

A FEATURE of Minnesota government that stimulated much discussion during the 1951 legislative session is here traced back to its beginning in 1913 by an instructor in government at Wayne University, Detroit.

The ORIGIN of Minnesota's Nonpartisan Legislature

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ONLY TWO STATES—Minnesota and Nebraska—select their legislators on a ballot without party designations. Minnesota's unusual arrangement dates from 1913 and is largely the result of a political accident—of a series of events strongly resembling a comedy of errors. Nebraska acquired its nonpartisan legislature more than two decades later, in 1934, when that state's lawmaking branch was completely reorganized.

In 1913, like most of the rest of the United States, Minnesota was affected by a reform movement in state and local government—a movement that spread the concept of “efficiency and economy” to national as well as state government. It was inspired by the successful example of the business corporation and by general disgust for the low moral standards that marked much political party activity about the turn of the century. Muckrakers had been exposing politicians, and as a result party prestige was very low.

The movement toward political reform, which reached its peak in the second decade of the twentieth century, urged such innovations as the primary election, proportional representation, a shorter ballot, concentration of responsibility in state administrative structure, the unicameral

legislature, council-manager and commission government in cities, the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the nonpartisan election of certain public officials. Some reformers urged that judges and city and county officials should be chosen on a nonpartisan ballot. A few extremists went so far as to propose the use of nonpartisan elections in selecting all state officials.

When the thirty-eighth Minnesota legislature met in January, 1913, probably not a single member suspected that before the session ended the state would have a lawmaking body chosen without party designation. It was generally assumed that debate during the session would center about county option on the liquor question, industrial accident insurance, the desirability of the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the nonpartisan election of county officials.

Minnesota reformers had precedents for the nonpartisan ballot in electing county officials. Not only had California recently furnished an example, but the year before Minnesota itself had applied the nonpartisan principle to county superintendents of schools, officers of first-class cities, and state judges. Laws passed in 1912 by a special legislative session called by Governor A. O. Eberhart provided for the

Minnesota changes. Five other states had previously removed the party label from their judicial ballots, and the move to "purify" this branch of government was in full swing. In four years, twelve states had adopted the plan.¹

The nonpartisan principle was then extended to other areas of government. Reformers argued that local officials should be businesslike administrators, since there was no Republican way to gravel a road and no Democratic way to lay a sewer. California made all its district, county, township, judicial, school, and city officials nonpartisan. Other states considered extending the plan to the state superintendent of public instruction, university regents, local school officials, and city and village officials.

In 1913 Minnesota's political atmosphere was marked by many discordant elements, and was further complicated by the wet-dry issue which transcended party lines. The Republicans, who were rapidly becoming known as the dry party, were in complete command of all three branches of the state government.

In the organization of the 1913 legislature, the Senate was guided by Lieutenant Governor J. A. A. Burnquist of St. Paul, a dry Republican. After a close fight among the Republican elements, Henry Rines of Mora was chosen as the Republican candidate for speaker of the House. He was not a radical prohibitionist, but favored county option and pursued a middle-of-the-road policy. His solid reputation for honesty made him a natural choice for presiding officer—a man acceptable both to the dries and to the progressive Republicans.² This was an important asset in a period when the dries were regularly split between the county optionists, who favored leaving the liquor question to the voters of each county, and the prohibitionists, who would settle for no less than a completely dry state, and therefore opposed county option. When a vote was taken on the speakership, it resulted in 101 for Rines

and 19 for Frank E. Minnette, a Democrat.

On February 7, 1913, Senator Julius E. Haycraft of Madelia, a progressive Republican who was chairman of the Senate elections committee, introduced a bill to extend the nonpartisan provisions of the 1912 primary election act to include all judges and all city and county officers. He was convinced that the plan was sound and progressive, and the general feeling seemed to be that, although important and powerful party regulars opposed it, the bill was almost certain to pass.³

When the Haycraft bill reached the floor of the Senate on February 13, it was attacked from several angles by Senate leaders. F. A. Duxbury of Caledonia immediately introduced an amendment to eliminate the provision regarding all county officers except superintendents of schools. Joining him in the opposition was Senator A. J. Rockne of Goodhue County, a conservative and a long-time leader both in the Senate and in the Republican party. Rockne argued that political parties were necessary to the American system of government. The party system, he said, was anchored in the local community. Its elimination would destroy the roots of an important American institution. The Republicans, entrenched in all branches of state government, and powerful also in county and city government, had nothing to gain from a change in the party system. The Rockne group had little choice but to fight the bill on the Senate floor, since progressives controlled the elections committee.

¹ The nonpartisan judicial movement died almost as suddenly as it began. Many states abandoned the plan after a few years. Since it was adopted by Nevada in 1923, no new states have tried it.

² The term "progressive" as used in this article refers merely to the branch of the Republican party that supported the general principles of Theodore Roosevelt, as well as other moderate reform proposals. The progressives were opposed by the conservatives, standpatters, or regulars—all fairly synonymous terms.

³ For the text of the Haycraft bill see Minnesota Legislature, Thirty-eighth Session, 1913, Senate File 412.

The Duxbury amendment, however, was voted down 34 to 20.

Backed by thirteen conservative party regulars, including Duxbury and George H. Sullivan of Stillwater, Rockne then conceived the idea that the proposal could be killed by adding members of the legislature to the list of nonpartisan officers. After conferring with Speaker Rines and being assured that the House would kill any such provision in its elections committee, on February 27 the Rockne group, represented by Frank Clague, proposed an amendment calling for the nonpartisan election of legislators.⁴

The proposal caught the Senate by surprise. Battle lines that had been forming slowly were altered and reinforced, for the bill now affected every member of the legislature. Senator Haycraft, as the author of the original bill, let it be known that he had not contemplated including state officers and that he was opposed to the altered plan. He, too, hurried to the speaker of the House, and received assurance that the bill would not pass if it included legislators, or that it would be so changed that a conference committee would become deadlocked over it.

In the Senate, progressives who had looked with favor upon the Haycraft bill were obliged to reconsider their position in the light of the maneuvers of the conservatives. Confusion seemed general. Regulars assumed that the Republicans favored the proposal. Some progressives evidently assumed that if a little medicine was good for the body politic, a lot of medicine should improve it. Other senators apparently felt that a vote for the bill would find favor with the voters at home. Besides, it was common knowledge that the bill was to be killed in the House. The Senate was more concerned with the bill's main proposal, which was intended to revise the

primary law passed in 1912. Consequently, the Clague amendment passed by a vote of 35 to 22 almost without discussion, although only 21 senators actually favored the proposal. With only a few of the Rockne group opposing it, the amended bill was passed 53 to 8, and was then sent to the House.⁵

SENATE FILE 412 was given a first reading in the House on March 1, 1913, and was referred to the elections committee, where it remained for nearly three weeks. During this period, the political significance of the bill received real consideration, and lobbyists went to work. Seeing the Republican party, which nearly always controlled the legislature, securely in the hands of the drys, the liquor and brewery interests quietly began to work for the bill in its Senate form. Lacking a majority in either house, the wets resorted to an ancient propaganda technique in order to advance the cause of the bill. Through Democratic Senator John Moonan and Republican Representatives G. W. Brown and H. H. Dunn, former speaker of the House, the wets let it be understood that they opposed any type of nonpartisanship, since only the drys could benefit from abolishing parties. Many drys rose to the bait.

Rural legislators, feeling that the proposal to put county elections on a nonpartisan basis was sure to win, feared that the whole burden of local political organization and support would fall on them. Unhappy at the thought of assuming this thankless task alone, many decided that a nonpartisan legislature would be a simple solution for their problem. City members had still another reason for becoming interested in the novel and unexpected Clague amendment. They had been troubled in recent elections by the growing popularity of the Socialist party in the poorer sections of large cities. Since the bill provided that only the names of the two candidates who received the largest votes in the fall primary could appear on the election bal-

⁴ *Minneapolis Journal*, February 27, 1913.

⁵ For the progress of Senate File 412 through the Senate see *Minnesota, Senate Journal*, 1913, p. 251, 288-290, 337-344, 472-475, 494-500, 513-515, 1055, 1409, 1681.



SENATOR *Haycraft*
at his desk
in the Senate, 1911

lots, city members thought this would be a way to get rid of the Socialist threat.

Still another group of representatives who became interested in the new plan were those who favored Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive party, which the legislature was considering legalizing. If this were to happen, the "Bull Moose" Republicans would be faced at the next election with the difficult decision of whether to run as Progressives or Republicans. In a legislature elected without party designation, this problem could be avoided. The bill appealed to still others as a *de facto* recognition of the breakdown of party lines that occurred in the previous session.⁶

Speaker Rines and Representative N. J. Holmberg, Republican chairman of the elections committee, led the opposition to the bill. They believed that the measure would destroy the vitality of political parties, which they regarded as necessary since they provided the opportunity for a "natural cleavage" on questions of public policy. They also argued that state officers would not be able to carry out party policy with a nonpartisan legislature.⁷

Some minority party members, apparently fearful of losing their identity, op-

posed the bill. The legislature contained a Populist, a Prohibitionist, and a Public Ownership member. Among them, only the Prohibitionist, Representative George H. Voxland, favored nonpartisanship. Some drys opposed the bill because they were skeptical of the wets' argument that Prohibitionist candidates would no longer draw votes away from dry Republicans if the nonpartisan bill were enacted. Apparently it occurred to some legislators who favored county option that they were entrenched within the larger of the major parties, and could make the state dry without altering the traditional legislative arrangement.

The elections committee reported the bill out on March 20 with the unanimous recommendation that it should pass after being amended to exclude from the nonpartisan ballot members of the legislature and all county officers except superintend-

⁶For summaries of the attitudes of various groups see the *Red Wing Daily Republican*, March 31, 1913; the *Willmar Tribune*, April 2, 1913; and the metropolitan dailies, especially Charles B. Cheney's report in the *Minneapolis Journal*, March 28, 1913.

⁷Interview with Henry Rines, August, 1949.

ents of schools. This was the form of the bill that had been promised Senator Rockne and his group, but the elimination of county officials was not acceptable to the progressive followers of Senator Haycraft.

The effects of lobbying and propaganda were fully evident when the bill was taken up by the House on a special order on March 27. During the debate, Republican Representative G. W. Brown of Glencoe moved to restore county officers and members of the legislature to the list of nonpartisan positions. According to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of March 28, Brown asserted that no partisan issues had been raised in the current session, and he assured his colleagues that none would be. Representative W. I. Nolan, a leader among House Republicans, made a substitute motion that only county officers be reinserted. This move would have restored the bill to its original form, but the amendment was defeated by an overwhelming 74 to 34 vote.⁸

According to the *Minneapolis Journal* of March 28, Representative G. B. Bjornson of Minneota, who favored making all state officers nonpartisan, held that such positions were not political in nature. "The governor," he explained, "is the state's official traveling lecturer." Representative Charles N. Orr of St. Paul pointed out that the Senate had extended nonpartisanship to the legislature in an effort to kill the bill, and that the action had not been sincere. He warned the House that affirmative action would not support the genuine attitude of a majority of senators. Representative Albert Pfaender of New Ulm, a Democrat, thought the Senate version of the bill excellent, but feared that nonpartisanship might be extended to the governorship.

When a vote was taken, the Brown

⁸For the progress of Senate File 412 through the House, see Minnesota, *House Journal*, 1913, p. 626, 1028, 1166-1170, 1193, 1214.

⁹The Republicans included thirty-four drys and three wets, as indicated by the vote on the county option bill of 1913.

¹⁰*Minneapolis Journal*, March 28, 1913.

amendment prevailed 71 to 39. Thirty-seven Republicans, one Democrat (Henry Steen, a wet), and one Public Ownership member voted against the measure.⁹ Opposition came from progressives like Speaker Rines and Charles A. Lindbergh, as well as from conservatives such as W. I. Norton and C. E. Stone. Republican leaders, convinced that nonpartisanship would greatly weaken the party, voted against the amendment. Negative votes were recorded by R. C. Dunn, Thomas Frankson, Nolan, Norton, and Rines.

The bill, which also contained numerous amendments to the primary election act of 1912, was adopted by a final vote of 94 to 17 on March 27, 1913. Die-hard opposition came from the Public Ownership member, a Democrat, and fifteen Republicans, all but one of whom were drys.

Apparently the relative merits and demerits of a nonpartisan legislature never were considered either on the floor of the House or in private discussions while the bill was under consideration. Voting seems to have been motivated purely by questions of political expediency. Eighteen wet Democrats supported the bill, while one opposed it. Most Republican wets favored it, as did a large number of drys, including the Prohibitionist. The efforts of the beverage lobby seem to have been successful.

On March 28, C. H. Warner, a Republican, moved for reconsideration, but the proposal lost 63 to 47. In support of the motion, Nolan claimed that liquor groups had approved the nonpartisan measure and that this alone should be enough to warrant reconsideration.¹⁰ The *Willmar Tribune* of April 2 reported that "the brewery interests, and their representatives, were beside themselves with delight when the House . . . decided to retain this [nonpartisan] feature in the primary election law."

THE BILL was not yet law, however. Under an act of 1912, the date for the election was set in September. The Senate version of the Haycraft bill proposed to

change the time to June, while the House bill suggested October. This discrepancy probably reflected an effort to create a deadlock between the two houses.¹¹

A conference committee appointed on March 29 was deliberately "stacked" against nonpartisanship by Lieutenant Governor Burnquist and Speaker Rines.¹² When it did not report promptly, a political writer for the wet Democratic *St. Cloud Daily Times*, in an article published belatedly on April 18, commented: "Though passed by both houses over a week ago the nonpartisan primary bill is still a long ways from being a law. A conference committee composed of members of both houses has it in charge, and . . . they are out to either kill it or make it so obnoxious that neither house will adopt the changes proposed. The objectionable feature is the nonpartisan idea as applied to the election of members of the house and senate and which the house leaders, after giving their sanction, woke up to the fact, or rather they charged it, that unfriendly interests had put one over on them. They are trying to get back now by proposing that the nonpartisan idea be extended to state officers, which would include the governor. This simply means that the bill will never become a law."

Just what the conference committee wanted to do is not certain. According to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of April 12, committee members searched unsuccessfully for a precedent in Minnesota legislative history that would allow them to add completely new material to a deadlocked measure. It seems improbable that they believed they could add the state executive officers to the nonpartisan ballot and thus force both houses to reject the bill.

After stalling as long as possible, on April 11 the committee finally reported that its members were unable to agree on the scope of its authority. Specifically, they did not know if they could strike out the provisions concerning the nonpartisan legislature. N. J. Holmberg, one of the

House managers, moved that the committee be allowed to consider this question. H. H. Dunn, leader of the wet Republicans, moved that the House committeemen be instructed to confer on only one difference between the House and Senate bills—the date for the primary election. The *Minneapolis Journal* reported on April 12 that G. W. Brown criticized the committee for attempting to say it knew what the House wanted better than did the House itself. The Dunn motion carried, but by a vote of only 64 to 47. This represented eight more negative votes than had been cast against the crucial Brown amendment to override the recommendations of the House elections committee. The changes of heart took place among dry Republicans, who became doubtful as a result of the interest taken in the bill by brewery representatives.¹³

Opposition to nonpartisanship then abruptly collapsed. After a brief meeting of the committee, Senator Haycraft announced that he remained opposed to a nonpartisan legislature, but that he was willing to go along with the majority. When the report of the committee was heard in the House, light attendance forced proponents of the bill to engage in hasty parliamentary maneuvering. The roll call on the adoption of the conference report lacked an absolute majority, with a vote of 48 to 32, and a motion to reconsider had to be made to keep the report alive. On the following Wednesday, April 16, after the dry Republicans had twice tried unsuccessfully to adjourn the House, the bill was repassed, 65 to 48.¹⁴

The Senate adopted the conference committee's report 36 to 15.¹⁵ Among those

¹¹ *Fergus Falls Daily Journal*, March 29, 1913; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, March 28, 1913; *Minneapolis Journal*, March 29, 1913.

¹² Interview with Henry Rines, August, 1949.

¹³ *House Journal*, 1913, p. 1621–1623; *Willmar Tribune*, April 16, 1913; *St. Cloud Daily Times*, April 18, 1913; *Red Wing Daily Republican*, March 31, 1913.

¹⁴ *House Journal*, 1913, p. 1745.

¹⁵ *Senate Journal*, 1913, p. 1409.

who voted in the negative were six senators who had joined in the scheme to inject the legislature into the bill and who had opposed Senate passage earlier. Many confirmed opponents of the bill, including Rockne, found it expedient to support it.

Some senators saw fit to explain their votes. Among them was Senator Edward Rustad of Wheaton, who said that although he opposed the nonpartisan legislative principle, he found the June primary date so desirable that he voted for the bill. Senator George H. Sullivan of Stillwater explained that there were no longer any party lines anyway, since the state convention had been abolished. One might, he felt, just as well vote for a nonpartisan legislature and abolish party lines in name as well as in fact. The bill was signed by the governor without comment on April 19, 1913.

THE MINNESOTA legislature had become nonpartisan without a single word of debate on the merits of the question. The proposal had been introduced without thought or intention that it ever would become law. Wet sponsorship of the bill had been entirely spontaneous and was based upon simple political expediency. The wets hoped that nonpartisanship would help break the strength of the Republican caucus in the legislature and disorganize the forces demanding county option. Subtly, the dries had been influenced to think that they, too, could gain politically by supporting the bill. To add to the confusion, the opposition consisted both of progressive and extremely conservative Republicans. The progressives felt that nonpartisanship on the local level was desirable, but deplored its extension to the legislature. Conservative Republi-

cans thought the plan would destroy party organization.

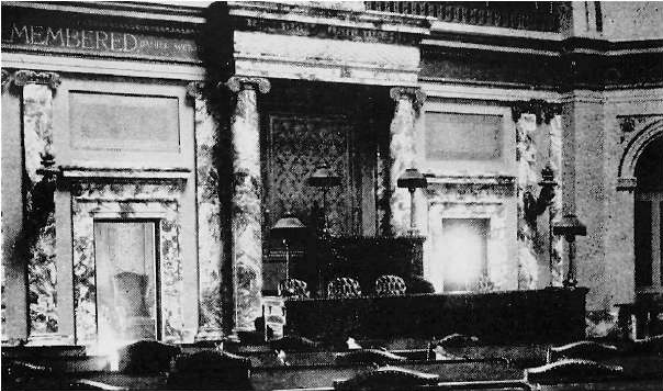
According to the *Red Wing Daily Republican* of March 31, a nonpartisan legislature "was a suggestion so new and so radical that even the members who voted for it hardly realized what a revolutionary change" they were proposing. In fact, there is no evidence that any legislator expected the new arrangement to cause important problems of organization or to change executive-legislative relationships and responsibility. A few were concerned lest it weaken party strength needed for more important state and national offices. Other provisions seem to have been the determining factors in the final passage.¹⁶

Contemporary newspaper reports indicate a lack of interest in the new law, as well as of any realization that its application would involve important problems. Many rural papers did not even bother to comment. Country editors who did offer opinions seemed chiefly concerned with the probability that the new law would "hamstring" local party organization. The metropolitan dailies were not enthusiastic about the change. The *Minneapolis Journal* gave the plan tentative approval, although its chief political observer was skeptical and never approved nonpartisanship. The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* opposed the change.

Preoccupied with the prohibition issue, the *Red Wing Daily Republican* of April 26 merely noted casually that "a great change was brought about." On April 24 the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* stated that the "nonpartisan primary bill is a step farther than any other state has gone and much farther than any member dreamed of going when the session opened."

The *Willmar Tribune* reported that county officials seemed pleased that henceforth they would be elected on a nonpartisan ticket. The paper suggested that the new system would be worthwhile if only because it would save money by reducing the size of the ballot. After considering the change in the light of the 1912 election,

¹⁶ *Red Wing Daily Republican*, March 31, 1913. The enactment was a surprise not only to the state at large, but to "most of the members responsible for its enactment into law," according to Robert E. Cushman. See his "Non-partisan Nominations and Elections," in the *American Academy of Political and Social Science, Annals*, 106:90 (March, 1923).



THE Minnesota Senate chamber about 1913

the editor suggested that the nonpartisan feature might well be extended to the office of governor. "Men are elected to office, not parties," read the editorial. "The official state ballot should not recognize any party organization."¹⁷

The *St. Cloud Daily Times* of March 3, looking toward the passage of the bill, was nostalgic concerning the party system. "Truly the day of political parties is passing away," it said. On March 7 the same newspaper reported that Stearns County officials generally favored the nonpartisan bill on the local level, but felt that it might be detrimental in state and national politics. They proved poor prophets, however, in predicting that the bill would result in shorter official lives, in increased competition for offices, and in the total elimination of party lines in offices elected without party designation. Others thought the plan would work to the advantage of a candidate active in a party, since he would get the support not only of his party but of independents as well.

A hidden danger in the new plan was suggested by the editor of the *Caledonia Journal* when he wrote: "The legislature seems to be determined to so amend the election laws that candidates for the legislature must run on a non-partisan ticket. It is a mistake. Extravagance is rampant now, and when we get a non-partisan Legislature it will be still worse. There will be no minority to watch over the extravagance of the majority." The *Anoka Union* also expressed disapproval. "A non-partisan

ticket finds no favor with the Union," commented the editor. "It believes in party organizations, and particularly the old Republican party. . . . If a non-partisan ticket for county officers does not work out any better than the non-partisan judiciary ticket did last election, it will prove a gigantic failure."¹⁸

The *St. Peter Free Press* suggested that the new system "means a concentration of political power in a comparatively few people." Opinion was more favorable, however, in Fairmont. "Thank the Lord and the Legislature, hereafter a good and deserving man will not have to wear the brand 'Republican' in order to get a county office or be elected to the Legislature in Minnesota," wrote the editor of the *Sentinel*.¹⁹

Of all newspapermen, the *Minneapolis Journal's* veteran observer, Charles B. Cheney, proved the wisest. After the Senate added the legislature to the primary election bill, he commented on March 1: "Nonpartisan nominations in local government are sound in principle and work well in practice. But the case is very different with legislative nominations. The Minnesota plan throws the door open to nominations of the liquor and other interests. They find it easy to juggle the contests, once these have degenerated into mere personal struggles."

On March 28 Cheney demonstrated that he had a more truthful crystal ball than did the brewery lobbyists. The final result, he said, "might properly fool the liquor interests. The law would also wipe out the prohibition factor which has divided the temperance forces in many legislative districts. With nothing but the temperance issue involved and the temperance forces

¹⁷ *Willmar Tribune*, April 9, 23, 1913.

¹⁸ *Caledonia Journal*, quoted in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 18, 1913; *Anoka Union*, quoted in the *St. Cloud Daily Times*, February 6, 1913.

¹⁹ *St. Peter Free Press*, quoted in the *St. Cloud Daily Times*, February 7, 1913; *Fairmount Sentinel*, quoted in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, April 24, 1913.

united, the demand for county option would very likely be able to make gains in several districts." That is exactly what happened in the election of 1914.

A *Journal* editorial of March 29, however, expressed a different view. It concluded that "the Legislature has dropped the party distinction" because through the adoption of the primary and "other changes," party lines had been all but obliterated and there was no longer a responsible party in the state. The writer expected that there would be some self-seekers, some one-idea men, a scramble for places, and an outcropping of personal platforms. He expressed the opinion that because of weakness in numbers, the Democrats had tended to make secret bargains, "horse-trading" rather than serving as an alert opposition. This the *Journal* writer thought unfortunate, concluding that "A nonpartisan legislature could hardly be worse."

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of April 15 expressed orthodox political theory in an editorial which asserted that "The Legislators would do well to consider carefully whether it is desirable to extend the nonpartisan feature to legislative and other state officials. There is no doubt about getting rid of party politics in local affairs. . . . But there is grave doubt if such should be the case in state and national affairs," it continued. "The best check against authority is a vigorous and well organized opposition. One party will keep another up to its duty."

A writer in the official journal of American political science took note of the change in Minnesota politics as follows: "It

may be seriously doubted . . . whether the nonpartisan movement is not overreaching itself when it invades the field of political offices as it does for the first time in Minnesota."²⁰

The lone enthusiastic comment seems to have come from the muckraking C. J. Buell, an ardent prohibitionist, who wrote: "It is to be hoped, that the time is near when men will be chosen for public positions in state and city, village and county, upon their honesty and fitness instead of how they line up on national issues that have no necessary relation to state and local affairs."²¹

Less than a week after the bill passed, a group of prominent attorneys who were active Republicans publicly announced that the bill creating the nonpartisan legislature was, in their opinion, unconstitutional. They argued that the act violated Article IV, Section 27, of the Minnesota Constitution, since it embraced more than one subject and that subject was not expressed in the title. The new law, in truth, was a fairly extensive revision of the Primary Elections Act of 1912, and it actually amended sections of the *Revised Laws* other than those listed in its title. The attorneys said that the act had not been adopted in a strictly constitutional fashion, and urged someone to test it by filing for office on a partisan basis. No one made such a move, however—probably because both the wets and the drys expected to gain from the law in the 1914 election.

Consequently the legality of the nonpartisan legislature was never tested in the courts. The state supreme court upheld the nonpartisan ballot for judicial nominations and elections, but the court decided that the case did not apply to the part of the law that concerned the legislature.²² Although the origin of Minnesota's nonpartisan legislature can be traced to an accident resulting from a series of political maneuvers, at mid-century the state is still electing its lawmakers on a nonpartisan ticket under the provisions of the act of 1913.

²⁰ Victor J. West, "Legislation of 1913 Affecting Nominations and Elections," in *American Political Science Review*, 7:439 (August, 1914).

²¹ C. J. Buell, *The Minnesota Legislature of 1913*, 13 (St. Paul, 1914).

²² *State ex rel. Nordin v. Erickson*, in 119 *Minnesota Reports*, 152 (St. Paul, 1913).

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