

Wisconsin's Role in Electing the President

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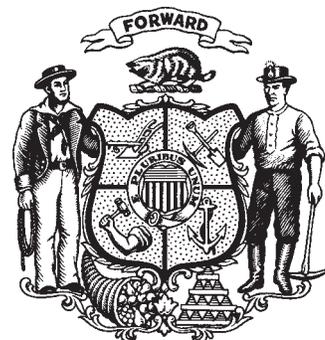


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WISCONSIN'S ROLE IN ELECTING THE PRESIDENT

SUMMARY

On November 6, 2012, over 4 million Wisconsin voters will have the opportunity to participate in electing our nation's president. If this election is like recent presidential contests, around 3 million Wisconsinites will vote. This bulletin discusses the various steps in the selection of the U.S. President, including the presidential preference primaries and party caucuses, nomination of the candidates at the national party conventions, the November elections, and the Electoral College balloting. It specifically focuses on Wisconsin's role in electing the president.

I. INTRODUCTION

A presidential election is the greatest civic event America has to offer. Since the president and vice president are the only two federal officers elected on a nationwide basis, the conduct of the campaign and its outcome offer a unique opportunity to gauge the mood of the country. The first phase, the party primaries and caucuses, offers the spectacle of candidates competing for the highest office in the land on a retail basis – door to door, in living rooms, and at factory gates. The second phase provides the colorful pageantry of the conventions. And, finally, the drama of the party nominees debating and battling their way to November.

Very close national presidential election results in 2000 and 2004 resulted in certain electoral reforms, such as the Help America Vote Act (HAVA), PL 107-252, which, among other reforms, mandated that each state have a statewide voter registration list. 2012 will be the first presidential election in Wisconsin in which the statewide list may come into play. It is also the first partisan election following the adoption of Wisconsin's new voter-ID law, 2011 Wisconsin Act 23. It is not clear what role, if any, these new laws will play in the 2012 campaign in Wisconsin, regarded by many as a "swing state" very much in play in the 2012 presidential contest.

Other aspects of the campaign appear more sedate. President Barack Obama will apparently have no challenger for his party's nomination. The Republican primary and caucus nominating process is much more lengthy than in 2008 and may be contested well into the spring. Meanwhile, the Electoral College remains controversial and faces perhaps its greatest challenge as an American political institution: the National Popular Vote movement.

The Election Process. The selection of a U.S. President involves a complicated and lengthy process, covering almost a full year. The steps a successful candidate must complete can be summarized briefly: 1) win delegates to the nominating convention through the state primaries and party caucuses, 2) win the party’s nomination through a majority vote of the delegates at the convention, 3) win as many states as possible in the November election, and thereby 4) win 270 or more votes in the Electoral College. A successful candidate is not required to receive a majority of the popular votes cast.

KEY WISCONSIN DATES IN THE 2012 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Dates	Event	How Dates Set	Process
December 13, 2011	Certification for Primary	Wis. Stats., Sec. 8.12	Recognized Wisconsin parties certify their intention to participate in presidential preference primary.
January 3, 2012	Ballot Selection	Wis. Stats., Sec. 8.12	Representatives of participating parties select names to appear on primary ballot.
April 3, 2012	Presidential Preference Primary	Wis. Stats., Secs. 5.02 (22), 8.12	All Wisconsin voters eligible to vote in open primary to express presidential preference.
August 27-30, 2012	Republican National Convention (Tampa)	By Party	Party nominates its candidates for president and vice president.
September 3-6, 2012	Democratic National Convention (Charlotte)	By Party	Party nominates its candidates for president and vice president.
September 4, 2012	Nomination of Minor Party and Independent Candidates and Elector Selection	Wis. Stats., Sec. 8.20	Minor party and independent candidates for president and vice president file nomination papers and slates of electors.
October 2, 2012	Elector Selection for Recognized Wisconsin Parties	Wis. Stats., Sec. 8.18	Recognized Wisconsin parties nominate slates for Wisconsin presidential electors.
November 6, 2012	Election of Presidential Electors	U.S. Code, Title 3, Secs. 1, 3	Wisconsin voters elect 10 presidential electors as part of national election.
December 17, 2012	Electoral College Vote	U.S. Code, Title 3, Sec. 7 Wis. Stats., Sec. 7.75	Wisconsin electors meet at state capitol to vote separately for president and vice president.
January 6, 2013	Official Count of Electoral Votes	U.S. Code, Title 3, Sec. 15	Electoral votes counted and announced before joint session of U.S. Congress.
January 20, 2013	Inauguration	U.S. Constitution, Twentieth Amendment	Newly elected president and vice president take office.

II. SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE NOMINATING CONVENTION

The presidential nomination process begins with the selection of delegates to the national party conventions through state presidential primary elections, party caucuses, or party conventions. The specific method varies from state to state according to national and state party rules and state laws. Dates for the primaries are usually determined by the state legislatures, whereas caucuses and conventions are scheduled by the parties. In recent years, the presidential primary has become the predominant vehicle by which the parties select their convention delegates. In 2012, 37 states will hold presidential preference primary elections and those elections will select over two-thirds of the delegates. (See the accompanying appendix for a state-by-state description.)

Wisconsin's Presidential Preference Primary. Wisconsin pioneered the presidential primary for selecting delegates to national party conventions in the early 1900s. The Wisconsin Legislature enacted the nation's first primary law in 1903, requiring that all candidates for partisan office be nominated by voters, not handpicked in political conventions. However, Florida became the first state to use the presidential primary in 1904, because Wisconsin's law required approval in a statutory referendum in November 1904 before it took effect.

Wisconsin was the first state to mandate a presidential primary. Chapter 369, Laws of 1905, specifically required that Wisconsin delegates to the national political party conventions be elected in primaries. Under this law, prospective delegates stated no preference for a presidential candidate, either on their nomination papers or the ballot. Thus, the voter cast a ballot for the individual delegate, not for a preferred presidential candidate. Chapter 300, Laws of 1911, provided that the names of candidates be listed along with delegates to give voters a chance to express their preference. Many legislative changes have been made to the primary law since its initial adoption, including Chapter 90, Laws of 1967, which eliminated the names of proposed convention delegates from the primary ballots. Current procedure is to list only the names of prospective presidential candidates.

Official preparation for the Wisconsin presidential preference primary begins when an eligible recognized political party certifies to the Government Accountability Board that it plans to participate in the election. (The deadline for certification is the second Tuesday in December preceding the presidential election.) Eligibility depends on demonstrated polling strength in the most recent gubernatorial election. The party's candidate for governor must have received at least 10% of the vote in that election in order for the party to appear on the primary ballot. Both of the political parties eligible – the Democratic and Republican Parties – have certified they will participate in the April 2012 balloting.

On the first Tuesday in January, officials of those parties certified for the presidential primary meet jointly as a committee at the state capitol to determine and certify to the Government Accountability Board which of their presidential contenders will appear on the printed ballot.

Section 8.12 (1) (b), Wisconsin Statutes, states:

The committee shall place the names of all candidates whose candidacy is generally advocated or recognized in the national news media throughout the United States on the ballot, and may, in addition, place the names of other candidates on the ballot. The committee shall have sole discretion to determine that a candidacy is generally advocated or recognized in the national news media throughout the United States.

Section 8.12 (1) (c) does provide, however, that a person or committee acting on behalf of the person “may submit to the [government accountability] board a formal petition to have

the person’s name appear on the presidential preference ballot.” The petition must contain the signature of a specified number of electors. No person or committee has so petitioned for the 2012 ballot. Wisconsin’s presidential primary election will take place on April 3, 2012. The candidates certified to appear on Wisconsin’s 2012 presidential primary ballot are:

For the Democratic Party	For the Republican Party
Barack Obama	Michele Bachmann*
	Newt Gingrich
	Jon Huntsman*
	Ron Paul
	Mitt Romney
	Rick Santorum

*Indicates candidate has publicly withdrawn but has not filed an official disclaimer to date. Rick Perry, who was certified, filed a disclaimer to be removed from the ballot.

In 1996, Wisconsin’s primary was moved from its traditional April date, coinciding with the nonpartisan general election for local offices, to the middle of March to participate in “Big Ten Tuesday,” in which Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin held their primaries on the same day. In 2000, the primary moved back to its traditional April date. 2003 Wisconsin Act 24 moved the primary once again, this time to mid-February, to coincide with the nonpartisan primary election for state and local offices. With the passage of 2011 Wisconsin Act 45, the primary was once again restored to the first Tuesday in April.

Wisconsin conducts an “open primary,” which means that, unlike many states, Wisconsin voters do not have to declare a party affiliation in order to participate in the primary election. The voter is given the ballots of all parties and must decide which ballot to cast in the secrecy of the voting booth. There are safeguards to prevent the voter from marking more than one ballot.

After the balloting, state party organizations may decide whether and how they want to translate the results of the open primary into delegate selection for the national nominating conventions.

Primary Scheduling. The process for scheduling presidential primaries has become increasingly contentious in recent presidential contests. Each state is responsible for scheduling presidential primaries and caucuses in conjunction with the state organizations of the two major political parties. Two states are noteworthy for their role in this process. Iowa, with its early caucuses, and New Hampshire, with its first in the nation primary, have usually received a great deal of attention from presidential candidates at a point in the process when few if any candidates have dropped out of the running. Because of this, those two states have come to cherish their early placement in the primary parade.

More and more in the last 20 years, other states have responded to the attention paid to early events by moving up the dates of their own primaries and caucuses. This practice is sometimes called “frontloading.” Iowa and New Hampshire have responded by moving their own events even earlier. New Hampshire has gone to the extreme of directing its secretary of state to schedule its primary “7 days preceding the date on which any other state shall hold a similar election.”

Frontloading has not only pitted state against state, but state parties against national parties. States have scheduled primaries and caucuses with an eye on the actions of other

states. During recent presidential cycles, the two national parties have relied on sanctions as a deterrent to frontloading, with delegate numbers for frontloading states reduced as a penalty. This has had limited success as a deterrent to frontloading as successful candidates for the nomination who end up controlling national conventions generally forgive delegate sanctions levied for frontloading. For the 2012 campaign, however, both parties have chosen to use bonus delegates as an incentive to schedule primaries and caucuses more in accordance with the wishes of the national parties.

It appears that this national strategy to discourage frontloading has been successful. Only five presidential primaries in the Republican Party and four in the Democratic Party are scheduled before March 6. By March 6, 2008, most delegates to the national party conventions had been selected.

III. THE NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

The first stage of the presidential election concludes when the delegates from each party meet at their respective national conventions to nominate the candidates for president and vice president. In 2012, the Republicans will convene August 27-30 in Tampa, and the Democrats will meet September 3-6 in Charlotte.

The 2012 Democratic National Convention will have 5,555 delegates (compared to 4,393 in 2008), and the Republican National Convention will have 2,286 (compared to 2,380 in 2008). Both conventions include delegations from each state, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the U.S. territories, and some miscellaneous slots.

The two parties differ in the method of allocating delegates to the states. The Democrats determine the number of delegates a state may send on the basis of a state's showing in the past three presidential elections and the state's representation in the Electoral College. They also award delegates to states that have a Democratic governor, U.S. Senators and Representatives. The Republicans allow each state 10 delegates plus three for each seat the state has in the U.S. House of Representatives. More delegates are awarded to states that supported the GOP candidate for president in 2008, and to states with Republican governors, U.S. Senators, at least half the U.S. House delegation, and GOP control of the state legislature.

Wisconsin's Democratic Delegates. A total of 111 Wisconsin Democratic delegates are slated to attend the national convention, along with at least nine alternates. The Wisconsin delegation is selected, in part, through congressional district caucuses following the presidential primary. Delegates from the eight congressional districts and statewide at-large delegates are chosen on the basis of proportional representation, related to the popular vote received in the district or statewide in the presidential preference primary. By rule of the state and national parties, no candidate who receives less than 15% of the vote in a congressional district may be awarded any delegates in that district. Similarly, no candidate receiving less than 15% statewide may be awarded any at-large delegates. Other delegates, such as elected officials, are chosen by the party. The delegation will include 66 district delegates pledged to candidates based on their performance in the presidential preference primary in each district, and 22 at-large delegates pledged to candidates based on their performance in the whole state. Twelve delegates are state party leaders and elected officials pledged to candidates in proportion to their performance in the primary statewide. The remaining 11 delegates are state party leaders and elected officials not pledged to any presidential candidate, sometimes known as superdelegates. National party rules require "equal division" of the delegation between men and women. The party requires priority consideration be given to African Americans, His-

panics, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders in the selection of at-large delegates. Presidential candidates must select district delegates subject to affirmative action and inclusion obligations that must appear in each state's Delegate Selection Plan.

Wisconsin's Republican Delegates. The Wisconsin Republicans will choose 42 delegates to the 2012 national convention. The GOP uses a winner-take-all rather than a proportional system. The candidate receiving a plurality in any congressional district is entitled to all the delegates from that district. Similarly, the statewide winner is entitled to all the at-large delegates. The Wisconsin Republican convention delegation consists of 24 district delegates (three from each district), 13 at-large delegates, and five at-large bonus delegates awarded if the following criteria were met by the state at any time after the 2008 presidential election: a GOP governor (1); a GOP U.S. Senator (1); GOP controlling at least one-half of the state's U.S. House delegation (1); GOP controlling any house of the state legislature (1); and GOP controlling both houses of the state legislature (1). The Republicans also provide a substantial delegate bonus to states carried by the GOP in the last presidential election based on a percentage of the state's electoral votes. Wisconsin does not qualify for this bonus. In addition, the Wisconsin delegation includes 39 alternates. National party rules encourage, but do not require, gender balance in the makeup of the delegation. The GOP has no guidelines on the racial or ethnic makeup of the delegation.

Court Decisions About Delegate Selection. In recent years, questions have been raised about the authority of individual states to legislate delegate selection procedures. In *Cousins v. Wigoda*, 419 U.S. 477 (1975), the U.S. Supreme Court declared: "The States themselves have no constitutionally mandated role in the great task of the selection of Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates." Under this ruling, party rules would preempt and supersede state laws governing the selection and apportionment of party delegates in case of any conflicts.

Several years later, Wisconsin was the focus of another U.S. Supreme Court case concerning the role of the state versus the national party in determining delegates to the national political party conventions. In *Democratic Party of United States of America et al. v. Wisconsin ex rel. Bronson C. La Follette et al.*, 450 U.S. 107 (1981), the Democratic National Committee (DNC) challenged the Wisconsin state law that mandated the Wisconsin delegation must be bound by the results of the April open primary. The DNC was concerned that persons voting the Democratic ballot were not required to publicly declare their party affiliation, as required by national party rules. As a result, members of other political parties (or voters with no political affiliation) could, and did, "cross over" to affect the Democratic outcome. The party claimed that its right to freedom of association, as protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, would be violated if it had to accept delegates forced on it by "outsiders." The Court ruled that it was permissible for the Democratic Party of the United States to refuse to seat delegates from the State of Wisconsin because they were elected in an open primary, a procedure that violated national party rules. The Court stated:

... a State, or a court, may not constitutionally substitute its own judgment for that of the Party. A political party's choice among the various ways of determining the makeup of a State's delegation to the party's national convention is protected by the Constitution. (123-124)

The State has a substantial interest in the manner in which its elections are conducted, and the National Party has a substantial interest in the manner in which the delegates to its National Convention are selected. But these interests are not incompatible and to

the limited extent they clash in this case, both interests can be preserved. The National Party rules do not forbid Wisconsin to conduct an open primary. But if Wisconsin does open its primary, it cannot require that Wisconsin delegates to the National Party Convention vote there in accordance with the primary results, if to do so would violate Party rules. (126)

The result of this 1981 case and the imposition of the national party rules was that, although the Wisconsin presidential primary was held on April 3, 1984, the Wisconsin Democratic Party used a party caucus system to select its delegates to the 1984 national convention. (The Republican Party used the primary results to allocate its delegates as usual.)

In March 1986, the DNC changed its position and allowed Wisconsin Democrats to select their national convention delegates based on an open primary rather than a party caucus system. Thus, Wisconsin Democratic delegates in 1988 and the following conventions have tended to reflect the results of the presidential preference vote.

The Wisconsin Legislature accommodated the U.S. Supreme Court's decision by passing 1985 Wisconsin Act 304, effective July 1, 1986, which repealed the statutory provisions requiring that delegate selection for the national conventions reflect the results of the presidential primary. Although Wisconsin law still provides for an open presidential preference vote, the statutes no longer dictate how delegates to the national party conventions are selected. The primary serves only an advisory function for the subsequent party caucuses, which actually select the convention delegates.

Convention Procedure. In their national conventions, the parties nominate their presidential and vice presidential candidates and adopt a national party platform. Second only to the elections themselves, these mass meetings are the highlight of party politics in the United States, and they receive full media attention. The hopes and future success of a party are often tied to the success of its standard bearer in the November election, and the enthusiasm expressed by the many delegates in fulfilling their convention duties serves as a unifying force that strengthens and preserves the party.

National party conventions are not regulated by federal or state law. Each party sets its own rules and regulations, but the operating procedures for the two major conventions are actually quite similar. At the opening of each convention, a temporary chairperson is chosen to conduct proceedings while the credentials committee checks the state delegates and seats those approved. When the official delegates have been seated, the convention elects its permanent chairperson and votes on the national party platform, which has been prepared by the platform committee.

Since the advent of television coverage, the conventions have tended to schedule their major events for prime time, and presidential nominations usually begin by the third evening of the convention. Each state is polled in alphabetical order. States that do not wish to nominate a candidate yield to the next state. A nomination by one state is seconded by another state, and it is customary that, when a name is submitted, there is a nominating and a seconding speech.

Voting on the nominees begins after all nominations have been made and seconded. A voice vote is conducted alphabetically by state, and a simple majority is sufficient to select the party's presidential candidate. Since 1952, when the Democrats nominated Adlai Stevenson on the third ballot, no major convention has required more than one ballot to determine its presidential candidate. Prior to the introduction of primary elections to narrow the field of candidates, and televised coverage, which encourages a show of unity before the general

public, voting could run for many ballots with the “favorite sons” of many states in contention. The record number of presidential ballots occurred in 1924, when the Democratic National Convention needed 103 ballots to nominate John W. Davis. (Prior to 1936, the Democratic Convention required a two-thirds vote to nominate a presidential candidate.)

Once the national convention has selected its presidential candidate, it begins the same process to choose the candidate for vice president. While nominations may be made from the floor, it is customary for the presidential candidates to name their own running mates. The convention usually nominates these choices and affirms them by acclamation.

IV. THE ROLE OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

A great deal of light was shed on the formerly obscure Electoral College by the controversial presidential election of 2000. The framers of the Constitution had difficulty deciding how to select the president, and finally agreed upon the system of presidential electors as a compromise to offset fears about leaving such a critical decision to Congress or the voters at-large. As a result, the President of the United States is not elected directly by the people. At the November election, voters are actually voting for presidential electors who will cast their state’s ballots for president and vice president.

2012 ALLOCATION OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS

State	Electors	State	Electors	State	Electors
Alabama	9	Kentucky	8	North Dakota	3
Alaska	3	Louisiana	8	Ohio	18
Arizona	11	Maine	4	Oklahoma	7
Arkansas	6	Maryland	10	Oregon	7
California	55	Massachusetts	11	Pennsylvania	20
Colorado	9	Michigan	16	Rhode Island	4
Connecticut	7	Minnesota	10	South Carolina	9
Delaware	3	Mississippi	6	South Dakota	3
District of Columbia	3	Missouri	10	Tennessee	11
Florida	29	Montana	3	Texas	38
Georgia	16	Nebraska	5	Utah	6
Hawaii	4	Nevada	6	Vermont	3
Idaho	4	New Hampshire	4	Virginia	13
Illinois	20	New Jersey	14	Washington	12
Indiana	11	New Mexico	5	West Virginia	5
Iowa	6	New York	29	Wisconsin	10
Kansas	6	North Carolina	15	Wyoming	3
				TOTAL	538

There are a total of 538 electors nationwide, collectively called the “Electoral College.” Each state has as many electors as its combined number of senators and representatives to Congress, so the state allocations range from 55 in California to a minimum of three in those states sending only one member to the U.S. House of Representatives. (The District of Columbia has three electors, based on the Twenty-Third Amendment to the Constitution, ratified in 1961.) Wisconsin has 10 electors, because its Congressional delegation includes two senators and eight representatives.

The U.S. Constitution, federal law, and state statutes govern the operation of the Electoral College. Curiously, although the U.S. Constitution created this electoral method, the popular term “electoral college” does not appear anywhere in the Constitution or any of its amendments. Nor is it used in any of the federal statutes passed in later years to define the process. Nevertheless, it has become the commonly used term to describe the electors collectively.

Article II, section 1 of the U.S. Constitution provides:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Initially, each presidential elector voted for two individuals; the person receiving the most votes (if receiving votes from the majority of electors) was elected president and the person receiving the second most votes was elected vice president. The development of political parties resulted in one party’s designated candidates for president and vice president, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, receiving the same number of votes. The disputed election, which was decided by the House of Representatives, was the impetus for the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution. Ratified in 1804, this amendment instituted the current practice of having electors cast separate ballots for president and vice president.

The Selection of Presidential Electors. Wisconsin law stipulates various requirements for the selection of the state’s presidential electors. Under Section 8.18, Wisconsin Statutes, each party’s state officers, holdover state senators, and the party’s candidates nominated in the September primary for state and legislative offices, meet in the state capitol on the first Tuesday in October of a presidential election year (October 2, 2012), to nominate the party’s slate of presidential electors. Each party’s slate consists of one elector nominated from each of the state’s eight congressional districts and two electors at-large. Once the nominees are determined by vote, the chairperson of the party’s state committee immediately certifies their names to the chairperson of the Government Accountability Board.

In addition to the participation of recognized political parties in the presidential elector process, Wisconsin also provides for the selection of electors in November on behalf of minor parties and independent candidates. According to Section 8.20, Wisconsin Statutes, minor party or independent candidates for president and vice president must submit their nomination papers by 5 p.m. on the first Tuesday in August (August 7, 2012). The nomination papers must contain no fewer than 2,000 and no more than 4,000 signatures collected since July 1 and must list one candidate for elector from each congressional district and two from the state at-large. Section 8.185, Wisconsin Statutes, allows voters to write in the names of candidates for president and vice president in the November election. However, write-in votes are reported as merely “scattering” in each election reporting unit unless the candidate receiving the votes has filed a list of presidential electors with the Government Accountability Board at least 14

days before the election or the candidate receives more than 10% of the total vote cast in that reporting unit.

Section 5.10, Wisconsin Statutes, provides that although the names of electors do not appear on the ballot, a vote for a presidential candidate constitutes a vote for the whole slate of electors of that candidate's party. The effect of this is a winner-take-all system whereby the candidate receiving a plurality of votes statewide wins all of Wisconsin's electoral votes. Our common election day – the day following the first Monday in November (November 6, 2012) – is set forth in federal law and has been the day on which states must select their presidential electors since the 1840s.

Once the Government Accountability Board has certified the statewide results of the November presidential balloting, the board prepares copies of certificates stating the results of the election and the names of the qualified electors. The governor signs them, affixes the Great Seal of the state, and mails one to the general services administration in Washington, D.C., and delivers six copies to one of the electors prior to the scheduled meeting date of the Electoral College.

Voting by the Electors. On the first Monday after the second Wednesday in December of each presidential year (December 17, 2012), the presidential electors chosen when their candidate won the most popular votes in November meet in the state capitol in Madison at noon to cast their ballots for president and vice president. This meeting represents Wisconsin's portion of the Electoral College. To be elected president, a candidate must receive a majority (at least 270) of the possible national total of electoral votes for that office. The vice president is chosen on a separate ballot and must also receive at least 270 votes. Theoretically, the president and vice president could be elected from different parties; but party loyalty on the part of the electors makes that outcome unlikely.

Section 7.75, Wisconsin Statutes, states that electors must cast a ballot for the presidential and vice presidential candidates they were chosen to elect. However, since there is no statutory penalty for being a "faithless elector" by voting for someone else, the only real constraints are custom, tradition, and loyalty to the candidate and the party. This feature in the electoral voting varies from state to state. Although 29 states, including Wisconsin, bind their electors to vote as pledged, only five have actual penalties for violations. In four states, an elector is considered to have vacated his office if he votes for a candidate other than the one he is pledged to. The remaining electors then fill the vacancy. Despite this, it appears that nationally, since the first Electoral College vote in 1789, only 11 electors have violated their pledges.

The electors who convene at the state capitol on the appointed day are qualified to fill any vacancies in the electoral slate caused by death, refusal to act, or refusal to attend, by plurality vote. At least one of the votes cast by each elector for president and vice president must be for someone not from Wisconsin, as required by the Twelfth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. (In 2000, some questioned the validity of Texas' 32 electoral votes since the Republican candidate for vice president, Dick Cheney, was said to be residing in Texas, the same state as the GOP presidential candidate, George W. Bush. It was generally accepted that Cheney had changed his residency to Wyoming prior to the election, and the 32 votes were counted without challenge.)

What If the Popular Vote and the Electoral Vote Are at Variance? The present method of electoral voting, as set by law in all but two states (Maine and Nebraska), allows the presidential candidate who wins a plurality (the highest number but not necessarily a majority)

of each state's popular vote in November to receive all the state's electoral votes. This is often called a "winner-take-all" system. Only Maine and Nebraska provide that each elector who represents a congressional district must vote according to the district's plurality, rather than following the statewide vote. This resulted in John McCain and Barack Obama splitting Nebraska's four electoral votes 3-1 in 2008. Because the margin of victory within each state (and in Maine and Nebraska, the margin of victory within each congressional district) is irrelevant, some popular votes count more than others and a candidate can win the presidency without receiving a plurality of the national popular vote, as occurred in 2000 when George W. Bush received fewer popular votes than Al Gore, but still received a majority of the electoral votes by winning the right combination of states. On three other occasions in U.S. history, the president won the White House through the electoral vote but had fewer popular votes nationwide than his opponent: John Quincy Adams (1824), Rutherford Hayes (1876), and Benjamin Harrison (1888).

What Happens If There Is a Dispute Over a State's Electoral Votes? In view of the fact that a recent presidential election was decided by only a few electoral votes, and that the electoral votes of one state were seriously contested, it may be useful to review some of the laws dealing with this situation.

Some federal laws pertain to situations in which there is some doubt as to who has won a state's electoral votes. 3 U.S. Code § 2 indicates that if any state has "failed to make a choice [of electors] on the day prescribed by law," the state legislature may provide for the appointment of electors at a later date. 3 U.S. Code § 5 specifically gives state legislatures the power to create provisions for settling controversies or contests relating to the appointment of any or all presidential electors, if it acts at least six days before the meeting of the Electoral College in December.

Federal law also provides a role for Congress in resolving disputes involving the recognition and counting of states' electoral votes. It requires that the electoral vote be counted by state in alphabetical order by the president of the senate before a joint session of Congress on January 6 following the presidential election. Any objection to a state's electoral vote must be presented in writing and signed by both a member of the Senate and the House of Representatives. If a valid objection is received, the two houses of Congress return to their own chambers and consider the objection. If both houses agree, they may reject the vote or votes named in the objection if it is determined that the votes have not been regularly given by certified electors. If two sets of votes are received from the same state, Congress must defer to the process indicated by the state legislature under 3 U.S. Code § 5. If the legislature of the state in question has not created a procedure to settle the controversy, the two houses of Congress, acting concurrently, may decide which votes to count. If the two houses of Congress disagree, they must count the votes delivered under the seal of the governor of the state. This procedure was put into action in January 2001, when several members of the House of Representatives objected to Florida's electoral votes. Since no member of the Senate would sign the objections, they were never acted upon, and the slate of electors voting for George W. Bush and Dick Cheney was accepted.

What If the Electors Are Deadlocked? A strong bid by a third party candidate could result in the failure of any candidate to win the required majority of 270 or more electoral votes. If the front-runner is denied a majority of the electoral votes, the election of the president must be conducted in the House of Representatives. The House makes its selection from the three

candidates with the most electoral votes by voting on a state-by-state basis. The Twelfth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides:

[T]he votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states [34], and a majority of all the states [26] shall be necessary to a choice.

The House of Representatives has been involved in electing a president on only two occasions, following the general elections of 1800 (Thomas Jefferson) and 1824 (John Quincy Adams).

The Twelfth Amendment provides that if no candidate receives a majority of the vice presidential electoral vote, the vice president will be chosen by the Senate from the two candidates receiving the most votes. The senators vote individually, rather than by state. A quorum for this purpose is two-thirds of the senators (67), and a majority (51) is necessary to make a choice. The only occasion when the Senate was called upon to elect a vice president occurred in 1837 when Richard Johnson, because of a personal scandal, did not receive a majority of the electoral votes. The Senate did, however, elect Johnson to the office.

V. PROPOSALS TO ABOLISH THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Should the Electoral College Be Continued? The Electoral College has had its supporters and opponents over the years, but opinions are strongest when close bipartisan elections or strong third party candidates threaten to overturn the results of the November popular election.

The major criticisms opponents level against the Electoral College include: 1) it is possible for a candidate with a majority of the popular vote to lose the election; 2) a voting deadlock in the Electoral College could throw the presidential selection process into the House of Representatives, where deal-making could influence the outcome; 3) fewer than three-fifths of the states require electors to vote for the candidate who won the state's popular vote, while the electors from the other states are theoretically able to vote for whomever they please; 4) the Electoral College gives disproportionate weight to the votes of voters in states (like Wisconsin) that are often closely contested; and 5) small states have an exaggerated influence because 100 of the 538 electoral votes are apportioned equally, two to each state.

Supporters of the Electoral College point out that the present system has been used for many years and has served the country fairly well. Abolishing the Electoral College and replacing it with a direct election of the president, they claim, would encourage the rise of multiple political parties, which would be detrimental to the two-party system. Another fear is that abolishing the Electoral College would tend to reduce the importance of the states in the federal system. Under a direct election system, states with large populations could become overly important at the expense of the less populated states. Proponents also claim that the "winner-take-all" mechanism can have a positive effect because it magnifies the winner's margin and thereby creates a sense of national support for the newly elected president, rather than exposing divisions in the national electorate.

Alternatives to the Current Electoral College. A number of alternatives to the current Electoral College system have been proposed:

Direct popular election would abolish the Electoral College and replace it with a direct, nationwide popular vote for president and vice president. Most of the direct popular election proposals require that a winning candidate must receive at least 40% of the votes cast.

The **district system**, which is similar to the current systems in Maine and Nebraska, would retain the Electoral College, but abolish the “winner-take-all” tabulation of electoral votes within a state. This system would provide for the election of one elector from each of the nation’s 435 congressional districts with two electors chosen at-large in each of the 50 states. The District of Columbia would continue to select three electors.

The **proportional system** would keep each state’s electoral vote, but divide the votes in direct proportion to the popular vote in the state.

The **automatic plan** would keep the electoral system but abolish the individual electors by requiring that the electoral vote of each state be cast automatically for the winner of a plurality in that state.

National Popular Vote (NPV) would circumvent the Electoral College by means of an interstate compact. NPV provides that every state adopting the compact would require its electoral votes to be awarded to a slate of electors committed to the presidential and vice presidential ticket receiving the greatest popular vote nationwide, without regard to which ticket carried the state. The compact would provide that its terms would not come into effect until states representing 270 electoral votes had passed laws adopting its provisions. This must occur by July 20, 2012, in order for the compact to apply to the 2012 election. Since every state adopting the compact would cast its electoral votes together, this would insure that the national popular vote winner would be elected president.

Every state has considered legislation to adopt the NPV compact since 2006. Eight states (California, Hawaii, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Vermont, and Washington) and the District of Columbia, totaling 132 electoral votes, have ratified the compact. States representing 138 additional electoral votes must ratify the compact in order for it to become operative. Maryland, New Jersey, and Washington have legislation pending to rescind their approval. 2009 Assembly Bill 751 and 2009 Senate Bill 549, would have implemented the pact for Wisconsin’s electors, but neither passed its house of origin. No bill with respect to NPV has been introduced during the 2011 session.

Direct popular election or the abolition of the individual electors called for by the automatic plan would require abolishing the Electoral College and would necessitate amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The other proposed changes in the Electoral College could be accomplished through amendment legislation passed by Congress. NPV requires legislation by individual states.

VI. APPENDIX

2012 PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES AND CAUCUSES BY DATE

State	Party	Method	Date	Democratic Delegates	Republican Delegates
Iowa	Both	Caucus	January 3	65	28
New Hampshire	Both	Primary	January 10	100	40
Nevada	Democratic	Caucus	January 24	44	—
South Carolina	Both	Primary	January 21	144	65
Florida	Republican	Primary	January 31	—	50
Nevada	Republican	Caucus	February 4	—	28
Maine	Republican	Caucus	February 4	—	24
Colorado	Republican	Caucus	February 7	—	36
Minnesota	Both	Caucus	February 7	107	40
Missouri	Democratic	Primary	February 7	102	—
Maine	Democratic	Caucus	February 28	37	—
Arizona	Republican	Primary	February 28	—	29
Michigan	Both	Primary	February 28	203	30
Alaska	Republican	Convention	March 6	—	27
American Samoa	Democratic	Caucus	March 6	12	—
Colorado	Democratic	Caucus	March 6	86	—
Georgia	Both	Primary	March 6	124	76
Idaho	Republican	Caucus	March 6	—	32
Massachusetts	Both	Primary	March 6	136	41
North Dakota	Republican	Caucus	March 6	—	28
Ohio	Both	Primary	March 6	191	66
Oklahoma	Both	Primary	March 6	50	43
Tennessee	Both	Primary	March 6	91	58
Vermont	Both	Primary	March 6	27	17
Virginia	Republican	Primary	March 6	—	49
Wyoming	Republican	Convention	March 6	—	29
Hawaii	Democratic	Caucus	March 7	35	—
Guam	Republican	Caucus	March 10	—	9
Kansas	Republican	Caucus	March 10	—	40
Virgin Islands	Republican	Caucus	March 10	—	9
Alabama	Both	Primary	March 13	69	50
American Samoa	Republican	Caucus	March 13	—	9
Hawaii	Republican	Caucus	March 13	—	20
Mississippi	Both	Primary	March 13	45	40
Utah	Democratic	Caucus	March 13	34	—
Missouri	Republican	Caucus	March 17	—	52
Puerto Rico	Republican	Primary	March 18	—	23
Illinois	Both	Primary	March 20	215	144
Louisiana	Both	Primary	March 24	71	46
Arizona	Democratic	Caucus	March 31	79	—
District of Columbia	Both	Primary	April 3	44	19
Maryland	Both	Primary	April 3	120	37
Texas	Both	Primary	April 3	288	155
WISCONSIN	Both	Primary	April 3	111	42
Alaska	Democratic	Caucus	April 4-16	24	—
Idaho	Democratic	Caucus	April 14	31	—
Kansas	Democratic	Convention	April 14	53	—
Wyoming	Democratic	Caucus	April 14	22	—
Washington	Democratic	Caucus	April 15	121	—
Connecticut	Both	Primary	April 24	88	28
Delaware	Both	Primary	April 24	33	17
New York	Both	Primary	April 24	384	95
Pennsylvania	Both	Primary	April 24	250	72
Rhode Island	Both	Primary	April 24	41	19
Democrats Abroad	Democratic	Primary	May 1	19	—
Florida	Democratic	Caucus	April 14-May 5	300	—
Guam	Democratic	Caucus	May 5	12	—
Indiana	Both	Primary	May 8	106	46
North Carolina	Both	Primary	May 8	158	55
West Virginia	Both	Primary	May 8	46	31
Oregon	Both	Primary	May 15	83	28
Nebraska	Both	Primary	May 15	44	35
Arkansas	Both	Primary	May 22	55	36
Kentucky	Both	Primary	May 22	73	45
Puerto Rico	Democratic	Caucus	June 3	67	—
Virgin Islands	Democratic	Convention	June 3	13	—
California	Both	Primary	June 5	611	172
Montana	Democratic	Primary	June 5	31	—
New Jersey	Both	Primary	June 5	172	50
New Mexico	Both	Primary	June 5	50	23
North Dakota	Democratic	Caucus	June 5	27	—
South Dakota	Both	Primary	June 5	29	28
Montana	Republican	Convention	June 14	—	26
Utah	Republican	Primary	June 26	—	40

Source: Federal Election Commission, *2012 Presidential Primary Dates and Candidate Filing Deadlines for Ballot Access*; The Green Papers, www.thegreenpapers.com; various state Web sites.

**RESULTS OF THE WISCONSIN DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES, 1912 – 2008**

Date	Vote	Percent	Vote	Percent
April 2, 1912				
Democratic	82,557	100.0	Republican	182,139
Woodrow Wilson	45,945	55.7	Robert M. La Follette	133,354
Champ Clark	36,464	44.2	William H. Taft	47,514
			Theodore Roosevelt	628
				0.3
April 4, 1916				
Democratic	109,693	100.0	Republican	111,399
Woodrow Wilson	109,462	99.8	Robert M. La Follette	110,052
				98.8
April 6, 1920				
Democratic	3,467	100.0	Republican	30,099
William J. Bryan	1,570	45.3	Robert M. La Follette	15,876
Robert M. La Follette	522	15.1	Leonard Wood	4,505
Woodrow Wilson	229	6.6	Herbert Hoover	3,910
Herbert Hoover	99	2.9	Hiram Johnson	2,413
				8.0
April 1, 1924				
Democratic	80,523	100.0	Republican	65,161
William G. McAdoo	54,922	68.2	Robert M. La Follette	40,738
James Reed	19,495	24.2	Calvin Coolidge	23,324
Alfred E. Smith	5,774	7.2	Hiram Johnson	411
				0.6
April 3, 1928				
Democratic	82,826	100.0	Republican	186,922
James A. Reed	61,097	73.8	George W. Norris	162,822
Alfred E. Smith	20,663	24.9	Herbert Hoover	17,659
Thomas Walsh	552	0.7	Frank O. Lowden	3,302
			Calvin Coolidge	680
			Charles G. Dawes	565
				0.3
April 5, 1932				
Democratic	246,771	100.0	Republican	148,051
Franklin D. Roosevelt	241,742	98.0	George W. Norris	139,514
Alfred E. Smith	3,502	1.4	Herbert Hoover	6,588
				4.4
April 7, 1936				
Democratic	402,011	100.0	Republican	191,466
Franklin D. Roosevelt	401,773	99.9	William E. Borah	187,334
John N. Garner	108	0.0	Alfred M. Landon	3,360
Alfred E. Smith	46	0.0		
				1.8
April 2, 1940				
Democratic	429,203	100.0	Republican	101,990
Franklin D. Roosevelt	322,991	75.3	Thomas E. Dewey	70,168
John N. Garner	105,662	24.6	Arthur Vandenberg	26,182
			Robert A. Taft	341
				0.3
April 4, 1944				
Democratic	49,632	100.0	Republican	141,131
Franklin D. Roosevelt	49,632	100.0	Douglas MacArthur	102,421
			Thomas E. Dewey*	21,036
			Harold Stassen*	7,928
			Wendell Willkie*	6,439
				4.6
April 6, 1948				
Democratic	30,321	100.0	Republican	162,750
Harry S Truman*	25,415	83.8	Harold Stassen*	64,076
			Douglas MacArthur*	55,302
			Thomas E. Dewey*	40,943
				25.2
April 1, 1952				
Democratic	241,525	100.0	Republican	776,624
Estes Kefauver	207,520	85.9	Robert A. Taft	315,541
Jerome F. Fox	18,322	7.6	Earl Warren	262,271
Charles E. Broughton	15,683	6.5	Harold Stassen	169,679
			Grant A. Ritter	26,208
			Perry J. Stearns	2,925
				0.4

**RESULTS OF THE WISCONSIN DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES, 1912 - 2008-Continued**

Date	Vote	Percent		Vote	Percent
April 3, 1956					
Democratic	330,665	100.0	Republican	455,832	100.0
Estes Kefauver	330,665	100.0	Dwight D. Eisenhower	437,089	95.9
			John Chapple	18,743	4.1
April 5, 1960					
Democratic	842,777	100.0	Republican	339,383	100.0
John F. Kennedy	476,024	56.5	Richard M. Nixon	339,383	100.0
Hubert H. Humphrey	366,753	43.5			
April 7, 1964					
Democratic	788,541	100.0	Republican	299,612	100.0
John W. Reynolds	522,405	66.2	John W. Byrnes	299,612	100.0
George C. Wallace	266,136	33.8			
April 2, 1968					
Democratic	733,002	100.0	Republican	489,853	100.0
Eugene J. McCarthy	412,160	56.2	Richard M. Nixon	390,368	79.7
Lyndon B. Johnson	253,696	34.6	Ronald W. Reagan	50,727	10.4
Robert F. Kennedy*	46,507	6.3	Harold E. Stassen	28,531	5.8
None of Names Shown	11,861	1.6	Nelson A. Rockefeller*	7,995	1.6
George C. Wallace*	4,031	0.5	None of Names Shown	6,763	1.4
Hubert Humphrey*	3,605	0.5	George W. Romney*	2,087	0.4
			George C. Wallace*	585	0.1
			Robert F. Kennedy*	301	0.1
April 4, 1972					
Democratic	1,128,584	100.0	Republican	286,444	100.0
George S. McGovern	333,528	29.6	Richard M. Nixon	277,601	96.9
George C. Wallace	248,676	22.0	Paul McCloskey	3,651	1.3
Hubert H. Humphrey	233,748	20.7	John Ashbrook	2,604	0.9
Edmund S. Muskie	115,811	10.3	None of Names Shown	2,315	0.8
Henry M. Jackson	88,068	7.8	George C. Wallace*	46	0.0
John V. Lindsay	75,579	6.7			
Eugene J. McCarthy	15,543	1.4			
Shirley S. Chisholm	9,198	0.8			
None of Names Shown	2,450	0.2			
Samuel Yorty	2,349	0.2			
Patsy T. Mink	1,213	0.1			
Wilbur D. Mills	913	0.1			
Vance Hartke	766	0.1			
Edward Kennedy*	183	0.0			
April 6, 1976					
Democratic	740,528	100.0	Republican	591,812	100.0
Jimmy Carter	271,220	36.6	Gerald R. Ford	326,869	55.2
Morris Udall	263,771	35.6	Ronald Reagan	262,126	44.3
George Wallace	92,460	12.5	None of Names Shown	2,234	0.4
Henry M. Jackson	47,605	6.4			
Ellen McCormack	26,982	3.6			
Fred Harris	8,185	1.1			
None of Names Shown	7,154	1.0			
Sargent Shriver	5,097	0.7			
Lloyd Bentsen	1,750	0.2			
Birch Bayh	1,255	0.2			
Milton Shapp	596	0.1			
April 1, 1980					
Democratic	629,619	100.0	Republican	907,853	100.0
Jimmy Carter	353,662	56.2	Ronald Reagan	364,898	40.2
Edward Kennedy	189,520	30.1	George Bush	276,164	30.4
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.	74,496	11.8	John B. Anderson	248,623	27.4
Lyndon LaRouche	6,896	1.1	Howard H. Baker, Jr.	3,298	0.4
None of Names Shown	2,694	0.4	Philip M. Crane	2,951	0.3
Charles C. Finch	1,842	0.3	None of Names Shown	2,595	0.3
			John B. Connally	2,312	0.3
			Benjamin Fernandez	1,051	0.1
			Harold E. Stassen	1,010	0.1

**RESULTS OF THE WISCONSIN DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES, 1912 – 2008–Continued**

Date	Vote	Percent	Vote	Percent
April 3, 1984				
Democratic	635,768	100.0	Republican	294,813
Gary Hart	282,435	44.4	Ronald Reagan "Yes"	280,608
Walter F. Mondale	261,374	41.1	Ronald Reagan "No"	14,047
Jesse Jackson	62,524	9.8		
George S. McGovern	10,166	1.6		
None of Names Shown	7,036	1.1		
John Glenn	6,398	1.0		
Alan Cranston	2,984	0.5		
Ernest F. Hollings	1,650	0.3		
Reubin Askew	683	0.1		
April 5, 1988				
Democratic	1,014,782	100.0	Republican	359,294
Michael S. Dukakis	483,172	47.6	George Bush	295,295
Jesse L. Jackson	285,995	28.2	Robert Dole	28,460
Al Gore	176,712	17.4	Pat Robertson	24,798
Paul Simon	48,419	4.8	Jack F. Kemp	4,915
Richard A. Gephardt	7,996	0.8	Uninstructed Delegation	2,372
Gary Hart	7,068	0.7	Alexander Haig, Jr.	1,554
Uninstructed Delegation	2,554	0.3	Pierre S. du Pont IV	1,504
Bruce Babbitt	2,353	0.2		
April 7, 1992				
Democratic	772,597	100.0	Republican	482,248
Bill Clinton	287,356	37.2	George Bush	364,507
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.	266,207	34.5	Patrick J. Buchanan	78,516
Paul E. Tsongas	168,619	21.8	David E. Duke	12,867
Uninstructed Delegation	15,487	2.0	Uninstructed Delegation	8,725
Eugene McCarthy	6,525	0.8	Harold E. Stassen	3,819
Tom Harkin	5,395	0.7	Emmanuel L. Branch	1,013
Larry Agran	3,193	0.4		
Lyndon H. LaRouche	3,120	0.4		
Bob Kerrey	3,044	0.4		
March 19, 1996				
Democratic	356,168	100.0	Republican	576,575
Bill Clinton	347,629	97.6	Bob Dole	301,628
Uninstructed Delegation	7,005	2.0	Patrick J. Buchanan	194,733
			Steve Forbes	32,205
			Alan Keyes	18,028
			Lamar Alexander	11,213
			Uninstructed Delegation	7,504
			Richard Lugar	3,215
			Phil Gramm	2,682
			Robert K. Dornan	1,645
			Morry Taylor	916
April 4, 2000				
Democratic	371,196	100.0	Republican	495,769
Al Gore	328,682	88.5	George W. Bush	343,292
Bill Bradley	32,560	8.8	John McCain	89,684
Uninstructed Delegation	4,105	1.1	Alan Lee Keyes	48,919
Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.	3,743	1.0	Steve Forbes	5,505
			Uninstructed Delegation	3,452
			Gary L. Bauer	1,813
			Orrin G. Hatch	1,712
February 17, 2004				
Democratic	828,364	100.0	Republican	160,428
John F. Kerry	328,358	39.6	George W. Bush	158,933
John Edwards	284,163	34.3	Uninstructed Delegation	1,184
Howard Dean	150,845	18.2		
Dennis J. Kucinich	27,353	3.3		
Al Sharpton	14,701	1.8		
Wesley K. Clark	12,713	1.5		
Joe Lieberman	3,929	0.5		
Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr.	1,637	0.2		
Carol Moseley Braun	1,590	0.2		
Dick Gephardt	1,263	0.2		
Uninstructed Delegation	1,146	0.1		

**RESULTS OF THE WISCONSIN DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN
PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES, 1912 - 2008-Continued**

Date	Vote	Percent		Vote	Percent
			February 19, 2008		
Democratic	1,113,753	100.0	Republican	410,607	100.0
Barack Obama	646,851	58.1	John McCain	224,755	54.7
Hillary Clinton	453,954	40.8	Mike Huckabee	151,707	36.9
John Edwards	6,693	0.6	Ron Paul	19,090	4.6
Dennis Kucinich	2,625	0.2	Mitt Romney	8,080	2.0
Uninstructed Delegation	861	0.1	Fred Thompson	2,709	0.7
Joe Biden	755	0.1	Rudy Giuliani	1,935	0.5
Bill Richardson	528	0.0	Uninstructed Delegation	850	0.2
Mike Gravel	517	0.0	Duncan Hunter	799	0.2
Chris Dodd	501	0.0	Tom Tancredo	185	0.0

*Write-in candidate.

Note: Results from 1912 to 1948 are of the presidential preference primary, which was distinct from the delegate selection primary. From 1952 to 1964, the results are of the at-large delegate election. Since 1968, the names of delegate candidates have not appeared on the ballot, even though they have been selected on the basis of primary results. The one exception was the 1984 Democratic primary, when national party rules required delegates to be selected at caucuses independent of primary results.

Source: *2009-2010 Wisconsin Blue Book* and previous issues; *Voter Participation in Wisconsin Presidential Preference Primaries*, compiled by Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library, 1960.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FROM WISCONSIN, 1848 – 2008

1848 4 votes For Lewis Cass of Michigan and William O. Butler of Kentucky	1872 10 votes For Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts	1888 11 votes For Benjamin Harrison of Indiana and Levi P. Morton of New York
At Large Francis Huebschmann	At Large William E. Cramer	At Large Lucius Fairchild
At Large Wm. Dinwiddie	At Large Frederick Fleischer	At Large Syver E. Brimi
1st Dist. David P. Mapes	1st Dist. Jerome S. Nickles	1st Dist. C. N. Palmer
2nd Dist. Samuel F. Nichols	2nd Dist. George G. Swain	2nd Dist. Allen P. Harwood
	3rd Dist. Ormsby B. Thomas	3rd Dist. A. C. Dodge
1852 5 votes For Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and William R. King of Alabama	4th Dist. Frederick Hilgen	4th Dist. Julius Goldschmidt
At Large Montgomery M. Cothren	5th Dist. E. C. McFetridge	5th Dist. John Ruch
At Large Satterlee Clark	6th Dist. G. E. Hoskinson	6th Dist. Albert F. Hill
1st Dist. Philo White	7th Dist. Romanzo Bunn	7th Dist. Oscar F. Temple
2nd Dist. Beriah Brown	8th Dist. Henry D. Barron	8th Dist. Currie G. Bell
3rd Dist. Charles Billinghamurst		9th Dist. John Finney
1856 5 votes For John C. Fremont of California and William R. Dayton of New Jersey	1876 10 votes For Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio and William Wheeler of New York	1892 12 votes For Grover Cleveland of New York and Adlai Stevenson of Illinois
At Large Edward D. Holton	At Large Wm. H. Hiner	At Large Gustave Wollaeger
At Large James Morrison	At Large Francis Campbell	At Large Robert J. McBride
1st Dist. Gregor Menzel	1st Dist. T. D. Weeks	1st Dist. Andrew Jensen
2nd Dist. Walter D. McIndoe	2nd Dist. T. D. Lang	2nd Dist. Michael Johnson
3rd Dist. Bille Williams	3rd Dist. Daniel L. Downs	3rd Dist. John Montgomery Smith
	4th Dist. Casper M. Sanger	4th Dist. John Black
	5th Dist. Charles Luling	5th Dist. Henry B. Schwin
	6th Dist. James H. Foster	6th Dist. Ferdinand T. Yahr
	7th Dist. Charles B. Solberg	7th Dist. James J. Hogan
	8th Dist. John H. Knapp	8th Dist. John Wattawa
		9th Dist. Lewis S. Bailey
		10th Dist. William F. Cirkel
1860 5 votes For Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine	1880 10 votes For James A. Garfield of Ohio and Chester A. Arthur of New York	1896 12 votes For William McKinley of Ohio and Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey
At Large Walter D. McIndoe	At Large George End	At Large John D. Nelsenius
At Large Bradford Rixford	At Large Knud Langland	At Large Paul Lachmund
1st Dist. Wm. W. Vaughn	1st Dist. Lucius S. Blake	1st Dist. Ossian M. Pettit
2nd Dist. J. Allen Barber	2nd Dist. John Kellogg	2nd Dist. Mark Curtis
3rd Dist. Herman Lindeman	3rd Dist. George E. Weatherby	3rd Dist. Lewis C. Boyle
	4th Dist. Wm P. McLaren	4th Dist. Ellicott R. Stillman
	5th Dist. Charles P. Lovell	5th Dist. William J. Mallman
	6th Dist. Edward L. Brown	6th Dist. George D. Breed
	7th Dist. Frederick H. Kribs	7th Dist. Iver Peterson
	8th Dist. John T. Kingston	8th Dist. F. A. Hollman
		9th Dist. Oakman A. Ellis
		10th Dist. Samuel J. Bradford
1864 8 votes For Abraham Lincoln of Illinois and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee	1884 11 votes For James G. Blaine of Maine and John A. Logan of Illinois	1900 12 votes For William McKinley of Ohio and Theodore Roosevelt of New York
At Large William W. Field	At Large Charles J. L. Meyer	At Large Augustus G. Weissert
At Large Henry L. Blood	At Large Ferdinand A. Husher	At Large Atley Peterson
1st Dist. George C. Northrup	1st Dist. James W. Ostrander	1st Dist. George A. Yule
2nd Dist. Jonathan Bowman	2nd Dist. Daniel C. Van Brunt	2nd Dist. W. A. Van Brunt
3rd Dist. Allen Warden	3rd Dist. Joseph Harris	3rd Dist. Henry E. Roethe
4th Dist. Henry J. Turner	4th Dist. John Rugee	4th Dist. Wm. H. J. Kieckhefer
5th Dist. Henry F. Belitz	5th Dist. Edward W. Arndt	5th Dist. Whitman A. Barber
6th Dist. Alexander S. McDill	6th Dist. Benjamin T. Rogers	6th Dist. John Schuette
	7th Dist. William M. Fogo	7th Dist. John Ochsner
	8th Dist. Canute Anderson	8th Dist. Charles M. Fenelon
	9th Dist. Edward L. Browne	9th Dist. John D. Nelsenius
		10th Dist. Fred A. Severance
1868 8 votes For Ulysses S. Grant of Illinois and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana		
At Large Stephen S. Barlow		
At Large Henry D. Barron		
1st Dist. Elihu Enos		
2nd Dist. Charles G. Williams		
3rd Dist. Allen Warden		
4th Dist. Leander F. Frisby		
5th Dist. William G. Ritch		
6th Dist. Jeremiah M. Rusk		

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FROM WISCONSIN, 1848 – 2008–Continued

1904 13 votes For Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana	1916 13 votes For Charles Evans Hughes of New York and Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana	1928 13 votes For Herbert C. Hoover of California and Charles Curtis of Kansas
At Large Chas. F. Ilsley At Large Albert R. Hall 1st Dist. John L. Sherron 2nd Dist. James M. Bushnell 3rd Dist. James H. Cabanis 4th Dist. Fred C. Lorenz 5th Dist. Fred W. Cords 6th Dist. Carl S. Porter 7th Dist. Hulbert A. Bright 8th Dist. Edw. McGlachlin 9th Dist. George Beyer 10th Dist. Melvin D. Keith 11th Dist. Ed. L. Peet	At Large L. K. Baker At Large John Medary 1st Dist. William J. Storms 2nd Dist. Wallace J. Kohler 3rd Dist. Frank Smith 4th Dist. James T. Drought 5th Dist. Fred C. Pretzlaff 6th Dist. H. D. Lauson 7th Dist. O. G. Muson 8th Dist. L. M. Alexander 9th Dist. G. A. Walter, Jr. 10th Dist. O. K. Hawley 11th Dist. A. H. Stange	At Large Edward L. Kelley At Large Frederick H. Clausen 1st Dist. J.J. Phoenix 2nd Dist. Robert Caldwell 3rd Dist. W.H. Doyle 4th Dist. George S. Meredith 5th Dist. James T. Drought 6th Dist. Charles Hitchcock 7th Dist. Frank Sisson 8th Dist. George W. Mead 9th Dist. Fred Felix Wettengel 10th Dist. Herman T. Lange 11th Dist. Theodore Whiprude
1908 13 votes For William H. Taft of Ohio and James S. Sherman of New York	1920 13 votes For Warren G. Harding of Ohio and Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts	1932 12 votes For Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York and John N. Garner of Texas
At Large Wm. C. Brunder At Large John Dengler 1st Dist. Frank M. Durkee 2nd Dist. C. F. Greenwood 3rd Dist. Robt. H. DeLap 4th Dist. John M. Beffel 5th Dist. John A. Stalper 6th Dist. Wm. Kohl 7th Dist. W. T. Sarles 8th Dist. Florian Lampert 9th Dist. H. L. Peterson 10th Dist. D. E. Riordan 11th Dist. C. K. Hawley	At Large Mrs. Theo. Yeomans At Large Z.G. Simmons 1st Dist. Myron E. Keats 2nd Dist. David A. Bogue 3rd Dist. Sam Blum 4th Dist. James T. Drought 5th Dist. John Fitzgibbons 6th Dist. William Mauthe 7th Dist. John Turner 8th Dist. Anton Kuckuk 9th Dist. Max Sell 10th Dist. Mrs. Al C. Anderson 11th Dist. John T. Murphy	At Large William P. Rubin At Large Leo P. Fox 1st Dist. Peter Pirsch 2nd Dist. B.J. Husting 3rd Dist. A.H. Schubert 4th Dist. Anton P. Gawronski 5th Dist. William J. McCauley 6th Dist. Frank W. Bucklin 7th Dist. L.M. Nash 8th Dist. Lewis Nelson 9th Dist. Ferris White 10th Dist. Fred W. Keller
1912 13 votes For Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey and Thomas Marshall of Indiana	1924 13 votes For Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin and Burton K. Wheeler of Montana	1936 12 votes For Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York and John N. Garner of Texas
At Large Wendell A. Anderson At Large Louis C. Bohmrich 1st Dist. Ernst Merton 2nd Dist. O. F. Roessler 3rd Dist. George Crawford 4th Dist. Joshua Eric Dodge 5th Dist. Rollin B. Mallory 6th Dist. Charles H. Lambert 7th Dist. Ed. Luckow 8th Dist. Ernst C. Zimmerman 9th Dist. John A. Kuypers 10th Dist. George D. Cline 11th Dist. John A. Hobe	At Large Zona Gale At Large Otto P. Selfritz 1st Dist. Julia Anderson Schnetz 2nd Dist. Charles J. Schoenfeld 3rd Dist. William T. Evjue 4th Dist. John J. Handley 5th Dist. Ira S. Lorenz 6th Dist. John C. Schmidtman 7th Dist. William V. Kidder 8th Dist. Ernest L. Schroeder 9th Dist. John Reynolds 10th Dist. Mary Francis Taylor 11th Dist. Clough Gates	At Large M.L. Richdorf At Large William B. Rubin 1st Dist. Elizabeth Cook 2nd Dist. Paul A. Hemmy, Jr. 3rd Dist. Bart E. McGonigle, Jr. 4th Dist. George F. Ogle 5th Dist. Henry L. Nunn 6th Dist. Joseph Barnett 7th Dist. William G. Bate 8th Dist. Gerald F. Clifford 9th Dist. Edward Larkin 10th Dist. Fred A. Russell

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FROM WISCONSIN, 1848 – 2008–Continued

1940	
12 votes	
For Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York and	
Henry A. Wallace of Iowa	
At Large	William B. Rubin
At Large	Charles E. Hammersley
1st Dist.	Edwin J. Boyle
2nd Dist.	A. L. Olson
3rd Dist.	Albert C. Wolfe
4th Dist.	Walter McGrath
5th Dist.	Wm. J. McCauley
6th Dist.	Maurice Fitzsimons, Jr.
7th Dist.	A. J. Aschenbrenner
8th Dist.	John D. Kehoe
9th Dist.	Miles McNally
10th Dist.	George Meyer

1944	
12 votes	
For Thomas E. Dewey of New York and	
John W. Bricker of Ohio	
At Large	Melvin R. Laird
At Large	Arthur A. Lenroot, Jr.
1st Dist.	Edward F. Hilker
2nd Dist.	George Hartman
3rd Dist.	William R. Graves
4th Dist.	Charles I. Wesley
5th Dist.	Julius P. Heil
6th Dist.	Thomas E. Coleman
7th Dist.	Julius Spearbraker
8th Dist.	Norris J. Kellman
9th Dist.	Kenneth White
10th Dist.	Carl V. Nelson

1948	
12 votes	
For Harry S. Truman of Missouri and	
Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky	
At Large	Carl W. Thompson
At Large	Anthony P. Gawronski
1st Dist.	Elmer Beck
2nd Dist.	Arno J. Miller
3rd Dist.	William D. Carroll
4th Dist.	John Mierzejewski
5th Dist.	Thomas E. Fairchild
6th Dist.	Arthur H. Grunewald
7th Dist.	Clayton Crooks
8th Dist.	William C. Sullivan
9th Dist.	Arthur L. Henning
10th Dist.	George F. Meyer

1952	
12 votes	
For Dwight D. Eisenhower of New York and	
Richard M. Nixon of California	
At Large	Walter J. Kohler
At Large	Vernon W. Thomson
1st Dist.	George R. Fuller
2nd Dist.	Herman Eisner
3rd Dist.	Donald C. McDowell
4th Dist.	John C. Brophy
5th Dist.	Charles D. Ashley
6th Dist.	Carl Steiger
7th Dist.	Max Stieg
8th Dist.	Alfred A. Laun, Jr.
9th Dist.	Grant J. Paul
10th Dist.	Paul J. Rogan

1956	
12 votes	
For Dwight D. Eisenhower of Pennsylvania and	
Richard M. Nixon of California	
At Large	Warren P. Knowles
At Large	Vernon W. Thomson
1st Dist.	Robert P. Knowles
2nd Dist.	Arthur L. May
3rd Dist.	Everett Yerly
4th Dist.	Margaret S. Needham
5th Dist.	John N. Dickinson
6th Dist.	Samuel N. Pickard
7th Dist.	Robert G. Marotz
8th Dist.	Mrs. Glenn M. Wise
9th Dist.	Louis G. Arnold
10th Dist.	Willis J. Hutnik

1960	
12 votes	
For Richard M. Nixon of California and	
Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts	
At Large	Philip G. Kuehn
At Large	Claude J. Jasper
1st Dist.	William Trinke
2nd Dist.	Frank Panzer
3rd Dist.	George Thompson
4th Dist.	Dena Smith
5th Dist.	Holley Cooley
6th Dist.	Samuel H. Pickard
7th Dist.	Emily Baldwin
8th Dist.	Harvey Higley
9th Dist.	John Linder, Sr.
10th Dist.	Paul Alfonsi

1964	
12 votes	
For Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas and	
Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota	
At Large	Louis Hanson
At Large	Patrick J. Lucey
1st Dist.	George Molinaro
2nd Dist.	Fred A. Risser
3rd Dist.	Theodore Griswold
4th Dist.	Kenneth Dunlap
5th Dist.	L.S. McParland
6th Dist.	Kenneth Kunde
7th Dist.	Thomas Martin
8th Dist.	John Moore
9th Dist.	Edward Mertz
10th Dist.	Arthur Debardeiben

1968	
12 votes	
For Richard M. Nixon of New York and	
Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland	
At Large	Warren Knowles
At Large	William Kellett
1st Dist.	Russell A. Olson
2nd Dist.	Byron Wackett
3rd Dist.	Peter Hurtgen
4th Dist.	James C. Devitt
5th Dist.	Janet Norris
6th Dist.	J. Curtis McKay
7th Dist.	Emily Baldwin
8th Dist.	Harold Froehlich
9th Dist.	Ody Fish
10th Dist.	Willis Hutnik

1972	
11 votes	
For Richard M. Nixon of California and	
Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland	
At Large	Robert Warren
At Large	Harold Froehlich
1st Dist.	Merrill Stalbaum
2nd Dist.	Mary Yanke
3rd Dist.	Elaine Yerly
4th Dist.	James Devitt
5th Dist.	David Sullivan
6th Dist.	Ernest Keppler
7th Dist.	Paul Alfonsi
8th Dist.	Gerald Lorge
9th Dist.	Byron Wackett

1976	
11 votes	
For Jimmy Carter of Georgia and	
Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota	
At Large	Patrick Lucey
At Large	Martin Schreiber
1st Dist.	George Molinaro
2nd Dist.	Jeanne DeRose
3rd Dist.	William Gerrard
4th Dist.	John Plewa
5th Dist.	Robert Behnke
6th Dist.	Thomas Kitchens
7th Dist.	Gloria Schneider
8th Dist.	James DeLorme
9th Dist.	Jeannette Swed

1980	
11 votes	
For Ronald Reagan of California and	
George Bush of Texas	
At Large	Lee Dreyfus
At Large	Russell Olson
1st Dist.	Cloyd Porter
2nd Dist.	Mark Diamon
3rd Dist.	James Harsdorf
4th Dist.	Marlin Clayton
5th Dist.	John Leutermann
6th Dist.	Scott McCallum
7th Dist.	Vinton Vesta
8th Dist.	Ervin Conradt
9th Dist.	John Shabazz

1984	
11 votes	
For Ronald Reagan of California and	
George Bush of Texas	
At Large	Ruth Johnson
At Large	J. Michael Borden
1st Dist.	Stephen King
2nd Dist.	Muriel Coleman
3rd Dist.	James Harsdorf
4th Dist.	Don Taylor
5th Dist.	Rod Johnston
6th Dist.	Tommy Thompson
7th Dist.	John Van Hollen
8th Dist.	Helen Bie
9th Dist.	Michael Grebe

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FROM WISCONSIN, 1848 – 2008–Continued

1988 11 votes For Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts and Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas		1996 11 votes For Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Al Gore of Tennessee		2004 10 votes For John F. Kerry of Massachusetts and John Edwards of North Carolina	
At Large	Tom Loftus	At Large	Martha Love	At Large	Glenn Carlson
At Large	Suellen Albrecht	At Large	Robert Friebert	At Large	Linda Honold
1st Dist.	James Stills	1st Dist.	Jeffrey Neubauer	1st Dist.	Gail Gabrelian
2nd Dist.	Dorothy Shannon	2nd Dist.	Mala McGhee	2nd Dist.	Margaret McEnitre
3rd Dist.	Jim Ziegweid	3rd Dist.	Sue Miller	3rd Dist.	Jordan Franklin
4th Dist.	Tillie Bichanich	4th Dist.	Karen Sostarich	4th Dist.	Martha Toran
5th Dist.	Helen Dixon	5th Dist.	Rosemarie McDowell	5th Dist.	Jim Shinners
6th Dist.	Therese Spring	6th Dist.	Robert Schweder	6th Dist.	Jan Banicki
7th Dist.	Camilla Hanson	7th Dist.	Melissa Schroeder	7th Dist.	Daniel Hannula
8th Dist.	Lawrence Longley	8th Dist.	Doug Oitzinger	8th Dist.	Steve Mellenthin
9th Dist.	John Galanis	9th Dist.	Heidi Schwoch		
1992 11 votes For Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Al Gore of Tennessee		2000 11 votes For Al Gore of Tennessee and Joe Lieberman of Connecticut		2008 10 votes For Barack Obama of Illinois and Joe Biden of Delaware	
At Large	Martha Love	At Large	Paulette Copeland	At Large	Jim Doyle
At Large	Robert Friebert	At Large	Christine Sinicki	At Large	Joe Wineke
1st Dist.	Robert Henzel	1st Dist.	Ruth Miner–Kessel	1st Dist.	Ray Rivera
2nd Dist.	Ronald Domini	2nd Dist.	Tim Sullivan	2nd Dist.	Fred Risser
3rd Dist.	Mary Rasmussen	3rd Dist.	Alice Clausing	3rd Dist.	Rollie Hicks
4th Dist.	Karen Sostarich	4th Dist.	Pedro Colon	4th Dist.	Polly Williams
5th Dist.	Rosemarie McDowell	5th Dist.	Reynolds Honold	5th Dist.	Dian Palmer
6th Dist.	Michael Dobish	6th Dist.	Joan Kaeding	6th Dist.	Gordon Hintz
7th Dist.	Marlys Matuszak	7th Dist.	Charlie Wolden	7th Dist.	Christine Bremer–Muggli
8th Dist.	Lawrence Longley	8th Dist.	Mark McQuate	8th Dist.	Nancy Nusbaum
9th Dist.	Patrick Dunphy	9th Dist.	Angela Sutkiewicz		

Note: Each elector casts one vote for president and one vote for vice president. No Wisconsin election has ever failed to vote for the nominee of their party.

Source: *1917 Wisconsin Blue Book*; Minutes and Certificates of the Electoral College.

**WISCONSIN VOTE IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
1848 - 2008**

Key:

A - American (Know Nothing)
 AFC - America First Coalition
 Cit - Citizens
 Com - Communist
 Con - Constitution
 CU - Constitutional Union
 D - Democrat
 ER - Independents for Economic Recovery
 FS - Free Soil
 G - Greenback
 Gr - Grassroots
 Ind - Independent
 IP - Ind. Progressive
 IS - Ind. Socialist
 ISL - Ind. Socialist Labor
 ISW - Ind. Socialist Worker
 LF - Labor-Farm/Laborista-Agrario
 Lib - Libertarian

LR - Liberal Republican
 NA - New Alliance
 Nat - National
 ND - National Democrat
 NER - National Economic Recovery
 NL - Natural Law
 People's - People's (Populist)
 Pop - Populist
 PP - People's Progressive
 Prog - Progressive
 Proh - Prohibition
 R - Republican
 Rfm - Reform
 SD - Social Democrat
 SL - Socialist Labor
 S&L - Party for Socialism and Liberation
 Soc - Socialist
 SocUSA - Socialist Party USA

SoD - Southern Democrat
 SPW - Socialist Party of Wis.
 SW - Socialist Worker
 Tax - U.S. Taxpayers
 TBL - The Better Life
 3rd - Third Party
 U - Union
 UL - Union Labor
 USL - U.S. Labor
 W - Whig
 WG - Wisconsin Greens
 WIA - Wis. Independent Alliance
 Workers - Workers
 WtP - We, the People
 WW - Worker's World

Note: The party designation listed for a candidate is taken from the Congressional Quarterly *Guide to U.S. Elections*. A candidate whose party did not receive 1% of the vote for a statewide office in the previous election or who failed to meet the alternative requirement of Section 5.62, Wisconsin Statutes, must be listed on the Wisconsin ballot as "independent". In this listing, candidates whose party affiliations appear as "Ind", followed by a party designation, were identified on the ballot simply as "independent" although they also provided a party designation or statement of principle.

Under the Electoral College system, each state is entitled to electoral votes equal in number to its total congressional delegation of U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives.

1848 (4 electoral votes)		1892 (12 electoral votes)		1928 (13 electoral votes)	
Lewis Cass (D)	15,001	Grover Cleveland (D)	177,325	Herbert Hoover (R)	544,205
Zachary Taylor (W)	13,747	Benjamin Harrison (R)	171,101	Alfred E. Smith (D)	450,259
Martin Van Buren (FS)	10,418	John Bidwell (Proh)	13,136	Norman Thomas (Soc)	18,213
TOTAL	39,166	James B. Weaver (People's)	10,019	William F. Varney (Proh)	2,245
		TOTAL	371,581	William Z. Foster (Workers)	1,528
				Verne L. Reynolds (SL)	381
				TOTAL	1,016,831
1852 (5 electoral votes)		1896 (12 electoral votes)		1932 (12 electoral votes)	
Franklin Pierce (D)	33,658	William McKinley (R)	268,135	Franklin D. Roosevelt (D)	707,410
Winfield Scott (W)	22,210	William J. Bryan (D)	165,523	Herbert Hoover (R)	347,741
John P. Hale (FS)	8,814	Joshua Levering (Proh)	7,507	Norman Thomas (Soc)	53,379
TOTAL	64,682	John M. Palmer (ND)	4,584	William Z. Foster (Com)	3,112
		Charles H. Matchett (SL)	1,314	William D. Upshaw (Proh)	2,672
		Charles E. Bentley (Nat)	346	Verne L. Reynolds (SL)	494
		TOTAL	447,409	TOTAL	1,114,808
1856 (5 electoral votes)		1900 (12 electoral votes)		1936 (12 electoral votes)	
John C. Fremont (R)	66,090	William McKinley (R)	265,760	Franklin D. Roosevelt (D)	802,984
James Buchanan (D)	52,843	William J. Bryan (D)	159,163	Alfred M. Landon (R)	380,828
Millard Fillmore (A)	579	John G. Wooley (Proh)	10,027	William Lemke (U)	60,297
TOTAL	119,512	Eugene V. Debs (SD)	7,048	Norman Thomas (Soc)	10,626
		Joseph F. Malloney (SL)	503	Earl Browder (Com)	2,197
		TOTAL	442,501	David L. Calvin (Proh)	1,071
				John W. Aiken (SL)	557
				TOTAL	1,258,560
1860 (5 electoral votes)		1904 (13 electoral votes)		1940 (12 electoral votes)	
Abraham Lincoln (R)	86,113	Theodore Roosevelt (R)	280,164	Franklin D. Roosevelt (D)	704,821
Stephen A. Douglas (D)	65,021	Alton B. Parker (D)	124,107	Wendell Willkie (R)	679,206
John C. Breckinridge (SoD)	888	Eugene V. Debs (SD)	28,220	Norman Thomas (Soc)	15,071
John Bell (CU)	161	Silas C. Swallow (Proh)	9,770	Earl Browder (Com)	2,394
TOTAL	152,183	Thomas E. Watson (People's)	530	Roger Babson (Proh)	2,148
		Charles H. Corregan (SL)	223	John W. Aiken (SL)	1,882
		TOTAL	443,014	TOTAL	1,405,522
1864 (8 electoral votes)		1908 (13 electoral votes)		1944 (12 electoral votes)	
Abraham Lincoln (R)	83,458	William H. Taft (R)	247,747	Thomas Dewey (R)	674,532
George B. McClellan (D)	65,884	William J. Bryan (D)	166,632	Franklin D. Roosevelt (D)	650,413
TOTAL	149,342	Eugene V. Debs (SD)	28,164	Norman Thomas (Soc)	13,205
		Eugene W. Chafin (Proh)	11,564	Edward Teichert (Ind)	1,002
		August Gillhaus (SL)	314	TOTAL	1,339,152
		TOTAL	454,421		
1868 (8 electoral votes)		1912 (13 electoral votes)		1948 (12 electoral votes)	
Ulysses S. Grant (R)	108,857	Woodrow Wilson (D)	164,230	Harry S. Truman (D)	647,310
Horatio Seymour (D)	84,707	William H. Taft (R)	130,596	Thomas Dewey (R)	590,959
TOTAL	193,564	Theodore Roosevelt (Prog)	62,448	Henry Wallace (PP)	25,282
		Eugene V. Debs (SD)	33,476	Norman Thomas (Soc)	12,547
		Arthur E. Reimer (SL)	632	Edward Teichert (Ind)	399
		TOTAL	399,966	Farrell Dobbs (ISW)	303
				TOTAL	1,276,800
1872 (10 electoral votes)		1916 (13 electoral votes)		1952 (12 electoral votes)	
Ulysses S. Grant (R)	104,994	Charles E. Hughes (R)	220,822	Dwight D. Eisenhower (R)	979,744
Horace Greeley (D & LR)	86,477	Woodrow Wilson (D)	191,363	Adlai E. Stevenson (D)	622,175
Charles O'Connor (D)	834	Allan Benson (Soc)	27,631	Vincent Hallinan (IP)	2,174
TOTAL	192,305	J. Frank Hanly (Proh)	7,318	Farrell Dobbs (ISW)	1,350
		TOTAL	447,134	Darlington Hoopes (IS)	1,157
				Eric Hass (ISL)	770
				TOTAL	1,607,370
1876 (10 electoral votes)		1920 (13 electoral votes)		1956 (12 electoral votes)	
Rutherford B. Hayes (R)	130,668	Warren G. Harding (R)	498,576	Dwight D. Eisenhower (R)	954,844
Samuel J. Tilden (D)	123,927	James M. Cox (D)	113,422	Adlai E. Stevenson (D)	586,768
Peter Cooper (G)	1,509	Eugene V. Debs (Soc)	80,635	T. Coleman Andrews (Ind Con)	6,918
Green Clay Smith (Proh)	27	Aaron S. Watkins (Proh)	8,647	Darlington Hoopes (Ind Soc)	754
TOTAL	256,131	TOTAL	701,280	Eric Hass (Ind SL)	710
				Farrell Dobbs (Ind SW)	564
				TOTAL	1,550,558
1880 (10 electoral votes)		1924 (13 electoral votes)			
James A. Garfield (R)	144,398	Robert M. La Follette (Prog)	453,678		
Winfield S. Hancock (D)	114,644	Calvin Coolidge (R)	311,614		
James B. Weaver (G)	7,986	John W. Davis (D)	68,096		
John W. Phelps (A)	91	William Z. Foster (Workers)	3,834		
Neal Dow (Proh)	68	Herman P. Faris (Proh)	2,918		
TOTAL	267,187	TOTAL	840,140		
1884 (11 electoral votes)					
James G. Blaine (R)	161,157				
Grover Cleveland (D)	146,477				
John P. St. John (Proh)	7,656				
Benjamin F. Butler (G)	4,598				
TOTAL	319,888				
1888 (11 electoral votes)					
Benjamin Harrison (R)	176,553				
Grover Cleveland (D)	155,232				
Clinton B. Fisk (Proh)	14,277				
Alson J. Streeter (UL)	8,552				
TOTAL	354,614				

**WISCONSIN VOTE IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
1848 – 2008—Continued**

1960 (12 electoral votes)		1980 (11 electoral votes)		1996 (11 electoral votes)	
Richard M. Nixon (R)	895,175	Ronald Reagan (R)	1,088,845	Bill Clinton (D)	1,071,971
John F. Kennedy (D)	830,805	Jimmy Carter (D)	981,584	Bob Dole (R)	845,029
Farrell Dobbs (Ind SW)	1,792	John Anderson (Ind)	160,657	Ross Perot (Rfm)	227,339
Eric Hass (Ind SL)	1,310	Ed Clark (Ind Lib)	29,135	Ralph Nader (Ind WG)	28,723
TOTAL	1,729,082	Barry Commoner (Ind Cit)	7,767	Howard Phillips (Tax)	8,811
		John Rarick (Ind Com)	1,519	Harry Browne (Lib)	7,929
1964 (12 electoral votes)		David McReynolds (Ind Soc)	808	John Hagelin (Ind NL)	1,379
Lyndon B. Johnson (D)	1,050,424	Gus Hall (Ind Com)	772	Monica Mooerhead (Ind WW)	1,333
Barry M. Goldwater (R)	638,495	Deidre Griswold (Ind WW)	414	Mary Cal Hollis (Ind Soc)	848
Clifton DeBerry (Ind SW)	1,692	Clifton DeBerry (Ind SW)	383	James E. Harris (Ind SW)	483
Eric Hass (Ind SL)	1,204	TOTAL	2,273,221	TOTAL	2,196,169
TOTAL	1,691,815				
		1984 (11 electoral votes)		2000 (11 electoral votes)	
1968 (12 electoral votes)		Ronald Reagan (R)	1,198,800	Al Gore (D)	1,242,987
Richard M. Nixon (R)	809,997	Walter F. Mondale (D)	995,847	George W. Bush (R)	1,237,279
Hubert H. Humphrey (D)	748,804	David Bergland (Lib)	4,884	Ralph Nader (WG)	94,070
George C. Wallace (Ind A)	127,835	Bob Richards (Con)	3,864	Pat Buchanan (Ind Rfm)	11,446
Henning A. Blomen (Ind SL)	1,338	Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. (Ind)	3,791	Harry Browne (Lib)	6,640
Frederick W. Halstead (Ind SW)	1,222	Sonia Johnson (Ind Cit)	1,456	Howard Phillips (Con)	2,042
TOTAL	1,689,196	Dennis L. Serrette (Ind WIA)	1,007	Monica G. Moorehead (Ind WW)	1,063
		Larry Holmes (Ind WW)	619	John Hagelin (Ind Rfm)	878
1972 (11 electoral votes)		Gus Hall (Ind Com)	597	James Harris (Ind SW)	306
Richard M. Nixon (R)	989,430	Melvin T. Mason (Ind SW)	445	TOTAL	2,598,607
George S. McGovern (D)	810,174	TOTAL	2,212,018		
John G. Schmitz (A)	47,525	1988 (11 electoral votes)		2004 (10 electoral votes)	
Benjamin M. Spock (Ind Pop)	2,701	Michael S. Dukakis (D)	1,126,794	John F. Kerry (D)	1,489,504
Louis Fisher (Ind SL)	998	George Bush (R)	1,047,499	George W. Bush (R)	1,478,120
Gus Hall (Ind Com)	663	Ronald Paul (Ind Lib)	5,157	Ralph Nader (Ind TBL)	16,390
Evelyn Reed (Ind SW)	506	David E. Duke (Ind Pop)	3,056	Michael Badnarik (Lib)	6,464
TOTAL	1,851,997	James Warren (Ind SW)	2,574	David Cobb (WG)	2,661
		Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. (Ind NER)	2,302	Walter F. Brown (Ind SPW)	471
1976 (11 electoral votes)		Lenora B. Fulani (Ind NA)	1,953	James Harris (Ind SW)	411
Jimmy Carter (D)	1,040,232	TOTAL	2,191,612	TOTAL	2,997,007
Gerald R. Ford (R)	1,004,987	1992 (11 electoral votes)		2008 (10 electoral votes)	
Eugene J. McCarthy (Ind)	34,943	Bill Clinton (D)	1,041,066	Barack Obama (D)	1,677,211
Lester Maddox (A)	8,552	George Bush (R)	930,855	John McCain (R)	1,262,393
Frank P. Zeidler (Ind Soc)	4,298	Ross Perot (Ind)	544,479	Ralph Nader (Ind)	17,605
Roger L. MacBride (Ind Lib)	3,814	Andre Marrou (Lib)	2,877	Bob Barr (Lib)	8,858
Peter Camejo (Ind SW)	1,691	James Gritz (Ind AFC)	2,311	Chuck Baldwin (Ind Con)	5,072
Margaret Wright (Ind Pop)	943	Ron Daniels (LF)	1,883	Cynthia McKinney (WG)	4,216
Gus Hall (Ind Com)	749	Howard Phillips (Ind Tax)	1,772	Jeffrey J. Wamboldt (Ind WtP)	764
Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. (Ind USL)	738	J. Quinn Brisben (Ind Soc)	1,211	Brian Moore (Ind Soc USA)	540
Jules Levin (Ind SL)	389	John Hagelin (NL)	1,070	Gloria LaRiva (Ind S&L)	237
TOTAL	2,104,175	Lenora B. Fulani (Ind NA)	654	TOTAL	2,983,417
		Lyndon H. LaRouche, Jr. (Ind ER)	633		
		Jack Herer (Ind Gr)	547		
		Eugene A. Hem (3rd)	405		
		James Warren (Ind SW)	390		
		TOTAL	2,531,114		

Note: Some totals include scattered votes for other candidates.

Sources: Official records of the Government Accountability Board, Elections Division; Congressional Quarterly, *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 1994.

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Note: Numbers in parentheses are catalog numbers for materials in the Dr. H. Rupert Theobald Legislative Library at the Legislative Reference Bureau. Readers are also referred to the clippings filed in the library under *Electoral College: History and Organization; Proposals to Abolish or Reform the Electoral System* (324.385/Z) and *Form of Ballot* (324.32/Z).

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These and other LRB publications are available at www.legis.state.wi.us/lrb/pubs

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- RB-06-2 Issues in Administering the Death Penalty. October 2006
- RB-10-1 Summary of the 2009-2010 Wisconsin Legislative Session. July 2010

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- IB-08-1 Fair Employment, Antidiscrimination, and Worker Protection Laws in Wisconsin. February 2008
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- IB-10-1 2011 Legislative Session Fiscal Estimate Manual. November 2010
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- Brief 09-4 Compensation of Wisconsin Legislators. February 2009
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- Brief 09-6 Regional Transit Authorities (RTAs). November 2009
- Brief 10-1 Raw Milk Sales. April 2010
- Brief 10-2 Executive Vetoes of Bills Passed by the 2009 Wisconsin Legislature from January 13, 2009, to May 21, 2010. May 2010
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- Brief 10-5 State Agencies, Boards, Commissions, or Councils Created, Repealed, or Revised by the 2009 Legislature – 2009 Wisconsin Acts 1-406. August 2010
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- Brief 10-7 Medical Marijuana. November 2010
- Brief 10-8 Wisconsin State Officers. November 2010
- Brief 10-9 Salaries of State Elected Officials Effective January 2011. December 2010
- Brief 11-1 Brief Biographies 2011 Wisconsin Officers. January 2011
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