in the state.

The next theme dealt with labor. The governor was concerned about the working conditions and working hours of the laborers in
the state. He said, (6) "No pains should be spared by the state to protect the interest and improve the condition of its wage earners . . . "19

A theme in the area of water resources was also expressed. Governor Mellette said, (7) "Legislation is recommended encouraging the water basin for the future development of state resources . . . ."20 The governor was hoping that water resources could be surveyed and developed to help agriculture and industry.

The final theme was that of the ballot. The governor noted that the secret ballot was needed to protect the citizens as he said, (8) "The serious consideration of the Legislature is called to the secret ballot for the purification of this invaluable right of the American citizen."21 The governor held that the voting privileges should be revised to help the voters achieve a position of voter responsibility rather than that of voter corruption.

The governor closed his inaugural with a short summary addressed primarily to the legislators in hopes that they would do their jobs and help the state get a good start in government.22

Governor Mellette covered eight themes in his first inaugural address. Many of them were dominant issues in the state.

Arthur C. Mellette 1891

Issues

1891 was a year of political divisions. The two party system, consisting of Republicans and Democrats, was splintered as
the Independents pulled away from the Republicans; and in the election of 1890, they ran a strong second. Governor Mellette was elected with 44.5 percent, while the Independents won 31.7 percent and the Democrats 23.8 percent. Governor Mellette was not as strongly in control of the Legislature as he wanted to be because when the Legislature convened, the Republicans controlled the Senate by one vote while lacking control of the House by one vote.

An interesting sidelight that year was the fight between Huron and Pierre over the site of the permanent state capitol. Pierre won but in so doing caused a major cry for election reform and ballot reform because of alleged ballot corruption. Over the two year interval, the population of South Dakota increased only slightly to around 340,000.

The news media in the state reported various issues prior to the gubernatorial inaugural address of 1891. One of the hottest issues was that of prohibition. The Rapid City, Sioux Falls, and Pierre papers all reported that it was important to many people. The Aberdeen Daily News defined the actual issue as the ineffectiveness of the law which needed to be changed. In its December 13 issue, it was reported that the law needed revision. The law that allowed sale of liquor was ineffective because it allowed sale to anyone and was not restrictive in any sense.

Financial economy were important words in the Legislature, and the issue that led in that direction was in direct reference
to the Legislature. Some suggested that the size be reduced, while others called for a limit on the number of days of the legislative session. The Pierre Journal reported one side of the question as it revealed that many people wanted a shortened session from sixty days to thirty days to save money.27

With the advent of settlers in the southwest portion of South Dakota and the problems on the Indian Reservations, including the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890, the Indian situation was of grave concern to many South Dakotans. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader in its January 3 issue reported that the Indian question including the control over the Indians, and the enforcement of laws to protect the citizens from Indian difficulties would probably be an issue in the upcoming session.28

One particular issue, that had also been of concern during the previous administration, was ballot reform. It was called for by many people. The Aberdeen Daily News of December 10 reported that the public was clamoring for the adoption of the Australian ballot and that it should be adopted. The secret ballot was considered then as a major step in democratic revision.29

The state was still short on money as was noted above. One partial remedy was the reduction of monies expended for institutions such as education. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader in its January 5, 1891, copy asserted that there was a growing feeling for the reduction of funds given to educational institutions.30
A continuing educational issue was the question of free school books. The Aberdeen Daily News reported that immediate attention should be given to the textbook issue as it was a problem and should be dealt with to the benefit of all school districts and school pupils. At that time students were still forced to purchase their own books.

A final major issue involved churches, other various institutions, and people. Revision of the divorce law was a growing concern to many people in South Dakota. The problem lay in the fact that some felt the divorce law then was too lenient and allowed too many divorces too easily. The problem was that many people were coming to South Dakota to obtain a divorce because of its minimal 30 days waiting time allowed for state residency. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader in its December 20 issue, pointed out one position of that question, that there was a need to revise those laws.

Environment

Again the governor had to wait to present his second inaugural until the Senate and House had organized their leadership for the 1891 session. In fact, when the two houses finally notified him, it was 5:30 p.m. In any case the governor then presented his address, which took nearly an hour and a half. It was presented that afternoon, January 6, 1891, to the joint session of the House and Senate as they crowded together on the floor of the House of Representatives' chambers, still in the original facility.
Themes

Governor Mellette covered a wide variety of subjects in his second inaugural address. The governor began his address with his opening salutation, "Mr. Lieutenant Governor, Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Legislators, Friends, Citizens, it is time once again to view the needs of the state and to recommend to you the necessary steps to continue growth within the state . . . " The opening salutation soon became part of the tradition of gubernatorial inaugural addresses.

Governor Mellette presented seven themes in his second inaugural address. There was his look at the pressing issue of finances, always of importance to an administration. The governor noted the specific point as he said, (1) "No greater service could be rendered the state by this body than the adoption of a systematic, comprehensive and efficient code of revenue laws, and rigidly restricting current expenditures . . . " The financial theme was then an opening position in the address because the existing revenue laws were ambiguous and inefficient.

The governor also noted (2) needed support for public institutions. He hoped that the Legislature would decide upon the needed amounts of money for the institutions and he went on to talk of each institution and its needs. The next theme involved expenditures for educational institutions. The governor noted them when he said, (3) "You must decide where to spend monies allocated for educational institutions,
but you should remember that economy with those funds would be a desirable and necessary goal."\textsuperscript{38} The governor appeared to realize that the educational institutions needed money but was more concerned with the state of the economy and what would happen as a result of those expenditures.

The next theme expressed concern over the growing power of corporations in light of public distrust. Governor Mellette said, \textsuperscript{(4)} "The state should furnish counsel and conduct the litigation necessary to protect the citizen from the oppression of the corporation." The governor went on to explain that he felt that a board should be established to regulate and control the growing power of the corporations.\textsuperscript{39}

One particular issue, the Indian question, became an important theme. The governor used it as a theme in his inaugural address. The governor noted the problem as he stated, \textsuperscript{(5)} "The need for defenses of settlers against any Indian uprisings, and the need for laws to prevent those uprisings from happening will be of important concern . . ."\textsuperscript{40} The Indian question then became an important theme in the inaugural address, but only from the white point of view.

Another issue turned theme was that of ballot reform which had been supported by various newspapers, citizens and also mentioned by Governor Mellette in his previous inaugural address. He again noted that, \textsuperscript{(6)} "It is recommended that earnest legislation be had for a reform of the present ballot system."\textsuperscript{41} The ballot
question, primarily the adoption of the Australian secret ballot, was supported by the governor as it had been before.

Due to several occurrences in the previous election and most probably the election corruption in the capitol relocation battle likely led the governor to his last major theme of this inaugural address. The governor was mainly concerned with political corruption as he said, (?) "I recommend that the most rigid investigation be made in the direction of the dereliction of duty and improper practices on the part of state officials . . . " Many legislators and officials had been involved in political corruption including bribery and threats. 42

Overall Governor Mellette's second inaugural, included fewer themes. He still had many supportive arguments and assertions that he presented in his address which covered portions of the seven themes.

Charles Sheldon 1893

Issues

By early 1893 South Dakota was in a state of expansion on many fronts. The railroad had reached the Missouri river in the east and was pushing from Chadron, Nebraska towards Belle Fourche in the western part of the state. The population of the state had increased to around 350,000 people. Once again on the political scene the Independent party was particularly strong. Yet during the campaign one obvious movement was the attempt of many
Independents to fuse with Democratic party members to put together a united front against the Republicans. The effort failed and the Republicans swept to victory with 47 percent of the vote as compared to 32 percent for the closest opponent.

Upon comparing the number of prominent issues between 1891 and 1893, it appears that the number of issues, as reported by the press, declined in number. One of the most popular concerns was the possible representation of South Dakota in the World's Fair at Chicago. In those days it was common for each state to place an exhibit at the fair rather than the United States as a whole. The public was concerned then that South Dakota should be represented to possibly attract more settlers to the state, to attract possible new industry, and to present the merits of the state to the world. That concern was reported in the December 10 issue of the Sioux Falls Argus Leader which also noted that $50,000 was needed for the exhibit.

At this point state finances were still of grave concern. One particular way to save money was to reorganize the state government. Many people were calling for reorganization in the form of abolition and consolidation of several governmental agencies. The Pierre Daily Capitol reported that the abolition of the position of Superintendent of Public Instruction, and that of the Railroad Commission was being called for. Its December 20 issue went on to report that consolidating of the office of State Auditor and Commissioner of Schools was another valued concern to citizens.
Another issue surrounding finance was concerned with the laws governing taxation. At that point in South Dakota history taxation had been established, but the biggest problem was that of collection of those taxes. Many people refused to pay taxes, while others simply paid whenever they felt like it. Thus, the issue of collection of taxes by a specific date was acute.\(^{47}\)

The prohibition question was again discussed within the state. Prohibition was at this time an issue of national prominence. The prohibitionists were making efforts to have it passed in South Dakota. The real issue then was to possibly resubmit the question to the voters for approval. The *Aberdeen Daily News* of December 24 noted the point that many people did not like prohibition and were unhappy with the proposed law. Thus, the prohibitionists were seeking a new vote on the issue in hopes of its passage.\(^ {48}\)

The railroads were at that time helping the state to grow enormously. Much of the industrial economy and also the agricultural economy depended on the railroads giving them a virtual monopoly on transportation. With this monopoly, they could establish a rate and maintain it to cover the cost of hauling goods. Freight rates were believed to be exorbitant by many people, and they were beginning to complain about it. The *Aberdeen Daily News* reported in its December 15 copy that the cry for a reduction in freight rates was being made by citizens. They wanted action and hoped that such action would benefit them as citizens and producers.\(^ {49}\)
Another issue of the time was that of public education. In early South Dakota, State and County Superintendents of Schools were elected by the citizens (now in 1974 local superintendents are hired by school boards). It also followed that the Superintendents were elected in a special election thereby costing more money to taxpayers. A proposed solution was called for and was noted in the December 13 issue of the Rapid City Daily Journal as having the election of the Superintendents at the same time as the School Boards.51

Environment

When Charles Sheldon took office, the capitol was still the wooden structure. Perhaps the reason was that the government had not yet been permanently placed in Pierre. The gathering of the Legislature overflowed in the capitol building noting the need for a more permanent structure. Once again the state government was organized and the state officers were elected. After that the governor called the legislators together and they met in a joint session on the floor of the House of Representatives. Thus, on January 3, 1893, Charles Sheldon, second governor of South Dakota, gave his gubernatorial inaugural address.52

Themes

In his inaugural address Governor Sheldon emphasized several important themes—six in actual number.
The governor began his address with his opening salutations and then launched into his themes. The opening theme was his concern that the right enactments be made to encourage settlement and development. He said, (1) "It is our duty to see that so far as it is in our power to prevent, the people should not be disappointed in our enactments encouraging settlement and development . . . "53 The governor was concerned that settlement and development within the state be encouraged and promoted.

The next theme dealt with concerns that would affect the state in areas of education and state functions. The governor advocated the securing of public lands for state use because the state did not control any lands then. He said, (2) "An appropriation for the purpose of securing lands for state and educational purposes will be asked and I think that it is a worthy cause and should be given as much as necessary to secure what is needed."54 The governor took a definite stand on that theme and felt that lands should be procured to use for educational institutions, game refuges, and for other purposes.

With the developing use of machinery, safety issues began to come up. The governor's next theme was that of needed inspection laws. He said, (3) "The revision of inspection laws for oil, gasoline and machinery are very important and should be passed as soon as possible to protect state citizens . . . "55 The governor called for immediate passage of legislation to make the old inspection laws stronger and to give them more authority.
As a fourth theme the governor took the stand on the regulation of railroads. He said, (4) "The railroad commission must be given more authority to take specific stands on important questions that are of concern to the people and I believe that you should give them that authority..."56 The governor felt that the regulation of railroads should be expanded to give the commission more power to protect the people from such things as discriminating and high freight rates.

With increased state growth, assistance to institutional areas also increased. The governor expressed concern with that assistance in his next theme and said, (5) "... it is important for you to examine all claims for appropriations impartially and provide funding for the institutions with care and deliberation as many of them are in dire need of help...

The last theme was one of the prime issues within the state. The collection of revenue was of grave concern to the growth and strength of the state government. The governor said (6) that the present law was weak in its enforcement of the collection dates for taxes and should be changed.58 That law did not set a specific time for collection of taxes. People generally paid whenever they wanted to.

The governor concluded in two particular ways. He summed up his views and asked for legislative concurrence on the needs expressed.59 Thus, Governor Sheldon's inaugural address was concise and to the point in covering six themes.
Charles Sheldon 1895

Issues

The Republican party gained in the election of 1894. Governor Sheldon was elected with 52 percent of the vote of 76,716. The party strengthened its position in the Legislature but so did its chief rival--the Independent Party. The two prominent issues of the campaign were prohibition and the Railroad Commission. A new party emerged from the issues, the Prohibitionist Party which collected about 1000 votes in the general election. Remarkably enough, the Democratic party only came up with one seat in the Legislature. Again there was some talk of fusion between Independents and Democrats. However, such a merger never took place.

The state government was damaged by a scandal. The Republican State Treasurer had embezzled $367,000 in state funds. The treasurer, W. W. Taylor, was discovered and sent to prison. A major drought in the summer of 1894 caused increased cries for drought relief, an effort to hire a rain-maker, and the loss of some tax revenue in drought stricken areas. The population of the state had increased slightly to around 363,000 people. Thus, the state was growing while also facing some difficult times.

The issues were numerous and concerned with a variety of things. One of the chief issues was removing the capitol from Pierre. Agitation was spreading from other areas in the state,
including Huron, Mitchell, and Redfield, as was reported by the December 27 issue of the Aberdeen Weekly News.

A major concern of political activists was prohibition. There were many points of view expressed for and against the law as proposed. The Rapid City Daily Journal reported that many people felt the resubmission question over the prohibition issue would certainly come up again in the legislature.66

The year 1894 was not particularly good for tax revenue due to the drought. A need for reduction in expenditures was expected. One concern was over state educational institutions. Some of the citizens advocated the adequate financing of the institutions, while others took the opposite stand as was reported in the Sioux Falls Argus Leader, December 21, which noted demands that all of the state normal schools be closed except Madison.67

One issue that was expected due to the conditions that existed in the state was that of irrigation and water development. The actual issue was two sided with concerns over irrigation development and artesian well development in hopes that they might possibly alleviate the conditions of a drought in the future. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader of December 21 reported that public opinion expected those two ideas to come before the Legislature in the next session.68

A big issue in the campaign of 1894, the railroads, was also mentioned as an issue at the legislative session. The needed additions to the Railroad Commission increasing their powers of
control was presented by the Sioux Falls Argus Leader in its January 5 issue. The Railroad Commission had limited power with no real control over the railroads.69

The ballot question was still an issue as the last election had passed and reforms had not been instituted yet. It was still up for consideration and was hopefully to come before the Legislature.70

Environment

The wooden structure remained to house the government in 1894. The final location of the capitol was still uncertain; therefore, the Legislature would not allocate funds for a new building. The Legislature of 1894 met the day before the scheduled inaugural address to organize the government so that they would not delay the inaugural address. With organization completed, the Governor presented his address on January 8, 1895 to the joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives in the halls of the House chambers.71

Themes

Governor Sheldon, during his second inaugural address, asserted six basic themes.72

Once again Governor Sheldon began with the traditional salutation to all the dignitaries and others present for his address. The state was expanding, and with that came an expansion of revenues for state treasuries. The governor noted in his address,
(1) "The time has come when the question of taxation must be seriously considered ..." The actual question concerned itself with enforced collection, taxation of unorganized counties and citizens therein, and allocation of those tax revenues to specific areas.73

Another theme that closely related itself to the above theme of taxation was one of concern over the law requiring taxes to support education. The basic position of the governor on that theme was (2) that action was needed on the specific law, whether it should come in the form of strict enforcement or of repealing of the law.74 The actual circumstances were that a law existed on the books calling for collection of taxes to support education but the law was not enforced and the taxes were not collected. The governor felt that it was about time for the Legislature to act on that law or repeal it.

The next theme was one that had been around for a long time. The state militia, or the National Guard, had been with the state since its creation in 1889. Prior to that, the Federal government had maintained troops at various forts around the territory. But by 1894 finances for the militia were low and it was time to raise monies for support of the troops. That was the position that the governor took when he said, (3) "No money has been had for the National Guard since statehood, but I hope that you will not feel that an appropriation for the guard is money thrown away."75 The governor advocated spending in a specific area.
The governor took a strong stand in his theme with concern for the State Veterinarian. The veterinarian had been serving faithfully in his job but was not getting paid. The governor saw that as an injustice and noted it as a theme in his inaugural address when he said, (4) "No provision has been made for the payment of the State Veterinary and you should either abolish it or make some provisions for its support." The governor wanted the office of the veterinarian to continue, but he saw that it was pointless to do so without monies for its existence.

The governor then recognized one of the chief issues within the state as a major theme in his inaugural address. He considered the idea of irrigation of important concern for legislators. He said, (5) "I urge that you study the irrigation laws now in force and make improvements where they are possible." The governor wanted the irrigation laws to become more effective to deal with possible drought and its conditions. The laws only covered a limited section of the eastern part of the state.

The last major theme of the governor had also been an important issue in the previous campaign. The issue was that of railroads and the governor felt that fairness was important to all concerned. Now the governor did not necessarily feel as the public did that the Railroad Commissioners should be given more power. He said, (6) "I hope you will approach the discussion of the railroads with a spirit of fairness and a determination to compel them to do what is right . . . " The governor asserted that
fairness was more important than just giving more regulatory power over the railroads to the Commission.

The governor concluded with closing remarks on the hope for these possible legislative enactments and the number of extraditions, paroles and pardons that he had given out during his administration.

Andrew E. Lee 1897

Issues

The election atmosphere of 1896 was heated and much political activity occurred. The Independents had forged a new party, the Populist. The Republican party, losing some of its members to the Populists, soon found itself in dire straits. The Democratic Party, rather weak in state political power, joined the band wagon and endorsed the Populist platform. The issues that were of concern to all parties were those of trusts, railroad legislation, and the national issue of free silver. The Democrats, under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan, supported the free silver issue. What resulted from the political turmoil was a defeat for the previously unbeaten Republicans and a very close victory for the Populists. Andrew E. Lee of Vermillion was elected Governor on the Populist ticket by a percentage of 50.6 to 49.4 for the Republicans, and they also gained control of the state legislature. However, Lee faced a difficult administration because
his political support was thin and rather undisciplined with the Republicans as stern opponents.  

The previous two years had drought conditions which resulted in demands for irrigation. These met with little success because boosters of the state realized that proposals for irrigation implied arid conditions which they were unwilling to admit. Interest in irrigation slipped.

The population of the state continued to grow and reached 377,000 by the end of 1896.

The issues of 1896 were numerous but not particularly well-covered by the press. Much of the political controversy had settled and citizens became interested in other state issues. One issue that had been occurring continually since statehood was that of prohibition. It was still of concern to many people as it was reported in the December 17 issue of the Sioux Falls Argus Leader.

An issue of concern for possible reformers dealt with the Express Companies. At that time, the express companies paid virtually no taxes from their business profits. Many felt that the express companies should be forced to pay taxes and help provide state revenues. The Aberdeen Daily News of December 11, 1896 noted the reformers point of view rather clearly.

In 1896 hunting and fishing laws were vague and difficult to understand. Reformers in the state advocated a revision of those laws to make them clearer and more applicable. The hunting and fishing laws placed some limits on the number of game allowed.
to be killed but were not specific as to which areas were to be hunted. 85

By 1896 the state had grown in many areas. Travel to and from different parts of the state was increasing. The Missouri River played a specific role in the travel. Some people traveled up and down the river, but others were hindered because of their dependency upon ferries to carry them across the river. A bridge across the river would have been an added advantage to state growth. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported that a Missouri River bridge was considered a possibility and should be looked into by the legislators. 86

As the state developed, new ideas migrated into South Dakota from other states. Insurance became a new concept in the state. Of course with insurance came many insurance companies. The companies grew without any particular controls placed on them. There was some public demand for the creation of an Insurance Commissioner to help control and regulate the insurance companies. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported the concern over the creation of such an office in its December 24th issue. 87

Because of the overabundance of state officers, a large portion of state money had been paid to them. Such a position raised cries for government reduction. The Aberdeen Daily News reported that several offices could easily be abolished to save money including the Railroad Commissioners, the Commissioner of Irrigation and the Office of the Oil Inspector. 88
Environment

Capitol removal was still a question in the minds of legislators in 1897. Still no action had been taken on changing the structure of the capitol building. The size of the legislature remained relatively constant so the need for new quarters did not increase. Governor Lee in his first inaugural address confronted many people who did not like him or want him as governor. He had won by a majority of 50.6% of the vote with his opponent getting 49.4%. He had weak control over the state government. He delivered his first inaugural address January 6, 1896 to a joint session of the House and Senate as they met in the chambers of the House of Representatives. 90

Themes

Governor Andrew Lee dealt with five basic themes. 91

Governor Lee's first theme was one that was supported in political circles but not reported by the press prior to the inaugural address. The governor was concerned with railroad legislation. He noted, (1) "... the most necessary legislation to be passed is a statute regulating the freight and passenger rates on our railroads." 92 This was presented immediately after his opening salutations to all those present. Regulatory legislation was the coming thing and it certainly was emphasized by the governor.
Enactment of prohibition was still being debated and the governor felt that it should be restrained by the legislature in the form of a practical statute. 93

The school book question was back on the scene. The position was that school books should be furnished to South Dakota at the price of their production to avoid the problems of having the people pay for them. The governor noted it as he said, (3) "The development of a system of state school books, to be furnished to the people would do much to afford relief from the monopoly . . . " 94

A new type of ballot reform came to light in the next theme of Governor Lee. He noted, (4) "The demand for a registration law applicable to every precinct in the state seems to be important . . . " 95 The idea was to avoid election fraud and call for registration of all voters to find out who was eligible to vote in general elections.

The last theme dealt with the question of revenue. Sufficient revenue was not being placed in the state treasury. The governor said, (5) "The question of revenue is of urgency and will continue as such unless the Legislature finds some new means to relieve the treasury." 96 The governor felt that more revenue was needed and that the Legislature must act upon that question immediately. The governor ended his inaugural address with several generalizations in hopes of having a good administration for all of South Dakota.
Andrew E. Lee 1899

Issues

Prior to the 1899 inaugural address, the United States had entered the Spanish-American War which began in April of 1898. South Dakota had more than a thousand men involved in the war. When the war ended in December of 1898, Governor Lee demanded that the troops be sent home. They did not return until September of 1899 causing some controversy.

Governor Lee was reelected in 1898 by a slim margin of 370 votes. He lost control of both houses and faced a difficult administrative term with a hostile legislature that refused to accept his recommendations.97

The state was growing. It produced 42,000,000 bushels of wheat in 1899, and its manufacturing value was somewhere near $4,200,000.98 The population of the state increased to about 389,000 people.99

The issues of 1898 were very extensive as the public sought legislation on many different ideas. One of the first issues was that of the procedure for amending the constitution. Previous to that time, a dispensary law to allow certain businesses to dispense alcohol had been pushed through rather easily. This caused concern among the people about the ease with which different laws could be passed. The Aberdeen Weekly News of December 15, 1898 pointed out that there was a definite need for an amendment to the Constitutional amending procedures.100
A new issue upon the state scene was one that dealt with aid to cattlemen of the state. The hunting of wolves was of growing concern to many because they were killing cattle and other livestock. The proposal for a wolf bounty was supported by many citizens especially those in the western half of the state. The Rapid City Daily Journal reported that there was hope, as expressed in its December 16 issue, that a wolf bounty bill would be introduced in the Legislature.101

Another issue, an old one, dealt with prohibition. The electorate had in the previous election approved state control and distribution of liquor. Now the question was the procedure to put the decision into effect. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported that the upcoming legislature needed to provide a statute for the liquor provision.102

Much talk up to this time had centered around the issue of regulating railroad rates. But now other corporations such as telegraph, telephone, and express companies were also establishing themselves as tyrannical in their control of the market. Many people were beginning to call for regulation of the corporations by the state legislature. The Pierre Capitol Journal reported that the Legislature would hopefully address itself to the problems accrued by those corporations.103

The revenue laws were still of concern to many people. Their much needed revision dealing with exemptions, collection,
and assessment was being supported by many as the *Sioux Falls Argus Leader* reported in its December 20 issue. 104

**Environment**

The seat of government remained in Pierre, and it also remained in the same wooden structure that was so inadequate for previous administrations. Governor Lee presented his second inaugural address to a hostile crowd of mostly Republican legislators on the morning of January 3. His address was presented in the chambers of the House before the joint session of both House and Senate members. 105

**Themes**

Governor Lee's second inaugural address contained eight themes. 106

Governor Lee opened his inaugural address with a salutation to all who were present to hear his address and its major points. He then moved on to talk of his major themes. At that time all school funds were generally kept in a bank but were not used to generate any further revenue. The governor felt that this was not desirable and he urged, (1) ... [that] the law be modified so that school funds can be invested in county, school, municipal and state bonds." 107 The possible use of funds in that way could have generated money that could have been used to increase the school fund.
With the increased usage of insurance, the governor felt that the state should venture into that area to assist the citizens. The governor noted, (2) "I am convinced that the state should undertake the business of insuring the property of its citizens." 108

There were mining companies working in several areas of the state. The governor realized the importance of mining safety as he asked in his address, (3) "Laws for the utmost protection of life and limb of the men who work in the mines should be enacted and carefully enforced." 109 South Dakota during those times did not have laws for the protection of miners or for the regulation of mining procedures. The governor felt that action was needed on those points.

Governor Lee's next theme dealt with the State Veterinary Surgeon. The governor said, (4) "I recommend that the legislature appropriate $1000 for a salary for the state Veterinary . . . " 110 The State Veterinarian was not being paid for his services and the governor felt that he should be.

The revenue law became the governor's next theme. He said, (5) " . . . I urge the creation of a revenue law to meet the needs of the time and to reduce the 60% property tax on land." 111

The sixth theme concerned the state militia. Governor Lee expressed his feelings as he said, (6) "There is a need to maintain a state militia, but an efficient organization cannot be maintained without sufficient appropriations for it . . . " 112 The state
militia was not being fully funded by the state government and in order to continue it had to be supported.

The textbook theme became the next concern of the governor. It had come up before but had not been acted on. The governor said, (?). "The state should undertake the work of preparing and printing its own textbooks . . ." The concern over textbooks was increasing and the governor felt that the state should do something about it.

Lee's last theme advocated strengthening the power of the governor. He said, (8). "The governor needs to have the power of removal of state officers and I hope that the legislature will not neglect this constitutional intention." The intention was to give the governor more power and help him maintain his control over state government. The governor ended his inaugural with a brief conclusion about legislative responsibility and mentioned pardons and extraditions of which he had approved.

Charles Herreid 1901

Issues

As it turned out, the Populist Party that had been so strong in the preceding four years in South Dakota declined and died in 1900. In the election of 1900 the Populist had few really effective arguments and with the theme of the "Full Dinner Pail," which attracted voters from the agriculture and mining regions, the Republicans, with Charles Herreid of Leola running for governor,
swept the state by some 15,000 votes. The Populists splintered into other parties with most going back to the Republicans while some went to the Democrats and the newly formed Socialist Party. The populists had made only one contribution to government in the form of the initiative and referendum, adopted in 1899, but its ideas were later accepted by all of society.\textsuperscript{115}

The railroad had established itself on the edge of the Missouri River and was paying the Indians for a six mile right of way on the north edge of the Cheyenne Indian Reservation.\textsuperscript{116} The number of cattle increased, the acreage of wheat declined, and South Dakota became a leading dairy state. After 1900 many of the lands formerly belonging to the Indians were opened to homesteaders.\textsuperscript{117} The population in the state increased to approximately 401,000 people.\textsuperscript{118} The state was growing and was entering an era of change in both the political and economic scenes.

With the changes mentioned above, the public loudly called for legislation to support the growing state. One extremely controversial issue was over the establishment of a Commissioner of Immigration. His sole responsibility was to be the initiation of ideas to encourage the immigration of people into South Dakota to continue its growth. However some people were not in favor of that movement. In fact, the Aberdeen \textit{Daily News} of December 29 reported that there would be little gained by the establishment of the immigration commissioner.\textsuperscript{119}
One problem seemed to have much support across the state. The general feeling was that the legislature should provide monies for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. The *Rapid City Daily Journal* noted that the chief reason for the money was to advertise South Dakota as a state, in hopes that it would attract more homesteaders. Its December 16 issue called for ample funds to support the South Dakota exhibit in St. Louis.120

A new issue on the state scene was that of guarantee bonds. Guarantee bonds were used to guarantee someone's performance on the job or to guarantee the usage of money in a particular way. The *Aberdeen Daily News* of December 21 reported that some of the public had called for guarantee bonds to be used by saloon keepers in place of the personal bonds that they had put up.121

Another issue of concern, this time to the cattle owners, was the possible appointment of state stock inspectors. Many supported the idea while others preferred freedom from governmental control. The smaller cattle owners seemed to be more in favor of the bill than the larger ones. The *Sioux Falls Argus Leader* of December 11 reported that many people were pushing for the state stock inspector law.122

Liquor was in the news again. Many people were unhappy with the existing state liquor law that allowed municipal and state run saloons to exist. Prohibition was still a hot issue and many of the public began demanding the repeal of the dispensary law. The *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, in its December 14 copy,
reported that efforts would be made to repeal the dispensary law that existed in South Dakota. 123

One particular issue arose primarily from the previous governor's inaugural address. Governor Lee's last theme dealt with the power of removal of officers. By this time some of the public felt that the removal power should be a part of the powers of the governor just as the President of the United States had power of removal. The Aberdeen Daily News, of December 28, reported that a movement was under way to encourage the Legislature to pass a bill allowing the governor removal powers over appointed officials. 124

Another issue of increasing discussion was the growing support for the establishment of rural libraries in the state. It was felt that such a law would be to the definite advantage of the citizens in the state. 125

Legislative reapportionment had become an important issue to many people. The state needed to save some money and organize its government as had other states. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported that one of the major issues would probably be that of reapportionment and that many legislators would certainly be against it since their jobs were at stake. 126

One last issue had finally come to the concern of voters. After repeated efforts to have the capitol removed from Pierre much of the public began to realize that the capitol would always be in Pierre and a more permanent structure should be provided for the
government. The *Sioux Falls Argus Leader* of January 7 noted that people would be urging their legislators to provide funds for a new stone capitol building. \(^{127}\)

**Environment**

Removal of the wooden structure that had been housing the government for the previous ten years was now more of a possibility. Some of the public were calling for funding of the new structure, but at that moment, the government still held its offices in the old wooden building. Governor Herreid faced a warm and friendly audience of mainly Republicans as he presented his inaugural address on the morning of January 8, 1901. The legislators met in a joint session in the House chambers to hear the Governor's inaugural address. \(^{128}\)

**Themes**

Governor Herreid's first inaugural address contained eight themes. \(^{129}\)

Governor Herreid began his inaugural address with his opening salutation to the members of the legislature and other dignitaries that were present. The election law became his first theme. He said, (1) "I wish to emphasize to you the vital importance of the adoption of an absolutely secret ballot." \(^{130}\) He held that election concerns were great and the need for change was becoming a necessity.
Governor Herreid urged upon the legislature his second theme, (2) "I believe that the restrictions upon the selection of the members of the Board of Regents should be removed." At that time laws allowed so many members to be on the board. They had to be appointed by the governor, but were limited by a number of restrictions. One restriction was that relatives of the board members could not be employed at any of the educational institutions.131

The next theme in the inaugural address was one of concern over the development of the state. The Governor said, (3) "In order that the resources of the state may be made known to homesteaders, the office of Commissioner of Immigration should be re-established."132 This particular theme was also an issue expressed by the press. The Commissioner of Immigration could be used to increase migration of people into South Dakota.

Another theme that was concerned with the development of the state, but in another area, was that of the geological surveys. The governor felt (4) that the surveys were the best way to better understand the mineral wealth of the state and bring out any hidden treasures.133

A theme, which was repeated from the previous governor and also had been an issue supported by the people, was that of the removal powers. The governor noted it as he said, (5) "Since the Executive is charged with the acts of his appointees, his power
to remove them should not be uncertain ... "134 The governor felt that removal should be within his power as chief executive.

Another theme that had been presented before, by perhaps several governors, was that of the salary and powers of the Veterinary Surgeon. The governor noted, (6) "The Veterinary Surgeon should be paid a salary and expenses and he should be able to establish and enforce quarantine regulations ... "135 The governor felt as others had that the Legislature was neglecting the office of the veterinarian and should not continue any longer since that job was becoming increasingly important.

The governor chose for his next theme an issue that would not receive popular support from the legislators. The governor offered, (7) "A new apportionment of the number of senators and representatives for the legislature is one of your duties and I feel that it must be done ... "136

The last theme of the governor advocated the creation of a new agency in the government. The governor advocated that (8) "The time has arrived when the state should encourage the incorporation of a state historical society ... "137 The governor felt that history should be recorded and a historical society could do this. The governor ended his address with a few general comments on the state of the state and hoped for a good two years.
Issues

The years of 1900 through 1904 were strongly Republican, so much so that there was little political activity until late in 1903. In the election the governor won with 65 percent of the vote. The party itself did a creditable thing in getting the voluntary reduction of freight rates by the railroads, which had been an issue to many people. But however desirable that was, it led some Republicans to closely associate themselves with the powerful railroad interests. That action, in itself, caused growing discontentment among some of the party regulars and led to upheaval in late 1903.

Homesteaders continued to move into western South Dakota as the railroad advanced westward to the village of Bonesteel in 1902. The population of the state continued to grow and increased to 420,000 people.

There were still many issues on the state scene. Perhaps the largest and most controversial issue involved the placement of the capitol in a permanent location. The Sioux Falls, Aberdeen, and Pierre papers all reported the growing controversy surrounding the issue. The December 24 issue of the Pierre Capitol Journal reported that the three cities of Redfield, Huron and Mitchell were all lobbying for the permanent capitol seat.

Another controversial issue in the form of the equal rights for women amendment was beginning to draw support from some of the
The suffragists were lobbying for the amendment, and the Rapid City Daily Journal reported that with growing publicity the equal rights amendment would certainly be an issue in the legislature.\[^{143}\]

One particular issue that was not very popular with the legislators was still growing in public concern. That issue was reapportionment. The December 13 Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported that the governor was trying to get the Legislature to reapportion itself.\[^{144}\]

An issue that had come up some years before, in 1899, was the investment of school funds. The biggest problem was trying to find a suitable way to invest the large amount of money that existed in the school fund. The Rapid City Daily Journal, in its December 14 issue, reported that such an attempt might well be one of the major issues at the legislature.\[^{145}\]

A major problem had arisen in the lack of sufficient funds to run the state government. The needs for more money were immense. The taxation system was clearly in need of revision, and many people were advocating immediate action. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader in its December 21 issue reported that the legislature needed to devise ways and means to change the taxation system.\[^{146}\]

A new issue concerned with the penitentiary was the idea that convicts should be provided work to help their rehabilitation and return to society as law-abiding citizens. The policy had been to lock up all prisoners with no work to be provided for them.
The Sioux Falls Argus Leader of December 27 reported that the suggestion would hopefully be considered at the legislature. One last major issue was that of the fence law. This particular issue was of most concern to western South Dakota because a fence law was in effect, closing the open range, and many of the people wanted it to be reopened. The December 27 issue of the Rapid City Daily Journal reported that citizens were calling for repeal of the western fence law.

Environment

Perhaps the biggest issue of the year was the possible removal of the capitol; and therefore, any possible new capitol building was out of the question. The legislators wanted to first decide about the location of the capitol. Thus, the old wooden structure remained the location for the inaugural. Governor Herreid presented his second inaugural address to the joint session of the House and Senate, as they met on the morning of January 6, 1903, in the chambers of the House of Representatives. There was a limited audience of the legislators and the few dignitaries who could crowd into the chambers.

Themes

Governor Herreid's second inaugural address contained six major themes.

The first theme was also one used by previous governors. Governor Herreid said, (1) "The school fund problem may be solved
by continuous investment at the best rate of interest possible ..." The problem lay in the investment of school funds that had been left uninvested. But it was difficult to decide where and how to invest those monies.\textsuperscript{151}

The next theme was concerned over the salary of the Attorney General. The governor felt that (2) the Legislature should, with a constitutional amendment, approve of a basic salary for the Attorney General in relation to his work.\textsuperscript{152} It was necessary to provide funds for salaries for some state officials who were not at that time salaried.

The governor's next theme came in direct relation with an issue that was reported in one of the leading newspapers. Governor Herreid said, (3) "I urge the legislature to establish a binder twine plant in the state penitentiary."\textsuperscript{153} The idea behind the theme was that the prisoners needed work to keep them busy, and this was a good way to accomplish that and still help the farmers of South Dakota by providing them with inexpensive twine.

Then the governor established a new theme on the state level, that was destined to become one of the most talked of and argued about ideas in the state's history. The governor introduced it, (4) "I believe that the subject of good public highways is worthy of your best individual thought and should be on the agenda of the legislature since it is such an important matter."\textsuperscript{154} With increased traffic and the introduction of the automobile, highways
were soon to be important; and the governor recognized their specific role early.

The governor took as the subject of his next theme the newly formed Board of Dental Examiners. He noted, (5) "The governor should be free to select the best men for the public service of serving on the Board of Dental Examiners." At that time there was some concern over the selection of board members on a political level, and the governor felt that he should be able to pick whomever he wanted.

Lastly, the governor chose as a theme another point that had been brought up previously. He said, (6) "I recommend that you amend the registration law that requires an annual voter registration." The governor wanted to change the law to require registration only once rather than the system of registering every year, which was cumbersome and impractical. The governor thus covered a variety of themes. He closed his inaugural address with a few limited statements and a notation on the number of pardons and extraditions that he had approved.

Samuel H. Elrod 1905

Issues

Politics was one of the main topics in 1904. Dissatisfaction with the Republican Party led to a revolt in the ranks and the formation of the Progressive Party under the leadership of Coe Crawford. The Progressives themselves were not on their own
until a few years later, but at this point they represented a faction that was not happy with the leadership of the Republican Party. Governor Elrod won the election easily with 68 percent of the vote. One of the more progressive reforms that they initiated was the primary law. The primary law called for a statewide primary election prior to the convention. It was set up by the party system but was very long and complex.\textsuperscript{157}

The first drawing for Indian lands was held in late June in Gregory County where 2,412 claims of 160 acres each were made available. 106,000 people registered in that area in July. Bonesteel became the eastern gateway to the Indian lands.\textsuperscript{158} The population of the state increased rapidly because of the new lands opened to homesteaders. The population rose to 494,000.\textsuperscript{159}

The issues that developed in 1904 were limited to a few highly controversial ones. One of the most talked of issues was the erection of a permanent capitol building. The permanent capitol location had been settled in the previous session when Pierre was chosen. Now a permanent capitol building was in order. Many newspapers reported the public demands for the building. However, the \textit{Pierre Daily Capitol Journal} noted in its December 19 issue that although much was being said about the building of a stone capitol, the opinion across the state still remained divided.\textsuperscript{160} Some people were still not sure if it was really necessary to build a stone capitol building.
Another controversial issue was one brought up by the progressive factions of the Republican Party. The primary election idea was to take much power away from the party bosses. Although many newspapers reported that it was to be an issue, one noted its pessimism as to the workability of such a plan. The December 19 issue of the Aberdeen Daily News reported that much of the public felt that South Dakota should wait until Wisconsin had proven the value or lack of value of the primary election law. The idea had not been accepted yet, and public opinion on it was basically uncertain.

One issue that had come up before and had been mentioned by Governor Herrold in his administration was the establishment of a binder twine plant in the state penitentiary to provide work for prisoners. The December 10 copy of the Rapid City Daily Journal reported suggestions of the binder twine plant and a possible shirt making plant to give prisoners some work. There was much concern over the prisoners because the basic feeling of the public was to reform the prisoners. Working was one way to help them achieve that goal.

Another big issue and one that often plagued many administrations was that of revenue. The Legislature had been forced to make a deficiency levy to cover the outlay of funds because insufficient revenue was being taken into the state treasury. The public and the legislators did not like deficit spending, and they realized that a new revenue law had to be adopted. The Aberdeen
Daily News in its December 28th issue reported that the citizens felt that the revenue law needed adjustments to avoid any more deficiency levies.163

One last issue, roads, was of concern to some people in the state. As the state was growing, so was the need to transport more products to market. A major concern, then, was the roads needed to get the products to market. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of December 23, reported that there was need for more routes to provide rural people with mobility and easier access to markets.164

Environment

Governor Elrod took office during a time of trouble in his party. Many of the party regulars were unhappy with the way the party was being run and desired reforms. Governor Elrod was elected by machine politics, which in those years meant that the party bosses picked the candidate and used their power to get him elected, and was doomed to defeat if he continued his chosen course.165

Thus, when he presented his address, there were many people who were not happy that he was taking office.

The capitol had been permanently located in Pierre but the building was still a wooden structure. Public opinion had been growing in support of a new and more permanent capitol building. The legislators were then faced with the decision to build or not to build. That was the situation that Governor Samuel Elrod faced as he gave his gubernatorial inaugural address on January 3, 1905.
to the combined House and Senate members as they met in the crowded chambers of the House of Representatives in Pierre. 166

**Themes**

Samuel Elrod presented his inaugural address containing only five themes. 167

The first theme of the governor was also an important issue in the state. He said, (1) "I strongly believe that the assessment and taxation laws must be improved to bring in more revenue ..." 168 With the growing need for funds, the revenue laws had to be improved to meet that need, with such things as limitation of exemptions, increasing the actual tax, and others.

A theme that had been expressed a number of times before and by a number of governors including Governor Herreid in his second inaugural was the next theme of Governor Elrod. He said, (2) "I believe that it is important for you to determine the amount of school funds that will be invested ..." 169

The next theme was one that had also been mentioned previously and was still a controversial issue within the state at that time. The Governor said, (3) "A twine plant should be established at the penitentiary at the earliest date possible to give useful employment to prisoners ..." 170

The governor also mentioned the primary as a theme. His basic feeling was that (4) the primary for direct nominations was not needed at the present time. 171 It is interesting to note that
the idea had been brought up by members of his own party who opposed his candidacy for governor.

The governor's last theme was one of interest in the state capitol. He said, (5) "It seems that the time has come when a permanent state capitol should be built." The governor seemed to realize that the present facilities were totally inadequate for the government and all of its offices. The governor closed his address with a few general remarks on the importance of passing the right type of laws for South Dakota.

Coe Crawford 1907

Issues

The Progressives became stronger, and the years of 1905 and 1906 became the years that they overthrew the Republican regulars. Coe Crawford continued to lead the Progressives; and his candidacy for Governor gained support from Governor La Follette of Wisconsin, who supported Crawford in several speeches on the Chautauqua circuits in 1905. The Progressives linked their ideas with those of Theodore Roosevelt who was President. They formed "Roosevelt Clubs" across the state. At the state convention in June of 1906, Crawford swept to victory in the gubernatorial nominations over Governor Elrod. The fall election gave Coe Crawford the governorship by a strong 65 percent of the vote.

The railroad made connections between Rapid City and Pierre, which led to a heavy migration of people into the Cheyenne
and White River areas. The Chautauqua assemblies, in the state since 1891, spread into tents rather than stationary pavilions in 1905. The population of the state also increased to around 515,000 people, due primarily to the opening of new lands.

Issues in 1906 were much less controversial than those in the previous administration. The Progressives had taken over the government when Crawford was elected governor, and many of the issues dissolved. One concern of citizens was the lack of executive succession provisions in the state government in case the Governor resigned. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal of December 10 reported that there was some concern over the lack of provisions in the law for the succession of state officials.

One controversial issue, the school funds question, did remain from the previous years. The allocation of those school funds still had to be settled. Some people advocated expenditure of the funds to help the poorer school districts in the state, while others, as was noted in the December 28 issue of the Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, felt that not to be a good idea and that the funds should remain where they were.

The state fair was having trouble keeping up with increasing costs. Some advocated that the state government give fair officials money to help them keep the fair going.

Also at issue was the possible changing of the state game law. The Aberdeen Daily American in its December 8 copy reported that support for providing a stricter regulation on hunting of
waterfowl and big game was receiving wide acclaim across the state. Regulation at that time was ambiguous and unenforced. ¹⁸⁰

One issue came into light as a result of asserted railroad power over officials and legislators. Many reformers called for the adoption of an anti-pass law. The pass system allowed the railroads to give elected officials free passes for rides in return for political favors. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader of December 28 reported that a law to deny free transportation on railroads to public servants was being proposed and supported by many. ¹⁸¹

One last issue had been a theme in Governor Herreid's second inaugural address. The "good roads proposal" to provide more farm to market roads was reported in the January 5 issue of the Rapid City Daily Journal as being of concern to many people who hoped that the proposal would be adopted by the legislature. ¹⁸²

Environment

At this point in history the capitol building remained a wooden structure, although more and more people were becoming aware of the need for a more permanent stone building to prevent possible fire that could destroy many valuable records. Governor Crawford had successfully overthrown the party regulars; and although he had much support in the legislature, the party regulars hoped to still give him a difficult time in some areas. In any case, Coe Crawford gave his inaugural address to the 1907 legislature in the Chambers of the House on the morning of January 8, 1907 to the combined bodies of the House of Representatives and Senate. ¹⁸³
Governor Crawford's gubernatorial inaugural address dealt with only six basic themes.

Governor Crawford began with an opening salutation to the legislators who were present and to the other officials listening to him. His first theme was one that had been heard before. He felt (1) that authorization of the sale of timber on school lands controlled by the state was a possible desirable goal. He wanted to place the money into the school fund.\(^{184}\)

Governor Crawford's second theme was that of state printing. He said, (2) "I think that state printing should be initiated to save money and secure better work . . . "\(^{185}\) The governor felt that the present system of hiring a private company to print all of its documents was too costly and was not necessarily achieving good work. A state owned and operated printing system would be less expensive in the long run.

The third theme of the inaugural address dealt with campaign reforms. Crawford said, (3) "I feel that a law prohibiting corporation campaign contributions, and a law for the keeping of accurate records of all campaign contributions should be passed soon . . . "\(^{186}\)

The governor took as his fourth theme a concern over the railroads. He said, (4) "The enactment of laws to make railroads public highways and carry products without delay or discrimination
should be made."\textsuperscript{187} The problem was in the western part of the state where the railroads were charging higher rates and delaying transportation more than they were in the eastern part of South Dakota.\textsuperscript{188}

Next, the governor noted a theme that had been mentioned by several other governors: (5) "Legislation to enable the work of building a new capitol is extremely important especially to protect the valuable property of the state."\textsuperscript{189} The governor stressed that the risks were in remaining in the old wooden capitol and felt that work on a new one should be done with all haste.

The last theme of Governor Crawford's address was one that had not occurred for some years. He asserted that (6) the National Guard in the state needed money to maintain itself and should be given added funds.\textsuperscript{190} The governor wanted the National Guard to remain active. Crawford closed his address by expressing hopes that these needed measures would be adopted.

R. S. Vessey 1909

Issues

Progressivism proved to be the strong suit in South Dakota from 1907 through 1909. Legislation passed included the anti-pass law, a direct primary, laws prohibiting corporations from making contributions for political purposes, maximum railroad passenger rates, establishment of a food and drug administration, and free textbooks for schools. The Progressives raised the tax assessment
on corporate property. The Progressives continued to control the Republican party but only by a slim margin. In 1908 Governor Crawford, choosing not to run for reelection for governor, was nominated to the U.S. Senate. Robert S. Vessey was nominated for governor. At that point in history, nomination by the majority party was almost synonymous with election, and such was the case in 1908 when Vessey won with 55 percent of the vote.  

The railroad stretched north to Lemmon in 1907. Indian lands were opened to homesteaders near Presho and in Tripp County, with prices ranging from $2.50 to $6.00 an acre.  

Settlers flocked to those areas. By the end of 1908, the population in the state had reached nearly 564,000; and once again much of the growth was due to the opening of Indian lands to settlers.

There were many, many issues prior to the inaugural address of 1909. One of the most important dealt with the structural changes of the Supreme Court in South Dakota. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of January 1, reported that the question of increasing the number of supreme court judges from three to five was of growing concern to many people in South Dakota.

Another issue was related to insurance in the state. The Aberdeen Daily American reported that some people were calling for a law that would force all out-of-state insurance companies to invest 75% of their reserve funds in South Dakota securities. The December 13 issue went on to say that many people were in support of such action.
An issue that had briefly been noted before, was that of an immigration department. The Rapid City Daily Journal reported that such a department should be set up to advertise South Dakota and her resources. The general feeling was that it would be desirable to have such a functionary position in the government.

One particularly controversial issue was basically new on the state scene. Bank guarantees had begun to be noticed by many people. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of January 2, reported that the real idea behind bank guarantees was an attempt to back up and insure all monies saved in banks by citizens in the state. There was concern that money would not be returned to depositors if banks had to close.

An issue that brought many complaints from the railroads was that of the two-cent fare rate. The rate had been 2 1/2¢ per mile for all passengers. The railroads had reacted and had won an injunction postponing the rate. The feeling then existed that the railroad would accept two cents per mile.

Another issue, an attack on the corporations, was the one against freight companies and high freight rates. The public was basically disgusted with the powerful corporations and felt that the time had come to regulate them. The Aberdeen Daily American, of January 3, noted that many people felt that a reduction in rates was justified.

One particular issue came from western South Dakota. Much had been heard from western citizens about the existing herd laws.
The Sioux Falls Argus Leader of December 15 reported that some efforts would be made to adopt a law restraining cattle from running at large. The existing law allowed cattle to graze freely without being in collected herds. People were losing cattle and wanted adoption of a new herd law.

One last issue of concern was the lack of funds for the completion of the capitol building. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of December 31, reported that citizens felt the Legislature should provide funds for the completion of the capitol building.

Environment

When Governor Robert Vessey presented his inaugural address, the new permanent capitol building was being constructed. Nevertheless, the old building was still being used. Vessey faced a split legislature. His faction of the party barely controlled the legislature, insuring him the possibility of a favorable administration. Robert Vessey, the seventh governor of South Dakota, presented his gubernatorial inaugural address, January 5, 1909, to a crowded hall of legislators as they met in joint session. The audience consisted of legislators, state officials, and possibly a few others.

Themes

Governor Robert Vessey in his first inaugural address covered eight themes.
Governor Vessey opened his inaugural address with the usual salutation. The first theme of the inaugural address concerned financial outlays. The governor said, (1) "I recommend the law providing for the designation of depositors of state funds and the payment of interest on such depositories."204. The idea was that it was important to know where the state funds would be invested or used, and that interest should be returned from those places.

The next theme was bank guarantees. Governor Vessey said, (2) "I believe that you frame a wise measure to make sure that all bank depositors shall be assured against loss of money if the banks close."205

The governor's next theme dealt with the recently adopted primary law. The governor felt that (3) it should be revised to eliminate all unnecessary expense connected with the law.206 The governor was again concerned that the primary law should be as effective as possible and should not cause extra expense in areas of printing and use.

The governor suggested a theme that he felt was important. He said, (4) "I strongly feel that advertisement of our state resources should be done with whatever means available."207 The feeling was that advertisement would cause more people to move to South Dakota, and the state would continue to expand and progress.

The next theme in the inaugural address dealt with an issue supported by many during that particular year. The governor
stated, (5) "I recommend the addition of two justices to the Supreme Court bench . . ." The governor urged that additions to the Supreme Court would be desirable and helpful to all concerned.

The governor also took a stand on uniform prices. He said, (6) "I urge that you pass a law that prohibits a corporation from selling a product cheaper in one part of the state than in another." The governor was still urging the passage of progressive reforms in the state including the regulation of prices of corporation products.

The seventh theme was that of insurance revision. The governor felt that (7) the entire code involving insurance should be completely revised. The revision of the insurance codes was desirable to make them more complete and understandable.

The last theme of the inaugural address concerned the sale of cigarettes. The governor stated his position, (8) "You will see the great need of drastic laws against the sale of cigarettes in this state." The governor did not look favorably upon smoking. He closed his inaugural with a few words to the legislature in hopes of a good session.

R. S. Vessey 1911

Issues

The Republican Progressives remained strong in 1910. Although they controlled the party, George Egan of Sioux Falls
ran as an Independent and nearly upset Governor Vessey. Vessey won the Republican primary by only a scant 5,000 votes out of the 70,000 that were cast. Governor Vessey went on to win the election by approximately 23,000 votes. The state political scene was also marked by the visit of Theodore Roosevelt, who toured the state during the summer. 212

In Aberdeen, in 1909, ten thousand claims became available on the Cheyenne River and Standing Rock Indian Reservations. There were 81,456 applications for claims, from which 10,000 were drawn. 213 The summer of 1910 was another long drought that destroyed crops and saw many discouraged and financially destitute homesteaders leave South Dakota. This allowed some of the claims to be seized by stockmen. Creation of very large ranches followed, including the Diamond A in Armstrong, Dewey, and Ziebach counties covering 300,000 acres. 214 By the year 1909, South Dakota's manufacturing output had more than doubled from that of 1899, to about 8.5 million dollars with the noted establishment of the John Morrell meat-packing company in Sioux Falls. 215 By 1910, with the increasing homesteading movement, the population of the state had moved up to 584,000. 216

A recurring issue, which apparently had not been solved by the legislature, was the battle over the herd law. Many people argued the necessity for a new law, while others, as was noted in the December 22 copy of the Sioux Falls Argus Leader, were in favor
of an extension of the existing law that allowed cattle to move freely on the range.\textsuperscript{217}

The \textit{Rapid City Daily Journal} in its December 24 issue reported that legislators were preparing for an extended fight over the reapportionment of the state legislature.\textsuperscript{218}

Some controversy over the state's normal schools (colleges) arose. Some felt that financial concerns should limit the role of the normal schools. Others took the extreme position, as was reported in the December 19 issue of the \textit{Pierre Daily Capitol}, advocating closing of the schools in Aberdeen and Springfield because they were educational failures.\textsuperscript{219}

Another educational controversy appeared over the increase of salaries and budgets for the educational institutions. Some of the public believed that those increases should and must be made. Others, as the \textit{Sioux Falls Argus Leader} of December 6 reported, felt that if such action was approved the overall state budget would have to be increased and that action would be totally undesirable.\textsuperscript{220}

Legislation to create and maintain good roads was also an issue in 1910. More automobiles had been coming into the state, and the need for good roads had become increasingly apparent. The \textit{Rapid City Daily Journal} of December 17 reported that an important issue was the possible good roads proposal which some people did not agree with.\textsuperscript{221}
One issue reported by the Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, on December 14, concerned prohibition. If people wanted to obtain alcohol without prescription they would have to change the present law, which limited alcohol purchases to medicinal uses. At that time, laws stated that the only purchase of alcohol possible was by prescription. 222

Environment

Governor Vessey presented his gubernatorial address as the first governor to occupy the new stone capitol building. His second address was presented in the new chambers of the House of Representatives. The chambers were larger and had a gallery at the back of the hall. When the State Senators and Representatives met in the halls of the House on the morning of January 13, 1911, the gallery was crowded with citizens to hear the governor give his inaugural in the new House. The audience that had gathered included state officials, much of the press, citizens and relatives of officials and, of course, the legislators themselves. 223

Themes

Governor Vessey, in his second inaugural address, covered six themes. 224

The governor opened his address with his salutation to the many people who were there. He welcomed them to the first inaugural address in the new capitol building. His first theme was concerned with education. He said, (1) "I believe that the code for the
improvement of rural schools should occupy your attention and should be passed." A code had been proposed to improve the facilities and make the standards stronger for the rural schools in the state.

The governor addressed his attention to another theme that was of growing concern. He said, (2) "We need a system of roads built in accordance with practical and scientific methods ..." The governor expressed his concern on another issue in his next theme. He said, (3) "In all matters pertaining to liquor, I feel that you should try to regulate it and restrain its sale for all purposes." The governor had a strong feeling about the liquor problem as he noted in his address.

The governor was further concerned with the role of the Railroad Commission. He said that (4) the Railroad Commission should be given more power to relieve the state of unjust discrimination on the part of the railroads. The governor took the stand that the Railroad Commission should be given more power to accomplish what they felt was necessary.

The next theme concerned the primary law. The Governor noted, (5) "I believe that the primary law should be revised to protect the parties and assure their solidarity." Governor Vessey felt that the primary law was a good idea, but that in its present form it was relatively ineffective and in need of revision.

The last theme expressed by Robert Vessey was that of a possible constitutional convention. Governor Vessey said, (6)
"I am convinced that the question of calling for a constitutional convention to revise the constitution is necessary and should be done soon."\textsuperscript{230} The governor had realized that changes in the constitution were necessary to revise such things as the primary, taxation, government offices, and others. He closed his inaugural address with a few words to the legislature and talked of the pardons and extraditions that he had approved during the previous two years of his term.

Frank Byrne 1913

\textbf{Issues}

During 1911 more Indian lands opened up for homesteaders, including those on the Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations. However, not as many people were as interested in the lands, due to the continuing drought that ran through the summer of 1910 and the summer of 1911, and to the fact that most of those lands were almost inaccessible to many travelers. Some of the homesteaders left previously settled areas due to the drought, and the railroads sought to help those people by transporting extra feed and supplies at no extra cost and prevent a loss in their market size.\textsuperscript{231} The drought also had an adverse effect on the population growth, which only rose to 590,000.\textsuperscript{232}

The political scene of 1912 was complicated by the national elections. The Progressives split into rival groups with Coe Crawford leading one and Richard Richards leading the other. The
Stalwart Republicans took a third part of the party. The Progressives supported Robert La Follette of Wisconsin for President, but William Howard Taft was renominated. The Progressives, however, maintained control of the party in South Dakota and helped Frank M. Byrne get elected to governor by 3,000 votes.233 The state political scene remained disorganized for several more years.

There was a wide variety of issues prior to the inaugural address in 1912. The dominant issue of 1912 dealt with convict labor. The basic plan was outlined and reported in the December 24 issue of the Aberdeen Daily American which noted that the idea was to put convicts to work on country roads and highways with their wages given for support of their families.234 Many people thought that it was a good idea and hoped for favorable legislation since there was a definite need for road improvement within the state.

The "good roads" idea took another turn as citizens supported a system of licensing automobiles in order to secure funds for maintenance of the roads. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal reported that much support had been found for the idea, a new one in South Dakota.235

A school issue was also of concern to citizens in South Dakota. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of January 1, reported that several groups desired to understand the tenure of office and the manner of election of the County School Superintendents. At that
point, no one was really sure what the term of office should be for Superintendents nor the exact manner of election. The practice had been to elect them at special elections.\textsuperscript{236} It was a question that needed to be solved.

Another educational issue concerned the development of traveling rural libraries. The December 31 issue of the Aberdeen Daily News reported that action to develop the libraries would be presented to the legislature at the coming session.\textsuperscript{237}

New state game laws were also considered issues within the state in 1912. Many sportsmen hoped that stricter regulation of out of state hunters and big game hunting would be enacted. With such support, the game issue was certainly important.\textsuperscript{238}

Another issue confronting the state was that of the initiative and referendum which had been passed earlier. The issue of concern was the percentage of voters signatures required to invoke the initiative in commission ruled cities. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of December 26, noted that it was an important issue to be solved at the coming session.\textsuperscript{239}

The woman's suffrage amendment was again an issue in the state. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, in its January 6 copy, reported that women were seeking enactment of the amendment by the state Legislature.\textsuperscript{240} At that time other states were in the process of ratifying the amendment that had been approved by Congress.

One last issue was that of the coming Panama Exposition in San Francisco. The Aberdeen Daily American, of December 24,
reported that there was growing sentiment in support of the erection of a building for South Dakota exhibits.\textsuperscript{241} It was felt to be good advertisement for the state, and the citizens wanted more immigration into the state.

\section*{Environment}

Governor Frank Byrne, the eighth chief executive of South Dakota, presented his gubernatorial inaugural address in the capitol building. The new structure, inhabited for only three years, was filled with visiting dignitaries, officials and citizens, many who had come to hear the governor present his address. The governor spoke on the morning of January 7, 1913 to the joint session of the House of Representatives and the Senate of South Dakota.\textsuperscript{242}

\section*{Themes}

Governor Frank Byrne's inaugural address covered seven major themes.\textsuperscript{243}

Byrne opened his address with a salutation to the audience. Governor Byrne then suggested his first major theme. He said, (1) "Our charitable and penal institutions are in need of major funding to help them expand and create the facilities that they need. I think that you should provide for them whatever they need."\textsuperscript{244}

Governor Byrne turned next to education, asserting that (2) "Both our higher institutions and our public schools need our support in helping them grow and maintain what is best for our youth."
We must give them our support when possible." The governor wanted the legislature to give more money to education for the building of better curriculum and facilities.

The governor chose for his next theme that of the oppressive freight rates. He commented, "It is a matter of utmost importance to the people of this state that the rates are placed on a fair and equitable basis." The governor was concerned over the ability of the express companies to impose pressure on the public.

The next theme was that of the inheritance tax. The governor felt that there should be immediate adoption of a new inheritance tax to cover all such gifts in the state. The governor argued that gifts from corporations and those gained through wills should be taxed.

The next theme in the gubernatorial inaugural address was the problems involved in the public printing of documents. The governor suggested, "There should be a new law governing public printing to reduce the excessive cost to state government." The system in 1912 was to contract printing with a private company. Such a system was costing the state government much money, and a new system could prevent the loss of that money.

The governor chose as his next theme the ever increasing issue of good roads. He said, "The burden of road building should be based on a system of distribution of costs between the localities, the counties, the state and the nation. . . ." At
that point the localities had to cover almost 100% of the cost of roads in their areas. The governor felt this to be an injustice in need of remedy.

The last major theme was one that had come up several times both in inaugurals and in the press. The governor noted the problem, "The need for strict regulation and control of the sale of liquors is now recognized and acknowledged by all ..." The governor's viewpoint on the liquor question was that of its needed regulation. At that time liquor was prohibited but much controversy over the law looked towards its demise. The Governor wanted prohibition to remain in the law codes. The governor closed his address with several words of encouragement to the legislature with hopes of having a good session.

Frank M. Byrne 1915

Issues

The Progressive Republicans held onto control of the party in 1914 and successfully reelected Governor Byrne to a second term, with just over 50 percent of the vote. Peter Norbeck, elected Lieutenant Governor in 1914, began to unify the party with his political tactic of smoothing over bitterness between the Progressives and the Stalwarts. The overall population growth had slowed down, and the state's population increased to only about 598,000, an increase of about 8,000 people. The state continued
its progress in its slow fashion while events in the world became explosive.

There were many issues present in 1914 prior to Governor Byrne's second inaugural address. One was the controversy over the primary law. The Richard's primary law was inadequate because it weakened the parties rather than strengthened them. Because of the many factions of support for different candidates, each candidate tended to break up the party. The Aberdeen Weekly News, of December 17, 1914, reported that most people agreed that the primary law was inadequate and needed revision.253

Another issue of concern in 1914 was the proposed woman's suffrage amendment. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of December 28, reported that the leaders of the suffrage movement would certainly be on hand to urge passage of the women's vote amendment.254

The game law amendments were back in the news. The chief concern was the problem of licensing hunting and fishing in the state. Licensing was not very popular in the state.255

The state was still trying to find an adequate means to strengthen its taxation system. The state Tax Commission proposed six amendments to achieve a more stable tax system during this particular year, such as the property tax, the corporate taxes, and others. The Aberdeen Daily News, of December 29, reported that public opinion, although in support of tax amendments, was not favorably impressed with the Tax Commission's efforts.256
any case the tax problem was a major one, to be solved by the Legislature.

Another previously encountered issue was the bank guarantee proposal. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported in its December 28 issue that the guarantee law proposal would certainly be a problem to be dealt with.257

The removal powers of the governor were of concern to many people. The December 12 issue of the Pierre Daily Capitol Journal reported that some people were uncertain as to the governor's right to remove appointed officials.258 The issue remained unsettled.

An issue that was new in the state was the abolition of capital punishment. Some were in support of the measure as a reform effort. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of January 4, noted that people had proposed the issue; and that the Legislature would most likely have to deal with it in the coming session.259

The last issue of importance in 1914 was that of a proposed constitutional amendment making the prohibition question an issue in the state. The amendment was mentioned in the Sioux Falls Argus Leader of December 28, as being something that would produce state-wide prohibition.260 The issues then were numerous, covering a wide variety of topics.

Environment

Governor Frank M. Byrne presented his second inaugural address to a mixed crowd of supporters and opponents. Both the Stalwart Republicans and Democrats reportedly disliked Byrne. Of
course they followed the British policy of "loyal opposition," but, in any case, they were not totally in favor of the governor and his position. The address, given in the morning of January 5, 1915, was presented in the capitol building. The audience included the legislators--the Senators and Representatives--and the gallery consisting of press, citizens and others. The gubernatorial inaugural address was presented in the House of Representatives Chamber in Pierre.

Themes

The governor dealt with six themes, as compared to the seven he presented in 1913. The governor opened his address with his salutation, the remarks about his previous two years, and the hopes for the next two. Byrne's first theme was of grave concern. The governor looked at it with these words, (1) "Our basic method of dealing with prisoners had been totally unsatisfactory. It is high time that we begin handling and controlling prisoners in a sound attempt at reformation and redemption of them for society . . . " The governor was concerned with the prison system and prompted changes to gain the needed reformation of convicts.

The next theme turned to problems in education. The governor looked at public and higher education and said, (2) "Better salaries should be paid in our schools." The governor was concerned that the quality of education would decline if
salaries were not increased, because many teachers would soon leave the field.

Corporate interests in the state were addressed in the next theme. The Governor noted that (3) the state should have more regulatory powers in the corporate areas of transportation, power, electricity, and others. \( ^{265} \) The governor basically felt that the legislature had not controlled companies, which were unfair to the consumer public.

Governor Byrne dealt next with the ideas of strengthening the Food and Drug Department. He pointed out that, (4) "The laws governing food and drug rules, regulations and standards are insufficient and inadequate and should be revised to bring about better control . . . "\(^{266} \) The governor felt that the food and drug laws were not adequate and needed revision.

A particular theme that had come up before, but had not been enacted, was the bank guarantee proposal. The governor felt that (5) such a proposal is important and should have been passed earlier. It should now be passed as soon as possible. \(^{267} \)

The last theme in Governor Byrne's second inaugural address was a new theme that had also been a new issue. The governor said, (6) " . . . I recommend the repeal of the law that provides for the death penalty for any cause or circumstance."\(^{268} \) This last issue was a reform measure, and Governor Byrne felt that capital punishment should be abolished. The governor closed his inaugural address with comments on the pardons and extraditions he had given
and then some general comments on the things that he had accomplished during his administration.

Peter Norbeck 1917

**Issues**

Peter Norbeck, a businessman from Redfield, succeeded in unifying the Republican party for the first time after ten years of bitter feuding. He clearly won the primary over two candidates and swept on to the governors seat with 57 percent of the vote. Norbeck's chief aim was to promote a broad program of governmental action designed to promote the public social and economic welfare. Norbeck's overwhelming vote of confidence at the polls forced the Stalwart Republicans to fall in line and support him.269

For the first time, the population of the state climbed over the 600,000 mark as it reached 609,000.270 The war had started in Europe with the United States taking an isolationist stance in hopes of letting the Europeans fight their own battles.

The number of prominent issues of 1916 appeared to be fewer than in previous years. Several of those that remained had been important issues earlier in the decade. Perhaps the most prominent issue of 1916 was that of the equal suffrage amendment for women. The Aberdeen Daily News, of December 15, reported that suffragists of South Dakota had asked for resubmission of the suffrage amendment at the coming session.271 The suffragist question was
gaining momentum and became a very controversial issue in the Legislature.

The prohibition question was another issue that had been mentioned previously. Much support for prohibition had been amassed. In fact, the Rapid City Daily Journal, in its December 23 issue, reported that sentiment was seen to indicate that prohibition would meet little opposition in the legislature.272 Up until this time, the legislators were putting off the question because of the many strong feelings that existed over the prohibition question. But forces had been gathering, and soon the legislators would have to face the problem.

The school book issue was in the news again. The general feeling was that the need for free school books was going to be a part of the legislative action.273

A big issue that began to gather attention was that of reduction of the legislature to one chamber. The Aberdeen Daily News, of December 12, reported that although much attention was being given to the one house, or unicameral legislature, there was little chance that the legislators would enact such a measure themselves.274 The unicameral system had been proposed primarily to save money.

Another proposal to save money was the adoption of the budget system. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of December 26, reported that the existing system of appropriations was inefficient and
costly and a way to save money would be allocation on a budget basis. 275

Another issue of concern to many, including farmers and those in agriculture, was the rural credits system. The system consisted of the state government acting as a credit agency and loaning money to farmers and cattlemen for improvements. It was to be returned over a certain length of time with low interest rates. The December 22 issue of the Sioux Falls Argus Leader noted that many people were becoming increasingly interested in the rural credits system. 276

The system of a city manager government was considered an issue by many reformers, and reported as being noted in several issues of the press. 277

With increased automobile traffic on state roads, the proposed mandatory lighting of all vehicles was to be put into effect, the December 16 issue of the Pierre Daily Capitol Journal noted.278

Environment

Peter Norbeck, the ninth governor of South Dakota, presented his first inaugural address to a crowded capitol building. He was very popular and many people wanted to hear the broad plans that he said he would propose for the government. His audience consisted of legislators, visitors, officials, guests, citizens, and members of the press. His address was given in the morning of January 2,
1917 in the Chambers of the House of Representatives before the joint session of both houses.279

Themes

Governor Norbeck promoted in his inaugural a program of governmental action designed to suggest the public social and economic welfare. Norbeck covered ten major themes.280

The governor opened his inaugural address with a salutation welcoming all of the people to the inaugural. His first theme, that of education, was to be broadly based. He said, (1) "The state should meet all of the requirements for higher education, I believe, and should give whatever assistance is necessary to public education."281

Norbeck's second theme dealt with his desire for improvement of state institutions. He said, (2) "Many of the institutions are in need of added facilities to make them better as institutions. I believe that you should provide all appropriations necessary to better those institutions." This was consistent with the governor's promotion of social welfare.

The next theme was one of fairly new interest. The governor felt that (3) the game and fish commission did not have enough authority to accomplish its goal in the state government.283

Governor Norbeck's next theme was one in clarification of the antiquated property tax. He said, (4) "The time has come to put into law a new measure providing for the classification of
property for the assessment of property taxes."\textsuperscript{284} The governor wanted the people to receive the benefit of a more equitable property taxation system.

One theme, the budget system, was also an issue at that time. The budget system proposal was suggested to save money. Governor Norbeck put it in his own way, (5) "I conclude that it is impractical to inaugurate the budget system except by constitutional amendment."\textsuperscript{285} The governor who had been proposing many new programs was still not willing to take the chance on a new system of appropriations other than by constitutional amendment.

The governor also took as one of his themes the reform of the ballot and the political problems therein. He said, (6) "We need to adopt a state primary law to satisfy the citizens . . ."\textsuperscript{286} The governor felt that the primary law was unsatisfactory, in that it led to the splintering of the party as each candidate controlled his own supporters. The governor himself did not propose specific changes.

With the preponderance of the number of laws on the books, the governor developed another theme, (7) "I recommend that code revision be secured as soon as possible."\textsuperscript{287} Norbeck desired revision of law codes to make them complete and efficient.

The governor's next theme dealt with the salaries of county sheriffs. The governor said, (8) "The fee system is a bad one and should be avoided. If possible the official should be put on a straight salary."\textsuperscript{288} Sheriff's were paid on a fee system whereby
they received payment for individual tasks such as arrests. They were not salaried.

The governor took as his next theme the aid of workers. The theme was stated, (9) "I feel it is time for South Dakota to adopt a definite Workmen's Compensation law." South Dakota did not have a system whereby, if a worker were hurt or sick, he would be paid while not working. This particular law had been adopted in other states.

The last theme had to do with the practical nature of justice. The governor said, (10) "The trial dockets of the circuit courts are congested and an additional circuit should be added soon . . . " The governor suggested justice as soon as possible; and with the congestion in the courts, expansion of them would be necessary to achieve that justice.

Governor Norbeck's address appeared to be long as he promoted welfare of a variety of sorts. He closed his address with a plea to work as hard as possible to achieve the needed welfare reforms in the state during the upcoming session.

Peter Norbeck 1919

Issues

The legislature of 1917 under Governor Norbeck had been one of the busiest sessions in the history of the state. They enacted 376 laws out of the 545 bills brought before them. They created five new state departments and adopted twelve resolutions for
constitutional amendments to be placed before the voters. In politics Governor Norbeck thrived until he was threatened by the creation of the Nonpartisan League. It promoted state socialism and found many followers among discontented farmers, especially in Brown, Moody, and Brookings counties. They submitted their own candidate for governor in 1918 and urged passage of their campaign planks, which were similar to Norbeck's. But the Republicans discredited the League and soundly crushed them in the election of 1918 as they won with 54 percent of the vote.291

Earlier in 1917 the United States entered World War I. Governor Norbeck created a State Council of Defense in May of 1917, one month after entry into the war. South Dakotan's responded well to the call for funds, raising $3 million for welfare and over $109 million for bond drives. Of the 32,000 South Dakotans serving in the war, 300 were killed in action. The concern over the loyalty of the large number of Germans in the state's population led to efforts to ban the German language.292

The outbreak of the war did much to stimulate the farmers and ranchers to greater activity. The weather helped the farmer except for a drought that hurt Western South Dakota in 1917. The rise in farm prices helped many people.293 The population of the state also grew to about 621,000.294

The issues of 1918 were numerous, brought on in part by the war and the difficulties between the Republicans and the members of the Nonpartisan League. The greatest single issue, mentioned
by three of the four leading papers in the state, was that of highway improvements. The issue itself was split into two areas. The Aberdeen Daily News, of December 7, mentioned both. The first of the two was whether a state system of highways should be adopted. Second, a motor vehicle tax of $20 per year was under consideration. Generally, opinion supported both proposals because most citizens realized that good roads were becoming increasingly important.

The tax problem was also an issue in 1918. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, on December 17, reported that there was much agitation for taxation of mortgages at the same rate as other property. Changes in the tax structure were anticipated and this was one of the proposals to produce more revenue.

The amendment to allow women the right to vote had been passed by voters in the previous election. Now the problem lay in changing the law to allow women primary voting privileges. That became a major issue for the Legislature in 1918.

A new issue was raised by stock growers across the state. Many of them felt that dogs running at large were killing livestock. The Aberdeen Daily News, of January 3, reported that the sheepherders were in favor of a new law to prevent dogs from running loose.

One particular issue was aimed at crime. Many citizens across the state felt that gambling should be classified as a crime.
The Aberdeen Daily News, of December 13, reported that citizens supported enactment of a law declaring gambling illegal.299

The tax structure was also in question. Suggestions had been presented to alter the system by adopting a county assessor plan of making assessments and thereby creating more equitable taxation.300

Action concerning state ownership of power, cement, packing houses, flour and terminal elevators was receiving broad interest by the citizens as the January 6 issue of the Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported.301 Such action had been proposed by Governor Norbeck in his earlier term and was still being investigated by many people.

The last major issue of concern was education. The December 27 issue of the Rapid City Daily Journal reported that citizens were in favor of state aid to standardized schools and the requirement of thirty-six weeks of professional training for all new teachers.302 Efforts to upgrade and professionalize teaching were being made across the state.

Environment

World War I had ended shortly before Governor Norbeck presented his second inaugural address. The governor had successfully been reelected by an overwhelming margin of about 25,000 votes.303 During his previous administration, he had proposed many programs and had obtained adoption of many of them. He was now looking forward to two more years with hopes to equal what had been
accepted before. With these feelings, the governor presented his second inaugural address to the legislators who gathered together in the halls of the House of Representatives to hear the message. The gallery was crowded with citizens, officials, and other people on that morning of January 7, 1919.304

Themes

In his first inaugural, Governor Norbeck proposed a sweeping system of social welfare. With much of that passed, it was only necessary now to deal with the current problems and with those few items left untouched by the previous legislature. The number of themes decreased from ten to seven.305

The governor began his address with his opening salutation to all who had gathered. Norbeck's first theme concerned education. The governor said, (1) "There is much that you can do for education in this state including those problems of coursework, textbooks, attendance, and standards. I feel that we must do these things to help our youth have a good scholastic background."306

The governor's next theme was the possible water power question. He said, (2) "I recommend the efforts to survey the Missouri River for possible dam sites and water power development."307

The governor covered a variety of areas in his next theme that had been covered before. He said, (3) "I feel that this state has the right to engage in any industry that it may choose, whether it be coal mining, meat packing, flour mills, or that of a terminal elevator. It is up to you to concur with my opinion and I feel that
you should do so soon."  The governor advocated that all of those state owned industries should be acceptable as added conveniences for the citizens.

The governor's fourth theme was the highways. He noted, (4) "I feel that our state highways should be developed and any funding necessary to support their growth should be provided in whatever form you may find ..."  The governor continued to support the good roads.

The next theme concerned workers. The governor said (5) Workmen's Compensation should be made mandatory for all employers in the state. Norbeck maintained that labor was becoming more important all of the time, and proper welfare coverage for all laborers should be enacted.

The governor next chose a theme that had been mentioned before. He advocated bonding state officials. The governor stated, (6) "I recommend that a state bonding fund be established for the purpose of bonding state and county officers." The governor held that it was important to have bonded officials to avoid any losses from criminal activity.

The governor's last theme was in support of the existing primary law. Norbeck said, (7) "I think that before you make any decisions to repeal the primary law you should give it more of a fair trial than it has received up till now ..." The governor closed his address with a few words as to the efforts of the
legislators in the last session and expressed hope for such effort again.

W. H. McMaster 1921

Issues

From 1919 to 1921 Governor Norbeck took huge strides in establishing many of his policies. He helped develop state business, arguing that it was good for the consumers because state business eliminated the middle man. Those arguments were well received, perhaps due to the soaring cost of living and inflation induced by World War I.

In 1920 Norbeck was elected to the U.S. Senate and his Lieutenant Governor William McMaster succeeded him to the statehouse by some 56 percent of the vote. His effort was to carry on the social welfare policies of the previous four years. Farm prices continued to rise causing a land boom that affected the entire state. Land values increased and investors sought as much land as they could find. However, the agriculture boom was short lived as farm prices declined suddenly in the face of decreased world demand.

Total sales from manufacturing had virtually tripled since the last record of $8.5 million set in 1909. By 1919 total sales had reached 23.9 million dollars. By 1920 the population of the state leveled off to 636,000 people, but more were moving in as the total retail sales in South Dakota increased.
There was a vast number of issues in 1921. One of the most controversial issues was over the site of the proposed hydro-electric dam. The legislature had decided to build a dam to create electricity, but the problem lay in the selection of a site for its construction. The December 12 issue of the Rapid City Daily Journal reported that a battle lcomed between different factions over the location of the new hydro-electric dam. The location of the dam was uncertain, but all interested parties were competing for it because of the revenue and importance it would bring to the site where it would be located.

Another important issue was that of finance. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of December 10, pointed out that an increase in the state financial outlays was needed, but that the question of obtaining the money was uncertain.

An issue that was important primarily to residents of the western part of the state was also well supported. Up until that time, a resident in an unorganized county could not officially vote in state or national elections. The issue in 1920 included an effort to give those citizens the right to vote in all elections.

The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, in its December 6 copy, reported that an issue was the provision for a more accurate and complete system of licensing automobiles. There did not exist a complete system of licenses. A few automobiles were licensed but the majority were not.
Another issue was the State Securities Commission. The commission had relatively limited power in controlling and protecting citizens from purchasing fraudulent securities. The issue then, as reported on December 8 in the Rapid City Daily Journal, was over the strengthening of the State Securities Commission. 321

Perhaps the most controversial issue of 1920 was the discussion over the "Sunday Blue Laws." To many people Sunday was the Sabbath day and a day of rest and meditation. But strong public opinion supported the repeal of the blue law provision that prohibited amateur baseball, moving pictures, and dances on Sunday. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of December 6, reported that public opinion had turned more strongly in favor of repeal of the blue laws in South Dakota. 322

With the conclusion of the war, many veterans returned. Some felt that these veterans should be given a bonus for their efforts for their country. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of December 13, reported that proposals had been made to bring about a soldier's bonus for all veterans. 323 Such a proposal was of interest to many.

Another issue became apparent with the increase of traffic on the states roads. The Aberdeen Daily American, of December 7, reported that with the increase of traffic many people sought enforced traffic precautions to save lives. 324 The increase in traffic accidents caused concern over traffic safety.
One last issue facing the state in 1920 was proposed changes in the South Dakota game laws. The *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, of December 21, reported that possible new game laws included the introduction of new game birds, new deer hunting laws, and possible stocking of fish in state streams.325

**Environment**

Governor McMaster had worked closely with Senator Norbeck during his administrations and his feelings seemed similar to Norbeck's. He also wanted to encourage social welfare. The people who came to hear him were primarily of Republican background. The audience consisted, of course, of Senators and Representatives from all corners of the state--from the farms, ranches, villages and cities. They met together in the chambers of the House of Representatives on the morning of January 4, 1921. The galleries were packed with many different people, who had come to hear the address.326

**Themes**

Governor McMaster's gubernatorial inaugural address contained six themes.327

Governor William McMaster opened his address with a salutation to all those who were present. The first theme dealt with agriculture. The governor said, (1) "I don't feel that we have helped the farmers as much as we could have especially with some of his major problems such as the marketing situation ..."328
The governor expressed concern that the farmers were not receiving a fair share of the services and aid that the state government could provide in allowing the marketing system to help the farmers achieve their goals.

The governor's second theme also was closely related to the agriculture but it had other components as well. He said, (2) the railroads should be forced to reduce their shipping rates when a drought is on or when some other major problem affected the farmers.

The next theme was one of concern over roads. The governor stated, (3) "I feel that a new system of taxing cars should be designed with the monies being funded into the good roads building program ..."330 The governor stressed good roads and a tax on all automobiles.

The fourth theme was another old one from many other inaugural addresses. The governor emphasized that (4) the schools should be given whatever aid they needed to become good institutions of learning for all youth.331 He asked the legislators to provide assistance to the schools whenever possible.

In the next theme the governor expressed his position very strongly. McMaster said, (5) "The sanitary condition of the cells at the penitentiary is revolting and a disgrace and the continuation of those conditions rests squarely upon your shoulders."332

The last theme of Governor McMaster in 1921 concerned the Cement Plant. McMaster said, (6) "It might well be possible to
invest 1.5 million dollars in the cement plant and still get profits and cheap cement in return." The governor apparently wanted to alleviate any fears that legislators had in investing state monies into the cement industry. The governor closed his address with a few general statements to encourage the legislators in the task that lay ahead of them.

W. H. McMaster 1923

Issues

Governor McMaster was reelected in a close race as he won with only 45 percent of the vote. A plurality at that point was sufficient for election. The Republican party continued to dominate party politics in the early 20's. Carl Gunderson was elected to the Lieutenant Governor's spot.

Postwar deflation began to sharply affect South Dakota's economy. Many farmers had received loans during 1919 and 1920. When farm prices dropped, most of them were unable to repay the banks which in turn led to bank failures. By the end of 1922, ten banks within the state had failed. Farm prices increased in 1921 but not enough to offset the costs of machinery and taxes. The population of the state also increased from 636,000 to 646,000. The people within the state faced hardship.

There were still many issues of importance within the state. One was possible new game laws. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of December 14, reported some of the proposed game laws:
the $1 combined fishing and hunting license, the removal of open season on fur-bearing animals, the eradication of coyotes, and the repeal of the non-resident trout license. All of these ideas promoted much interest from sportsmen and others across the state.

An old issue of previous importance, but had not been acted upon, was that of the county assessor plan. The Aberdeen Daily News, of December 15, reported that the county assessor plan was beginning to gain interest across the state. The plan would have the assessment by an individual assessor in each county rather than that of assessment on the state level.

Another extremely important issue was that of the location of a Missouri River bridge. There were no permanent bridges across the river. The idea to be settled was the exact location of the bridge either at Mobridge, Pierre, or Yankton.

A particular issue that developed only a few years after it had been changed was that of capital punishment. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader reported in its December 23 issue that some people were proposing restoration of capital punishment in South Dakota. Capital punishment had only been eliminated six years earlier in 1915.

The primary law of 1921 was meeting increased opposition. Many people wanted it repealed while others sought amendments to it. The Rapid City Evening Journal reported that many people were seeking the repeal of the primary law. The primary was ineffective and
inefficient because of the extensive detail and length which made it's comprehension difficult for many citizens. 340

The unicameral legislature idea was again supported by some of the public. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of December 2, reported that the idea of the one house legislature was gaining support.341 The real problem, of course, lay in the acceptance of the idea by the legislators.

The rural credit law was again an issue. Many people favored the rural credits idea but saw its needed improvement and revision to allow farmers more time for repayment of loans.342 As such, the idea was gaining support.

The idea of a constitutional convention was still alive, but an alternate idea had also been discovered. The possible doubling of the terms of office for state officials was seen as an economy measure. They could then work longer and not have to campaign every two years. The Rapid City Evening Journal, of December 3, noted that doubling the terms of office would indeed save money.343

Environment

With the Republican party in dominancy in South Dakota, the governor returned to present his second gubernatorial inaugural address. The audience consisted of legislators, citizens, officials, the press, and other interested persons. The address itself was given on the morning of January 2, 1923 before the crowded halls and gallery of the House of Representatives as the legislators met in a joint session to hear the address.344
Governor McMaster spoke on six different themes, which equaled the number he presented in 1921.345

Governor McMaster's first gubernatorial theme dealt with the important topic of agriculture. He said, (1) "I feel that it is important for you to give all the help you can to those involved in agriculture during this hour of crisis ... "346 The governor realized that the farmers were in difficult straits and he advocated increased support for them in areas of marketing, and price increases.

The next theme involved highways and federal aid. The governor felt that (2) the legislature should comply with the regulations of the federal law in reference to maintenance of highways and continuing federal aid.347 The governor seemed to feel that it was important to receive the federal aid, and all possible efforts should be made to comply with the federal regulations to maintain the aid.

The governor chose the bond issues as his next theme. He said, (3) "It is vitally important that complete and comprehensive legislation be enacted in the handling of bond issues ... "348 The bond issue question was important because of community support for their use. It was also important to have adequate laws to regulate bond issues.

The governor also expressed concern over bank guarantees. He said, (4) "Legislation to correct the evils and abuses of the
Bank Guaranty Act and the issuance of time certificates should be passed by you . . . 

The feeling was that many banks and their employees were misusing the guaranty act in that they would close rather than make any effort to stay open because the state guaranteed their deposits. All possible efforts were desired to correct the situation where it could be done and to force banks to stay open if they could.

The next issue in the inaugural address concerned funding of the State Park at Custer. The governor said, (5) "When everything is figured out I feel that all of the money that has been put into the state park will be returned to the state many fold. It is necessary that you provide for the park as best as you can." 

The last theme dealt with economy in the state government. The governor said, (6) "I fully believe that you should approach this session with a sense of economy in your minds and if it requires such things as reorganization of either the legislature or the executive department then it should be done." The governor held that economy was desirable because of the decreased tax revenue during those years. The governor closed his address with a few general comments to the enactment of legislation in the coming session.
Issues

Carl Gunderson, a Republican and the Lieutenant Governor under McMaster, was elected Governor with 54 percent of the vote.\textsuperscript{352}

When Governor Gunderson came to office, the state was approaching economic chaos. The biggest problem was increasing bank failures. By January of 1925, 175 banks had failed, and the guaranty fund was $30 million in arrears. The bank situation, then, was the major concern of the legislature.\textsuperscript{353} Prices continued to drop which led to increased farm debt. The population of the state had increased to 654,000 people by the end of 1924.\textsuperscript{354}

There was a wide variety of issues expressed in the press within the state prior to 1925. The banking situation was mentioned by three of the major papers in the state. The \textit{Rapid City Daily Journal}, of December 23, noted much of the feeling of the public was that the state guaranty law should either be amended or repealed because of the increasing state debt and the state's inability to refund guarantees.\textsuperscript{355}

The lack of funds to operate state government on an adequate level had become a problem in many other areas besides that of the bank guarantees. The \textit{Aberdeen Morning American}, of December 10, reported that opinion supported discovery of the means for simplification of state government and reduction of expenses.\textsuperscript{356} With reduction in the number of departments, expenses would be reduced.
One issue contained two ideas dealing with roads. Proposals had been received for improvement of the highway system, and others had been mentioned to increase the gasoline tax from two to three cents to provide more highway funds. The Pierre Daily Dakotan, of December 8, reported that those changes were clearly supported by the public.357

The overriding issue of finance noted proposals for the increased gasoline tax, the governmental reduction, repeal of the guarantees, and a possible tobacco tax. The public felt, as was reported in the January 3 issue of the Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, that possible taxation of tobacco would provide additional funds for the state treasury.358

Another issue, the rural credits law, was also closely related to finance. The problem within the system was the offering of loans at low interest rates when the funds for the loans were not available. Public opinion seemed to favor amending the rural credits law, resulting in the reduction of the number of loans and increases in the interest rates to discourage loan applicants.359

The lack of funds was beginning to curtail education. The question of the discontinuance of state aid to rural schools for economy reasons had been discussed. The Pierre Daily Dakotan went on to report that other forms of school aid should be limited, such as aid to larger public schools in the state.360

Another issue, which involved the state capitol, was of interest to citizens. The state capitol was only fifteen years
old when interest developed in the establishment of an office building for all of the state departments. Already the state capitol building was crowded. The need for more space was reported by the December 17 issue of the *Rapid City Daily Journal*.\(^{361}\)

An issue noted in both the Sioux Falls and Rapid City papers, but best reported in the December 23 issue of the *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, was the idea of the reduction of the number of members on the State Board of Charities and Corrections from seven to three.\(^{362}\)

**Environment**

Carl Gunderson, as the new governor of South Dakota, faced a legislature made up of many Republicans, but the realization that the state faced many grievous financial problems was obvious. Efforts had begun in support of the construction of an office building for the state's departments. The governor had many worries as he faced the joint session of the Senators and Representatives, who gathered together in the chambers of the House of Representatives on January 6, 1925.\(^{363}\)

**Themes**

Governor Gunderson's inaugural address dealt with only four major themes. Much of it was concerned with finances and ways to save money.\(^{364}\)

The first theme of the governor addressed the need to reorganize and consolidate the state government. Governor Gunderson said, (1) "There is necessity to reorganize and consolidate the
state government in the interest of economy and efficiency."365 The governor held that one possible way to save money was to change the structure of the government.

The second theme dealt with the area of taxation. The governor said, (2) "It seems fitting that we should provide for a more fair and equitable distribution of the tax burden by amending the present tax laws ... "366 The governor felt that because of the recessive economy the taxpayers would be unable to help support the government. The next prime source of revenue would be the businesses and corporations, through provisions for taxation of corporation profits.

The third theme expressed the concerns of the governor. He noted, (3) "The banking laws including the guarantees need to be amended as soon as possible to meet the crisis that is upon us ... "367 The governor desired revision of the laws to define bank officers' responsibilities and to make the guarantees non-interest bearing because the state could ill afford to pay the interest.

The last theme of Governor Gunderson was, (4) "We have a right to be proud of our parks and even though we are in financial binds you should see fit to provide for their continuing suste-
nance."368 The governor ended his address with words in hopes that the crises in finance could be met through legislative action.
Issues

Several steps had been taken to alleviate some of the financial problems of the state. The guaranty law was finally repealed. Attempts were made to correct problems in the rural credits department. Through that effort came an investigation which disclosed embezzlement by the Treasurer of the Rural Credits Board, and it ended the state's venture in the money lending business.

The Republican Party splintered over the issue of the embezzlement as the conservatives accused the moderates of aiding the rural credits scandal. Governor Gunderson identified himself with the former group as they attacked Senator Norbeck and McMaster. The effort to discredit Norbeck failed and with its failure many Republicans refused to support Gunderson in his reelection attempt. Thus, in 1927 the Democrats elected their first governor, W. J. Bulow, by a margin of 13,000 votes. However, the Republicans retained control of the legislature. By 1927 the population of the state had climbed up to 666,000 people.

A major issue, of course, was the rural credits situation. Many citizens felt that it was important to find a solution for the problem. The Aberdeen Evening News, in its December 10 issue, reported that efforts for the reformation or repeal of the rural credits department were being advocated by the populace.

The state was still in financial difficulty. One of the areas destined to lose money was the area of educational institutions.
The *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, of December 22, along with the Pierre paper reported concern over the possible cut in appropriations to the state educational institutions. The general feeling seemed to favor the limitation of educational expenditures.

Another economic issue was the proposed unicameral or one-house legislature. The *Rapid City Daily Journal*, of December 6, reported that proposals for the creation of a one-house legislature had received fairly cordial reception among the public. It did not indicate the legislators feelings on the creation of a unicameral house.

Another governmental problem was the spoils system. With the elaborate efforts to appoint people to positions because of their political action, support of the state civil service system increased.

Many citizens held state guarantee certificates entitling them to reimbursement for funds lost in bank closures. In fact, the certificates totaled nearly 43 million dollars. The problem, then, lay in reimbursement of the citizens. The *Pierre Daily Capitol Journal*, of December 16, reported that growing feeling among bankers and financiers was that the state should levy a direct tax upon the people to pay off the certificates.

School district organization was a growing problem. School districts were not well organized, and nearly every community had its own. Many people, as the *Aberdeen Evening News* of December 12
reported, felt an important issue to be the provision for better school district organization.\textsuperscript{376}

Prohibition again was an important issue. Prohibition had been in existence for several years both in South Dakota and in the nation. However, feeling had developed that prohibition was not desirable because of its denial of the citizens' freedom of choice. The \textit{Rapid City Daily Journal}, of January 3, reported that repeal of the prohibition law would be sought in the upcoming session.\textsuperscript{377}

The automobile license law, in existence only a few years was another important question. Many people advocated its revision. The \textit{Rapid City Daily Journal}, of December 4, reported that public opinion supported the increase in the cost of the truck licenses and the limitation of the number of dealer's licenses to be issued.\textsuperscript{378} Public feeling opposed lower truck license fees, and the ease and frequency of the issuance of dealer's plates.

Another financial issue was the proposal for taxation of churches and church property. Many people believed it to be unjust, and that South Dakota should maintain the separation of church and state. Others voiced opinions that churches would be noteworthy sources of revenue in lessening state financial problems.\textsuperscript{379}

One last issue is worthy of note. Many automobiles were being driven and taxed for their use. Laws did not exist for regulation on drivers. Therefore, virtually anyone from seven to ninety-seven could drive. 1927 was the first year of the effort to gain a driver's license law and it was reported in the December 27
issue of the Sioux Falls Argus Leader.\textsuperscript{380} It is interesting to note that the driver's license law remained an issue until 1953 when it was finally enacted.

Environment

Governor Bulow faced an interesting term. He was the very first Democrat to control the governorship. He was not, however, the first governor who did not control the legislature. When Governor Bulow gave his inaugural address, January 4, 1927, it was before the Legislature, meeting in its twentieth session. It was not a legislature which supported the governor; but since Democrats had never controlled the office, legislators did not know what to expect. The galleries were filled with officials, visitors, and the press as Governor Bulow presented his gubernatorial inaugural address on that morning in January.\textsuperscript{381}

Themes

Governor Bulow's first inaugural address contained six themes.\textsuperscript{382}

The first theme dealt with the problem of rural credits. The governor said, (1) "From the standpoint of state finance, this problem of the rural credits is one of the most important we have to solve . . ."\textsuperscript{383} The problems lay in the restrictions imposed by law on rural credits and those inherent to the organization of the rural credits administration.
The second theme also had financial connotations. It, however, was directed toward a different area. The governor noted,

(2) "I urge the repeal of the law that puts the money contributed by the sportsmen into the general fund, and urge that it be spent on game problems ..." 384 The governor suggested those monies be used to improve game resources and the state's parks. The thought behind this was the idea that the state did not have extra funds for provision of the parks and game refuges.

The next theme dealt with the state's operation of businesses. The governor felt that (3) the legislature should make sure that the Cement Plant and Coal Mines be operated on a business rather than a political level. 385 Apparently the state businesses were succumbing to the spoils system, with the managerial position of each falling to a political figure. This was not conducive to an effective business operation.

The next theme was a new one in the state. The governor said, (4) "You should make the necessary attempts to allow the cities and towns proper zoning measures ..." 386 The governor proposed that the legislature establish nonexistent zoning measures.

The governor further recommended legislation as an amendment to achieve smooth government operation. Governor Bulow commented, (5) "I recommend a constitutional amendment changing the term of the governor from two to four years ..." 387 The realization was that if the governorship was a four-year term, the state would benefit financially with increased efficiency.
The last theme was once again concerned with financial problems. Governor Bulow said, (6) "It seems to me that our state has entirely too much machinery of government and you should try to consolidate wherever possible to eliminate extra government ... " The governor realized that the state was financially troubled, and that reorganization, and consolidation of departments, boards and commissions would be desirable.

The governor closed his inaugural address with a kindly note that he hoped to be friendly with the Republicans and that they would have a good legislative session.

W. J. Bulow 1929

Issues

Governor Bulow faced an administrative challenge in his first term as governor. He favored a balanced budget; and when the Republicans proposed expenditures in excess of revenues, Governor Bulow vetoed the proposal. The Democrats in the Senate were strong enough to override the Republican efforts to overturn the veto. The Republicans refused to enact any appropriations bill whatsoever. The Supreme Court entered into the picture and declared the Governor's veto legal. A special session was called and the problems were solved. Governor Bulow's maintenance of the feeling of cordiality towards Republicans helped him win reelection by a majority of 53 percent, due undoubtedly to the governor's policy of
not replacing Republican appointees with Democrats. Many of those people supported Governor Bulow in his reelection bid.  

By the end of 1928, the population of the state had increased to about 680,000 people.

There was a variety of issues in 1928 prior to the inaugural address. Concern over taxation was mentioned by all of the leading newspapers in the state. The *Rapid City Daily Journal* reported concern over the possible enactment of a state income tax.

Another issue related to consolidation was the idea reported in the *Aberdeen Evening News* of December 11. It reported that liquidation of the Hail Insurance and Bonding Departments was sought by many citizens and legislators. The liquidation of those two departments would allow the availability of funds for other uses.

An issue of importance in 1925 was the needed state office building. Although the issue had been forgotten in 1927 in view of other problems, it was again supported by many people.

Many people had long complained of the primary law. The law's complexity was held to be undesirable and inefficient. The *Aberdeen Evening News* of December 11 reported efforts for construction and establishment of a new law governing the primary.

A new issue appeared in the state. Air traffic was developing in South Dakota. Legislation for the operation of municipal airports was supported by many people.

Increased automobile traffic resulted in legislative efforts to regulate vehicles in hopes of improved safety. A motor vehicle
headlight law had been proposed by several organizations, and the Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of December 4, reported growing support for the proposal. A coinciding issue was the growing concern over the needed driver's license law. The issue had been first noted in 1927, and it was again of concern to people interested in maintenance and development of highway safety. 

School aid was again of interest. State aid to schools was supported by the public. The Rapid City Daily Journal, of December 10, noted increased public concern over South Dakota's limited allocation of funds for rural schools. The general feeling was of the importance of aid to rural schools.

One last major issue in the state concerned the road system. The Rapid City Daily Journal, of December 10, again reported that the state roads system needed definite revision because expansion was difficult to obtain in that system.

Environment

Governor Bulow faced the legislature for the second time in 1929. He had won the respect of many Republicans through his fair and liberal policies. Generally the Republican Party had no complaints of the governor and his activities. Governor Bulow presented his second inaugural address on the morning of January 8, 1929, to a capacity crowd of visitors, citizens, and officials as they listened from the gallery of the House of Representatives, where Senators and Representatives had gathered to hear the address.
Themes

Governor Bulow's second inaugural address contained seven major themes.

Governor Bulow took the problem of the limitation of appropriations as his first theme. He said, (1) "Good business demands that your total appropriations must be kept well within the revenue income." The governor, in his previous administration, had difficulties with the appropriations question and he held it important for the legislature to closely guard their expenditures.

The second theme of the inaugural address included taxation. Governor Bulow said, (2) "I believe that you are capable of framing a proper income tax law to get enough funds to cover the appropriations that you have noted." The second theme included the construction of an office building. This theme had been mentioned previously. The governor felt that the need for the state office building was apparent and that it would be wise to erect the building. The space was limited, and the need was becoming more apparent.

The next theme, new on the state level, had been mentioned briefly by Governor Norbeck in his inaugural addresses.
welfare was of concern to Governor Bulow. He said, (5) "I believe that a reasonable appropriation should be made for the activity of child welfare." The governor supported the idea of child welfare, a law to give aid to needy or orphaned children.

The next theme was also a new concern. The governor said, (6) "I believe it well for this legislature to give consideration to the resolution of Congress for river improvements and consider the idea of river transportation."

The last theme dealt with education. Governor Bulow said, (7) "Every advantage should be given our boys and girls in the promoting of proper educational opportunities..." The governor felt that increased state aid to schools was desirable, and legislation to raise educational standards would be good for South Dakota. The governor closed his address with words of hope for a good administration and thoughts about the problem of finance that faced the government.

Warren E. Green 1931

Issues

Warren E. Green, a farmer from Hamlin County polled less than eight percent of the total votes in the statewide primary in June. The primary did not pick a candidate from the field of five, therefore, the Republicans held a state convention. Green won nomination there and went on to regain the governorship for the Republicans with a majority of 53 percent. However, Republican
control of the legislature weakened as more Democratic legislators gained seats.\textsuperscript{409}

Previously, the stock market had collapsed in October of 1929. The actual effects of that collapse were beginning to reach the state. The main plea to the government was for economy.

Acres of land in production had increased to approximately nineteen million with manufacturing sales up from 23.8 million dollars in 1919 to 30.8 million dollars in 1929.\textsuperscript{410} The population of the state had also moved up to 692,000 by the end of 1930.\textsuperscript{411}

There were many issues in 1930. The dominant issue across the state was that of taxation. Although mentioned by all four major newspapers, the Aberdeen \textit{Evening News}, of December 17, reported that tax revision in the form of property tax collection would probably be instituted.\textsuperscript{412} The feeling in the state was the need for tax system reformation, and reduction of the burden of the land owners.

The improvement of the farm-to-market roads issue within the state was considered to be of major importance.\textsuperscript{413} Farmers were supporting efforts for improvement of roads so that they could get to market easier.

A new issue in the state destined to become a major controversy was that of the gasoline tax refunds. The Aberdeen \textit{Evening News}, of December 12, reported the growth of public support for the gas tax refund system.\textsuperscript{414} The state government would return 25 percent of the gas tax money to the counties where the gas had been
purchased. Therefore, the counties would have additional funds for roads and other improvements.

The expenditure of state funds was another issue in the state. The Sioux Falls Argus Leader, of December 26, reported a proposal to require legislative appropriation for all funds paid out to state departments. Until that time, many departments formed their own budgets. Specific appropriations were not given for every department. It was felt that it would be desirable to watch the outflow of funds very carefully to avoid graft and excessive expenditures.

Another issue of concern which had repercussions in the financial structure of the government was the truck tax idea. The December 19 issue of the Aberdeen Evening News pointed out that the idea was receiving much support. The idea was to tax trucks on a tonnage mileage basis. This idea had possibilities for increased tax revenue.

An educational issue was also of concern to a variety of people. The Pierre Daily Capitol Journal, of December 20, reported increased interest in the possible elimination of several of the state's institutions. The elimination of some of the institutions was held to be desirable, but no one was sure where the eliminations should occur.

The last major issue was reapportionment. It was reported that reduction in the size of the Legislature would save money. Reapportionment would obtain a sizeable savings.
Environment

Governor Warren Green, a Republican, presented his inaugural address to the legislature on January 6, 1931. It was a legislature of Republican control, although the Democrats had a sizable following. The audience of legislators, citizens, press and officials came to hear the address of this governor-farmer at the beginning of the twenty-second session. The address was presented in the chambers of the House of Representatives.419

Themes

Governor Green's inaugural address covered only five major themes.420

The governor's first theme covered taxation. He said, (1) "I believe that there are many taxes, such as the income tax, the admissions tax, the tobacco tax and others that should be a part of your attention if the state is going to have enough revenue to support its growing budget."421

The appropriations question was the next theme of Governor Green. He felt that (2) the legislature should be required to make specific appropriations for all offices, boards, and departments.422 The idea was to carefully watch the expenditure of funds in the state where allocation of money was so important.

The banking situation was again of concern to the governor. Governor Green noted, (3) "I recommend to you that amendments should be enacted to take care of the weaknesses of the banking law, to insure stricter supervision and reasonable limits for all
banks . . . "423 The banking law was not effective in its control over banks, and the governor realized that further prevention of bank closings required stricter regulation of banks.

The governor then turned to roads. His specific feeling was that (4) "Limits should be placed on paving of roads and the money moved over to the improvement of farm to market roads."424 As a farmer, the governor was naturally more interested in development of farm roads over the paving of major highways. Governor Green felt that farm-to-market roads were more important because of the credit and cost problems of the farmers. The state, he felt, would have to institute farm-to-market road improvement quickly.

The last theme was also directed to help farmers and others. The governor mentioned, (5) "The vital importance of freight rates to South Dakota's farms and cities is fully understood, and I will try to keep transportation cost at the lowest level possible."

425 The governor closed his address by asking for legislative cooperation in the upcoming session with hopes that the major problems would be solved.

**Summary**

Between the years of 1889 and 1931, twenty-two gubernatorial inaugural addresses were presented. They were given by thirteen different governors.

In each address a varying number of themes were covered. These ranged from four to ten in number.
There were many important issues facing the governor and the legislators prior to each session. Many of the themes of the gubernatorial inaugural addresses dealt with these prominent issues. However, some governors presented personal feelings on legislation that were not necessarily dominant issues within the state.
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CHAPTER III

THEMATIC CHANGES IN GUBERNATORIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter has been to develop a composite report of the themes of the gubernatorial addresses. Six procedures were used in assembling this chapter. The first was to collect the themes identified in Chapter II. The second procedure was to make a search for specifically recurring themes.

The third step was to organize the themes chronologically by dividing them into four periods in South Dakota history. The Early Period, 1889-1895, was selected first because it represented the years when the state began as an entity. Herbert Schell, in his *History of South Dakota*, noted that South Dakota state government developed its permanent foundation over the period encompassing its first six or seven years of statehood. The Early Period then was selected because of the development of the government during that time. The second period, the Developing Period from 1896-1910, represented the time when the state began to build on what it had established in the previous six years. Schell again noted that over a period of approximately thirteen years the state institutions, founded earlier, grew and became well established. Outside influences began to enter the state, as was apparent by
the number of national and international issues on the state level, shortly after 1910. Thus the third period, the Outside Influence Period, 1911-1919, was created. That particular period ended with the conclusion of the war and with the decline of the economic abundance created by the war era. By late 1919 agricultural interests began to feel a recession in the making. The Financial Crisis Period, 1920-1931, was an era of chaos, both in social and economic circles. It was a period in history when South Dakota faced many financial crises.

The fourth step was to categorically divide the themes according to topics. The themes were divided into related categories suggested by the themes. The categories included education, penal and charitable institutions, national resources, corporate control, state governmental agencies, state regulatory law, finance, state owned business, and miscellaneous.

The fifth step was to look for reasons for recurrence of the themes and/or topics. Specific reasons were sought to explain recurrence or lack of recurrence of themes and/or topics.

The last step was to examine accounts of the actual role of the gubernatorial inaugural addresses and the addresses themselves to determine any change in that role from 1889 to 1931.

Specific Thematic Recurrence

Throughout the period in South Dakota history of 1889-1931, the inaugural addresses were presented every two years.
Therefore, it was presumed possible that some themes might appear in more than one inaugural. Those themes that encompassed the same subject matter, had the same or reasonably synonymous phraseology, and appeared to embody the same intent on the part of the speakers were judged to be specifically recurrent.

One recurring theme concerned banking. In 1923 the governor said, "Legislation to correct the evils and abuses of the Bank Guaranty Act and the issuance of time certificates should be passed by you ..." In 1925 the governor said, "The banking laws including the guarantees need to be amended as soon as possible to meet the crisis that is upon us ..." The governors in this case both expressed concern over the bank guarantee problems and asked for changes. The phraseology was similar as was the apparent intent of the themes.

Another instance of specific recurrence appeared under institutional support. In 1913 the governor said, "Our charitable and penal institutions are in need of major funding to help them expand and create the facilities that they need. I think that you should provide for them whatever they need." In 1917 the governor noted, "Many of the institutions are in need of added facilities to make them better as institutions." Those two proposals were similar in phraseology and seemed closely related in their intent of providing for needed facilities for institutions.

Two themes specifically recurred in the area of elementary and secondary education. The governor said in 1913, "Both our
higher institutions and our public schools need our support in helping them grow and maintain what is best for our youth. We must give them our support when possible." The governor said in 1921 that the schools should be given whatever aid that they need to become good institutions of learning for all youth. Both of these themes appear similar in their intent for aid for education. Their phraseology was judged to be similar, even though the second as it appears here is paraphrased. The theme, covering several paragraphs, was paraphrased and the paraphrase closely resembles the major idea.

Regarding state printing, the governor in 1907 said, "I think that state printing should be initiated to save money and secure better work . . . " The governor in 1913 said, "There should be a new law governing public printing to reduce the excessive cost of state government." Those themes were closely related in phraseology and were of the same obvious intent for the provision of low-cost state printing.

In the elections subcategory of state regulatory law, the governor said in 1889, "The serious consideration of the legislature is called to the secret ballot for the purification of this invaluable right of the American citizen." The governor said in 1901, "I wish to emphasize to you the vital importance of the adoption of an absolutely secret ballot." These two themes appeared to be specifically related in their intent of calling for the secret ballot. They were also closely related in wording.
The subcategory of the National Guard also had a specific recurring theme. The governor in 1899 said, "There is a need to maintain a state militia, but an efficient organization cannot be maintained without sufficient appropriations for it." The governor in 1907 said that the National Guard in the state needs money to maintain itself and should be given added funds. These two themes appear to be closely related in phraseology, even though the second is a paraphrase, and revealed the same intent to provide funds for the National Guard.

Economy by reorganization and consolidation was the subject for another specific recurring theme. The governor said in 1923, "I fully believe that you should approach this session with a sense of economy in your minds and if it requires such things as reorganization of either the legislature or the executive department then it should be done." The governor said in 1925, "There is necessity to reorganize and consolidate the state government in the interest of economy and efficiency." These last two themes had the same intent of promoting reorganization for economic reasons. The phraseology was quite similar.

Only seven of the 144 themes were judged to have specifically recurred. Most recurrences occurred between succeeding or closely following inaugurals with the widest time interval being eight years (1899-1907). While it would seem unlikely that specific themes would recur over a wide interval of years, the findings of this analysis of specific thematic recurrence do indicate a strong
component of originality from inaugural to inaugural, each encompassing a unique rhetorical situation demanding unique themes addressed to varying issues.

Chronology of Themes

Every governor, in his inaugural address, chose a variety of ideas to present as themes. Sometimes there were parallel issues previously reported by the press; at other times they grew out of significant questions facing the state and on which the governor took a position. In any case, they were presented during a special period in history.

Early period 1889-1895

The Early period in South Dakota history represented the time when South Dakota passed from part of a territory to statehood. Although territorial political machinery had existed for some time and a constitution had previously been written, there were still many developments needed to create a functional state government. The themes most important during this early period seemed to represent the early efforts of the governors to create a viable state government.

There were seven dominant theme groups during the early period with a variety of other less important groups also present. The first dominant group was that of the financial problems of the government. This particular group included themes in three gubernatorial addresses—those of 1889, 1891, and 1893. The
group itself consisted of the ideas of appropriations, new revenue laws, and the collection of taxes.

The second most dominant theme group was that of the railroads. The group's themes were of special concern in 1889, 1893, and 1895. Themes in the group included legislation to be passed in regulation of railroads, and consideration of the railroad commissioner's role.

The next important theme group during the early period was that of the penal and charitable institutions. Governor Kellette's addresses in 1889 and 1891 included two themes in this group. The concerns were over the development of the state institutions to help the blind, mentally ill, deaf, the convicts, delinquents, and the elderly.

Another dominant theme group dealt with the educational institutions in the state. Themes of this group were mentioned in 1889 and in 1891. The ideas included the amounts of money being provided to the educational institutions, and the sufficiency of the actual amounts in support of them.

Another theme group was that of taxation. Themes from this group were mentioned in 1893 and 1895 as they discussed the tax law weaknesses.

The sixth major theme group of the early period surrounded public schools. Themes in this group were mentioned in 1889 and in 1895. The themes were the concern over money to be provided for public schools and the need for free textbooks for all students.
The last theme group was that of the ballot. Themes of this group were mentioned in 1889 and in 1891. Governor Mellette presented the theme of the secret ballot as a needed reform to insure correct voting procedures.

There were a variety of other themes indigenous to the early period that did not fit into groups. They included such things as corporations, land development, public lands, the National Guard, irrigation and water resources, workmen's compensation, political accountability, the State Veterinarian, Indians, and Inspection Laws.

**Developing period 1896-1910**

The developing period in South Dakota was a period wherein the state improved the institutions that had been created several years earlier. Those institutions had to be maintained to continue the growth and development of the state.

During this period of thirteen years, there were eight major theme groups. The first major group dealt with the problems of revenue-taxation. Themes of this group were mentioned in 1897, 1899, and in 1905. The themes included ideas of the growing need for funds, the need to expand the sources of revenue to areas of corporations, and the need to create equitable and workable tax laws.

The second important theme group was that of the investment of school funds. Themes from this group were mentioned in the 1899, 1903, and 1905 gubernatorial inaugural addresses. By 1899
there were monies in the school fund which were not being used. The themes suggested that those funds should be invested in municipal, state, and federal bonds.

Another significant theme group was concern over voting laws. Themes from this group were presented by the governors of 1897, 1901, and 1903. The concerns of the governors were over the need for a registration law for all voters, and the creation of a secret ballot.

The theme group concerned with railroads had been important during the early period. Themes were mentioned in 1897 and 1907. The ideas involved called for definite freight and passenger rate regulation to create fairness for all South Dakotans.

The fourth theme group was the governor's removal powers. Themes from this group were mentioned in 1899 and in 1901, until legislative enactment in the 1901 session. The idea involved the governor's power to remove appointed officials from office if he felt that they were inadequate in his administration.

Another theme group was one of immigration. Governor Herreid in 1901 and Governor Vessey in 1909 included themes from this group in their inaugural addresses. The general idea was the creation of a Commissioner of Immigration to promote South Dakota resources for increased state population growth.

The seventh major theme group advocated work for prisoners in the state penitentiary. Themes from this group were mentioned in 1903 and in 1905. The basic idea was the proposed establishment
of a binder twine plant at the state penitentiary to help achieve rehabilitation of prisoners.

Other theme groups mentioned in two inaugurals included insurance, the State Veterinarian, the State Militia, the primary, school textbooks, and bank deposits.

The last important theme group of the Developing Period was that of building a permanent state capitol building. This particular idea was suggested by governors in 1905 and in 1907 in response to the urgent need for a permanent structure to house the state government.

There were a number of other themes that did not fit into specific groups because they were only mentioned once. Those included such things as the Board of Regents, school lands, corporations, good roads, State Printing, the Historical Society, geological surveys, campaign reforms, the Attorney General, the Dental Board, the judicial system, legislative reapportionment, mine safety, and regulation of cigarettes.

Outside influence period 1911-1919

During the latter part of 1910, the state leaders were influenced by national and worldwide events. These became apparent in the types of issues within the state and the legislative concerns of the government. A variety of influences such as prohibition, women's rights, and the world war affected major positions in the state.
From 1911 until 1919 there were six major theme groups suggested by different governors. The first major theme group was that of education. Its themes were mentioned in 1911, 1913, 1917, and in 1919. The themes included ideas such as aid to rural schools, consolidation of schools, the term of office of the county superintendents, and the continued assistance to the state's colleges and normal schools. Education had become a major concern in the nation and was a growing concern in South Dakota.

With the advent of the automobile in South Dakota, the good roads idea became a major theme group. It was mentioned in themes of 1911, 1913, and in 1919. The development of the automobile signaled a new way for farmers to move their produce to market. The ideas that were mentioned included the actual construction of roads, the adoption of a state highway system, the financing of road building in the state, and the proposed question of licensing of automobiles.

The liquor question made up the third important theme group. Themes from the group were mentioned in 1911 and in 1913. The themes dealt with the regulation and control of the sale of liquor in the state. It was another national issue that had grown in South Dakota.

The next important theme group was that of the primary election law. By 1911 political reform had become a national concern, and citizens in the state were advocating state political reform mainly in the area of the primary election law. The law
was a theme in 1911, 1917, and 1919 with efforts to achieve within the primary election law fairness and practicality for all citizens.

Charitable institutions proved to be the next important theme group. Themes from the group were mentioned in 1913 and 1917. The ideas suggested in the themes included provision for increased funding for the state institutional concerns of the School for the Blind, the State Hospital, the State Penitentiary, and others.

The last important theme group during the Outside Influence Period was that of the workmen's compensation law. The law, enacted by many other states, was a concern of Governor Peter Norbeck in 1917 and in 1919. The initial theme called for enactment of the law, while the latter one dealt with its revision and improvement.

Several other themes not included in theme groups because they were not repeated included such things as the proposed constitutional convention; freight rates; public printing; capital punishment; regulation of corporations; food and drug regulation; the budget system; court reform; water power; property assessment; bank guarantees; prisoners; school salaries; the railroad commission; game, fish and parks; meat packing and flour mills; law code revision; bonding; and the inheritance tax.
Financial crisis period 1920-1931

The financial crisis was most dominant during the years of 1920 through 1931. The state faced several significant monetary crises: the bank closings, the bank guarantee problem, the poorly structured rural credits law, the decline of incoming revenue, the extra governmental department expenditures, and several other problems. With all of these difficulties coming during an eleven year period, the state government did indeed face crises of enormous proportions.

During that eleven-year period, there were seven major theme groups. The overriding theme group was the area of economy through reorganization and consolidation of state government. Themes from that group were expressed in 1923, 1925, 1927, and 1929. The general feeling of the governors was the need for economic use of state revenues by consolidation and reorganization of state government to eliminate extra governmental functions.

The next important theme group was that of the bank guarantees. Themes from this group were mentioned in 1923, 1925, and in 1931. The general assertion was that the bank guaranty problem should be solved by revising the guarantees or replacing them with something more efficient.

Another major theme group was that of taxation. Themes from the group were discussed in 1925, 1929, and 1931. The thrust of the themes was for a "more equitable" tax system, possible
adoption of a state income tax, a tobacco tax, and the end of the
overwhelming burden on personal property and real estate taxes.

The next theme group was concerned with the Custer State
Park. The park was a theme in 1923 and in 1925. Governors McMaster
and Gunderson both felt that legislative appropriations for
development of the park were desirable.

One theme group had been mentioned during the Outside
Influence Period and was still important during the Financial Crisis
Period. This was the good roads question. Themes from this group
were mentioned in 1921, 1923, and 1931. The ideas of the themes
were the possibility of an automobile license tax and the extension
of the infant highway system.

The sixth important theme group was concern over agricul-
ture. Agricultural themes were presented in 1921 and in 1923. Governor McMaster spoke with concern over additional support for
agriculture transportation and marketing difficulties.

The last major theme group was the school aid questions.
Themes of this group were suggested in 1921 and in 1929. The
impetus of the themes was the need for increased financial assistance
to public schools and additional support for financial and building
policies of the higher educational institutions.

Other themes not categorized into groups because they were
only discussed once included such things as the State Penitentiary,
the Cement Plant, bond issues, rural credits, business, zoning,
revenue, a state office building, river development, expenditures, child welfare, freight rates, a sportsman's fund, and the governor's term.

The themes of the gubernatorial inaugural addresses were of importance during the eras that they came about. Each theme group fit into a specific time period in South Dakota history, because they outlined the growth and problems that the state faced during that time.

Topical Recurrence of Themes

The themes, having been divided into historical periods, can also be divided into topical categories. Almost all of the themes fit into identifiable categories. The 143 themes appear to fit into nine separate topic categories. These categories are finances, penal and charitable institutions, education, control of corporations, natural resources, state owned business, state regulatory law, state governmental agencies, and miscellaneous.

Within the categorical divisions, several themes overlap into two or more sub-categories. When this occurred they were placed in the sub-category that appeared to receive major emphasis of the theme.

Finances

Under the topical category of finance there were five different sub-categories encompassing twenty-three themes. These themes were as follows:
Expenditures:

1889 "To meet the financial emergency it is recommended to annul all appropriations made by the territorial legislature and to put all unexpended balances remaining into the general fund . . . "

1891 "No greater service could be rendered the state by this body than the adoption of a systematic, comprehensive and efficient code of revenue laws, and rigidly restricting current expenditures."

1893 " . . . it is important for you to examine all claims for appropriations impartially . . . "

1891 "No greater service could be rendered the state by this body than the adoption of a systematic, comprehensive and efficient code of revenue laws, and rigidly restricting current expenditures."

1893 " . . . it is important for you to examine all claims for appropriations impartially . . . "

1929 "Good business demands that your total appropriations must be kept well within the revenue income."

1931 The legislature should be required to make specific appropriations for all offices, boards and departments.

Taxation:

1893 The present law was weak in its enforcement of the collection dates for taxes and should be changed.

1895 "The time has come when the question of taxation must be seriously considered . . . "

1897 "The question of revenue is of urgency and will continue as such unless the legislature finds some new means to relieve the treasury."

1899 "I urge the creation of a revenue law to meet the needs of the time and to reduce the sixty percent property tax on land."

1905 "I strongly believe that the assessment and taxation laws must be improved to bring in more revenue . . . "

1913 There should be immediate adoption of a new inheritance tax to cover all such gifts in the state.

1917 "The time has come to put into law a new measure providing for the classification of property for the assessment of property taxes."
1925 "It seems fitting that we should provide for a more fair and equitable distribution of the tax burden by amending the present tax laws . . . "

1929 "I believe that you are capable of framing a proper income tax law to get enough funds to cover the appropriations that you have noted."

1931 "I believe that there are many taxes, such as the income tax, the admissions tax, the tobacco tax and others that should be a part of your attention if the state is going to have enough revenue to support its growing budget."

Banking:

1909 "I recommend the law providing for the designation of depositors of state funds and the payment of interest on such depositories."

1909 "I believe that you frame a wise measure to make sure that all bank depositors shall be assured against loss . . . "

1915 The bank guaranty proposal is important and should have been passed earlier.

1923 "Legislation to correct the evils and abuses of the Bank Guaranty Act and the issuance of time certificates should be passed by you . . . "

1925 "The banking laws including the guarantees need to be amended as soon as possible to meet the crisis that is upon us . . . "

1931 "I recommend to you that amendments should be enacted to take care of the weakness of the banking law, to insure stricter supervision and reasonable limits for all banks."

Budget:

1917 "I conclude that it is impractical to inaugurate the budget system except by constitutional amendment."

Rural Credits:

1927 "From the standpoint of state finance, this problem of the rural credits is one of the most important we have to solve."
The financial themes were of significance in South Dakota history as they appeared in sixteen of the twenty-two inaugural addresses.

**Penal and charitable institutions**

The penal and charitable institution category was limited in its scope including only four sub-categories with a total of nine inaugural themes. These themes were as follows:

**Institutional support:**

1889 "It would be desirable if you would appropriate all necessary funds for the different state institutions that are badly in need of help . . ."

1891 The Legislature would [must] decide upon the needed amounts of money for the institutions.

1913 "Our charitable and penal institutions are in need of major funding to help them expand and create the facilities that they need. I think that you should provide for them whatever they need."

1917 "Many of the institutions are in need of added facilities to make them better as institutions . . ." 

**Binder twine plant:**

1903 "I urge the legislature to establish a binder twine plant in the state penitentiary."

1905 "A twine plant should be established at the penitentiary at the earliest date possible to give useful employment to prisoners."

**Prisoners:**

1915 "Our basic method of dealing with prisoners has been totally unsatisfactory. It is high time that we begin handling and controlling prisoners in a sound attempt at reformation and redemption of them for society."
1921 "The sanitary condition of the cells at the penitentiary is revolting and a disgrace and the continuation of those conditions rests squarely upon your shoulders."

Child Welfare:

1929 "I believe that a reasonable appropriation should be made for the activity of child welfare."

The institutional themes apparently were of some concern to governors as they were mentioned in nine different gubernatorial administrations.

Education

In the education category there were six different sub-categories and a total of nineteen themes. These themes included references to both public school, state colleges, and normal schools. They were as follows:

Elementary and secondary:

1889 It would be good if the Legislature were to help the schools by changing the school attendance regulation and providing students with free school books . . .

1897 "The development of a system of state school books, to be furnished to the people would do much to afford relief from the monopoly . . ."

1899 "The state should undertake the work of preparing and printing its own textbooks . . ."

1911 "I believe that the code for the improvement of rural schools should occupy your attention and should be passed."

1913 "Both our higher institutions and our public schools need our support in helping them grow and maintain what is best for our youth. We must give them our support when possible."
1919 "There is much that you can do for education in this state including those problems of coursework, textbooks, attendance and standards. I feel that we must do these things to help our youth have a good scholastic background."

1921 The schools should be given whatever aid that they need to become good institutions of learning for all youth.

1929 "Every advantage should be given our boys and girls in the promoting of proper educational opportunities . . . "

Institutions of higher education:

1889 " . . . it is suggested that a decided reduction of expenditures for institutions devoted to higher education might safely be made for the relief of our taxpayers . . . "

1891 "You must decide where to spend monies allocated for educational institutions, but you should remember that economy with those funds would be a desirable and necessary goal."

1917 "The state should meet all of the requirements for higher education I believe . . . "

School lands:

1893 "An appropriation for the purpose of securing lands for state and educational purposes will be asked and I think that it is a worthy cause and should be given as much as necessary to secure what is needed."

1907 The sale of timber on school lands controlled by the state is a possible desirable goal.

School funds:

1895 Action is needed on the specific law allowed for taxation in support of education, whether it should come in the form of strict enforcement or of repealing of the law.

1899 " . . . the law should be modified so that school funds can be invested in county, school, municipal and state bonds."
1903  "The school fund problem may be solved by continuous investment at the best rate of interest possible . . ."

1905  "I believe that it is important for you to determine the amount of school funds that will be invested . . ."

Board of Regents:

1901  "I believe that the restrictions upon the selection of the members of the Board of Regents should be removed."

School salaries:

1915  "Better salaries should be paid in our schools."

Education was a frequently addressed topic. It appeared in seventeen of the twenty-two inaugural addresses.

Control of corporations

There were four topical sub-categories dealing with control of corporations. These included twelve different themes. Of those twelve, all except three, dealt with the influence of railroads. The themes were as follows:

Non-railroad corporations:

1891  "The state should furnish counsel and conduct the litigation necessary to protect the citizen from the oppression of the corporation."

1909  "I urge that you pass a law that prohibits a corporation from selling a product cheaper in one part of the state than in another."

1915  The state should have more regulatory powers in the corporation areas of transportation, power, electricity, and others.
Railroads in general:

1889  It would be bad for the state to adopt anything but the most fair policy towards the railroads.

1895  "I hope you will approach the discussion of the railroads with a spirit of fairness and determination to compel them to do what is right . . . "

1907  "The enactment of laws to make railroads public highways and carry products without delay or discrimination should be made."

Railroad commission:

1893  "The railroad commission must be given more authority to take specific stands on important questions that are of concern to the people and I believe that you should give them that authority."

1911  The Railroad Commission should be given more power to relieve the state of unjust discrimination on the part of the railroads.

Railroad rates:

1897  "The most necessary legislation to be passed is a statute regulating the freight and passenger rates on our railroads."

1913  "It is a matter of utmost importance to the people of this state that the rates are placed on a fair and equitable basis."

1921  The railroads should be forced to reduce their shipping rates when a drought is on or when some other major problem affected the farmers.

1931  "The vital importance of freight rates to South Dakota's farms and cities is fully understood, and I will try to keep transportation costs at the lowest level possible."

With increasing corporate power in South Dakota, regulation and control of these corporations was increasingly important. The
governors discussed the twelve themes in twelve different inaugural addresses.

Natural resources and development

There were four sub-topical categories under natural resources and development. Within these three sub-categories, there were seventeen different themes. The themes in the natural resources category were as follows:

Water resources:

1889 "Legislation is recommended encouraging the water basin for the future development of the state resources . . . "

1895 "I urge that you study the irrigation laws now in force and make improvements where they are possible."

1919 "I recommend the efforts to survey the Missouri River for possible dam sites and water power development."

1929 "I believe it well for this legislature to give consideration to the resolution of Congress for river developments and consider the idea of river transportation."

Land development and resource control:

1893 "It is our duty to see that so far as it is in our power to prevent, the people should not be disappointed in our enactments encouraging settlement and development . . . "

1901 The geological surveys are the best way to better understand the mineral wealth of the state and bring out any hidden treasures.

Game, Fish and Parks:

1917 The Game and Fish Commission did not have enough authority to accomplish its goal in the state government.
1923  "When everything is figured out I feel that all of the money that has been put into the state park will be returned to the state many fold."

1925  "We have a right to be proud of our parks and even though we are in financial binds you should see fit to provide for their continuing sustenance."

1927  "I urge the repeal of the law that puts the money contributed by the sportsman into the general fund, and urge that it be spent on game problems . . . "

Good roads:

1903  "I believe that the subject of good public highways is worthy of your best individual thought and should be on the agenda of the legislature since it is such an important matter."

1911  "We need a system of roads built in accordance with practical and scientific methods . . . "

1913  "The burden of road building should be based on a system of distribution of costs between the localities, the counties, the state and the nation."

1919  "I feel that our state highways should be developed and any funding necessary to support their growth should be provided in whatever form you may find . . . "

1921  "I feel that a new system of taxing cars should be designed with the monies being funded into the good roads building program."

1923  The legislators should comply with the regulations of the federal law in reference to maintenance of highways and continuing federal aid.

1931  "Limits should be placed on paving of roads and the money moved over to the improvement of farm to market roads."

The natural resources category was important enough to the governors to be mentioned in fifteen of the twenty-two inaugural addresses.
State owned business

State business constituted a small topical category. The businesses included here were limited to those state owned and operated. There were two sub-categories containing five different themes. Those themes were as follows:

State printing:

1907 "I think that state printing should be initiated to save money and secure better work . . . "

1913 "There should be a new law governing public printing to reduce the excessive cost to state government."

Other state businesses:

1919 "I feel that this state has the right to engage in any industry that it may choose, whether it be coal mining, meat packing, flour mills or that of a terminal elevator."

1921 "It might well be possible to invest 1.5 million dollars in the cement plant and still get profits and cheap cement in return."

1927 The legislature should make sure that the cement plant and coal mine be operated on a business level rather than on a political level.

The category of state owned business was a limited one mentioned only in five gubernatorial inaugural addresses.

State regulatory law

There were thirteen sub-categories under the topic of state regulatory law. Within those thirteen categories, there were twenty-six specific themes. Most of these themes were adopted by the state legislature after being asserted in the gubernatorial inaugural address. Those themes were:
Elections:

1889 "The serious consideration of the Legislature is called to the secret ballot for the purification of this invaluable right of the American citizen."

1891 "It is recommended that earnest legislation be had for a reform of the present ballot system."

1897 "The demand for a registration law applicable to every precinct in the state seems to be important . . . "

1901 "I wish to emphasize to you the vital importance of the adoption of an absolutely secret ballot."

1903 "I recommend that you amend the registration law that requires an annual voter registration."

Workmen's safety and compensation:

1889 "No pains should be spared by the state to protect the interest and improve the condition of its wage earners . . . "

1899 "Laws for the utmost protection of life and limb of the men who work in the mines should be enacted and carefully enforced."

1917 "I feel it is time for South Dakota to adopt a definite Workmen's Compensation Law."

1919 Workmen's Compensation should be made mandatory for all employers in the state.

Primary:

1905 The primary for direct nominations is not needed at the present time.

1909 The primary law should be revised to eliminate all unnecessary expense connected with the law.

1911 "I believe that the primary law should be revised to protect the parties and assure their solidarity."

1917 "We need to adopt a state primary law to satisfy the citizens."
1919  "I think that before you make any decisions to repeal the primary law you should give it more of a fair trial than it has received up till now . . . "

Campaign reforms:

1907  "I feel that a law prohibiting corporation campaign contributions, and a law for the keeping of accurate records of all campaign contributions should be passed soon . . . "

Liquor:

1897  Prohibition should be restrained by the Legislature in the form of a practical statute.

1911  "In all matters pertaining to liquor, I feel that you should try to regulate it and restrain its sale for all purposes."

1913  "The need for strict regulation and control of the sale of liquors is now recognized and acknowledged by all . . . "

Food and Drugs:

1915  "The laws governing food and drug rules, regulations and standards are insufficient and inadequate and should be revised to bring about better control . . . "

Capital punishment:

1915  " . . . I recommend the repeal of the law that provides for the death penalty for any cause or circumstance."

Code revision:

1917  "I recommend that code revision be secured as soon as possible."

Fee system:

1917  "The fee system is a bad one and should be avoided. If possible the official should be put on a straight salary."
Zoning:

1927 "You should take the necessary attempts to allow the cities and towns proper zoning measures . . . "

Inspection laws:

1893 "The revision of inspection laws for oil, gasoline, and machinery are very important and should be passed as soon as possible to protect state citizens . . . "

Bond issues:

1923 "It is of vital importance that complete and comprehensive legislation be enacted in the handling of the bond issues . . . "

Cigarettes:

1909 "You will see the great need of drastic laws against the sale of cigarettes in this state."

The state regulatory laws seem to have been of great importance. Themes from the regulatory category appeared in sixteen of the twenty-two inaugural addresses.

State governmental agencies

The topical category of state government was the broadest and most extensive. It included twenty-seven themes under a wide variety of topics. There were fourteen topical sub-categories under state governmental agencies. The themes of this category were as follows:

Political accountability:

1891 "I recommend that the most rigid investigation be made in the direction of dereliction of duty and improper practices on the part of state officials . . . "
1919 "I recommend that a state bonding fund be established for the purpose of bonding state and county officers."

National guard:

1895 "No money has been had for the National Guard since statehood but I hope that you will not feel that an appropriation for the guard is money thrown away."

1899 "There is a need to maintain a state militia, but an efficient organization cannot be maintained without sufficient appropriations for it."

1907 The National Guard in the state needs money to maintain itself and should be given added funds.

State veterinarian:

1895 "No provision has been made for the payment of the State Veterinary and you should either abolish it or make some provision for its support."

1899 "I recommend that the Legislature appropriate $1000 for a salary for the State Veterinary . . . "

1901 "The Veterinary Surgeon should be paid a salary and expenses and he should be able to establish and enforce quarantine regulations."

Governors removal powers:

1899 "The governor needs to have the power of removal of state officers and I hope that the legislature will not neglect this constitutional intention."

1901 "Since the Executive is charged with the acts of his appointees, his power to remove them should not be uncertain . . . "

Immigration:

1901 "In order that the resources of the state may be made known to homesteaders, the office of Commissioner of Immigration should be re-established."
1909 "I strongly feel that advertisement of our state resources should be done with whatever means available."

Historical society:
1901 "The time has arrived when the state should encourage the incorporation of a state historical society . . . "

Attorney general:
1903 The legislature should, with a constitutional amendment, approve of a basic salary for the Attorney General in relation to his work.

Dental board:
1903 "The governor should be free to select the best men for the public service of serving on the Board of Dental Examiners."

State buildings:
1905 "It seems that the time has come when a permanent state capitol should be built."
1907 "Legislation to enable the work of building a new capitol is extremely important especially to protect the invaluable property of the state."
1929 The need for the state office building is apparent and it would be wise to erect the building.

Judicial system:
1909 "I recommend the addition of two justices to the Supreme Court bench."
1917 "The trial dockets of the circuit courts are congested and an additional circuit should be added soon . . . "
Constitutional convention:

1911 "I am convinced that the question of calling for a constitutional convention to revise the constitution is necessary and should be done soon."

Economy, reorganization, consolidation:

1923 "I fully believe that you should approach this session with a sense of economy in your minds and if it requires such things as reorganization of either the legislature or the executive department then it should be done."

1925 "There is necessity to reorganize and consolidate the state government in the interest of economy and efficiency."

1927 "It seems to me that our state has entirely too much machinery of government and you should try to consolidate wherever possible to eliminate extra government . . . ."

1929 "It is your duty to correct any situation where we have too many departments and boards within our government . . . ."

Governor's term:

1927 "I recommend a constitutional amendment changing the term of the governor from two to four years . . . ."

Legislative reapportionment:

1901 "A new apportionment of the number of senators and representatives for the legislature is one of your duties and I feel that it must be done . . . ."

The category of governmental agencies was highly important as it contained twenty-seven themes. However, those twenty-seven themes were only mentioned in fifteen different inaugural addresses.
Miscellaneous themes

Under the category of miscellaneous themes were three sub-topical categories that did not fit any other category of themes. Within those three sub-categories were five themes. Those five themes were as follows:

Agriculture:

1921 "I don't feel that we have helped the farmers as much as we could have especially with some of his [sic] major problems - such as the marketing situation . . . "

1923 "I feel that it is important for you to give all the help you can to those involved in agriculture during this hour of crisis."

Indians:

1891 "The need for defenses of settlers against any Indian uprisings, and the need for laws to prevent those uprisings from happening will be of importance . . . "

Insurance:

1899 "I am convinced that the state should undertake the business of insuring the property of its citizens."

1909 The entire code involving insurance should be completely revised.

Analysis of Topical and Specific, Chronological Thematic Recurrence

Analysis of Specific Recurrence

The inaugural addresses between 1889 and 1931 contained only seven instances of specific recurrence of themes. In each case the subject matter was similar, they were closely related in
phraseology, and their intent seemed to be the same. It was apparent then that although the governors dealt with many of the same topics they did not specifically use the same themes. Each governor tended to have his own ideas and apparently, with those few exceptions involving 14 themes, expressed them in his own manner.

Analysis of the Chronology of Themes

It is apparent that during each period of history, certain themes were of importance because they related to problems needing to be solved at that time. During the Early Period, 1889 to 1895, there was a total of twenty-nine different themes. The topic of finance appeared in three consecutive inaugural addresses, apparently because it was essential to set up a viable financial structure for the state in the beginning. The topics of penal, charitable, and educational institutions were mentioned in the consecutive inaugurals of 1889 and 1891. Again, action needed to be taken to set up these structures. The railroads encompassed themes in three of the early inaugural addresses, 1889, 1893, and 1895, probably because the railroads were expanding in the state and it was necessary to both encourage and regulate them. Some other themes such as land development, the National Guard, irrigation, and others were mentioned less often in part due to their quick enactment by the government. The primary topics of themes during this early period dealt with the establishment of the state government and problems surrounding its establishment.
A total of forty-seven themes appeared during the Developing Period of 1897 through 1910. Taxation was an ongoing problem needing periodic attention. The subject appeared in the three inaugurals of 1897, 1899, and 1905. During this period the school fund investment and the registration law were topics of themes in three inaugurals each. These concerns were highly controversial and themes were raised several years before anything was done about them. The topics of the governor's removal powers, work for prisoners, and the state capitol building were also addressed by themes in two consecutive inaugurals. There were various other themes mentioned less often.

Thirty-five themes were advanced during the Outside Influence Period, 1911 to 1919. Themes under the topic of education appeared in four of the five consecutive inaugural addresses from 1911 to 1919. Education was obviously an ongoing concern. Another theme topic of the Outside Influence Period was the good roads idea. It was mentioned in three inaugurals. It addressed a new problem brought about by a new means of transportation. Topics such as charitable institutions, the primary election law, and workmen's compensation were addressed by themes in two inaugurals each. Themes dealing with water power and food and drug regulation were only mentioned once.

The Financial Crisis Period of 1920 to 1931 had a total of thirty-four themes mentioned in its time. The topic of reorganization of state government was one that was repeated in themes of the
four consecutive inaugurals of 1923 through 1929. It seems most
legislators did not want to change the system of state government,
and they put off the problem for eight years. The bank guarantees
problem and taxation were topics of themes mentioned in three
inaugurals. It appears that the legislature did not like to change
the system and often balked at any proposed changes. The good
roads question was another theme topic that appeared in the three
terms of 1921, 1923, and 1931. The highway system was new and
needed constant support by the governor. Other themes such as
those dealing with bond issues, business, zoning, etc. were only
mentioned once.

Analysis of Topical Recurrence

The 143 themes were divided into nine separate categories.
Under the category of state governmental agencies, there were
twenty-seven themes. There were four themes under reorganization;
three under the National Guard, the State Veterinarian, and state
buildings; two under political accountability, the governor's
removal powers, the judicial system, and immigration; and one each
under the Historical Society, the Attorney General, the Dental
Board, a constitutional convention, the governor's term and
legislative reapportionment. The themes under the National Guard,
the State Veterinarian, and the Attorney General called for funding
and were repeated until they were funded. The other themes were
discussed several times until the legislature took time to act on
them.
Within the category of state regulatory, there were twenty-six specific themes. Five themes covered the primary; five the election reform; four on workmen's compensation; three on liquor control; and one each on campaign reforms, food and drugs, capital punishment, code revision, fee systems, zoning, oil and gas, inspection laws, bond issues, and regulation of sale of cigarettes. The frequency of themes under elections seems to reveal efforts to create a settled elective system in South Dakota. Themes advocating workmen's compensation, safety efforts, and the revision of the primary system occurred over a number of terms. With the exception of liquor control, all of the other theme categories were singly mentioned.

In the category of finance with a total of twenty-three themes, five were on expenditures; ten on taxation; six on banking; and one theme each on the budget, and rural credits. The frequency of the themes on expenditures and taxation indicated that money, often the lack of, was an integral part of government. Where to get the money and how to spend it were two prime functions of government. The banking themes were numerous partially because the bank guarantees created problems. The themes of the budget and rural credits were apparently minor by comparison and thus were only mentioned once.

In the category of education, there was a total of nineteen themes. Eight of the themes were mentioned under elementary and secondary education; three under institutions of higher education;
four under school funds; two under school lands; and one each under the Board of Regents and school salaries. Education was an ongoing problem and had to be dealt with constantly. The school funds question obviously recurred because no satisfactory solutions to the problem had been proposed.

The category of natural resources and development, with seventeen different themes, had seven under good roads; four under game, fish and parks; four under water resources; and two under land development. The seven themes under good roads seemed to show an increasing dependence on the highway system. The other three areas consisted of miscellaneous proposals that came occasionally as the state developed.

In the category of penal and charitable institutions, with a total of nine themes, four were under institutional support, two under the binder twine plant, and two under prisoners and one under child welfare. These particular themes appeared to be less significant as they were mentioned fewer times.

Within the category of control of corporations, there were twelve different themes. Of those twelve, four dealt with railroad rates, three with non-railroad corporations, three with railroads in general, and two with the railroad commission. The themes under the rates came at approximately ten-year intervals possibly indicating changing economic conditions. Continuation of themes dealing with railroads and non-railroad corporations seem to
indicate a periodic increase in demands for control over these interests.

The category of state-owned business had a total of five themes with three under miscellaneous state business and two under state printing. The two under state printing were closely related and mentioned the same idea in 1907 and 1913. The other three were of concerns spread out over eight years.

Under the area of miscellaneous with five themes, two dealt with agriculture, two with insurance and one with Indians. Each called for legislative action.

The Changing Role of the Gubernatorial Inaugural Addresses

The actual role of the gubernatorial inaugural address did not change significantly from 1889 to 1931. The inaugural began as a time to present concerns of the governor to the legislature. By 1931 that role remained basically the same while the themes expressed changed from inaugural to inaugural. There was no noticeable change in the role the inaugural address was to play.

Summary

Within the inaugural addresses from 1889 through 1931, there were seven themes that specifically recurred. These themes were of the same subject matter, were closely synonymous in phraseology, and apparently embodied the same intent of the governors.
The themes were then divided into four historical periods—the Early Period from 1889-1895, the Developing Period from 1896-1910, the Outside Influence Period from 1911-1919, and the Financial Crisis Period from 1920-1931. The problems facing the state during any particular period were seemingly reflected in the themes of the gubernatorial inaugural addresses.

Next, the 143 themes presented from 1889-1931 were placed into topical categories—education, natural resources and development, state governmental agencies, state regulatory law, state owned business, finances, corporation control, penal and charitable institutions, and miscellaneous. The five principal theme categories were in descending order: state governmental agencies, state regulatory law, finances, education, and natural resources and development.

The actual role of the gubernatorial inaugural address did not appear to change between 1889 and 1931. The governors continued to follow the original purpose for the addresses—to recommend proposals to the legislature.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 234.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this investigation has been to discover the nature and rhetorical environment of the gubernatorial inaugural addresses and to analyze the thematic development, the theme categories, and the specific recurrence of the themes in those addresses of 1889 through 1931. To realize this purpose, answers to five basic questions were sought: (1) What have been the rhetorical environments in which the inaugural addresses have been given? (2) Has the environment changed over those years of 1889 to 1931? (3) What has been the basic role of the inaugural addresses? (4) What have been the primary themes in the inaugural addresses? (5) Have these themes changed from 1889 to 1931?

The Rhetorical Environment

The gubernatorial inaugural addresses were presented in two different buildings in Pierre. From 1889 until approximately 1907 the state government met in a temporary wooden structure. The inaugurals were presented in the chambers of the House of Representatives in that building.

Around the years of 1907-1908, a permanent stone building was constructed. It housed the state government, and the inaugural
addresses continued to be presented in the halls of the House of Representatives, which were now much larger than they had been in the wooden capitol.

The audiences present at the gubernatorial inaugural addresses were of a mixed group. Before the building of the permanent stone structure, the audiences were very limited. The space available in the House of Representatives allowed seating for only the Representatives and Senators meeting in a joint session plus a few important state officers. With the construction of the stone capitol, available space increased greatly. The new capitol included a gallery in the House Chambers. The audiences for the inaugural addresses in the new capitol included the Senators and Representatives meeting in joint session, state officials, guests, families, citizens, and members of the press. Many of the last groups watched the presentation of the inaugural from the House gallery.

The newspapers in South Dakota reported issues of concern before the opening of the legislative session. The issues involved problems existing in the state during that year. Sometimes they were problems that needed to be solved such as stopping the Indian uprisings in 1891, ending the discriminating freight rates in 1893, providing for a wolf bounty in 1901, increasing safety in mines in 1909, developing better roads in 1913, building a Missouri River Bridge in 1923, or ending the bank guarantee problems in 1925. Some of the issues were aimed at needs for new laws such as
woman's suffrage in 1889, prohibition in 1893, game laws in 1897, the initiative-referendum in 1905, or the provision for church tax in 1927. Issues were discussed that called for the revisions of current laws such as the divorce laws in 1891, ballot reform in 1893, revenue laws in 1901, the primary in 1905, or the assessor law in 1919. Issues had been suggested that called for the provision of funds for different areas of government such as monies for the National Guard in 1901, funds for the Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915, and a salary for the State Veterinarian in 1899. Some of the issues dealt with revision of state government such as reapportionment of the legislature in 1891, creation of the Immigration Department in 1893, removal of the capitol in 1897, establishment of the budget system in 1917, and establishment of a unicameral legislature in 1917. Over the years the issues changed as the state progressed and developed. However, some issues such as education and revenue continued through the years from 1889 to 1931.

The Role of the Gubernatorial Inaugural Addresses

The gubernatorial inaugural addresses played a significant role in the history of the state. Each governor used his inaugural address to tell the legislators of his concerns for government, his ideas to improve the government, and his hopes for legislative enactment of specified proposals. It was generally a time when the governor reminded the legislators of their jobs and of the
major problems facing them during that session. The governors over the years of 1889 through 1931 used the inaugural addresses to present their concerns and recommendations to the legislators, and that role did not significantly change during those forty-two years.

Themes and Theme Categories

There were 143 inaugural themes asserted during the years of 1889 through 1931. Generally the governors did not use the theme from one inaugural to another. In actuality, only seven themes recurred during the twenty-two inaugural addresses—accounting for fourteen themes.

Four distinct time periods were established. The Early Period from 1889 to 1895 contained twenty-nine different themes. The most addressed categories in the Early Period were those of finances due to the need for the establishment of a sound financial structure for the government, railroads because of their needed structure in the state, penal and charitable institutions which were just being founded, and educational institutions which were also in infancy.

The Developing Period from 1896 to 1910 included forty-seven themes. The most frequent theme categories during this period included revenue-taxation because of the ongoing need for funds, investment of school funds—a new idea in the state, voting laws for the establishment of a sound elective system, and railroads which were in need of regulatory statutes.
The Outside Influence Period from 1911 to 1919 contained thirty-five different themes. The most addressed categories during the Outside Influence Period included education which was being developed, good roads—a new but important idea with the increase in transportation, liquor control—a national concern of significance in South Dakota, and political reform to establish fairness to citizens.

The Financial Crisis Period from 1920 to 1931 encompassed thirty-four themes. Most addressed categories during that time span included reorganization and consolidation of state government in the interests of economy, bank guarantees which were causing the state financial stress, taxation which was again the subject of proposed revision, and Custer State Park—another new idea that was being pushed by legislators.

The topical theme categories have varied greatly over the forty-two year span of South Dakota history. The most addressed topic has been that of state governmental agencies. Within its twenty-seven themes have been ideas on the revision, establishment, reorganization, and regulation of various state governmental agencies. These ideas have dealt with such things as the National Guard, the State Veterinarian, the Historical Society, state buildings, reorganization of state government, legislative re-apportionment, and others.

State Regulatory Law was the second most frequent topic. Its twenty-six themes covered areas of specific recommendations.
for changes in state law. Themes dealt with the primary law, food and drug laws, capital punishment, zoning laws, bond issues, and others.

Finance was the third category of most frequent concern for the governors. The twenty-three finance themes included those dealing with the development, control, and revision of the financial structure of the state. It included things such as legislative expenditures, taxation, banking, rural credits, and the budget.

The next most addressed category was that of education with nineteen themes. It dealt with the development and assistance for public and higher education and with concerns surrounding those ideas. Some of the ideas included elementary and secondary education, school lands, the Board of Regents, and others.

Another category of frequent concern for the governors was that of natural resources and development. Development of state resources and increased state growth were the chief concerns of this category. Within its seventeen themes were such topics as water resources, land development, game, fish and parks; and good roads.

Other categories of less significance and with fewer themes were those of penal and charitable institutions with nine themes, state owned business with five, and miscellaneous with five themes.

Many subjects of themes changed over the years of 1889 to 1931. However, some particular thematic topics such as taxation,
education, and good roads were mentioned repeatedly over the years. Each was an ongoing concern that needed periodic attention. Some other themes were only one-time affairs limited to a special time in South Dakota history such as defense against Indians, rural credits, zoning, the Historical Society, and others.

Conclusions

Based on the findings of this inquiry and within the boundaries of the limitations, the following conclusions have been drawn concerning the South Dakota gubernatorial inaugural addresses from 1889-1931:

1. The audiences present at the inaugural addresses always included the Senators and Representatives and were composed of primarily the same types of people.

2. The role of the gubernatorial inaugural address, presenting recommendations for legislative action, remained the same between 1889 and 1931.

3. The themes within the gubernatorial inaugural addresses, being addressed to problems in the state, tended to reflect the historical growth and development of South Dakota.

4. Topical recurrence of themes from inaugural to inaugural was frequent as governors often used the same subjects for their thematic development.

5. The themes used by the governors in the inaugural addresses were primarily addressed to the issues prominent in the state prior to the specific inaugural address.
6. Specific thematic recurrence was infrequent within the inaugural address over the years of 1889 to 1931.

7. The number of themes in the inaugural addresses ranged from ten in two inaugurals to four in one inaugural, with a mean of six and one-half themes per inaugural address.

8. With a few exceptions most of the recurring theme topics occurred within a few years of each other indicating gubernatorial persistence in recognizing specific state problems for legislative action.

Implications for Further Study

Combining the findings of this study with additional research could result in further understanding of gubernatorial inaugural addresses. If such studies were initiated, they might possibly take the following form:

1. A study of the South Dakota gubernatorial inaugural addresses from 1933 to 1973 could follow this inquiry.

2. A study of gubernatorial inaugural addresses in other states could be undertaken.
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