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REPORT

*The Presidential Preference
Primary In Wisconsin*

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RESEARCH BULLETIN 128
April 1960

THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY IN WISCONSIN*

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*Prepared by H. Rupert Theobald, Research Associate.

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INTRODUCTION

It is generally conceded that the method of selecting the President of the United States was a compromise between those who favored popular elections and those who favored long-term appointments. Technically the Constitution provides for the selection of a group of citizens equal to the number of members of congress from each state who, in turn, select a President. Actually a complicated mechanism has been created outside this process to nominate candidates for the presidency from whom the so-called electoral college will select a winner. We are concerned in this paper with the machinery for selecting the Wisconsin delegates to the national conventions of the political parties at which the candidates for the presidency are nominated.

At the present time the representatives of the state party organizations to the national political conventions are selected in one of 2 ways. The first of these is the selection by party caucus, used by all states until the beginning of this century. Since the first decade of the 20th century, a minority of the states have used the new method of the "presidential preference primary" for this task. Recently abolished by Minnesota and Montana, presidential preference primaries are currently used in one form or another by 17 states and the District of Columbia.

THE DUAL NATURE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

It is commonly asserted by students of democratic government that elections are held to determine from among the would-be office holders the "choice of the people". Undoubtedly, this assertion holds true for general elections, be they the partisan elections for presidential electors, congress, state legislatures, etc., or be they nonpartisan contests for judicial or local offices.

However, when we study the objectives of the presidential preference primary it becomes apparent that the determination of the "people's choice" cannot without qualification be listed as the objective of this type of election. Much of the difficulty in understanding the meaning and purpose of the presidential preference primary process results from a failure to realize that presidential preference primaries are held within each political party to determine the choice of the adherents of that party; and not, transcending party lines, the "choice of the people".

In Wisconsin, the presidential preference primaries are of the "open" variety. Because of the quasi-public nature of political parties resulting from each political party's aim ultimately to govern, the intra-party primary elections have come to be regarded as public in nature.

The Wisconsin voter participates in the presidential preference primaries by casting his vote for the delegate-candidate of his

*Prepared by H. Rupert Theobald, Research Associate.

choice to represent him at the national political convention. However, this must be qualified: the "open" primary creates confusion between the concept that the Wisconsin voter casts an independent vote in the presidential preference primary, and the concept that he, as a "member" of one or the other of the political parties, votes in the primary elections of one of the political parties of Wisconsin. The administrative organization of Wisconsin presidential preference primaries provides that each voter be supplied with the ballots of all political parties holding an election, and permits the voter secretly to choose the ballot of the one party in the election of which he wishes to participate. This administrative organization somewhat beclouds the fact that by the act of secret selection of "his" ballot the voter has secretly "joined" one of the political parties and, under the rules of the game, becomes a party member in good standing qualified to vote in that party's election.

Nobody questions the practice restricting the right to vote to the members in good standing when the "Uptown League for Better Barbershops" holds an election of officers. It seems that the nature of intraparty presidential preference primary elections is quite similar to that of elections in the Better Barbershops League. In each case only the members of the organization, and not the general public, are permitted to participate in the organization's election. The liberal entrance requirements, and the loose definition of (inactive) membership of the Wisconsin political parties, obscure the realization that presidential preference primaries are not public elections, but are private elections within a "club," and with participation restricted to the club's members.

Though there is but one date for the presidential preference primary--on the first Tuesday in April in all years divisible by 4, coincident with the nonpartisan spring elections--in reality there are held, simultaneously and at the same locations, a number of elections designed within each political party to select the delegates that will represent each of the state's party organizations (and not the state) in the forthcoming national conventions of the political parties.

WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY VS. NATIONAL NOMINATION

From 1900 to 1956 the 2 major national political parties have each held 15 national conventions. Only in the first 2 of these conventions were the members of the Wisconsin delegations chosen by party caucus; in the remainder, they were chosen by popular election in the "open" primaries. Compared to the 2 national convention years preceding the primary legislation, election of delegates by open primary rather than by caucus does not seem to have increased the weight attached to the vote of the Wisconsin delegations.

In both the Republican Conventions of 1900 and 1904, the caucus-elected delegates from Wisconsin cast their votes for the candidates who became the choice of the nominating convention; in the 13 Republican National Conventions since that time the Wisconsin delegations on only 2 occasions came instructed to vote for the candidate who later became the nominee. While the caucus-elected Republican delegations from Wisconsin in 1900 and 1904 cast their votes for the national candidates, the first 5 Wisconsin Republican

delegations elected under the primary law (1908 to 1924) all cast their votes for the Wisconsin candidate, Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr.

The Wisconsin delegations to the National Democratic Conventions have been "right" more often: the 13 delegations chosen in the open primaries voted with the majority 9 times and against the majority 4 times; those selected by party caucus in 1900 and 1904 voted once with, and once against, the majority. However, in only 13 of the 30 national conventions held by the 2 parties in the 1900 to 1956 period did the Wisconsin delegations vote initially for the candidate who became the convention choice. On 6 of these occasions, the endorsed candidate was an incumbent President seeking re-election.

Presidential Nominees: Wisconsin Primary and
National Conventions, 1900 to 1956

Year	Democratic Party		Republican Party	
	Primary choice	Convention nominee	Primary choice	Convention nominee
1900	Bryan*	Bryan	McKinley*	McKINLEY
1904	Edw. C. Wall*	Parker	Roosevelt*	ROOSEVELT
1908	Bryan*	Bryan	LaFollette*	TAFT
1912	Wilson	WILSON	LaFollette	Taft
1916	WILSON	WILSON	LaFollette*	Hughes
1920	McAdoo*	Cox	LaFollette	HARDING
1924	Smith	Davis	LaFollette	COOLIDGE
1928	Smith	Smith	Norris	HOOVER
1932	Roosevelt	ROOSEVELT	Norris**, Blaine*	Hoover
1936	ROOSEVELT	ROOSEVELT	Borah	Landon
1940	ROOSEVELT	ROOSEVELT	Dewey	Willkie
1944	ROOSEVELT	ROOSEVELT	Dewey	Dewey
1948	TRUMAN	TRUMAN	Stassen	Dewey
1952	Kefauver	Stevenson	Taft	EISENHOWER
1956	Kefauver	Stevenson	EISENHOWER	EISENHOWER

Symbols: CAPITAL LETTERS- Primary choice was incumbent President seeking re-election; Convention nominee was elected to the presidency.

*This candidate was endorsed on the first ballot by an uninstructed delegation from Wisconsin.

**The candidate was not placed in nomination but had been endorsed in the Wisconsin presidential preference primary.

Sources: Presidents and presidential nominees: World Almanac, 1960.
Presidential preference expressed in Wisconsin primaries: official election reports by the Board of Canvassers on file in the office of the Wisconsin Secretary of State.

Delegation endorsement at national conventions: published proceedings of the national political party conventions for the years cited.

PARTY CONTROL AND PRIMARY ELECTIONS IN WISCONSIN

The Wisconsin primary election law resulted from the efforts of the senior Robert Marion LaFollette to rid the political parties of "bossism", and to "return" the control of party affairs to "the people". The direct popular election of party delegates to national political conventions was given to the people by Chapter 369, Laws of 1905.

(a) The Caucus Election

It is not commonly remembered today that the selection of delegates by caucus, which preceded the selection in primary elections, was in reality an election though held strictly within the confines of the membership of each political party, with ballots, voting booths, secrecy, etc.: in short, with all the safeguards which attach to the elections of today. According to the Wisconsin election laws of 1902, a caucus was held by each political party within each election district. At this caucus, the qualified electors of the party (determined by residency in the election district, and the elector's vote for the party's candidates at the last preceding general election) were furnished with ballots, either handwritten or printed, which the electors marked in the privacy of election booths. Each election caucus was preceded by a nominating caucus at which the electors of that party, by nominations from the floor, determined the candidates for the forthcoming caucus election. The sequence in which the names of the several candidates for each office were to appear on the ballot was then determined by lot. The caucus elections were supervised by caucus inspectors who, on their notarized oaths of office, affirmed that they would "faithfully, honestly and correctly conduct the election." Following the caucus election, the inspectors served as tellers to canvass the vote, and the winners were certified to the county or city secretary of that political party to become the party's candidates at the general election, or to become the delegates of the election district to congressional district or state conventions of the party which would then determine the candidates on the congressional district or state level.

The direct primary, under Chapter 451, Laws of 1903, was made applicable to the election of party delegates to national conventions by Chapter 369, Laws of 1905. It expanded the participation in the determination of the party's candidates from the active party core--as determined by the individual elector's vote at the last preceding general election--to all qualified electors of the district. Because it is an "open" primary, it permits voters to shift their party affiliation from election to election by their own secret decision, and permits the adherents of one party to cross over and vote in the internal affairs of another party.

In essence, the primary election legislation did not establish primary elections. Rather, it moved the election booths from the party halls and installed them on neutral grounds. It also changed the selection of the candidates for the primary contest from direct nomination at the nominating caucus, which facilitated the draft of qualified candidates, to nomination by nominating petition, which tends to limit candidacy for political office to active office seekers.

(b) The Primary Election Laws

The Wisconsin primary election law is one of the 2 oldest in the nation. Under the leadership of Governor Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr., the primary election law was passed by the 1903 Legislature (Ch. 451, Laws of 1903). The effective date of the law, however, was dependent on approval of the law by the Wisconsin electorate in the November election of 1904. In the interval, Oregon by initiative proposed a primary election law which passed and was proclaimed by the Oregon Governor on June 24, 1904. The Wisconsin primary election law was approved by the electorate on November 8, 1904, by a vote of 130,699 for and 80,192 against the enactment of the law. In only 15 of Wisconsin's 71 counties was a plurality of the votes cast against the adoption.

The original Wisconsin primary law provided for September primaries to nominate "all candidates to be voted for at the next November election," and stipulated that "any primary other than the September primary shall be held two weeks before the election for which such primary is held." The law made specific provision concerning the filing of nomination papers for "state office", "representative in congress", and for offices "representing less than a congressional district in area." Thus, while the 1903 law would have permitted the selection of delegates to the national conventions of the political parties in primary elections rather than by internal caucus elections of the parties, it did not expressly require that this be the method of selection.

Chapter 369, Laws of 1905, enlarged the scope of the Wisconsin primary election law by requiring that the Wisconsin delegates to national political party conventions be chosen by popular election:

"There shall be chosen at an election held in each precinct of the state on the first Tuesday of April in each year in which electors for president and vice president of the United States are to be elected, delegates to the national convention of each party to nominate candidates for president and vice president. Such elections shall be noticed, held and conducted and the results canvassed and returned in the same manner that elections of judges of the supreme and circuit courts are noticed, held and conducted, and the results canvassed and returned. The four candidates for delegates-at-large, of each political party, receiving the highest number of votes shall be the delegates-at-large and the four receiving the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth largest number of votes shall be alternates at-large. The candidates for delegates, of each political party, in each congressional district receiving the highest number of votes shall be delegates from such district and the two receiving the third and fourth highest number of votes shall be alternates."

Viewed in 1960, there are several aspects of the 1905 law which merit our particular attention. The 1905 law specifically provided that the number of delegates-at-large be 4, and that the number of district delegates be 2 per district. The 1905 law

provided for the selection of alternates from the "also-ran's" receiving the highest number of votes, but did not provide how a full slate of alternates should be selected in case there were not enough candidates on the ballot. Finally, the 1905 law did not provide for the identification of delegate-candidates with the candidacy of any particular contender for the presidential nomination, or with any specific "principle".

By Chapter 512, Laws of 1907, the manner of selection for the alternates for delegates to national political conventions was changed from popular election at the primary to appointment by the statutory state central committees of the Wisconsin political parties.

In 1911, Chapter 300 of the Session Laws added the "presidential preference" feature to the primary law:

"For the purpose of enabling every voter to express his choice for the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, whenever there shall be filed with the secretary of state a petition as provided by... the statutes, the names of such candidates shall be certified to the county clerks, and shall be printed upon the official party ticket used at said election. No signature, statement, or consent shall be required to be filed by any such candidate."

Though this was not specified in the section cited here, write-in votes were permitted under the general provisions of the primary law. In many of the presidential preference primaries held under the provisions of this section, the write-in votes had considerable proportions. However, while the presidential popularity contest served as a guide for the party's delegates concerning the preference of the electorate, the results of the contest did not "bind" the Wisconsin delegations.

In the special session of the Wisconsin legislature in 1912, held after the delegates to the 1912 national conventions of the political parties had already been elected, the law was changed to permit the identification on the ballot, of the delegate-candidates with particular aspirants to the presidential nomination, or with "a statement of the principles... favored by such candidate for delegate, which statement shall follow his name and be expressed in not more than five words" (Ch. 22, Laws Sp. Sess. 1912). The Wisconsin law did not require that delegate candidates have the consent of the national nomination candidates in order to use his name on the ballot.

There was no direct connection between the presidential preference vote and the vote for candidate-committed delegates to the national conventions. Thus, the Attorney General held in 1924 that a "presidential preference primary and national party convention delegate ballot marked by (the) voter for one of (the) candidates for president and with no other marks cannot be counted as a vote for candidates who appear on (the) ballot designated as favoring such candidate for president. Candidates for delegates must be voted for separately and individually." (13 Atty. Gen. 184)

In other words--and this is an important consideration when an effort is made to determine voter participation in the Wisconsin primaries--the Wisconsin presidential preference primary law as amended through 1912 did not permit the election of delegate-candidates by slate. Rather, it required a separate vote for each individual candidate for delegate, and for the candidates for the presidential and vice-presidential nominations. Each individual voter, though marking only one ballot, could therefore cast a number of votes corresponding to the number of delegates to be selected (4 at-large and 2 district under the law as it then stood), and one vote each for one of the aspirants to the presidential and vice-presidential nominations. At the same time, a voter did not invalidate his ballot by voting for less than the total number of delegates for which he was entitled to vote.

In 1924, the Attorney General ruled that while the law provided for the election of 4 delegates-at-large from Wisconsin, and 2 district delegates from each congressional district within the state, to the national conventions of the political parties, "the Secretary of State should...instruct electors to vote for (the) number of delegates-at-large to (the) Republican national convention prescribed by the Republican national committee." (13 Atty. Gen. 30) This ruling of the Attorney General took notice of the fact that, contrary to the impression created by the 1905 law, the number of Wisconsin delegates to national political party conventions was not a matter to be determined by the Wisconsin legislature. Rather, in accordance with the rules of the national organizations of each major political party, the number of delegates from each state was for the determination by the party's national committee. In 1933, the Wisconsin law was changed accordingly and has since provided that the "number of delegates to be chosen shall be the number specified by the party's national committee". (Ch. 139, laws 1933)

The 1949 Legislature worked out a major revision of the presidential preference primary law. The revision combined 2 features of the old law--presidential preference popularity contest and election of delegates to the national party conventions--thus permitting election of delegates by slate, committed to a particular candidate (Ch. 406, Laws 1949). A new feature added by the 1949 revision is the requirement that any "instructed" slate of delegates must have a certificate of consent from the candidate they espouse. Thus, if a presidential candidate does not choose to enter the Wisconsin primary, no slate of delegates pledged to him can be placed on the ballot. Obviously, this restriction drastically inhibits the choices open to the electorate.

Under the 1949 law, it is still possible for a delegate-candidate to run "uninstructed", i.e. on the strength of his own name and vote-getting power. In that case, his name can be placed on the ballot only when nominating petitions, signed by a certain percentage of the electorate, have been filed, while a national candidate merely has to certify a list of the names of "his" delegate slate to the Secretary of State in order to have them placed on the ballot. In practice, since 1949 there has been only one instance where a delegate-candidate has attempted to be elected "uninstructed". This was in the 5th congressional district in the presidential preference primary of 1952. The attempt was unsuccessful. In order to win, an "uninstructed" delegate would have

to beat the highest vote received by any slate in his district's party primary. The remainder of the district delegation would then be decided by lot, as in case of a tie vote, from the slate receiving the highest number of votes. (Sec. 5.21, Wis. Statutes)

Since the presidential preference primaries are elections within each party, and since their organization is so intimately connected with the organizational structure of the political parties, the statutory and voluntary organizations of the Wisconsin political parties, and the national organizations, will be briefly reviewed at this point.

STATUTORY PARTY ORGANIZATION IN WISCONSIN*

(a) State Organization

State Central Committees: For each party, the statutory state central committees consist of one chairman and "at least 2 members" from each congressional district elected at the platform conventions. In practice, the state central committees of both the Democratic and the Republican Parties of Wisconsin have 3 officers: a chairman, a vice chairman and a secretary. For the Republican State Central Committee the membership from each congressional district is 5; for the Democratic State Central Committee, 6 members are selected from each congressional district.

The statutory state central committees are specifically charged with the appointment of alternates for the elected delegates to the quadrennial national conventions of the political parties.

Platform ("Statutory") Conventions: On the 3rd Tuesday after the biennial September primaries, the successful state senate and assembly candidates of each political party, and the party's hold-over senators, convene in "statutory" convention in the State Capitol to "formulate the state platform of their party." In practice, the party platforms are prepared within each party's voluntary organization by a platform committee. They are then discussed and approved at the state convention of the party's voluntary organization. The platform thus approved is submitted to the statutory convention for official adoption with such changes as are agreed to.

In the years of presidential elections, the statutory conventions are specifically charged with the selection of a slate of presidential electors, to function as the state's presidential electors should the party poll a majority of the votes in the November presidential elections. Each party certifies its list of presidential electors to the Secretary of State.

The statutes also provide that the statutory conventions are to select the parties' state central committees.

*Compiled on the basis of Sections 5.35 and 5.36 of the 1957 Wisconsin Statutes.

(b) County Organization

Congressional District Committees: These committees consist of 2 members from each assembly district within a county or, for multi-county districts, for one member from each county within the congressional district. The members delegated by the counties to the congressional district committees must be certified by the county chairmen to the chairman of the state central committee. Congressional district committees are convened by the chairman of the state central committee, upon 5 days' written notice.

Assembly or Senate District Committees: The committees consist of 2 members from each county in assembly or state senatorial districts consisting of more than one county. Members delegated to serve on these committees are certified by the county chairmen to the chairman of the state central committee. The assembly or senate district committees are convened upon 5 days' written notice by the chairman of the state central committee.

County Committees: In general, the county committees consist of the precinct committeemen elected at the September primary. In Milwaukee County, the county committee consists of the committeemen from each ward, town or village. All appointments to the aforementioned congressional, state senatorial and assembly district committees are made from the elected membership of the county committees.

A meeting of the county committee is called within 2 days after the completion of the canvass of the September primary by the county chairmen of the preceding election period. The call for this meeting must be issued in writing and at least 5 days' notice must be given. At such meeting, the county committee elects its chairman, secretary and treasurer; it may elect such additional officers and subcommittees as the committee feels necessary.

In counties constituting one or more assembly or senatorial districts the members of the county committee residing within the territory of such assembly or senatorial districts shall constitute the party committees for such districts; they may, at the convention of the county committee, elect a chairman, secretary and treasurer, and such other officers as they may deem necessary. In counties which are only part of an assembly, senatorial or congressional district the county committee elects from among its membership the delegates to represent the county in the district level committees. Any vacancy in any office originally filled from among the membership of the county committee shall be filled by selection by the county committee. However, the county chairman may temporarily fill such vacancies.

City Committee: The city committee of each party's statutory organization consists of the precinct or ward committeemen elected at the September primary. A meeting of the city committee shall be called by the chairman of the county committee within 10 days after the completion of the canvass of the September primary. The city committee elects a chairman from among its members; it may elect such other officers as it deems necessary.

Precinct Committeeman: The precinct committeeman is the party's elected representative within each election district. The entire county statutory organization is formed on the basis of the elections for precinct committeeman. The precinct committeemen's names are placed on the ballot of the September primary by the submission of nominating petitions signed by between 3% and 10% of the electorate in their district, based on the vote in the last preceding gubernatorial election, although often they are elected by written-in votes. From the standpoint of party coherence, the political parties find it desirable that the elected precinct committeemen should also be the practicing, "card carrying" activists of the parties' voluntary organizations, and the parties attempt to convince their voluntary precinct workers also to seek the elective precinct positions. However, this connection is not required by the law, and frequently the elected precinct committeemen are not practicing members of the parties' voluntary organizations. Precinct committeemen assume their office on certification of their election by the election inspectors. The committeemen are elected for 2-year terms.

NATIONAL PARTY ORGANIZATION*

National Committee: At the top of the permanent party organizations, throughout the United States, is the national committee, which acts as the governing body of the party. The national committee is comprised of one national committeeman and one national committeewoman from each state and territory of the United States.

The members of the national committee on the state level are selected for each party at the party's state convention. In Wisconsin, this selection is done at the state convention of the parties' voluntary organizations. However, selection of the Wisconsin membership of the national political party committees is not handled entirely by the voluntary organization; it also involves the statutory organization of the parties. For this reason, the discussion of the national committee has here been inserted between statutory and voluntary Wisconsin party organization.

The "selection" of the Wisconsin members for the national political party committees is in the form of an instruction to the party's elected and, therefore, statutory, delegates to the national convention. At the national conventions, the Wisconsin delegates place the names selected by the voluntary state convention in nomination as Wisconsin's national committeeman and committeewoman. The entire slate of nominations, combining the nominations received from all state delegations, is then inserted at the national convention into the resolution creating the party's national committee for the next 4 years, and voted on by the national convention as a whole.

The term of the members of the national committees is 4 years, from one national presidential candidate nominating convention to the next. The committee serves until its successor committee has been elected at the next national convention. The national committees of

*Source: Proceedings of the national party conventions, the "Handbook of Organization" of the Republican Party of Wisconsin, and information obtained from the headquarters of the Wisconsin Democratic Party.

the political parties are charged with the organization of the next national conventions of their parties, the direction of the presidential campaign immediately following their election, and the formulation of a national campaign program to be carried out on the state level by the state organizations.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION - DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF WISCONSIN*

State Administrative Committee: The voluntary party organization of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin is headed by the State Administrative Committee. Membership of the committee comes from 3 different sources. The state party chairman, vice-chairman and state treasurer, as well as 7 at-large members (not more than one from any one county) are elected at the voluntary organization's state convention. The 2 Wisconsin members of the Democratic National Committee, the chairmen of the voluntary Democratic congressional district organizations and the county chairman for Milwaukee County, and one representative of the Wisconsin Young Democrats, serve as ex officio members of the State Administrative Committee. Finally, the immediate past state chairman of the voluntary organization, one representative of the Wisconsin Democratic joint legislative caucus, and one honorary member named for "long and distinguished service" serve as additional at-large members. The State Administrative Committee appoints a secretary who may be selected from outside the committee's membership.

State Convention: According to Prof. Leon D. Epstein's American Parties, 1955, p. 35, representation of the county units of the Democratic voluntary organization at that organization's state convention is based on each unit's paid-up membership. "However, the party (as represented by its Administrative Committee) has found it expedient not to insist too strictly on the constitutional requirement that each county organization pay its assessment of \$1.30 per member before being allowed representation at the convention. In particular, the Milwaukee County organization, with over one-quarter of the state membership, has frequently been remiss in turning over its dues, and yet has regularly had its delegation seated at the convention."

District Organization; Permanent Caucus: The congressional district voluntary organizations of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin are each directed by a permanent caucus. This caucus consists of the chairmen of the county voluntary organizations in the congressional district. The chairman and vice-chairman for each district's permanent caucus are elected at the state convention of the voluntary organization by the district's delegates to the state convention.

Composed of the chairmen of the corresponding committees on the county level, each congressional district organization forms "economic interest group advisory committees" in such fields as agriculture, commerce and labor, insofar as these economic interest groups are represented within the district.

*Source: Constitution of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin, and information obtained from the party's Madison headquarters.

County Organization; Party Membership: Any resident of the county subscribing to "the liberal principles of the Democratic Party" upon payment of the annual membership fee of \$2 (\$1 for additional family members) may become a member of the Democratic county voluntary organization. The county retains 70¢ of each membership fee; the remainder should, in accordance with the constitution of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin, be forwarded to the state organization.

Each county unit elects its chairman and vice-chairman. The offices of secretary and of treasurer may be filled separately, or by one person. All terms of office are for one year. The officers of the county committee are elected directly by the county membership unless, approved by the State Administrative Committee, the county unit entrusts the election of officers to delegates.

Each county unit forms "economic interest group advisory committees" in the fields of agriculture, commerce, and labor; insofar as these economic interests are represented in the county.

Ward Unit: In general the basic geographical units of the Democratic voluntary organization in Wisconsin are the county organizations. However, in both Milwaukee County and Waukesha County the county organizations are subdivided into "ward units".

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION - REPUBLICAN PARTY OF WISCONSIN*

State Organization; Executive Committee: The leadership of the voluntary party organization of the Republican Party of Wisconsin is vested in the State Executive Committee. This committee is composed of 2 members from each of the 10 congressional districts: the district chairmen and the vice-chairwomen. In addition, there are 6 ex officio members: the chairman of the state's Republican statutory committee; the president of the Women's Republican Federation; the state chairmen and 2 members-at-large of the Young Republican Federation, and the chairman of the Republican County Chairmen. Elections to the State Executive Committee are conducted by the district caucuses; terms of the district members are 2 years. The State Executive Committee elects a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer. By the constitution of the organization the vice-chairman, or perhaps a second vice-chairman, is supposed to be a woman.

With the consent of the State Executive Committee, the state chairman appoints a state finance chairman and finance committee, together with such other officers and employes as the chairman shall deem advisable.

Congressional District Organization: In each congressional district, the voluntary Republican organization elects a chairman and a vice-chairman. In many districts, a secretary and a treasurer are also elected. The district organization usually functions together with an executive committee consisting of the county chairmen of the district. The district organization is charged

*Source: Constitution and "Handbook of Organization" of the Republican Party of Wisconsin.

with the co-ordination of the activities of the county organizations in the district, with special emphasis on the election of Republican congressmen from the district.

County Organization: The county committees are elected in county caucus, prior to May 1 of the odd-numbered years. The county committee has the following officers: a chairman and a first vice-chairman (one of these shall be a woman), a second vice-chairman who, simultaneously, is also the chairman of the county statutory committee, a secretary and a treasurer.

The constitution of the Republican Party of Wisconsin specifies that the voluntary organization shall not "perform any of the duties imposed by the Wisconsin Statutes on the State Central Committee or other Statutory committees, and the State Central Committee and other Statutory Committees shall retain their individual organizations and identity."

Precinct Organization: The Republican precinct committees are headed by a chairman who shall be the Republican precinct committeemen elected by the voters at the party primaries. Each precinct committee shall have a committeewoman in addition to the committeeman, and such other officers as necessary.

RELATION BETWEEN STATUTORY AND VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

While the state central committees of each party represent the top of the statutory party organization of the political parties in Wisconsin, the actual power of the party is found in the voluntary organizations. For the Democratic Party of Wisconsin this is the State Administrative Committee; for the Republican Party the actual party representation is found in the State Executive Committee.

These 2 committees are, for each party, the top echelon of the active, dues-paying membership of the Wisconsin chapters of the national political organizations. In contrast to the loosely defined "membership" of the statutory parties which is documented only by the voter participation in partisan elections, the membership of the voluntary organizations is generally quite well defined.

The voluntary Democratic State Administrative Committee and the voluntary Republican State Executive Committee are "the" Democratic and "the" Republican Parties in Wisconsin. They attend to their parties' interests between campaigns and maintain the co-operation between the various county and congressional district voluntary organizations.

A major function of the voluntary party organizations in Wisconsin is the execution, within the state, of the directives of the national organizations. The Democratic National Committee, e.g., which prepares the national party convention and determines the formula of allocation of delegates and votes to each state, in the call for the 1960 national convention changed the allocation of delegates formula. Instead of 2 delegates per congressional district (as before) and a specified number of delegates-at-large for each individual state, the 1960 call allocates votes on the basis

of $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes for each member of congress from each state, and permits the election of 2 delegates with $\frac{1}{2}$ vote each for each full vote. The Democratic National Committee left to the state organizations the choice between electing, in 1960, delegates from each district for $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes, and delegates-at-large for 5 votes, or to continue to elect delegates for 2 votes from each congressional district and the remainder from the state-at-large. In Wisconsin, the permanent organization of the Democratic Party is represented by the State Administrative Committee. Therefore, the choice between the 2 methods of allocation of national convention votes and delegates was made by the State Administrative Committee rather than by an agency of the Democratic Party's statutory organization. The Democratic State Administrative Committee officially notified the Secretary of State of its choice, and at the 1960 spring election the delegates to the Democratic National Convention will be elected on the basis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes (5 delegates) per congressional district and 5 votes (10 delegates) from the state-at-large.

WISCONSIN DELEGATIONS TO NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS

Until the recent change of the formula in the call for the 1960 Democratic National Convention, the basic principle underlying the allocation of delegates and votes to each state's delegation has been consistently "2 votes (or delegates) for each member of Congress from the state". As documented by the calls for the 1904 national conventions of the Republican and Democratic Parties, this formula predates the selection of delegates by popular vote in the presidential preference primaries.

This "2 for 1" formula allocated to each state party's delegation to the national political convention 4 votes at-large for the 4 delegates-at-large corresponding to the state's representation in the U.S. Senate, and 2 district votes for the 2 district delegates corresponding to the member of the House of Representatives from each congressional district. Since U.S. Senators are chosen from the state-at-large, the corresponding delegates to the national convention were also chosen from the state-at-large; since members of the House of Representatives are chosen by congressional district, the 2 delegates corresponding to each congressman were also chosen from the congressional district.

The complete acceptance of the "2 for 1" formula is evidenced by the fact that it was even made part of Wisconsin state law when the selection of national convention delegates by popular election was first written into the statutes by Chapter 369, Laws of 1905. However, over the years the number of delegates-at-large has gradually increased. In some instances states were permitted to retain the number of votes they had held at previous national political party conventions, although reapportionment had decreased the size of their congressional delegations. In other instances, additional at-large votes were apportioned to those states which had voted for the party's candidates in a significant election (cited in the call) preceding the convention. Sometimes, the membership of state delegations was increased without a corresponding increase in the number of votes allocated to the delegation; this was achieved by

permitting the elections of delegates each holding only a fraction of one vote. The 1924 to 1936 convention calls issued by the Democratic National Committee expressly suggested that the state organizations might increase the number of their delegates at-large, though not the number of at-large votes, by allocating $\frac{1}{2}$ vote each to the delegates-at-large and the selection of women for the additional delegate-at-large positions thus obtained. This authorization was not utilized in Wisconsin.

After the almost complete stability of the number of elected delegates, and the number of votes allocated to the Wisconsin delegations, from 1908 to 1928, the voting and membership strengths of the Wisconsin delegation since 1932 have undergone many changes (see the table on the next page). However, in principle and with particular regard to the election of district delegates, the basic "2 for 1" formula survived until it was abandoned in the call for the 1960 Democratic National Convention.

POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN WIS. STATE-WIDE ELECTIONS***				WISCONSIN DELEGATIONS TO NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY CONVENTIONS: NUMBER OF DELEGATES AND VOTES ALLOCATED TO WIS. PARTY ORGANIZATIONS**									
Year	November or Special Election			Democratic Party of Wis.				Republican Party of Wis.				Conven- tion yr.	
	Presidential Electors	Governor	U.S. Senator	District Delegate	At-Large Delegate	Total Delegate	Total Votes	District Delegate	At-Large Delegate	Total Delegate	Total Votes		
1906		Rep.	Rep.										
1908	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	22	4	26	26	22	4	26	26	1908	
1910		Rep.	Rep.										
1912	Dem.	Rep.	Rep.	22	4	26	26	22	4	26	26	1912	
1914		Rep.	Dem.										
1916	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	22	4	26	26	22	4	26	26	1916	
1918		Rep.	Rep.										
1920	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	22	4	26	26	22	4	26	26	1920	
1922		Rep.	Rep.										
1924	(Prog.)	Rep.	Rep.	22	4	26	26	22	7	29	29	1924	
1925Sp.			Rep.										
1926		Rep.	Rep.										
1928	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	22	4	26	26	22	4	26	26	1928	
1930		Rep.	Rep.										
1932	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.	20	6	26	26	20	7	27	27	1932	
1934		(Prog.)	(Prog.)										
1936	Dem.	(Prog.)	Rep.	20	4	24	24	20	4	24	24	1936	
1938		Rep.	Rep.										
1940	Dem.	Rep.	(Prog.)	20	4	24	24	20	4	24	24	1940	
1942		(Prog.)	Rep.										
1944	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	20	6	26	26	20	4	24	24	1944	
1946		Rep.	Rep.										
1948	Dem.	Rep.	Rep.	20	8*	28	24	20	7	27	27	1948	
1950		Rep.	Rep.										
1952	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	20	16*	36	28	20	10	30	30	1952	
1954		Rep.	Rep.										
1956	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.	40*	16*	56	28	20	10	30	30	1956	
1957Sp.			Dem.										
1958		Dem.	Dem.										
1960				50*	12*	62	31	20	10	30	30	1960	

*Delegates denoted by asterisks have $\frac{1}{2}$ vote each. The 1960 figure for 12 delegates-at-large includes the 2 members from Wisconsin of the Dem. National Committee, who share in one at-large vote.

**Extracted by Wis. Leg. Ref. Library from the published convention proceedings and the convention calls.

***Extracted by Wis. Leg. Ref. Library from the Wisconsin Blue Books.

(Prog.) Candidate elected belonged to the Progressive faction of the Wisconsin Republican Party.

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THE CONVENTION CALLS

The size of the state delegations, and the number of votes allocated to each, are set out in the convention calls. These calls are interesting also for other reasons: they reflect not only the gradual acceptance by the states of the selection of delegates to the national conventions of political parties by popular election rather than by state party conventions, they also reflect such national issues as woman suffrage and the gradual increase in political importance of the territories and possessions of the United States.

Below, we have brought together excerpts from the convention calls of the 2 major political parties to show the gradual changes in the allocation of delegates and votes formulas from 1904 to the present time. However, since we are here concerned primarily with the provisions of these convention calls as they relate to state, and particularly to Wisconsin, we have omitted those provisions which deal exclusively with the allocation of delegates and votes to the territories, possessions and the District of Columbia.

(a) Democratic National Conventions*:

1904: "The Democratic National Committee, having met in the City of Washington on the 12th day of January, 1904, has appointed Wednesday, July 6, 1904, as the time, and chosen St. Louis, Mo., as the place for holding the Democratic National Convention. Each State is entitled to representation therein equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, ... All Democratic citizens of the United States who can unite with us in the effort for a pure and economical constitutional government are cordially invited to join us in sending delegates to the Convention."

1908 to 1912: Although there were some changes in the wording of the allocation of delegates formula, the provisions relating to the number of delegates remained basically unchanged in the convention calls of the 1908 and 1912 Democratic National Conventions. However, selection of delegates by popular election at the presidential preference primaries had become so widely accepted by 1912 that it was specifically mentioned in the 1912 convention call: "In the choice of delegates and alternates to represent the States ...the Democratic state...committees may, if not otherwise directed by the law of such States...provide for the direct election of such delegates or alternates if in the opinion of the respective committees it is deemed desirable and possible to do so with proper safeguards. Where such provision is not made by the respective committees for the choice of delegates and alternates, and where the State laws do not provide specifically the manner of such choice, then the delegates and alternates...shall be chosen in the manner that governed the choice of delegates...to the last Democratic National Convention."

*Unless otherwise indicated, all information was extracted from the published Proceedings of the Democratic National Conventions of the years discussed.

1916: Checking through the successive national conventions, one finds that one of the problems has been that there were frequently more people interested in attending than could be accommodated. On occasion, some of the states have increased the size of their delegations by the appointment of an excess number of alternates, or by electing several delegates to share in one vote. In an apparent effort to forestall this practice, the 1916 Democratic convention call specifically provided that "delegates and alternates from each State of the Union shall be chosen to the number of two delegates and two alternates for each Senator and two delegates and two alternates for each Representative from the States respectively in the Congress of the United States under the Congressional apportionment of districts based upon the 64th Congress..." The calls for the Democratic National Conventions of 1928, 1932 and 1936 permitted the appointment of 2 alternates for each delegate; since 1940, the ratio has again been one-for-one.

The call for the 1916 Democratic National Convention shows that the selection of delegates by popular vote had received further emphasis. The convention call specifically referred to the "Presidential Primary" passages in the national platform of the Democratic Party, and contained the following: "The movement towards more popular government should be promoted through legislation in each state which will permit the expression of the preference of the electors for national candidates at presidential primaries. We direct that the National Committee incorporate in the call for the next nominating convention a requirement that all expressions of preference for presidential candidates shall be given and the selection of delegates and alternates made through a primary election conducted by the party organization in each state where such expression and election are not provided for by state law. Committeemen who are hereafter to constitute the membership of the Democratic National Committee, and whose election is not provided for by law, shall be chosen in each state at such primary elections, and the service and authority of committeemen, however chosen, shall begin immediately upon the receipt of their credentials, respectively."

1920: The call provided that the allocation of delegates should be based on the congressional representation of the states in the 66th Congress. However, this change did not affect Wisconsin; the number of congressional districts in Wisconsin remained at 11 from 1902 to 1932. At that time, it was reduced to 10 and has not been changed since that time.

1924 to 1928: With the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (woman suffrage) in 1920, representation of women at the national conventions of the political parties became a national issue. Accordingly, the call for the 1924 Democratic National Convention provided: "in order that opportunity may be afforded the various states to give representation to women as delegates-at-large, without disturbing prevailing party custom, there may be elected from each state four delegates-at-large for each Senator in Congress from such state, with one-half vote each in the National Convention, and (it is) recommended to the States that one-half of the number of delegates-at-large shall be women." The

decision to adopt this permissive provision for the selection of delegates-at-large was left to the state party organizations; it was not adopted by Wisconsin. The provision appeared again, without change, in the convention calls until 1936. However, while the Democratic Party of Wisconsin did not elect to send to the national convention at-large delegates with half votes in order to have some women represented in its delegation, the state during all of these years sent some women as alternates and elected women delegates to the conventions of 1932 and 1936.

1932: With the congressional reapportionment based on the 1930 census, the number of congressional districts in Wisconsin was reduced from 11 to 10. This did not immediately result in a reduction of the size of the Wisconsin delegation at the Democratic National Convention: "the basis of representation at such National Convention shall be two delegates with one vote each for each Senator and Representative in Congress from the respective States under the apportionment now applying to the Seventy-Second Congress, except that in those States in which representation in the House of Representatives has been increased by the creation of new congressional districts under the apportionment applying to the Seventy-Third Congress, the basis of representation in the National Convention shall be 2 delegates with one vote each for each Senator and Representative in the respective states in which representation in the House of Representatives of the Seventy-Third Congress has been so increased..."

1936 and 1940: In the call to the 1936 Democratic National Convention, the allocation of delegates was again strictly on the basis of the number of senators and representatives in Congress to which the states were entitled. The result of this was that the Wisconsin delegation was reduced from 26 to 24 votes or delegates. The same allocation formula was used to determine the size of the state delegations to the 1940 convention, and again the Wisconsin delegation had 24 members with one vote each.

The call for the 1940 Democratic National Convention eliminated the authorization contained in the calls from 1928 to 1936 which permitted the appointment of 2 alternates for each delegate. This did not affect the Wisconsin delegation; the lists of the Wisconsin delegates and alternates published in the convention proceedings reveal that Wisconsin, throughout the period, had sent only one alternate per delegate.

1944: The 1944 call for the Democratic National Convention introduced a new element into the allocation of votes to the Democratic state delegations in that it allocated 2 additional votes to "those states which cast their electoral votes for the Democratic nominees for President and Vice President in the 1940 election." Wisconsin, having cast its electoral votes for the Democratic nominees in 1940 (although the state, at the same election, chose a Republican Governor, Julius P. Heil, and a Progressive U.S. Senator, Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.) qualified for the 2 additional at-large votes and the voting strength of its delegation was increased accordingly from 24 to 26. The 1944 convention call also authorized splitting all at-large votes allocated to the states by electing

2 delegates-at-large with one-half vote each for each at-large vote. Wisconsin did not make use of this permission to increase the size of its delegation.

1948: The 1948 Democratic convention call was identical with the one of 1944 in all respects, except that it provided for 4 bonus at-large votes based on the 1944 election. Wisconsin having cast its electoral votes in 1944 for the Republican candidates for President and Vice President did not qualify for bonus votes, and its voting strength at the Democratic National Convention was again reduced to 24. However, in selecting the delegates for the 1948 convention Wisconsin chose to adopt the optional method of electing all at-large delegates on the one-half vote each basis. As a result, the Wisconsin delegation to the 1948 convention consisted of 20 district delegates with one full vote each, and 8 at-large delegates with one-half vote each, for a total of 28 delegates with 24 votes.

1952: The Democratic call for the 1952 national convention allowed 4 bonus at-large votes to states which had cast their electoral votes for the Democratic nominees in the 1948 election. Wisconsin qualified (although it had elected a Republican Governor, Oscar Rennebohm, at the same election). In addition, Wisconsin chose to utilize the optional method for the election of its at-large delegates. On the basis of the 20 district and 8 at-large votes allocated to the state, the size of the Wisconsin delegation to the Democratic National Convention was thus increased to 36 delegates.

1956: The Democratic convention call for the 1956 national convention maintained the 4 bonus at-large votes based on the 1948 election results. An additional 4 bonus at-large votes were allocated to any state which had cast its electoral votes for the Democratic nominees in the 1952 election, or which had elected a Democratic U.S. Senator "on or after November 4, 1952." Wisconsin had elected only Republican candidates for President and Vice President, or for U.S. Senator in the 1952 elections; however, the state's delegation to the Democratic National Convention still qualified for 4 bonus at-large votes based on the election results of 1948.

The 1956 convention call permitted a further increase in the size of the delegations by providing that all votes could be allocated on the basis of half-vote delegates. This optional method was adopted by the Democratic state organization of Wisconsin. Thus, while the number of votes allocated to the Wisconsin delegation remained 28, the size of the delegation increased to 56 (information extracted from the Manual of the 1956 Democratic National Convention).

1960: Specifying that the allocation of votes among the states should in no case be less than the number of votes held by each state in the 1956 Democratic National Convention, the 1960 convention call, on file in the office of the Wisconsin Secretary of State, redistributes the votes allocated to each state on the basis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes for each U.S. Senator and Representative from the states. On this basis, the voting strength of the Wisconsin

delegation was increased to 30 votes; an additional vote was allocated for each state to be shared by the state's 2 national committeemen, so that the total Wisconsin voting strength is 31. The Democratic National Committee, over the signature of its chairman, Paul M. Butler, requires only that the number of delegates elected at-large should not be reduced below the number of at-large votes ($2\frac{1}{2}$) allocated for each U.S. Senator, but left it up to the state organizations to decide whether to elect delegates corresponding to 2 or $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes from each district, and whether to elect a minimum delegation in which each delegate has one full vote, or a maximum delegation in which each delegate has one-half vote only, or a delegation in which some delegates have full and others have half votes: "The National Committee has received inquiries as to what agency will determine whether and to what extent a State will divide its votes into one-half ($\frac{1}{2}$) votes and the manner in which votes of a state will be allocated on a congressional district or at-large basis. These are matters which must be determined within each state in accordance with either state election laws or the rules of the Democratic State Committee. The fact that each state shall have two and one-half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) votes for each of its members of the United States House of Representatives does not mean that such votes must be allocated on a congressional district basis. Each state shall determine its own allocation between 'at-large' votes and 'district' votes, provided, however, that in no event shall the number of 'at-large' votes be less than the number specified" on the basis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes per U.S. Senator.

In Wisconsin, the Democratic State Administrative Committee decided to allocate the votes on the basis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ votes per district and the election of 5 delegates with $\frac{1}{2}$ vote each from each district (Time, 2/8/60). Thus, at the 1960 Democratic National Convention the Wisconsin delegation will have 31 votes and consist of 50 delegates elected by district, 10 delegates elected at-large, and the 2 Wisconsin members of the Democratic National Committee.

(b) Republican National Conventions*:

1904: This convention call is cited to show that the basic two-for-one formula predates the selection of delegates by popular election. Since the delegates were first chosen by election in 1908, it must be remembered that the references to "election" in the 1904 convention call relate to the selection of the delegate by the party conventions in the states. The 1904 convention call stated that the Republican National Convention "shall consist of a number of delegates-at-large from each State equal to double the number of United States Senators to which each State is entitled, and for each Representative-at-large in Congress, two delegates-at-large. From each Congressional district...two delegates... For each delegate elected to said Convention an alternate delegate shall be elected to act in case of the absence of the delegate, such alternate delegate to be elected at the time and in the manner of electing the delegate... All delegates shall be elected not less than thirty days before the meeting of the National Convention. Delegates-at-large shall be elected by popular State...Conventions, of which at least thirty days' notice shall have been published in some

*Unless otherwise indicated, all information was extracted from the published Proceedings of the Republican National Conventions of the years discussed.

newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the respective States... The Congressional district delegates shall be elected by conventions, called by the Congressional Committee of each district, in the manner of nominating the candidate for Representative in Congress in said district, provided that in any Congressional district where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall appoint from among the Republican residents in such district a committee for the purpose of calling a district convention to elect delegates to represent said district..."

1908: In this year, and 4 years prior to the first appearance of a similar notice in the call for the Democratic National Convention, the call to the Republican Convention added a proviso taking into account the primary election laws which had been adopted by some of the states. The basic allocation of votes and delegates formula remained as it had been in the call for the 1904 Republican National Convention.

The new clause of the 1908 Republican Convention call: "... provided, that delegates both from the State-at-large and their alternates and delegates from each Congressional district and their alternates, may be elected in conformity with the laws of the State in which the election occurs, provided, that the State Committee or any such Congressional Committee so direct; but provided, further, that in no case shall an election be so held as to prevent the delegates from any Congressional district and their alternates being selected by the Republican electors of said district..."

1912: There was no change in the allocation formula as it appeared in the 1912 convention call.

1916 and 1920: In 1916, a minimum vote requirement was introduced into the formula for allocation of district delegates; this minimum vote stipulation has never affected the Wisconsin delegations to the Republican National Conventions since the Republican district vote in the national elections has been consistently higher than the required minimum. Under the changed formula, the convention was to consist "of four delegates-at-large from each State, and two delegates-at-large for each Representative-at-large in Congress; one delegate from each Congressional district; an additional delegate for each Congressional district in which the vote for any Republican elector in 1908, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in 1914, shall not have been less than 7,500... All delegates from any state may, however, be chosen from the State at large, in the event that the law of the State in which the elections occur so provide..." The formula was maintained for the 1920 call to the Republican National Convention, but the elections of 1916 and 1918 were used to determine the allocation of a second district vote.

1924: In the call to the 1924 Republican National Convention, the Republican Party originated the principle of the allocation of bonus votes to states which had voted for the party's nominees in an important national election preceding the call. The same principle later appeared also in the calls to the Democratic National

Conventions of 1944 to 1956. In the 1924 call to the Republican National Convention the allocation of bonus votes was set at "three additional delegates-at-large from each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election." Wisconsin, having cast its electoral votes for Harding in 1920, qualified for the bonus votes and the size of its delegation was increased from 26 to 29.

The bonus vote clause remained, unchanged, part of the convention calls from 1924 to 1944; in the latter year the additional qualification: "or at the next succeeding election electing a Republican United States Senator" was appended to the bonus votes formula.

Also in the call to the 1924 Republican National Convention the number of votes required for each congressional district to qualify for the second district vote was raised from 7,500 to 10,000. It has remained at 10,000 in all Republican convention calls since that time.

1928: In the 1924 presidential elections, Wisconsin cast its electoral votes for the presidential candidacy of Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr. Although endorsed by the Wisconsin presidential preference primary on the Republican ticket, in the 1924 presidential elections LaFollette campaigned as a Progressive in opposition to the Republican nominee for the presidency, Calvin Coolidge. Thus, the electoral vote for LaFollette was an electoral vote against the Republican nominee, and at the 1928 Republican National Convention Wisconsin did not qualify for the 3 bonus votes.

1932: Unlike the Democratic call to the 1932 national convention, the call to the Republican National Convention of that year did not permit states to retain the number of votes at the convention which they had held prior to the congressional apportionment based on the 1930 census. Therefore, the number of district delegates from Wisconsin was reduced to 20. The at-large votes allocated on the basis of 2 for each U.S. Senator remained unchanged. In addition, Wisconsin was again entitled to allocation of the 3 bonus votes, having cast its electoral votes at the 1928 presidential elections for the Republican nominee, Herbert Hoover. Thus, at the 1932 Republican National Convention the Wisconsin delegation had 27 members.

1936 to 1944: In the presidential elections of 1932, 1936 and 1940 Wisconsin cast its electoral votes for the Democratic nominee, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Consequently, the Wisconsin delegation to the Republican National Conventions throughout this period did not qualify for the bonus votes allocated to states casting their electoral votes for the Republican nominees, and the Wisconsin delegations had 24 members.

In the 1944 convention call the blanket allocation of one vote to each district was abolished. Allocation of this first district vote was made dependent upon a minimum Republican vote of 1,000 in either the last preceding presidential or congressional election.

Allocation of the second district vote remained dependent upon a minimum vote in the district for the Republican presidential or congressional candidates of 10,000, as it had been since 1924.

1948: Casting its electoral vote in the 1944 elections for Thomas E. Dewey, Wisconsin again qualified for the 3 bonus at-large votes. The Wisconsin delegation to the Republican National Convention once again had 27 members.

1952: In the call for the 1952 Republican National Convention, the number of bonus votes was raised from 3 to 6. The allocation formula for the bonus votes was also changed to allow the allocation of bonus votes on the basis of a vote for Governor: "Six additional Delegates at Large from each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election. If any State fails to cast its electoral vote or a majority thereof for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding election and thereafter at the next succeeding election elects a Republican United States Senator or Governor, or in the event there is no election of a United States Senator, at such next succeeding election, if at the last election at which a United States Senator or Governor was elected, a Republican United States Senator or Governor was elected, then in such event such State shall be entitled to such additional Delegates at Large."

Although Wisconsin cast its electoral votes for Harry S. Truman in 1948, the state qualified for the 6 bonus at-large votes by reason of its election of a Republican Governor in 1948, Oscar Rennebohm, and a Republican U.S. Senator, Alexander Wiley, and a Republican Governor, Walter J. Kohler, Jr., in the elections of 1950. The 6 bonus at-large votes, plus the basic allocation of 20 district and 4 at-large votes, gave Wisconsin a delegation of 30 votes.

Maintaining the basic formula for the allocation of district delegates, the 1952 Republican convention call also made provision to reduce the number of delegates for those states which had lost in congressional representation on the basis of the 1950 congressional reapportionment, and to increase the delegations from those states which had gained in congressional representation.

1956 and 1960: The size of the Wisconsin delegation to the Republican National Convention remained unchanged. Wisconsin had qualified for the bonus at-large votes on the basis of its electoral vote for Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, and the only change in the basic allocation formula--raising the minimum required vote for the first district vote from 1,000 to 2,000--did not affect Wisconsin.

Alternates: Throughout the entire period from 1904 to 1960, the Republican convention calls have allowed the appointment of only one alternate for each elected delegate.

Women Delegates: Although the Republican Convention calls, unlike the Democratic Convention calls from 1924 to 1936, never

took specific note of the advent of woman suffrage by recommending the election of women delegates, there have been women alternates in all delegations from Wisconsin to the Republican National Conventions from 1924 on, and elected women delegates in the delegations since 1928.

ASSUMED VOTER PARTICIPATION IN WISCONSIN PARTY PRIMARIES

Although the spring election at which delegates to national political party conventions are chosen is popularly referred to as "the" presidential preference primary, it is actually made up of a number of separate presidential preference primaries held on the same day and at the same locations. It is the purpose of presidential preference primaries to select the state delegations to the national political party conventions; therefore, the elections are intraparty affairs and each voter can vote in the election of only one political party.

In Wisconsin, the presidential preference primaries are held on the first Tuesday of April in the years of presidential elections. The date on which the primaries are held coincides with that of the "spring elections" for nonpartisan public office (judicial elections, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, etc.). The Wisconsin presidential preference primary is an "open" primary--each voter is free to vote for the candidates in the election of the political party of his choice without having to disclose his preference to the election officials.

Throughout the entire history of the presidential preference primaries in Wisconsin, such elections have been held within the Democratic and the Republican Parties of Wisconsin. For a number of years, there were also primaries of the Prohibition Party. The Progressive movements, although very strong in Wisconsin, never held a national convention that would have necessitated the election of state delegates. The Progressive movement of the elder LaFollette remained part of the Republican Party of Wisconsin throughout the entire period, and the Progressive delegates elected over the opposing "stalwart Republican" delegates attended the national conventions of the Republican Party. The Progressive Party of the younger LaFollette did not hold a national convention.

Since no official list of voters is maintained in Wisconsin, the size of the electorate is unknown. Similarly, because the Wisconsin open primary does not require registration of voters by party preference, the division of the Wisconsin electorate by party preference also remains unknown. Certain deductions can, of course, be made from the election results. However, we have already mentioned that in the presidential preference primaries the Wisconsin voter for many years could cast several votes (the number corresponding to the number of positions to be filled), yet did not have to cast all of the votes to which he was entitled. On the basis of a number of assumptions explained in detail below, it can be concluded that there was the following relative division of the Wisconsin electorate in the presidential preference primaries since 1908:

Year	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WISCONSIN ELECTORATE AT THE PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARY*			POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF CANDIDATES ELECTED IN WISCONSIN GENERAL ELECTIONS		
	Dem. Primary	Proh. Primary	Rep. Primary	Presidential Electors	Governor	U.S. Senator
1908	26%	--	74%	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.
1912	31	2%	67	Dem.	Rep.	
1916	44	4	52	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.
1920	17	4	79	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.
1924	27	3	70	(Prog.)	Rep.	
1928	34	2	64	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.
1932	47	1	52	Dem.	Dem.	Dem.
1936	65	--	35	Dem.	(Prog.)	
1940	56	--	44	Dem.	Rep.	(Prog.)
1944	39	--	61	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.
1948	19	--	81	Dem.	Rep.	
1952	24	--	76	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.
1956	42	--	58	Rep.	Rep.	Rep.

*Percentages computed by the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library from the official reports of the Board of Canvassers on file in the office of Secretary of State.

(Prog.) - Candidate elected belonged to the Progressive faction of the Wisconsin Republican Party.

A comparison of the spring presidential preference primaries with the outcome of the general November elections of the same years reveals that the results of the primaries are not necessarily indicative of the outcome of the general elections, and that the relative strength of the 2 major political parties in Wisconsin fluctuates considerably. Thus, while the Republican Party showed a small majority in the presidential preference primary of 1932, the Democratic Party in the November elections of 1932 captured the state vote for President, Governor and U.S. Senator. In 1936, the Democratic Party held a sizable majority at the time of the spring primary, but nevertheless lost the governorship to the Progressive wing of the Republican Party in the November elections.

METHOD OF COMPUTING ASSUMED VOTER PARTICIPATION

(a) The Problems in General

A few simple examples will illustrate the difficulties confronting an attempt analytically to deduct voter participation from the election results of Wisconsin presidential preference primaries. In 2 imaginary presidential preference primaries, the votes cast were distributed as follows:

Election I: One candidate received absolute majority	
Candidate	Vote
Alpha	534
Beta	148
Gamma	221
Delta	97
Total	1,000

Election II: No candidate received absolute majority	
Candidate	Vote
Alpha	434
Beta	148
Gamma	221
Delta	197
Total	1,000

We assume that in both elections each voter was entitled to cast one vote only; i.e. with all the candidates competing against each other for the same office, each voter could vote for only one of the candidates. Some ballots, marked improperly, would not have been counted, but we recognize on the basis of the 1,000 valid votes cast in each case that in each of the 2 elections at least 1,000 voters participated in the election.

The situation is quite different, however, if we assume that the 2 fictitious elections represent the result of district delegate elections or elections for delegates-at-large. Under the allocation of district delegates in force for most of the period from 1908 to 1960, each district would elect 2 delegates to the national conventions of each political party. In this case, each voter may (but might not) cast a number of votes corresponding to the number of the positions to be filled (2, in most of the elections for district delegates; 4, in many of the elections for delegates-at-large).

Using the example of Election I as an illustration of a primary in which 2 district delegates were elected, the total of 1,000 votes cast might lead us to believe that 500 voters participated in the election. However, since pyramiding of votes is not permitted in political elections, we must logically conclude from the 534 votes received by candidate Alpha that at least 534 voters participated. In other words, it appears in the case of Election I that at least 534 voters participated in the election, and that 68 of these did not avail themselves of their opportunities to vote for 2 of the candidates. Had this example (Election I) been an election of delegates-at-large calling for the election of 4 delegates, the result would be the same; we would still logically have to conclude that at least 534 voters participated in the election. But, the number of voters participating in this election might have been considerably larger, as many voters might have failed to utilize more than one or 2 of their votes.

However, where we are confronted with election results as illustrated by Election II, we must use an arithmetical computation to achieve our estimate of the number of voters participating in the election. In this case (no candidate having received an absolute majority) we must assume that the voters participating in the election distributed their votes in various combinations among the several candidates.

Thus, if this is an election which called for the election of 2 district delegates, we can only assume that the 1,000 votes cast represent the 2 votes cast by each of 500 voters. However, if the election called for the election of 4 delegates-at-large, it would be erroneous to assume that the 1,000 votes cast represented the 4 votes cast by each of the 250 voters: candidate Alpha, receiving 434 votes, received a number of votes considerably in excess of our arithmetical assumption and again we must utilize the logical rather than the arithmetical estimate. In other words, since candidate Alpha received 434 votes, the number of voters participating in this presidential preference primary could not have been 250, but must have been at least 434, and could have been considerably larger.

(b) Wisconsin Presidential Preference Primaries 1908 to 1948

Candidates for the positions of delegate to the national conventions of the political parties were candidates in their own name. In other words, election was not by slate in the name of the individual aspirant to the national nomination, but for each delegate-candidate individually. Delegate-candidates could, from 1912 to 1949, identify themselves in the minds of the voters by the publication on the ballot of a "principle" or the name of a particular aspirant to the presidential nomination. However, regardless of how many delegates identified themselves with the same principle, election was never "en bloc", but in each case the voter had to mark his ballot for each one of the delegate candidates for which he wished to cast his votes. Thus, the situation corresponds to the situation in our imaginary elections above: in each case where one of the candidates received an absolute majority, or where the number of candidates corresponds to the number of positions to be filled, we must logically assume that the number of voters participating in the election corresponds to (or is perhaps somewhat larger than) the number of votes received by the delegate-candidate receiving the highest number.

An example of this is the contest for district delegate in the Democratic presidential preference primary of 1948 in the First Congressional District of Wisconsin. The total vote cast was 9,763, of which 8,757 votes were cast for Beck, 586 for Flynn, 182 for Kamper, and 238 scattering. All candidates named were on the ballot identified as committed to the candidacy of incumbent President Truman. Now, although each voter in the Democratic presidential preference primary had 2 votes to cast for district delegates, it stands to reason that the voter participation in the First Congressional District must have been at least 8,757, the number of votes cast for the candidate receiving the highest number.

In many of the Wisconsin presidential preference primaries from 1912 to 1948 the voters could, in addition to voting for a certain number of delegates, also express their preference for one of the aspirants to the nominations for President and Vice President. Often, this presidential preference was expressed only on the basis of written-in votes; however, where the names of the individual nomination aspirants actually were printed on the ballot the number of votes cast in this popularity contest affords a somewhat more accurate estimate of the number of voters participating in the particular election because each voter had only one vote to vote for only one of the nomination aspirants.

In many cases, our figure for assumed voter participation in the table which follows was deducted from the logical assumptions or arithmetical computations based on the votes cast in the election of delegates to the national conventions of the political parties. In other cases, the assumptions were made on the basis of the votes cast in the popularity contest among the several aspirants to the party nominations for President. In some instances, the totals cited are a composite of both.

An example of the latter is the figure cited for assumed voter participation in the presidential preference primary of 1940. Our

computations lead us to the assumption that at least 761,760 voters participated in the party primaries of that year (776,306 voted in the simultaneous popular referendum on the "Teachers' Tenure Law"). This conclusion is based on the fact that in the Democratic presidential preference primary 429,203 votes were cast (including scattering) in the presidential preference contest. In this instance, each voter had only one vote. In the Republican primary, on the other hand, only 101,990 votes were cast for presidential preference, while a total of 1,330,255 votes, including scattering, were cast for the 8 delegate-at-large candidates. Each voter could vote for 4 of these candidates so that, in order to come to a reasonable estimate of the voter participation in the Republican presidential preference primary of 1940, we must divide 1,330,255 (number of votes cast) by 4 (number of possible votes per voter) for a result of 332,557. If we recall that the presidential preference vote was only 101,990, it becomes obvious that quite a few voters participated in the Republican presidential preference primary of 1940 who did not vote in the presidential preference popularity contest since it appears from the delegates-at-large contest that at least 332,557 voters participated in the election.

(c) Wisconsin Presidential Preference Primaries Since 1952

Based on the revision of the presidential preference primary law by Chapter 406, Laws of 1949, candidates for the positions of delegate, to the national political conventions, both at-large and district, are now listed on the ballot by slate. The voter marks his ballot under the name of the particular aspirant to the presidential nomination; this one mark indicates both the voter's presidential preference and his vote for the entire slate of candidates.

In theory, the present Wisconsin primary law still permits the election of "uninstructed" delegates. However, in the 2 presidential preference primaries since the adoption of the 1949 law (4 elections if each party is counted separately), only one man has been a candidate for election as "uninstructed" delegate (John Wm. Hansen, 5th Congr. Dist., Rep. primary, April 1952) and his bid was unsuccessful. Aside from this one instance, the number of voters in presidential preference primaries, disregarding a small number of ballots which might have been cast invalidly, corresponds under the present system to the number of votes cast, and the state-wide total of votes for district delegates corresponds to the state total of votes for delegates-at-large.

Thus, the total vote cast in the Republican presidential preference primary of 1956, in the state-wide contest for delegates-at-large, was 455,832. Since the vote was by slate, the state-wide total of votes for district delegates was also 455,832. It follows that we must assume the voter participation in this election to have been 455,832; it might have been somewhat larger because of the possibility of a small number of ballots cast invalidly.

(d) Control Figure (State-Wide Nonpartisan Election)

The presidential preference primaries in Wisconsin are held simultaneously with the nonpartisan spring elections. For

this reason, votes cast in any state-wide contest other than the election of delegates-at-large or in the popularity contest among the several aspirants to the presidential nomination supply a convenient yardstick by which we can measure the accuracy of our computations concerning assumed voter participation in presidential preference primaries. In only 3 cases (1912, 1928, 1948) was there no nonpartisan state-wide contest at the spring elections. In a number of other instances, several state-wide nonpartisan issues were submitted to the electorate; here we used the highest vote cast in any one of these simultaneous nonpartisan contests as our control vote. For example, the 1940 vote in the referendum on the "Teachers' Tenure Law" was 776,306; since the number of votes cast in the simultaneous referendum on "Installment Payment of Real Estate Taxes" was only 665,779 we used the higher vote of the "Teachers' Tenure" referendum for our control figure.

Based on the control figures obtained from the nonpartisan elections held at the same time as the presidential preference primaries, it appears that our estimates of "assumed voter participation", for the presidential preference primaries 1912 to 1948, are from 2% to 21% below the number of voters who actually went to the polls in these elections. On the other hand, in the presidential preference primaries of 1952 and 1956 (each voter cast only one vote for one slate of delegates) the voter participation in the partisan presidential preference primaries was 6% and 11%, respectively, higher than the voter participation in the nonpartisan contests.

April Election	Voter Participation in Nonpartisan Contest	Assumed Voter Participation in Presidential Preference Primary	Deviation (Nonpartisan Contest equals 100%)
1908	234,496 ^a	216,417	-8%
1912	n.a.	269,971	n.a.
1916	300,806 ^a	249,924	-17%
1920	263,976 ^b	242,091	-8%
1924	439,871 ^b	345,910	-21%
1928	n.a.	406,715	n.a.
1932	668,222 ^c	527,803	-21%
1936	746,348 ^a	615,003	-18%
1940	776,306 ^c	761,760	-2%
1944	513,853 ^a	459,470	-11%
1948	n.a.	699,298	n.a.
1952	918,406	1,018,314	plus 11%
1956	740,382	786,497	plus 6%

^aVote for Supreme Court Justice.

^bVote on constitutional amendment.

^cVote in state-wide referendum.

n.a. - "Not applicable" (no other state-wide contest at this election).

Source: Actual figures from the reports of the Board of Canvassers on file in the office of the Secretary of State; computations of assumed voter participation in the presidential preference primaries by Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library.

LRL-R-128

NUMBER OF VOTERS IN WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES: SPECIFIC BREAKDOWN

The pages which follow give a breakdown of all the data on which the preceding computations have been based, by primary election and within each election separately for each political party.

In addition, the data for each individual primary contains the names of the aspirants for presidential nomination which were entered in the contests, and the number of votes received by each, and the average or highest vote received by delegates-at-large committed to a particular candidate or principle.

A separate table contains data on the assumed voter participation in the district contests for district delegates for each presidential preference primary. The totals from these contests provide an additional basis of comparison.

All computations were made by the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library based on the official election reports of the Board of Canvassers, on file in the office of the Secretary of State.

ALL PARTIES COMBINED			PARTY PRIMARIES			PREFERENCE VOTE		DELEGATES-AT-LARGE			DISTRICT DELEGATES
Year	Control Vote	Total Assumed Voters	Party	Total Assumed Voters	Per cent of All Parties	Total or Candidate	Votes	Votes Cast -Delegates-	Total or Candidate	Assumed Voters	Assumed Voters
1908	234,496 Supreme Court	216,417	Dem.	56,292*	26.01	n.a.		205,414 --4--	total uninstructed	56,292* 56,292*	46,696
			Rep.	160,125	73.98	n.a.		640,501 --4--	total uninstructed	160,125 160,125	147,424
1912	none	269,971	Dem.	82,557	30.57	total Wilson Clark	82,557 45,945 36,464	289,965 --4--	total uninstructed	72,491 72,491	65,504
(1911)	159,418 Supreme Court		Proh.	5,275	1.95	total Chafin Stewart	5,275 2,808 2,443	17,582 --4--	total uninstructed	4,395 4,395	3,788
(1913)	236,514 State Supt.		Rep.	182,139	67.46	total LaFollette Taft Roosevelt	182,139 133,354 47,514 628	651,295 --4--	total LaFollette uninstructed	162,823 118,677 44,143	148,520
1916	300,806 Supreme Court	249,924	Dem.	109,693	43.89	total Wilson	109,693 109,462	331,280 --4--	total Wilson	82,820 82,820	73,700
			Proh.	9,297	3.71	total Ferguson Sulzer	9,297 4,886 4,393	30,149 --4--	total uninstructed	7,537 7,537	3,717
			Rep.	130,934	52.38	total LaFollette	111,399 110,052	523,738 --4--	total LaFollette	130,934 130,934	114,492

NUMBER OF VOTERS IN WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES--Continued

ALL PARTIES COMBINED			PARTY PRIMARIES			PREFERENCE VOTE		DELEGATES-AT-LARGE			DISTRICT DELEGATES					
Year	Control Vote	Total Assumed Voters	Party	Total Assumed Voters	Per cent of All Parties	Total or Candidate	Votes	Votes Cast -Delegates-	Total or Candidate	Assumed Voters	Assumed Voters					
1920	263,976 Const'l Amdt.	242,091	Dem.	40,887*	16.88	total	3,467	156,569	total	40,887*	37,199					
						Bryan	1,570	--4--	uninstructed	40,887*						
						LaFollette	522									
						Wilson	229									
						Hoover	99									
			Proh.	9,265	3.82	total	9,265	27,874	total	7,018*	6,704					
												Randall	4,745	--4--	uninstructed	7,018*
												Calderwood	4,456			
			Rep.	191,939	79.28	total	30,099	767,796	total	191,939	167,121					
												LaFollette	15,876	--4--	LaFollette	112,161
												Wood	4,505		uninstructed	79,778
												Hoover	3,910			
Johnson	2,413															
1924	439,871 Const'l Amdt.	345,910	Dem.	94,560	27.33	total	80,523	378,241	total	94,560	83,050					
						McAdoo	54,922	--4--	Smith	54,360						
						Reed	19,495		McAdoo	40,195						
						Smith	5,774									
			Proh.	8,926	2.58	total	8,926	29,239	total	7,437*	4,400					
												Howard	6,271	--4--	uninstructed	7,437*
												Faris	2,622			
			Rep.	242,424	70.08	total	65,161	1,696,970	total	242,424	196,159					
												LaFollette	40,738	--7--	LaFollette	187,501
												Coolidge	23,324		Coolidge	54,903
												Johnson	411			

(More)

NUMBER OF VOTERS IN WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES--Continued

ALL PARTIES COMBINED			PARTY PRIMARIES			PREFERENCE VOTE		DELEGATES-AT-LARGE			DISTRICT DELEGATES
Year	Control Vote	Total Assumed Voters	Party	Total Assumed Voters	Per cent of All Parties	Total or Candidate	Votes	Votes Cast -Delegates-	Total or Candidate	Assumed Voters	Assumed Voters
1928	none	406,715	Dem.	137,871	33.89	total	82,826	551,486	total	137,871	111,114
						Reed	61,097	--4--	Smith	118,809	
						Smith	20,663		Walsh	19,058	
						Walsh	552				
(1927	308,885)		Proh.	11,165	2.11	total	11,165	34,423	total	8,605	5,648
	Supreme Court					Randall	6,303	--4--	uninstructed	8,605	
(1929	379,698)		Rep.	260,239	63.98	total	186,922	1,040,957	total	260,239	240,296
	Supreme Court					Norris	162,822	--4--	Progressives	142,018	
						Hoover	17,659		Stalwarts	118,214	
						Lowden	3,302				
						Coolidge	680				
						Dawes	565				
1932	668,222 Referendum	527,803	Dem.	246,771	46.75	total	246,771	1,380,363	total	230,046	184,047
						Roosevelt	241,742	--6--	Roosevelt	130,422	
						Smith	3,502		CL-P-PI**	82,476	
									Lab.Farm.Wet (102,936*)		
			Proh.	6,929	1.31	total	6,929	35,749	total	5,952	694
						Hendrickson	6,910	--6--	uninstructed	5,952	
			Rep.	274,103	51.93	total	148,051	1,918,946	total	274,103	228,731
						Norris	139,514	--7--	Progressives	142,949	
						Hoover	6,588		Stalwarts	131,154	
1936	746,348 Supreme Court	615,003	Dem.	402,011	65.36	total	402,011	1,286,281	total	321,565	282,455
						Roosevelt	401,773	--4--	conference endorsed	223,926	
						Garner	108		uninstructed	97,639	
						Smith	46				
			Rep.	212,992	34.63	total	191,466	851,972	total	212,992	199,121
						Borah	187,334	--4--	Borah	116,499	
						Landon	3,360		uninstructed	96,493	

(More)

ALL PARTIES COMBINED			PARTY PRIMARIES			PREFERENCE VOTE		DELEGATES-AT-LARGE			DI STRICT
Year	Control Vote	Total Assumed Voters	Party	Total Assumed Voters	Per cent of All Parties	Total or Candidate	Votes	Votes Cast -Delegates-	Total or Candidate	Assumed Voters	DELEGATES Assumed Voters
1940	776,306 Referendum	761,760	Dem.	429,203	56.34	total	429,203	1,393,007	total	348,245	306,154
						Roosevelt	322,991	--4--	Roosevelt conference endorsed	124,697	
						Garner	105,662		Garner	124,213	
			Rep.	332,557	43.65	total	101,990	1,330,255	total	332,557	320,158
						Dewey	70,168	--4--	Dewey	203,784	
						Vandenberg	26,182		Vandenberg	124,773	
						Taft	341		uninstructed	(23,737*)	
1944	513,853 Supreme Court	459,470	Dem.	179,005	38.95	total	52,646	1,074,175	total	179,005	149,126
						Roosevelt	49,632	--6--	Roosevelt	145,890	
									uninstructed	33,114	
			Rep.	280,465	61.04	total	141,131	1,122,028	total	280,465	257,839
						MacArthur	102,421	--4--	Dewey	129,607	
						Dewey	21,036		MacArthur	72,182	
						Stassen	7,928		Stassen	62,878	
						Willkie	6,439		Willkie	48,196	
1948	none	699,298	Dem.	130,685	18.68	total	30,321	1,045,485	total	130,685	122,598
						Truman	25,415	--8--	Truman	130,683	
(1947	627,088)		Rep.	568,613	81.31	total	162,750	3,980,296	total	568,613	499,281
	Supreme Court					Stassen	64,076	--7--	Stassen	228,400	
(1949	633,606)					MacArthur	55,302		MacArthur	203,197	
	Supreme Court					Dewey	40,943		Dewey	137,015	

(More)

ALL PARTIES COMBINED			PARTY PRIMARIES			PREFERENCE VOTE		DELEGATES-AT-LARGE			DISTRICT DELEGATES
Year	Control Vote	Total Assumed Voters	Party	Total Assumed Voters	Per cent of All Parties	Total or Candidate	Votes	Votes Cast -Delegates-	Total or Candidate	Assumed Voters	Assumed Voters
1952	918,406 Supreme Court	1,018,314	Dem.	241,525*	23.71	total (vote for candidate- committed slates of delegates)	241,525	241,525 (-16-)	total Kefauver Fox Broughton	241,525* 207,520* 18,322* 15,683*	241,525*
			Rep.	776,789*	76.28	total (vote for candidate- committed slates of delegates)	776,624	776,624 (-10-)	total Taft Warren Stassen Ritter Stearns	776,624* 315,541* 262,271* 169,679* 26,208* 2,925*	776,789*
1956	740,382 Supreme Court	786,497	Dem.	330,665*	42.04	total (vote for candidate- committed slates of delegates)	330,665	330,665 (-16-)	total Kefauver	330,665* 330,665*	330,665*
			Rep.	455,832*	57.95	total (vote for candidate- committed slates of delegates)	455,832	455,832 (-10-)	total Eisenhower Chapple	455,832* 437,089* 18,743*	455,832*

NOTE: In the "Delegates-at-Large" column the figure "votes cast" denotes actual votes cast; the figure "-delegates-" denotes the number of delegates each voter was entitled to vote for.

*Asterisk denotes actual figure (highest vote).

**"Courageous Leadership - Prosperity - Personal Liberty".

n.a. - Not applicable.

NUMBER OF VOTERS IN WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES -- Continued

ALL PARTIES COMBINED			PARTY PRIMARIES			PREFERENCE VOTE		DELEGATES-AT-LARGE			DISTRICTS DELEGATES
Year	Control Vote	Total Assumed Voters	Party	Total Assumed Voters	Per cent of All Parties	Total or Candidate	Votes	Votes Cast -Delegates-	Total or Candidate	Assumed Voters	Assumed Voters
1960	923,222 Constitutional Amendment	1,182,160*	Dem.	842,777*	71.29	total	842,777	842,777 (-12-)	total	842,777	842,777*
						(vote for candidate- committed slate of delegates)			Kennedy Humphrey	476,024 366,753	
			Rep.	339,383*	28.71	total	339,383	339,383 (-10-)	total	339,383	339,383*
						(vote for candidate- committed slate of delegates)			Nixon	339,383	
1964	1,046,342 Supreme Court	1,088,153	Dem.	788,541*	72.47	total	788,541	788,541 (-20-)	total	788,541	788,541*
						(vote for candidate- committed slate of delegates)			Reynolds Wallace	522,405 266,136	
			Rep.	299,612*	27.53	total	299,612	299,612 (-10-)	total	299,612	299,612*
						(vote for candidate- committed slate of delegates)			Byrnes	299,612	

ASSUMED NUMBER OF VOTERS VOTING FOR DISTRICT DELEGATES IN WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES

Computed by Wisconsin Legislative Reference Library from the official reports of the Board of
Canvassers, on file in the office of the Wisconsin Secretary of State, March 1960

Year	Party	State Total	1st District	2nd District	3rd District	4th District	5th District	6th District	7th District	8th District	9th District	10th District	11th District
1908	Dem.	46,696	3,967*	4,803*	3,423*	4,207*	4,084*	6,737*	3,699*	3,769*	3,984*	4,752*	3,271*
	Rep.	147,424	13,677	11,536	11,648	15,607	15,896	10,769	10,506	14,128	12,013	18,045	13,599
1912	Dem.	65,504	3,967	10,594	9,115	5,708	6,354	6,574	4,664	4,885	6,567	3,629	3,477
	Proh.	3,788	439	260	527	171*	131	207	410	339	419	395	490
	Rep.	148,520	13,616	11,389	15,392	11,513	16,901	11,437	13,583	11,875	14,915	14,972	12,927
1916	Dem.	73,700	7,396*	7,565*	7,295*	9,135	9,670*	5,337*	4,578*	4,850*	7,576*	5,177*	5,121*
	Proh.	3,717	705*	--	604*	403	381	--	634*	485*	--	505*	--
	Rep.	114,492	11,548	9,284	11,156	7,866	12,806	9,594	10,498	12,186	9,856	9,898	9,800
1920	Dem.	37,199	3,696*	3,263*	3,547*	5,840*	5,280*	2,876*	1,839*	2,590*	3,787*	2,156*	2,325*
	Proh.	6,704	858*	553*	800*	374*	355*	467*	671*	512*	663*	606*	845*
	Rep.	167,121	13,072	15,529	16,944	12,739	19,383	14,415	13,756	14,786	16,488	14,333	15,676
1924	Dem.	83,050	6,921	7,943	7,218	14,174	13,360	6,154	4,778	5,226	7,374	4,020	5,882
	Proh.	4,400	640*	--	1,081*	509*	--	10	699*	--	637*	727*	997*
	Rep.	196,159	26,120	17,410	14,831*	16,974	27,149	19,556	11,947*	17,102	17,031	12,245*	15,794
1928	Dem.	111,114	10,051	9,934	8,894*	17,653	17,215	9,498	5,646*	6,356*	12,828	5,600	7,439*
	Proh.	5,648	660*	4	879*	702*	--	3	695*	613	652	733*	707
	Rep.	240,296	23,187	22,683	28,575	15,759	20,370	20,174	19,024	20,311	21,290	22,640	26,283
1932	Dem.	184,047	14,901	18,549	12,740	29,213	26,577	21,191	16,543	19,748	11,153	14,432	
	Proh.	694	627*	--	45	--	--	--	6	4	5	7	
	Rep.	228,731	25,231	31,292	25,355	17,773	23,037	17,532	21,332	21,387	21,205	24,587	
1936	Dem.	282,455	20,600*	29,534*	15,789*	56,620	50,160	22,421*	22,173	26,249	16,480	22,429	
	Rep.	199,121	20,718	22,963	20,484	15,431	21,412	18,656	20,589	18,595	21,319	18,954	
1940	Dem.	306,154	20,509	31,915	18,601	62,881	53,953	22,577	22,909	28,412	18,472	25,925	
	Rep.	320,158	30,101	33,203	29,403	32,083	43,244	32,515	31,750	32,176	30,631	25,052	

Abolished by
Congressional
Reapportionment

ASSUMED NUMBER OF VOTERS VOTING FOR DISTRICT DELEGATES IN WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES--Cont.

Year	Party	State Total	1st District	2nd District	3rd District	4th District	5th District	6th District	7th District	8th District	9th District	10th District	11th District
1944	Dem.	149,126	12,446	16,859	7,547	34,935	29,239	9,334	10,727	11,635*	7,561	8,843*	Abolished by Congressional Reapportionment
	Rep.	257,839	18,332	33,643	16,779	28,015	36,535	15,730	25,490	29,991	34,369	19,055	
1948	Dem.	122,598	8,757*	12,731	5,508*	29,501	22,863	9,406	7,992	11,277	6,329*	8,594*	
	Rep.	499,281	50,516	54,970	40,164	64,749	79,144	47,250	42,083	49,493	37,489	33,423	
1952	Dem.	241,525*	27,081*	22,806*	12,222*	51,733*	39,278*	20,832*	17,722*	20,998*	12,792*	16,061*	
	Rep.	776,789*	83,081*	96,828*	72,073*	89,191*	98,182*	78,412*	67,717*	85,363*	54,971*	50,971*	
1956	Dem.	330,665*	31,298*	39,796*	19,346*	62,436*	56,952*	27,626*	20,807*	24,428*	24,185*	23,791*	
	Rep.	455,832*	45,922*	55,117*	28,647*	71,652*	82,988*	45,064*	32,552*	42,759*	27,817*	23,314*	

*An asterisk denotes an actual figure rather than a computed estimate. Such actual figures were derived either from the votes cast for the candidate receiving the highest number, or from the votes cast for a candidate-committed slate of delegates.

ASSUMED NUMBER OF VOTERS VOTING FOR DISTRICT DELEGATES IN WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES --

Continued

Year	Party	State Total	1st District	2nd District	3rd District	4th District	5th District	6th District	7th District	8th District	9th District	10th District	11th District
1960	Dem.	842,777*	80,731*	104,027*	63,549*	131,342*	115,030*	71,541*	66,441*	82,315*	67,664*	60,137*	
	Rep.	339,383*	39,048*	48,094*	27,912*	32,054*	40,161*	39,998*	32,438*	36,699*	23,423*	19,556*	
1964	Dem.	788,541*	73,171*	77,057*	61,813*	109,899*	87,562*	76,024*	67,745*	66,621*	98,292*	70,357*	
	Rep.	299,612*	29,972*	35,114*	30,917*	18,131*	14,929*	32,811*	37,238*	40,323*	34,055*	26,122*	

Abolished by
Congressional
Reapportionment

Wisconsin's presidential preference primary procedures were considerably altered by Chapter 90, Laws of 1967. Under this law, a bipartisan committee of 11 shall determine the known candidates for president who shall then be included on the ballot (unless they officially decline).

A voter may "write-in" a selection or vote against those candidates listed on the ballot.

The act also provides for procedures relating to delegates to the national convention including:

1. The procedure by which they will be appointed.
2. A pledge which each must sign indicating the procedures to be followed when voting (unless released by the candidate, according to primary election on the first ballot and on each subsequent ballot, until the candidate fails to get 1/3 of the convention votes).

*Asterisk denotes actual figure (highest vote).