



League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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**The
FIRST
FIFTY
YEARS**

**LEAGUE OF
WOMEN VOTERS
OF MINNESOTA
1919 • 1969**



The First Fifty Years

by

MILDRED FEARRINGTON HARGRAVES

More women who have given talent and loyalty to the League of Women Voters of Minnesota have gone unmentioned in these pages than have been saluted. Many fresh ideas and brave attempts are unrecorded. This adumbrated account could not be a directory of people and program, much less the whole story of the first fifty years. We think the facts are here and we hope they illustrate the truth about an organization whose purpose, work and achievement transcend sex, political parties, and the vicissitudes of time. The purpose of the League of Women Voters remains steadfast; the program changes; and the members, carrying out the purpose through the program of their choice, go marching on.

Published by the League of Women Voters of Minnesota
555 Wabasha Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A League of Women Voters committee "always expects more of the member than she thinks she can give." Although the quotation (a paraphrase) is from a past president, Dorothy Anderson, the incumbent, Irene Janski, must have had similar expectations. How else could she have assumed that the Anniversary History Committee would produce in a few months an account of the life and times of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota? What the committee needed was less life to record and more time. However, it was the life that was abundant and daring and time that was less. The committee barely outran it.

Ann Duff, research assistant, was never out of breath or information. Her League files, admirably organized (how could they be otherwise, when every inquiry was answered by return mail?), might well be the envy of the Minnesota Historical Society, as her fertile brain and buoyancy are the envy of the rest of us.

Luella Newstrom accepted an assignment without title and found its authority to be, like the powers of state government, residual. This means she was executive director — all that and typist, too. She has knit up every ravelled nerve and left no loose end anywhere.

When Lillian Jensen without demur, in spite of professional and other volunteer responsibilities, consented to edit the history, a sigh emanated from the committee which was a paean of praise. Lillian's editing is not hieroglyphics on a manuscript, but advice, ideas, and comfort.

Betty Vachon designed the cover, proffering the torch which is passed on to you.

Mildred Fearington Hargraves

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Governor Preus Accepts 'Torch of Democracy'



Mrs. Andreas Ueland is shown here as she presented the symbolic burning torch to Governor Preus Monday at the demonstration staged on the steps of the State Capitol by the members of the Minnesota League of Women Voters who made the "Torch of Democracy" tour from the border of Canada to the border of Iowa. The tour was arranged to arouse voters to the necessity of going to the polls today and with the hope of raising the percentage of voters in this presidential election to at least 75. Mrs. A. J. McGuire, president of the Ramsey County league, who introduced Mrs. Ueland, is shown at the right of Governor Preus. The Governor accepted the torch on behalf of the citizens of the state and promised to place it in the archives of the state together with a record of the tour made by the women in the interest of good government.

Mrs. Andreas Ueland presented the symbolic burning torch to Governor Preus on the steps of the Capitol. The Minnesota League of Women Voters made the Torch of Democracy Tour from the border of Canada to the border of Iowa to get out the vote. Mrs. A. J. McGuire, President of the Ramsey County League, is at the right of Governor Preus. The Governor promised to place the torch in the state archives with a record of the tour made in the interest of good government.

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The Soil

WOMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Dissent is the heritage of the League of Women Voters. The organization grew out of 80 years of protest over women not being allowed to vote. Surely its beginning dates from that day in 1840 when Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton met at the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London—the day Mrs. Mott, a delegate, was denied a seat because she was a woman. Outraged, these two determined to start a woman's rights movement in the United States. Between the determination and the deed eight years passed because it was a bold proposal. The first Woman's Rights Convention was held in 1848. Out of it came the statement, "It is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves the sacred right to the elective franchise." No woman could have read it then without a shudder of disbelief or a thrill of elation. It was Elizabeth Stanton's resolution, and the only one on the agenda which caused consternation. Even Lucretia Mott disapproved: "Oh, Lizzie! If thou demands that, thou wilt make us ridiculous! We must go slowly." It was the opinion of the convention that so radical a proposal would jeopardize the movement and prevent other reforms, but Mrs. Stanton insisted that only with the vote would legal changes be achieved and woman's status significantly altered.

STRUGGLE FOR SUFFRAGE

Meetings for the cause proliferated. Members of the Woman's Rights organization wrote, lectured, recruited, and importuned. In 1869, just 21 years after the first convention, two woman suffrage associations were formed—the American and the National. They merged in 1890 to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). It had one objective: to secure the vote. Every League member must contemplate with envy that solitary goal which permitted concentration of personnel, time, energy, and funds on winning for women the elective franchise "by appropriate national and state legislation."

The idea that women were individuals with the right to citizenship and authority over their persons, children, and property was revolutionary. Like any revolution it had its partisans, and sex was not all that divided them. Many women were opposed to voting by women and shocked by public display. The suffragists needed their determination, their stamina, their courage. Not only were they stubbornly opposed; they were threatened and ridiculed. And the worst of these was ridicule. Consider, too, the clothing of the day as a marching costume: long skirts gathering dust or moisture en route; hats flowered, feathered, beribboned, picturesque

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atop the coiled hair, but difficult to anchor in a storm. In spite of these obstacles, in spite of the narrow definition of "woman's sphere," they demonstrated in all weather—carrying banners and placards, sometimes accompanied by bands.

There were two memorable parades in 1916 when the Association made a concerted effort to persuade the political parties to include suffrage planks in their platforms. In Chicago, where Republicans were meeting, 10,000 women were blown by wind and drenched by rain from Grant Park to the Coliseum. The *New York Times*, reporting the impact of the action, noted that the firemen's parade was called off but the women marched. From Chicago they went to the Democratic Convention in St. Louis. Along a half mile route travelled by the delegates to reach the meeting hall, suffragists staged a pageant remembered as the "golden lane" and the "walkless parade." The women stood—dressed in white, with yellow sashes and parasols—each group holding its state banner. Those whose states had not granted any form of suffrage knelt with shackled hands. Both parties capitulated by adopting suffrage planks, but as a delaying action, they advocated that the vote be achieved state by state.

The drama used to bring attention to the cause was not a performance on which the curtain went down. NAWSA had developed into a formidable organization over the years. Following the political conventions Carrie Chapman Catt, president, called the Association into emergency session and proposed that it concentrate on the passage of a federal amendment, giving its national Board authority over the formerly self-directed state associations. Members present immediately pledged \$818,000 toward a million dollar campaign fund. The final thrust had begun.

It was 1917. Financially, the Association was aided by a legacy of nearly a million dollars from the estate of Mrs. Frank Leslie (New York publisher) to be used by Mrs. Catt "as she shall think most advisable to the furtherance of the cause of woman's suffrage." Psychologically, New York's passage of a constitutional referendum granting women the vote increased the national effect of action by several other states which earlier in the year had granted some form of suffrage—North Dakota, Indiana, Vermont, Rhode Island, Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, Arkansas. As women took on jobs left vacant by conscription and contributed as volunteers to the war effort, the old slogans about "woman's place" became obsolete. In December, presiding at a convention of the Association in Washington, Mrs. Catt spoke before it but to the Congress of the United States.

Woman suffrage is inevitable—you know it. The political parties will go on—we know it. Shall we, then, be enemies or friends? There is one thing mightier than kings or armies, congresses or political parties—the power of an idea when its time has come to move. The idea will not perish; the party which opposes it may.

CONGRESS SENDS 19TH AMENDMENT TO STATES

There is fervor in these words and a startling directness. More than 50 years later they still send shivers down nonpartisan spines. Oh, to be so

bold! The Convention was: it voted to try to defeat candidates at the next election who opposed a federal amendment provided this Congress did not submit one to the states. Over \$800,000 was raised to prove the seriousness back of the effort. The House voted favorably in January 1918; the Senate delayed until October and then defeated the bill by two votes. So the women and their campaign fund went into action. The defeat of two opposing senators and a commitment of support from their successors promised favorable action in the next Congress. President Wilson called a special session for May 1919, and on June 4 the 19th Amendment was sent to the states. Its wording was the same proposed by Susan B. Anthony in 1875: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

After this success the goal was clearly visible. But NAWSA was already looking to the future. As early as 1916 a committee within the organization was suggested to represent the equal suffrage states. The Jubilee Convention in St. Louis, held in March 1919 on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the suffrage associations, made its chief business the planning of a new organization—"a League of Women Voters, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries." In her convention address Mrs. Catt said, "I propose . . . a League of Women Voters to 'finish the fight' and aid in the reconstruction of the nation." The Constitution of NAWSA was amended to accommodate the new organization. Article III, Section 2, read:

In order to further the second purpose of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association . . . i.e., "to increase the effectiveness of women's votes in furthering better government," women from the enfranchised states shall form a League of Women Voters within the National American Woman's Suffrage Association.

The convention recognized national needs that required attention simultaneously with the old goal of suffrage. It was willing to change in order to cope with these conditions in the postwar world. It had a vision of what might be done and a plan for doing it. Mrs. Catt completed her stirring call to action:

Arise women voters of East and West, of North and South, in this your first union together; strong of faith, fearless of spirit; let the nation hear you pledge all that you have and all that you are to a new crusade—an American crusade, a national crusade; a crusade that shall not end until the electorate of the Republic is intelligent . . .

The spirit of this new crusade will travel from state to state, from city to city . . . a nationwide campaign against the world's oldest enemy—ignorance. What should be done, can be done; what can be done, let us do.

FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN OF MINNESOTA

On that same day, March 24, 1919, the Minnesota Legislature granted to the women of the state the right to vote for presidential electors. Can it be doubted, even without coverage by radio and television, that the vibrations came through and coincidence was not all?

Action in the nation was accelerated now as states began to ratify the 19th Amendment and as suffrage associations in those states automatically became members of the League of Women Voters, still an auxiliary of NAWSA. Governor J. A. A. Burnquist called a special session of the Minnesota Legislature and on September 8, 1919, it ratified the 19th Amendment: in the House 120 to 6; in the Senate 60 to 5. Thus full franchise came to the women of Minnesota. Those who had worked for it began to plan immediately for its use.

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA ORGANIZED

The Minnesota Suffrage Association appointed a temporary committee to prepare for organization of a League of Women Voters. It functioned independently of the Association and many of its members had not been prominent suffragists. Those who were and who had labored with single-minded devotion to achieve the right to vote were realistic and unresentful about antagonism to the suffrage movement. They did not want to jeopardize support for the new organization by emphasizing its origins. They had planned beyond the day of triumph and believed in the need for a broadly representative electorate, informed and aroused, to transform into opportunity the symbolic right stated in the constitutional amendment.

The Minnesota Suffrage Association dissolved its corporation on the seventh of October and passed a resolution that its effects—funds, office supplies, equipment—"become on that date property of the Minnesota League of Women Voters to be organized October 29, 1919, as a branch of the national League of Women Voters for the purpose of completing full enfranchisement of women and increasing effectiveness of women's votes in furthering better government." The committee on the conference at which the League was to be organized sent letters and printed calls to statewide lists: local suffrage associations, other women's organizations, and farm groups; a total of 5,500 persons. Organizations were asked to appoint delegates, but "the meetings were open to all." Attendance was estimated at 600, and 440 were accredited delegates (a notable number when compared with the 259 who attended the 1967 state Convention). At the banquet cash and pledges of \$6,000 were raised for League support. Dinner was underway when it was learned that the bouquets adorning the speakers' table had been sent by the Democrats! However, the range of representation present—political parties, a variety of organizations and special interests—was wide enough to make this remarkable occasion what the League intended it to be, "nonpartisan and all partisan."



The League Takes Root

POLITICAL REALISM

From the beginning the League of Women Voters, in Minnesota and nationally, understood the importance of political parties. Mrs. Catt put the matter with her usual forthrightness:

For sixty years we have been appealing to the political parties to give us the vote. I do not think we have won the vote in a single state where one or both parties have not given their consent—so powerful are they. Well, then, is it our intention to remain outside of those parties as we have for sixty years? . . .

The only way to get things done is to get them done on the inside of a political party. . . . You will be disillusioned, you will find yourselves in a political penumbra where most of the men are. . . . But if you stay long enough, you will discover a little denser thing which is the umbra of the political party—the people who are picking the candidates, doing the real work that you and the men sanction at the polls. You won't be welcome, but that is the place to go. You will see the real thing in the center with the door locked tight. You will have a long hard fight before you get inside . . . but you must move right up to the center. . . .

A letter in more conciliatory language went out December ninth, only a few weeks after the Minnesota League was organized. It was sent to local newspapers over the signature of the League chairman in each congressional district.

. . . The League is not a "woman's party." It will not put candidates for office in the field; it exists as a unit solely to back legislation which every patriotic and public-spirited citizen will encourage as sound and necessary. It expects to work in and through the political parties, its membership being members, also, of the political parties.

In other words, just as the women voters hope to be of service in the political parties of their choice, so they ask the men voters to join with them in the task to which they have set their hand.

The political party affiliation of prominent League members was well known at this time. Emphasis on party participation was pronounced, yet criticism of party organization and operation was unequivocal. Addressing

the first Minnesota League Convention in 1920, Marguerite Wells commented that "Able men in America do not, as a rule and as a matter of course, go into public life." She continued:

So well have the professional politicians run politics, so completely have they manned the machine and so powerful have they become that other men, even when sporadically . . . stung to a sudden spirit of reform, try to make themselves count in public life, they find themselves impotent . . . and it is this that makes them exclaim to suffragists . . . "Why struggle so hard for the vote? Everything is cut and dried; everything is arranged by the professionals. Your vote won't count and your work won't count. . . ."

It was in recognition that age-old hopes and endeavors have not succeeded and in recognition that some new way must be found, that women have made their enfranchisement the occasion of a well-defined, conscious effort to take the parties out of the control of the bosses and get them into the control of the people.

The fight for suffrage had been too long and hard a course in political behavior for this to be an altogether naive aspiration. League women held a concern for public affairs and a view of issues which transcended political parties. The Minnesota League's first president, Mrs. Andreas Ueland, expressed it this way: ". . . the League believes that political parties were made to be the tools of government, not its masters." League women expected informed people to unite, as they had, to achieve social goals. Miss Wells defined social legislation as ". . . legislation that has to do directly with the happiness and welfare of the people. All other legislation, like the business with which it has to do, is only a means to that end—the welfare of the people." It had been neglected, she said, in countries where only men voted.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS ORGANIZED

The League of Women Voters became an independent national organization at the last Suffrage Association Convention in Chicago in February 1920, six months before the 19th Amendment was signed by the Secretary of State. The League's first constitution stated the purpose in Article II:

The object shall be to foster education in citizenship and to support improved legislation. The national League urges every woman to become an enrolled voter, but as an organization it shall be allied with and support no party.

Thus from the beginning emphasis was on citizen education, governmental issues, and nonpartisanship (originally called unpartisanship). There has been no reason in half a century to change the purpose, which is now put in these terms: "The League works to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government." The miscalculation was the time required for even great effort to move moun-

tain. Mrs. Catt suggested that five years might see the accomplishment of League aims. "At the end of that time account should be taken of achievements won and the importance of the unfinished program. A new determination can then be made concerning the advisability of a continuance of the League."

EARLY ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The Minnesota League began to move immediately as though it were going to meet the five-year deadline. It used political subdivisions as the basis of organization, beginning with congressional districts and then counties and local governments within counties. At the first Convention in October 1920 the Executive Secretary, Gladys Harrison, could report, "A year ago the League of Women Voters had no organization beyond the Executive Board elected at the organization conference. . . . Today it has chairman in every congressional district, active chairmen in 70 out of 86 counties in the state . . . and a membership that cannot be estimated at less than 14,000." In recognition of the rapidity with which it had built a state organization, Minnesota was hailed at the national League Convention in 1921 as the "banner state."

The state Executive Board comprised: the president; three vice-presidents at-large; ten vice-presidents, one for each congressional district; six directors without special assignments. National Board organization divided the country into regions, and for each there was a director who worked with and through state and local Leagues in her region. Early state boards in Minnesota were reinforced with staffs that today are beyond both its budget and its dreams. When it organized in 1919 the League had a press chairman, an executive secretary, an office secretary, and additional workers as needed. In the spring of 1920 it added a director of political education.

VOTERS SERVICE—THE 20'S

The staff and the indomitable volunteers showered the state with materials listed in the first Convention report:

8,000 posters on national issues
4,500 large posters
122,000 registration and election dodgers
450 copies of a play about voting
75,000 political education leaflets
50,000 leaflets about the League.

State headquarters had given its time almost entirely to the area outside the two big cities, because the Fourth and Fifth districts were organized by January 1920 and Minneapolis and St. Paul were distributing their own materials. Additional facts from Miss Harrison's breathtaking account of the infant League's first year:

To indicate the amount of work done by the city organizations, the Fifth District during the month of October alone, distributed

226,655 pieces of literature prepared in its own office, gave 99 talks, presented the voting play before 60 organizations, maintained information booths in all the big stores of the city for a period of two weeks before the election, and recruited and instructed over 200 women to act as election judges. . . .

Energetic county organizations have formed their own speakers' bureaus, arranged their own schools and lecture courses, held organization meetings and mass meetings, attacked their own civic problems. . . . Washington County reports 20 meetings in October attended by 1200 women. Houston County sent in last week a list of 543 new members in 18 townships. . . .

Fairs in 34 counties and many commercial establishments gave space to the League for information booths; theatres allowed them to advertise registration and election dates with slides and brief speeches. "All of this cooperation was possible," Miss Harrison related, "because of the unpartisan character of our educational work."

The most popular educational work was the conduct of citizenship schools throughout the state by Emily Kneubuhl, the League's first educational director. These schools, like the printed material previously listed, were free. The increasing attendance from less than 100 in the first ones to as many as 400 and 700 later (in the large cities), followed by letters of approbation and gratitude showed that women felt a need for political instruction of an unpartisan character and found what they wanted in the League of Women Voters.

This astonishing activity was preceded at the organizing conference of the League and at the first meeting of its Board by a spacious view of what a budget should be for a group working in a state of Minnesota's dimensions to prepare women who were voting for the first time to do more than place an X in a box. The conference committee, after a suggestion for a \$20,000 budget, had agreed that it should be \$25,000 or \$30,000. The Executive Board finally proposed \$50,000. (Fifty years later the Minnesota League is considering a similar amount.) That this sum was not achieved was less important than its audacity and the fact that the goals it was to have financed were not abandoned. Among them were:

Short courses in politics given with the cooperation of the University of Minnesota and the State Colleges. The first course in Minneapolis had an attendance of 750.

Mass meetings and citizenship rallies. One in the St. Paul Auditorium had capacity attendance.

Citizenship courses arranged for women's clubs, industrial workers, girls' boarding houses.

House to house canvasses in cities to reach women at home. In Minneapolis the goal was to hold citizenship schools in every precinct.

In rural areas schools in political education set up as rapidly as possible under the League's education director.

The last sentence of the finance statement explains this impressive operation and the budget size: "In raising funds to make up the state budget, however, our strongest plea is that we aim to put free political education within the reach of all the women voters in the state. . . ."

FINANCING THE LEAGUE

Originally dues were not used as a means of support by the Minnesota League. Its members included not only those who had joined the League, but women who belonged through their membership in other organizations which agreed with League objectives. This built up interest and numbers while organization was proceeding. Quotas were apportioned among the state's counties (86 at that time) "according to their resources and ability to pay." These were determined on the basis of finance drives conducted during the war. The county was responsible for paying its quota into the district treasury and the district to the state. From the first finance statement in 1919: "The county quotas vary from \$47 to \$11,452." Large sums were contributed at well attended evening organizing conferences where appeals for funds were carefully presented. Then there was the follow-up to raise the remainder of the quota: personal solicitations for large amounts, letters to those expected to give five and ten dollars, distribution of pledge cards and coin cards at meetings.

By 1922 the local League where the member is, rather than the county, became the important unit in League organization and financing. This pattern of organization has endured though changes have taken place within it. The Convention that year based quotas on population—ten dollars per thousand, later reduced to five—and it prohibited any one individual giving more than half of a League's quota to assure that responsibility for support was shared. At this time dues still were not required for membership. There were sustaining members, however, who paid from 25 cents to two dollars. "Sustaining" seems an exaggerated description in comparison with the size of state budgets during the early years. As the League's every member publication, *The Woman Voter* expressed it in November 1922, the great idea was to encourage every League "to go out and make its membership as broad as the community itself. 'Every woman a potential League member' is a fitting slogan for an organization which draws no lines as to class, creed or party." National memberships were another voluntary way of contributing. They ranged from five to a hundred dollars. Half were sent to the national League and the remainder credited to the state quota of the local League which produced them. The quota, like today's "suggested contribution" for state and national support, was an estimate of a League's ability to pay—an expectation, not a demand. Yet there were requirements as the size and responsibility of the organization grew. The same issue of *The Woman Voter* reporting the 1922 Convention states: ". . . to receive regular service from headquarters a local League may be required 'to adopt the name and the aims of the League of Women Voters, to have a responsible chairman and an independent membership, to adopt a constitution providing for the regular election of officers and

to assume the quota voted by the convention for the support of the state organization.'"

Individual dues came later and were a matter of membership more than of money. The 1927 state Convention amended the Constitution and By-laws to read:

Article IV

Section 1. The membership of the Minnesota League of Women Voters shall consist of affiliated local Leagues and their members; and of members at large who shall endorse the purpose and policy of the League and pay such annual dues as shall be prescribed by the Executive Board.

Section 2. Any woman citizen of Minnesota may become a member of an affiliated local League by subscribing to the aims of the League of Women Voters and paying the annual dues prescribed by the local League.

The same year the national League's Department of Finance made a proposal "to bring all national, state and local money raising into one comprehensive plan and thus avoid confusion and duplication of effort." This developed into local financing where the member is, where the money is, and where League service is rendered. In addition to dues there continued to be contributions by members and there was solicitation of funds from nonmembers who had means and interest. Though not included in the national plan, for many years there were laborious, ingenious, unbusiness-like and not very remunerative methods used to meet budgets of an organization whose staff was underpaid, whose volunteers were overworked, and whose incomparable rewards were widely shared.

ELECTION LAWS — 1922

During the productive year 1922, when organization was being shaped to purpose, the Minnesota League prepared a digest of the state's election laws. Published in April with Mrs. Walter Thorpe's name, its title was *State Election Laws Clearly Stated for the First Time*. In spite of the implications in the caption, the Secretary of State approved it. It was written for the League of Women Voters but was used by election officials, candidates, and political committees. The study of the laws brought the conclusion that there was dishonesty in their application and that ramifications were too broad for the field of election laws. These new considerations became a part of the Efficiency in Government Department which had been formed in 1921. It was the beginning of study and action on governmental organization by the Minnesota League which, after 48 years, may be properly termed unremitting.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

In January 1923 the League called together a group of men and women to consider reorganization of state departments "in the interest of economy and efficiency." They formed the first citizens committee

initiated by the Minnesota League. It took over direction of education to secure public opinion favorable to the Reorganization Bill when it was presented to the Legislature. According to the minutes of the St. Paul League, the committee "... carried on an intensive educational campaign in behalf of reorganization of state departments in support of the bill which was passed by the Legislature. Previous attempts at reorganization, which had been supported by no such education of the public, had failed."

TORCH PARADE

Education of the electorate was intensive in the early years and demonstrations in behalf of issues often were dramatic. On October 27, 1924, during a notable get-out-the-vote campaign — candidates meetings, door-to-door information on registration, political institutes — members of the League began an 1100-mile tour at the Canadian border in International Falls. There a torch was lighted as a symbol of democracy and the torch was passed from caravan to caravan along a route to the Iowa border. The tour reached its climax at the steps of the state Capitol in the presence of the Governor on the day before election. The previous year a mile of signatures were collected to present to the Senate in support of United States adherence to the World Court.

NEEDED LEGISLATION

Work for "needed legislation" was the second League objective stated in the constitutions adopted at the first conventions — national and state. This needed legislation was the content of the first programs. League program by whatever name — Program, Active List, Current Agenda — has always been more than a list of political issues. It has been based on the public interest and the importance of keeping government responsive to the public interest. The League formed a Legislative Council in May 1920 under the chairmanship of Mrs. Ueland, who had resigned as President and was director of the League's legislative activity. The Council was composed of League program committee chairmen plus members of legislative committees of other organizations. Program departments, paralleling national ones, were set up to meet immediate needs. At the time, before priorities were sorted out, everything seemed to be in that category.

Public Welfare: included women in industry, child and maternal health, child labor.

Legal Status of Women: independent citizenship for married women; married woman's wages under her control; equal rights to civil service jobs; equal guardianship of children; jury service; opposition to a blanket equal rights amendment.

Efficiency in Government: national, state, local, covering reorganization at all levels; the merit system in civil service; city manager form of government.

International Cooperation to Prevent War: disarmament and the World Court.

Pre-election Activities.

Chairmen of departments and members of standing committees were appointed by the Executive Board. The intention was that each department's subject matter should be restricted enough to allow specialization. The standing committees were resource groups; the chairmen were specialists in their fields and might be recruited from organizations other than the League and from the professions. Later this arrangement was altered. Marguerite Wells, state President, explained the change in an interview on December 5, 1925, with Edna Akre who was gathering information for a thesis about the League of Women Voters. The new viewpoint was that information from experts could be readily obtained, but that a chairman who was directing program with governmental action as its goal must understand the League as a whole. Therefore it was not necessary that the chairman be a specialist, but she had to be able to interpret information for members to use as a basis for action.

FIRST USE OF DISCUSSION METHOD

This was an early commitment to the League's conviction that the member learns, decides, and acts. The new structure was developed to simplify the process and to assure the result. The discussion method was described December 1927 in *The Minnesota Woman Voter*: "This method of talking over a question from every point of view by the participation of all of the people in a group, according to a definite procedure, is not only an interesting way to conduct a meeting, but a means of developing speakers and of arriving at conclusions in which everyone has a share. We call it the *Why, What and How* method. *Why* do we gather together? To discuss something in which we have a common interest. *What* do we do? We list on a blackboard all of the arguments for and against the question being discussed, we discuss them, we qualify them, we erase those not relevant to the subject, and finally we reach a conclusion. Then, if action is indicated, we decide *How* to put it into effect. Every local League should try this method." Eventually every League did.

The national Board that year brought about closer coordination with state Leagues when it adopted a policy making state department chairmen members of national departments and committees. Continuing its report, the 1927 *Voter* stated: "And so at this convention the department conference idea as it is carried out in national conventions was initiated. The state League chairman held conferences with their committee members—the department chairmen in local Leagues—to discuss the national League program and make plans for its furtherance in the state."

BROADCASTING BEGINS

The League began early to use radio for "furtherance in the state." It was broadcasting over WLAG in 1924 and in 1926 it made arrangements for four gubernatorial candidates to speak over WCCO. "This is the first time in the history of Minnesota," the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* reported June 14, "that a group of candidates for the same political office have been offered the facilities of a large radio station to present their arguments to the voters." By 1927 an annual series of radio programs, sponsored by the state or one of the Twin City Leagues and at times by the national League, had become an established part of voters service.

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The League's first decade was explosive with a sense of urgency. The aftermath of long delayed enfranchisement and of war—with food shortages, profiteering, inflation, and shocking illiteracy (a quarter of the population as revealed by draft records)—brought forth remarkable accomplishments: reorganization of state government departments; compulsory school attendance and a 7-month term; regulation of employment of children; employment of women limited to a 10-hour day, 55-hour week; jury service for women. Passage by Congress in 1921 of the Sheppard-Towner Act to promote the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy required untiring attention to secure state appropriations and competent administration.

The vitality of League activity was contagious. Young voters' groups were organized throughout the country, and their advisor on the national Board visited Minnesota in early 1926, speaking to college students at Hamline, St. Cloud and Moorhead, to home economics students at the University Farm School, and to industrial workers at the Minneapolis YWCA. This followed the state Convention at Duluth, November 1925, when the opening session was planned entirely for the "young voters of the future." Representatives of the Ramsey County League, returning from the April 1926 national Convention held in St. Louis, reported, "... never before were there so many young women, a majority of whom were under twenty-five years of age, at a national League gathering . . . at least a third of the delegation were young women and ninety-four college girls attended a two-day conference which had been arranged in consideration of them." The Ramsey County League's young voters section grew so large that it announced a plan "to start similar classes in other parts of the city within a short time."

The former suffragists felt the exhilaration of having young women join them in the young organization. It renewed their energies and their faith in goals they had never relinquished. It assured the fresh leadership that must take over if the League were to survive. Mabeth Hurd Paige resigned from the national Board to run for the Minnesota Legislature where she served from 1923 to 1945. Clara Ueland, who joined the suffrage movement in Minnesota in 1900 and became the League's first president in 1919, was 67 when she spent the last day of her life in the Legislature on League business.



The League Builds a Record of Public Service

CIVIL SERVICE

When Marguerite Wells became national president of the League of Women Voters in 1934, one of her first pronouncements was "Our aim: to make every member of a local League an intelligent participant in the restricted program chosen to be supported by the League of Women Voters." A reading of the programs chosen by the Minnesota League during her previous state presidency shows that "restricted program" was a more austere discipline than the League had been willing to accept. In 1935, however, the time was right. The League agreed to mobilize nationwide for "A merit system in all branches of government at all levels." Support for qualified governmental personnel had been on the first League programs, and social and economic legislation during the depression made efficient administration imperative. At this time only nine states had civil service laws and only about half of all federal civil employees were in the civil service system.

The first state civil service bill supported by the Minnesota League was introduced at a special session in 1935. In the preceding years—1930 through 1933—civil service items were among those adopted by the League Convention, but by 1937 the only item for legislative support, stated as simply as could be, was: "A Civil Service Law for Minnesota." Before the session began the League asked statewide organizations who endorsed the merit system for state employees to send representatives to a meeting which resulted in the formation of the Civil Service Council. The Council had as consultants Lloyd M. Short, Professor of Political Science, and C. C. Ludwig, chief of the Municipal Reference Bureau, both from the University of Minnesota; and Harold Henderson, Executive Director of the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research. Ruth Mitchell, president of the Minnesota League, was chairman. A bill drafted by the Council was introduced in the House at the 1937 session, but it did not pass. The League then set forth—started presses rolling, sponsored meetings all over the state—and launched an educational campaign which expanded and gathered momentum for a major effort in the spring of 1938. There were stirring slogans: "Find the man for the job, not the job for the man." There

were rallying statements such as one made by Marguerite Wells: "In respect to appointment to office, there are no 'deserving Democrats' nor are there 'deserving Republicans.' There is only the deserving public and it deserves that its affairs be run by men and women chosen for ability and devotion." A civil service dinner in Minneapolis was attended by over one thousand people, including candidates for governor and for the Legislature.

The text of the Council's proposed bill was widely distributed by member organizations. It was introduced into the House and Senate on the first day of the 1939 session. Controversial points were: Status of those then in the state's employ, exemptions from the civil service system, and veterans' preference. Divergent opinions caused the state Federation of Labor to break away from the Council and to introduce a bill "blanketing in" all employees and requiring absolute veterans' preference. During the seemingly long 90 days (a new League publication, *Ninety Days of Law-making* by Ruby Britts, made the process intelligible to many for the first time) local Leagues and their communities were alert for the crucial times to communicate with legislators. The League's chairman for civil service, Mrs. Harrington Beard, and its legislative secretary, Helen Horr, followed the status of the bill on its rugged journey like a military staff, wary of ambush, managing an army's advance. The last day on which bills might be passed—April 18, 1939—saw the Conference Committee report on H.F. 601 accepted by House and Senate. The Civil Service Act awaited Governor Harold Stassen's signature. Miss Mitchell wrote about the success in the April *Minnesota Woman Voter*.

Minnesota would not have attained a civil service law if we had not had a Governor who sincerely and honestly wanted a real merit system in governmental appointments, and if we had not had a few legislators who also sincerely wanted such a law, and who were willing to study all the complicated points of such legislation. But I do believe that it is no over-statement that the Governor and legislators could not have attained such a law if groups of lay people, such as the League of Women Voters and the other organizations making up the Civil Service Council, had not spent more than two years in focusing public attention on the need for and the essentials of a real merit system, and these lay groups could not have been as effective had they not had the generous constant advice and help of experts. The interest shown by newspapers throughout the state in commenting editorially, and the fine support given by various political commentators and columnists, was undoubtedly an important factor.

Mr. Henderson, who had observed and assisted the League, was less reserved in appraising its work:

On many occasions during the last few years we have given unqualified credit to the League of Women Voters for their support of many legislative bills having to do with more effective and economical government. It is our judgment that the present civil service law is practically the sole responsibility of many women representing the League. Without a merit system at

the state capitol it would be a mere waste of time and energy to attempt to raise the administrative efficiency of our state government. Citizens interested in saving hundreds of thousands of tax dollars each year need only to thank the League of Women Voters for this result.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

With a civil service system that assured protection of state employees, Governor Stassen was able to get legislative support to "raise administrative efficiency"—a goal for which he and the League of Women Voters had been striving. His Reorganization Bill was passed in 1939. Provisions included changes in the administration of welfare—a major League concern—coordinating it under a Department of Social Security whose division heads were "to be selected on the basis of ability and experience without regard to political affiliations. . . ." The position of Commissioner of Administration, first state business manager in the nation, was established. Quarter by quarter balanced budgets were adopted, as was centralized purchasing with open competitive bidding.

From the day the Civil Service Act became law the League was awake and watching. Mrs. Beard was appointed by Governor Stassen to the Civil Service Board where she served for 14 years. "The League of Women Voters is keenly aware of the fact," Miss Mitchell reminded any League members who might be tempted to rest on their recently won laurels, "that its work for civil service has by no means ended but rather begun anew, for the administration and functioning of the new law will need continuous interpretation to the public." How consistently the League has done just this the files of 30 years bear witness. Civil service was among support items on state program until it became a part of the Current Agenda when the "concerted action" work was so designated in 1947. The 1950 Convention voted that "The League of Women Voters will work for an improved civil service system." Then in 1951 civil service was removed to the Platform which "consists of governmental issues and specific legislation to which the League has given sustained attention through the years. The League may resume support of any such issues or specific legislation whenever the state Board shall decide that active work is needed. . . ." This change of emphasis, a decision of delegates in Convention, distressed other than League members as Mrs. J. R. McNamara, former president of the Minneapolis League, pointed out in 1952 when presenting reasons for returning civil service to the Current Agenda.

. . . Everyone still regards the League as the "mother" of our present system, and no matter how far our interests have strayed from the subject in recent years, we seem to have acquired, due to our earlier leadership, an unavoidable responsibility for taking the initiative in any reexamination of the system as it now operates in our state.

After thirteen years of operation through an extremely difficult period, stresses and strains have developed that require the un-

derstanding and informed cooperation of citizen groups such as ours if the system is to improve and meet the changing needs of the times, as it must.

The Convention at which Mrs. McNamara spoke voted to put civil service back on the Agenda. In November the state Board issued a comprehensive review of the history of civil service in Minnesota, of the Civil Service Act and its functioning, and of the recommendations for changes in the Act that had been made by the Efficiency in Government Commission (Little Hoover) in 1950. League representatives had participated in the Commission's work: Helen Horr was secretary; Ruth Mitchell and Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves, at that time state president, were members of committees. The Commission's report stated that testimony given before ". . . virtually every committee of the Commission established the fact that the present Veterans' Preference Law acts to reduce efficiency of the state departments." Its recommendation on veterans' preference was the position the League of Women Voters had always held: "Preference should be available for use only once. It should not be applied to a candidate's examination grade, unless he first earned a passing grade. . . . No veteran should go to the head of an eligible list unless his earned grade plus veterans' preference points place him there." So it was that within a decade another reorganization plan for the executive branch was under consideration, and, as in 1939, the civil service system was an essential part of the plan.

Although the League was too occupied with executive reform in 1939 to spare attention for legislative improvement, a proposal for a legislative council was introduced. This was a means of strengthening the Legislature by providing a research staff for a council appointed from the House and Senate which would gather factual information on subjects of major state interest. The creation of such a council became a steady interest of the League until the Legislative Research Bill was passed in 1947, when it was staunchly supported by Governor Luther Youngdahl in his first inaugural address. Like civil service and administration of welfare, a bill on the books for a legislative council meant another subject for surveillance as before passage it had meant one for study. In this way League program responsibility—national, state and local—increased in the land and at the end of the line was the local League member. When she began to feel akin to Atlas beneath her burdens, she then recalled that she had initiated it all.

CAMPAIGN FOR DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS

The desire for less diffusion of effort, and recognition of the need throughout the nation for understanding the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for establishing a United Nations, brought about a choice in 1944 for another concentrated campaign, as the one for the merit system had been in 1935. Over a million pieces of simply written literature were distributed by the League. Small discussion groups were used more extensively than ever before to reach cross sections of communities. The Dumbarton Oaks

campaign was a triumphant demonstration of opinion building and corroborated Miss Wells' assertion that "Political opinion in the long run has little validity except as it is acted upon by people."

LEAGUE REORGANIZATION FOR INCREASED CITIZEN ACTION

Appraisal by the League of its structure, purpose, and resources had begun even before it engaged in the Dumbarton Oaks campaign. The question at issue was: How could the League be more effective in involving many people in political action? At a special national Council meeting called in January 1942, a decision was made to undertake "Wartime service for carrying information about government to the public."

The Council agreed that in wartime, democracy, without an understanding citizenry active in relation to the function of government, would die at its roots. It agreed that the League of Women Voters had accumulated a store of experience and knowledge about government that, carried in bits and pieces to a wider public, would nourish these roots.

The League had not forgotten this decision when it began discussing program during the months preceding the 1946 national Convention. Post-war problems were then, as they had been in 1920, urgent and overwhelming. Yet there was strong sentiment for a shorter active list. A new foreword to the Current Agenda, as the program had been renamed, defined the League's purpose and scope:

The League of Women Voters promotes political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government. The Current Agenda is made up of those governmental issues which the Convention has chosen for concerted action. Action may include (1) providing information, (2) building public opinion, (3) supporting legislation. It is the responsibility of the national Board of Directors to supply the membership with basic information on these items and to determine at a specific time the action that will be most effective in achieving the following goals: . . .

The goals for 1946-1948, as recorded in *A History of the Program* (1949) were a four-item Agenda ". . . more truly 'carried out' in a League sense than had been any earlier program. . . . More community education grew out of each item, and rapidly increasing League membership and public recognition of League accomplishment indicated mounting effectiveness."

New Bylaws provided structure to fortify the effort for political effectiveness through greater community participation. The League, which had been a federation of states, became an association of members. Each individual member of a local League was a member of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Communication had been from national Board to state Board, and from state to local. The change was a direct line from national to local Boards as well as to the state. It increased local responsibility, altered the role of the state Board without diminishing it, and

mitigated the effect of a weak board. State Boards were responsible for action on state governmental matters and for the organization and development of local Leagues within the recognition standards adopted by the national Convention.

Minnesota Bylaws were revised in 1947 to conform to those of the League of Women Voters of the United States. Revisions of local Bylaws required a longer time and were a part of the process of establishing standards—minimum membership, financing, and program action—that meant the name *League of Women Voters* stood for the same principles and policies everywhere, despite differences between communities and the individuality of each League. A self-survey sheet was provided to enable local Leagues to take their own measurements.

The effort to measure up during the period of transition taught the Minnesota Board that organizing a League (prospective members had petitioned and were eager) under the new recognition standards was easier than convincing an established one (it was managing to "get along") that it must meet them. Minnesota had many small Leagues—the largest number in the nation with membership of 25 or less. Confronted with state and national programs that might intimidate a graduate class in political science, with voters' service and finance drives, these Leagues have sometimes been reduced to what Hope Washburn, when she was state Organization Chairman, described as "sitting out there shuffling the papers." The Board partially solved this problem by developing a large organization committee, geographically scattered to work with the Organization Secretary. The bulk of paper which small, struggling, valiant Leagues had to handle was reduced. Miss Washburn composed an abbreviated handbook for local League presidents and further simplified the *Simplified Budget for Small Leagues*. She wrote a candid, compassionate *Analysis of Minnesota Leagues* and an irresistible piece *Concessions and Indulgences I Feel Disposed to Make*. Leagues which needed these considerations lacked woman-power and money, yet many of them were the only local source of voter information. With the help of a sympathetic state Board, dynamic organization workers, and determination they met in time more than the "recognition standards;" they met the political needs of their communities.

Revival was brought about by constant circuit riding. There were local Leagues who thought that Miss Washburn was a member of the staff. Those who were—Luella Newstrom, Barbara Stuhler, and later Grace Wilson—called her "our full time volunteer." In 1956 an affectionate and grateful state League established an award "in recognition of the outstanding service given by its first recipient, Miss Hope Washburn." The award is made each year to a member of the League of Women Voters of Minnesota.

Surveys of local government based on *Know Your Town* or *Know Your County* were a means of combating local League "malnutrition." They appealed to those who wanted to study and those who wanted to get out and do something. Handbooks on local government impress, inform, and frequently surprise the League people who produce them, as well as government personnel who have been too busy to peer beyond their individual

burrows, and the community at large which simply has no idea. Richard Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League executive committee and an authority on municipal government, said that these League pamphlets "constitute a massive contribution to political science, and are unique." A handbook on state government, *You Are the Government*, was prepared by the League of Women Voters of St. Paul to mark the Minnesota Territorial Centennial in 1949. This valuable reference was last revised in 1967 by the Minnesota League.

Departments were abolished by the 1946 national Convention and that act shifted emphasis from Board specialists in each subject to a broad knowledge of League program for all members. Miss Wells wrote that the aim had always been "... to cause more people to use effectively what knowledge they possess." It was this view which caused the Minnesota League to drop non-League specialists from program departments about 1925. The goal that every member should become a participant in a restricted program chosen by the League was an old one and easier to set than to achieve. The means used in 1946 was organization of the membership into small units based on the convenience of time and place and the development of the discussion method. The discussion method was not new, but it has become the most effective technique for conducting unit meetings. It provides the participants with facts, it encourages them to speak, and it prods them to form opinions.

Decisions about program — local, state and national — begin in the units. Suggestions from these small groups, or from a general meeting composed of their representatives, are sent to the local Board. The January-February 1969 *Minnesota Voter* defines this aspect of Board responsibility.

The major role of the Board is to weigh member preferences in making recommendations for the Proposed Program. They will consider, as members did at the discussion meeting, criteria for adopting program (as enumerated in the Local League Handbook) and the Principles of the League of Women Voters.

Another Board responsibility is to refine the wording of the item so it is clear, easily understood, general enough for flexibility, yet specific enough to indicate the desired goals and scope. All agenda items imply some aspect of action when a position is reached whether or not the wording so specifies.

The Proposed Program, prepared by the state Board, is transmitted to the local Leagues for a second round of consideration. At Convention, items on the final Proposed Program are presented by Board members for debate by the delegates. Items may be accepted, amended, or rejected. Items suggested by local Leagues, but not recommended by the state Board, may be considered by the Convention if it chooses to do so by majority vote. A two-thirds vote is required for adoption.

Under a closely integrated, yet flexible, organizational structure wherein the members have more authority, their numbers and those of local Leagues increased.

FINANCING GOVERNMENT

The League of Women Voters is refreshing and adventurous to the member taking on a responsible job in it. New worlds open to discovery. The Current Agenda for 1947-1948 opened a world where many might hesitate to set foot.

1. Financing of Government in Minnesota.
2. Our State System of Public Education.
3. Reorganization of the State Legislature, Constitutional Revision, and Reapportionment of Legislative Districts.

This was the first appearance of constitutional revision on the League Program and 1947 was the year that the Legislature created the Minnesota Constitutional Commission (MCC).

Dating tax study exactly requires caution, because League study of government services has always included — if not in the actual stating of the item, then by explanation or implication — costs, methods of financing, and adequate appropriations as essential aspects of the issue. A tax item appeared formally, however, at the annual Convention in Faribault, October 1930. Under the aegis of the Efficiency in Government Department the statement read: "Study of Taxation." A year later the League had decided where it wanted to go:

Revision of Minnesota's Tax System through

- a. Income tax legislation uniformly administered by trained personnel as a replacement tax to effect a more equitable distribution of taxation.
- b. Improved methods of assessment under existing tax laws.

The income tax law was passed in 1933, but improved methods of assessment, other revisions in the tax system, and support for a commission on tax revision became for the League of Women Voters a long affair with financing state governmental services. Emphasis varied, year to year, from statutory matters such as larger units of taxation for school districts to constitutionally dedicated funds.

For two days in November 1949 the state League, in cooperation with the Center for Continuation Study at the University of Minnesota, sponsored an institute in tax problems to help prepare local Leagues for their work in making "an analysis of state revenues and expenditures in order to understand and support fiscal policies which provide for present and future needs of state institutions and promote a sound and expanding economy." Like the majority of League undertakings, this program piece was entirely serious, carefully considered, but not modest in scope. The League had company during the fifties gathering information about taxes and seeking solutions for fiscal problems. There were ten reports during this period from governmental committees and commissions. The committee formed at Governor Orville Freeman's suggestion and reported to him in 1956 was nongovernmental in its membership and was financed by the groups — representing business, industry, labor, farmers — which served

on it. The Tax Study Commission, comprised of representatives of the Legislature and public members appointed by the Governor, published *Minnesota's Tax Structure* in 1954. The first sentence of the second chapter stated the ramifications that had confronted the Minnesota League since it proposed *Study of Taxation* in 1930.

This Commission has recognized in analyzing the Minnesota tax structure that it is fundamental to investigate the combined total of the taxes of the state and its variety of local governments and also the fiscal relationships existing between the various units of governments.

There has been no lack of studies and reports by public and private organizations in the field of taxation, but as the Governor's Tax Study Committee of 1956 commented, "They did not, however, bring about a concerted legislative effort to view the state's tax structure as a whole or to accomplish a major overhaul job on it, and the problem is still a critical one." The League found it still critical nearly ten years later when it grasped it anew in 1965 and called it "Financing Government in Minnesota: Evaluation of revenue sources with consideration of state and local needs."

The introductory paragraph of the state League pamphlet, *Financing Public Services in Minnesota*, suggests the scope and fascination of the information provided.

The financing of governmental services is a vitally important aspect of our economy. The subject is complex but not remote. Everyone benefits from the services of government; everyone pays for them, and through the democratic process everyone has a hand in shaping legislation concerning them. This publication will deal with public finances at the state and local levels. It is a point of departure from which anyone interested in gaining an understanding of Minnesota's basic financial structure can set forth. But before focusing on the Minnesota scene, it will be well to take a sweeping glance at the broader economic landscape.

This major piece has been supplemented by additional publications about property taxes and a comparative study on *Property, Income and Sales Taxes*, prepared under the guidance of Mrs. Harold Nash. Thus fortified, League members will discuss at the 1969 Convention the Proposed Program which includes financing government in Minnesota.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION

Support for constitutional revision is based on League positions long held: an easy amending process; regular and equitable reapportionment; legislative sessions of adequate length; provisions for a post-auditor. Other League-supported changes have been achieved over the 22 years since 1947 by the slow, expensive, patched amendment route.

The League has advocated constitutional revision by a convention which would be charged, as the Minnesota Constitutional Commission was

by the Legislature, that it "... shall study and consider the constitution in relation to political, economic, and social changes and developments which have occurred and which may occur. . . ." The 21-member Commission—composed of eight members from each House of the Legislature, one member of the Supreme Court, one member of the executive branch and three citizens—recommended major changes in 36 sections, minor changes in 78 sections, and 6 suggested new sections. By unanimous resolution it recommended that these changes be made by convention. A state constitution is the people's document, the fundamental instrument of government, and Minnesota's Constitution provides for them to change it in Article I, Section 1:

Object of Government. Government is instituted for the security, benefit and protection of the people, in whom all political power is inherent, together with the right to alter, modify, or reform such government, whenever the public good may require it.

The basic controversy and struggle is that "the people" for all their "inherent political power" have not had an opportunity to choose by what method they will change their constitution. It has been changed by amendments or no change, since the Legislature has failed to submit to a vote of the people the question of change by convention. The greatest obstacle to change by amendment in Minnesota is the amending process itself. An amendment requires for passage a majority of all votes cast in the election. Failure to vote on an amendment is a vote against it (the League has printed on thousands of broadsides and buttons "No vote is a 'No' vote"). For the first 50 years after the difficult amending process went into effect in 1899, the percentage of amendments passed declined from 72 to 32 per cent. The percentage has increased in the last two decades due to concerted efforts at public education, although many amendments have been resubmitted two or three times.

Proponents of complete and coordinated revision by convention, with the League in the lead, faced opposition engendered by many fears and factions:

- Special interest groups (noble or ignoble) who feared losing an advantage fixed for them in the Constitution. Tax rates and dedicated funds are examples.
- Fear that reapportionment might change district boundaries and legislators' seats.
- Fear that a convention would be "radical," even though delegates would be chosen in the same way as members of the House of Representatives. This concern should have been allayed by an amendment passed in 1954 which allowed members of the Legislature to run as convention delegates and provided that the constitution resulting from a convention be approved by 60% of the voters at the next general election.

- Fear of costs. Cost accounting is not simple for either amendments or conventions. The Secretary of State estimated that amendments represent one-fourth to one-fifth of election expense. The League's estimate was that it would take 30 elections to pass the major changes recommended by the MCC. It did some "fencing with figures," averaging number of amendments per year and using 1955 amendment costs. Multiplication brought the total for revising Minnesota's Constitution by that method and at that rate to \$1,985,040. There are states which have found revision by convention more economical.

The Minnesota League's campaign for a constitutional convention and for reapportionment (with or without a convention) was one of the most exciting and sustained in its 50 years. Only part of what this endeavor taught the League about legislators, political processes, pressure groups, and the public can be found in League publications. Members who had youth in 1947 are now middle-aged; those who did not, know just how late it is. A veteran of the era once commented, "We need patience and longevity for this task. We are women and we have both."

In 1949 they had optimism. Bills to submit the question of calling a convention to the voters were recommended to pass by both House and Senate Judiciary committees. In the House the bill, which needed a two-thirds majority, lost by only eight votes. The Senate, therefore, did not consider it.

The League felt better prepared with information and bolstered by allies for the 1951 session. It had studied the Constitution, the report of the MCC, other related materials, and had in hand recommendations of the Little Hoover Commission issued December 1950. These included reforms, supported by the League, in both the executive and legislative branches of the government which required constitutional changes. Working with the League was the Governor's Advisory Committee on Constitutional Revision, and the Citizens' Committee for a Constitutional Convention representing diverse groups which worked as individual organizations as well as within the Committee. The House convention bill had four authors; in the Senate it was sponsored by two influential legislators who had been members of MCC. On February 28 the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, where votes are not recorded, and recommended that H.F. 22 be indefinitely postponed. A vote was forced when Mr. Stanley Holmquist, an author, moved to amend the motion by substituting "to pass" for "indefinitely postpone." The vote: 53 yeas, 63 nays, 15 not voting. Again the Senate did not act because the bill failed to clear the House.

For the League, reapportionment was one reason for a constitutional convention; for legislators, it was a major reason against. The state Convention in 1953 directed that reapportionment receive special emphasis under the item "The League of Women Voters of Minnesota will work for calling a constitutional convention and will make recommendations as to what a new constitution should contain." That year the League published

Democracy Denied—A Study of Reapportionment in Minnesota. It was written by a new state Board member because no basic study on the subject was available. Copies were sent to all legislators. A prominent one confessed irately to Mrs. Stanley Kane that he had read it three times and he demanded to know who had written it for the League. She admitted that she had done it herself. Thereafter she was known as Mrs. Reapportionment.

The birth and demise of constitutional convention bills in 1953 and 1955 confirmed a pattern. Four sessions had in common:

- Early defeat in the House.
- No action on the Senate floor (not even committee hearings in 1953).
- Only two people testifying in opposition—the attorney for the railroads and one member of the House of Representatives.

CAMPAIGN FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION, REAPPORTIONMENT, PARTY DESIGNATION

For the legislative year 1957 the Minnesota League of Women Voters listed three items for support: a constitutional convention, reapportionment, and party designation for legislators. Would it have been possible for an organization which deserved success to have chosen three issues less likely to bring it?

Nevertheless, there was encouraging ferment. The years of research, study, and persistent publicizing of the many aspects of constitutional revision culminated in a rising tide of opinion. The League contributed to this tide with two pamphlets—*Democracy Denied* 1954, *The State You're In* 1956—and reams of mimeographed source material chiefly for members (who else would read it in that unappealing form?). The League also tried a few slings and arrows to pierce indifference and misunderstanding: a cartoon folder *8 Reasons Why Minnesota Needs A New Constitution* 1951; a series of colorful cartoon flyers with facts condensed for quick consumption; *The Four F's of Constitutional Revision* for those who had time to read without running, but not time to sit down; an illustrated, facetiously written booklet *Well, What D'ya Know—Minnesota Has A Constitution!*

There was an inspired and indefatigable Public Relations Committee. News coverage was extensive and there was more intensive correspondence than legislators expect to receive on behalf of reorganization of government, described by political scientists as "an area of low pressure public interest." The political parties appointed a Bipartisan Committee to work for the same legislation that the League was supporting. The League's Legislative Report for the session stated, "The mere existence of such a committee is of great value; with party designation the effect would be incalculable." Strategy and testimony were carefully planned with authors of the bills and with the supporting citizens groups.

A party designation bill, the Bergerud bill for reapportionment of legislative districts, and for the first time in the history of the state a bill for a

constitutional convention, all passed the House in 1957. Banner headlines appeared on the front pages of newspapers. The League of Women Voters breathed deeply, but not for long, the heady air of triumph.

This rare ozone was polluted for them by Senate action in defeating party designation and a constitutional convention. Reaction of lobbyists who were there was mildly summarized in the League's Legislative Report: "The committee system frequently does not fulfill its purpose of expediting legislation. The committee becomes a place to bury legislation which influential men do not want brought to the light of floor discussion." The vote on the constitutional convention bill was tied in the Senate Judiciary Committee and a second vote was skillfully avoided. Meanwhile a subcommittee proceeded as though it were a little constitutional convention preparing amendments. A member of the Committee in his statement opposing a convention had warned that the next session could not escape submitting the convention question, unless the 1957 session proposed amendments for needed changes.

Amendments became ironic downfall for the League. A Senator whose vote had been counted upon and was needed to bring the bill out of committee was not present when the "ayes" were tallied. Located and reproached, both in sorrow and in anger, he said he was no longer interested in a convention because amendments were passing "handily." He acknowledged that it was largely the League handiwork which had brought this about.

One reapportionment bill did pass the Senate. The passage of the Bergerud bill in 1955 had, according to the Legislative Report, "... aroused the guardians of the status quo to new resistance; had moved the public in unrepresented areas to a vocal bid for their rights; had alerted legislators that they must move quickly to settle this problem to the interest of their constituencies, and themselves." The Senate moved to settle the problem on its own terms: a reapportionment statute dependent on passage of an area-in-one-house amendment. The League accepted this solution as the best obtainable; the Twin Cities press agreed. On the motion to appoint a conference committee two House members maneuvered a motion to table—never in memory done in this circumstance. A witness said, "The stunned chamber with no parliamentary chance to debate this nondebatabile motion, grabbed at a last chance to get off the hook and tabled reapportionment for the session." So a reapportionment measure passed the House, passed the Senate, then passed right on out to oblivion.

There were additional pressures at the 1959 session: 1) Mr. Frank Farrell of St. Paul and a group of attorneys with the League as amicus curiae had brought suit in federal court claiming that Minnesota citizens were being denied the equal protection of the laws by the long failure of the Legislature to reapportion. In the summer of 1958, the court had ruled it would not intervene until the Legislature had an opportunity to act. 2) The 1960 census, which posed less palatable options than were then available, was coming up. 3) A Reapportionment Committee was appointed by Governor Freeman, composed equally of citizens and legislators and geographically balanced. Mrs. Kane reported to a National Municipal League

Conference that the Committee "spread a lot of information, and educated good legislative leaders for the coming session—even if it did not achieve its recommended solution. . . . The contribution of this committee was in a way like that of the court suit. Another pressure from another quarter, taking the matter out of jealous legislative hands." The result was passage of both the Bergerud bill and of an amendment, but not attached. The League opposed the amendment—consensus represented over two-thirds of its units and 90% of its members—because the provisions did not meet its standards for fairness, flexibility, and enforceability. The amendment was defeated by the voters in the November 1960 general election.

The federal court decision interpreting the 14th Amendment to mean "one-man, one-vote" forced a better reapportionment measure from the Minnesota Legislature in 1965. This apportionment could stand, within the letter of the Supreme Court's "minimal requirement" ruling for redistricting every ten years, until 1976. Yet it is based on population figures which by then will be 16 years old. Of course the Legislature could heed the spirit of the law and apportion anew at its 1971 session.

MINNESOTA'S STAKE IN WORLD TRADE

The title of the lead article *High Walls Do Not Good Neighbors Make* in the August 1968 *National Voter* would have been appropriate as far back as 1936 when the League first supported the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program. Tariffs and trade were then a contentious subject that sometimes lost contributors and created adversaries. The League's interest in world trade began in the early 1920's with studies of the effects of tariffs on consumers. Trade's very internationality has made it strikingly effective for local demonstrations. Attempting to illustrate what trade means at home, the Wells, Minnesota, League in 1937 gave a community tariff dinner: foods on the menu were tagged with comparative tariffs under Hawley-Smoot and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. A dinner at Wells, however, was not enough to convert the manufacturer who complained in angry astonishment, "My wife belongs to the League of Women Voters and they believe in tariff policies that will ruin me." To gather facts that might convince him and a wider world, 530 Leagues in 41 states conducted trade surveys from 1954 to 1956. Minnesota's committee, with Barbara Stuhler from the state Board as chairman, cooperated with the School of Business Administration at the University and the Business Executives' Research Committee, representing the major industrial and agricultural interests of the state. The collaboration produced *The Impact of Tariff on Minnesota's Economy*. Three years later area workshops were stimulated by *The Politics of Trade*, a national publication. These led to major local League activity on behalf of a new look in negotiating trade agreements. Emphasis on Minnesota's stake in foreign trade was based on the special viewpoints within congressional districts. Minnesota Leagues have continued a working association with business and labor in support of trade negotiations and education concerning the effects of lowered trade barriers on local industries, farm products, and consumer prices. The latest co-

operative effort was a seminar in January 1969, *Minnesota Prospects for World Trade*, sponsored by the League, the Upper Midwest Regional Export Expansion Council, and the Minnesota World Trade Association.

CONSERVATION OF WATER RESOURCES

Water, like trade, is another local resource that has claimed major League attention. The 1968-70 national program review points out that "The amount and variety of state and local action for cleaner water is tremendous." The November-December 1968 *Minnesota Voter* explains why: "Guided by positions reached during the League's national study of water resources, state and local Leagues may point their canoes in various directions." They have.

This is what they wanted to do in 1950 when the League's concern about depletion of natural resources was on the Current Agenda in these terms: "Reorganization measures to improve administrative efficiency in the development and use of natural resources." It seemed dry only to those who wanted to be immediately, as one member could not resist saying, "in the swim." The decision in 1956 to study water resources put them there. Under the 1969-70 national Program item, "Support of national policies and procedures which promote comprehensive, long-range planning for conservation and development of water resources and improvement of water quality," League activity is bursting out all over the country.

Among all organizations interested in water, the League is the one most concerned about structure of government. It cannot be otherwise since League members know that within the executive branch of the federal government there are 40 departments, agencies and commissions involved in planning, development and administration of water and related land resources. In Minnesota, state governmental agencies responsible for aspects of the same problems are the Department of Conservation (including four divisions), the Department of Highways, the State Board of Health, the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Commission, the State Planning Agency, the Pollution Control Agency, the Soil Conservation Commission, the South Dakota-Minnesota Boundary Waters Commission, the Minnesota-Wisconsin Boundary Area Commission, the Water Resources Board (including the watershed districts), the Minneapolis-St. Paul Sanitary District, and the Metropolitan Council. The September-October 1968 *Minnesota Voter* reported:

There is overlapping of, and outright conflict among programs of air, land and water management from the top to the bottom of this "layer cake" of governmental jurisdictions. Costs are stupendous, needs are immediate, and confusion is common. It has been said that if existing technological knowledge could only be applied, the problems of air and water pollution and land conservation could be solved. But how can it best be applied? One has to start somewhere. The state "layer" is in the center. National minimum standards for air, land and water management

are guidelines for the states but the state and its local political units have to *do* the job.

With unquenchable enthusiasm for see-it-as-it-is, local Leagues made trips to sewage treatment plants, the largest being the Minneapolis-St. Paul Sanitary District at Pig's Eye Island in the Mississippi River; to places without treatment plants; to smelly outlets around Lake Minnetonka; to other crowded suburban areas where they saw escaped wastes from septic tanks. Rochester learned that by 1980 the demand on its sewage treatment plant from the large local dairy cooperative would be equivalent to that of 40,000 persons. There was do-it-yourself in the White Bear Lake League's water testing project, undertaken because no information was available for its study of public health and water pollution. The League purchased equipment and five of its members were trained by the Minnesota Department of Public Health to use it in testing water samples. Samples were taken weekly during the summer of 1967 from area lakes. One result of the League's recommendations was that the surrounding governmental units cooperated financially, and thereafter the summer testing was done by the superintendent of the local water treatment plant. In the Minnesota area of the Red River of the North, local Leagues — acting under the national water item — supported state bills for funding a study of that part of the basin.

Local Leagues acting at home, a group of local Leagues taking state action on behalf of an area, and representatives of the state Board and of local Leagues attending the federal-state enforcement conference on water quality conditions in the upper Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers, illustrate how water overflows banks and effaces boundaries. Minnesota was host to a region — Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois — in March 1966 under Mrs. O. J. Janski's chairmanship, for a seminar on land and water uses in the upper Mississippi. Seminar financing came from the League of Women Voters Educational Fund through a grant from the U.S. Public Health Service. This was a pilot project to spark action in local communities of participating states.

Among the Minnesota League's actions has been support of state legislation for flood plain zoning. Mrs. Grady Mann, state Board member, said in her testimony before a House committee in 1967:

Minnesota does not have mandatory legislation for flood plain zoning by local governments. As many counties and municipalities are participating in comprehensive planning, there is need for coordination and authority for this type of flood damage protection. This proposal is one of several possible ways of preventing unnecessary flood plain development, warning the unwary, and of relieving the taxpayer of unjust damage bills. It also encourages good land use of the flood plain that is consistent with local needs, flood hazard protection and passage of flood waters.

The League has urged realistic financing for the new Pollution Control Agency, reiterating from 1920 what will be said, no doubt, in 2000 that

"no agency is more effective than the funding it receives." In 1968 the League helped to form the Minnesota Environmental Defense Council to coordinate the work of organizations interested in protecting natural resources.

Failure of the 1967 Legislature to provide a framework for a metropolitan sanitary district left unsolved many sewage problems of the Twin Cities area which seemed unable to wait another biennium for a solution. The Legislature did set up the Metropolitan Council and requested it to reach agreement so that legislative action could be taken. This could happen in 1969. A proposed bill provides for a metropolitan sewer district under the direction of the Council, which represents the entire metropolitan area.

COUNCIL OF METROPOLITAN AREA LEAGUES

Another council—not a governmental body but an arm of the League of Women Voters—was formed in 1961 "to cope with the larger-than-local problems." It is the Council of Metropolitan Area Leagues (CMAL). Mrs. Nicholas Duff, its present chairman, wrote:

Suburban and city Leagues hold joint meetings with councils, chambers of commerce, planning commissions and service clubs to focus on metro-area growth problems. The last half of the decade saw CMAL working valiantly to improve mass transit—to bring the people from the core cities to new jobs in the suburbs, and to bring the suburbanites to the central cities and other suburbs. Currently they are trying to focus decision-making through the Metropolitan Council in those interrelated areas of open space, transportation and sewers.

Mrs. O. H. Anderson, when she was state president, commented about the organization of CMAL:

All Minnesota League members will be watching this experiment in modern citizenship with great interest. Local problems abound in every community and many of them do not stop at political boundaries. The need for intergovernmental cooperation in solving them is becoming apparent everywhere. Linked to it is the question of how much home rule the citizen may be willing to delegate to some other unit of government.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Equality of opportunity is what the League of Women Voters has been driving for from the day it was founded. Following that drive from 1919 to 1969 is not walking in a straight line, but completing a circle. After women in Minnesota won the vote in 1919 the League sought removal of other legal discriminations against them. When it was working for fair employment practices legislation during the 1950's, arguments poured forth that morality and tolerance cannot be legislated. The League of Women Voters had heard them all before in the history of its organiza-

tion. It knew that the value of the vote resided in what *could* be legislated; it knew that legislation could change practices which in turn would change attitudes.

The League wanted such legislation. It wanted a commission, and review, and enforcement procedures to make fair employment legislation effective. It had its wish in 1955 after working for a law in four legislative sessions. Chairman of the first Fair Employment Practices Commission was a League member, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson. Another commissioner was Mrs. Arthur T. Laird, former Duluth League president. The Fair Employment Practices Law was incorporated into a new State Act Against Discrimination (SCAD) in 1961. It included prohibition of discrimination in housing transactions on the basis of race, creed, religion or national origin. SCAD was responsible for investigating complaints, for conference, and for conciliation. Jurisdiction was extended in 1965 for it to act on complaints of discrimination in public accommodations. A major civil rights bill, passed during the 1967 session, created a Department of Human Rights. It supplanted SCAD and the Governor's Human Rights Commission. Mrs. Harold Watson, reporting on it in the November-December 1968 *Minnesota Voter* wrote, "This means that almost any conceivable infringement of a citizen's rights is its proper concern. It was the first such department to be established in the country, indicating how much importance the problem of discrimination has assumed in the eyes of the Minnesota Legislature."

The Minnesota League was seeking educational opportunity for children—through compulsory school attendance and longer terms—in its first legislative work. In 1921 the only League-supported bill not to pass the Legislature was one for a seven-month school term. It passed at the next session. After that, the try was for eight months' attendance. There has been no respite since then in the work of the League for improved education, and its titles have been many: reorganization of school districts; improved methods of assessment; revised state aids; standards of selection, tenure and retirement of teachers; larger units of school administration.

Before the passage of the School Reorganization Act, Minnesota had the third largest number of school districts in the nation—7606. The purpose of the act was to encourage the formation of independent districts in order to provide an expanded program of education. Opposition to the reduction of districts was formidable and the process correspondently slow. In September 1968, more than 20 years after the passage of the Reorganization Act, 1040 districts remained, even though a 1963 law dissolved most of the districts which were not operating schools. Time and circumstances—need for enriched curriculum and trained teachers—shaped the decision which brought passage in 1967 of the Mandatory School Consolidation bill with the effective date July 1, 1971. The state Advisory Commission on School Reorganization defines the goal for Minnesota as "Having all the area of the state within districts which maintain a comprehensive program of education from grade 1-12 that can meet the needs and abilities of all children."

Nurture of the "needs and abilities of all children," however impressive the tax base or school plant and equipment, depends upon community interest and the teaching staff's understanding of minority students and of the economically deprived from whatever race or location. Local Leagues do not need to be reminded that this is their special responsibility. The League publication *Minnesota School System—Equal for All?* condensed the facts into a powerful pellet: "It may be hard to see much relationship between a one-room school in Ottertail County and an overcrowded Maxwell School in St. Paul, but they do have a lot in common."

Equal opportunity does not always mean the same treatment, and Indians do not want it. A League statement on the matter agreed:

... That the State of Minnesota should declare and assume its responsibility for Indian citizens as for all other citizens. We oppose in principle the idea that legislation should single out any race or that separate services should be provided. However, since Indian citizens have been singled out for separate consideration throughout our history, we recognize that special attention must be given to their unique circumstances.

League members agreed that the state should set up an effective agency to facilitate the solutions to the problems of Indian citizens. The 1963 Legislature established the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission. ... The League defined an effective agency as one which would be acceptable to the Indians themselves, permanent, staffed by professionally qualified people, authorized to set up, carry out and coordinate programs, empowered to utilize the services of other existing agencies, and provided with adequate funds. The Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission met our criteria.

The Governor appointed Mrs. Harold Watson, a member of the state Board, to the first Commission. It operates separately from the Department of Human Rights, because Roger Jourdain, Chairman of the Commission and of the Red Lake Band of the Chippewa, warned that tribal governments would refuse to be included in the department. The Commission's assignment is to coordinate Indian affairs and to exert pressure on state agencies to serve Indian needs as they do those of other citizens. Before the beginning of the 1969 legislative session the League of Women Voters of Minnesota held a seminar on Indian problems. The purpose of the meeting was to assist Indians, who were a majority of the attendance, to be effective in the Legislature.

ELECTION LAWS—HERE AND NOW

Minnesota election laws was a nonrecommended item when it "galloped like a dark horse and swept across the finish line in the number two spot on our program for 1957-1959." It was an example of how a Convention which has set its mind can have its way. The result would have gratified Mrs. Catt who complained that manipulation of ignorant voters and other fraudulent election practices had delayed woman suffrage for years. Mrs.

Thorpe's pioneering piece *State Election Laws Clearly Stated for the First Time* antedates the League's next survey, *Minnesota Election Laws*, by 34 years. Mrs. Edgar Kuderling, state chairman for the 1958 study, wrote that the first publication "reposes in the Minneapolis Public Library, too feeble to be taken out."

The subject, however, is full of vigor and a source of controversy. Mrs. Kuderling's committee prefaced its digest, "As you read, remember that the first responsibility of a good election system is the protection of the honest vote." To strengthen the system, the League of Women Voters of Minnesota supports "party designation for legislators and improvements in election laws in the field of campaign practices, election procedures and voting." By late February 1969 party designation bills were assured interment for the session in Senate and House committees. *Project Update on Election Laws 1967* commented on this perennial phenomenon:

For nearly 16 years the League has believed we must "put the label on the man" by having party designation for legislators. When it becomes a political asset for many legislators to have party endorsement, we will get party designation. When the political parties who now pour time, effort and money into legislative candidate races, demand that those they support support the party, we will have party designation.

Even the best informed constituents would have to make a great deal more effort than most now do to determine how their legislators voted on a broad array of questions. Without a tie to a party platform and without the tabs kept on votes by a party organization, control of policy-making in the legislature is concentrated heavily in the hands of senior Senate members who feel little responsibility to party platforms.

Changes the League proposes in the campaign practices laws are: 1) complete reporting of all money spent in the election; 2) bringing the candidates' volunteer committees under more control; 3) raising obsolete limits on campaign spending; 4) treating unions and corporations identically. Most important, the League is interested in finding ways to broaden the base of financial support for candidates. Order and regularity in voting procedures throughout the state—another League concern—require the extension of voter registration. There are several methods of achieving this: registration in all municipalities within a certain radius of the Twin City metropolitan area, regardless of the population; countywide registration when the population of a county reaches a given figure; statewide mandatory registration. The League also supports centralized responsibility in the state government for uniform election procedures and for training election officials. The Secretary of State's office performs duties as prescribed by law but does not have any administrative control over county or municipal election officials.

Project Update summarizes the League's philosophy:

The election process could be called the blood stream of representative government. Without a free vote and a fair count the

system breaks down, but voting is only a part of the process. What goes before (the selection and exposure of candidates) and what comes after (accountability of the men and women elected) are equally important. The entire process is regulated by election laws; how it works depends in large measure on how good the laws are.

VOTERS SERVICE—THE 60'S

Voters service records from the last few years of the Minnesota League's fifty would have read familiarly to its first Board. The review made by Mrs. Charles McCoy, state voters service chairman, of election activity during the fall of 1964 has the breathless quality of Gladys Harrison's report to the 1920 League convention.

. . . League members registered thousands of voters and helped handicapped citizens vote. They arranged candidates meetings—in most instances several Leagues combined. . . . Leaguers tackled city hall and secured larger polling places and hooded parking meters near registration centers. Speakers explained voting laws and ballot issues to church and civic organizations in "get out the vote" campaigns, usually at the request of these organizations . . . parade floats, voterade . . . a king-size ballot display at a county fair booth, and posters on lawns, in store windows, and a "Vote Today" banner to stretch across the street. Shopping carts bore sturdy voter reminders . . . votesmobile and a voteswagon (enlisting aid from a local auto dealer) for voter registration, a bank as locale for straw voting . . . parking lot for a candidates meeting and shopping centers for demonstrating voting machines and registering voters. . . . Printed information was distributed by youth organizations as part of their citizenship program, and the 1964 election information flyer, *Your Vote Makes a Difference*, found its way into utility bills, bank statements, every book checked out during a week at one community library. . . . A total of 91,500 of these flyers blanketed the state. . . . Cards were sent out to members of the high school class of 1961 as "first voters" and unregistered residents received cards of voting information . . .

Results in 50 to 60 key precincts in Minnesota's November 8, 1966 general election were reported to the American Broadcasting Company by members of the League of Women Voters. Pay received from ABC for this service was allocated to provide voters service in areas of Minnesota where there are no Leagues. Recently major campaigns were undertaken to encourage attendance at precinct caucuses, to demonstrate how to use new types of voting machines, and, on election night, to assist the mass media in precinct reporting and tabulating of returns.

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If Emily Kneubuhl—leaving a citizenship school she had been conducting in a girls' boarding house in 1920—and Mrs. Charles Johnson, national Board director—supervising Ford Foundation Inner-City education projects in several large urban areas in 1969—could have met they would have begun a discussion without prologue right where they were. Miss Kneubuhl was first educational director for the Minnesota League; Mrs. Johnson has been community services director for the Minneapolis Urban League. Josie Johnson "feels keenly that there is need for grass roots participation to effect institutional changes." It was to get the grass roots growing that Miss Kneubuhl and Board members traveled the state holding meetings in rural as well as other areas of Minnesota's then 86 counties. (Their log might have read as did one written by Helen Horr in the 1930's: "Left the pullman at 3:30 a.m. in Bemidji. . . . Then Detroit Lakes by bus . . . hurry on to Moorhead . . .")

Clara Ueland assumed direction of the League's legislative work to make sure that the sounds made by the growing roots were heard in the Legislature. She could have helped write *Capitol Letter*, the state League's monthly legislative report initiated in 1959. It has the largest circulation of any League legislative bulletin in the country and is the most entertaining and informative substitute in print for being on the Hill in St. Paul each biennium. Legislative tours for outstate Leagues began as an inspiration of the St. Paul League in 1953. The tours, later directed by the state Board with guides supplied by metropolitan area Leagues, were succeeded by the Legislative Observers Course in 1961. The course provides briefing by League lobbyists on the status of League-supported bills, talks by legislators on major legislation, an opportunity for the member to visit her representatives, a committee hearing, or a session. Today League visitors to the Capitol may discuss legislation with a former state president, Mrs. Kenneth McMillan, who is serving her fourth term from the Fifth District. A series of courses for students, Youth Days, began at the 1969 session and is one answer to Mrs. McCoy's question, "How about reaching tomorrow's voters today?"

★ ★ ★



How to reach today's voter before tomorrow, which may be too late, is a perpetual, perplexing question. Dr. William Anderson, University of Minnesota emeritus professor of political science, wrote to the state League Board, "It is only in the United States . . . that the free study of politics and government came to be not only tolerated, but actually necessary for the welfare of the system of popular government." Democracy is not self-sustaining. Its welfare requires constant nourishment: use, understanding, evaluation. This is the function of the League of Women Voters, a voluntary, nonpartisan, political organization. It is the obligation of every individual who claims self-government as a right.

Abigail Adams requested of her husband, John, when he was attending the Continental Congress in 1776, that he consider women in the new code of laws. "If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

Women now have representation. It was earned, not given. Forevermore it has to be deserved. We, too, are the government and by attention or neglect make it what it is.

Presidents, League of Women Voters of Minnesota

Mrs. Andreas Ueland	1919-1920
Miss Marguerite Wells	1920-1932
Miss Ruth Mitchell	1932-1942
Mrs. Philip S. Duff	1942-1945
Mrs. F. W. Graham	1945-1946
Mrs. Irvine McQuarrie	1946-1947
Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves	1947-1951
Mrs. K. K. McMillan	1951-1953
Mrs. Basil Young	1953-1957
Mrs. O. H. Anderson	1957-1963
Mrs. William Whiting	1963-1967
Mrs. O. J. Janski	1967-

Minnesota Members, Board of Directors, League of Women Voters of the United States

Mrs. James Paige	Director, Region V, 1920-1922
Mrs. Sumner T. McKnight	Treasurer, 1921-1922
Miss Marguerite Wells	Director, Region V, 1922-1930 Fifth Vice President, 1930-1932 President, 1934-1944
Miss Ruth Mitchell	Director, 1942-1944
Mrs. Eugene Burgess	Director, 1948-1952
Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves	Director, 1952-1955
Miss Barbara Stuhler	Director, 1958-1964
Mrs. Charles Johnson	Director, 1968-

Recipients, Hope Washburn Award

Miss Hope Washburn	1956
Mrs. Malcolm Hargraves	1957
Mrs. Reynold Jensen	1958
Mrs. Stanley Kane	1959
Miss Barbara Stuhler	1960
Mrs. Kenneth Sigford	1961
Mrs. Frederick Winston	1962
Mrs. O. J. Janski	1963
Mrs. O. H. Anderson	1964
Mrs. Gilbert Buffington	1965
Miss Hazel Shimmin	1966
Mrs. J. Paul McGee	1967
Mrs. William Whiting	1968

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF MINNESOTA

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May 1969