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tions must be clearly understood and constantly hammered home whenever necessary.

The raising of the question about election contests served the useful purpose of focussing League attention on the need for a general revision of election laws—a revision which would take care of mechanical details such as "scratching" all the candidates and issues one is against instead of indicating those one is for, and of the important issues such as up—to—date technique to guard against illegality in voting.

The present election law was passed in the early 1900's, and in the 40 years since, it has been amended, both by the legislature and by judicial interpretation, so that it is now a patchwork of procedures which is in great need of simplifying and streamlining. Accordingly, at the state convention of the

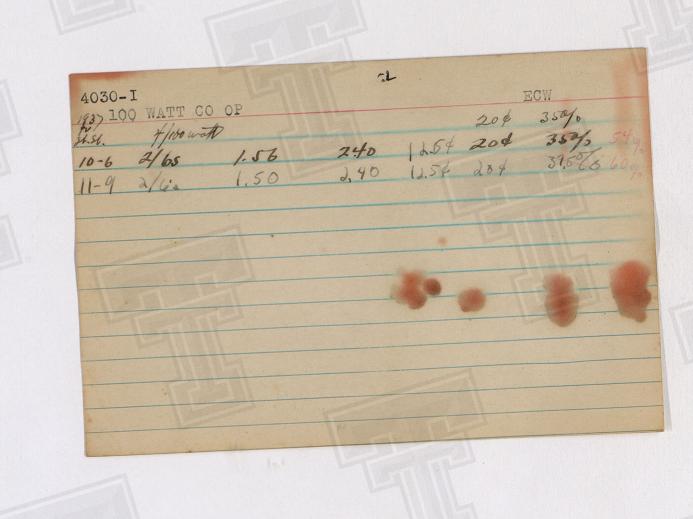
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THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF THE TEXAS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

This talk is a report to you about the legislative program of your State League and of what has been done by your state administrative organization, the State Board of Directors, to carry out the program adopted at the State Convention in June. It is also a report of the plans for the future regarding that program. All of it is shot through and through with the cooperation of local leagues—many times it is explicitly mentioned, all the time it is implicit in this talk.

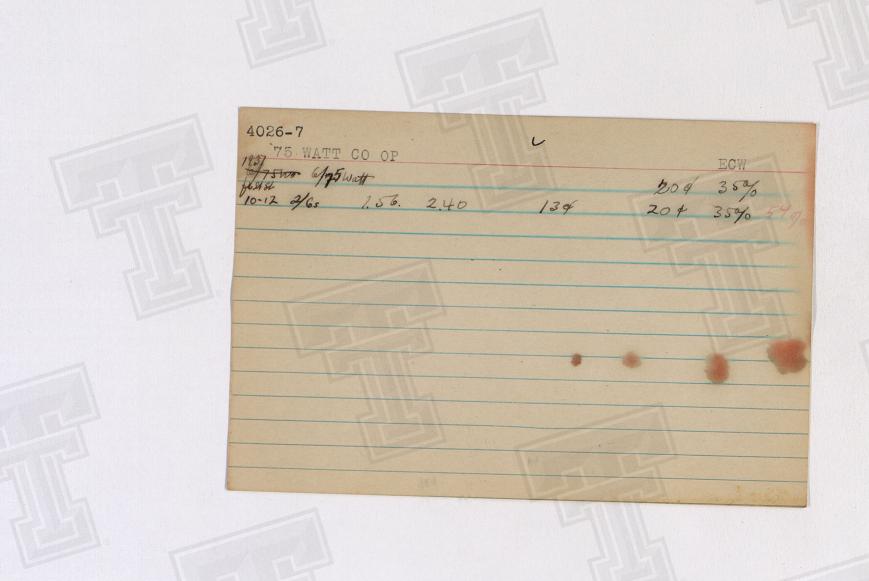
Here in Bexar County, and in Dallas County where I live and in two other counties in Texas, people are fortunate, because voting machines are used and it is not possible to check a vote back to the individual voter who cast it. But if you or I had lived in any of the 250 Texas counties which do not have voting machines and had voted last November 7th, say,



nd -

this is the procedure which would have been followed:

Right after entering your polling place you passed by a table at which three or more people were seated. They greeted you and asked for your poll tax receipt, which you gave them. One of them found your name in the big book called the precinct, or election, roll which is compiled ahead of time from the list of people who have paid poll taxes or obtained exemptions. Opposite your name, the clerk entered a number. If you were the first to vote at your polling place on November 7, it was #1--if you were the 300th it was #300. And as you retrieved your poll tax receipt, a slip of paper was handed you which bore that same number -- 1, 300, or whatever it was that had been entered opposite your name on the precinct roll. A ballot was given you, and you tried to find a secluded place in which to mark it.



Probably what was available was simply several long tables in full view of the election officials and the other voters. You marked your ballot—not by putting "X's" by the names of candidates and measures which you favored, but by crossing out everything which you did not favor. Then you folded your ballot and presented it and your numbered slip of paper to another set of election officials. The number on that slip was written on the outside of your ballot, the number was again checked against your name on the precinct roll, and your ballot was put into the ballot box.

You had voted, but if you had been noting the details of the procedure you were probably not feeling completely happy or satisfied. In the first place, you had probably observed that the number entered on the precinct roll opposite your name had also been placed on your ballot, and it was evident

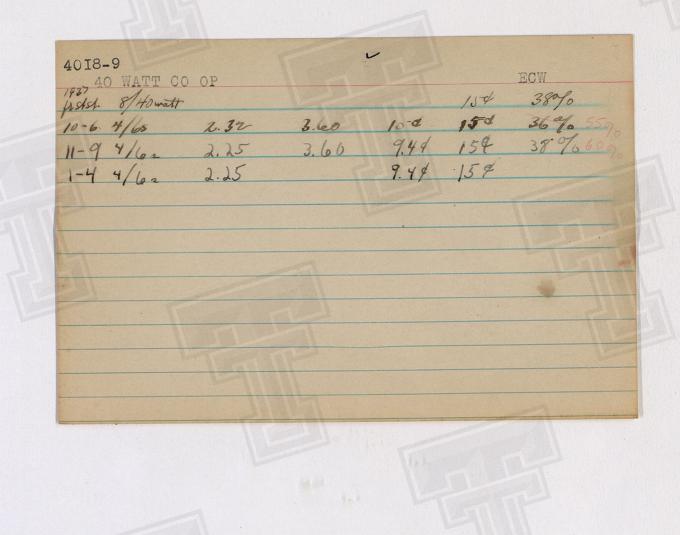
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to you that people having access to the ballot box and the precinct roll could easily determine just exactly how you had voted. I imagine you didn't like that, for how one votes is strictly one's own business, unless, of course, he chooses to take other people into his confidence.

In the second place, perhaps you were a little annoyed at having to mark your ballot where other people could see how you were doing it.

And in the third place, perhaps you wondered why the law prescribed the roundabout method of "scratching" out all the items to which you were opposed, instead of putting an "X" or some other symbol by the items of which you were in favor. It didn't seem very sensible to you, and I confess it doesn't to me either.



·4- (5) 12/1/44

When we come to think about it, we can readily see that secrecy in balloting is one of the foundation stones of democracy. If votes can be checked back and connected with the individual voter, coercion becomes possible. True democracy depends upon people being able to vote freely and without fear of reprisal because of their vote.

Realizing the tremendous importance of the secret ballot to our whole theory of government, the Texas League of Women Voters about two years ago decided that it was an item well worth our very best efforts and that we would concentrate on that single item. This decision marked a milestone in the development and effectiveness of the state league, for previously we had had a state program of work of many items and our legislative program had been confined simply to supporting bills presented by other groups. Two years ago, however, we set out not only to concen-

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trate on one rather than many items, but also to draft our bill, secure sponsors for it, see that it was introduced in the legislature, lobby for it, and organize a wave of support for it among our local leagues.

In doing research into the ballot laws of other states and in drafting the bill, we had the invaluable assistance of the Dept. of Government of the University of Texas. Many interesting facts came to light--among them that Texas is one of the very few states which do not have a secret ballot. In this respect, Texas is truly underprivileged, for we do not have the basic right of casting a vote which cannot be checked back to us.

Now I do not mean to intimate that our elections are full of crookedness or that there is widespread identifying of voters with the ballots they cast.

Indeed, as the League pointed out to the last legislature, "There is probably very little actual 'spying'
on the voter. However, it has been done, and it can
be done, and therefore the psychological pressure on
the voter is tremendous. Party machines have used
the threat to control the votes of government employees and to control the votes of those who are receiving government aid; and management has used the same
threat to control the votes of employees. Any group
which can put its members or sympathizers among election officials can use this threat to control votes.
But even if such things had never happened, people who
cherish their rights as citizens should be indignant
at the fact that anything as private as the way they
vote can be checked by a curious election official."

There are two feasible ways of insuring a secret ballot. One is the use of voting machines. Four Texas counties now have them, including Bexar, Dallas and Gregg, but they are expensive and are not being manufactured for the fluration. That leaves

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250 "paper ballot counties" in the state, and even the voting machine counties occasionally still use paper ballots, as in the prohibition election in Dallas County last August when the machines could not be gotten ready for use again so soon after the July primary.

The other feasible way of insuring secrecy in balloting is the "perforated stub", which is in use by over half the states. Ballots are exactly like the present ballots except that the number which is entered opposite the voter's name on the precinct roll is the same as that appearing in a space marked off by perforations in the upper right-hand corner of the ballot. After marking his ballot, the voter folds it so that the number is visible at the upper edge. By comparing the number on the ballot and the voter's number on the precinct roll the election judge satisfies himself that the voter is returning the same ballot that was issued to him. When this



has been done the judge detaches the numbered corner or stub. He puts the ballot in the ballot box and the stub in a special box set aside for the purpose. The ballot can never be identified with the person who cast it.

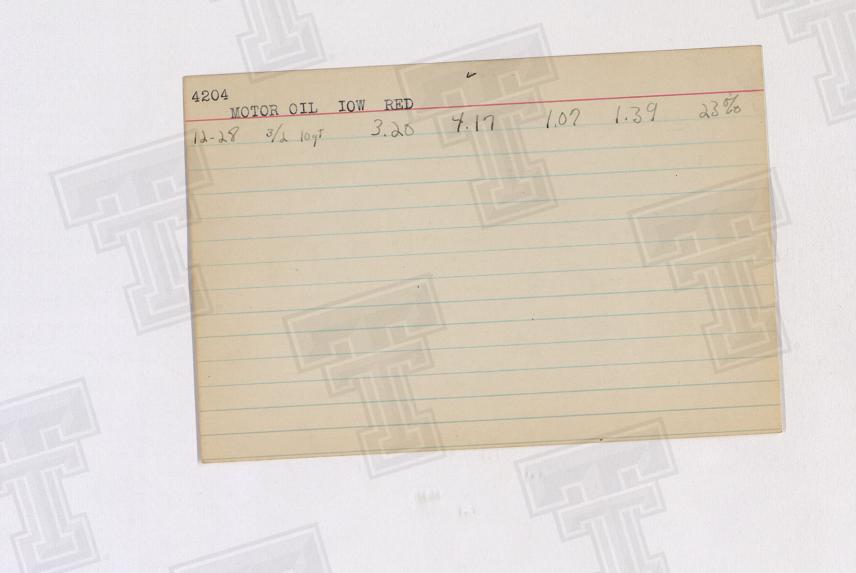
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The perforated stub ballot has the great advantages of simplicity and cheapness and complete adaptability to Texas voting procedure. About the only changes in election technique which would be necessary would be: providing a box for the stubs in addition to the regular ballot box, and getting used to tearing off the stub and depositing it separately from the ballot. And the only change which would be necessary in the form of the ballot would be perforating a stub in the upper right hand corner of the ballot and printing a serial number on it. The League's bill in the last legislature provided for use of the perforated stub ballot, and this is the way it would have looked. (Show sample)

-10- 12/1/44

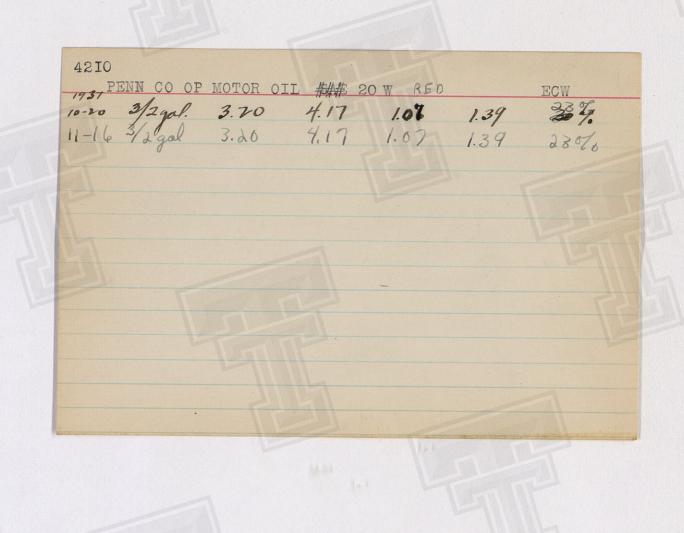
All the Texas leagues did a great deal of work for the secret ballot two years ago, and the bill almost--but not quite--passed the legislature. Considering that it was the first time the League in Texas had undertaken to see a bill through from the very beginning, I think we did very well indeed. Certainly the state league officers of that period deserve every praise for the tremendous amount of work they did, and so do the local leagues for their cooperation.

Our defeat in the legislature came mainly from two factors -- (1) lack of pressure to vote for the bill from constituents of rural legislators, and (2) failure to satisfy some legislators that contested elections could be adequately taken care of if a ballot could not be identified with an individual voter. These considerations will, of course, play a large part in guiding our strategy for the secret ballot campaign in the coming legislature.



-11-There are two excellent answers to the contest question. The first might be called "The Voice of-Experience". About 30 states have the perforated stub ballot -- the completely secret ballot which the League proposes -- and have had for years; and about 15 states have ballots which are less secret than the perforated stub but more secret than the present Texas ballot. Obviously, if election contests depended upon determining how an individual votes, the secret ballot would not have this widespread acceptance.

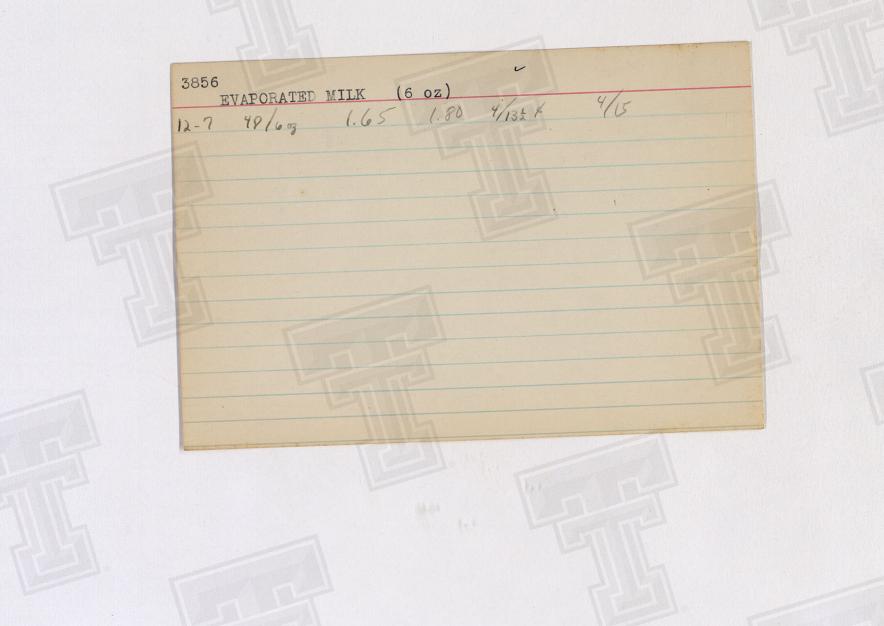
The second answer on the contest question is that actually, contested elections very seldom depend upon determining how an individual voted. They depend, rather, upon re-count of the number of ballots for and against the contested candidate or issue, and, in rare cases, upon satisfactory evidence that those listed on the precinct roll as having voted were entitled to vote.



In the counties using voting machines it is not possible to identify the ballot with a voter, but contested elections do not make a difficulty because the prodedure I have just mentioned is followed—the number of ballots for and against is re-counted, and on rare occasions the legality of the precinct roll is investigated. Several Dallas County election officials who have worked both with paper ballots and with voting machines told me that contested elections are very rare indeed, and that among contested elections there is hardly one in a thousand which would need to be decided by finding out how individuals voted.

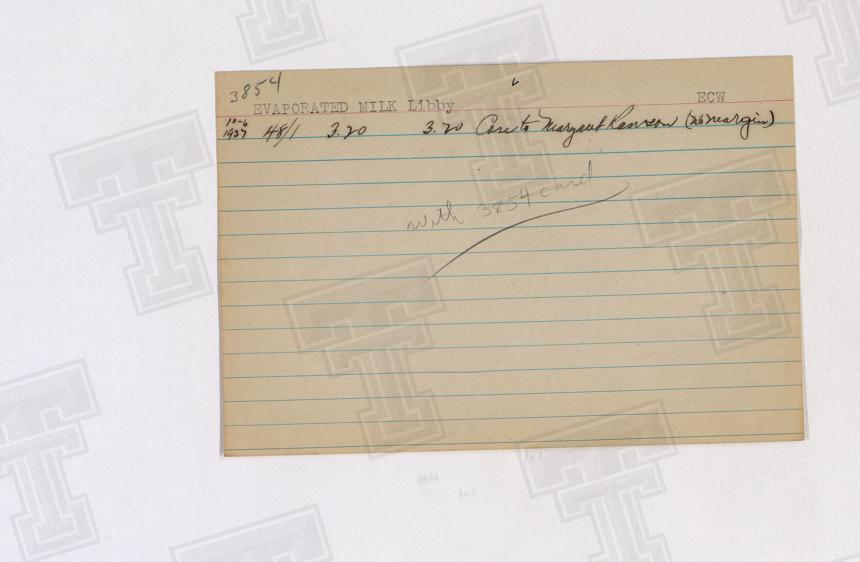
If it ever should be necessary to find out how an individual voted his testimony is considered evidence of how he voted. (Owens vs. Jennet 64T. 500). And the effectiveness of that method is the same under the proposed secret ballot as under the present system. Let me demonstrate.

omit



First, let us remember that ballots are not signed. Under the present system, which links the voter's name on the precinct roll with a certain ballot, fraud is possible through a person voting in the name of another person, and the way to uncover it is through the voter's testimony as to how he voted. Under the proposed secret ballot, which does not link the voter's name and a certain vote, the same sort of fraud is possible, and the same way to uncover it would be used. The point to remember is that the number which links the voter's name and a certain ballot does not help to uncover fraud arising from misrepresentation of the voter's identity. In regard to such fraud the situation remains the same under the present system and under the proposed secret ballot.

But as I have already mentioned, that number which links the voter's name with a certain ballot



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makes possible fraud on a zizeable scale by coercion or just by psychological pressure, so that from the point of view of contested elections, which are of course based upon suspicion of fraud, the secret ballot offers as much protection as we now have from fraud arising from misrepresentation of voter's identity and would virtually eliminate fraud arising from any form of coercion. If our bill is to pass in the

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League last June it was decided to have a two-point program of work--first the secret ballot bill, and, second, general revision of the Texas election laws. The League specifies that this revision is to be done by a joint committee of the two houses of the legislature which is to work in the period between this legislature and the next, and that a member of the LWV and/or a member of the Dept. of Government of the University of Texas are to be included on this committee. The League is making no recommendations as to specific revisions -- all we want at the present time is the joint committee to study the subject over a two-year period and to then recommend revisions.

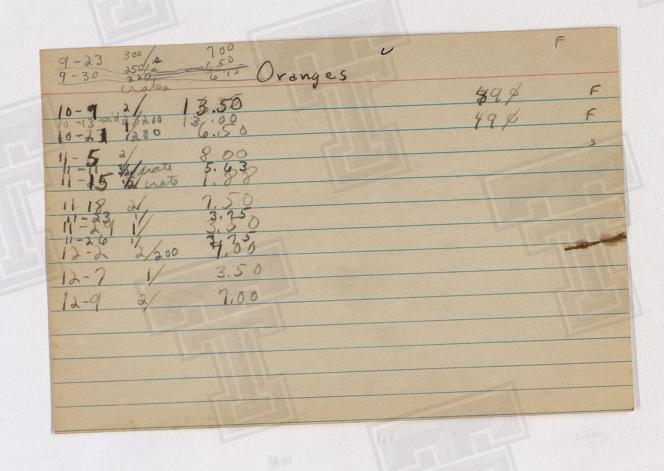
This two-item program was adopted 52 months ago, just about the time of the U. S. Supreme Court decision which said that negroes should be admitted to vote in the Texas primary election since that election was held to be regulated by the State, and the

altho we ask that the joint comm. consider the

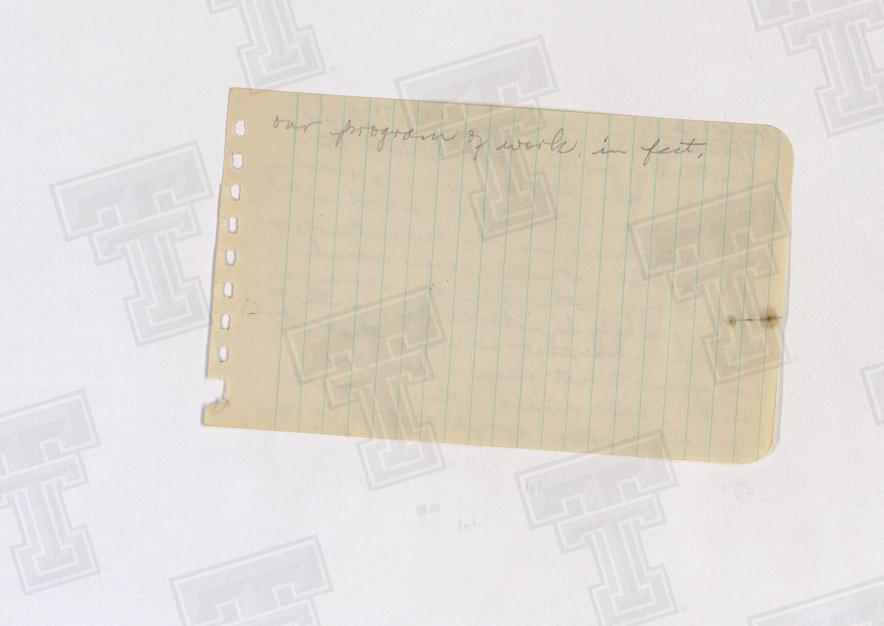
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10-19 18/ 1000 1.66 329 12-3 48/ just 1.68 question of lovering the voting age to State, under the 14th and 15th amendments to the U.S. Constitution, could not deny on account of race a citizen's right to vote. Let us keep this in mind, for it has a direct connection with our program.

And now I would like to give you some idea of what must be done in order to carry through a legislative program like the League's.

Almost as soon as the last session of the legislature adjourned we began looking toward the forth-



Because of this decision it is virtually certain that a bill to Herise the election laws by senoring primaries from state control will be introduced in the legislature, undoubtedly it will arouse much controvery the bills for revision will totably be introduced. With a stration like that we feel that it is wiser to not press our own electron law terrision item, for the present, to rether forget that it is on



Memb Card 17 12/1/44 But what we must have from this legislature - the action wh. is so clearly necessary & wh. if thoroly understood there can, the Luque feels, be no reasonable balloting. Onto I would like to read a letter who secently appeared in a Houston poper & an editorial wh. was obviously inspired by it, 4118 CLESNING FLUID to do with either of these - they are simply spontaneons expressions. =14 (18) 12/1/44 1/8/44

coming session, laying plans and doing bits of work. For instance, in the summer of 1943 leagues all over Texas interviewed prominent local people to get their ideas of needed revisions in the election laws and to discuss the secret ballot.

Then in the spring of this year each member of the last legislature was written to and asked for his advice in framing provisions of the secret ballot bill so as to overcome the objections which had been made to it by the legislature. A large percent of the legislators replied, but in only a few cases did they offer us anything constructive.

The state league's candidates' questionnaires of last July, particularly the one for legislative candidates, laid great stress on the secret ballot and revision of election laws.

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Resolution's favoring the secret ballot were introduced in democratic precinct conventions in July, particularly in Travis County. Before the democratic state convention in September, local leagues were asked to interview convention delegates and enlist their support for a secret ballot plank in the party platform. Several leagues did very well on this, we had good contacts with both wings of the democratic party, and I believe that if the internal party fight had not been so all-absorbing our resolution would have passed easily. As it was we had publicity value from it.

In early October

A month ago, I traveled to Austin to talk to men
in the Department of Government at the Univ. of Texas
and in the Attorney General's office regarding the
actual drafting of our bills and various other items
in connection with them.

Then at the state board meeting in Houston in mid-

October most of the two-day session was spent in planning the legislative campaign, which from that time on entered its intensive phase. The State Board voted to constitute itself a legislative committee under my direction, as State President, and with the inclusion of what might be called "specialist" members in Austin and Houston, who were to be consultants to the State Board, active workers whenever possible, lature goes into session.

Probably the bulk of legislative work is preparation before the session starts. I have already mentioned some of the early phases. In addition, we accumulated reference material, such as the list of members of the coming legislature, how legislators voted on the secret ballot bill in the last session, secret ballot provisions of other states, newspaper clippings on a variety of topics related to the secret

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ballot, informational items from local leagues regarding membership, dates of meeting etc., a map of Texas marked off into State Representative and State Senatorial districts—and many other details which are necessary in order to do a thoro job of understanding, publicizing and answering questions about our secret ballot proposal.

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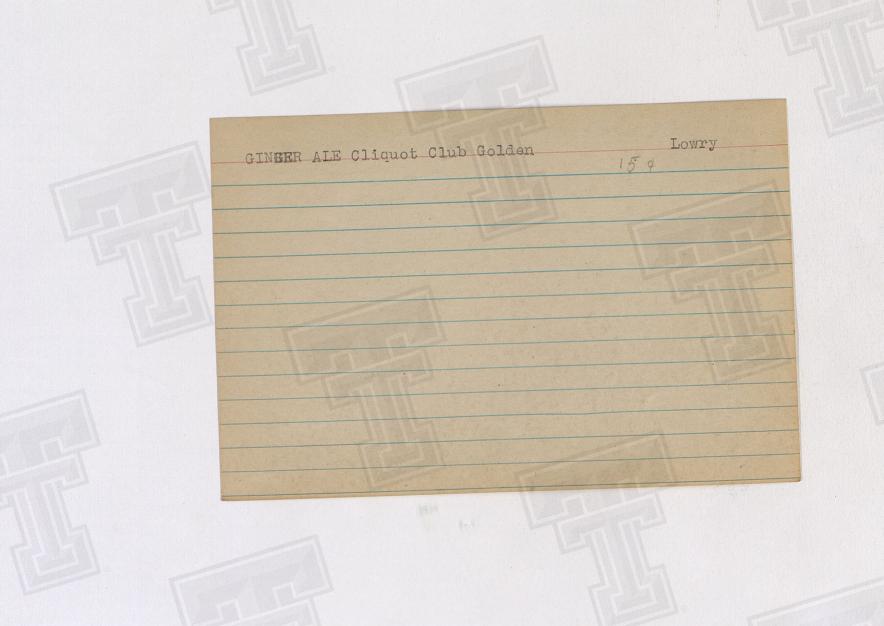
The bill which both the House and Senate committees reported on favorably during the last session is the secret ballot bill which the State Board decided to work for during this coming session. Several hundred copies of the bill have been mimeographed, so that all legislators and many others can have the full text. A digest of the bill has also been prepared, for quick reading. There have been further conferences in Austin, Houston and Dallas as to legislative strategy. The League's legislative program has been introduced in two local leagues—the Tarrant County League and the TSCW Campus League at Denton. Today

9-30 (60x 2.75 Pears 16-23 160x 3,25

memb cd. 22 -12/1/44 Simethe U.S. Supreme Ct. Decision wh. prohibits says negroes must be allowed to vote in Texas primaries has resulted in a move to introduce into the legislature a bill to semove joining election control from the state, the situation makes difficulties for our to secret ballot bill of course, but even if the worst would happen & the source fallst cont opply to primaries

4TT4 7/19. (Bell' Wander Warfer - Discontinued) 184 50% 4-23 12/19t. 1.35 204 11.24 174 34% it would still be desinited valuable to have perfectly in acheral & municipal electrons. The trandest job is to get the principle established it wil le lasier to get it extended to other election once it is estab In very trappy to day that Rep. Donald markle will introduce our p.b. bill in the Hor R. and now it is up to the state leagues & lord leagues

(1) Familiarize yourselves 144 with the bill - here are digests All i also full copies (2) Talk about it to people when it is being considered in the legislature & write to your out



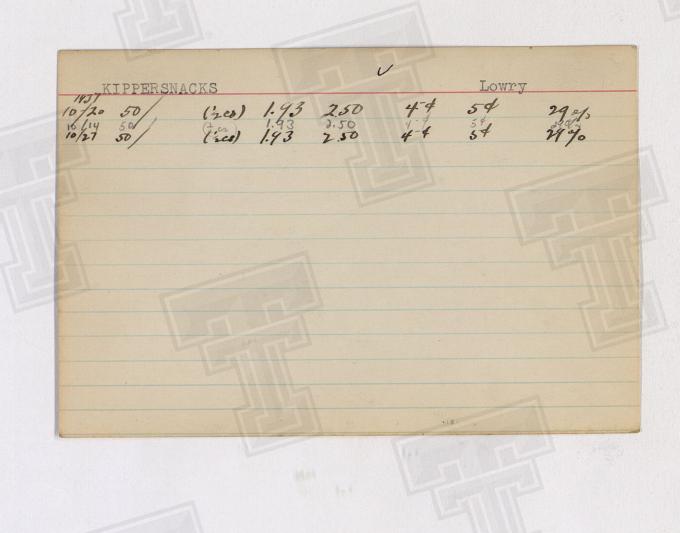
Even tho we are in a period of watchful waiting in regard to our Secret Ballot bill, there is still much work to be done and work which only the local leagues can do.

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For instance, there are about 60 new state representatives and senators this year--about 1/3 of the whole Legislature. Most of these men will not have heard of our secret ballot bill, but obviously they must hear of it, they must understand it, and many of them must be favorable to it if it is to pass the Legislature. The hold-over members need to be reminded of our bill. And a majority of the Legislature must be "sold" on it if it is to pass.

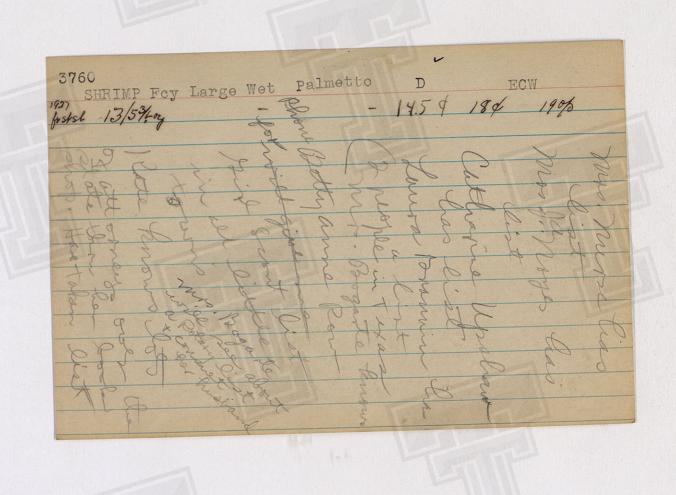
Now I have here a list which shows the members of the forthcoming Legislature, the districts they represent, and the principal towns in those districts. I will leave copies of this list with your Board of Directors, and this is what I would like you to do.

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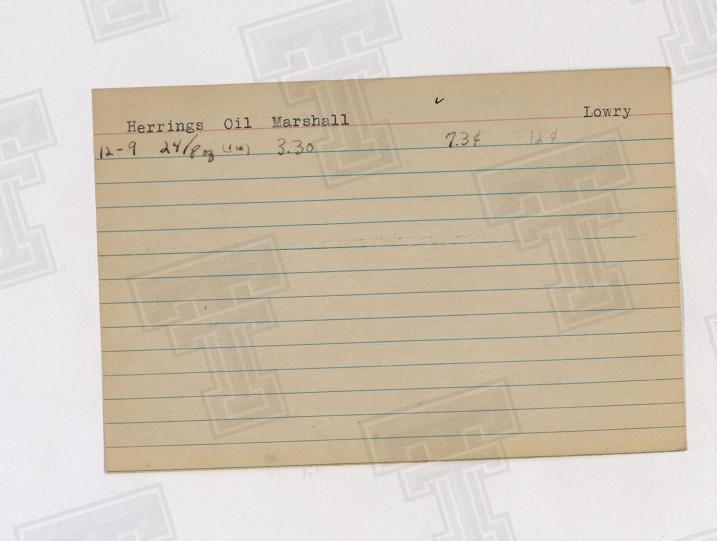
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Consult these lists, study them, and think of any people you know in any of these counties or towns. Then list the names, addresses, and occupation and club affiliations if you can, of people you know, and indicate whether or not we may mention your name in sending them literature about the Secret Ballot, or best yet, if you would be willing to sign a letter to them explaining the secret ballot. We would write the letter. This project is tremendously important. To be perfectly frank, it is not possible to get a secret ballot bill through the Legislature without support from individuals in the counties in which we have no Leagues, for naturally a legislator is going to pay attention chiefly to the people of his own district, those who elect him. So the names you can furnish may literally mean the difference between success and failure of our secret ballot bill if it gets into the Legislature. Please give this matter your very best thought and supply us with dozens and scores of names of people you know all over Texas!



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The second thing you can do now while we are marking time on the Secret Ballot bill is to get acquainted with your legislators. This should be of great value to you personally, and to the local league and to the state league, no matter what the future brings forth in regard to the secret ballot bill. You know, legislators sometimes complain that their constituents never call on them unless they want them to do something for them, to either support or oppose a certain bill, for instance. It seems to me that every good citizen should be interested in talking to his legislators, getting acquainted with them, and finding out how the legislator himself feels about matters which the legislature will be considering and in which all of us, of course, have a stake. Quite possibly at this time you would not refer at all to the secret ballot, or else the reference would be indirect, and I think you would see the legislator as an individual rather than as a member of the League of Women Voters. I am sure it would be well worth

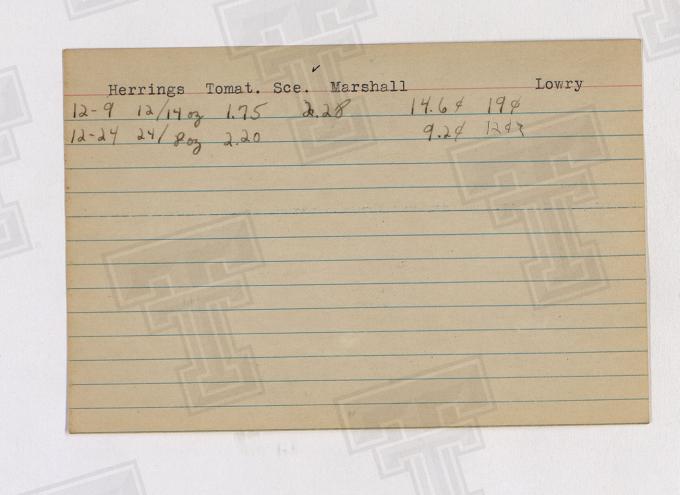


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while to get your legislator's ideas on public matters. or, if nothing else, to just express an interest in him as your legislator and a desire to be acquainted with him since he is the man who represents you at Austin. The Legislature goes into session on January 9th, and even now legislators are traveling back and forth to Austin, so it may take some patience to find a time convenient for him at which to make your call. For a brief get-acquainted visit such as this probably just stopping by his office sometime when you are in the vicinity would be more satisfactory than making a formal appointment. But anyway, however it is done. I'm sure you will be glad to get acquainted with the men who represent you in Austin, and it can be an invaluable advantage both to you and to the League later on.

And there is a third thing which I urge local leagues to do now while we are marking time regarding our secret ballot bill, and that is for the



Board of Directors to make all the plans and arrangements which are necessary in order, at a minute's notice, to constitute themselves a State Legislative Committee, as the State Board has done, with a very active member promised for legislative chairman. She will be chiefly in charge of carrying out the wishes of the Board and the plans of the State League. Preparations should be made now so that this legislative committee organization can start functioning on very short notice if we have favorable news regarding our secret ballot bill. In some leagues, the State League included, the president has become legislative chairman and has delegated her other work to someone else on the Board. In other leagues a legislative chairman has been appointed from the Board or the membership. The type of arrangement is immaterial just so we get the best possible organization for giving utmost support to the secret ballot bill if it is introduced.

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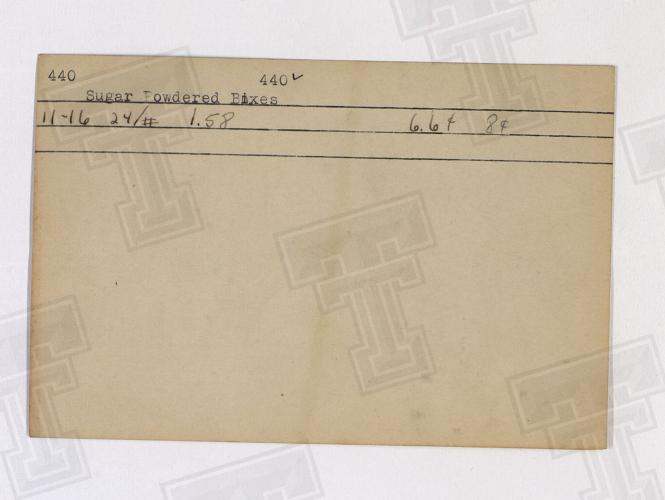
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These three steps--supplying names of friends all over the state of Texas; getting acquainted with our legislators; and making ready an organization to snap instantly into effective legislative action if our bill can be introduced--should be done by us all right now, regardless of what the future holds for our secret ballot bill.

If the bill can be introduced, of course there will be much more to do, and local boards of direct-ors will be notified of the detailed plans. They will include interviewing legislators again and asking them to sponsor our bill, for instance, and, of course, thru the whole effort will run the continuous thread of publicizing, explaining and arousing wide-spread interest in the bill so that each legislator is hearing from his own constituents regarding it. The state office can do some of the job, but the part of it.

444 Pressed sugar Tablets 14.34 12-7 30/2# 4.30 contact your Reps. & ask them to as-eponeor the ceret boelst bill Bos. & Directors will be notified further plans as they get under way In this talk I have pointed out the importance of a secret ballot—a ballot which cannot be checked back to the person who cast it—and I have sketched what the League has done in the past and the continuity of planning for the future. Also I have presented the developments to date with regard to our two state program of work items. Lastly I mentioned three things which must be done now in preparation for the future development of our legislative program, the secret ballot bill, and I pointed out the further activities which would make or break our bill if it is introduced into the Legislature.

I hope that I have been able to make the situation clear, but I also want you to ask me questions—any questions you wish—and make any suggestions you please. Thank you.



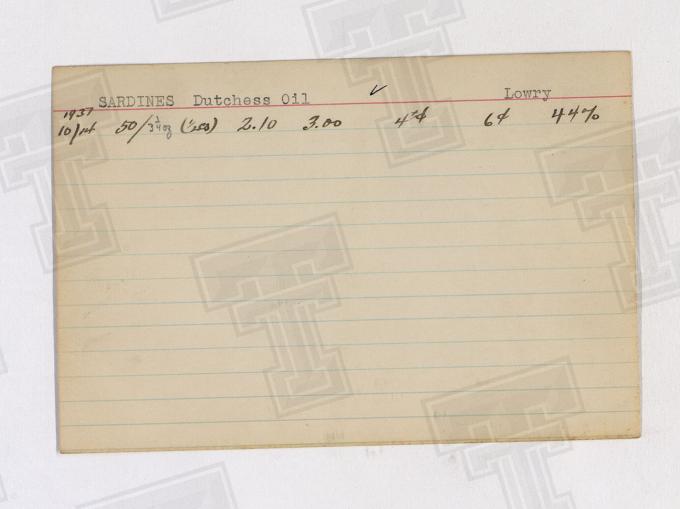
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because the laying of cross ties—the contact work—which I would ordinarily at this meeting ask you to do, will have to be modified. When I say difficulties with legislators I do not mean to reflect at all on any person—the difficulties are due, rather, to the situation in Texas today.

You remember that I mentioned that the League's state convention adopted our state program of work at about the same time that the U.S.Supreme Court ruled negroes could not be denied the right of voting ruled negroes. Probably also you remember the in Texas primaries. Probably also you remember the great quantity of newspaper comment which that court decision brought forth and the action of the Democratic decision brought forth and the action of the Democratic party's state convention in appointing a committee to recommend to the Legislature changes which would overcome that decision.

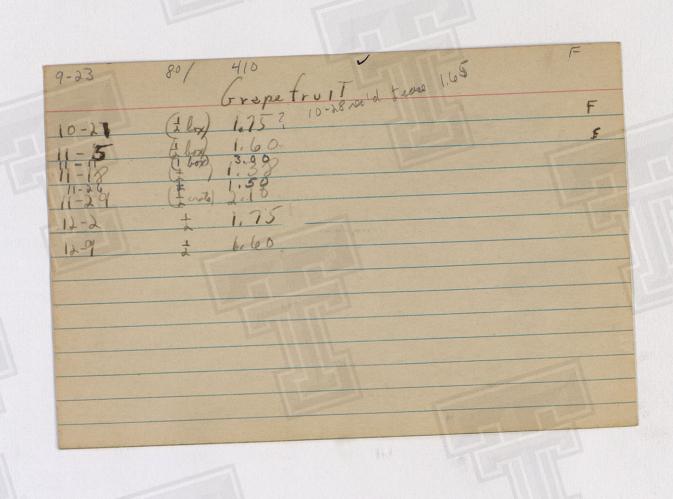
The statement comes from many quarters that what is contemplated is removing state control of primary



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elections and giving political parties the same status as a lodge, say, or a voluntary association, which would carry with it, it is argued, the right to select members. When election law revision is referred to in the newspapers it is usually that particular type which is meant, and, indeed, unless very carefully qualified, the term seems to have come to mean that pretty much over the state. Our program item dealing with revision of the general election laws is, of course, quite different—it asks simply for a joint committee of the Legislature to ponder revisions during the next two years and takes no stand, either for or against, any specific revision of any sort.

With the tide running so strongly in favor of the other type of revision--not our type--it was decided, after consulting with a key legislator and with the "specialist" members of our state legislative committee and with many members of the State Board, to not press for adoption of our revision item by the



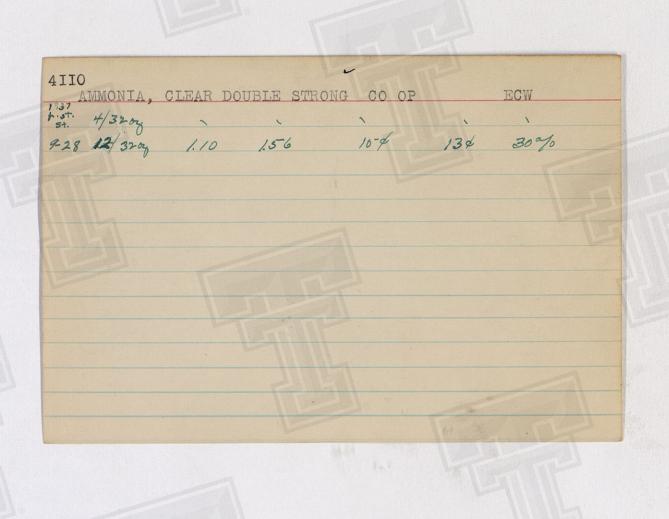
Legislature at the present time. Later on conditions may change and it may be feasible, of course. We are, therefore, concentrating our efforts on the Secret Ballot. We are not mentioning our revision item to legislators at all; we are keeping it out of our publicity; all our efforts are being directed toward the Secret Ballot.

12/1/44

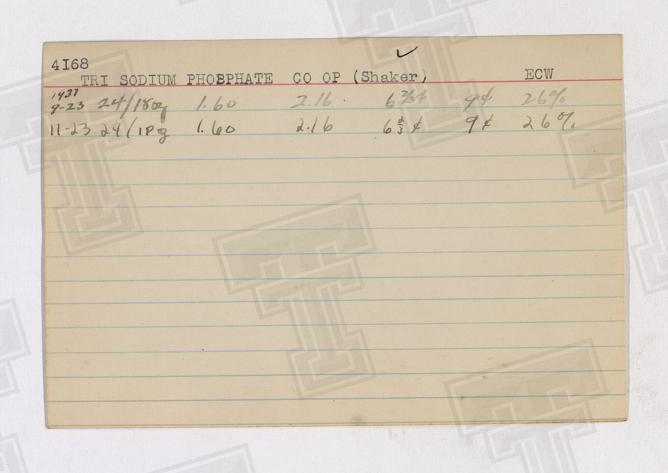
But this same situation—the widespread effort to remove primaries from state control as a means of preventing negroes from voting in those elections—is also hampering us in proceeding with our Secret Ballot bill, for, of course, our bill if passed would be a state law and it deals with all elections, including primaries. A very influential member in the State Senate, who was really active for the Secret Ballot bill in the last session, recently told us frankly that revision of the election laws so as to remove the primaries from state control would be the main business of this coming Legislature, and that

Lowry Salmon Horseshoe 254 6.00 5.53 12-3 24/ (\$4) 5.55 6.00 12-26 24/ (ta) t is only a recommendation for joint comm. study - not an ita

Bd. 1, 1a, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 250, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 32a



Be Cont (35 a) Leigne is talking a stand - agislators are sure to feel that we are favoring lowering the voting age. The controberry thus raised, it is felt, world obscure the real purpose of the resolution & greatly hinder its passage. For these seasons, then we are concentrating our efforts on the secret ballot. at the present time we are not mentioning our sevision item to legislators at all;



until that was settled he would not want to consider any other legislation, and that, in any event, he would vote against the Secret Ballot if it was to apply to primary elections.

We do not know yet how things will work out with our Secret Ballot bill; we do not know yet if we can get it introduced in the Legislature. It may be that to insist on its introduction under present conditions would so greatly harm the League's effectiveness in future legislatures that we would definitely lose in the long run, both with regard to the secret ballot and also with regard to other legislation we might wish to sponsor at some future time. Of this you can be sure, tho, that your State Board will do everything that it can to translate into action the secret ballot item which was adopted at the state convention. And, as the proverb says, there is more than one way to skin a cat.

Blankenship- 9/ personces of 3 bills

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36 (32 a) (end card) 17/1/44 In this talk Live briefly discussed our 2 state league program items a sevet ballot bill & a joint comm. to secommend election law sericion - + I have presented the developments to date ugarding them. I have shetched what the League has done in the past + the continuity of planning for the future. Lastly I mentioned 3 things wh. must be done now in preparation for the fiture development

4126 thist: 24/14 oy. (Discontinued) 2/150 33% 9/28 24/14 1.20 180 60 11/9 24/1403 1.20 out the further activities who would make or break our bill if it is introduced into the legislature. I hope die been able to make the situation clear, but I also want you to ask me questions - any questions you wish I & make any suggestions you please. Thanh you!

12d. (1a) Here in Galveston the League was so in the midst of the secret ballot campaign two years ago that I know it isn't necessary to explain the secret ballot of the election to Heriston who are the 2 stems on the state league's program of works to this Board. Ill make a full explanation to the membership at the tea & also answer the question of how the secret ballot operates in case of a contexted election, who was the

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