CHAPTER II

Portrait of an Association

The Legislators Are Providing Services for Themselves Through Their Organization

HISTORY

The first announcement of the project for the establishment of an association of the state legislators and an invitation to the organization meeting was issued from the office of a Colorado Senator on December 20, 1925. Announcements and invitations were sent to each of the 7,500 state legislators.

In January, 1926, came the “Embryonic Number” of “The American Legislator” with announcements of the “local council” and “general assembly” set-up, which fore-shadowed future developments of the organization. Nominating and election ballots were mailed to every legislator in the United States, for the election of a House Council and a Senate Council in each state. Numbers of legislators paid dues or made sustaining contributions to the Association, but most of the financing was underwritten by the legislator mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Early in the Association’s history individual dues were abandoned in favor of state appropriations to the Association. It was felt that the states benefited directly from the services of the organization and that it was unfair to collect personal dues from legislators, many of whom receive only nominal compensation.

By May of 1926, a Senate Council of three members and a House Council of four members had been established in each of the forty-eight states. The little leaflet called “The American Legislator” had become a small printed pamphlet and the title changed to “The Legislator” in February, 1926.

Seventy-six distinguished citizens—government officials, educators, engineers, editors and others had accepted membership on the Association’s Advisory Boards. Endorsements of the Association had been made by:

- Denver Bar Association: May 3, 1926
- Law Club of Denver: May 5, 1926
- Colorado Bar Association: May 14, 1926
- American Bar Association: July 14, 1926
- National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws: July 15, 1926

During its formative period, the Association also received the moral support and the encouragement of such distinguished students of government as:

- Herbert Hoover
- Roscoe Pound
- Elihu Root
- John H. Wigmore

The first meeting of legislators from the several states came in 1926, when on July 19, “a considerable assemblage” of legislators from all parts of the country met in the Senate Chamber in Denver, adopted constitution and by-laws, and elected the following officers:

- President: Senator Henry W. Toll, Colorado.
- First Vice-President: Senator George Woodward, Pennsylvania.
- Second Vice-President: Senator Alfred L. Thwing, Minnesota.

In “The Legislator” for February, 1929, appeared the first mention of “a clearinghouse for the Legislative Reference Bureaus of the various states.” A list of those Legislative Reference Bureaus was published in that issue of the periodical, and the theory of “an informational switch-board through which any legislator or the director of any Legislative Reference Bureau can ‘plug in’ by letter or telegram, and be connected with
the best sources of information in the United States,” was well developed.

The magazine was sent to the whole 7,500 legislators free of charge in an effort to disseminate this valuable information where it was most needed.

Thoughtful students of the legislative processes have long recognized the value of Legislative Reference Bureaus in aiding the work of state law makers, but the major difficulty with the Legislative Reference Bureaus’ set-up was the fact that, no matter how well trained, one hundred and fifty Legislative Bureau employees could not adequately serve 7,500 legislators without some form of central organization. The American Legislators’ Association proceeded to furnish that central organization through its Interstate Reference Bureau. The vast store of research material in the hands of individual reference bureaus can, through central exchange, be made available to other states. Thus repetition of costly research is eliminated and informed legislation facilitated. In addition, the Interstate Reference Bureau has established contacts with a considerable number of institutions and individuals engaged in governmental research.

By 1929 the Association’s program included, among other projects, the publication of the periodical; an annual meeting of legislators; the formation of advisory committees; and a campaign to improve the prestige of legislative personnel.

Since moving to Chicago in 1930, the Association has made earnest efforts to carry out the various parts of this program. In the different chapters of this handbook accounts of what has been done in each direction can be found.

PURPOSE

The American Legislators’ Association represents an effort on the part of legislators to give a constructive turn to the widespread criticism of legislatures which has been prevalent in this country for generations.

Underlying the entire plan is the thought that there should be a central organization to make effective all proposals calculated to improve the organization of our legislatures. The organization should also bring to each legislator the opportunity to profit from the researches of other legislators and from organizations which have studied legislative problems. It is hoped thus to improve the quality of the law making process in the various states.

The Association is concerned with the work of the forty-eight state legislatures and their 7,500 legislators. It is not concerned with questions of federal legislation, except as they are affected by problems of state legislation. Accordingly, throughout this handbook, unless it otherwise appears, references to legislators, legislatures, and legislation refer to state legislators, legislatures and legislation.

FINANCES.

The American Legislators’ Association was first underwritten by one legislator. During the initial years several other state legislators saw the value of the Association and made private donations ranging from $100 to $1,000. The Association has never received any support from any individual who has not been a member of a state legislature.

In 1930 the Spelman Fund, which is associated with the Rockefeller Foundation, made an appropriation in support of the work of the Association. The Fund has since made additional appropriations, but they will expire on December 31, 1935. In 1931 and 1932 the Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago also made appropriations to the Association.

As previously stated, the system of personal dues paid by active members of the organization was discontinued after the first year, and since that time the only additional source of income, except subscriptions to the Association’s magazine, “State Government,” has been state appropriations.

The support of the foundations was given to permit a demonstration of possibilities—not as a permanent source of income. The trustees of the Spelman Fund believed that an organization of state legislators should be established. They approved the purposes and projects of the American Legislators’ Association, but promised aid only for a time on the theory that if the work was worth doing the states themselves should support it. The experiment has been a success and six of the state legislatures have made appropriations for the continued sup-
The administrative offices of the American Legislators' Association occupy much of the main floor including all of the offices in the foreground. Here the Association conducts the Interstate Reference Bureau, a quasi-governmental agency, the national clearing house of legislative information. Most of this building is occupied by the secretariats of important associations of governmental officials.

It is, however, necessary that other states should support the work which has begun so auspiciously.

The expenditure of one thousand to five thousand dollars a year is a small price to pay for the many services which the American Legislators' Association renders. If the legislatures appropriate an average amount equivalent to the salary of two stenographers, this work can be well financed, and rendered much more effective.

A fuller discussion of this matter will be found in Chapter XII.

LOCATION AND FACILITIES

It is important that the main offices of the Association and of the Interstate Reference Bureau be located in a central geographical position. Denver was the scene of activities from the formation of the Association in December, 1925, until the Chicago office was opened on October 17,
Views in two of the offices of the American Legislators’ Association in the ivy-covered building adjoining the University of Chicago at Drexel Avenue and Fifty-eighth Street. A staff of fifteen has been here devoting itself to the assistance of legislators of all states.
1930. Chicago has proved a pivotal point from which to maintain contact with the research agencies and with the forty-eight legislatures. The Association’s secretariat is now working in close cooperation with the secretariats of nearly twenty other organizations of governmental officials. The benefits of its consultant affiliation with the University of Chicago are discussed elsewhere in this book.

The services of the Interstate Reference Bureau involve a great deal of research work. In the performance of this function, the Bureau’s staff receives not only the assistance of its scores of official Advisers, who are located throughout the country, but also the direct and personal cooperation of the experts who make up the political science, law, and economics faculties of the University of Chicago, a University which ranks second to none in its field.

The Chicago site also gives access to splendid University libraries of state documents, legislative journals, and session laws.

**Organization**

Every member of the legislature of each of the forty-eight states is automatically a member of the Association during his term of office. The Association is governed by a board of managers, members of which must be state legislators or former state legislators. A list of the past and present managers of the American Legislators’ Association is printed below. The Director is, ex officio, one of the members of the Board of Managers. The president and the two vice-presidents are elected at the annual meeting of the Association.

In each state there is a Senate Council of five Senators and a House Council of five Representatives. Members of the councils have been appointed by the president of the Association since 1927, but during 1935 a plan has been launched to secure the establishment in each House of Representatives and each Senate, where possible, of a standing Committee on Interstate Cooperation, which shall also constitute the Council of the American Legislators’ Association. By this arrangement the legislature acquires the control, to which it is entitled, over the selection of its own Councilors. Hundreds of the Association’s Councilors have taken pride in actively furthering the development of the organization’s project. An attempt is made to keep the house and senate councils in each state as politically representative as possible. The majority party in each house usually has a majority representation on its council. A suggested resolution for establishment of a Committee on Interstate Cooperation appears at the end of this chapter.

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**THE AMERICAN LEGISLATORS’ ASSOCIATION SUGGESTS THE ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION ESTABLISHING AN OFFICIAL LEGISLATIVE MEDIUM FOR INTERSTATE COOPERATION**

Be it Resolved:

1. That there is hereby established a standing committee of this House of Representatives (or Senate), to be known as the Committee on Interstate Cooperation, to be composed of five members.

2. That the members of the present session shall be forthwith appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives (President of the Senate). This Committee shall devote its attention primarily to the improvement of relationships of the government of this state with the governments of the forty-seven other states, and more especially with the governments of neighboring states. This Committee shall also give attention to the more effective cooperation of the government of this state with the federal government.

3. That this Committee shall also constitute the Council of the American Legislators’ Association for this House of Representatives (Senate).

4. That the passage of this Resolution shall constitute an amendment of the rules of this House of Representatives (Senate).
Belknap, William B.—Agriculturist. Member of the Kentucky House of Representatives 1924-1928 and 1934-. President of the American Legislators Association, 1932-1935.

Chinnock, James T.—Lawyer. Member of the Oregon House of Representatives 1928-1932. Member of Oregon Senate 1932-.

Groves, Harold M.—Educator. Member of the Wisconsin Assembly 1930-1932. State Tax Commissioner 1932-1934. Member of the Wisconsin Senate 1934-.

Parkman, Henry, Jr.—Lawyer. Former member of the Boston City Council. Member of the Massachusetts Senate 1926-.

Smith, Thomas V.—Educator. Member of the Illinois Senate 1934-.


Wadsworth, James J.—Agriculturist. Member of the New York Assembly 1931-.

Woodward, George.—Physician. Member of the Philadelphia Board of Health 1896-1900. Member of Pennsylvania Senate 1919-.

Yantis, George F.—Lawyer. Member of the Washington House of Representatives 1930-. Speaker of the House of Representatives 1933-1935.
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Past and Present Managers of the American Legislators' Association


CADEL, HON. REECE A. .......... Arkansas .......... 1926.
CHILD, SENATOR SHERMAN W. .......... Minnesota .......... 1933-34.
COULTER, HON. BERN C. .......... Nebraska .......... 1926.
HADDEN, HON. JOHN A. .......... Ohio .......... 1930.
HAIGIS, SENATOR JOHN W. .......... Massachusetts .......... 1926.
HANDY, SENATOR FRED .......... California .......... 1926.
HERBERT, HON. R. BEVERLEY .......... South Carolina .......... 1933-34.
MARSHALL, SENATOR LYCURGUS L. .......... Ohio .......... 1933-34.

O'DONNELL, SENATOR THOMAS W. .......... Utah .......... 1926.


REID; HON. HUGH .......... Virginia .......... 1932.
REIS, SENATOR ALVIN .......... Wisconsin .......... 1933.
RODMAN, SENATOR JAMES A. .......... Nebraska .......... 1932.
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Schantz, Senator Horace W. Pennsylvania 1926
Searcy, Senator Earl B. Illinois 1926
Smith, Hon. Willis North Carolina 1932-33.
Smith, Senator Thomas V. Illinois 1934.
Sterling, Hon. Philip Pennsylvania 1933-34.
Thwing, Senator Alfred L. Minnesota 1926: (Second V-Pres.)
Toll, Senator Henry W. Colorado President 1925-26-27
Executive Director since 1927.
Waybright, Hon. Edgar W. Florida 1926.
Woodward, Senator George Pennsylvania First V-Pres. 1926-27
Member 1930
First V-Pres. 1932-33-34.
Young, Senator Sanborn California 1928-29-30-31.

Office of the Executive Director of the American Legislators' Association
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Officers

The Association's elective officers, whose terms are annual, include a president, first vice president, and second vice president. The organization has been singularly fortunate in its choice of officers. They have been energetic and helpful in every instance, and they have effectively cooperated to bring the Association to a useful position in a comparatively short period of time.

Presidents of the American Legislators' Association

HENRY W. TOLL, Member of the Colorado Senate, 1922-1930. President of the American Legislators' Association, 1926-1928.

ROBERT L. PATTERSON, Member of the California Assembly, 1924-1934. President of the American Legislators' Association, 1929-1931.

The following names, reprinted from a list of advisers published in the January 1933 State Government, illustrate the type of men and women who serve on these boards.

Miss Amy Abbott
Governor William H. Adams
Dr. Herman M. Adler
Dean Carlos C. Alden
Judge John C. Anderson
Miss Mary Anderson
President James R. Angell
William Lane Austin
Arnold R. Baer
Charles M. Babcock
Hon. Roland W. Bagott
William Bailey
Judge Chester W. Barron
Dean Henry M. Bates
E. F. Bean
Prof. George E. Beers
Dr. George H. Bigelow
Hon. J. Crawford Biggs
DeWitt Billman
Dr. Walter V. Bingham
Governor Iora C. Blackwood
Hon. Francis G. Blair
Mrs. Amy Steinhart Braden
Dr. Sanger Brown
Governor Wilber M. Brucker
Miss Edna D. Bullock
Kenneth F. Burgess
Rush C. Butler
Pres. Kenyon L. Butterfield
George A. Campbell
Hon. Robert D. Carey
Governor Doyle E. Carlton
Dr. W. E. Castle
Prof. Joseph P. Chamberlain
Charles L. Chute
Governor Alonzo M. Clark
Prof. Leon J. Cole
William H. Connell
Dr. G. M. Cooper
William J. Cooper
Dr. Henry A. Cotton
Pres. John Lee Coulter
Clarence Darrow
Governor George H. Dern
Prof. John Dewey
William H. Dick
Walter F. Dodd
Pres. Harold W. Dodds
Dr. Charles Duncan
Prof. Richard T. Ely
Harrington Emerson
Dr. Havyn Emerson
Dr. Arthur H. Estabrook
Prof. Fred R. Fairchild
President - Livingston Farrell
Judge Frederick F. Faville
President Frederick C. Ferry
Harold Fields
Judge Lincolns Frost
Governor William Tudor Gardiner
President Harry A. Garfield
Charles W. Gerstenberg
Dr. Clarence F. Gillette
Prof. John L. Gillin
Dr. Henry H. Goddard
Dean Frederick A. Goetz
Sidney S. Gorham
E. S. Gosney
Prof. John H. Gray
Governor Warreth Green
John F. Griffin
F. D. Griswold
Dr. Dón M. Criswell
Luther Gulick
Dr. L. V. Guthrie
Prof. Michael F. Gayer
Prof. Alice Hamilton
Prof. M. B. Hammond
William E. Hannan
Ex-Governor "Cary A. Hardee
Prof. Herbert Harley
Dr. E. A. Harriman
Dr. Hastings Hart
Prince A. Hawkins
Dr. William Healy
President Ralph D. Hetzel
Angus S. Hibbard
Herbert A. Hickman
Dr. William J. Hickson
Alfred E. Holcomb
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. Samuel J. Holmes
Charles E. Huff
Robert T. Hurley
Raymond V. Ingersoll
Mrs. Solon Jacobs
Henry W. Jessup
Dean Arthur N. Johnson
Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson
Dr. Roswell H. Johnson
Dr. Carroll T. Jones
Judge Norman L. Jones
Dr. Edwin O. Jordan
Dr. Charles H. Judd
Dr. John Harvey Kellogg
Hon. Clyde L. King
Dean George W. Kibbe
Miss' Esther Everett Lape
Prof. John A. Lapp
Dr. Harry H. Laughlin
Louis A. Lecher
STAFF

Every effort has been made to equip the Association with as able and efficient a staff as possible. The Executive Director has been active for many years in the American Bar Association and as a Commissioner on Uniform State Laws as well as in the Association. He has been a member of the University of Chicago Political Science Faculty since 1930. All of the fifteen full-time staff members of the Association are college graduates; five of them have served on college faculties. A former member of the staff was called to the position of Director of the Social Science Faculty of Colgate University. His successor has served on two of the notable political science faculties of the country—Harvard and Chicago. Six of the men on the staff have occupied governmental positions, in the service of city, county, state and federal governments.

An Appraisal

In a recent address, the Executive Director of the Association said:

"It has been a great privilege to direct the staff of this organization. I am glad of this opportunity to make public acknowledgment of their work. Every one of them is loyal, intelligent and devoted to the cause of legislative improvement. With professional zeal they have all worked long hours of overtime—far beyond the limit permitted by any code.

"Most of the staff members have been carrying forward the Association's projects for several years. Special mention is due to Miss Margaret Casmon who, only a few years ago, constituted the entire staff assisting the Director. Her grasp of the Association's problems and her unflagging sense of humor have played an important part in the organization's progress. Her spirit is typical of the attitude of the entire staff."
Executive Director


GALLAGHER, HUBERT R. Born, Salida, Colorado, January 8, 1907. Son of Hugh and Margaret Dinsmore Gallagher. Preparatory education, Grand Junction High School (Colo.); A.B., Stanford University, 1929; Universite de Dijon, France, summer 1927; Fellow, School of Citizenship, Syracuse University and National Institute of Public Administration, New York City; M.S., Syracuse University, 1930; Married Luthera Wakefield of Denver, Colorado, July 29, 1930. Child—Hugh Gregory. Research assistant and instructor, School of Citizenship, Syracuse University, 1930-32; New York State Bureau of Municipal Information, 1930; member survey staff, National Commission on Law Enforcement (Wickersham Commission), 1931; survey of Syracuse for President’s Commission on Social Trends, 1931; acting assistant professor Stanford University, 1932; Research Consultant, American Legislators’ Association since 1932. “Fraternities: Delta Tau Delta; Pi Sigma Alpha, National Honorary Political Science Fraternity. Member: Governmental Research Association. Author “Crime Prevention as a Municipal Function,” and articles in professional journals.

ROBINSON, DAVID WELLINGTON, b. Burlington, Iowa, November 9, 1909; s. Harry Edgar and Nell (Stone) R.; A.B., Oberlin College, 1931; M.A., University of Cincinnati, 1933. Research Assistant, Cin-
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David W. Robinson
Research Associate


Evelyn Sparling, b. Toronto. Daughter, Frederick William and Anna Louise (McCoubrey). Ph.B., Univ. of Chicago, J.D., Univ. of Chicago Law School, 1928-31. Research Assistant, American Legislators' Association, 1931—. Member, Legal Sorority, Kappa Beta Pi.

Publications Division


George C. S. Benson
Director, Publications Division


S. Smith Griswold
Research Associate


Brabrook, of Whittier, California, June 17, 1934. Research Assistant, Stanford University, 1931-33. Organization Assistant.


Legislative Personnel Division
Hoisington, Robert Morris, b. Topeka, Kansas, July 10, 1907; s. Morris Earl and Bess H.; A.B., University of Colorado, 1930; M.S., University of Syracuse, 1931. Executive Secretary, Cincinnati Regional Crime Committee 1931-1934. Legislative Personnel Secretary of the American Legislators’ Association, 1935—; Member, Delta Tau Delta and Delta Sigma Pi. Author: A “Pay As You Go Plan” for Rochester, N. Y. (Master’s thesis); Bail Administration in the Cincinnati Region; Development of the Cincinnati Regional Police Plan; A Unified Adult Probation Dept. for Hamilton Co., O.; The Use of Social Information in the Municipal Court of Cincinnati, O.; A Study of 100 Jail Prisoners—leading to: An “Honor System” of Arrest For Cincinnati, O.; Juvenile Wards and Their Cost to Cincinnati; Care of Behavior Problem Children in Glenview and Hillcrest Schools; The Administration of the Municipal Court of Hamilton, O.; A Centralized Department of Law Enforcement for Hamilton Co., O.; “Open Cases,” on the Docket of the Circuit Court of Campbell Co., Ky.; A Survey of Police Beats and Distribution of Personnel (Cinc.). Also published regular quarterly reports on court and crime conditions in Cinci. (report of the Cinci., Regional Crime Comm.) Edited and published monthly “Regional Police Journal.” Taught course in “Police Administration” at Univ. of Cinci.

Tax Research Division
Martin, James W., b. Muskogee, Indian Territory (Oklahoma), September 11, 1893; A.B., East Texas State Teachers College, 1920; graduate study: June, 1920 to June, 1921; Vanderbilt University and Peabody College (A.M. 1921); University of Chicago, June 1922 to June, 1924, and summer of 1928 (res. in Washington, D.C.); M. Pearl Palmer, Antlers, Oklahoma, 1920; Dorothy Velander, Vermilion, Illinois, 1925; Children, J. Mayo, Lula Boyd, Douglas; Acting Professor of Education, State Normal-College, Florence, Alabama, summer 1921; Professor of Education and Director of Training School, Alabama College for Women, Montevallo, Alabama, 1921-22; Teaching Assistant in Economics, University of Chicago, 1922-24; Lecturer in Economics, Northwestern University, 1923; Summer Teacher of Economics, Peabody College, 1924; Associate Professor of Economics, Emory University, 1924-28; Professor of Economics and Director of Bureau of Business Research, University of Ky., 1928—. Member of American Economic Association, Royal Economic Research Division.
Society (English), American Political Science Association; Governmental Research Association; National Municipal League; Southern Economic Association (Vice-President, 1929—); Kentucky Academy of Social Sciences (Secretary two terms and President one); American Association of University Professors (Council and Executive Committee since 1932); Phi Eta, Beta Gamma Sigma; Kentucky Tax Reduction Association (Director since 1933); National Tax Association (Executive Committee since 1931); and Tax Research Foundation (Executive Committee from organization and President, 1929-33). Author: *Introduction to Social Sciences* (with Ross McLean); *Syllabus for Elementary Economics* (with Mercer Evans); *A Five-Year Plan of Tax Research for the Southern States* (prepared as Chairman of the Southern Tax Committee, 1931 to date, of the Social Science Research Council); *An Immediate Tax Program for Kentucky; Some Aspects of the Separation of Sources of State and Local Revenues* (with C. M. Stephenson); *Possibility of Income Taxes as a Source of State and Local Revenue; Recent State Gross Sales Tax Legislation*; four official National Tax Association reports on Motor Vehicle Taxation (submitted as Chairman of the Association’s Committees on Motor Vehicle and Related Taxes); and numerous other articles, monographs and reports dealing with economics and teaching of economics and particularly with public finance. Editor, University of Kentucky *Studies in Economics and Business* and of the “Comparative Tax Tables” of the Tax Research Foundation’s *Tax Systems of the World*. Consultant on taxation and/or other problems of finance to: Georgia Manufacturers Association, State Tax Survey Commission, 1924-25 (member of Commission); State Tax Commissioner of Georgia, 1925-28; several Kentucky cities and counties; Kentucky Education Association, Kentucky Farm Bureau, State of Kentucky (Governor, Attorney-General, Superintendent of Education, State Tax Commission); South Carolina Special Commission on Motor Regulation and Taxation; Kentucky Educational Commission.


HONEY, MARY ADA, b. Spurrier, Kentucky, daughter, John Ray and Effie Spurrier, student Univ. of Kentucky, 1928-1934. Secy. to Librarian, Univ. of Kent., 1932-34; Member Beta Gamma Sigma, Commerce Fraternity.

Office Division

CASMON, MARGARET ANN, b. Denver, Colorado; daughter, John F. and Anna (Berry) Casmon; A.B., University of Colorado, 1925; secretary American Legislators' Association, 1926-1930; office manager, 1930—.

SHIPPERT, MARTHA, b. Dixon, Illinois; daughter, John and Martha (Slessner) Shippert; B.S., Northwestern University, librarian, American Legislators' Association 1931-1935.

SCHNEIDER, HELEN L., b. Chicago, Illinois; daughter, James and Anna (Hilgenberg) Schneller; Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1932. Departmental Secretary, American Legislators' Association, 1932—.