

GORDON ROSENMEIER

The Little Giant from Little Falls

Steven Dornfeld

HE HAD BEEN out of office for more than three years and relegated to the relative obscurity of his law practice in Little Falls. But when friends held a dinner in 1974 to recognize former state senator Gordon Rosenmeier, they did not have any trouble drawing a crowd. The assemblage of more than 800 people included three Minnesota governors, a third of the Minnesota Supreme Court, two members of Congress, and scores of legislators.¹

Known in political circles as “The Little Giant from Little Falls,” Rosenmeier cast a huge shadow during his three decades (1940–70) as a state senator. He led the way in creating the State Planning Agency, the Pollution Control Agency, the Metropolitan Council, and the state’s regional development commissions—and restructuring many other governmental units. Rosenmeier also helped modernize the legislature, pushing to establish the Senate’s first professional research staff. “He was a visionary,” Democratic-Farmer-Labor Gov. Rudy Perpich said of Rosenmeier, who died in 1989 at age 81.²

Rosenmeier was successful because of his considerable legislative skills and his ability to reach across the political aisle. He did not identify

with either of the major political parties and did not believe the legislature should get caught up in partisan politics. In Rosenmeier’s view, the legislature of his era had an outstanding record and “its particular genius” was its nonpartisan nature.³

Regarded as the most powerful legislator of his time, the senator was a brilliant intellect, gifted orator, and master of Senate rules who was widely respected, if not feared. On the eve of Rosenmeier’s recognition dinner, former Republican Gov. Harold LeVander said, only partly in jest, “I happen to be one of eight governors who served *under* him.”⁴

Among Minnesota legislators past and present, Rosenmeier stands out for several reasons. First, he was a product of, and defender of, the state’s part-time, nonpartisan, “citizen legislature.” He served during a period when legislators met only in odd-numbered years, had little in the way of staff, drew upon their private-sector experience, and appeared on the ballot without party designation. Most of

the members who caucused with the Conservatives regarded themselves as Republicans, and most members of the Liberal caucus regarded themselves as DFLers. But Rosenmeier had little time for—or interest in—partisan politics. He proudly declared, “I have never so much as been to a precinct caucus and I don’t know what goes on.”⁵

Second, Rosenmeier—although never serving as Senate majority leader—amassed enormous political power. During the 1950s and 1960s, he was the leading member of the Conservative clique that dominated the Senate, if not all of state government. That clique included Sens. Donald Wright of Minneapolis, chair of the Tax Committee, and Donald Sinclair of Stephen, chair of the Finance Committee. During his final years in the Senate, Rosenmeier was simultaneously chair of the Judiciary Committee, the Civil Administration Subcommittee on State Departments, the Finance Subcommittee on Education, and the Committee on Commit-

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tees, which selected the senators for all conference committees with the House. Those posts, plus his alliances with key senators, gave Rosenmeier influence over a broad range of legislative issues. Former Sen. John T. (Jack) Davies, a Minneapolis Liberal who served with the Little Falls senator for 12 years, said Rosenmeier "could get whatever he wanted, pretty much, in the Senate." Four times in the late 1950s and 1960s, Rosenmeier's colleagues ranked him as the "most effective senator" in polls conducted by the *Minneapolis Star*.⁶

Finally, Rosenmeier was a different kind of conservative than those who emerged in the post-Reagan era. He actually believed in government and constantly tinkered with it, trying to make it more effective. Rosenmeier served for eight years as chair of the Senate Civil Administration Committee, which had jurisdiction over all bills dealing with the organization of government. He gave up that position in 1963 to become chair of the coveted Judiciary Committee, but continued to play a leading role on issues involving government operations.

GORDON ROSENMEIER, the oldest of three children, was born in 1907 in Royalton, just south of Little Falls. His father, Christian, was an attorney and his mother, Linda, had been a schoolteacher. Christian Rosenmeier was elected Morrison County attorney 1912 and to the Minnesota Senate in 1922, where he served for a decade and was selected by the Conservatives as majority leader. Gordon and his siblings grew up in Little Falls in a Victorian-style home with four wrap-around porches and formal gardens overlooking the Mississippi River.

Gordon Rosenmeier at his desk in the Senate, where he served for 30 years



He never married and continued living there until his death.⁷ (The structure now houses the Little Falls Convention and Visitors Bureau.)

After graduating from Little Falls High School, Rosenmeier earned a bachelor of science degree from the University of Minnesota in 1928 and a law degree from Stanford University in 1932. He later said that he inherited his interest in law from his father: "I don't know of a time when I didn't think I would become a lawyer." But he insisted he never had "an abiding interest in politics." Rosenmeier did tell of visiting his father at the state capitol in his youth and encountering legendary Gov. Floyd B. Olson on the steps.⁸

Shortly after graduating from Stanford, Rosenmeier was called home when his father became critically ill, and he joined his father's law practice just a month before Christian Rosenmeier's death in 1932. Persuaded by family friends, Gordon entered the race for his father's vacant Senate seat but was defeated. It did not help that one of his opponents

filed a lawsuit, noting that Rosenmeier had recently passed the California bar examination and contending that he was not a legal resident of Minnesota. The legal challenge was rejected, but the political damage had been done. News stories at the time said flatly, and without attribution, that Rosenmeier had filed "in compliance with his father's dying wish." Years later, however, Rosenmeier told friends and an interviewer that his father actually did not want him to remain in Little Falls, believing that "the ceiling was too low."⁹

Earning a living in a small town during the Great Depression was a struggle for anyone. "Oh, those were grim days," Rosenmeier recalled. "We got \$1 for making a deed, \$5 for defending a man in Justice Court and, at the outside, \$25 for District Court. I would only charge \$5 for an abstract. So you had to work like hell to get enough money to pay the rent." But he survived lean times. John E. Simonett, later a justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court, joined the firm in 1951, and they developed a highly

successful practice with clients ranging from local farmers and merchants to the Weyerhaeuser and Musser lumber interests.¹⁰

Rosenmeier got a second chance to run for the Senate in 1940 following the death of Sen. Frederick Miller of Little Falls, and he defeated Brainerd City Council member Vic Quantstrom by a margin of nearly two-to-one. Over the next three decades, Rosenmeier would be challenged for re-election just once before his defeat in 1970. In 1944 he was re-elected in absentia while serving with the U.S. Navy's Pacific fleet during World War II.¹¹

DESKS IN THE SENATE CHAMBERS are paired, and Rosenmeier's seatmate in his first term was Liberal Sen. B. G. (Bill) Novak, a grocer from St. Paul. Despite the differences in their backgrounds and political outlooks, the two grew close and remained seatmates until Novak retired from the Senate in 1958. "He was smart—he knew what was going on," Rosenmeier said of his colleague. "When I was in

Rosenmeier and companion in his Little Falls home, 1970, and the house as it looked in 1980



Reminding constituents that he was "A Voice for Rural Minnesota," undated campaign brochure

the service, he took care of all of the local legislation here. I'm sure that of all the people, I owe him the most."¹²

Tending to the needs of his district, which included Morrison and Crow Wing counties, Sen. Rosenmeier played a leading role in expanding Camp Ripley, the National Guard training facility near Little Falls that his father helped create; establishing a state hospital and a community college in Brainerd; and designating the Charles Lindbergh home as a state historic site. Increasingly, however, he was drawn to issues of statewide significance. In 1949 he cosponsored Republican Gov. Luther Youngdahl's fair employment practices bill, which was aimed at ending discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin. One newspaper account said Rosenmeier drew applause from the galleries with a floor speech that "was regarded as the most eloquent and telling argument of the session in support of the bill." The bill was defeated 34–29 that year but was enacted six years later with Rosenmeier's support.¹³

In 1957 Rosenmeier joined with Liberal Sen. Donald Fraser to pass a constitutional amendment extending the terms of the governor and other state constitutional officers from two years to four. The amendment, ratified by the voters in 1958, greatly strengthened the hand of future governors. Fraser, who later served in Congress and as mayor of Minneapolis, remembers Rosenmeier as an able lawyer and someone "not as partisan as some members of his group—more willing to take a careful look at something somebody might propose. I found him to be somebody I could work with and did work with on a number of issues."¹⁴



Two years later, Rosenmeier was involved in a less-praiseworthy effort to cement rural control of the Senate in the Minnesota Constitution. The legislature was under strong pressure to reapportion itself, as the state's legislative districts had not been redrawn since 1913 and huge population disparities had developed among them. The U.S. Supreme Court had not yet handed down its landmark redistricting decisions—those would not come until 1962 and 1964. But in 1958, a Minnesota citizens' group filed a lawsuit in federal court, alleging that the 1913 legislative boundaries violated the equal-protection provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. It noted that the population of House districts ranged from 7,290 in the least populous to more than 107,000 in the most populous.¹⁵

Rosenmeier aligned himself with a group of rural legislators to approve a constitutional amendment that would have allowed the Senate to be apportioned on the basis of geography (such as counties) rather than population and limited the five largest metropolitan counties to no more than 35 percent of all Senate seats. He touted it as a balanced proposal that would assure the metro area's grow-

ing population fair representation through the House, while giving rural areas "an adequate voice" through the Senate. The proposed amendment was opposed by DFL Gov. Orville Freeman, the editorial page of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, and the League of Women Voters, among others. And the voters rejected it in 1960, 661,009–600,797. Subsequent reapportionment plans, enacted in 1961 and 1965, shifted some 12 Senate seats and 24 House seats from rural Minnesota to the metro area.¹⁶ Veteran rural senators remained in charge of most Senate committees through the 1960s, but a dramatic shift in political power clearly was underway.

Over time, Rosenmeier became an increasingly intimidating figure in the Senate, thanks to his skills, experience, and alliances with key legislators. Many of those alliances were built during late-night drinking sessions in the Gopher Grill of the Hotel St. Paul, as its bar then was called. "That's how I first got to know Gordon," said former Sen. Keith Hughes, a Conservative from St. Cloud. "That St. Paul bar was a very important part of the legislative process," Rosenmeier later acknowledged.¹⁷

Hughes, who served as vice-chair

of the Judiciary Committee under Rosenmeier, said that the group was dominated by practicing lawyers who knew how to pick apart bills. “That was a horrendous committee to go through,” Hughes said. “It was like walking the plank, and Gordon led the charge.”¹⁸ Rosenmeier was no less intimidating on the Senate floor. Former Sen. Wayne Popham of Minneapolis recalled an incident in the early 1960s when another junior member of their Conservative caucus had a bill on the Senate floor.

Gordon got up on the floor and started off saying something like, “This is the most terrible, disgraceful bill ever to come to the floor of the Minnesota Senate. I cannot imagine how this bill got out of committee. It’s a disgrace to this body.” His bald head was just getting pink. We were just sitting there and everyone was just wishing it would end. I think even the Liberals. And Gordon went on for maybe 10 minutes. I think the other members of the body were thinking, “I don’t want this ever, ever to happen to me.”¹⁹

Rosenmeier could be particularly hard on officials of the executive branch, regardless of their political party. “He treated both sides—both political parties—with studied contempt,” said Robert Goff, who served as an aide to DFL Gov. Karl Rolvaag. “And by that measure, he was fair.”²⁰ Perhaps the most dramatic incident involving Rosenmeier came in the late 1960s, when he was angered by an executive order issued by Gov. LeVander. The senator felt the Republican governor had exceeded his powers and summoned Administration Commissioner Rolland Hatfield to appear before his committee and defend the order.

Hatfield did not get along well with Rosenmeier and did not want to testify, so he sent Assistant Commissioner Richard Brubacher in his place. Brubacher said he had been warned in advance that “Rosenmeier never asks a question he doesn’t know the answer to. Don’t try to bluff him.” After calling the meeting to order, Rosenmeier launched into a fierce grilling of Brubacher, and in the middle of the proceedings the witness fainted. “It was a very warm day and

the capitol was not air conditioned at that time. And he was coming down pretty hard on me,” Brubacher said. He indicated that Rosenmeier was among the first to come to his aid and that the two became good friends afterward.²¹

Rosenmeier’s final years in the Senate were perhaps his most productive. In 1965 he passed a bill to create the State Planning Agency. Two years later came bills to create the state Pollution Control Agency and to reorganize the Conservation Department (now called the Department of Natural Resources). He also was a major architect of the legislation creating the Metropolitan Council.

As someone who grew up on the banks of the Mississippi River and in close proximity to Brainerd resort country, Rosenmeier no doubt had a special appreciation for Minnesota’s

Senate Finance Committee, 1963 (from left): Rosenmeier, unidentified aide, Donald Sinclair, J. A. Josefson, and Jack Davies, who once said Rosenmeier “could get whatever he wanted, pretty much, in the Senate.”



“Rosenmeier never asks a question he doesn't know the answer to. Don't try to bluff him.”

lakes and waterways. Early in his legislative career, he involved himself in issues relating to drainage, wetlands, and water quality. And he became increasingly critical of the state Department of Health and its companion agency, the Water Pollution Control Commission. Created in 1945, the commission consisted primarily of state agency heads for the Health, Conservation, and Agriculture departments as well as the Livestock Sanitary Board. The commission met quarterly and was staffed by the Health Department.²²

By the early 1960s, the state was confronted with serious environmental problems. Many communities in the fast-growing Twin Cities area and throughout the state were discharging raw or inadequately treated sewage into rivers and lakes. Others were relying on backyard septic systems for waste disposal. In 1959 the Health Department reported that half of the wells it tested in 39 suburban communities were contaminated by septic waste. More pollution problems surfaced in 1962–63 when two major oil spills occurred—one at an oil-company plant on the Minnesota River in Savage and the other at a soybean-processing plant in Mankato. Oil from the two spills ultimately flowed into the Mississippi River and converged near Red Wing and Hastings, killing an estimated 10,000 ducks and other wildlife. Gov. Rolvaag called out members of the Minnesota National Guard in a futile effort to save the ducks.²³

In 1963 Rosenmeier succeeded in passing a bill strengthening the Water

Pollution Control Commission, giving it the power to set pollution standards and order communities to build sewage-treatment plants or contract with existing facilities. His bill was supported by Rolvaag, who also had grown frustrated with the work of the commission and the Health Department. While calling the 1963 measure “probably the strongest pollution control law in the United States,” Rosenmeier quickly concluded it was “too strong and too broad to be implemented by the existing, unaggressive water pollution commission.” The state needed an independent pollution-control agency, “free of dependence on the Department of Health.”²⁴

And so, Rosenmeier returned in 1965 with a bill to create a new state pollution-control agency. The measure passed the Senate but died in the House. Two years later, his bill was enacted into law. It dissolved the Water Pollution Control Commission and created the state Pollution Control Agency (PCA) with a seven-member citizens' policy board and an executive director appointed by the governor. The new agency was given broad powers to set and enforce standards for water and air pollution, as well to study the problem of solid-waste disposal. This came three years before the creation of the federal Environmental Protection Agency. Rosenmeier said he believed “Minnesota [water pollution] laws have been adequate but administration has faltered. We hope this new independent agency will take up where the old failed.”²⁵

In the early 1970s, Grant Merritt, the PCA's executive director under DFL Gov. Wendell Anderson, had an opportunity to meet Rosenmeier, who appeared before the agency board seeking a variance from PCA standards for a paper company. Merritt said later that Rosenmeier “was not a flaming environmentalist” but wanted state government to be more effective in protecting Minnesota's resources. One of the great strengths of the law, Merritt believes, was the citizens board Rosenmeier created: “It provided a forum for people to come in and air their views on important environmental issues. The staff would make our recommendations and then we would have an open discussion that would be covered by the media. As a result, we received tremendous public support for what we were doing.”²⁶

The State Planning Agency, created more quickly, stands as an example of the bipartisan cooperation that was more common in that period. This new agency was charged with preparing an “integrated” long-range plan for Minnesota and coordinating the planning among state agencies—to avoid having them work at cross-purposes. It grew out of discussions within the Minnesota Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission, a 14-member, bipartisan legislative panel that met between sessions. A subcommittee headed by Liberal Rep. Fred Cina of Aurora produced a report in May 1965 recommending creation of the planning agency and providing draft legislation. Even before the report was issued, legislation was introduced—by Rosenmeier in the Senate and Aubrey W. Dirlam, a Redwood Falls Conservative, in the House. Within a month, the measure was unanimously approved by both houses. In pushing the bill, Rosenmeier said he was concerned that the legislature

was making too many decisions in piecemeal fashion that “didn’t fit into any plan, design.”²⁷

Rosenmeier also seemed concerned about the growing reach of the federal government in the 1960s under President Lyndon B. Johnson and how this increased presence might affect the balance of power with states. Former U.S. Sen. David Durenberger, who served as Gov. LeVander’s chief of staff (1967–71), recently said that Rosenmeier saw initiatives such as the PCA and State Planning Agency as “progressive state alternatives” to the expansion of the federal government and powers, with rules and strings attached.²⁸

When it came to the Metropolitan Council, though, Rosenmeier was a reluctant convert. After several years of discussion and study, the Citizens League issued a report in early 1967 calling for the creation of an elected regional planning and governing body with broad powers. The

league, a nonpartisan public-policy research organization, said that such a body was needed to solve “pressing areawide governmental problems” involving regional planning, sewage collection and treatment, mass transit, and open-space preservation.²⁹

Rosenmeier had questioned the need for such a body, saying he did not know what the “metropolitan problem” was. But he apparently saw that political pressure for action was building. The turning point appeared to come at a conference held at the College of St. Thomas (now the University of St. Thomas) in November 1966 that was attended by many of the region’s leading business executives. At that conference, Rosenmeier changed his stance, saying he favored the creation of a metropolitan council—although perhaps not one as powerful as some proponents envisioned.³⁰

As the 1967 legislative session unfolded, two metro-area Conservatives, Rep. Bill Frenzel of Golden Valley and

Sen. Harmon Ogdahl of Minneapolis, offered the Citizens League proposal for an elected council with broad planning and operating powers, including responsibility for transit and sewers. Rosenmeier and Conservative Rep. Howard Albertson of Stillwater, chair of the House Metropolitan Affairs Committee, developed an alternative that provided for a planning and coordinating body appointed by the governor and assigned operating responsibilities for transit, airports, and other regional services to separate metro agencies. The Rosenmeier-Albertson approach ultimately prevailed in both houses. A staunch defender of state government’s legislative branch, Rosenmeier strenuously opposed a floor amendment to provide

Federal presence: President Lyndon B. Johnson flanked by Senators Eugene McCarthy and Walter Mondale along with (from left) Congressmen Donald Fraser and Joseph E. Karth (rain hat) and Governor Karl Rolvaag, all inspecting Minnesota flood damage, 1965.



“Smart legislators know when to give ground and when to fight.”

for an elected council, warning his colleagues to “consider what would happen to your status as senators.” The amendment failed on a dramatic 33-33 tie vote. A similar amendment was defeated 66-62 in the House.³¹

Frenzel, who later served in Congress, explained, “Smart legislators know when to give ground and when to fight, and that’s how Rosenmeier handled the Met Council.” The senator “might have thought it unnecessary” but allowed the bill to become law after he “defanged” it by removing the elected-council provisions. “I still believe the council concept I favored would have been superior, but his council turned to be a good one too and, in my judgment, it was a powerful tool for development in our metro area.”³²

IN 1969 ROSENMEIER was tripped up by a volatile issue that has been the undoing of many politicians: abortion. As chair of the Judiciary Committee, he granted a hearing to a bill sponsored by Sen. Kelly Gage, a Conservative from Mankato, to relax the state’s longstanding ban on abortion. It would have permitted abortions performed for “medical indications” and approved by a committee of five physicians appointed by the hospital. The bill was narrowly approved after the committee added an amendment requiring that the patient be a Minnesota resident for at least 90 days. This action came four years before

the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* that struck down state laws banning abortion. Various accounts have suggested that Rosenmeier cast the tie-breaking vote on the bill or voted “inadvertently” when the committee secretary called his name. In any event, the committee minutes and multiple newspaper reports show that the vote was 11 to 9, with Rosenmeier voting with the majority.³³

Rosenmeier insisted later that he did not support the bill but merely wanted it to go to the Senate floor where it would receive greater debate and scrutiny. Gage, the bill’s sponsor, recalled Rosenmeier giving him a similar explanation. Sen. Hughes, the most vocal opponent of the bill in committee, agreed that rationale became “Gordon’s explanation during the [1970] campaign,” but added: “In the six years I served with Gordon, he never did that with any other bill. If he didn’t want a bill to come out of his committee, I guarantee you it didn’t come out.”³⁴

The abortion vote provided potent political ammunition for Rosenmeier’s 1970 opponent, DFLer



Rosenmeier visiting with students at St. Francis High School, Little Falls, campaign season, 1970



Celebrating in the capitol by the honoree's portrait on Gordon Rosenmeier Recognition Day, 1974. From left: Former Governor C. Elmer Anderson, siblings Margaret and Gordon Rosenmeier, and Governor Wendell Anderson.



Winston W. Borden, a 27-year-old lawyer from Brainerd who had been preparing to challenge the senator for several years. Morrison County was heavily Catholic and a hotbed of anti-abortion activism. During the campaign, Borden issued at least four news releases charging that Rosenmeier “betrayed the people . . . when he voted for a bill that would have allowed virtual abortion on demand in Minnesota.”³⁵

But abortion was hardly the only issue that Borden employed against the veteran senator. In campaign press releases, the challenger criticized Rosenmeier for his support of the 1967 sales tax, opposition to lowering the voting age, support of the regional development act, inadequate regulation of lobbyists, and alleged conflicts of interest—representing legal clients before the courts and various state agencies. Borden also sent targeted letters to numerous constitu-

encies, including Brainerd residents who vehemently opposed a state law requiring fluoridation of municipal drinking water. “I want to carry our fight against forced fluoridation—our fight for local government—to the state Senate,” he wrote. “Our opponent has had his chance to use his power to repeal the forced fluoridation law—but he has not used his power to do so.”³⁶

Years later, Borden recalled that Rosenmeier easily became angry and did not perform well in the 1970 campaign debates and forums. “He was just not used to being challenged,” Borden said. “He was a fine legislator—did many wonderful things. But the political thicket in the street wasn’t something he was used to.”³⁷

Rosenmeier no doubt was more skilled as a legislator than as a politician. Former Rep. Stephen G. Wenzel, a DFLer from Little Falls who was

elected to the House in 1973, recalled that Borden “employed modern campaign techniques—going door to door, brochures, advertising. Gordon never had to do that—he wasn’t used to that.” Wenzel also said Rosenmeier was not one to tout his own achievements. “The great things he did, he didn’t advertise. I don’t think people knew all of the great things that he did. They didn’t understand how great and powerful this man was.”³⁸

GORDON ROSENMEIER might feel out of place in today’s highly partisan and polarized political system. But he came along at just the right time to help modernize the legislature and state government, better preparing them to meet the difficult challenges in the decades ahead. □

Notes

1. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Sept. 23, 1974, 1A.
2. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Jan. 18, 1989, 1A. Rosenmeier engineered the hiring of the first Senate counsel, attorney H. Blair Klein, in 1967. By 1971 the counsel's office had grown to eight lawyers who staffed Senate committees, researched issues, and drafted legislation. See Steven Dornfeld, "Pioneering Legislative Staffer H. Blair Klein Dies," *MinnPost*, Dec. 21, 2011, www.minnpost.com/political-agenda/2011/12/pioneering-legislative-staffer-h-blair-klein-dies.
3. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1963, 1.
4. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Sept. 23, 1974, 1A.
5. Rosenmeier, interview by Minnesota Historical Society (MNHS) staff, Nov. 4, 1985, tape and transcript in Christian and Gordon Rosenmeier Papers, MNHS. The legislature met only in odd-numbered years until the approval of a constitutional amendment in 1972. In 1973 DFLers took control of both houses and enacted party designation for legislative elections.
6. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Mar. 1, 1959, 1; Royce Hanson, *Tribune of the People: The Minnesota Legislature and Its Leadership* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 104; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Jan. 1, 1969, sec. 2, p. 1; Jack Davies, recorded interview by author, July 22, 2013, partial transcript, 1; *Minneapolis Star*, June 13, 1961, 13A ("a repeat winner"), May 28, 1963, 13A, May 29, 1965, 1A.
7. Biographies of Christian and Gordon Rosenmeier, www.mnhs.org/library/findaids/00345.xml.
8. *Minneapolis Tribune*, Jan. 18, 1989, 1A; Rosenmeier, MNHS interview, Nov. 4, 1985; Rosenmeier, interview by Royce Hanson, 1986, in Videotapes and Audio Cassettes Compiled for *Tribune of the People*, MNHS.
9. *Brainerd Dispatch*, Oct. 16, 1932, 1, June 7, 1932, 1; author's recorded interviews with Jan Olsten and John Valen, both Rosenmeier's long-time friends, Sept. 25, 2013, Sept. 23, 2013, respectively; Rosenmeier, interview by MNHS staff, Mar. 7, 1986, tapes and transcripts in Rosenmeier papers.
10. Rosenmeier, MNHS interview, Mar. 7, 1986; *Minnesota History News*, Minnesota Historical Society, Mar.-Apr. 1989, 1.
11. *Minnesota Legislative Manual, 1941*, 405; *Minneapolis Tribune*, Mar. 14, 1955, 9.
12. Like Christian Rosenmeier, Bill Novak was succeeded in the Senate by his son, Edward, who served for 16 years, 12 of them with Gordon Rosenmeier. Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, "Legislators Past and Present," www.leg.state.mn.us/legdb/fulldetail.aspx?ID=13607. *Little Falls Daily Transcript*, Sept. 19, 1974, 8 (quote).
13. *Little Falls Daily Transcript*, Sept. 19, 1974, 1; *Minneapolis Star*, Mar. 26, 1949, 5; *Minnesota Session Laws, 1955*, Chapt. 516.
14. *Minnesota Session Laws, 1957*, Chapt. 813; Donald Fraser, recorded interview by author, Aug. 12, 2013, partial transcript, 1.
15. *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962); *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533 (1964); Minnesota House Research Dept., "Minnesota Redistricting Process: A Historical Review," www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/issinfo/MnRedistrictHist.pdf.
16. *Minnesota Session Laws, Extra Session, 1959*, Chapt. 47; Rosenmeier to legislator identified as "Bill," Nov. 12, 1959, Rosenmeier papers; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Apr. 27, 1960, 1; *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 22, 1960, 2F; Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, "State Constitutional Amendments Considered," www.leg.state.mn.us/lrl/mngov/constitutionalamendments.aspx; Davies interview, 3. Rosenmeier is listed as a supporter in the *Little Falls Daily Transcript*, Oct. 28, 1960, 2.
17. Keith Hughes, recorded interview by author, Aug. 7, 2013, partial transcript, 1; Rosenmeier, interview by Hanson.
18. Hughes interview, 1.
19. Wayne Popham, recorded interview by author, July 31, 2013, partial transcript, 1.
20. Robert Goff, interview by author, Mar. 16, 2013, partial transcript, 1.
21. Richard Brubacher, recorded interview by author, Sept. 23, 2013, partial transcript, 1.
22. "The Legislative Interest in Our Lakes," undated speech, Rosenmeier papers; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Oct. 28, 1964, 1; *Minnesota Session Laws, 1945*, Chapt. 395.
23. *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Nov. 18, 1996, 1; Stephen J. Lee, "Operation Save A Duck and the Legacy of Minnesota's 1962-63 Oil Spills," *Minnesota History* 58 (Summer 2002): 105.
24. *Minnesota Session Laws, 1963*, Chapt. 874; *St. Paul Dispatch*, Oct. 28, 1964, 37; "Legislative Interest in Our Lakes," Rosenmeier papers.
25. S.F. 1963, *Journal of the Senate, 1965*, 2818; *Minnesota Session Laws, 1967*, Chapt. 882; Rosenmeier to Mrs. M. F. Oberstar, Izaak Walton League, July 25, 1967, Rosenmeier papers.
26. Grant Merritt, interview by author, Sept. 11, 2013, notes, 1.
27. "Planning in Minnesota," Minnesota Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission Report No. 13, 1965, copy in Legislative Reference Library, St. Paul; S.F. 1716, *Journal of the Senate, 2789*; H.F. 1775, *Journal of the House, 3267*; *Minnesota Session Laws, 1965*, Chapt. 685; Rosenmeier, interview by MNHS staff, May 16, 1985, tape and transcript in Rosenmeier papers.
28. David Durenberger, interview by author, May 1, 2013, notes, 1.
29. Citizens League, "A Metropolitan Council for the Twin Cities Area," Feb. 1967, <http://citizensleague.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/205.Report.A-Metropolitan-Council-for-the-Twin-Cities.pdf>.
30. *Minneapolis Star*, June 17, 1966, 30B; Upper Midwest Research and Development Council, seminar invitation, Sept. 30, 1966, Rosenmeier papers; *St. Paul Dispatch*, Nov. 11, 1966, 17.
31. Minnesota House Research Dept., "1967 Proposals for a Metropolitan Council," July 21, 1993, Legislative Reference Library; *Minneapolis Tribune*, June 4, 1967, 15B. The council continues as a planning and coordinating body. It expanded in 1994, when the legislature eliminated separate boards for transit and sewer operations, consolidating them with the still-appointed council.
32. Bill Frenzel, e-mail to author, July 1, 2013.
33. S.F. 998, 1969, microfilm, Legislative Reference Library; *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973); *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, May 1, 1969, 1; *Minneapolis Tribune*, May 1, 1969, 1.
34. *St. Paul Dispatch*, Nov. 4, 1970, 1; Kelly Gage, recorded interview by author, Aug. 14, 2013, partial transcript, 1; Hughes interview, 2.
35. News releases dated July 19, July 29, Sept. 27, and Oct. 7, 1970, Winston W. Borden Papers, MNHS.
36. Borden campaign letter to selected Brainerd residents, Oct., 1970, Borden papers.
37. Winston Borden, recorded interview by author, July 1, 2013, partial transcript, 1.
38. Stephen Wenzel, recorded interview by author, July 19, 2013, partial transcript, 2.

The photos on p. 150 (left) and 156 (left) are courtesy the Morrison County Historical Society, Little Falls. All others are in MNHS collections, including 149, 151, 155, and 156 (right) in the Christian and Gordon Rosenmeier Papers.



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