



League of Women Voters of Minnesota Records

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The League of Women Voters: Its Organization and Work.

A Thesis

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of the

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By

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION-

Beginning of National League

In March 1919, the National American Woman Suffrage Association met at St. Louis in its Jubilee convention. Expecting that the suffrage amendment would be passed before the convention met, and that therefore, their work was practically at an end, some of the leaders of the association began to ask themselves if there was not some other work for them to do before disbanding. (1) The political experience they had gained in their struggles for suffrage and the organization they had built up in order to accomplish their purpose might well be put to some other use. Many tasks presented themselves as worthy of their efforts and from among these, two were chosen as being of especial importance: the removal of discriminations against women, which existed in both law and custom; and the removal of certain obstacles to good government, which they felt had been largely responsible for most of the difficulties encountered in their efforts to obtain franchise. (2)

There then arose the question as to what means they should use to carry on this new work: should they continue their existing organization for the purpose, or should they sponsor some new organization? There were several good reasons why the existing organization should be continued: its personnel was made up of women with political experience; it had the prestige always associated with an organization that has been successful in what it has undertaken; and it was most

(1) Stenographic report of speech by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, delivered at Minneapolis, Minn. Oct. 28, 1919.

(2) Ibid.
Specifically, these obstacles were: illiteracy, corruption in nominations and elections, and the lack of general intelligence among voters. Interview with Mrs. Catt Feb. 19, 1926.

efficiently organized. (3) On the other hand, the leaders felt that this new work must enlist an even larger number of women than the suffrage movement had needed, and this would necessitate their attracting to it many who would not care to join a suffrage association, either because of lack of sympathy with or indifference towards the work with which that organization had been so intimately associated. Then too, the suffrage association would undoubtedly continue to attract to itself and its work, that opposition it had always received, and it was quite essential to the successful accomplishment of this new work that it have the support of as many as possible and not be hampered by opposition due to nothing else but the organ through which it was to be accomplished. If some new organization could be formed under the sponsorship of the suffrage association, its members could avail themselves of the experience ~~of the experience~~ of the suffrage workers and yet receive none of the opposition that, as members of the suffrage association they would receive. (4) So it was decided to propose to the convention that a League of Women Voters be organized.

The convention, when it met, was not a Jubilee convention as had been planned, for thirty-two senators had blocked the passage of the amendment, and it was necessary for the women to continue their organization for at least another year. Even though their work was not finished, it was decided to launch their new plan and accordingly, they adopted the proposal of their president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, that the League of Women Voters be organized as an auxiliary body to the suffrage association. (5) Five or six of the prominent members op-

(3) Mrs. Catt's Speech of Oct. 28, 1919.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman, "The Nation Calls", PP. 3-5 proceedings of the National Convention, 1921, p.3.

posed this proposal. They felt that when the women received the vote, the suffrage association should disband and the women, rather than form another political organization, should work through the political parties only. This opposition, however, was not strong enough to prevent its adoption and it is interesting to find that nearly every one of these early opponents is now an active member of the league. (6) Still more significant perhaps, is the fact that a number of nationally known anti-suffragists have also joined the league. As one of these members expressed it: they had sincerely opposed suffrage; but since women had received the vote in spite of their efforts, they were eager now to do their share to prepare them for their new political duties. (7)

When the association had agreed to sponsor this new organization, it was next asked to choose a suitable name for it. From the many names that were suggested, the poorest were eliminated, but there still remained quite a number to select from. Mrs. Catt advised them to choose a name that every one could pronounce and remember. Then it was, that someone suggested that the press agents who were present be asked to signify their choice. They voted unanimously in favor of the name "The League of Women Voters" and the convention, by vote, immediately adopted that name. (8)

This league was to be restricted in membership to the women of the states which had already granted woman suffrage, and as other states joined the suffrage ranks, their woman voters were

(6) Interview with Mrs. Catt. Feb. 19, 1926.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

to become eligible. (9) The organization was temporary and it was to decide for itself, when nation-wide suffrage had been granted, whether or not it was advisable to form a permanent league. (10) In the meantime it was to organize branch leagues in the various states whose women were eligible to membership.

The next year, in February, the Woman Suffrage Association held its Victory Convention in Chicago and provided for the dissolution of its corporation. (11) It was then recommended that the League of Women Voters be organized as an independent body and that it make "political education for the new women voters (but not excluding the men) its first duty for 1920." (12) Consequently, as soon as this convention had held its last session the League of Women Voters met in its first annual convention. (13) The league then decided to form a permanent organization and it accepted, with a few minor changes, the constitution proposed by the organization committee. (14) Since this convention, which was attended by almost seven hundred women, the league has held its meetings every year, and the number of its member leagues has increased until now there are branches in forty-four states of the union as well as one in the District of Columbia and one in the territory of Hawaii. (15)

- (9) Proceeding of the National Convention, 1921, p.3.
- (10) Mrs. Catt, "The Nation Calls", p.4; Proceedings of the National convention, 1921, p.3.
- (11) Proceedings of Victory Convention, 1920, pp. 46-47. As a matter of fact this dissolution has not yet taken place, due to the fact that the Suffrage Association is in possession of certain property (bequests) which are not transferable. Letter from Mrs. Catt to the Executive Council of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, Mar. 12, 1925.
- (12) Proceedings of the Victory Convention, 1920, p. 47.
- (13) The last business session of the N.A.W.S. Association was held Saturday morning, Feb. 14, 1920 in the Congress Hotel, Chicago. The opening session of the League was held that afternoon in the same room, and with ostensibly the same membership Proceedings of the Victory Convention, 1920, p.52.
- (14) Proceedings of the Victory Convention, p. 52.
- (15) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1925 Reprt of the Executive Secretary, p. 59.

~~Executive Secretary, p. 69.~~

Origin of the Minnesota Branch

In Minnesota the league was also started by the suffrage association, although its relationship to the latter was slightly different from what it was in the case of the national league. When the state legislature, in March 1919, gave to its women presidential suffrage, members of the suffrage association became, automatically, members of the National League of Women Voters-which was at that time, still an auxiliary body within the suffrage association. (16) It was not however, until the latter part of the following October that the state branch branch of the league was formed.

- On September 20, 1919 the state suffrage association appointed a committee to take charge of the conference and organization of the state league; but various references to league activities show that during the preceding spring and summer the idea of forming such an organization was being seriously considered. In a suffrage meeting held May 7, there was a discussion of the league and its work although this led to no definite action. (17) The following June, each of the ratification bulletins that were sent out from the state suffrage office was accompanied by a small printed leaflet on the League of Women Voters. (18) And in the minutes of a meeting held August 19. to plan for the celebration of Minnesota's ratification of the suffrage amendment there is mention made that some members of the League of Women Voters were present, along with members of other state organizations that had been invited by the suffragists to attend this meeting. (19)

(16) Interview with Miss Wells, Jan. 22, 1926.

(17) Suffrage minutes for May 7, 1919.

(18) Ibid--Report of Office Secretary June, 1919.

(19) Ibid--Aug. 19, 1919.

The first definite move in the organization of the state league may be said to have been made when one of the National League speakers was invited to speak on the league and its activities at the suffrage banquet held in St. Paul, September 8, 1919, to celebrate Minnesota's ratification of the Suffrage Amendment. (20) A few days later, the association appointed a chairman of the Social Hygiene committee of the state league. (21) On September 20th a national league member gave a talk before the state board of the suffrage association, and on the same day at the regular meeting of the executive board, a conference with a Secretary of State, Mr. Schmaltz, was reported, relative to the dissolution of the suffrage association and the formation of a League of Women Voters. It was at this meeting that the committee on conference and organization of the proposed league was appointed and the date of the conference set. (22)

From that time on, the so-called Temporary Committee, to all appearances, worked independently of the suffrage association. Its members although suffragists, had not been prominently identified with the movement and in its correspondence, all reference to the suffrage association was studiously avoided. This conscious attempt not to emphasize its relationship to the suffrage organization was made for the purpose of attracting to the organization many women who had been unwilling to join the suffrage forces. (23)

One final action taken by the suffragists was of interest to the league. On October 7, their association held a meeting for the purpose of dissolving its corporation and adopted a resolution providing that it be formally dissolved on the date of the complete ratification and that "its effects consisting of money, obligations, office supplies and good-will become on that date the property of (continued on next page)

(20) Suffrage Minutes Sept. 8, 1919.

(20) Ibid Sept. 13, 1919.

(22) Ibid Sept. 20, 1919.

(23) Interview with Miss Wells Dec. 5, 1925

the Minnesota League of Women Voters, the league to be organized on October 29, 1919, as a branch of the National League of Women Voters for the purpose of completing the full enfranchisement of women and increasing the effectiveness of women's votes in furthering better government." (24) At a later meeting the executive board of the association amended this resolution by providing that the dissolution take place on the date of the first annual meeting of the state league. It also passed upon the proposed constitution of the state league. (25)

In the meanwhile, the Temporary Committee was perfecting its plans for a general state conference for the purpose of forming a permanent organization and of arousing public interest. (26) That there might be the widest possible representation at this conference, various state organizations were requested to send delegates. The appeal was sent to thirteen fraternal women's organizations, the W.C.T.U., the Federation of Women's Clubs, as well as the state Council of National Defense and to about fifteen hundred Farmers' Clubs. (27) The response to the appeal was good, and as a result, four hundred forty accredited delegates took part in the meetings of October 27 and 28 1919, and perfected the permanent organization of the state league. (28)

After the state organization was completed, its officers planned to organize the local leagues, following the political subdivisions of the state. The last of the congressional districts was organized

(24) Suffrage Minutes for October 7, 1919.

(25) Ibid for Oct. 25, 1919.

(26) Ibid for Oct. 8, 1919, Meeting of Committee on Conference and Organization.

(27) File of First Annual State Convention Minutes, Meeting of Committee on Conference and Organization, Oct. 8, 1919.

(28) Ibid, Part II of Report of Committee on Conference and Organization.

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by the following June^{and} the organization by counties was reported as being well under way. This work must have been carried on with unusual success for in the preamble to a questionnaire, sent out March 25, 1921, it is stated that Minnesota was the "banner" state at the preceding national convention because of its success in building up a complete state organization in record time.(29)

Purpose of The League

There are two unique things about the league. In the first place, it is directing the study of government in order to discover what its defects are and then to create public opinion to correct these defects, Secondly, it is the first organization to make a conscious attempt to prepare a newly enfranchised group for its own political duties.(30)

The purpose of the league may thus be said to be two-fold: it aims to educate the voter, and to sponsor legislation.(31) At first, in addition to these was a third temporary aim: to secure the ratification of the suffrage amendment. Until the thirty-sixth state had ratified the amendment, this last aim was stressed more than the other two, but of course was dropped from their program immediately after the ratification was completed.(32)

While these aims have remained essentially unchanged since the formation of the league, they have been broadened somewhat and made more definite in the succeeding statements of them. When Mrs. Catt proposed to the "Jubilee Convention" that the league to be formed, she

(29) Form Letters 1921, Questionnaire sent to local officers Mar 25, 1921

(30) Interview with Mrs. Catt Feb. 19, 1926.

(31) National Constitution of 1920, Article II.

(32) Mrs. Catt, "The Nation Calls" p.3.

said that the aims of the league were to be: first, to secure the final enfranchisement of women in every state and help the movement abroad; secondly, to remove legal discriminations against women; and lastly, "to make democracy so safe for the nation and so safe for the world that every citizen may feel secure, and great men will acknowledge the worthiness of the American Republic to lead".(33) As explained later in the same speech, this was to include the education of adults as well as children, training for citizenship and adoption of higher qualifications for voting.(34) Mrs. Catt was very sanguine. She expected that its program would either be accomplished or be so well under way within five years, that the league could then decide whether or not it would be advisable to continue the organization longer.(35)

The league, when it was organized as an independent body adopted as its purpose: the fostering of education in citizenship and the supporting of improved legislation.(36) While there was some discussion the following year in regard to this purpose, it was not changed. The discussion arose out of the report made by the Committee on Scope and Statement at the second annual convention, in which it was held that these two purposes hampered each other: that if the league wanted to educate the voter, it should try to reach as many as possible;

(33) Mrs. Catt, "The Nation Calls" pp. 3-4

(34) Ibid p. 7.

(35) Ibid p. 4.

(36) Const. of the National League, 1920, Article II.

but if it wished to put through a legislative program, which would necessarily be controversial, it would need a small, compact membership. The committee recommended that the educational object be stressed and the other minimized in importance, if not entirely excluded from the program.(37) This recommendation, however, was not accepted and the league continues to sponsor legislation as well as to educate the voters. Indeed, these two aims may be said to supplement each other. Some women who would not be attracted into the organization by a strictly educational program, are drawn to the work because of their desire to aid in securing the enactment of the public welfare measures which the league sponsors. Yet having once become members for this reason, they find it desirable to participate in the educational work of the league as well. On the other hand, there are women who join the league in order to secure direction in their study of politics, and, as a result of such study, become interested in the legislative work of the league also. The close relationship which these aims have to each other is shown, too, in the methods which the league uses to accomplish its work. Its sponsorship of important measures is always preceded by a study of the principles and policies involved; and when its measures are defeated in the legislatures or in congress, they are taken up again for study, even more intensively than before, in an attempt to create public sentiment great enough to force the legislators to reconsider the measures.

(37) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1921. pp 26-27

Policy of the League

Much of the early opposition to the league was due to a misunderstanding as to its real character. The opponents looked upon the new organization as a woman's party to be regarded as a more or less serious rival of the existing political parties, and - as such- to be condemned for its attempt to place suffrage on a sex basis. The league is not, in any sense of the word, a woman's party. It not only permits its members to join the various political parties, but urges them to do so.(38) The members, however, are cautioned to make their choice of a party only after due deliberation and to join the one which most nearly conforms to their political beliefs. In a suffrage bulletin issued shortly after the organization of the Minnesota League, Mrs. Ueland gives a concise but clear statement of the league's policy. After stating that the league is not a political party or opposed to the principles of government by parties, she expresses the belief that "the real spirit of America is not bounded by the horizon of any political party--in other words the league believes that political parties were meant to be the tools of government not its masters." After urging the members to enroll in the parties, since they must work through the parties in order to get their measures enacted into law, she continues her description of the league and its policy, as follows: "What then is the League of Women Voters? It is the educated and organized public opinion of

(38) Mrs. Catt's speech of Oct. 28, 1919; Proceedings of the Victory Convention, 1920 pp. 65, 82.

the women of America--not for the partisan issues but to present and stand behind a platform of social and moral issues. It is the middle ground where the altruistic thought of the national parties may find congenial soil and grow for the ultimate betterment of state and nation."(39)

(39) Ueland, Mrs. Andress, Bulletin Nov. 25, 1919, in Four Letters 1920.

CHAPTER II.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

National Headquarters and Officers.

The headquarters of the national league are now located at Washington D. C. and New York City. The president carries on her work through the Washington office, and here are also all of the administrative offices except that of the treasurer, which is located at New York City.(1) The departments and standing committees, however, have their headquarters wherever their chairmen happen to reside.(2)

The present method of electing the League's officers is quite different from its original method. At first the only officers of the national League were the members of the Board of Directors.(3) Of these members, seven were the Regional Directors, each of whom had charge of one of the seven districts into which the United States has been divided by the League.(4) Although the state leagues within each region could recommend the person they wanted to be their Regional Director, these officers were elected at the annual convention by a majority vote of all those present. So it was only in a very limited way that their choice could be said to represent the wishes of the leagues under their supervision. The other three members of the Board were also elected at the annual convention, but they were assigned no special district to supervise.

- (1) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1925, page 56.
- (2) Program of work for the National League 1926-27, page 3.
- (3) Constitution of the National League, 1920, Article IV Section I
- (4) For a map showing the division of the United States into this regions, see appendix A.

The Board of Directors then chose from among its number, the president, or national chairman as she was then called, the vice-chairman, the secretary and the treasurer, as well as two of its members to serve with the chairman as an executive committee.(5)

Since 1920, several important changes have taken place in the methods of choosing the national officers. The president, the vice-presidents, now five in number, the secretary, and the treasurer are all elected by the delegates to the annual convention, and they together with the Regional Directors, constitute the Board of Directors.(6) In other words, instead of electing the Board and allowing it to choose the national officers, the process is practically reversed, for the officers themselves are elected by the delegates and receive their positions on the Board by virtue of such a election. There ^{has} ~~is~~ also been a change in the mode of electing the Regional Directors. While they are formally nominated by the nominating committee of the convention, the members do not vote upon all of them, as they did formerly, but the delegates from each region elect only their own director.(7)

In addition to these elected officers, there are the regional secretaries and members of the executive staff who are appointed by the Board of Directors and, unlike the other officers, are paid for their services. At the Washington headquarters the executive staff has seven members: the executive secretary, the legislative secretary, the

(5) Constitution of the National League, 1920, Article IV, Section 2.

(6) By-Laws of the National League of Women Voters Article IV, Section I

(7) Ibid, Article VI, Section 2.

organization secretary, the press secretary, the secretary of political education, and the office manager. The treasurer and the chairman of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War also have paid secretaries, who are appointed by the Board of Directors upon their recommendation.(8) Their titles clearly indicate the kind of work performed by them. Needless to say, they do not formulate or modify League policies, but carry out the work planned by their superiors who are, in every case, elected by the members of the League. (9)

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The eight national officers with the Regional together Directors from the Board of Directors. This Board has full charge of the business and the property of the corporation, subject only to the instruction of the convention.(10) Any important business is brought first to the Board which passes upon it before it is presented to the ^{convention} ~~convention~~, and it has been given the ^{authority} ~~authority~~ to decide which of the measures adopted by the convention shall be made subjects for active federal legislative work.(11) Originally the Board of met seven times each year, one meeting being held in each of the seven ~~in~~ districts.(12) Now it had four regular meetings a year, one immediately preceding and one immediately following the annual convention, another about six months after the post-convention meeting, and the fourth is held in January. There may also be special meetings of the Board whenever the president or the majority of its members so desire.(13)

(8) Interview with Mrs. Barry N. Collins.

(9) Proceedings of the National Convention 1925, page 92.

(10) By-Laws of the National League of Women Voters 1925, Article IV, Section I.

(11) Interview with Miss Wells, June 26, 1926.

(12) Const of National League 1920, Article X, Section 2.

The General Council.

The members of the Board of Directors are also members of the General Council.(14) At first this council consisted only of the Board and the chirmen of the departments and the standing committees and was called the Executive Council.(15) Now its membership includes also the president of each affiliated league and her alternate, and the president of each national associate member. The Council holds two annual meetings: one preceding and one following the annual convention. At these meetings it considers the programs, methods of work, and the proposed budget which have been submitted to it by the Board of Directors, and it then makes its recommendations to the convention.(16)

The Executive Committee.

Since it is comparatively difficult to get the Board members together for frequent meetings, it was found necessary to provide for emergencies that might come up in the interim between its regular sessions. For this reason, provision was made for an executive committee to have all the executive powers of the Board, when the latter was not in session. It originally consisted of three members, the national chairman and two persons elected by the Board.(17) It now has eight members: the president, the five vice-presidents, the secretary and the treasurer.(18)

(14) By-Laws of National League of Women Voters, 1925, Article VIII

(15) Constitution of the National League 1920, Article IX

(16) By-Laws of National League, 1925, Article VIII

(17) Constitution of National League, 1920, Article IX

(18) By-Laws of National League, 1925, Article IV, Section 7.

The Regional Directors.

in order to better supervise the work of the state leagues, the national league divided the United States into seven regions and over each of these put a Regional Director who, as a member of the Board of Directors, is in close touch with the national work of the league. On the other hand, because she is a resident of the region over which she has charge, she is also familiar with the work and the problems of the state and local leagues which are under her supervision. She co-operates with the state leagues in every way possible, making recommendations to them and offering advice whenever necessary. She also makes a survey of her region to determine what its special needs are. This survey is the basis of her report to the National Board, which is thus able to determine whether or not the league is accomplishing its purpose, and what measures, if any, must be taken to make its work more effective.(19)

The Departments and Standing Committees.

The program of the league is carried out under the direction of the departments and standing committees. Each of these has its own field sufficiently restricted in extent to make specialization possible, and so the recommendations of the departments and committees are given a great deal of weight in the formation of the league's policy, although, in the final analysis, the adoption of the league's program

(19) By-Laws of the National League, Article VI.

depends upon the wishes of the members as a whole.(20)

The chairmen of the departments and Committees are appointed by the Board of Directors. The other members are the chairmen of the corresponding departments or committees of the state leagues.(21)

There are three departments and one standing committee. Sometimes a committee has expanded in scope and been changed into a department. For example, the department of International Cooperation to Prevent War began as a temporary committee on Disarmament, formed for the purpose of urging the President Harding to call the Conference for the limitations of Armaments. With its work accomplished it could be expected to disband. But some of the league members felt that this committee should be retained and have a chairman on the Board of Directors; in other words, that it become a department. Then the committee on Election Laws and Methods broadened its scope somewhat and became the Department of Efficiency in Government.(22) At the National Convention of 1926, the standing committees which are devoted to the ^{work} ~~not~~ of securing social legislation, were grouped together into a department of Public Welfare, with a representative on the Board. This leaves the Committee on the Legal Status of women as the only remaining standing committee.(23)

Inter-Looking Directorates.

During the early life of the league, when most of the

(21) By-Laws of the National League, Article XIV.

(22) Ibid. Art VII. A list of departments & standing Committees in appendix B.

(23) Interview with Miss Wells, December 5, 1925.

(24) Interview with Miss Wells, June 26, 1926.

women were unfamiliar with the work to be done by the various departments and standing committees, it was necessary, in order to get the best informed women possible, to choose women from other organizations who had acquired a certain pre-eminence in those fields of work, even though they were women whose primary interests were not in league work. This policy was also partly due to the early conception of the committee's work. It was felt that the committee should receive and disseminate all the information available on the particular subject with which it was concerned. Consequently the league sought to get as chairmen, women who would have considerable information to dispense. The present view of the committee's work is somewhat different. Besides having charge of framing the program, each is required to direct the study in its particular field with a view to getting remedial measures enacted into law. This demands, on the part of the chairman, a greater interest in the work of the league as a whole. Since it has been found possible to obtain all the information it desires from experts, it is not considered essential that the chairman be a specialist in the field embraced by her committee. It seems much more important that she be able to interpret this information for the members and to use it as a basis for legislative action. (24)

(24) Interview with Miss Wells, December 5, 1925.

Frequency of Turnover in Office.

Although the chairmen are chosen for one year terms, there is not the frequent turnover in the offices that might be expected. Of the two department chairmen, one is serving for the fourth year and the other for the fifth year. In general, the tenure of office has not been so long in the case of the committee chairmen. All of the present chairmen have served at least two years. Three of them have served longer: one for three years, another for four and another for five. The same is true of the other national officers. The first and second vice-presidents, and one regional director are the only ones serving their first terms.(25) This practice of re-electing successful officers has resulted in building up a strong official personnel whose ever-increasing fund of experience and political knowledge can be utilized by the league to advantage.

(25) Interview with Miss Wells, Dec. 5, 1925; see also

Proceedings of the National Conventions of 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1925.

CHAPTER 111.

STATE ORGANIZATION.

State Headquarters.

The headquarters of the Minnesota league have always been in Minneapolis. This is probably due to the fact that the suffrage association, which sponsored the organization, had its headquarters here. The state constitution of the league, while it specifies that this shall be the location of the state headquarters, contains the qualifying clause that the Executive Board has the power to select any other city in Minnesota to be the home of the state league, if it so desires. (1)

All of the state work of the league is carried on through this office and in addition to the elected officers, there is an office staff consisting of three members; the executive secretary, the office secretary, and the field organizer, all of whom are appointed by the Board of Directors. Their duties are principally of an administrative character. The executive secretary is the personal assistant to the president. She acts on all correspondence coming into the office, meets with the various committees offering them advice from time to time, and makes an annual report to the Board of Directors upon the general condition and the activities of the organization through-out the state. Besides editing the state league's monthly paper, "The Woman Voter", she also has the actual supervision of the other publicity work and the preparation of most of the educational matter published by the state league. The routine

(1) Constitution of Minnesota League of Women Voters 1924 Article 1.

work of the office is in the hands of the office secretary, who has charge of the office and league supplies, of the quota payment and subscription records, of the filing and of the stenographic work. The work of the field organizer is indicated only in part by her title. She not only goes into the various rural communities organizing new branch leagues; but from time to time she visits the leagues which have already been established, helps them with their problems and tries to revive their interest if that has been allowed to flag. It is through her that the state league gets much of its information regarding the conditions of the local branches and their needs. (2)

GENERAL STATE OFFICERS

There are twenty-two general state officers, who are elected at the state convention. Since the convention meets every year and the terms of these officers are all two years in length, it is necessary to elect only half of them at each meeting. (3) Thus the possibility of having an entirely new crops of officers is averted and there is not the danger that the league's policies might be changed or that its work might be seriously hampered by a radical change in the official personnel.

The candidates for these offices are usually nominated by the ten vice-presidents who are the chairman of the ten congressional districts of the state and who compose the nominating committee. The first by-laws of the league require that this committee name two candidates for each office, but in 1920 this

2. Harrison, Gladys, "Summary and Methods of the Minnesota League of Women Voters, June 1924" Conclusions derived from report of field organizer at the State Board meeting, Feb. 13, 1926.

3. Constitution of the Minnesota League (1924) Article (5).

was changed from a requirement to a recommendation.(4) There has always been the alternative that a group of twenty-five can by a written petition nominate others than those chosen by the nominating committee. (5) In ~~1920~~ 1920 the nomination of the district vice-president was taken out of the hands of this committee and each district was given the right to nominate and elect its own vice-president.(6) It has ~~become~~ become a custom for the local chairman in each district to nominate this chairman, who is then elected at the district conference.(7) This election must be confirmed by the state convention before it is valid.(8) In case a district fails to make such an election by the time the convention meets, its delegates to that convention choose their vice-president at the time the other state officers are elected(9) The election must be by the Australian ballot and a majority vote is sufficient to elect.(10) The voting body of the convention consists of the members of the executive board; those individuals who hold direct memberships in the league; and the president and delegates from each affiliated club.(11) As has been said, each officer is elected for a two year term. According to the first constitution, only the treasurer could serve more than two terms in the same office, but that restriction has been withdrawn and there is now no limit to the number of terms that an officer may serve.(12) Nevertheless one does not find as a general rule, that there is such long tenure of office in this as in the national league. The most notable exception is

4. By-Laws of the Minnesota League (1919)(1920) Article 1, Section 1.
5. By-Laws of the Minnesota League (1925) Article 2 Section 1
6. By Laws of the Minnesota League (1920) Article 2 Section 3
7. Miss Harrison's Summary.
8. By Laws of the Minnesota League (1920) Article 2 Section 3
9. Ibid, Article 2 Section 4
10. By Laws of the Minnesota League (1925) Article 2 Section 5
11. Ibid, Article 2 Section 2
12. Constitution of the Minnesota League (1919) Article 5 Section 3

the president who is now serving her third term. In the case of the district vice-presidents there are more frequent changes, the league sometimes experiencing great difficulty in finding persons qualified and willing to take these positions.

The state officers and their work correspond quite closely to those of the national league. The state has its president, its three vice-presidents (vice-presidents "at large" as they are called), its secretary and its treasurer. In the state, however, no attempt is made to give to each vice-president a special field of work, as is true in the case of the national league vice-presidents. The ten vice-presidents, who are the chairmen of the ten congressional districts of the state may be said to correspond roughly to the seven regional district directors of the national league, although their powers of supervision over the regional directors over their regions. Besides these officers the state elects also six directors who serve with the other officers as members of the board, but who have no special duties assigned to them. (13)

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The state Board of Directors is composed of the general officers (as the elected officers are called) together with the chairmen of the legislative council, of the departments and of the standing committees. (14) It holds its regular meetings monthly as required by the by-laws but special meetings may be called whenever the president or three members so desire. (15)

13. Constitution of Minnesota League (1924) Article 5 Section 1.

14. Ibid, Article 5 Section 2.

15. By-laws of Minnesota League (1924) Article 1 Section 2

It has seemed advantageous, from time to time, to hold these meetings in the various districts so that its members can keep in closer touch with the organization and conditions in the various parts of the state.(16) The duties of the board, as stated in the constitution are: to transact the general business of the league, subject to the approval of the organization, to decide where and when the annual convention shall take place and to fill all vancancies.(17)

The Executive Committee.

The state league also has its executive committee. Its duties, which correspond closely to those of the national executive committee are to act in the interim of the board. Originally it consisted of five members, but in 1924 the number was increased to seven. It is not an ex officio committee as in the national league but it may be composed of any persons chosen by the Board from among its own members.(18) It has been the practice, however, to always include the president and treasurer in its membership.

The Departments and Standing Committees.

While the state league has always had its standing committees, it was not until 1924 that the by-laws were amended establishing departments and standing committees to correspond in name as well as work with those of the national league. Before this, there had been eight committees as provided for when the state organization was formed. The committees on

(16) Miss Harrison's Summary.

(17) Constitution of the Minnesota League, 1924, Article V, Section 2.

(18) Ibid.

the Protection of Women in Industry, on Child Welfare and on Social Hygiene remained unchanged By this amendment; three others were changed only in name, the Committee on Food Supply and Demand becoming the Committee on Living Costs, the Committee on the Unification of Laws Concerning the Civil Status of Women becoming the Committee on the Legal Status of Women, and the Committee on American Citizenship becoming the Committee on Education. The scope of the Committee on Improvement in Election Laws and Methods was broadened and it was made the Department of Efficiency in Government. The Department Of International Cooperation to Prevent War was established as there was no corresponding department in the State League at that time. A new committee on Law Enforcement was added; and the Committee on Research was dropped, (19 (19)). These changes were desirable since the national league had its departments and standing committees made up of the corresponding department or committee chairman in the state leagues.

These state~~x~~ chairmen are appointed by the Executive Board at the close of the annual meeting of the league, and serve for two years. (20) It is their duty to give to the council the facts and technical view-point on matters within the field covered by their committee. They are also frequently asked to explain to the league members, the technical features of the legislative program sponsored by their committee and they thus become the interpreters of the specialist whose treatment of the subject is not readily understood by the mass of women. (21)

~~This service of theirs~~

19. By-laws of the Minnesota League, 1919, Article 6, Section 1.

20. By-laws of the Minnesota League, 1924, Article 7, Section 1

21. Interview with Miss Emily Child.

This service of theirs

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is no doubt the reason for the enthusiastic support of league measures by the league members and accounts for their intelligent understanding of some rather technical problems connected with such legislation.

The Legislative Council.

The Legislative Council is not strictly a league organization, but the league has been so instrumental in organizing it and directing its work, that mention of it cannot be left out of a description of the organization of the league. It was organized in May 1920, with a two-fold purpose: to recommend public welfare measures for legislation and to make recommendations about the enforcement of those which have become laws. It was at the suggestion of the league that the organization was formed. There are now nineteen organizations represented. The Board of Directors of the league names the chairman of the Council and all of the standing committees are ex officio members. The members chosen from the other organizations are usually chairmen of legislative committees within those organizations.(22) When the legislative program is under discussion, the Council is divided into sub-committees so that a more detailed study of the proposed legislation is possible. For instance, before the 1925 session of the legislature, there were seven of these, namely: the committees on Final Program, on Educational Measures, on Marriage Law Revision, on Removal of Legal Discriminations, on Research, on the bill for providing one day rest in seven,

(22) Miss Harrison's, Summary; Card File List of Members of the Legislative Council for the 1925 Session of the Legislature. For a list of these members, see Appendix C.

and on the enforcement of Child Labor Laws. (23)

THE ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL UNITS.

In the organization throughout the state, the league has adapted the plan of the political parties by following the political subdivision: district, county and city. Over each congressional district there is a chairman or vice-president, as she is called. Aside from this, however there is no district to which-a organization provided for by the state league, and the degree to which a district is organized depends wholly on the district vice-president. A few districts have a fairly complete organization and hold district conferences, but this is the exception rather than the rule.(24)

At first the county unit was emphasized in the organization of the league. There was a chairman in charge of each county and to her the state sent all of the material to be used by the local league. This practice proved unfortunate, however, for when the county chairman became inactive, as many of them did, the state lost its contact with the local leagues in such counties, and had to go to the expense of sending an organizer out into that territory again. As a result, there has been very little emphasis on the county unit since 1922 although the league is now trying to rebuild these units, especially in those counties where there is a strong city league, especially in these-counties-where-there-is-a which might serve as a central organization for the county. These county chairmen are now looked upon as assistants to the district chairman and so it looks as if this might be the

23. Minutes of the Legislative Council of Minnesota, 1925

Legislative Session, Meeting of June 30, 1924.

24. Miss Harrison's Summary.

beginning of a more complete district organization also. (25)

The organization of the local league depends somewhat upon its size and activity. Some of the larger leagues, such as those in Minneapolis, and St. Paul, have quite complete organizations patterned after that of the state and national league. There are certain minimum requirements which every local unit must fulfill before it can receive aid from the state league and be considered an accredited branch. It must adopt the name and the aims of the league; it must have a constitution which provides for the regular election of officers it must have a responsible and active chairman; it must have at least ten members, although in certain small communities the number required is somewhat smaller; and finally, it must assume the quota assigned to it by the annual convention, for the support of the state league. Although the state has the privilege of dropping from the active list, those leagues which do not meet these requirements, it has never done so if the chairman wishes to carry on the work and is trying to overcome difficulties even though her league has failed to meet its obligations. (26)

25. Miss Harrison's Summary.

26. Ibid.

Finance.

National Finance.

In 1920, when the National League was formed, no arrangements were made for financing the organization. The Suffrage Association ### through the Leslie Commission contributed fifteen thousand dollars, five thousand dollars of which were to be paid to certain league employees for designated services. Pledges also were taken at the convention and during the year which followed, the treasurer and the finance chairman solicited personally and by letter thousands of individuals and in this way received additional sums with which to carry on the work.(1) The league's expenses were unusually high that year because of the great amount of work connected with establishing branch leagues in all the states. At the same time, it could expect little financial help from these new state leagues which had as yet little money, but which had great expenses of their own to bear, due to their efforts to organize the local leagues within their states.(2) It was quite natural then for the league to expect to be supported, in the early years of its existence, largely by contributions from individuals.

That the league was conscious of the inadequacy of this method, as a means of obtaining a constant source of income for a large and continuing organization, is evident as early as 1921. In that year, the convention adopted, at the suggestion of the Executive Board, a system of assessments to be levied on the state leagues.(3) The results of this plan were effective

(1) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1921, p. 83

(2) Ibid, p. 82.

(3) Ibid, p. 84.

but it was felt that the absence of an organized department of finance made the system less efficient than it otherwise would have been. The 1922 convention therefore provided for the organization of such a department. A paid financial secretary was employed and she devoted her entire time to keeping a record of the payments made by the states and to devising new ways of raising revenue. In this latter work she was assisted by an advisory committee appointed by the president. The league still depended, to a considerable extent, upon voluntary contributions and it kept in its treasurer's office a "cultivation file" containing the names of those who would probable contribute if called upon.(4) Financially the year 1922-1923 was a successful one for the league, and the treasurer could at last report that the league was solvent, its assets being greater than its liabilities.(5)

Two recommendations affecting the financial work of the league were adopted at the 1923 convention. The first one defined the personnel of the advisory committee. Instead of consisting entirely of persons chosen at random from among the league members, it was to be composed of two vice-chairmen who were named in the recommendation at the time of its adoption; of two advisory members to be chosen by the Board of Directors from among its own members; and in addition to these of as many others as they could get to act on the committee. The treasurer was the chairman of this committee and the assistant treasurer and financial secretary was a member ex officio.(6) The second change introduced a new method of rais-

(4) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1922, p. 59.

(5) Ibid, p. 44.

(6) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1923, p. 44.

ing the funds to be paid by the state leagues. It provided that these assessments be raised by "national sustaining membership" campaigns in all the states. These sustaining memberships were to cost one hundred dollars apiece. Of the money thus obtained, the state kept one half and the other half went into the national treasury to be credited to that state as payment on its assessment. While the league, by this method raised only thirty-four percent of the goal which it had set, this was more money than it had ever raised before and so the plan adopted for the next year was an adaptation of this.(7)

This plan has been more carefully worked out from year to year but, in its essential features, it is the present financial policy of the league. The purpose of the plan is ultimately to "bring all national, state and local money-raising into one comprehensive plan and thus avoid confusion and duplication of effort".(8) The national budget is divided among the states, each state's quota consisting of three elements: the affiliated dues, the maximum dues, and a third amount determined by several factors. The affiliated dues may be either fifty or one hundred dollars, depending upon the strength of the league in that state. The maximum dues consist of the affiliated dues with an additional fifty dollars for each congressional district in the state.(9) The last amount contained in the quota is based upon the population of the state and upon its wealth as shown in the income tax returns.(10) These quotas assigned to the state leagues are not obligations which the league must fulfill

(7) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1924, p. 43.

(8) General Finance Plan 1926-1927.

(9) Interview with Mrs. Collins, April 26, 1926.

(10) National League Campaign Goal, 1923-1924. See Appendix D.

but are rather to be considered as goals towards which the states should strive. (11) In the year ending April 12, 1926, only five states had paid their full quotas. As a penalty for non-payment of the dues, the representation in the national convention of those states not paying the full amount, is reduced, and sometimes this loss of votes may be felt quite keenly. Such was the case in the convention of 1926 when one state which was not allowed its full number of votes on this account, was particularly interested in defeating a certain measure that came up before the convention but was prevented from so doing because of the very few votes which it was authorized to cast. (12)

The states are left free to use their own methods for raising these quotas, but they are urged to include the amounts in their budgets, which would in turn be made up of quotas from the local leagues. If the plan were fully worked out, the local leagues would then divide these quotas among the members so that, ultimately, every member would be a money-raiser and all of the league's funds would be obtained by these individual members. The aim of this plan is clearly "to substitute a large number of money -raisers for the faithful few". (13)

The apportionment of the budget varies from year to year and the yearly re-grouping of the items of expense make it impossible to form an accurate estimate of the amounts expended for the different features of the league work. It is quite evident, however,

(11) General Finance Plan 1926-1927

(12) Interview with Miss Child April 26, 1926.

(13) General Finance Plan 1926-1927

that the organization work is the largest item of expense and that of the departments and standing committees, the department of International Cooperation to Prevent War, is the most costly. (14)

~~Finance of~~ The Minnesota league adopted its quota plan for raising revenue, when it was organized. At that time it provided for a fifty thousand dollar budget and apportioned the amount to be raised among the congressional districts. In February 1920, there was a reapportionment of the quotas, probably due to its inability to raise the amount provided for in its first budget, for this time the amount to be raised was reduced to twenty thousand dollars. These quotas were apportioned among the counties and the amounts were determined according to the wealth of the county as shown by the war drive allotments. (15)

~~(15)~~ At the 1922 convention the plan of apportionment was changed. The quotas were apportioned among the local rather than county units, due no doubt to the breaking down of the county organization in general; and the amount of the quota was based on population rather than wealth. Each local league was assessed on the basis of ten dollars for every one thousand inhabitants in the community in which it was organized, the minimum quota being 10 dollars. In 1923 this minimum was lowered to five dollars. (16) To guard against the practice of one person assuming the entire burden of the local league finance, the rule was made that the contribution of a single individual could not be used to pay off more than fifty per cent of that League's

(14) Proceedings of 1921 p/82; of 1922 p.58; of 1923 p.20; of 1924 p.45; of 1925 p.55. To Typical budget see Appendix 3

(15) Budget of Minnesota League for 1919-1920 (Leaflet) Appendix F

(16) Recommendation of Executive Board to the Fourth Annual Convention. Accepted by the convention Oct.6, 1922. Found in Fourth Annual File.

quota. Like the quotas of the national league, these quotas are not obligations binding upon the local leagues, but are rather goals towards which they are to strive. (17)

In this state, the national quota is not apportioned among the local leagues, but is raised by national memberships which range from five to one hundred dollars apiece. One half of the amount raised in this way goes to the national league to be credited towards the payment of the state's quota. The other half remains in the state and is credited on the local quota of the league which raises it. The Minneapolis league in the fall of 1925 renounced its right to this portion of the national memberships obtained by it, and so this amount goes into the state league treasury in addition to, rather than as a part of the quota of that league. (18)

The state league must still rely to some extent on various other means of obtaining revenue. A considerable amount of money has been obtained from a play written in 1925 by two of the members. Ordinarily the local leagues which put on the play must give twenty-five percent of the profits to the state league; but those leagues which have not paid their quotas must give to the state fifty percent of the profits. Then, the state sometimes puts on a "Woman Citizen" drive to raise money. Their aim in this is to secure enough subscriptions to the magazine, "The Woman Citizen" to get the bonus of one hundred dollars which is offered. (19) The state league finance committee has charge of this work and the methods used and the results are much the same as those of every other organization

(17) Recommendations of Executive Board at Fourth Annual Convention.

(18) Interview with Mrs. Collins April 27, 1926

(19) Ibid. Minnesota Budget for 1925-1926; Estimated Receipts.

seeking financial

support in this way. Some money is also received from the dues of the sustaining members at large. These members are residents of communities where there are no local leagues. Their dues of one dollar a year, which they pay, go into the state league treasury.

The local units use various methods for raising revenue. Minnesota is the only state where no dues are required of members, so here a large membership in a league does not necessarily imply a large membership fund. The local leagues however, may enroll local sustaining members and the dues of these vary from twenty-five cents to two dollars. They also receive half of the national memberships subscribed by the residents from their community, although this money is not sent to the local league but is kept by the state office as a part of that league's quota payment.

In addition to raising money by memberships, the local leagues employ all those methods, so common to volunteer organizations. They solicit personal gifts, put on plays, hold food sales, bazaars and the like. Some of the more enterprising leagues raise a surprisingly large amount of money in these various ways; others keep out a bare existence, so to speak; but the majority of them do not seem to have more than the usual amount of difficulty in meeting their financial obligations.

FORMULATION OF THE LEAGUE PROGRAM

When the league was organized in 1919, eight committees were appointed by the Board of Directors and to each of these was assigned a particular field of work. (1) It was not intended that each committee should work alone, but rather that it should be the directing force for the entire league when it was seeking to accomplish a part of its work. For a brief period of time, therefore, it might be said that a certain committee is directing almost the entire activity of the league. When a task so undertaken, has been finished or temporarily laid aside, the committee which has had charge of it goes into the back-ground and another committee with its work comes forward. It is the custom of the league to have just a few major interests and usually these are put forward only one at a time; although an emergency might call forth an additional "interest" which demands immediate action, and so for the time, shares honors with the "major interest" in the attention it receives by the league. (2) No emergency measure, regardless of its worth, however, will be actively supported by the league unless it has been placed upon the legislative program of the league. And before a measure can be placed on the legislative program, it must have been studied by the league for at least a year. (3)

- (1) These were the committees on: 1-Women in Industry, 2-Child Welfare, 3-Food Supply and Demand, 4-Social Hygiene, 5-Civil Status of Women, 6-American Citizenship, 7-Election Laws and Methods, and 8-Research. Program of Work of the National League of Women Voters for 1920-1921 p. 13
- (2) Interview with Mrs. Barry N. Collins June 17, 1926.
- (3) Minneapolis Tribune April 19, 1926.

The preparation of the League's program of work well illustrates the care with which the organization forms its decisions. The national chairman of each department and committee together with the members of each department or committee, one from each state, formulates the program which is to be presented to the convention each year. (4)

When the tentative program has thus been drawn up, copies of it are sent back to the state chairmen to the local leagues. This must be done at least three months before the time of the national convention, so that the members will have enough time carefully to consider each part of it. After this study the members inform the state chairman of any changes they might want to be made. The state chairmen then meet with the national chairman in a pre-convention conference, and together they draw up a program which they recommend to the General Council. The General Council considers the programs thus submitted to it by the various departments and committees and reports these to the convention with its recommendations. (5)

Like all resolutions with the exception of those relating to matters of courtesy, the program must be presented to the convention twenty-four hours before the time it is to be voted upon. The final program which is thus adopted contains recommendations for study, for methods of work and for standards of legislation to be undertaken as occasion warrants. (6)

(4) Proceedings of the 1924 Convention p. 74

(5) Proceedings of the 1924 National Convention p. 74

(6) Ibid p. 74

The General Council has given to the National Board of Directors the authority to decide which of the measures adopted by the convention should be for active federal legislative work. (7) Besides recommendations for federal legislation, these programs also contain recommendations for state legislation, and the state leagues may choose from among these the measures which are most needed in their states. The state leagues may also include in their programs of work, measures which are not upon the national League's program. The only restriction in this connection is, that the state leagues are not to support measures to which the league is opposed, or to oppose measures to which the national league is committed. (8) Individual members are not expected to work for League measures to which they object, but they are expected to refrain from working against such measures.

The chairmen and the Directors do not have complete control over what resolutions shall be brought before the convention. If the Board rejects some resolution referred to it, it must notify the person presenting such resolution of its action. A resolution which has thus been rejected or one which has never been referred to the Board can, by a two-thirds vote of the convention, be brought up for consideration by that body. It will then be referred by the president to a committee of five, appointed from the floor. If the subject-matter of the resolution is related to the work of one of the departments or standing committees, the chairman of that department or committee will be a member of this special committee. The resolution must then be considered by the committee and brought back within twenty-four hours, but it cannot be reported back at the same session at which it was presented. (9) After it has been reported back, twenty-four more hours must elapse, as is the

(7) Ibid p. 74

(8) Proceedings of the 1924 National Convention p. 74

(9) Constitution of the National League of Women Voters, Article XIV Sec. 1. (Before the revision by the 1926 Convention)

case with all resolutions, before it can be voted upon finally. (10)

These restrictions on the presenting and adopting resolutions are the result of a continued attempt of the league to make hasty action by that body impossible. In the early conventions, resolutions were presented orally from the floor, voted upon with very little deliberation, and consequently the league sometimes found that it had adopted resolutions which it later regretted. In theory this earlier method seemed much more democratic than the present one; in practice the reverse was true. It was too easy for one member with enthusiasm and a convincing manner to impose her will upon the whole group. Ultimately, the members, instead of all taking part in drawing up the program which they were to follow, would be following the wishes of a few. (11)

Every measure which has been placed upon the League's program will stay there until its enactment into law renders further support of it unnecessary; or until the convention votes to drop it. But it is not very usual for the League to drop one of its measures. A mere defeat of a measure will not cause its abandonment by the League. In such a case, the League returns to a study of the subject and tries to strengthen public opinion so that favorable action can be secured upon it in the future. (12)

Considering the many interests represented in the League's

(10) Constitution of the National League of Women Voters, Article XIV Sec. 2.

(11) Interview with Miss Wells Dec. 5, 1925

(12) Ibid.

membership, the program is surprisingly simple and brief. It is composed of the programs of the different departments. Each of these contains two parts: a list of subjects recommended for study; and a list of legislative measures desired, and the enactment of which the League will actively support.

As the committees and departments not only take the lead in formulating the program of work but also in carrying out these programs, a study of the league's accomplishments in this connection, can best be made by examining in a little more detail the work of each committee and department.

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CHAPTER VI

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

The Department of Efficiency in Government was created in 1921 to replace the Committee on Election Laws and Methods. This committee had been one of the original eight standing committee of the league and its purpose had been to direct the study of the election laws of the various states with a view to correcting their defects.(1)

Digest of Election Laws

It soon found that before such a study could be made, it would be necessary to reduce to some sort of order the election laws of each state. Its first recommendation to the convention therefore, was that the corresponding committee in each state make a digest of its election laws and forward the results of the work to the national chairman. The great variations in these laws in the different states made it necessary for the members to confine their study to that of their own state; but the national chairman, having on file the election law digests of all the lessons learned by other states and thus help them to determine what changes might improve their laws.(2) The digest prepared by the Minnesota league was the first one to be completed. It contains not only a statement of the laws, but also a brief description of each, and a number of diagrams are used to explain some of the more complicated points of the laws. This digest was submitted to the state's attorney-general and received his approval, so that it may be considered an authoritative and accurate statement of Minnesota's election laws. While it was

(1)Proceedings of the 1920 Convention p. 57

(2)Proceedings of the 1921 Convention p. 54

intended primarily for the use of the women voters in their study, it has come to be used by election officials, candidates and political committees as well as by the individual voter.(3)

This study, together with an investigation of the manner in which these laws were being executed, led the committee to two conclusions: first, that there still existed a considerable amount of corruption and trickery at the polls; and in the second place, that while the Direct Primary was not perfect, it was the best method of nomination that had been found so far and therefore that the league should actively oppose any attempt to repeal that law. The committee realized that its field was too limited to allow it to carry on effectively the work necessary to improve this phase of our government. Consequently it recommended to the 1921 convention that it be replaced by a department of Efficiency in Government which should conduct a thorough study of "Efficient Government and How to Secure."(4)

Educating The Voter

The new department also took over the work of educating the voter, which had been done previously by the department of Organization. At first the league had to be satisfied simply to instruct the women in the technicalities of voting and to dismiss the issues of the day with a very superficial examination, for time did not permit of more

(3) State Election Laws Clearly Stated For The First Time, Form Letter written by Mrs. Walter Thorp, press chairman April, 24, 1922. Mimeographed Material Nov. 1921-Feb. 1923.

(4) Proceedings of the 1921 Convention p. 56

before the election.(5) With the election over, however, the league began in earnest its task of educating the voters. The National League held an Institute of Government and Politics and most of the state leagues held institutes and conducted citizenship classes in the local units.(6) It has been the practice in Minnesota; for several years, to hold the Institute of Government in connection with the state league's annual convention. The University of Minnesota has cooperated with the Department of Efficiency in Government in organizing these institutes and the different courses of instruction offered have been under the direction of some of the University's professors of history and political science.(7) In the early spring similar but less elaborate institutes are held in connection with the different State Teacher's Colleges. The purpose of these institutes is to prepare some of the members for leadership in the local leagues, as well as to give them a more technical and detailed study of government.(8) It is the aim of the league to hold citizenship schools in every community at least once a year. The programs of these schools are much simpler and the material presented is more elementary than is the institutes. They aim to impress upon the women, the need of voting and to give some information about the candidates and issues to be voted upon at the next election.(9) In addition to these, there are the study classes of the local leagues which meet during the year to make a more exhaustive study of government and of the political problems of the day.(10)

- (5) Minutes of State Board Dec. 1919-1921, Meeting of the Board of Directors, Oct. 6, 1920
- (6) Proceedings of 1924 Convention, Report of the First Vice-President p. 28.
- (7) For a typical program of such an institute see Appendix
- (8) Program of a Teachers' College Institute, Appendix
- (9) Program of a Citizenship School, Appendix
- (10) Proceedings of the Convention of 1921 p. 57

The Department of Efficiency in Government has charge also of disseminating information regarding candidates for election. Since the league is an unpartisan organization, it does not support any special candidates but gives an equal opportunity to all to acquaint league members with their qualifications for the offices they seek. Questionnaires are sent to the candidates, and, in Minnesota, the replies to these are published in the "Woman Voter" so that all of the league members may know how these candidates stand upon the important issues, especially those in which the league is interested.(11) Candidates' meetings are also held and at these all of the candidates for certain offices are given an equal chance to be heard. These meetings are open to the public and have proved to be very popular, from the candidates' as well as from the voters' point of view. Radio talks by the the candidates, pamphlets containing in parallel columns the platforms of the political parties, in fact almost every known device is used to help the people to become informed voters.(12)

The "Get-Out-The-Vote" Campaigns

Closely a kin to this work of educating the voter, are the "Get-Out-The-Vote" campaigns, although these are conducted by the local leagues and are not under the direction of the Department of Efficiency in Government. The campaign of 1924 may be taken for illustration. On October 20, the Minnesota league staged its "Passing the Torch Tour".

(11) For Questionnaires see Appendix

(12) Wells, Miss Marguerite, Form Letter Oct. 11, 1922 Sent to all local chairmen, found in File of Mimeographed Material Nov. 1921-Feb. 1923.

Representatives from the state headquarters went to International Falls and from this northern most point of the state began their tour to the Iowa boundary, carrying the Torch to symbolize Democracy and speaking at the different towns on the importance of voting.(13) This was followed by local campaigns to stimulate the people's interest in voting. The methods used to do this differed in the various places. In some, there was no active campaign to get out the vote; in others it consisted only of a last minute canvas; but in many others a remarkable effort was made to increase the number of those voting. In St. Cloud a very active campaign was conducted and the league there claims some credit for the fact that eight-two per cent of the registered voters voted in the election and that the registration list exceeded any previous record by one thousand.(14) This campaign was probably more extensive than those of most of the leagues, but it shows what has been done in this field by at least one league. The league there, co-operated with American Legion and the Kiwanis Club in putting on an essay contest in the high school, prizes being offered for the best essays written on "What I Shall Do To Get Out The Vote." It conducted a "Question Box" column in the newspapers, in which it gave any information regarding voting, that was desired, and it arranged with the public library to furnish additional information on the subject. Candidates' meetings were held, and league members gave talks before other organizations in the city. Letters were sent to two hundred and fifteen rural teachers, urging them to vote; and students who were in the city were

(13) Passing The Torch File, Newspaper Release Oct. 20, 1924.

(14) Friedrich, Mrs. G. W., Report From The Sixth District Chairman 1924.

given individual assistance. Ten other city organizations helped in getting out the voters on election day and the league "tagged" all those who had voted, thus making the non-voter uncomfortably conspicuous.(15) While the league centers all of its attention just before election, on these campaigns, the real aim of the organization is to make such campaigns unnecessary by interesting the women in local affairs to such an extent that they will vote because they know what they want and care about getting it.(16)

Federal Measures Sponsored

Most of the important work of the department has been done in the fields of state and local government. The federal legislations sponsored consists of two measures. It is supporting the movement to obtain federal suffrage for the people of the District of Columbia, and it is opposing any attempt to make the amending of the federal constitution more difficult. The result has been an active opposition to the Wadsworth-Garrett amendment.(17)

State And Local Measures In Minnesota

Shortly after it was created, the Department of Efficiency in Government began its study of "Efficient Government and How to Secure It." Following the recommendation of the national department, the department of the Minnesota League organized sub-committees to study the different departments of state and local government.(18) This study led

- (15) Friedrich, Mrs. G. W., Report From The Sixth District Chairman 1924.
- (16) Wells, Miss M., Address delivered before the Third Annual State Convention, 1921-Form Letters, Publicity etc. File.
- (17) Program of Work for the National League of Women Voters, 1925-1926 p. 7. Proceedings of the 1922 Convention p. 99.
- (18) Fourth Annual State Convention Oct. 5-7, 1922. Form Letters, Publicity, etc. File.

the state league ot support the movement which had been started to re-vive interest in the proposed re-organization of the state departments. In the early part of 1923 (January 25) the Department of Efficiency in Government called a conference of men and women to consider the possibility of re-organization of the state departments "in the interests of economy and efficiency." (19) This conference came to be known as the Citizens' Committee and it took over the active direction of the movement. The league was represented on the committee and in the latter part of the year it devoted all of its educational work also to the problem of the simplification of the state government. Members were kept informed as to the progress made by the Citizens' Committee and every effort was made to awaken public opinion in favor of the Re-organization Bill when that would be presented to the legislature. (20) It is hard to say just how much of the success of the movement was due to the league working through its Department of Efficiency in Government, but it can certainly be considered to have been one of the contributing factors. (21)

The other major state interest of the department is the defense of the primary. The league in is not committed to an unqualified support of the primary laws as they are now. It recognizes that improvements might be made and for the reason the state leagues have been allowed to favor any changes which might make the nominations more representative. (22)

- (19) Minutes of the Conference on State Government Jan. 25, 1923, Mimeographed Material Nov. 1921-Feb. 1923.
- (20) Explanatory Notes on County Fair Exhibit Aug. 1923 Mineographed Material Mar. 1923-Apr. 1924.
- (21) Olson, F. L. (Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association) Statement of 1925 Legislation of Re-Organization of the State Departments--given at the Minnesota Institute of Government and Politics Nov. 17, 1925.
- (22) Program of Work for the National League of Women Voters 1925-26 p. 7.

One of the first tasks given the department was to direct the study of city government for the purpose of determining how it could be made more efficient and more representative.(23) For the first two years the study was very general, taking in the whole field of local government, but in 1923 the work was narrowed down to a comparative study of the mayor and council, the commission and the city manager types of city government.(24) The next year the city manager type was chosen from among these for a more intensive study and the 1926 national convention decided to support actively any movements looking toward the establishment of this form of local government.(25) Before this, the Minnesota league had put the support of the city manager plan upon its legislative program, and so the Minneapolis league was able to help in the movement for a new city charter providing for a city manager. It was represented on the Citizens' Committee which sponsored the work of the Charter Commission and which conducted the campaign in favor of the new charter.(26)

This survey is by no means a complete account of the work of the Department of Efficiency in Government. It simply relates some of the most important of its accomplishments. The national chairman of the department has summed up its work as follows: "The league of Women Voters has enthusiasm for efficiency, because it has its own ideas of what an efficient government is; capable of defeating the power of

(23) Proceedings of the 1921 Convention p. 54

(24) Program of Work of the National League 1923-1924 p. 6.

(25) Ibid for 1926-1927

(26) Interview with Mr. Wm. Anderson June 21, 1926 (This charter was defeated at the election held June 21, 1926.)

privileged interests and of political machines; is, namely: a representative, responsible and responsive government; capable of rendering, with the least waste and lowest cost services adapted to the needs of life of all the people. The Department of Efficiency in Government is trying to do this through schools and institutes, by a study of special problems and by talks before other organizations."(27)

- (27) Sherwin, Miss Belle, Abstract of Report of First Vice-President, given Friday, April 25, 1924 at the National League of Women Voters' Convention.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL
CO-OPERATION TO PREVENT WARThe Establishment of the Department

A speech given by Mr. Will Irwin on "The Next War" at the National League Convention in 1921, made such a deep impression upon those present, that it was voted to appoint a special Committee on International Disarmament to go to President Harding and ask him to call an International Conference for the Limitation of Armaments. (1) This committee was composed of members from each of the four sections of the United States: the south, the middle west, the east and the far west. Its work was not only to petition the president, but also to conduct an educational campaign in order to arouse public opinion in favor of such a conference. The state leagues were requested to help, although it was was left to them to decide whether they wanted to do this work through their Boards or to elect special committees for the purpose. (2) In Minnesota, a Committee on the International Reduction of Armaments was organized under the leadership of the league. Its twenty-six members were men and women chosen from all parts of the state. (3)

While the Conference was in session, the members of the League showed great interest in it and kept themselves informed as to its progress. The Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association reported that ninety per cent of all the inquiries and requests for literature on the Conference, which were received, came from members of the League of Women Voters. (4) In addition to information from

(1) Interview with Miss Wells, Dec. 5, 1925.

(2) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1922, p. 111.

(3) From Letters, 1921, Report of the Board Meeting and Conference of Local Chairmen, Sept. 7, 1921.

(4) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1922, p. 111.

this source, the League's Committees on the Reduction of Armaments also issued pamphlets which told the members of the progress of the Conference, and in many of these cases, the particular problems confronting that body were explained. In Minnesota, the committee issued bi-weekly reports on the work of the Conference and these were sent to all of the local chairmen.(5)

With the Conference ended and its treaties signed, the Committees' work was finished. But many felt that the national committee, at least, should continue as a standing committee to work for international peace. The Minnesota delegates to the 1922 national convention were instructed to propose that it be retained and that its name be changed to the Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War. This proposal was adopted; but in order that it might have a chairman on the Board of Directors, it was made a department instead of a committee.(6) Shortly after this, on May 19, 1922, the Minnesota Committee on the Reduction of Armaments, which had included some who were not members of the League, was replaced by a Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War, which like the other standing committees, was composed of League members only.(7)

World Peace Movements Sponsored By the League

From the time it was organized, the League has shown a great interest in the cause of World Peace. At the first convention in 1920, it adopted a resolution recommending that the United States enter the League of Nations. This however, was one of

(4) Ibid, p. 112.

(6) Interview with Miss Wells, Dec. 5, 1925.

(7) Minutes of the Minnesota State Board Meetings, May 1921, Dec. 1922, Meeting of May 19, 1922.

those resolutions, which in the early years of its existence, it had adopted without much deliberation, and when the issue became the center of a partisan controversy, the League found its position rather embarrassing. At the next convention, therefore, it put the question upon the program for study instead of for active support.(8)

The present peace movements sponsored by the league are those favoring the international reduction of armaments, and the entrance of the United States into the World Court. The former it had hoped to see accomplished through a series of conferences following the one held at Washington. In this it was disappointed, but it continues to hold itself in readiness to give such a movement active support whenever occasion may demand.(9) At present, the World Court is the pressing issue and so the department is devoting almost its entire time to this.

Sponsorship of the World Court by the National League

The fourth annual convention of the League, which was held in 1923 devoted a great deal of its attention to the work of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War. World Peace was the key note of the convention. The president, in her address, emphasized the importance of finding some way of preventing war in the future.(10) The principal evening address of the convention, which was given by Lord Robert Cecil, was a defense of the League of Nations and a plea for more effective means of guaranteeing World Peace.(11) Miss Florence E. Allen in her speech advocated the abolition of war and the establishment of the World Court.(12) The principal speaker

(8) Interview with Miss Wells, Dec. 5, 1925.

(9) Program of Work for the National League of Women Voters, 1926-1927, p. 14.

(10) Park, Mrs. Maud Wood, Address of the President at the Fourth Annual Convention. Proceedings of the National Convention, 1923. p. 57.

(11) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1923, p. 70.

(12) Speech of Florence E. Allen at the Des Moines Convention, April 11, 1923. Mimeographed Material March 1923 to April 1924.

at the luncheon session was Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, who explained the stand of the administration on the question of the World Court and outlined some of the principal objections of the opponents of the Court.(13)

In 1924, the department arranged for hearings before the political conventions, to ask that they include World Court planks in their platforms. The Republican party said that its World Court plank was partly due to the League's influence. In fact the actual wording of this plank was presented by that party to the League for its approval before it was finally adopted. The department also organized a hearing before the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, to ask that the World Court bill be reported back to the Senate from this committee, where it had been for almost two years. It took six months to obtain this hearing and to prepare for it. A geographical representation of the sentiment for the World Court in the United States was made, in order to convince the committee of the wide-spread demand for the measure. In January 1925, the department organized a conference of nine women's organizations in Washington D.C. to have charge of the lobbying for the World Court.(14)

Sponsorship of the World Court by the Minnesota League

At the same time the state leagues, under their departments of International Co-operation to Prevent War, were busy educating the people regarding the court, and trying to stimulate interest among the more indifferent. The Minnesota League began by a study of America's foreign policy in the past. In its Institute of Government and Politics

(13) Speech of Secretary Herbert Hoover, Des Moines April, 1923.
Mimeographed Material March 1923 to April 1924.

(14) Proceedings of the National Convention, 1925, pp. 49-51.

in 1923, one of its four courses was devoted to this subject.(15) Following this, the local leagues throughout the state organized study groups and held Round Table Discussions for the consideration of the question of World Peace.(16)

Several devices were used to interest the indifferent in the cause. In 1923, during Armistice week, the leagues sold stamps upon which were printed the words, "End War."(17) The next year "Law not War" stamps and "World Peace Christmas" cards were sold. The proceeds from the sale of these stamps and cards were given to the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War and were used by it to carry on its work.(18) In the state and county fairs of 1925, special World Court exhibits by the league were prominently featured. In two counties where there were no leagues, special arrangements were made with local people to have these exhibits at their fairs and some one who was informed on the World Court had charge.(19) Ministers were also induced to preach "World Peace sermons just before Armistice Day and July 26, 1924 which was designated by the National League as World Co-operation Day.(20) Propagandist literature was prepared by the department of the state League and was printed by many of the local newspapers.(21)

The most spectacular feat of the Minnesota League in its efforts to arouse interest in behalf of the World Court was its procuring of a "Mile

(15) Harrison, Gladys, "Institute of Government and Politics." An article appearing in the Woman Citizen for November 1 1923.

(16) Minutes of State Board Meeting, Aug. 14, 1925. Mimeographed Material Feb. 1925 to present.

(17) Minutes of the State Board Meeting, Aug. 14, 1925. Mimeographed Material March 1923-April 1924.

(18) Minutes of State Board Meeting Nov. 21, 1924. Mimeographed Material April 1924-February 1925.

(19) Minutes of the State Board Meeting, Sept. 18, 1925. Mimeographed Material February 1925 to present.

(20) Minutes of the State Board Meeting, June 27, 1924. Mimeographed Material April 1924-February 1925.

(21) Armistice letter by the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, Oct. 29, 1925 to the World Court Chairmen. Mimeographed Material Feb. 1925 to present.

of Signatures" for a petition in behalf of the entry of the United States into the World Court.(22) This was one of the means it used to try to convince the Minnesota senators who were opposed to the World Court that their constituents wanted them to vote for the World Court Bill. Innumerable letters and telegrams were also sent by the League members to them, and on several occasions they were visited by delegations from the League. Although the League was unsuccessful it did help to change public opinion in favor of the bill.(23)

The Present Program of the Department

The Department has by no means considered its work ended by the passage by the Senate of the bill for the Adhesion of the United States to the World Court. The League did not favor all of the reservations adopted by the Senate and it will continue to work for a more unqualified support of the World Court by the United States. Consequently, it adopted for its legislative program for 1926-1927, "the support of measures designed to make the Permanent Court of International Justice effective for peace, progressive codification of International law, and measures designed to effect the outlawery of war".(24) In addition to these it also continues to support measures looking toward the reduction of armaments and the promotion of International harmony.
(25)

(22) For a copy of this petition see Appendix L.

(23) Minutes of the State Board Meeting, Sept. 18, 1925. Mimeographed Material February 1925 to present.

(24) Program of Work for the National League for 1926-1927, p. 14.

(25) Ibid, p. 14.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WORK OF THE STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE LEAGUE.

Federal Legislative Measures Secured.

The work of the standing committees is principally to secure social reform through legislation and to direct study leading to a demand for such reform. Most of their recommendations are for legislation within the states, although they usually have a few federal measures which they are actively supporting.

In the field of federal legislation, the Committee on Child Welfare has devoted most of its time to working for three measures, of which only one has been secured so far. It has been trying for the last four years to secure by legislation, an extension of the period of operation of the Maternity and Infancy act, together with an adequate appropriation for carrying out its provisions. It is also sponsoring measures which would provide an adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor. The one successful measure of the committee was the bill passed by Congress submitting the Child Labor amendment to the states. (1) In 1925, upon the completion of that piece of work, it added to its legislative program, "Legislation by Congress after ratification by the states of the Child Labor Amendment, establishing national minimum standards for protection of children in industry".(2)

(1) Program of Work for the National League for 1923-1924, p.7; ibid for 1924-1925, p.9; ibid for 1925-1926, p.8; ibid for 1926-1927, p.8

(2) Program of Work for 1926-1927, p. 8.

Through its Committee on Education, the league is trying to get a Federal Department of Education and adequate appropriation for it as well as for the public schools in the District of Columbia. At one time it supported the movement to get federal aid for education in the states, but now that has been put on its study program instead.(3)

The Committee on Living Costs has directed the league in its support of a bill which would increase the power of the Federal Trade Commission in order to prevent unfair trade practices and monopoly control. It also favors legislation which will increase the appropriation for the Bureau of Home Economics, so that it can carry on research work more extensively. In regard to the Muscle Shoals question, the league wants the continuation of government operation there through a non-political governmental corporation.(4)

The committees on the Legal Status of Women, Social Hygiene, and Women in Industry are principally concerned with the welfare of women. Their recommendations for federal legislation are very few, for they prefer to see their aims accomplished by specific legislation in each state.(5) The Committee on Women in Industry is the only one of these which had a federal legislative program at present and that consists of only two measures: one to provide for a Federal Woman's bureau, and the other to secure an adequate appropriation for a Federal Employ-

(3) Program of Work for 1923-1924, p. 8; ibid for 1924-1925, p.10; ibid for 1925-1926, p. 9; ibid for 1926-1927, p. 9.

(4) Program of Work for 1923-1924, p.8-9; ibid for 1924-1925, pp. 12-18; ibid for 1925-1926, p. 11; ibid for 1926-1927, p. 10.

(5) Program of Work for 1926-1927 pp. 11, 13.

ment Service.(6) The Committee on Social Hygiene has never had a federal legislative program, and the Committee on the Legal Status of Women has sponsored only one national law. This was the Cable bill, providing for the independent citizenship of married women. In recognition of the League's support of this measure, President Harding presented Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president of the National League of Women Voters, with the pen which he had used in signing this bill.(7)

The Work of the Committees in Minnesota.

The state leagues do not necessarily work for all of the measures upon the national programs of work. Each chooses from among these, the measures which are most needed in its state, and so the legislative achievements of the League in one state may be quite different from those in the other states.(8)

One of the first tasks undertaken by the League in Minnesota was to bring about the removal of the legal disabilities and discriminations which handicapped women. In 1921 the most serious of these disabilities was removed by the passage of the bill, sponsored by the league, and which made women eligibel for jury service.(9) Since that time, the league has been opposing bills which would excuse women from jury service in certain cases, and in 1923 it was instrumental in securing the defeat of such a measure.(10) In order to find out the exact legal status of women in Minnesota, three of the members of the league, all of them lawyers who had been admitted to the bar, investigated the

(6) Program of Work for 1926-1927, p. 12.

(7) Report on the Legal Status of Women in minnesota, prepared by the Minnesota League of Women Voters.

(8) Program of Work for 1926-1927, p. 5.

(9) Report on the Legal Status of Women in Minnesota.

(10) Legislative Summary, May 1923. Published by the Minnesota League of Women Voters.

matter and prepared a report which the league uses in determining what reforms are desired in this field.(11) Although the League favors removing legal discriminations against women, it did not support the Equal Rights or "Blanket" Amendment, for it felt that the few legal discriminations against women in Minnesota could best be removed by specific legislation without abolishing the protective legislation which had been passed for the women. Its strong opposition to this amendment was no doubt one of the factors contributing to its defeat in the Minnesota legislature in 1923.(12)

The legislature has passed several of the League's educational measures. In 1921, the Compulsory School Attendance bill was the only bill sponsored by the League which was passed.(13) But in 1923, four of its most important measures became laws. These improved the means of enforcing the Compulsory Attendance Law, lengthened the minimum school year, provided for physical training in all public schools and revised the apportionment of State Aid. Two of its bills providing for Teacher Helpers in the rural communities, and for Part-time Schools and Classes were defeated, and its bill providing for a County Board of Education with the power of appointing the county superintendent was not voted upon.(14) In the 1925 session, the League was not so fortunate. The only two bills which it introduced: the County Board of Education and the Teachers' Retirement Fund bills, both failed to reach a vote.(15)

(11) Report on the Legal Status of Women in Minnesota.

(12) Legislative Summary for 1923.

(13) Legislative Supplement to the Woman Voter for May, 1921.

(14) Legislative Summary for 1923.

(15) Legislative Supplement, 1921.

The principal aim of the Committee on Women in Industry in Minnesota has been to secure a forty-eight hour week for employed women. In 1921 its bill for the forty-eight hour week was amended to provide for a fifty-six hour week and to exclude nurses, cases of emergency etc.(16) In 1923 it attempted to get a fifty-hour week for women, but before the bill finally passed, it was amended to provide for a fifty-five hour week instead, so little was gained. It was successful, however, in that session in getting the minimum wage law strengthened.(17) In both the 1923 and 1925 sessions it sought to secure the passage of a bill requiring the appointment of a woman on the state industrial commission, but it was unsuccessful.(18)

The only other committee which has actively supported welfare legislation in Minnesota, is the Child Welfare Committee. It was able in 1921 to get a law increasing the maximum allowed under the Mothers' Allowance act, but it has not succeeded in its attempts to get the State Refund under the Mothers' Pension Law. In 1921 the legislature passed the League's measure which enabled Minnesota to accept the provisions of the Sheppare-Towner Act, when that would pass Congress. In 1923, a state appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars was secured for carrying out the Act, and in 1925 this was raised to twenty-one thousand.(19)

Minnesota's Campaign for the Ratification of
the Child Labor Amendment.

The most important work of the Committee on Child Welfare

- (16) Legislative Summary for 1921.
- (17) Legislative Summary for 1923.
- (18) Legislative Summaries for 1923 and 1925.
- (19) Legislative Summaries for 1921 and 1923.

has been its campaign for the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. It became the major interest of the League in June, 1924 and remained that until the rejection of the Amendment by the Minnesota legislature on February 26, 1925. In June, 1924 the Chairman appointed special chairmen in sixty of the counties, to educate the people on the merits of the amendment. In November, the Minnesota Joint Ratification Committee was organized by the league. This committee was composed of attorneys, members of the university faculty and educators, and it met with the league to discuss the question.(21) In January this committee was enlarged to include representatives from other state organizations and it became a valuable means of keeping up the moral of the leaders in this movement.(22) On February 10, 1925, a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Minneapolis league, with Miss Julia Lathrop, National League Counsellor on Public Welfare, as the speaker.(23)

The customary league methods for informing the public were also used. Study groups were organized; Round Table Discussions were held and thousands of pieces of literature were sent out from the state office, much of which was prepared by the national as well as the state committee. Various local papers printed a great deal of this material. The Ramsey County league had a front page publication by the St. Paul Daily News, which contained a series of ten letters written by individuals representing different points of view, e. g. : a business man's, an attorney's, a Judge's, a club woman's etc.

(20) Report of the Minnesota Campaign for the Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, conducted by the Minnesota League of Women Voters, Sept. 1924-April, 1925, p.2.

(21) Ibid, p. 4.

(22) Ibid, p. 5.

More direct means were used to influence legislators to vote for the amendment. Members of the League appeared at both of the hearings and spoke in favor of ratification. Miss Lathrop addressed a joint session of the legislature, and the usual letteres telegrams were sent to try to convince the legislators that their constituents wanted the amendment ratified.(24)

The passage by the legislature of the bill for the rejection of the amendment did not cause the League to give up its campaign for ratification. It has started again to try, by education, to create enough sentiment in favor of the amendment to secure its ratification in the future.(25) This is characteristic of the League's attitude toward all of its bills which have been defeated. Their defeat merely causes the League to redouble its efforts to secure their passage in the future.

CONCLUSION.

At the close of each legislative session, the League prints a legislative summary showing which of its bills were passed, which were lost and which failed to reach a vote. A brief explanation of each bill is given and on the most important of these the roll calls are also printed.

In speaking of the League's achievements in the field of legislation, it is not presumed that the League is to be given all of the credit for these laws. Other organizations also sponsor many of these measures and often work just as hard as the

(24) Report of the Campaign for Ratification of the Amendment, p. 7.

(25) Minutes of the State Board, March 12, 1926. Mimeographed Material, Feb. 1925 to Present.

league does for their passage. But the league takes the lead in the support of these measures, and it is the only one of these states organizations that actively supports progressive legislation in every field of activity.

Chapter IX

Conclusion

Although the League of Women Voters has a surprisingly long list of achievements to its credit, it has by no means reached the goal which it set for itself six years ago, at the time of its organization. This has been due to an ever-broadening conception of its aims as well as to the unforeseen difficulties which it has encountered in trying to accomplish these aims.

Broadening of the Leagues Aims

It is very probable that none of the founders of the association realized the breadth of the aims which they had adopted: to educate the voter and to sponsor unproved legislation. For example, at first, to most of the members, the education of the voter meant nothing more than the instruction of the newly-enfranchised women in the rudiments of government, so that they could vote intelligently. Now they know, that even instruction in the mere rudiments of government is not a task that can be accomplished for once and for all, for every year brings new voters into the electorate, and many of these need such training just as much as the first women voters did. Besides these, there still remain a considerable per cent of those already enfranchised, who must be taught the importance of casting their ballots at every election. But the league has found that political education, to be effective, must consist of more than mere

rudimentary training; it must teach the voters by actual experience, how they may get the legislation they want. (1)

This phase of its political education becomes more necessary and also more complicated with the expansion of the league's legislative program.

By its sponsorship of legislation, the league hoped to secure certain reforms which many of the members, as suffrage workers, had felt were essential to good government. As they began to work for these reforms, however they learned of many others that were also needed, and as each year brings a demand for more progressive legislation, it seems unlikely that this part of the league's work will be finished in the near future. (2) This expansion of the legislative program of the league has caused it to become interested in many different fields of activity and yet all of its interests may be said to center around one common aim: to better the conditions of society. The standing committees of the league are working for public welfare within the nation; the Department of Interantional Cooperation To Prevent War is working for world peace, principally because war is the greatest enemy of international public welfare; and the Department of Efficiency in Government is trying to make government more efficient simply in order that it might contribute more to the welfare of society.

- (1) Sherwin, Belle, "The Rewards of a Year's Work,"
Address of the president to the sixth annual Convention.
Proceedings of the National Convention of 1925, pp. 41-42..
- (2) Sherwin, Belle, "The Rewards of a Year's Work," p. 43.

Difficulties Attending The Accomplishment of These Aims.

No one can suppose that the suffrage workers, who founded this league, thought that the accomplishment of the work which the league set out to do, would be accompanied by no difficulties, their past experience would preclude any such idea. The exact nature and extent of these difficulties, however, were undoubtedly not foreseen by them.

Probably the greatest of these difficulties has been the lack of interest among the voters, either in their political education or in welfare legislation. For several years preceding the organization of the league, there had been a persistent, downward drift in the percentage of voters who participated in elections. When women became voters, they showed, on the whole, still less inclination than the men to exercise their franchise. Consequently, the league, which sought by its get-out-the-vote-campaigns and by its educational work, to get seventy-five per cent of the electors to vote, has had to be satisfied with keeping the percentage from becoming lower, and in some districts, with raising it a few per cent.

In working out its legislative program, also, the league has been handicapped by the lack of interest on the part of the great majority of voters. The average voter, it has found, is conservative. Unfamiliar with the social conditions which demand remedy, his inborn conservatism prompts him to oppose, or at least to be wary about supporting,

any legislation which will change existing conditions.

It has also learned that welfare legislation may be controversial, and that there is room for honest difference of opinion as to whether or not certain welfare measures are really desirable. The league has sought to offset most of such opposition by sponsoring measures only after very careful deliberation. More powerful still, has been the organized opposition of selfish interests, which has in some cases proved an unsurmountable obstacle to the achievement of the league's legislative program. Such opposition was no doubt responsible for the failure of the league's efforts to secure the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by a sufficient number of states. Almost any welfare legislation will endanger some one's interests and so this opposition attends practically every attempt of the league to secure legislation.

Evaluation of the League's Work.

It is impossible to gauge, with any degree of accuracy, the extent or importance of the league's achievements. Other organizations have often co-operated with the league, in order to secure the desired results; and while the league has taken the lead in such co-operative movements, one cannot say what proportion of the credit should go to that organization. There is probably no one accomplishment to which one could refer as exclusively an achievement of the league. This fact need not lessen one's opinion of the value of the organization. As the "guiding genius" in many of the progressive movements, it deserves a great deal of praise for their success.

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Then too, the intangibility of many of the accomplishments of the league, renders exact evaluation impossible. Among these may be mentioned the influence which the organization has had upon not only its members, but upon all those with whom it has come in contact. This is undoubtedly the most far-reaching of any of its results, but the very nature of this achievement defies any measurement of its value or extent. One can say, however, that the league has been almost the sole source of political education to many; to others it has afforded a means of adding to their fund of political information; and in almost all of these people it has stimulated an active interest in matters pertaining to their government.

Like other organizations, the league has developed, in many women, the ability to lead. Because the character of its work requires more leaders than most organizations do, and because its branches are more numerous, the league is very likely doing more in this way, than the others. It has not, of course, developed this quality of leadership in all of its members, and it is possibly true that a few women still dominate the organization and that the rest follow rather blindly. But in all justice to the league, it must be said that earnest attempts are made to make the organization in fact, as it is in theory, an "every woman's " organization.

Influence Upon Political Parties

The league has been apparently successful in maintaining its unpartisan character, and there is no reason to suppose that it will ever become a separate political party. It has, never-the-less, had considerable influence upon the party allegiance of its members. After careful study, these women have formulated certain issues which they support regardless of the attitudes of the political parties upon these questions. The post has shown that the league's members are much more attached to these issues than they are to any political party. This must therefore lead, inevitably, to greater electoral independence on the part of these women voters, and it is quite possible that this effect may in time extend to many outside the league as well.

This insistence upon issues rather than upon parties may account for the opinion which many strongly partisan women have of the league and its work. The league was meant to provide a common meeting-ground where women of the different political parties might meet and discuss together those problems which all of them, as women, were interested in solving.(3) To some degree it has succeeded in providing such a meeting-place; but it has not succeeded in attracting to it the staunchest members of any party. Those women who believe that it is only through the parties that improved legislation can

(3) Interview with Mrs. Catt

be successfully obtained, put the success of their party first, and consequently are not interested in coalitions designed to secure such legislation by other means.

This would seem to contradict the statement often made, that, politically, women's interests are not identical with those of the men. Yet the continuing existence of the league is based upon just this fact: that the field of public welfare legislation, while not exclusively, is never-the-less largely of interest to women only. Whether or not this *raison d'être* be justifiable need not, however, detract from the value of this phase of the league's work. It is of great importance that there is an organization devoting its efforts to the securing of welfare legislation. That its membership is restricted to women may limit its effectiveness; but it cannot render its worth negligible.

In this field of public welfare, the league seems to have a special place to fill. Political parties do not exist for the sole purpose of securing beneficial legislation. Their principal aim seems to be, rather, to get their men into office and to promise as little legislation as is necessary in order to do this. The past is full of illustrations of such promises made but not kept; and the voters, lacking an organization through which to voice their demands, have been unable to insist that these officers keep their pre-election promises. The league is seeking to remedy this situation by providing an organization which shall serve as a constant

reminder to officers of the promises made by them before election. While there is no way of determining how many "election promise" fulfillments are due to the insistent demands made by the league, there is no doubt but that its influence in this has been considerable.

Future of the League

What the future holds for the league can be only a matter of conjecture. It has work for many years to come, but for how long, it is impossible to say. Fifty years of organized effort were required to obtain the enfranchisement of women; and during that time, the suffrage association became stronger with each succeeding year. There are probably none of the members who expect that even fifty years will be sufficient for the accomplishment of the aims of the league, the successor of this suffrage association. It does not follow, of course, that the league's existence is assured for that fifty years and more. Its many issues may not prove to be as strong a bond as did the one issue of the suffrage association. And yet, on the other hand, they may prove to be an even stronger bond. They are certainly more widespread in their appeal, and while the sponsorship of legislation may cause it to lose some members, it attracts others into the organization. In fact, so far, more members have been gained than lost through the league's support of legislative measures.

It is quite possible that the league has attained almost its full growth, so far as membership is concerned. There are still a few states which have no branch leagues and there are also a number of communities which have no local units. This failure to extend its organization to every state and

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community, however, is due not so much to lack of effort on the part of the league, as to the absence of any desire on the part of the women of these states and communities to have such an organization formed, either because of over-organization among the women there, or because of lack of interest in the work of the league. The number of such communities is small, however, so that even if the league were able to organize local units in all of them, its membership would not be materially increased thereby. There is also room for the growth of the league in those communities which already have local branches; but here again, it is confronted by indifference and by the multiplicity of women's organizations, so that it is very doubtful if the league's membership could be materially increased in this way either.

All that can be safely said regarding the future of the league, then, is that it will no doubt continue indefinitely as a large and influential, unpartisan organization of women, devoted to the cause of public welfare in government.

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1. National

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- b. By-Laws of the National League of Women Voters, 1925. Found in the Proceedings of the National Convention for that year, pp. 91-98.

2. State

- a. Constitutions of the Minnesota League of Women Voters, 1919, 1924, 1925. Found in the Annual State Convention Files.
- b. By-Laws of the Minnesota League of Women Voters 1919, 1920, 1924, 1925. Annual State Convention Files.

III. Interviews with

1. Mr. William Anderson,, June 21, 1926.
2. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, February 19, 1926
3. Miss Emily Child, December 18, 1925.
4. Mrs. Barry N. Collins, April 26, 1926
5. Miss Marguerite M. Wells, November 14, 1925;
December 5, 1925; January 22, 1926; June 26, 1926

IV. Mimeographed Material

All of the mimeographed material prepared by the Minnesota League is contained in Scrap Books in which it is arranged according to chronological order.

1. Vol.I. November 1921-February 1923.
 - a. Minutes of the Conference on State Government.
 - b. Thorp, Mrs.Walter, "State Election Laws Clearly Stated for the First Time", a form letter written April 24, 1922.
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3. Child, Miss Emily, "Report of the Minnesota Campaign for the Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment Conducted by the Minnesota League of Women Voters Sept. 1924-April 1925.
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11. National League Campaign Goal, 1923-1924. Published by the Finance Department of the National League of Women Voters, New York City.
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IV.

13. Olson, F.L., Statement of 1925 Legislation on Re-organization of the State Departments, given at the Minnesota Institute of Government and Politics, Nov. 17, 1925.
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14. Report of the Board Meeting and Conference of Local Chairmen, Sept. 7, 1921, Form Letters 1921. Minnesota League of Women Voters.
15. Report on the Legal Status of Women in Minnesota. Prepared by the Minnesota League of Women Voters.
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2. Budget of the Minnesota League for 1925-1926. Prepared by the Minnesota League of Women Voters, Minneapolis, Minn.
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5. Friedrich, Mrs. G.W., Report from the Sixth District Chairman, 1924.
6. Programs of Work for the National League of Women Voters for 1920-1921; for 1923-1924; for 1924-1925; for 1925-1926; for 1926-1927. Published by the National League of Women Voters, Washington D.C.
7. Statement of Dues Quota; and payments from states to the National League on the 1925-1926 budget, April 12, 1926. Prepared by the National League of Women Voters, Washington D.C.

APPENDIX B

DEPARTMENT & STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE

1. Department of Efficiency in Government
2. Department of International Co-operation To Prevent War
3. Department of Public Welfare in Government
 - (1) Committee on Child Welfare
 - (2) Committee on Education
 - (3) Committee on Living Costs
 - (4) Committee on Social Hygiene
 - (5) Committee on Women in Industry
4. Committee on the Legal Status of Women

APPENDIX C

CARD FILE LIST OF MEMBERS OF LEG. COUNCIL FOR THE
1925 SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE

1. Minn. Branch of the A.A.U.W.--American Association of University Women.
2. American Legion Auxiliary
3. Minn. federation of Business & Professional Womens' Clubs
4. Council of Americanization Agencies
5. Minneapolis Council of Jewish Women
6. League of Women Voters:
State Committee Chairmen
Ramsey Co. League
Mpls. League
State President
7. Minn. Committee on Social Legislation
8. Minn. Ed. Association
9. Minn. Federation of Women's Clubs
10. Minn. Parent and Teacher Assoc.
11. Minn. Public Health Assos.
12. Minn. State Registered Nurses Assos.
13. Minn. State Org. for Public Health Nursing
14. Mpls. Comm. of the womens Trade Union League
15. Minn. W.C.T.U.
16. Woman's Welfare League of Mpls.
17. Woman's Club of Mpls.
18. Women's Co-op. Alliance
19. Y.W.C.A.

APPENDIX D

TABLE SHOWING ELEMENTS CONTAINED IN THE
NATIONAL QUOTA

State	Affiliated Dues	Maximum Dues	National Quota
Iowa	\$100.00	\$650.00	\$2052.00
Minnesota	100.00	600.00	1944.00
Montana	50.00	150.00	594.00
North Dakota	100.00	250.00	270.00
South Dakota	100.00	250.00	375.00

APPENDIX E

BUDGET OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR 1925-1926

General Administration-----	\$8,167.38
Organization-----	48,132.39
Publicity-----	11,487.39
Publications, General-----	9,870.00
Public Welfare in Government-----	8,700.00
Treasurer's Office-----	9,870.00
Legislation and Law Enforcement-----	8,747.37
Efficiency in Government-----	8,612.37
International Co-operation to Prevent War---	10,275.00
Secretary's Office-----	1,400.00
Board Members Travel-----	2,500.00
Convention-----	6,500.00
Legal Services-----	500.00
Emergency-----	1,620.71

Appendix g.

MINNESOTA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Proposed Budget for year November 1 9 2 5 to November 1 9 2 6

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES

Convention Expenses		\$200.00
Extention of Organization in State	\$1 800.00	
Salary of Organizer	800.00	
Traveling Expenses of organizer	800.00	
Traveling expenses of District Chairman	400.00	
	<u>3 000.00</u>	3 000.00
Educational Material		500.00
Woman Voter		1 100.00
Office Expenses		
Office maintenance (Rent, Telephone, Telegraph,)	\$800.00	
Office Supplies (Stationery Etc.)	600.00	
General Expenses (Clipping service, Subscriptions etc)	150.00	
	<u>1 550.00</u>	1 550.00
Office Salaries		4 500.00
Quota to National League of Women Voters		<u>1 944.00</u>
	T O T A L	\$12 794.00

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS

1. Quotas from Local Leagues	7 000.00
2. Subscriptions to The Woman Voter	850.00
3. Sale of Printed Material	200.00
4. One half of Joint Finances and Memberships and National Convention pledges to apply to National Quota	1 944.00
5. One half of Joint Finances Memberships secured in Minneapolis	600.00
6. Receipts from play "The Last Word"	500.00
7. Women Citizen Drive	100.00
8. To be raised by Finance Committee	<u>1 600.00</u>
	\$12 794.00

Program of the Institute of Government and Politics Arranged by the
Minnesota League of Women Voters in Co-operation with the
University of Minnesota November 5-9, 1924.

Monday, Nov. 5.

8:00 P.M.

"American Foreign Policy." Course I.--Professor Carl Russel Fish
Department of History, University of
Wisconsin.

Discussion

Tuesday, Nov. 6.

9:30-10:45 A.M. Round Table Discussions.

American Foreign Policy Course I. Led by Associate Professor
Lester B. Shippee, Department of History, University of
Minnesota.

International relations of the United States; American Policy
in relations to the New World; antecedents of Monroe Doctrine;
the cause and statement of the doctrine; application through
Civil War; contacts with the Old World; nature of controversies;
machinery of international intercourse.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. Course II. Led by Assistant
Professor John M. Gaus, Department of Political Science,
University of Minnesota.

The distrust of government which marked the period in which
American political institutions were founded, and its effect on
our governmental structure and our political philosophy.

11:00-12:15 A.M. Round Table Discussions

REORGANIZATION OF STATE DEPARTMENTS. Course III. Led by
Assistant Professor Morris B. Lambie, Department of Political
Science, University of Minnesota.

General trend toward reorganization of administrative structure
of state governments. Reasons: new demands upon governmental
agencies, growth of administrative departments, increasing
cost of government; weakening of the executive. Organization of
administration departments of Minnesota.

PROBLEMS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT Course IV. Led by Associate
Professor William Anderson, Department of Political Science,
University of Minnesota.

What the city does for the people. How the people control the
city--nominations, elections, the short ballot, the initiative
and referendum. Political parties

2:00-2:45 P.M.

TAXATION-----Professor Horace Secrist
Department of Economics, Northwestern
University.

3:00-3:45 P.M. Round Table Discussion

"Taxation in Minnesota"---Led by Mr. Samuel Lord Minnesota
Tax Commission

8:00 P.M.

"The Constitution and Social Progress" Course II.
Professor Arnold Bennett Hall
Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.

Discussion

Wednesday, Nov. 7

9:30-10:45 A.M. Round Table Discussions

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Course I. Led by Mr. Shippee.

The spread of industrialism; increased contact between nations; specific problems arising from situation at the end of the 19th century; the obligations of American and World contacts; issues about the Caribbean; Pan-Americanism; World relations growing out of a new economic order; forcible abandonment of a theoretical isolation.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. Course II. Led by Mr. Gaus.

Changing social conditions in the United States and the consequent new functions of Federal, State and Local governments.

11:00-12:15 A.M. Round Table Discussions

REORGANIZATION OF STATE DEPARTMENT Course III. Led by Mr. Lambie.

The demand for reorganization in Minnesota (1913-1925) Problems facing the Interim Committee: (1) the advisability of regrouping administrative activities; (2) relation of policy determination to administrative departments; (3) the budget; (4) civil service. Tactics. Difficulties.

PROBLEMS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

Course IV. Led by Mr. Anderson.

The forms of city government. Council and Mayor plan, the federal plan, the commission plan, and the city manager plan. The problems of the boards. How city charters in Minnesota can be improved.

8:00 P.M.

The Reorganization of State Government Hon. Frank O. Lowden
Former Governor of Illinois

Discussion

Thursday, November 8.

9:30-10:45 A.M. Round Table Discussions

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Course I. Led by Assistant Professor Harold S. Quigley.

The existing situation in China; unsettled condition of internal politics; financial difficulties of the central government; struggle between opposing conceptions of political morality. The interests of Japan and the Western powers in China. Elements of an American policy likely to offer advantage to China, the United States and the World.

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Course II. Led by Mr. Gaus

Problems of today: the proper sphere and area of governmental action, the adjustment of constitutions to changing social conditions, the development of a political philosophy which is in touch with a changing society.

11:00-12:15 A.M. Round Table Discussions

REORGANIZATION OF STATE DEPARTMENTS Course III. Led by Mr Lambie

General discussion. (Members of the Interim Committee of the House of Representatives and members of the recent Efficiency and Economy Commission have been invited to lead in the discussion.)

PROBLEMS OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT Course IV. Led by Mr. Anderson.

The administration of the city departments. Department heads. The municipal civil service problem. The rising cost of city government. The sources of revenue and the objects of expenditure. How to get the facts about your own city.

2:00-2:45 P.M.

"The Machinery of Law Enforcement." --- Hon. Clifford L. Hilton.
Attorney General of Minnesota

2:50-3:45 P.M. Round Table Discussion and Question Box.

"Practical Problems of Law Enforcement" -----Led by Mr. Hilton

8:00 P.M.

"Government and Social Progress. "Course II. Miss Julia Lathrop
President, Illinois League
of Women Voters.

Discussion

APPENDIX J

TYPICAL PROGRAM OF A ONE DAY SCHOOL FOR VOTERS CONDUCTED BY THE MINNESOTA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS IN 1924

First Session

I. What Every Voter Should Know About Voting

Information about the offices to be filled at the fall election; about party affiliation, nomination and registration.

II. What Every Voter Should Know About Parties

Why do we have parties. Their past history and present status. Why join a party.

Second Session

III. Political Issues of the Day

High lights in the 1924 party platforms. Comments on the national and state issues in which the League of Women Voters are interested.

IV. Why Vote

Importance of transferring government from politicians to the people if democracy is to succeed.
Influence of the vote in the home.

Mimeographed outlines of each talk, with spaces for notes, will be furnished everyone attending the school.

Appendix 1.

Program of an Institute of Government and politics Held at One of the
Teacher's Colleges (Mankato May 14 and 15, 1924)

Wednesday, May 14

1:30-2:30 P.M. Registration

2:30-3:30 P.M.

1. "America and her Foreign Policy in Europe and South
America" - - - - - A.B. Morris M. A.
Department of History, M.T.C.

3:30-3:45 P.M. Round Table Discussion

3:45-4:30 P.M. Report of the Buffalo Convention
Mrs. Sumner T. McKnight,
Chairman Minneapolis League of Women Voters

Evening Session

8:00 P.M. Auditorium

11. "America and her Foreign Policy in China and Japan--
Prof. Harold S. Quidgley
Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota

Thursday, May 15

9:00-9:45 A.M.

Government and Social Progress"* - - - - - G.S. Petterson
Department of Social Science, M.T.C.

9:45-10:00 A.M. Discussion

10-12 A.M. State Reorganization- - - - - -Mrs W.F. Whittich,
State Chairman Committee on Efficiency in Government,
Minnesota League of Women Voters.

Afternoon Session

2:30-3:15 P.M.

Significance of Parties in America History"
Prof. John M. Gaus
Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota.

3:15-3:30 P.M. Discussion - - - - - Led by Mr. E.H. Metag,
Mankato High School

3:30-4:40 P.M. " The World Court " - - - - - Mrs. A.J. McGuire
Vice- Chairman St. Paul League of Women Voters

Evening Session

8:00 P.M.

"The Problem of Party in the United States " - - Prof. John M. Gaus
Conclusion--League of Women Voters- - - - Mrs. W.F. Wittich.

APPENDIX K

Minnesota League of Women Voters,
1639 Hennipin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE OF UNITED STATES SENATOR
May, 1924

Name 66 _____ Running on _____ Ticket _____

Residence _____

Biographical notes _____

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

- A. The World Court- Do you favor the entry of the United States into the Permanent court of International Justice on terms that will insure the independence of the United States but without reservations that are designed to make our admission impracticable? _____
- B. Particiapation in International Conferences- Do you favor a policy of official American participation in international conferences designed to prevent was and to further humanitarian movements? _____

PUBLIC WELFARE

1. Child Labor- (a) Do you favor the federal child labor amendment? _____
(b) If the amendment is ratified by the states, will you support federal legislation setting minimum standards for the protection of children in industry? _____
2. Removal of Illiteracy- Do you favor the extension of the principal of federal aid for the removal of illiteracy? _____
3. Legal status of Women- Do you favor the prompt removal of all legal discriminations against women by carefully condidered specific measures? _____ (b) Will you oppose the so-called "Equal Rights" amendment which threatens the welfare of women workers and endangers other desirable legislation? _____
4. Appropriations- (a) Do you favor adequate appropriations for the work of the federal Children's bureau? _____ (b) For the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor? _____

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

5. Merit System in Civil Service- Do you favor the abolition of political patronage and the extension of the classified civil service on scientific principles of personnel administration? _____

LAW ENFORCEMENT

6. Prohibition- Do you favor all measures necessary to the strict enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment? _____

The above are question on which the League of Women Voters has taken action and on which its members generally are eager to ascertain the view

Appendix K.
(2)

of the candidates.

In addition, please indicate very briefly the action you advocate in respect to any or all of the following issues:

7. Methods of Tax Reduction.
8. Direction in which federal expenditures can best be curtailed.
9. Methods of effecting agricultural relief.
10. Revision of tariff, upward or downward-
11. Principle on which immigration policy should be determined-
12. Government conservation and regulation of natural resources-
13. Government ownership or control of railways-
14. Reform in nominating and election methods-
15. Reforms in Congressional procedure-
16. Changes in United States Foreign Policy-

N. B. Questionnaire sent to Representative was the same except that the question listed under International Co-operation to prevent war were omitted.

MINNESOTA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
1639 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis

QUESTIONNAIRE

(To candidates for Governor, Lieutenant-Governor and State Legislature)

Name _____

Address _____ District _____

Elective and appointive offices held _____

Biographical notes (Not more than 150 words) _____

1. REORGANIZATION OF STATE DEPARTMENTS: (a) Do you favor consolidation of state administrative department into a well coordinated divisions dealing with related work? _____ (b) Do you favor the standardization of employment in Minnesota that would lead toward establishing a classified service with appointments made for merit and equal pay for equal work? _____ Do you favor strengthening the present Executive Budget law by providing the governor with facilities adequately to oversee the making of a proper budget for state expenditures and to exercise control over departments following legislative action on appropriations? _____
2. DIRECT PRIMARY: (a) Do you favor this system of nomination as opposed to the convention system? _____ (b) Do you think that an attempt based upon the experience of other states should be made to improve Minnesota's present primary law? _____
3. BALLOT WITHOUT PARTY DESIGNATION: Do you favor the retention of this system for state legislators? _____
4. CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT: Do you favor the ratification of the child labor amendment enabling Congress to legislate for the protection of children in industry? _____
5. PUBLIC SCHOOLS: (a) Would you favor measures to place the Teachers' Retirement Fund on a sound financial basis? _____ (b) Would you favor the establishment of county boards of education with power to appoint county superintendents, thus placing the office on a non-political basis? _____
6. REFUND FOR MOTHERS PENSION: A state refund to counties for one-third of the amount expended for mothers' pensions or county allowances being now provided for by law, would you vote to make the necessary appropriation for this purpose? _____

7. INFANCY AND MATERNITY: Do you favor the renewal of an appropriation by the legislature to entitle the state to federal aid for work for the protection of maternity and infancy? _____
8. LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN: Do you favor the removal of legal discriminations against women by specific measures not prejudicial to legislation necessary for the protection of women? _____
9. FAMILY COURT: Do you favor legislation extending the functions of the Juvenile court in cities of the first class, where the judges deem it advisable, to all types of cases immediately involving marital relations and the welfare of children? _____
10. MARRIAGE LAW: Do you favor the passage of a marriage law abolishing common law marriages and providing safe guards against hasty and ill-advised marriages? _____
11. ENFORCEMENT OF PROHIBITION: Do you favor all measures necessary to the strict enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment? _____

A Digest of
Miss Edna Akre's

T H E S I S

on

The League of Women Voters: Its Origin and Work

M. A. University of Minnesota

1926

(Mostly Excerpts)

CHAPTER I.

Introduction

Beginning of National League
Origin of Minnesota Branch
Purpose of League
Policy of League

Expecting its Jubilee Convention in St. Louis, March 1919, to be its final one, the National Woman Suffrage Association leaders felt that before disbanding the association might engage in some work worthy of its efforts. Two tasks, especially drew them: first, the removal of the discriminations against women which existed in both law and custom; and the removal of certain obstacles of good government (such as illiteracy, corruption in nominations and elections, and lack of general intelligence among the voters).

The general feeling was that it would be better to sponsor some new organization which would appeal to an even larger number of women than the suffrage movement had needed, rather than keep its existing organization, however wise it was in political experience.

The Convention, when it met, adopted the proposal of their president, that the League of Women Voters be organized as an auxiliary body to the suffrage association.

When, in February 1920, the National Woman Suffrage Association held its Victory Convention in Chicago, it provided for the dissolution of its corporation and recommended that the League of Women Voters be organized as an independent body and that it make "political education for the new women voters (but not excluding the men) its first duty in 1920".

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last session - (the membership was ostensibly the same) - and decided to form a permanent organization, accepting the Constitution proposed by the organization committee. Almost 700 women attended the convention. The League has held its meetings every year since, and there are now branches in 44 states, one in the District of Columbia, and one in the territory of Hawaii.

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National Organization

National headquarters and offices
Board of Directors
General Council
Executive Committee
Regional Directors
Departments and Standing Committees
Interlocking Directorates
Frequency of Turnover in Office

The headquarters of the national organization are at Washington, D.C., and New York. The president works through the Washington office and all of the administrative offices are there except the treasurer (who is in New York). The departments and standing committees have headquarters wherever their chairman happens to reside.

Since 1920 the office of president, of the five vice-presidents, secretary and treasurer are elected by delegates to the national convention together with the Regional Directors (each has charge of one of the seven districts into which the United States has been subdivided by the League). These eight officers constitute the Board of Directors.

Now in addition to these elected officers there are regional secretaries and members of the executive staff who are appointed by the Board of Directors and unlike other officers, these are paid for their services.

The Board has four regular meetings a year though it may have special meetings whenever the president or any of its members so desire. It has full charge of the business and property of the corporation, subject only to instructions of the convention. It passes on important business to be presented to the convention and has authority to decide which measures shall be made subjects for active federal legis-

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The General Council now includes the Board of Directors, the chairmen of departments, the chairmen of standing committees, the president of each affiliated League (or her alternate) and the president of each national associate member.

The Council has two annual meetings, preceding and following the annual convention, in which it considers programs, methods of work, the budget (submitted by the Board of Directors), and then makes recommendations to the convention.

The Executive Committee is composed of the eight officers. In order to overcome the difficulty of obtaining frequent Board meetings for emergencies, provision has been made to have this committee have all the powers of the Board, when the latter is not in session.

The Regional Directors (each elected by the delegates from their own particular region) are both familiar with the work and problems of their own state and local Leagues, and with the national problems, as they are members of the Board of Directors.

The departments and standing committees carry out the League's program, policies. The restricted field of each department makes specialization possible, and therefore, their recommendations are given great weight.

The chairmen of the three departments and one standing committee are appointed by the Board of Directors.

There has grown up the practice of reelecting successful officers, and this has resulted in building up a strong official personnel whose

ever increasing fund of experience and political knowledge can be utilized by the League to advantage.

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State Organization

State headquarters
Office staff
General state officers
Board of Directors
Executive Committee
Departments & Standing committees
Legislative Council
Origin of local units

So far the headquarters have always been in Minneapolis. In addition to the elected officers, there is an office staff of three members: the executive secretary, the office secretary, and the field organizer, all of which are appointed by the Board of Directors. Their duties are principally administrative in character.

The general state officers - (twenty-two) are elected at the annual state convention for a two-year term (half of the number each year).

The officers and work correspond quite closely to those of the national League. There is a president, three vice-presidents (vice-presidents at large), secretary and treasurer. No special work is given to the state vice-presidents, as is true of the national offices of vice-president; the ten vice-presidents, who are chairmen of the ten congressional districts of the state, may be said to correspond roughly to the seven regional directors of the national League. There are six other directors, as members of the Board, but who have no special duties assigned to them.

The Board of Directors is composed of the general officers (as elected officers are called), and the chairman of the Legislative

Council, of the departments, and of the standing committees. They hold regular monthly meetings with provision for special meetings when necessary. These are held from time to time in various districts for closer touch with the organization and conditions.

The duties consist of transacting the general business of the League, subject to the approval of the organization, and to decide where and when the annual convention shall take place, and to fill all vacancies.

The Executive Committee since 1924 has had seven members, whose duties correspond closely to those of the national Executive Committee. This committee also acts in the interim of the Board and may be composed of any persons chosen by the Board from among its own members, though the general practice has always been to include the president and treasurer.

There are now the following standing committees:

Committee	on	Protection of Women in Industry
"	"	Child Welfare
"	"	Social Hygiene
"	"	Living Costs
"	"	Legal Status of Women
"	"	Education,

and the Department of Efficiency in Government and the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War.

These in 1924 by an amendment of the state By-Laws were formed to correspond in work as well as name with those of the national League.

The state chairmen are appointed by the Executive Board at the close of the annual meeting of the League and they serve for two years. Their duty is to give the Council facts and technicalities on matters within the field covered by their committee and to explain to

League members the technical features of the legislative program sponsored by their committee.

The Legislative Council is not strictly a League organization but the latter was so instrumental in organizing it and directing its work, that it must be mentioned. Organized in May 1920, it has a two-fold purpose: first, to recommend public welfare measures for legislation; and second, to make recommendations about the enforcement of those which have become laws. There are nineteen organizations represented.

In organizing throughout the state, the League has adopted the plan of the political parties by following the political subdivision. Over each congressional district is a chairman - a vice-president. Further organization depends wholly upon this officer.

CHAPTER IV

Finance

National Finance

- methods used to raise revenues
- expenditures

Finance of Minnesota League

- original quota plan
- changed adopted 1922
- other ways of raising revenue

Local Finance

In the early years of its existence the League was supported largely by contributions from individuals. In 1922, however, a department of finance was instituted and the business of raising money has become more systematized. The essential feature of the present financial policy of the League is ultimately to bring all national, state and local money raising into one comprehensive plan and thus avoid confusion and duplication of effort. The aim of the present plan is to substitute a large number of money raisers for the "faithful few".

The organization work is, of course, the largest item of expense and, of the departments and standing committees, the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War is the most costly.

CHAPTER V

Formulation of the League Program

When the League was organized in 1919, eight committees were appointed by the Board of Directors, and each of these were assigned particular fields of work and when a specific piece of work was to be accomplished, the committee which had it under advisement, would be the directing force for the entire League.

The custom of the League is to have a few major interests generally put forward, one at a time. Sometimes an emergency measure will share honors with the 'major interest' - though no emergency measure will be actively supported by the League unless it has been placed upon the legislative program of the League and before this can be, it must have been on the League's program for at least one year.

The preparation of the League's Program of Work well illustrates the care with which ~~max~~ organization forms its decision. The national chairman of each department and committee and the members of each department and committee, - one from each state, formulates the program which is to be presented to the Convention each year. This tentative program is sent back to the state chairmen and local Leagues three months at least before the national Convention meets. In a pre-convention conference, the state and national chairmen meet to draw up a program to be presented to the General Council which considers such submitted programs and reports these to the Convention with its recommendations.

The General Council has given the National Board of Directors the authority to decide which of the measures adopted by the Convention shall be for active federation work.

Every measure on the League's program will stay there until its enactment into law renders further support unnecessary. It is not very usual for the League to drop one of its measures.

The program of the League considering the many interests represented by its membership is surprisingly simple and brief. It is composed of the programs of the different departments, and each of these contains two parts:

1. A list of subjects recommended for study
2. A list of legislative measures desired, the enactment of which the League will actively support.

And so, we had best examine in some detail the work of each committee and department.

CHAPTER VI

The Work of the Department of Efficiency in Government

Digest of Elections Laws
Educating the Voter
Get-Out-The-Vote Campaign
Federal Measures Sponsored
State and local measures in Minnesota
Conclusion

First, the work of the Department of Efficiency in Government, created in 1921 to replace the Committee on Election Laws and Methods. The purpose of this committee had been to direct the study of the election laws of the various states with a view to correcting their defects.

The first recommendation to the Convention was that a corresponding committee ~~xx~~ in each state make a digest of its election laws and forward results of the work to the national chairman. The Minnesota League completed its digest first and thus serves as a model example.

This study together with an investigation of the manner in which these laws were being executed, led the committee to two conclusions: first, that there still exists a considerable amount of corruption and trickery at the polls; and in the second place, that while the Direct Primary is not perfect, it is the best method of nomination that has been found and that, therefore, the League should actively oppose any attempt to repeal the law.

Now this new department (1921) took over the work of educating the voter and from instructing the women in the mere technicalities of voting, it has developed a rather comprehensive political education program. This department has also charge of disseminating information regarding candidates for election. Strictly a non-partisan organization, it does not support any special candidate, but gives an equal opportunity to all to acquaint the League members with their qualifications for office.

Akin to this work of educating the voter is the "Get-Out-The Vote Campaign" though this is conducted by the local Leagues.

The most important work of the department has been in the fields of state and local government.

The federal legislation sponsored consists of two measures. It is supporting the movement to obtain federal suffrage for the people of the District of Columbia, and it is opposing any attempt to make the amending of the federal Constitution more difficult. The result has been an active opposition to the Wadsworth-Garrett bill.

In the state the ^{department} ~~committee~~ was responsible for a conference (January 1923) of men and women called to consider the possibility of reorganization of the state departments (in the interests of economy and efficiency". This conference became known as the Citizens' Committee.

The other major state interest is in defense of the state primary.

The department also undertook the study of efficiency in city government. In 1924, the department decided to support any movement toward the city manager form of government, and it was represented on the Citizens' Committee, which sponsored the work of the Charter Commission and which conducted the campaign in favor of the new charter.

These are some of the most important accomplishments of this particular department.

The work of this department has been summed up by the national chairman as follows: "The League of Women Voters has enthusiasm for efficiency because it has its own ideas of what efficient government is, namely; a representative, responsible, and responsive government capable

of rendering, with the least waste and lowest cost, services to the needs of life of all the people. The Department of Efficiency in Government is trying to do all this through schools and institutes, by a study of special problems, and by talks before other organizations."

CHAPTER VII

The Work of the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War

The establishment of the department
World Peace Move sponsored by the League
Sponsorship of World Court by the national League
Sponsorship of World Court by Minnesota League
Present Program of League

Since the 1921 Convention where Will Irwin's speech on "The Next War" made a profound impression" the League has actively interested itself in measures to bring about world peace.

It appointed a special committee to go to President Harding and ask him to call an international Conference on the Limitations of Armaments. When the conference was in session, the League kept itself well informed as to its progress. In fact, the Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association stated that about 90% of all the inquiries and requests for literature came from members of the League.

The Convention on the Reduction of Armaments issued pamphlets of the progress and of the particular problems of that body. When the conference ended and the treaties signed, many felt that the national committee at least should continue as a standing committee and work for an international peace. It was made a department that it might have a chairman on the Board of Directors (1922)

At its first Convention, the League, sponsored our entrance into the League of Nations, but as this became a partisan issue and subject to much controversy, at the next Convention the question was put upon the program for study instead of for actual support. At present the peace moves supported by the League are those favoring reduction in armament and the entrance into the World Court.

The Fourth Annual Convention (1923) devoted a great deal of its attention to the work of the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War. The keynote of the Convention was world peace.

In 1924, the department asked the political conventions to include the World Court in their programs. The Republican party said their World Court program was largely due to the League's influence.

In 1925, the department organized a conference of women's organizations in Washington, D.C. to have charge of lobbying for the World Court.

The present program is to continue the work of urging a more unqualified support of the World Court by the United States as all the reservations adopted by the Senate do not meet with the League's approval. Consequently it has adopted for the 1926-1927 Program

"The support of measures designed to make the Permanent Court of International Justice effective for peace, progressive codification of international law and measures designed to effect the outlawry of war".

It also continues to support measures looking toward the reduction of armaments and the promotion of international harmony.

CHAPTER VIII

The Work of the Standing Committees of the League

Federal Legislation Measures secured
Work of Committees in Minnesota
Minnesota Campaign on the Ratification of the Child Labor
Conclusion Amendment

The work of the standing committees is principally to secure social reform through legislation, and to direct the study leading to a demand for such reform. Most of their recommendations come through the states, though ~~many~~ they usually have a few federal measures.

In this field, the Committee on Child Labor has devoted most of its time to working for three measures. For four years it has been working for an extension of the period of operation of the Maternity & Infancy Act, together with an adequate appropriation for carrying out its provisions.

2) the Committee sponsors measures for an adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

3) In 1925, the Committee was successful in having the bill passed by Congress submitting the Child Labor Amendment to the states.

Upon completion of this piece of work it added to its legislative program:

"Legislation by Congress after ratification by the states of the Child Labor Amendment. ~~establishing national minimum standards for protection~~

Establishing national minimum standards for protection of Women in Industry."

The Committee on Education is sponsoring a federal Department of Education and an adequate appropriation for it as well as for the public schools of the District of Columbia.

The Committee on Living Costs sponsors a bill to increase the

power of the Federal Trade Commission in order to prevent unfair trade practices and monopoly control. It favors legislation which will increase the appropriation for the Bureau of Home Economics for more extensive research work.

As far as the Muscles Shoal question is concerned, the League wants a continuation of government operation through a non-political corporation.

The Committees on Social Hygiene, on the Legal Status of Women, and Women in Industry, are principally concerned with the welfare of women.

The Committee on Women in Industry, alone of the three, has a federal legislative program at present that consists of two measures:

- 1) to provide for a Federal Woman's Bureau and
- 2) to secure adequate appropriation for a federal employment service.

The Committee on the Legal Status of Women has sponsored only one national law: the Cable bill providing for the independent citizenship of married women. President Harding, in recognition of the League's support of this measure, presented to Mrs. Maud Wood Park (president of the League at that time) with the pen with which this bill was signed.

Work of the Committees in Minnesota - In 1921, the League's committee succeeded in having women made eligible for jury service. The League sponsored - in educational measures - the bill for the compulsory school attendance and ~~xxix~~ of the several supported by the League this was the only one passed in 1921. In 1923, four of the most important measures became law.

- 1) improved measures of enforcing compulsory school attendance
- 2) lengthened minimum school year
- 3) provided for physical training in all public schools
- 4) revised apportionment of state aid.

The Committee on Women in Industry has for its chief aim the passage of a 48 Hour week for employed women.

The Child Welfare Committee in 1921 was able to get a law increasing the maximum allowed under the Mothers' Allowance Act.

Due to the fact that the legislature did not pass the Child Labor Amendment the League is redoubling its efforts to secure this.

At the close of each legislative session the League prints a legislative summary, showing which bills were passed:- Many of the same bills sponsored by the League are also supported by other organizations, but the League takes the lead in support of these measures and it is the only one of these states organizations that actively supported progressive legislation in every field of activity.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

Accomplishments of League Its Future

The founders of the League very probably did not realize the breadth of the aims they adopted: to educate the voter and to sponsor improved legislation.

In the expansion of its legislative program the League has become interested in very different fields of activity and yet all of its interests may be said to center around one common aim: to better conditions of society.

The standing committees are working for public welfare within the nation, the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War is working toward world peace, principally because war is the greatest enemy of international public welfare; the Department of Efficiency in Government is trying to make the government more efficient, simply in order that it might contribute more to the welfare of society.

The League's work has been cooperated with by various other organizations so that it is impossible to accurately gauge the extent or importance of its activities. But it is a "guiding genius" for many of the progressive movements.

The League formulates certain issues which it supports regardless of attitudes of political parties. In the past, it has shown itself more attached to the issues than to any political party, and the major interest of the League is in the field of public welfare legislation, which while not exclusively, is nevertheless, largely of interest to women only.

The League will undoubtedly continue indefinitely as a large influential, unpartisan organization of women, devoted to the cause of public welfare in government.

FILE COPY

A Digest of
Miss Edna Akre's

T H E S I S

on

The League of Women Voters: Its Origin and Work

M. A. University of Minnesota

1926

(Mostly Excerpts)

CHAPTER I.

Introduction

Beginning of National League
Origin of Minnesota Branch
Purpose of League
Policy of League

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In the state the ^{department} ~~committee~~ was responsible for a conference (January 1923) of men and women called to consider the possibility of reorganization of the state departments (in the interests of economy and efficiency". This conference became known as the Citizens' Committee.

The other major state interest is in defense of the state primary.

The department also undertook the study of efficiency in city government. In 1924, the department decided to support any movement toward the city manager form of government, and it was represented on the Citizens' Committee, which sponsored the work of the Charter Commission and which conducted the campaign in favor of the new charter.

These are some of the most important accomplishments of this particular department.

The work of this department has been summed up by the national chairman as follows: "The League of Women Voters has enthusiasm for efficiency because it has its own ideas of what efficient government is, namely; a representative, responsible, and responsive government capable

of rendering, with the least waste and lowest cost, services to the needs of life of all the people. The Department of Efficiency in Government is trying to do all this through schools and institutes, by a study of special problems, and by talks before other organizations."

CHAPTER VII

The Work of the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War

The establishment of the department
World Peace Move sponsored by the League
Sponsorship of World Court by the national League
Sponsorship of World Court by Minnesota League
Present Program of League

Since the 1921 Convention where Will Irwin's speech on "The Next War" made a profound impression" the League has actively interested itself in measures to bring about world peace.

It appointed a special committee to go to President Harding and ask him to call an international Conference on the Limitations of Armaments. When the conference was in session, the League kept itself well informed as to its progress. In fact, the Secretary of the Foreign Policy Association stated that about 90% of all the inquiries and requests for literature came from members of the League.

The Convention on the Reduction of Armaments issued pamphlets of the progress and of the particular problems of that body. When the conference ended and the treaties signed, many felt that the national committee at least should continue as a standing committee and work for international peace. It was made a department that it might have a chairman on the Board of Directors (1922)

At its first Convention, the League, sponsored our entrance into the League of Nations, but as this became a partisan issue and subject to much controversy, at the next Convention the question was put upon the program for study instead of for actual support. At present the peace moves supported by the League are those favoring reduction in armament and the entrance into the World Court.

The Fourth Annual Convention (1923) devoted a great deal of its attention to the work of the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War. The keynote of the Convention was world peace.

In 1924, the department asked the political conventions to include the World Court in their programs. The Republican party said their World Court program was largely due to the League's influence.

In 1925, the department organized a conference of women's organizations in Washington, D.C. to have charge of lobbying for the World Court.

The present program is to continue the work of urging a more unqualified support of the World Court by the United States as all the reservations adopted by the Senate do not meet with the League's approval. Consequently it has adopted for the 1926-1927 Program

"The support of measures designed to make the Permanent Court of International Justice effective for peace, progressive codification of international law and measures designed to effect the outlawry of war".

It also continues to support measures looking toward the reduction of armaments and the promotion of international harmony.

CHAPTER VIII

The Work of the Standing Committees of the League

Federal Legislation Measures secured
Work of Committees in Minnesota
Minnesota Campaign on the Ratification of the Child Labor
Conclusion Amendment

The work of the standing committees is principally to secure social reform through legislation, and to direct the study leading to a demand for such reform. Most of their recommendations come through the states, though ~~xxx~~ they usually have a few federal measures.

In this field, the Committee on Child Labor has devoted most of its time to working for three measures. For four years it has been working for an extension of the period of operation of the Maternity & Infancy Act, together with an adequate appropriation for carrying out its provisions.

2) the Committee sponsors measures for an adequate appropriation for the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

3) In 1925, the Committee was successful in having the bill passed by Congress submitting the Child Labor Amendment to the states.

Upon completion of this piece of work it added to its legislative program:

"Legislation by Congress after ratification by the states of the Child Labor Amendment. ~~establishing national minimum standards for protection of~~

Establishing national minimum standards for protection of Women in Industry."

The Committee on Education is sponsoring a federal Department of Education and an adequate appropriation for it as well as for the public schools of the District of Columbia.

The Committee on Living Costs sponsors a bill to increase the

power of the Federal Trade Commission in order to prevent unfair trade practices and monopoly control. It favors legislation which will increase the appropriation for the Bureau of Home Economics for more extensive research work.

As far as the Muscles Shoal question is concerned, the League wants a continuation of government operation through a non-political corporation.

The Committees on Social Hygiene, on the Legal Status of Women, and Women in Industry, are principally concerned with the welfare of women.

The Committee on Women in Industry, alone of the three, has a federal legislative program at present that consists of two measures:

- 1) to provide for a Federal Woman's Bureau and
- 2) to secure adequate appropriation for a federal employment service.

The Committee on the Legal Status of Women has sponsored only one national law: the Cable bill providing for the independent citizenship of married women. President Harding, in recognition of the League's support of this measure, presented to Mrs. Maud Wood Park (president of the League at that time) with the pen with which this bill was signed.

Work of the Committees in Minnesota - In 1921, the League's committee succeeded in having women made eligible for jury service. The League sponsored - in educational measures - the bill for the compulsory school attendance and ~~xxbiii~~ of the several supported by the League this was the only one passed in 1921. In 1923, four of the most important measures became law.

- 1) improved measures of enforcing compulsory school attendance
- 2) lengthened minimum school year
- 3) provided for physical training in all public schools
- 4) revised apportionment of state aid.

The Committee on Women in Industry has for its chief aim the passage of a 48 Hour week for employed women.

The Child Welfare Committee in 1921 was able to get a law increasing the maximum allowed under the Mothers' Allowance Act.

Due to the fact that the legislature did not pass the Child Labor Amendment the League is redoubling its efforts to secure this.

At the close of each legislative session the League prints a legislative summary, showing which bills were passed. Many of the same bills sponsored by the League are also supported by other organizations, but the League takes the lead in support of these measures and it is the only one of these states organizations that actively supported progressive legislation in every field of activity.