

COMMUNICATION IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT  
POLITICS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
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George A. Hough, 3rd  
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COMMUNICATION IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT POLITICS

A Study of the Third Congressional  
District of Wisconsin

By

George A. Hough, 3rd

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the College of Communication Arts  
Michigan State University of Agriculture and  
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

College of Communication Arts

1958



George A. Hough, 3rd

This study was undertaken in the hope that some light could be shed on the consistently one-sidedness of Congressional elections in Wisconsin's Third Congressional District.

The study relies on both historical data and an analysis of the most recent Congressional election, that of 1956.

The study as completed includes a compilation of voting in Congressional, Gubernatorial and Presidential elections in the various counties in the district since 1848.

To supplement these bare bones of history, a lengthy chapter discusses the candidates and political fortunes of the district during the period 1848-1956.

And to set the stage for analysis of the 1956 campaign and discussion of recent political problems, the demographic and economic conditions of the 1950s are reviewed.

In an effort to test the theory that "personal influence" plays a part in communicating ideas, two levels of political activity were examined.

One was the county. Here competition for county office during the period 1932-1956 was tabulated and analyzed.

The other was the Congressional district. Here the 1956 Congressional campaign was studied.

Analysis of competition for county office during this period showed that there was a relationship between: (1) the number of candidates belonging to the minority party, in this case the Democratic party, who sought county offices; and (2) the percentage of the vote for Congress which fell

George A. Hough, 3rd

to the minority party.

Since the Democrats won few county offices, and their level of campaign activity appeared to have a relationship with their party's Congressional vote, it might be hypothesized that political activity itself is a stimulus to voter interest.

Close study of the 1956 campaign served to show the importance of the Congressional candidate to the state party. The active, hard-campaigning candidate acts as a catalyst in politics, bringing diverse groups at various levels into close cooperation and helping to concentrate his party's campaign at a point meaningful to the voter.

Findings of the study may not be conclusive, but they are suggestive of the importance of the Congressional election to political success at other levels.

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All voting is a sort of gaming, like  
checkers or backgammon. — Thoreau.

## PREFACE

This study grew out of the writer's long-time interest in Wisconsin politics.

As a student at the University of Wisconsin from 1939 to 1943, the writer saw first-hand the decline and dissolution of the Progressive party. Later, from 1950 to 1957, as editor and publisher of the Vernon County Censor at Viroqua and as managing editor of the Grant County Independent at Lancaster, the writer had further opportunity to observe and participate in Wisconsin political affairs.

Wisconsin has been a Republican state for more than 100 years. In the 1930s and 1940s, however, the Democrats enjoyed some success in Presidential elections. Roosevelt carried the state in 1932, 1936, and 1940; Truman carried the state in 1948. But helpful as this was to the national party, the Wisconsin Democrats were not successful at the state or county level.

After electing a Governor and winning control of the Legislature in 1932 Wisconsin Democrats were elbowed aside by the Progressives and Republicans.

In the Third Congressional district in southwestern Wisconsin the Democratic party has had little success in county elections. The district hasn't elected a Democratic Congressman since 1906.

The problem on which the writer hopes to shed some light is, simply, why can't Democrats win elections in the Third Congressional district?

Aside from this personal interest in the problem there are a number of scholarly reasons for attempting a detailed study of a Congressional district and these will be dealt with more fully in Chapter I.

This study could not have been undertaken nor completed without the help of a number of persons among whom were:

Dr. Gordon A. Sabine, Dean of the College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, who encouraged the writer to undertake graduate study; Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean Jr., of the Communications Research Center in the College of Communication Arts, who shares the writer's interest in Wisconsin politics and has guided the writer's study of communications; Dr. Ralph M. Goldman, whose enthusiasm for party politics and skill in research into party politics enabled the writer to plan and carry out the compilation and analysis of election data found in the **Appendices**.

Another who has contributed much to this study is the writer's wife, Mary Lu, who helped with the field research and has been of great assistance in preparing the manuscript and



putting it into final form.

The writer also wishes to acknowledge the interest and assistance of Charles F. Dahl, Third District chairman of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin; Norman M. Clapp, former publisher of the **Grant** County Independent and in 1956 and 1958 the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Third district; Gage Roberts, director of elections and records, in the office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin; Miss Mary Armstrong and the staff at the Cass branch of the Michigan State Library, Lansing, Michigan; and Elmer E. White, of the Michigan Press Association, East Lansing, Michigan.

East Lansing, Michigan  
November 15, 1958

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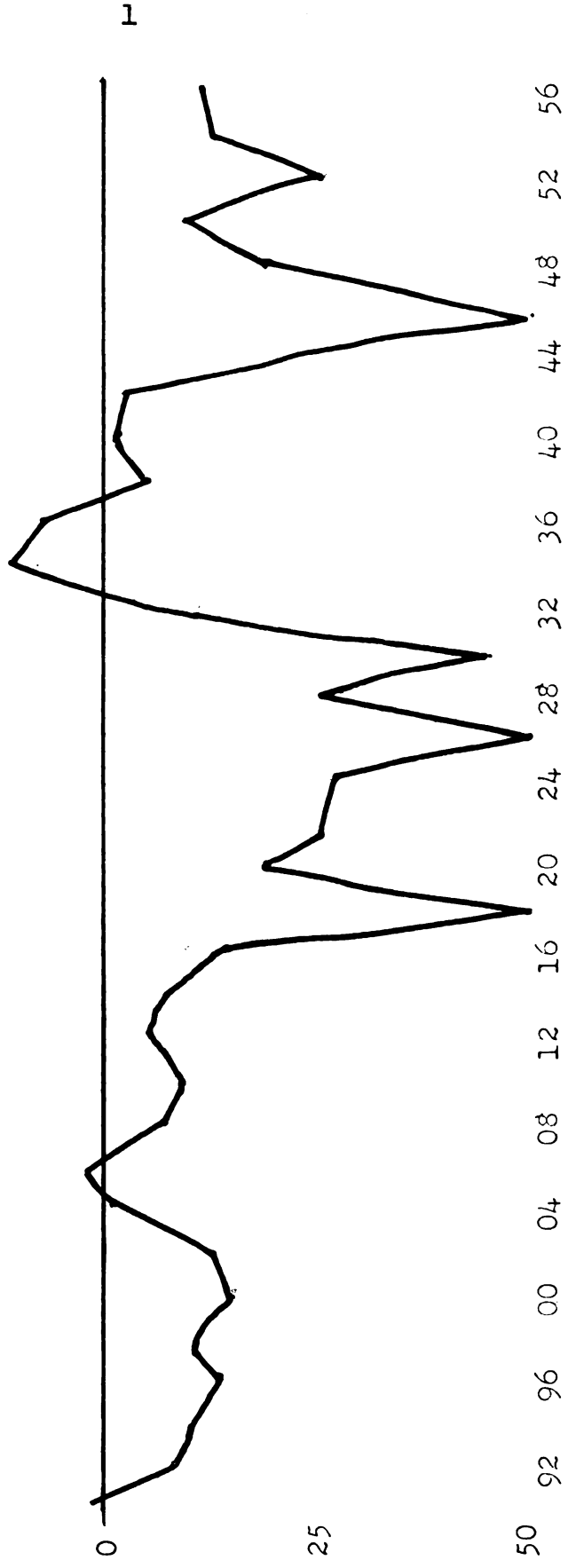
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FRONTISPIECE -- Stalemate index in Congressional elections in the Third Congressional district 1890 to 1956.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The literature of politics is already immense. The subject has been treated historically, biographically, and statistically. Political scientists, sociologists, and social psychologists as well as adherents to other disciplines have attempted to find out how voting behavior has come about, what it is now, and what it may be in the future.

Research has been directed in large part at politics and parties as a national phenomenon. Some election studies have been directed at politics at the state level or locally within cities or precincts.

This study is intended to fall somewhere in between and explore an area to which not nearly enough attention has been paid: the Congressional district.

It is the contention of the writer that the Congressional candidate has one foot in national and state politics and the other in local politics; that voting in Congressional districts is swayed by both local and national influences.

#### Literature of Politics and Voting

The literature of politics, voting, and elections is not entirely satisfactory when it comes to Congressional districts and Congressional elections.



1 - Most of the behavioral studies have been focussed on voting behavior, public opinoin, and the mass media as part of the quadrennial phenomenon of Presidential elections. Such studies as The People's Choice (91), Voting (81), and The Voter Decides (83), have concentrated on the unusual influences of Presidential elections and have ignored the more usual influences of state, Congressional district, and local politics.

There is no question that the American voter takes more interest in Presidential elections than in other elections—that of the local school board, for instance. A mere glance at the total vote cast in Presidential and mid-term elections confirms this.

But what of voting behavior in other elections? In the Third district, for example, since 1932 voters have cast their ballots for only seven Presidential candidates, but they have voted 14 times for Congressional candidates, and more locally they have voted for more than 100 candidates for county office.

2 - Some effort has been made to study Congressional elections but these studies have either been too broad or too narrow.

Malcolm Moos (94) has analyzed Congressional elections in the light of their influence on Presidential elections or, in reverse, the influence the Presidential candidate has on the election of Congressional candidates. Cortez A. M. Ewing (87) analyzed Congressional elections as national or sectional phenomena.

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Other studies have been attempts to generalize about Congressional voting, as in O. C. Fress' study of mid-term elections (113) or quite narrow behavioral studies of a few precincts, a city, or a single county (108).

It appears then that in the study of elections and voter behavior that the Congressional district, considered as a political entity, is a relatively unexplored area.

### Election Statistics

In this type of voting study — or any others, for that matter — one of the major tasks facing political scientists is the collection and preservation of election records.

Villon's poetic inquiry about the snows of yesteryear might well be asked about the records of votes cast last week, last year, or years ago.

And a satisfactory answer would not be forthcoming. For despite the importance of elections to the American people we have been all too careless about preserving the evidence of the election. Voting records are scattered, fragmentary, incomplete and often missing.

Even when records have been meticulously preserved they are confusing because they record only the institutionalized version of the election and not the actual account of what took place.

This can readily be seen in old records which record the

names and vote for Presidential electors, but not the name or party of the candidate to whom the electors were pledged; or election records which list the names of candidates often representing obscure or ephemeral factions, without identifying their party or factional label.

Such records preserve the institutional version of elections but certainly not the real facts of elections as they are known by the American people.

There are a number of sources available to the student of elections. First, of course, are the original records with all the drawbacks already mentioned. Second, are the unofficial newspaper accounts of elections, which usually lack some accuracy because newspapers are more interested in the outcome than in exact detail. These records do, however, often provide more information about candidates, parties and political realities than do the official records.

Third, there are the state publications which record election statistics. These are usually annual or biennial volumes like the Michigan Manual or Wisconsin Blue Book. In recent years these volumes are quite accurate; in earlier years they may not agree exactly with the original records. They often fail, as do the original records, to provide information about political realities and sometimes fail to show full or correct names of candidates.

Finally there are the voting records compiled by researchers from primary sources.

There are in this category two monumental compilations of Presidential election records. W. Dean Burnham has compiled the Presidential vote from 1836 to 1890 (82) and Edgar W. Robinson has brought the record up to 1932 (99). Scammon's America Votes (100) is an attempt to keep the record up to date.

But valuable as these volumes are they leave gaps in the record. They do not include the years before 1836 nor after 1932. Nor do they include anything but the Presidential vote.

Scammon's America Votes is more complete, for it compiles not only the Presidential vote, but the vote for Governor, United States Senate and for Representatives in Congress.

Its major contribution seems to be in its attempt to compile voting records on a Congressional district basis, although for a detailed study it is useless, since it does not record the votes of counties within the Congressional district.

There are two other sources of election statistics, both published by the Bureau of the Census. Historical Statistics of the United States (23) contains much valuable data on Presidential elections and may be assumed to give the most nearly correct vote totals. The 1956 volume of the County and City Data Book (22) gives election returns for Representatives in Congress on a county basis, something done nowhere else.

Another valuable source of election data for a single state is How Wisconsin Voted 1848-1954 (86). This volume gives the Wisconsin voting record by counties for President, Governor and United States Senator. It does not, however, include



Congressional voting. The rather extensive historical review of politics in the Third district is intended to meet this need for analysis of the historic conditions which made the district traditionally and thoroughly Republican.

Most useful of secondary sources are Campbell's Wisconsin In Three Centuries (84); Thomson's A Political History of Wisconsin (105), which covers only the 19th century; and Tuttle's An Illustrated History of Wisconsin (106).

The early history of the LaFollette movement is best understood by reading LaFollette's Autobiography (90). Later Wisconsin political events can be found in Raney's Wisconsin, A Story of Progress (98) and in Doan's The LaFollettes and the Wisconsin Idea (85).

Unfortunately at this writing there is no scholarly and comprehensive account of Wisconsin politics. The works mentioned here are fragmentary, incomplete, include politics only incidentally, or as in the case of LaFollette's Autobiography presents only one side of the story.

Views of the LaFollette era are passionate and prejudiced, no matter the source. Much of the state's early political history is in journals, personal papers and pamphlets and not readily accessible outside of Wisconsin.

Writing a complete political history of Wisconsin would be a major undertaking, although a fascinating experience. This study, however, presents only a bare sketch of even the Third district's political history.





Burns, Robinson, Scammon and Donoghue all point out the difficulties in compiling accurate election data; and the problems encountered in gathering the data for the Third Congressional district will be discussed more fully later.

At this point, however, it should be made plain that there is a need for collection and preservation of accurate voting data. The complete voting record of the Third district, therefore, was compiled and analyzed in this study so that (1) it might contribute to an understanding of present voting behavior in the district and (2) be available for others who might want to study Congressional district voting.

### Literature on Wisconsin Politics

Behavioral studies while revealing in many ways cannot provide all the answers to voting behavior. Some historical data is usually necessary if present trends and events are to be seen in their true perspective.

Seymour Lipset et al, in an article on The Psychology of Voting (92) pointed out the failure of the Erie county and Elmira studies to explain why the same type of people voted Democratic in Sandusky and Republican in Elmira.

What is needed, the article suggested, is "historical analysis of conditions which lead different communities or regions to acquire 'traditional' allegiance to one party" (92, p. 1165).

### The Candidate As a Communicator

The literature of communications is turning more and more from the study of mass media to the study of the part people play in communicating ideas and opinions.

The most significant contribution in this area has been made by Katz and Lazarsfeld in their Personal Influence (88).

Their study identified several hitherto unnoticed factors in the communication process, among them (1) personal influence and (2) the two-step flow of information.

The mass media, according to Katz and Lazarsfeld, are "paralleled by the influence of people" (88, p. 7).

Opinion leaders, they found, pass on information which they receive from the mass media and other sources to the persons who look to them for information and advice. This is the two-step flow of information.

The People's Choice (91) pointed out that during a political campaign, for example, face-to-face contacts were most valuable in stimulating opinion change, that opinion leaders help shape attitudes, and that interaction among peoples and groups helps develop political views.

Elmo Roper (88, p. xviii) suggests that the population is divided into two classes, "participating citizens," and the "politically inert."

Participating citizens, he said, are those who strive to fulfill their obligations to society by voting and joining with others in groups in the expectation of making their voices

heard more clearly (88, p. xviii).

The politically inert, according to Roper, are the 75 million or so Americans who rarely express their views, but pass judgement on events. They are the broad audience to whom the vast chain of communication of ideas is addressed.

It is, Roper thinks, "an assumption worthy of greater research that the politically inert come to accept ideas more readily from their participating citizen neighbors" as well as from mass media and other sources of ideas (88, p. xix).

At least some of the participating citizens described by Roper are probably members of the field organizations of political parties, including political candidates themselves.

Schattschneider points out:

"Assuming that the electorate is very large and that it is distributed widely over an extensive territory, a party having only a central organization would be relatively ineffective because a very large segment of the electorate can be reached only by direct, personal solicitation, a proposition so well demonstrated that it has become a commonplace of American politics" (102, p. 170).

This function, he suggests, is performed by the party's field organization which attempts "to reach people where they are" (102, p. 170).

These concepts of (1) a line of communication made up of people which parallels and supplements the mass media and (2) of a political party's field organization going to the voter by

means of direct, personal solicitation are full of interest for the political scientist and the practical politician.

What is the role of personal influence in politics? How does it work? How can it be employed more effectively in organizing campaigns and winning elections?

Three hypotheses which seemed most likely to provide answers to these questions were decided upon and used as a basis for the research discussed in Chapters V and VI.

Hypothesis I - Local political organizations and in particular local candidates are important to the political process because they provide effective communication between the party and the voter.

Hypothesis 2 - Where there is an effective local organization and where local candidates are actively campaigning, a political party is able to communicate with the voter, inform him of party objectives and win his vote.

Hypothesis 3 - The influence of the local candidate and local organization is particularly pronounced in Congressional elections and has less influence on state-wide or Presidential elections.

This concept that the political party and its candidates are themselves a part of the communication process is not original, for the literature certainly suggests this. Indeed, the activities attributed to opinion leaders, participating citizens and other activists in political campaign situations could only be performed by candidates and workers within the party field

organization.

The writer does claim, however, that to view the candidate or party worker as a communicator is to take a fresh view of political campaigning. The candidate viewed as a communicator may be the same person, but his function is more readily apparent and the things he does to carry out his part of the communication process take on new meaning.

### Research Problems

Compilation of the voting data in Appendix I was a tedious and time-consuming job, but presented no major difficulties. Most of the voting data came from Wisconsin Blue Books, but for earlier years, from 1848 to 1870, Blue Books and Legislative Manuals were not available and data was taken directly from the records of the Wisconsin Secretary of State.

All voting figures for Congressional elections which were taken from other sources were compared with the original records in the Secretary of State's office. This was not done with the vote for Governor or President since those figures are available from other sources and were used in this study only for purposes of comparison.

There are discrepancies and undertainties in older election records. Figures used in this study compare closely with figures from other sources, but there is not always exact agreement. The question of whose figures are correct is not likely to be readily solved.

The voting records of the various counties in the district for the period 1932 to 1956 came directly from the records in the offices of the various county clerks. These records were in many cases incomplete, columns of figures were frequently not totalled, party identifications omitted, and in some cases elections were not even recorded. Newspaper files supplied the missing returns in these cases.

More recent elections records in the counties were better kept and county clerks were generally very helpful in finding the needed figures. Oddly enough, in several counties clerks were quite suspicious of the writer's request to search through past election records, despite the fact that they are clearly public records.

The per cent of the vote received by the major parties, compiled in Appendix II, was calculated by the writer from the voting record contained in Appendix I. In calculating the per cent of the vote received by, say, the Republicans, the total vote, including the minor party and scattering vote, was used. Most other studies have calculated only the per cent of the two party vote. In most cases there is little difference, but where in some elections a minor party receives as high as 18.8 per cent of the total vote a percentage based on only the two party vote would be misleading.

The "stalemate index" used in this study is an analytical device suggested by Dr. Ralph M. Goldman of the political science department at Michigan State University.

It is, simply, a measurement of the distance that separates the winning candidate from the runner-up.

This index is found by halving the difference in the per cent of the total vote received by the winner and the candidate with the second highest vote. For instance in the 1956 election for Congress in the Third district:

	<u>Actual Vote</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Republicans	74,000	61.2 %
Democrats	46,911	38.8 %
Others	3	----
		<hr/>
Difference (61.2 less 38.8)		22.8 %
Half the difference		11.4 %

The stalemate index, then, is 11.4 per cent. Or, to put it another way, if the Democratic candidate had been able to take 11.4 per cent of the Republican candidate's vote the two candidates would have been even or "stalemated."

This index provides a shortcut to graphical presentation of the relationship between the major parties. The ease with which the stalemate index can be combined with other data can be seen in Figure        in Chapter V.

The stalemate index was calculated only from 1890 to the present since it was felt that this provided sufficient indication of the relationship between the Democrats and Republicans over an appreciable span of time.



The voting record of the district is carried back to 1848, but the per cent of votes received by candidates was not calculated for the period 1848 to 1862 since the political picture was in such a state of flux that percentages would have little real significance.

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORY OF THE THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

When Wisconsin was admitted to the Union on May 29, 1848, the 30th Congress was in mid-session and the new state, which had been represented by two Territorial delegates, was limited to two seats in the House of Representatives (70, pp. 659-660).

In anticipation of this, the Wisconsin constitution, approved shortly before the state was admitted to the Union, divided the existing 28 counties into two Congressional districts (33, p. 41).

The First district included the counties of Milwaukee, Waukesha, Jefferson, Racine, Walworth, Rock and Green. The Second district, comprising the greater portion of the state, included Washington, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, Calumet, Brown, Winnebago, Fond du Lac, Marquette, Sauk, Portage, Columbia, Dodge, Dane, Iowa, LaFayette, Grant, Richland, Crawford, Chippewa, St. Croix, and La Pointe counties.

The First district was the smallest, but had the largest population; the Second district was much larger, but was lightly populated.

The First district centered around the Southeastern counties of the State and included the counties that bordered Lake Michigan between Milwaukee and the Illinois border.

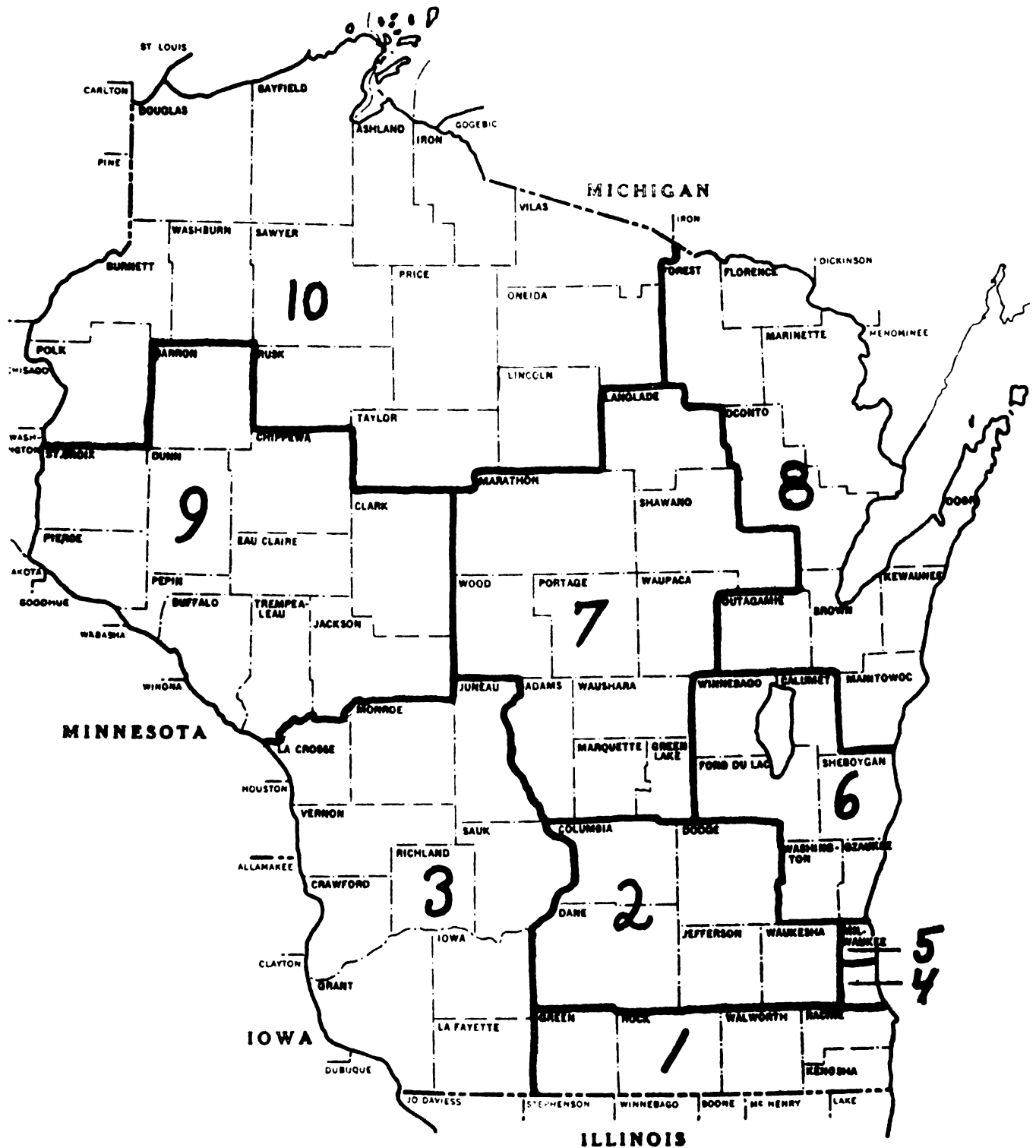


FIGURE 1 -- Wisconsin Congressional districts since the apportionment following the census of 1930.

The Second district included the old lead region of Southwestern Wisconsin, heartland of the original Wisconsin Territory, and in addition most of the rest of the state. Much of its area was scarcely inhabited. The district ran from Grant and Iowa counties on the Illinois border to LaPointe county on Lake Superior; and from Crawford county on the Mississippi River to Marathon county on Lake Michigan near Green Bay.

Wisconsin's two districts voted only once, May 8, 1848, before a reapportionment. Between May and November the state was allotted a third Representative and was divided into three Congressional districts. Representatives elected in November took their seats in the 31st Congress (30).

To make the new district, the Third, 10 counties were taken from the Second district. Rock and Green counties were taken from the First district and added to the Second. Adams county, created by the last session of the Territorial legislature in March, was placed in the Second district.

The Second district now included Rock, Green, Dane, Sauk, Iowa, LaFayette, Grant, Richland, Crawford, St. Croix, LaPointe, Portage and Chippewa counties. Votes from sparsely settled Chippewa county were included with vote totals from Crawford county. Richland county votes were counted in with the vote from Iowa county.

From 1848 until the reapportionment following the census of 1860, the Second district's boundaries changed from year to year.

Table 1--Counties in the Third Congressional District After 1860

	Decade Following the Census of						
	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1930
Adams .....				X			
Crawfordl...	X	X		X	X	X	X
Dane.....			X			X	
Grant.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Green.....	X	X	X			X	
Iowa .....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Juneau .....				X	X		X
LaCrosse ...							X
LaFayette ..	X	X	X			X	X
Monroe .....							X
Richland ...	X	X		X	X	X	X
Sauk .....	X			X	X		X
Vernon .....				X	X		X
Total ...	7	6	5	8	7	7	10

Source: Wisconsin Blue Books and records of the Secretary of State.

Dates on which counties were created rather than elections in which their votes were first counted have been used here. Although created by the Legislature, many of the new counties did not report election results directly; often the

vote of newly organized counties was lumped with returns from older counties. Louise Phelps Kellogg's "Organization, Boundaries and Names of Wisconsin's Counties" gives an excellent background of early Wisconsin (110).

Marathon county was added after its creation in 1850 from part of Portage county; originally it stretched from the central part of the state to the northern state boundary.

Bad Ax, later Vernon county, and LaCrosse county were created in 1851 out of the northern part of Crawford county.

Jackson county was created in 1853 from part of LaCrosse county and in the same year Buffalo, Clark, Pierce and Polk counties were created and added to the Second district.

Settlers were pouring into the forests of northwestern and west central Wisconsin during the 1850's. In 1854 Dunn, Douglas, Monroe and Trempealeau counties were created by the Legislature.

In 1855 the Legislature authorized a referendum among settlers in Adams county west of the Wisconsin river to decide on creation of a separate county. The vote was in the affirmative and in 1856 Juneau county was created.

The same year Burnett, Eau Claire and Wood counties were created and added to the Second district. In 1858 Pepin county was created and in 1860 Ashland county, on Lake Superior adjoining LaPointe (now Bayfield) county, was created. Ashland was the last of the new counties to be added to the Second district.

TABLE 2--Third District Representation After 1860

Census	Membership of House	Wisconsin	Apportionment Figure	Population of Third District	Third District Per Cent of	
					Representation of District	Population of State
1860 .....	241	6	122614	124861	16.6	26.1
1870 .....	292	8	130533	137599	12.5	13
1880 .....	325	9	151912	157721	11.1	12
1890 .....	356	10	173901	173572	10	10.3
1900 .....	386	11	193167	180388	9.1	8.7
1910 .....	435	11	210583	215752	9.1	9.2
1920 .....	435	11	.....	227617	9.1	8.6
1930 .....	435	10	280675	274479	10	9.3
1940 .....	435	10	301164	290719	10	10.8
1950 .....	435	10	344587	300025	10	11.4

Source: Historical Statistics of the United States, 1786-1945 and Continuation

After the census of 1860, the House of Representatives was increased to 241 members and Wisconsin's representation was boosted to six. In the reapportionment necessary to create three new districts, the Second district was dismembered. What

was left of the Second district, seven counties in the south western part of the state, became the Third district, a numerical designation continued until the present.

Beginning with the election of 1862, the district included Crawford, Grant, Green, Iowa, LaFayette, Richland and Sauk counties. With slight variations the complexion of the district has remained much the same since 1860.

After the census of 1870 Sauk county was taken out of the Third district, but was restored after the 1890 census.

In the reapportionment after the census of 1880, Crawford and Richland counties were taken away from the district, but they were restored after the census of 1890 and have remained in the district up to the present.

In the reapportionment following the 1880 census Dane, one of the original counties in the original Second district, was added to the Third. This change made it possible for the Third district to send Robert M. LaFollette, then a resident of Madison, to Congress in 1884.

After the census of 1890 the boundaries of the district were considerably changed. Dane, Green and LaFayette counties were taken away from the district and Richland and Sauk were restored after an absence of 10 and 20 years respectively. Three other counties, Vernon, Adams, and Juneau, all original members of the old Second district, were added.

The census of 1900 brought only one change. Adams county was dropped from the district and has never been restored.



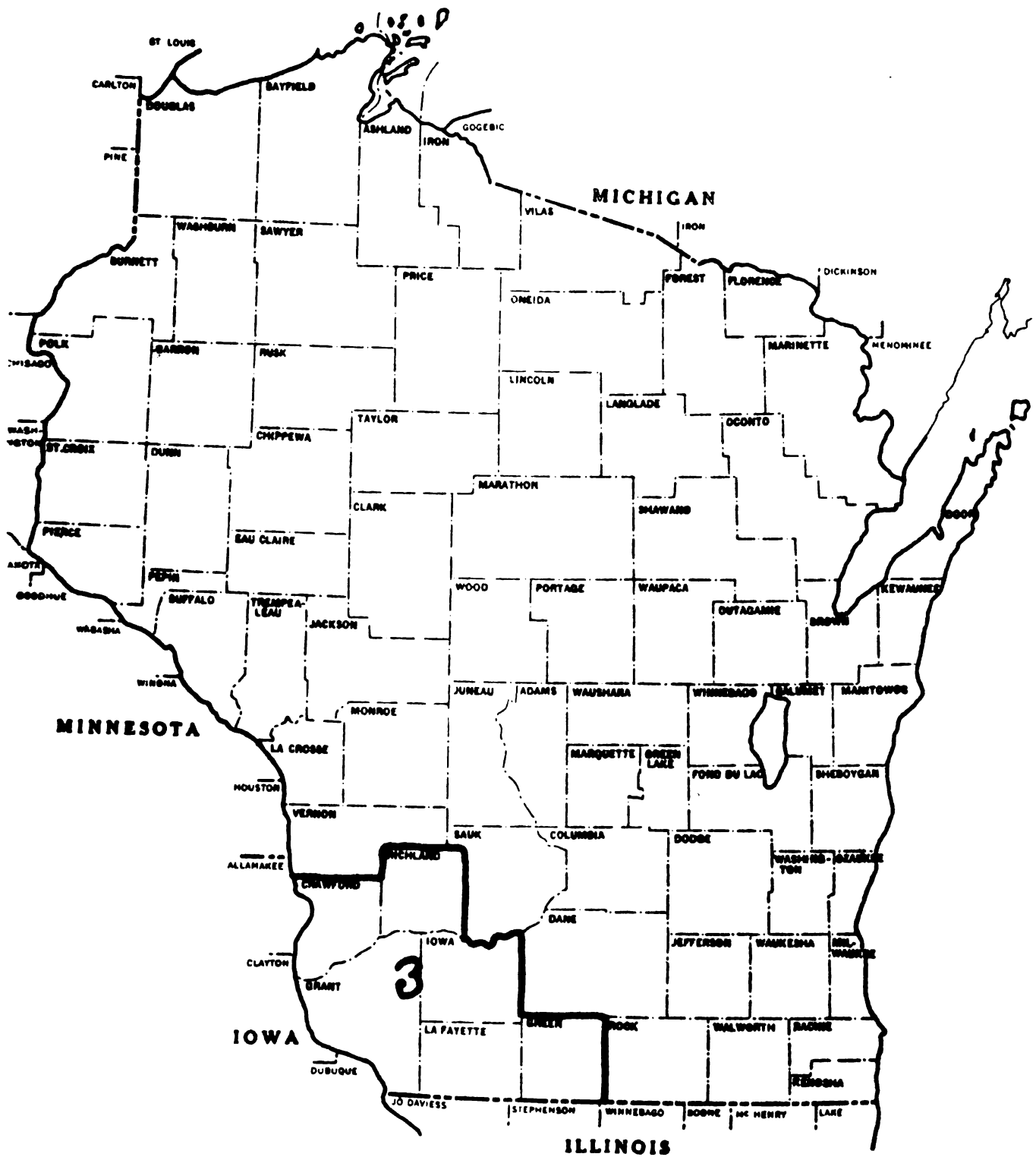


FIGURE 3 -- The Third Congressional district after the apportionment following the census of 1870.

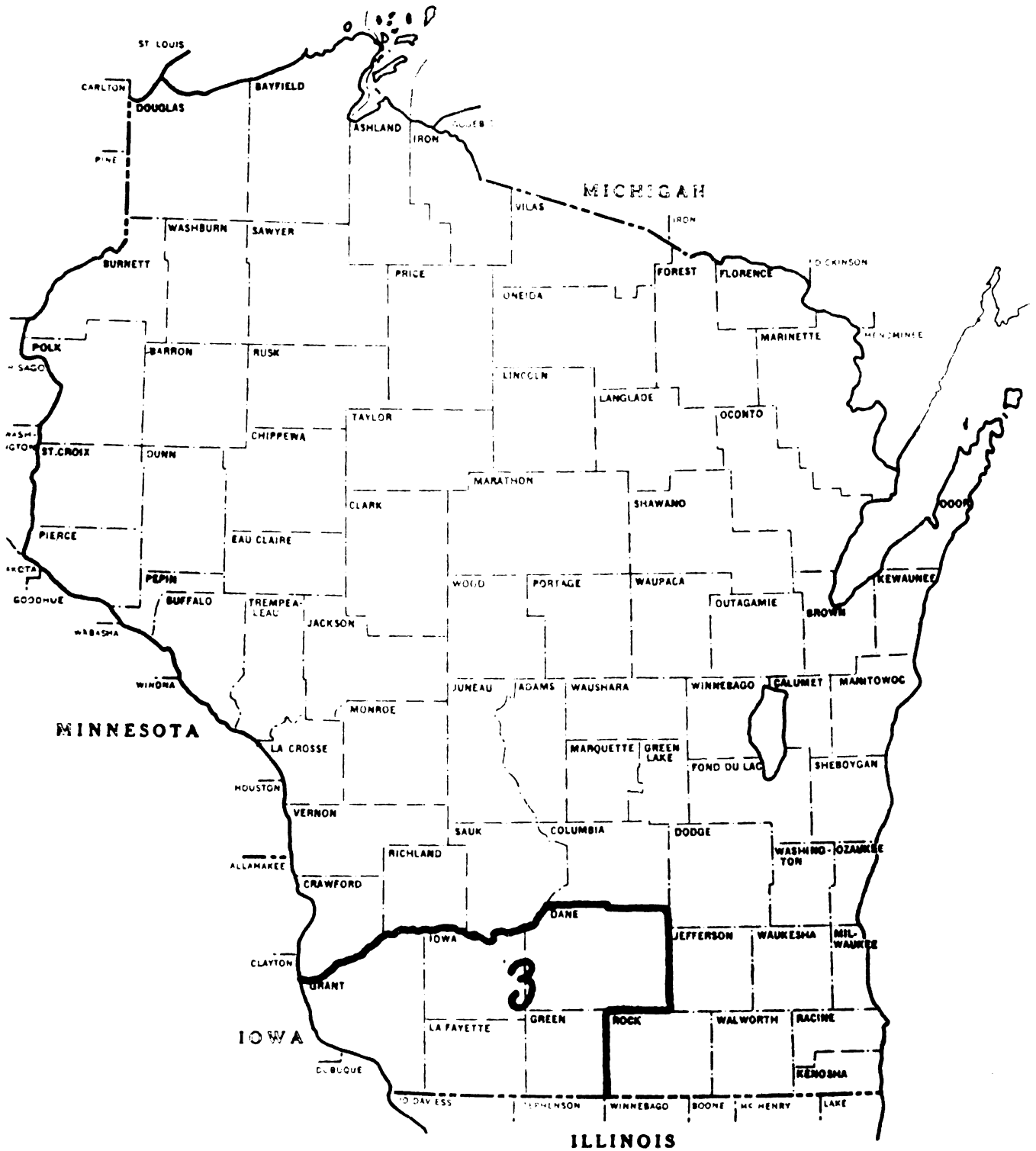


FIGURE 4 -- The First Congressional district after the apportionment following the census of 1880.

10. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2000; 284: 1039-1044.

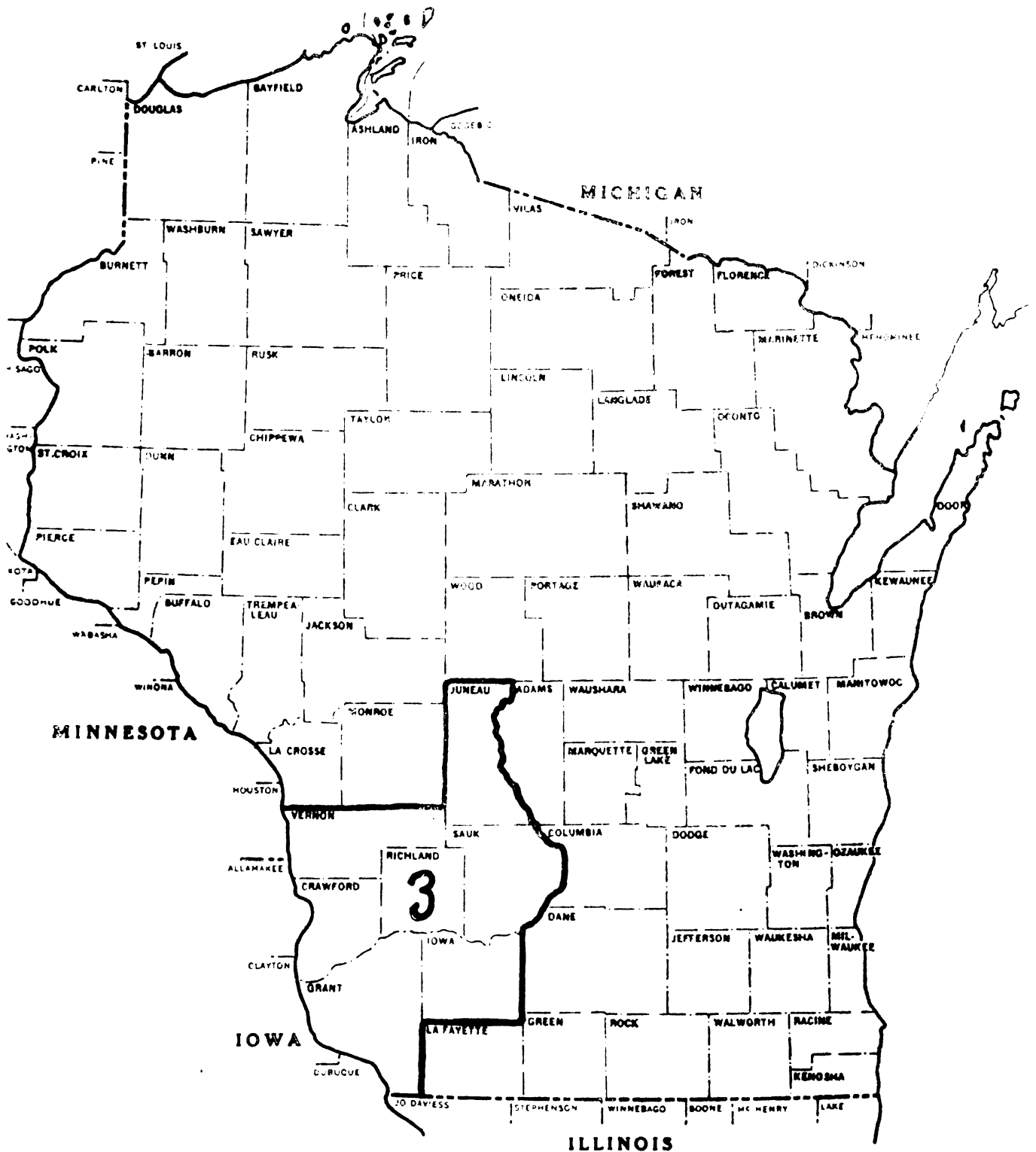


FIGURE 6 -- The Third Congressional district after the apportionment following the census of 1900.

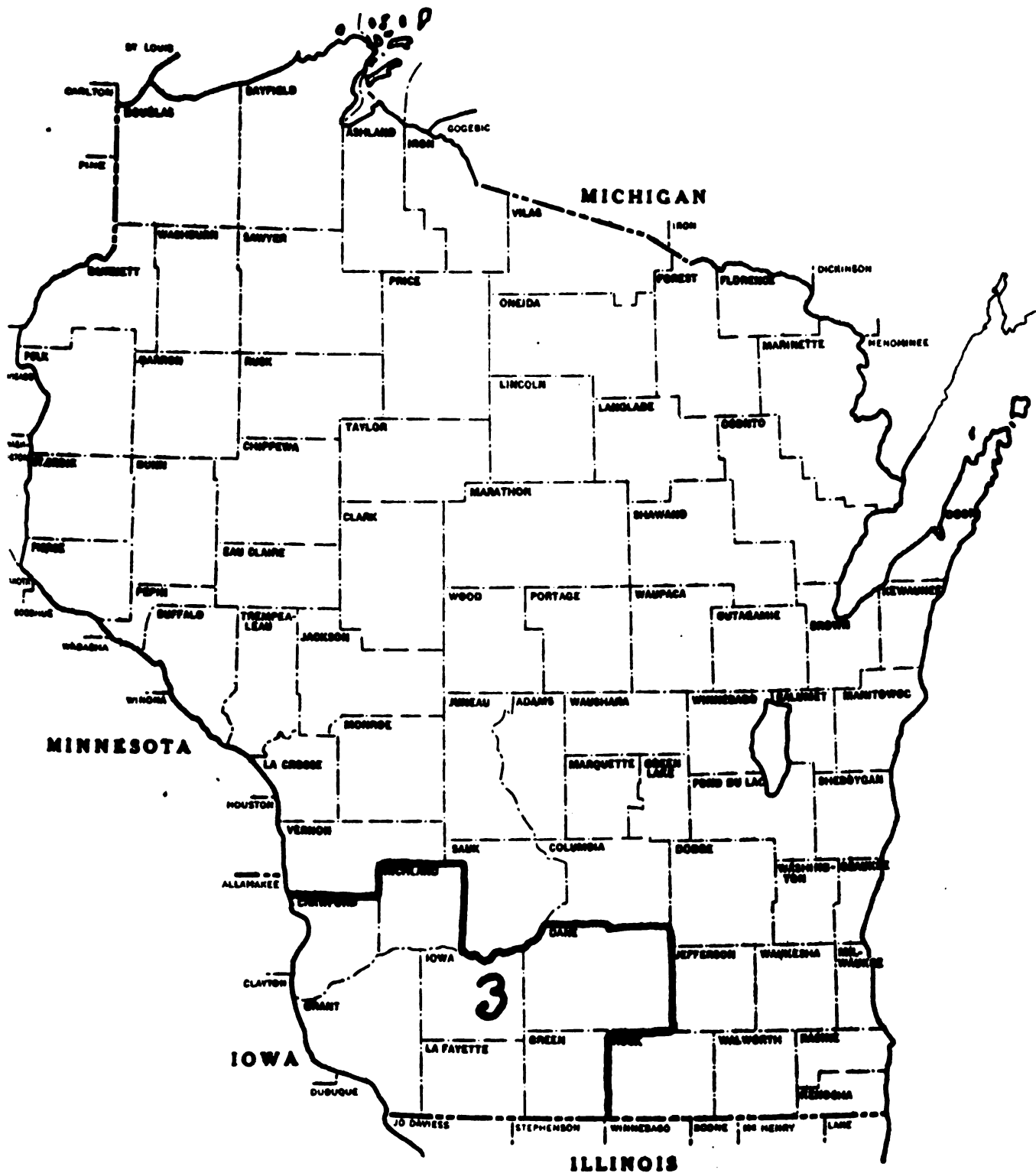


FIGURE 7 -- The Third Congressional district after the apportionment following the census of 1910.

After the census of 1910 several changes were made. Dane, Green, and LaFayette counties were added to the district and Sauk, Vernon, and Juneau counties were dropped.

Congress did not authorize any reapportionment after the 1920 census and the boundaries of the Third district remained unchanged for 20 years.

In anticipation of great population increases throughout the United States, Congress in 1929 authorized a new apportionment. Wisconsin, which had 11 Representatives in Congress after 1900, had its representation reduced to 10. Congressional district boundaries were reshuffled.

The Third district was enlarged to 10 counties, all of which had at one time or another been in either the original Second district or in the Third district. Counties in the Third district after 1930 were Crawford, Grant, Iowa, LaFayette, Richland, Sauk, Vernon, Juneau, LaCrosse and Monroe.

A complete record of changes within the district from 1860 until the present is contained in Table 1.

The Third district is a homogeneous district. Two of its counties, Grant and Iowa, have been in the district since statehood was granted. Richland and Crawford have been in the district for all except one decade out of the 110 years.

Other aspects of the district's history and its relation to representation given the state are itemized in Table 2.

From 1860 to 1900 the district's population was higher than the apportionment figure set by Congress. Since 1900

the district's population has been less than the apportionment figure.

However the district's share of state population and share of the state's representation have, except for the Civil War decade, been quite close.

### CHAPTER III

#### POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE THIRD DISTRICT

The Third Congressional district, like the state of Wisconsin, has been overwhelmingly Republican throughout its history.

Since the first election for Representatives in Congress in May 1848 the district has elected 36 Republican Congressmen, six who were Democrats, two Progressives, one Whig, and 10 who were LaFollette or Progressive Republicans.

This two-to-one Republican majority is the essence of Wisconsin and of Third district politics. Since 1854 it has been the Republicans who represented the major political strength. Opposed against them have been a persistent minority, sometimes Democrats, sometimes dissident wings of the Republican party. Often there were also other minority parties, Greenbackers, Prohibitionists, factions of Democrats, and sometimes Independents.

The district has been as Republican in its voting for Governor and President as it has been in its voting for Congress.

In 32 elections the district has supported regular Republican candidates for Governor; six times it has voted for Democratic candidates; once it gave its vote to a Whig. In the other elections the district supported LaFollette Progressive Republicans 12 times and Progressives four times.



In Presidential elections the district has voted Republican 21 times, Democratic five times, Progressive once, and Whig once.

The Third district has been a mother lode for Wisconsin politics and politicians. In Territorial days it was a Democratic stronghold and gave the state its first Governor, a Democrat, Nelson Dewey of Lancaster, in Grant county. In recent years the district has been staunchly Republican and the state's present Governor, Vernon Thomson, a Republican, is from Richland Center in Richland county.

The district elected its first Republican Congressman in 1854, two years before the Republicans became a national party in the 1856 campaign. The district rallied behind Fremont in 1856 and has deviated from the Republican column only four times since, twice for Woodrow Wilson and twice, in 1932 and 1936, for Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The political history of the Third district, like that of the state, falls naturally into six distinct periods:

The Democratic period from 1848 to 1854; the Republican era from 1854 to 1900; the Progressive-Republican era from 1900 to 1932; the brief Democratic interlude from 1932 to 1934; the Progressive period from 1934 to 1946; and the period of Democratic revival which began after the collapse of the Progressives.

The Democratic period followed the attainment of statehood and was a period of lively contests among Democrats, Whigs,

Free Soilers and other factions. This was followed by the long period of Republican domination which began in 1854 and lasted until Robert M. LaFollette was elected Governor in 1900.

The LaFollette-Progressive era lasted with some interruptions until 1932.

The election of 1932 saw Wisconsin swing Democratic. The state voted for Roosevelt, elected a Democratic Governor and gave control of the Legislature to the Democrats. But rather than signalling a period of Democratic control, 1932 was merely a prelude to a renewed battle among the Republicans.

In the next state election in 1934 the Progressive Republicans at the urging of Old Bob's sons, Philip F. LaFollette and Robert M. LaFollette Jr., broke away from the Republican party and organized a Progressive party.

The Republican-Progressive struggle lasted until 1942 when the Progressives elected a Governor in a protest vote against two-term Republican governor Julius P. Heil. By that time, however, Progressive strength in the Legislature was falling away, and in the counties the Progressives were slipping back into the Republican party. When the Progressive Governor-elect, Orland Loomis, died before he could be inaugurated, the Progressive party came to the end of the road. The Progressive party disbanded officially in 1946.

The period from 1932 to 1946 was, actually, the beginning of a trend toward a real two-party system in Wisconsin, but it was also a period which brought an end to the Progressives and

very nearly killed the Democratic party (85, p.88).

In 1946 Democratic fortunes reached their lowest point in years in the Third district. The district was unable to find a candidate for Congress, something that had happened only twice before in the history of the district in 1918 and 1926.

The final phase of political fortunes in the Third district, from 1948 until the present, represents a steady movement toward a real two-party system. Democratic strength in the district is growing and Democrats are campaigning for office at all levels. Local competition for office will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

#### The Democratic Period, 1848-1854

In the district's first, or Democratic period, the Democrats carried the district in three out of four Congressional elections, in three out of four Gubernatorial elections, and in one of the two Presidential elections.

Nevertheless, this period was actually more of a multi-party period than a period of Democratic strength (122). The Republican party was not yet born, but gestation was well under way. The nation was taking sides on the issues of slavery and free soil and Democrats, Whigs, Liberty and Free Soil factions contended for control of the two national parties. There were bitter struggles in district and state conventions (122, p.1).

In the election of May 8, 1848, the district elected Dr. Mason C. Darling, of Fond du Lac, a Democrat, for the balance

of the 30th Congress. Darling defeated Alex L. Collins, a Whig.

In November, Orsamus Cole, of Potosi, a Mississippi River lead mining town in Grant county, was elected to Congress as a Whig. Cole defeated A. Hyatt Smith, a Democrat, and George W. Crabb, a Free Soil candidate.

The only Whig ever to represent Wisconsin in Congress, Cole was defeated in 1850 by Ben C. Eastman, of Platteville, Grant county, a Democrat. Eastman was re-elected in 1852 in a three-way election in which he was opposed by Chauncy L. Abbott, Whig, and Edward L. Enos, Free Soil.

Eastman not only had the distinction of being the only Democrat to serve two terms in Congress from the southwestern part of the state, but has been singled out as "the most openly corrupt of the early Wisconsin representatives," who was "sent to Congress by the Railroad, kept there by the Railroad, and defeated when the Railroad interests abandoned him" (122, p.106).

In Gubernatorial elections the district supported Nelson Dewey, the successful Democratic candidate, in the election in May, 1848, and in 1849. In 1851 the district helped elect Leonard Farwell, the only Whig to serve as Governor of the state; and in 1853 supported another Democrat, William A. Barstow, last Democratic Governor of this period.

In the Presidential campaign of 1848 the district supported Zachary Taylor, successful Whig candidate for the Presidency. The state's vote went to Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate.

In 1852 both district and state supported Franklin Pierce, successful Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

### The Republican Era

In 1854 Whigs, Free Soilers and Abolitionists joined together in formation of a new political party. As Republicans the new party entered candidates in the November election of 1854.

In southwestern Wisconsin, then the Second district, the Republican candidate was Cadwallader C. Washburn of Mineral Point, a former Whig. His victory over Otis Hoyt, the Democratic nominee who had displaced Eastman at the district convention, began the district's long support of the Republican party.

Washburn was one of the first of the political giants from southwestern Wisconsin. He served three terms in Congress from the Second district, elected in 1854, 1856 and 1858; served with distinction in the Civil War and returned home a major-general. He moved to LaCrosse, served again in Congress from the Seventh district, and in 1871 was elected Governor.

During the more than 40 years of Republican strength which lasted until 1900 other Republican Congressmen included:

Luther Hanchette, of Plover, Portage county, who was elected in 1860, but died before his term was up. At a special election in December, 1862, Walter McIndoe, of Wausau, a successful lumberman and prominent Republican, was elected to succeed him. McIndoe had been an unsuccessful candidate for Governor

in 1857.

Reapportionment before the Congressional election in 1862 had placed Wausau in another district and McIndoe was elected to the 38th Congress from that district in the balloting in November. In the special election in the old Second district in December he was elected to the 37th to fill the remaining portion of Hanchette's term.

In the reapportionment after the census of 1860 the old Second district was reduced to six counties and designated the Third district. It has remained the Third district ever since.

Amasa Cobb, of Mineral Point, was the first Congressman to represent the present Third district. He was elected in 1862 and re-elected in 1864, 1866 and 1868. Joel Allen Barber, of Lancaster, succeeded Cobb and held the office for two terms. In 1874 Henry S. Magoon, of Darlington, in LaFayette county, was elected for one term.

After Magoon came George C. Hazelton, of Boscobel, who was elected in 1876, 1878, and 1880, but ran into a party dispute in 1882 which cost the Republicans the election.

Hazelton was a candidate for the nomination in 1882, but was opposed by Colonel E. W. Keyes, Madison postmaster and Republican party "boss." When Hazelton secured the nomination, Keyes and his followers withdrew from the convention and nominated Keyes themselves. Both Keyes and Hazelton ran as Republicans in the November election.

LaFollette in his Autobiography recalled that "This three-cornered race resulted in the election of Burr Jones, a Madison lawyer and the Democratic nominee, and left much bitterness among the Republicans of the district." (90, p.44).

The election of Jones and the squabble within the party gave Robert M. LaFollette the opportunity to launch his distinguished and colorful political career.

LaFollette had bucked the regular Republican organization headed by Keyes to run for district attorney of Dane county in 1880. Not then 21, he secured the Republican nomination and was elected by a margin of 93 votes. In 1882 he was the only Dane county Republican to survive the Democratic tide and won by a margin of 2,000 votes (90, p. 37).

LaFollette's college room-mate, Samuel A. Harper, who came from Grant county, urged LaFollette to run for Congress. According to LaFollette:

"There are five counties in this district," he said. "The two big counties, Dane and Grant, outnumber all the others in voting population. Now I live in Grant and you live in Dane. I'll carry Grant for you and you carry Dane for yourself. They will control the convention — and you go to Congress." (90, p.43).

LaFollette and Harper did secure enough pledges from county caucuses to control the convention and LaFollette was nominated. He had the support of Hazelton's political friends and was elected in November 1884 by some 400 votes. (90, p.48).

LaFollette was reelected in 1886 and 1888, but lost in 1890 in a state-wide Democratic landslide. The man who defeated LaFollette was Allen R. Bushnell, of Lancaster, a Democrat who had been for the four years prior to 1890 the United States district attorney for western Wisconsin.

Bushnell served only one term. In the reapportionment that followed the census of 1890, Dane county was taken out of the Third district in a state wide overhauling of district boundaries that caused great bitterness between Republicans and Democrats and resulted in long litigation before state legislative district boundaries were settled. (98, pp. 274-275).

LaFollette's defeat in 1890 precipitated him into the fight for control of the Republican party which ended with his nomination and election in 1900.

In 1892 the Third district sent Joseph W. Babcock, of Necedah, Juneau county, to Congress, for the first of six terms during which he was to represent the district in the House of Representatives.

Babcock was a "standpat" Republican and a bitter foe of LaFollette who said of him:

"Babcock's record as a Standpat, corporations-serving Congressman was notorious" (90, p. 736).

However, Babcock and Emanuel L. Phillipp of Milwaukee did come to LaFollette's support in the 1900 campaign, apparently because of hurt feelings over the senatorial election in 1899 (90, pp. 228-229).



After LaFollette became Governor, Babcock again opposed him. Babcock was a powerful figure in state Republican politics and through his chairmanship of the Republican National Congressional Committee in 1894 and 1902 had influence in Congress and on the national political scene.

Said LaFollette:

"He was opposed to everything which the Progressive-Republican administration in Wisconsin represented, and he fought my renomination and that of every member of our Progressive legislative ticket in 1902 (90, p. 736).

In 1904 the Progressive Republicans in the Third district "vigorously contested his renomination," (90, p. 737). They were not successful and Babcock was renominated and re-elected, but where he had been a winner in 1902 by some 8,000 votes in November 1904 he carried the district by only 326 votes.

Babcock was succeeded in Congress by the Democratic candidate James W. Murphy of Platteville, Grant county, who won by a little more than 1,000 votes. Murphy survived only one term. The Republicans nominated Arthur W. Kopp, a Platteville lawyer and later a circuit judge. Kopp served until 1910 when the district boundaries were again changed to include Dane county.

The see-saw between Democrats and Republicans in the Third district from 1890 to 1910 overlapped the end of the 19th century Republican era and the beginning of the 20th century Progressive Republican era.

From 1854 until 1900 when LaFollette was elected Governor and the Progressive Republican era began, the Third district had been Republican in 53 out of 57 elections for Congress, Governor and President.

The district voted twice for Democrats for Congress, once in 1882 and once in 1890. Jones' election in 1882 as we have seen, was the result of a split in Republican ranks and was, hence, a political accident. Bushnell's election in 1890 was part of a state-wide Democratic victory.

The district voted Democratic twice in Gubernatorial elections, both times for successful candidates, William R. Taylor in 1873 and George W. Peck in 1890. In 1892 when Peck was re-elected the Third district vote went to John C. Spooner, the Republican candidate.

In Presidential elections the district had remained solidly Republican, sticking even to Harrison in 1892 when the state gave its support to Cleveland in his second and successful bid for reelection.

In the other Presidential campaigns the district had cast its votes for Fremont, Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Blaine, Harrison and McKinley.

### The Progressive-Republican Era

The beginning of the Progressive-Republican era saw, as has already been noted, "Standpat" Republicans and a Democrat representing the district in Congress.

Reapportionment after the census of 1910 placed Dane county back in the Third district and the Progressive-Republican Congressman from Dane county, John M. Nelson, became the Third district's representative.

Nelson served with only one interruption from 1912 to 1932 when reapportionment again took Dane county out of the district. The interruption came in 1918 when a Stalwart Republican, James G. Monaghan, of Darlington, won the Republican nomination during a six year period when the Stalwarts held the Governor's office.

Nelson had been editor of LaFollette's first newspaper, The State, and had been a LaFollette supporter since his university days. Bob called him "one of the stanchest supporters of the Progressive movement" (90, p. 208).

Nelson's strength in Dane county, coupled with Progressive support in other counties of the district, placed the Third district safely in the Progressive column as far as the Congressional race was concerned.

In Gubernatorial races the district supported LaFollette in 1900, 1902 and 1904. In 1906 and 1908 the district supported James O. Davidson, of Soldiers Grove, Crawford county, for Governor. Davidson had been LaFollette's Lieutenant Governor and he became heir to the Governor's office when LaFollette was elected to the United States Senate in 1905.

After Davidson came another Progressive, Francis E. McGovern, who was elected in 1910 and 1912, both times with support

from the Third district.

Beginning in 1912 the Stalwart Republicans, as the "Stand-patters" were then known, elected Emanuel Phillip Governor for three terms. In each election he had the support of the Third district.

In 1920, 1922 and 1924 the district supported John J. Blaine, a Progressive, and a native of Grant county, for Governor; in 1924 the district supported another Progressive, Fred Zimmerman, and in 1930 Old Bob's youngest son, Phil LaFollette, who was making his first bid for state-wide office.

The Stalwarts won control of the state in 1928 and put Walter J. Kohler in the Governor's office. The Third district voted with the rest of the state that year.

In the Presidential campaigns during the Progressive-Republican era, the Third district voted Republican five times, Democratic three times, and Progressive once.

In 1900 the district and the state supported McKinley; in 1904 Roosevelt; and in 1908 William Howard Taft. In 1912 and 1916 the Third district threw its support to Woodrow Wilson. The state gave Wilson its electoral vote in 1912, but deserted him for Hughes in 1916.

In 1920 the state and district support went to Calvin Coolidge; in 1924 the state and district supported LaFollette in his Progressive campaign for the Presidency.

In 1928 the state and district voted for Herbert Hoover and in 1932 both went over to the Democrats and Franklin D.

Roosevelt.

The Progressive Era from 1934 to 1946

The high tide of the Progressive movement which came in the 1930s was preceded by the Democratic landslide of 1932.

The Third district vote went to Roosevelt and to A. C. Schmedeman, the Democratic candidate for Governor. A Progressive-Republican, Gardner Withrow of LaCrosse, who had been representing the Seventh district in Congress, was elected from the Third district in 1932.

Democrats won control of the state Legislature and in some counties won local office. In Crawford county Democrats elected an assemblyman and won every county office except that of county clerk.

But the Democrats were not yet in the Promised Land. In 1934 former-Governor Phil LaFollette, who lost his office in the Democratic landslide of 1932, succeeded in organizing the Progressive-Republicans into a state Progressive party.

The Progressive party had supported Roosevelt and the state Democratic ticket in 1932, but Schmedeman was not an effective Governor and the LaFollettes were looking ahead (85, p. 178).

Many of the LaFollette supporters joined the new party reluctantly; Theodore Damman, secretary of state, and other leaders of the Progressive-Republicans were unwilling to declare allegiance to the new party (85, p. 185).

But the new party drew impressive support from followers of the LaFollettes and open opposition from Stalwart Republicans and Democrats who declared "a fight to the finish" (85, p.185).

Young Bob LaFollette was a candidate for the United States Senate in 1934 and President Roosevelt endorsed his candidacy. Phil LaFollette was a candidate for Governor.

The new party won a smashing victory at the polls. Both LaFollettes were elected; Damman was re-elected secretary of state and 75 Progressives were elected to the state legislature (85, p. 187).

In the Third district Gardner Withrow joined the new party and was elected to Congress as a Progressive; Phil LaFollette won the district's support for Governor; Progressive candidates for county offices won 28 out of a possible 104 county offices.

Two years later, in 1936, the Progressives again won impressive victories, but their star was no longer rising. The party lost seats in the legislature and in the counties. The Third district re-elected Withrow again as a Progressive, and supported Phil LaFollette for Governor. In the Presidential election the district's support went to Roosevelt again.

The depression and Governor LaFollette's policies began to stir both Stalwarts and Democrats to protest (85, p. 188). In the summer of 1938 the Democrats and Republicans formed a coalition to defeat the Progressives and return the state to "majority rule" (85, p. 188).

They attempted to form a coalition ticket, but eventually Democrats and Republicans had to run in their own primaries and under their own party labels in the general election (109).

At the last minute the coalition Democratic candidate withdrew in favor of the Republican nominee and the Democrats had to present a substitute candidate to the voters in November. The Republican nominee, Julius P. Heil, a Milwaukee industrialist, defeated LaFollette and the Democratic candidate polled only 78,000 votes, about eight per cent of the total vote.

Withrow, running again as a Progressive, lost his Third district seat to regular Republican candidate, Harry W. Griswold, of West Salem, in LaCrosse county.

For the first and only time during the Progressive decade Third district voters also deserted the Progressive candidate for Governor. Heil received 54,848 votes, LaFollette 31,616, and the Democratic candidate only 6,089 in the Third district.

Representative Griswold died in 1939 and in the election of 1940 William H. Stevenson, of LaCrosse, was elected from the Third district. Stevenson was re-elected in 1942, 1944 and 1946.

In 1948 Withrow defeated Stevenson in the Republican primary and was returned to Congress after an absence of 10 years. Withrow remained in bad odor with the regular Republican organization in the district until 1952 when after a shift to the

right in his voting record made it possible for him to make peace with the regular Republicans.\*

As the Progressive decade drew to a close the Third district gave its support to a Progressive candidate for Governor in two elections.

In 1940 the district gave a margin of 3,000 votes to Orland S. Loomis, of Mauston, in Juneau county. Loomis, a long-time Progressive, had been attorney general of Wisconsin in 1937 and 1938. He lost to incumbent Governor Heil by about 12,000 votes out of a total of more than a million and a quarter votes cast.

In 1942 Loomis ran again and defeated Heil by more than 100,000 votes. His margin in the Third district was more than 12,000 votes.

Loomis, exhausted by his strenuous campaign, died in December and Walter S. Goodland, a Republican, who had been elected Lieutenant-Governor, became acting Governor. Loomis' death wrote finis to the Progressive era.

Although a Progressive ran for Governor in 1944 the party was moribund.

In the Third district Progressives slipped quietly back into the Republican party; many retired from active politics. In 1944 Wisconsin, including the Third district, supported

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\*The writer was present at the district Republican caucus in 1954 when Henry Ringling, Republican national committeeman, made a personal plea to the delegates urging endorsement of Withrow in recognition of his support of the party in Congress.



Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee for President. The big Dewey vote signalled a resurgence of regular Republican power.

In 1946 the district did not have a Democratic candidate for Congress.

### Toward Two-Party Politics

Despite the Republican victories in 1944, the Democratic candidate for Governor received nearly 41 per cent of the vote cast for Governor in that year; about 39 per cent in 1946.

Liberal Democrats in 1948 formed the Democratic Organizing Committee, a state-wide extra-legal organization to promote party fortunes (109). Since then Democratic strength in the state has steadily increased.

Out of the collapse of the Progressives and revival of the Democratic party came a significant change in Wisconsin politics: the liberal-conservative struggle was moved from the Republican primary to the general election.

From 1906 to 1932 Progressives and Stalwarts fought for control of the state in Republican primaries where control of the state's dominant party was determined. After 1948 competition in Republican primaries has diminished and opposition to the Republicans in the general election has increased.

In the Third district there has not been a primary contest over the Republican nomination since 1954; and the Democratic vote for Congress in the general election has steadily

increased.

### Local and National Interests

Wisconsin's political history has been shaped by a curious mixture of national and local events and influences.

Some of the national influences were, first, the era of Jacksonian Democracy; second, the Civil War; and third, the period of Republican dominance in politics which lasted from the Civil War until 1932.

Local influences have been the railroads, the farmers' continual restlessness, a prohibition movement, a misunderstood state school law, and of course, Robert M. LaFollette and the Progressives.

More recently the New Deal has had an impact on Wisconsin politics and contributed to the revival of Democratic strength.

Wisconsin's earliest history was shaped by the Democrats during the era of Jacksonian Democracy. As a part of Michigan Territory, Wisconsin was under the leadership of General Lewis Cass, a Democrat, who was a member of President Jackson's cabinet, and in 1848 the Democratic candidate for President.

When Wisconsin Territory was organized in 1836 the organization was effected by the Democratic administration of Presidents Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren. Henry Dodge, the first Territorial Governor, was appointed by President Jackson (105, p. 27).

There was little political activity in the early days of the Territory, for the Democrats held all the offices appointive by the President or the Territorial Governor. "The Democrats were satisfied to accept all the loaves and fishes without drawing party lines," according to Thomson's history. (105, p.27).

There was no real Democratic activity until 1839 when the Democrats held a meeting in Mineral Point to select delegates to a Democratic convention in Madison. The Whigs did not organize until January 1, 1841 (105. p. 29-30). Democrats were so popular, Thomson recalls, that the Whigs in their early conventions called themselves "Democratic Whigs" (105, p. 288).

"The development of Wisconsin has been largely due to the labors, wisdom and statesmanship of the Democratic party," according to A. M. Thomson (105, p. 288).

They took the initiative, he said, in pushing statehood, in locating the new state capital at Madison, and in beginning the first public buildings.

In the two state Constitutional conventions, according to Thomson, "Democrats took charge of the organization, appointed all the standing and special committees and gave form and color to the proceedings (105, p.288).

The failure of the first state Constitution to win approval by the people was, Thomson suggests, due to Whig opposition to Democratic theories of government incorporated in it (105, p. 289).

Given this impetus by the national dominance of the Dem-



ocratic party, Wisconsin came into the Union as a Democratic state. First Governor of the new state was a Democrat, Nelson Dewey, of Lancaster, who served from May, 1848, to January, 1852.

But the Democratic party was not destined to control the state for long. They lost the gubernatorial election of 1851 to Leonard J. Farwell, a Whig, but regained control with the election of William A. Barstow in 1853.

After a quarter century, however, Jacksonian Democracy was running down; its Wisconsin offspring was running down, too.

"Democrats were sharply divided into uncompromising factions," according to Campbell's history of the state (83, p. 80). Elder leaders, like former Governor Dodge, were relegated to the rear and new, younger leaders came to the front. Governor Barstow was the candidate of the younger Democrats.

Just at this time came the great national crisis that was to result in a Civil War. Abolition, slavery and free soil arguments split north and south —and split Wisconsin, too. Out of the split came the Republican party which in 1854 elected a Republican Congressman in the Second district and in 1855 wrested the state out of the hands of the Democrats.

The election of 1855 was the election in which Governor Barstow apparently won reelection by 157 votes (83, p. 92). Republicans protested the election after the State Board of Canvassers certified the returns. An appeal to the State Supreme Court resulted in a recount of the votes and a majority

of 1,009 votes for Bashford, the Republican candidate (106, pp. 309-321).

The Democrats have since, only accidentally, won statewide elections until the 1958 election.

The slavery and free soil issues gave the new Republican party strength and discredited the Democrats. The new party had wisely, too, bid for the support of the growing foreign population of the state. In 1857 the Republicans nominated Carl Schurz for Lieutenant-Governor and, although he lost, he campaigned widely, speaking in German, and is credited with swinging many of the Germans from the Democratic party to the Republican party (84, p. 92).

In the final analysis the Civil War dealt the quietus to the Democrats. They were generally regarded as the war party and held to be somewhat disloyal. In addition, the Republicans came forward with a procession of soldier-heroes and conservative businessmen whose appeal at the polls was well nigh irresistible. First of these was one-armed General Lucius Fairchild who was elected in 1865 and reelected twice.

Republican control of Wisconsin government was interrupted only twice from 1855 to 1932. In 1873 the Democrats elected a "reform" slate headed by William R. Taylor.

Although most of the credit for this Democratic victory has been given to the Grangers (90, p. 19) it was actually a combination of the Grangers, the Democrats, the railroads and the liquor interests that won the Gubernatorial election of

1873 (83, p. 272).

The Grangers were unhappy about farm prices; the liquor interests resented the restrictive Graham law; and the railroads were opposed to "epublican Governor Washburn because he blocked construction of a railroad bridge across the Mississippi river at Frairie du Chien. The Democrats welded a successful coalition out of these diverse interests and Taylor was elected.

The Democrats, however, made a mistake. With a majority in the Legislature, they enacted the Potter Law to regulate the railroads through a strong railroad commission.

"It was then, indeed," according to LaFollette, "that the railroads began to dominate politics for the first time in this country. They saw that they must either accept control or control the state." (90, p. 20).

From then on, according to LaFollette, private and corporate interests dominated state politics in Wisconsin. He wrote:

"They secured control of the old Republican party organization -- the party with the splendid history -- and while its orators outwardly dwelt upon the glories of the past and inspired the people with the fervor of patriotic loyalty, these corporation interests were bribing, bossing and thieving within" (90, p. 22).

The second Democratic administration came in 1890 as the result of another strictly state issue. This time the Democrats re-elected their candidate and held on to the Governorship for four years.

The victory in 1890 was the result of the Bennett law, intended originally only as a law to strengthen the state's public school system. But two provisions in the law unexpectedly became an issue. These were the provisions that children had to attend school in the district in which they lived and the definition of a school that required classes to be taught in English.

Both Catholics and Germans rebelled at what seemed to them to be an attack on their parochial school system. They voted their dissatisfaction in November, 1890, and the Democrats swept the state. The successful Democratic candidate was George Peck, a LaCrosse and Milwaukee newspaper editor and famous as the author of the humorous series "Peck's Bad Boy."

The Republicans had been dominant in Wisconsin from 1875 to 1890 largely because of national issues. Of these the tariff was probably the most important, but industrial growth, in which Wisconsin shared, was linked closely with the tariff. The tariff was an article of faith for the Republicans (84, p. 315).

Various opposing forces helped weld together the conservatives who controlled the Republican party. The Greenback movement, the Labor party, Socialism, and the Prohibition issue in the 1870s and 1880s drove many conservatives, who otherwise would have cared little for party ties, into close affiliation with the Republicans, the party which stood for conservatism (84, p. 315).



Wisconsin Democrats lost control of the state in 1894 and in 1896 the Republican party united with Conservative forces in the South and Middle West to crush the Bryan Democrats and populists (103).

Shortly after that LaFollette forced his way to control of the Republican party in Wisconsin. The LaFollette Progressives altered the direction of the conflict; no longer was the fight between Democrats and Republicans, but between Progressives and Stalwarts within the Republican party.

The Progressive wing of the Republican party received considerable help from liberal and "Progressive" Democrats. The Stalwart Republicans received help from the conservative Democrats.

### Stalwart and Democratic Cooperation

This alignment went back to LaFollette's early political days as a Third district Congressman. In his first campaign, in 1884, LaFollette recalled, "They ("the old crowd") tried to beat me at the polls by throwing support to the Democrats - " (90, p. 48).

In the 1890 campaign, LaFollette said, Republican machine leaders came into the district and "secretly used their power against me in favor of the Democratic candidate" (90, p. 134).

LaFollette had much to say in his Autobiography about the close cooperation of the Republican and Democratic machines.

In the 1894 campaign, he said:

"The bi-partisan character of machine politics became a prominent feature of the contest. Democratic machine newspapers and politicians joined with the Republican machine newspapers and politicians to suppress this first organized revolt" (90, p. 182).

LaFollette called the Democratic machine "as subservient to the railroads and other corporations as the Republican machine (90, p. 22).

Of Henry C. Payne, secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, LaFollette said:

"His intimate friendship and business relations with the Democratic State Central Committee in Wisconsin came to be one of the best known amenities in the politics of the day in the state. It was said that there was a well-worn pathway between the back doors of their private offices" (90, p. 49).

Schattschneider discusses this tendency in his Party Government:

"Professional politicians as a class develop a remarkable solidarity when their privileges are attacked by the public" (102, p. 183).

Lincoln Steffens, writing in McClures, commented on the Republican-Democratic coalition in the election of 1900, saying:

"Though the implacable Stalwarts supported the Democratic candidate, LaFollette was elected by 102,000 plurality" (118, p. 575).

As LaFollette and the Progressive movement grew stronger, Democratic and Republican cooperation grew. Steffens said of the 1902 campaign:

"For when Governor LaFollette beat the Stalwarts in the Republican state convention of 1902, those same Stalwarts combined with the Democrats. Democrats told me that the Republican Stalwarts dictated the "Democratic" and anti-LaFollette platform and that (Charles F.) Pfister, the "Republican" boss, named the "safe man" chosen for the "Democratic" candidate for governor to run against LaFollette --said David S. Rose" (118, p. 578).

Rose, defeated by LaFollette in 1902, was mayor of Milwaukee, where, according to Steffens, he helped Pfister put through an extension of street railway franchises (118, p. 577).

### The Progressive-Democratic Alliance

But there were two sides to the coin. If the Stalwarts had the support of the conservative Democratic machine, LaFollette had the support of many liberal Democrats.

According to Steffens:

"The Stalwarts as the old machine men and their business backers were called, became irregulars; they voted against and fought their party. They united with the old machine Democrats to beat their party. But LaFollette drew into it (the Republican party) democratic Democrats and independents enough to make a majority for the Republicans, who came thus to represent the people"(104, p. 459).

LaFollette in his Autobiography acknowledged the support of these Democrats:

"Many thousands of Democrats in Wisconsin voted for members of the Legislature known to stand for the enactment of these (Progressive) principles into law and gave me active support in my campaigns and election" (90, p. 347).

And:

"I would in no degree disparage the good work of Progressive Democrats," LaFollette emphasized (90, p. 751).

LaFollette received help, too, from the national Democratic party and its leaders. In 1902 Wisconsin Democrats asked William Jennings Bryan to come into the state to campaign for Mayor Rose. Bryan refused and wrote LaFollette:

"I would not do it because I did not want to aid in solidifying the Democratic party against your work there. I wanted you to have all the Democratic support you could get.." (90, p. 347).

In 1905 Bryan came to Madison and addressed a joint session of the state Legislature on railroad reform, a Progressive measure, and urged Democrats to support LaFollette's program (90, p. 344).

"Bryan," said LaFollette, "helped us often during our long fight in Wisconsin when the Democratic machine as well as the Republican machine was opposing the things we stood for" (90, p. 345).

### LaFollette As a Republican

In assessing the relationship between the Democratic and Republican parties and the LaFollette movement another point is suggested. Why did not LaFollette leave the Republican party and either join the Democratic party or form a party of his own?

LaFollette's view that the Democratic machine was as conservative and corrupt as the Republican machine probably explains why he did not consider leaving the Republican party in order to join forces with the Democrats.

As for forming a third party, LaFollette apparently never considered it seriously. He considered himself a Republican and quite probably realized in all practicality the weaknesses of the state's numerous minor party movements.

There are numerous references in LaFollette's Autobiography to his desire to avoid any break with the Republicans. He campaigned vigorously for his party in the 1890s despite his disagreement with its Wisconsin leadership (90, pp. 202-204).

"Considered as a state problem, I have never questioned the wisdom of our course in remaining within the Republican party," LaFollette said (90, p. 204).

### The Democratic Party Since 1900

The LaFollette era further undermined the Democrats in Wisconsin.

In the first place, LaFollette as we have seen attempted

to draw liberal or Progressive support from all quarters and probably quite a lot of it came from voters who were nominally Democratic.

Then the direct primary law made it possible for any one who wished to participate in the Republican primary. This for many years was the scene of the real political contests in the state (109).

These influences led to a less and less effective Democratic party in Wisconsin. The Democratic share of the vote in primary and general elections dropped off sharply.

In the Third district the Democratic party had no candidate for Congress in 1918, 1926 and 1946. The party ceased to compete in county elections.

In 1922 the Democrats polled so few votes in the primary election that they failed to win a place on the ballot for the general election. The Democratic candidate, Arthur Bentley, was forced to run in November as an Independent Democrat. In the 1922 primary, 600,548 votes were cast in the Republican primary and only 18,897 votes were cast in the Democratic primary (77, p. 501).

The fiasco of 1938 when the Democrats tried to join forces in a "stop LaFollette" movement very nearly finished the party.

Since 1948, however, there has been a gradual change in the party as younger, more vigorous men and women have taken control of the Democratic party (117).

The changes, now apparent on a state-wide basis, can readily be seen in Third district Democratic politics.

Prior to 1948 the party was controlled by seasoned regulars who ran the party through the statutory committees. Candidates for Congress were regulars whose nominations in the primary gave them an opportunity to take part in party affairs.

Since 1948 control of the party has been taken over by the volunteer Democratic Party of Wisconsin and the statutory party has become an appendage of the volunteer party. In the Third district in four out of the past five campaigns the Democratic candidates for Congress have come from outside the old party machinery.

The candidate in 1950 was Patrick J. Lucey, of Ferryville, in Crawford county. Lucey, an Irish Catholic, was a state assemblyman before he ran for Congress. He has since become chairman of the volunteer Democratic Party of Wisconsin, ousting Phileo Nash, one of the old regulars.

In 1952 the candidate was Mrs. Edna Bowen, of Lancaster, one of the regulars within the statutory party and a Democratic national committeewoman until 1957.

In 1954 the candidate was Joseph Seep, of Cazenovia, in Richland county, a farmer, member of the county board, and an officer of the Richland Electric Co-op and the Dairyland Power Co-op.

The candidate in 1956 and 1958 was Norman M. Clapp, a Lancaster newspaper editor, former Progressive and at one time

an administrative assistant to the younger Senator LaFollette.

One of the factors that makes these new leaders in the Democratic party more dangerous to the Republicans is their interest in competition. Where the Democrats of the Progressive era were largely content to control party machinery, the new Democrats want to win elections (117).



## CHAPTER IV

### GEOGRAPHICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

The 10 counties of Wisconsin's Third Congressional district lie wholly within the Wisconsin portion of the Driftless Area, one of the world's unique geological regions.

The Driftless Area lies largely within Wisconsin, but extends a short way into adjacent areas of southeastern Minnesota, northeastern Iowa, and northwestern Illinois. It is a region which during the great ice ages was surrounded but never covered by the glaciers.

Consequently, the Driftless Area, instead of being buried beneath the sand and gravel deposited over the rest of the Midwest by the retreating glaciers, retains, somewhat modified by time and erosion, the surface features of pre-glacial times.

Most of the Third Congressional district lies in the highlands of this region: it is some of the roughest land in the state, characterized by high, steep-sided, rock-cored ridges and deep narrow valleys, the result of age-long erosion by countless streams.

The Mississippi river bounds the district on the west

and the Wisconsin river runs south and southwesternly across the district to join the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien (38).

Most of the district drains into the Wisconsin or Mississippi rivers, but some of the more level land in Grant, Iowa, and LaFayette counties drains southward into Illinois.

Although the uplands of southwestern Wisconsin are extremely rugged, about 15 to 20 per cent of the region is too steep and rock for cultivation, the ridges provide excellent farm land. The ridge running north and south through Vernon county and into Crawford county is extremely valuable farm land. Grant county has the greatest area of highly productive soils in the state (38).

Only on the northeasterly portion of the district is soil less productive. Here, in Monroe, Juneau, and Sauk counties the land is level and sandy, the bed of Glacial Lake Wisconsin. There is another sandy area in the Wisconsin river valley in Sauk and Richland counties.

Soil of the uplands is a gray-ish brown hilly silt loam, product of a layer of silt several feet in depth deposited thousands of years ago by dust storms blowing up out of the Mississippi river valley after the ice age.

The entire district is well-drained, has adequate rainfall and a lengthy growing season. Most of the district has an annual rainfall of 32.1 to 34 inches while a smaller portion has from 30.1 to 32 inches of rainfall annually.

The growing season of most of the district is from 141

to 160 days while a narrow strip along the Mississippi river has a growing season longer than 160 days (38, pp.29-31).

The combination of rich soil, plentiful rainfall and a generous growing season has made this district the most productive of all the state's 10 Congressional districts.

Southwest Wisconsin is the oldest inhabited portion of the state if you except the early French settlements in the north. Easy to reach because of the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, fur traders and hunters were early arrivals here.

French-Canadians were the first settlers at Prairie du Chien in 1781 ( 37,p.2). In 1818, Crawford county was created by Lewis Cass, then Governor of Michigan Territory. A few years later, about 1825, miners began to come into the lead region of what is now Grant, Iowa, and LaFayette counties.

The direction of movement of the early miners and settlers into Wisconsin is interesting. Easiest access to this new region was down the Ohio river, then up the Mississippi river to Galena, thence up the Galena (or Fever) river into the lead region.

The New England states and New York provided the greatest part of Wisconsin's settlers (101, pp.45-64). The river route brought a number, too, from southern Illinois and the border states of Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Never a great number, these and others from farther south, settled mainly in the lead region.

Settlers in southeast Wisconsin along the lakeshore

TABLE 3 -- Population and Nativity in Southwest Wisconsin in 1850

	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	LaFay	Rich	Sauk
Population .....	2,500	16,171	9,528	11,531	903	4,372
Native Born .....	1,895	12,048	4,977	6,908	830	3,229
English .....	.....	2,000	2,569	2,010	18	147
German .....	.....	930	.....	.....	18	342
Irish .....	.....	...	.....	1,840	..	...
Norwegian .....	146	...	.....	.....	..	...
Welsh	....	...	568	.....	..	...

Source: Schafer, Joseph, A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin.  
 Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1922,  
 pp. 45-64.

came generally across the lakes or overland.

Agricultural settlers began to come into the southwestern part of the state in 1832 and many who came to mine lead stayed to farm. The settlements spread northward slowly and in 1850 when the first census was taken there were only a few settlers north and west of the Wisconsin river.

As can be seen from Table 3, most of the population in 1850 was native born. The bulk of the foreign born population consisted of miners and mine bosses from Cornwall and Yorkshire in England. They began to come into the lead region in the 1830s and by 1850 there were more than 6,000 of them.

The published census report of 1850 and 1860 did not give

TABLE 4 -- Characteristics of the Population of the Third Congressional District in 1880

	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Jun	LaX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vern
<u>Population ...</u>	15644	37852	23628	15582	27073	21279	21607	18174	28729	23235
<u>Native Born ..</u>	12043	29692	16748	12040	17120	16126	16173	16292	21477	17513
<u>Foreign Born .</u>	3601	8160	6880	3542	9953	5153	5434	1882	7252	5722
<u>Brit/Am ...</u>	397	276	280	302	605	145	326	194	315	155
<u>Eng/Wales .</u>	172	1952	2940	422	546	1614	494	250	736	189
<u>Ireland ...</u>	906	1030	1060	940	445	1667	740	432	905	253
<u>Scotland ..</u>	47	131	51	69	107	89	81	31	101	77
<u>Germany ...</u>	679	3185	1047	792	3013	656	2431	515	4315	785
<u>France ....</u>	25	12	11	46	46	5	24	21	86	16
<u>Nor/Swed ..</u>	987	556	983	536	3367	918	883	283	142	3573

Source: Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census

a county break-down of national origins and Schafer's figures, taken from the original census manuscripts, are the only readily available figures showing the composition of the region at the beginning of statehood.

By the 1870s the immigration tide had reached its flood; population in the three counties of the lead region a peak and would henceforth only show gains in the cities. The counties north of the Wisconsin river were beginning to fill up (116, p. 407).

Table 4 shows the composition of the foreign born population as recorded by the census of 1880. The proportion of foreign born in the population, at its peak in this decade, thereafter fell off at each succeeding census. The 1950 census shows only 2.7 per cent of the population of these 10 counties to be foreign born and only 0.3 per cent to be non-white (22, p.512).

In the early period of settlement in southwest Wisconsin the most significant foreign born groups were the settlers from Canadian provinces, the English, Welsh, and Irish, all English speaking; and the Germans and Norwegians.

The Germans were in significant numbers only in Grant, LaCrosse, Monroe, and Sauk counties. LaCrosse and Vernon counties had sizable Norwegian settlements. For some reason Richland county had only 1,882 foreign born settlers in its total population of 13,174.

The newer counties of the district continued to grow and



TABLE 5 -- Population of Southwest Wisconsin Counties from 1847 to 1950

	1847	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Adams ..	.....	187	6492	6601	6741	9141	9141	not in district after 1910				
Crawf ..	1409	2498	8068	13075	15644	15987	17286	16288	16772	16781	18328	17652
Dane ...	10935	16639	43922	53096	53233	59578	69435	77435	not in district after 1920			
Grant ..	11720	16169	31189	37979	37852	36651	38881	39007	39004	38469	40639	41460
Green ..	6487	8566	19808	23611	21729	22732	22719	21641	21568	21870	not in dist.	
Iowa ...	7963 <sup>a</sup>	9525	18967	24544	23628	22117	23114	22497	21504	20039	20595	19610
Juneau .	.....	....	8770	12372	15582	17121	20629	19569	19209	17264	18708	18930
LaX .....	.....	....	12186	20297	27073	38801	42997	43996	44355	54455	59653	67587
LaFay ..	9335	11531	18134	22659	21279	20265	20959	2005	20002	18649	18695	18137
Monroe .	.....	....	8410	16550	21607	23211	28103	28881	28666	28739	30080	31378
Richl ..	.....	903	9732	15731	18174	19121	19483	18809	19823	19525	20381	19245
Sauk ...	2178	4371	18963	23860	28729	30575	33006	32869	32548	32030	33700	38120
Vernon .	.....	....	11007	18645	23235	25111	28351	28116	29252	28537	29940	27906

Source: U.S. Census Reports, 1850 - 1950; 1847 figures from Attainment of Statehood.

<sup>a</sup>Includes Richland county.



several are still showing gains in population. Table 5 shows population growth from 1847 through the census of 1950.

Wisconsin, like the rest of the nation, has been changing from a rural to an urban way of life. The Third Congressional district has, slowly, been shifting in the same direction.

The shift in population in the district can be traced easily in Table 5. The southernmost counties, the old lead region, filled up first and LaFayette and Iowa counties gradually stopped growing; both reached population peaks in the 1860s.

Grant county reached a peak in the 1860s, dropped slightly until 1900 and has been increasing slowly since. Juneau county reached a peak in 1900 and declined in population until 1950 when it showed a slight increase. Crawford, Richland, and Vernon counties reached their peaks in the 1930s and have since lost population.

LaCrosse county has grown steadily and the city of LaCrosse, a manufacturing and trading city, is rapidly approaching the census bureau's definition of an urbanized center. Monroe and Sauk counties have also grown. All three have adequate rail connections; Sauk county has an added advantage in being within the Madison and Dane county suburban zone.

In 1950 the district's urban population was 100,600; the rural population was divided between 88,406 classified as rural non-farm and 111,019 classified as rural farm.

TABLE 6 -- Changes in Agriculture in the Third District 1870 - 1950

	Number of Farms in			Farm Population Loss 1930-50		Change 1910-1950
	1870	1910	1950			
Crawford ....	1452	1983 *	1282	1460	15.6 %	-155
Grant .....	4301	4056	3749	2733	13.9	-307
Iowa .....	2720	2495	2331	1626	14.1	-164
Juneau .....	1230	2470	1881	1966	20.3	-589
LaCrosse ....	1394	1811	1519	1874	21.1	-292
LaFayette ...	2412	2441	2155	1667	15.2	-286
Monroe .....	1989	3494	2911	2695	17.6	-583
Richland ....	2278	2546	2328	2116	17.4	-160
Sauk .....	2318	3806	3144	2344	14.4	-662
Vernon .....	2357	4003	3697	3930	20.4	-306
District ....	22951	29105	25273			-3832
State .....	102904	181767 **	168561			-13206

Source: Wisconsin Agriculture At Mid-Century.

\* Crawford county farms reached a peak of 1991 in 1890.

\*\* State peak of 181767 farms was reached in 1930.

The population changes which began in the 1870s can be traced further in Tables 6, 7, and 8.

The number of farms in the district reached a peak about 1910 and has since declined. Total changes in the various counties can be found in Table 6. The district as a whole had 3,832 fewer farms in 1950 than it had in 1910.

The trend toward fewer farms was accompanied by a loss

TABLE 7 -- Population Changes in the Third Congressional District from 1930-1950

County	Per Cent Urban			Rural Farm	Rural Non-Farm	Population Change 1940-1950
	1930	1940	1950	1950	1950	
Crawford ...	23.5	25.2	30.5	44.5	25.0	-3.7
Grant .....	10.5	19.0	21.7	40.7	37.8	2.0
Iowa .....	....	....	12.9	50.6	36.5	-4.8
Juneau .....	....	14.0	16.8	40.8	32.4	1.2
LaCrosse ...	72.7	71.6	74.1	10.4	15.5	13.3
LaFayette ..	....	....	....	51.4	48.6	-3.0
Monroe .....	28.9	32.0	34.0	41.8	24.2	4.3
Richland ...	18.6	21.4	23.9	52.1	24.0	-5.6
Sauk .....	26.6	29.7	29.7	36.4	33.9	13.1
Vernon .....	9.8	11.9	13.6	54.7	31.7	-6.8
District ...			33.5	36.9	29.6	13.1

Source: County and City Data Book, 1956 and 1950 Census

in farm population, a relationship shown in Table 6. Most of the recent growth has come in the cities as shown in Tables 7 and 8 and it is interesting that as the district lost farm population from 1930 to 1950 the rapid growth of urban places was able to counteract this loss to a certain

extent. The result has been, as Table 7 shows, that only five of the counties in the district actually lost total population from 1940 to 1950.

These were Crawford, Iowa, LaFayette, Richland, and Vernon counties. Counties which gained in population were Grant, Juneau, LaCrosse, Monroe, and Sauk.

TABLE 8 -- Urban Places in the Third Congressional District

County	City	Population	
		1950	Increase 1940-50
Crawford ...	Prairie du Chien *	5,392	16.7%
Grant .....	Lancaster *	3,266	10.2
	Platteville	5,751	20.8
Iowa .....	Dodgeville *	2,532	11.6
Juneau .....	Mauston *	3,171	21.0
LaCrosse ...	LaCrosse *	47,535	11.3
	Onalaska	2,561	47.0
LaFayette ..	.....	.....	....
Monroe .....	Sparta *	5,893	1.3
	Tomah	4,760	24.7
Richland ...	Richland Center *	4,608	5.6
Sauk .....	Baraboo *	7,264	13.8
	Reedsburg	4,072	12.4
Vernon .....	Viroqua *	3,795	6.9

Source: County and City Data Book, 1956. \* County seat.

TABLE 9 -- Farm-Operator Family Level of Living Index 1940 - 1954

County	1940	1945	1950	1954	Per Cent Above U.S. Average 1954
Crawford .....	108	140	153	153	9.3 %
Grant .....	136	167	173	175	25
Iowa .....	135	167	178	169	20.7
Juneau .....	87	109	136	144	2.8
LaCrosse .....	133	153	165	172	22.8
LaFayette .....	126	163	171	195	39.2
Monroe .....	102	128	150	160	14.2
Richland .....	113	135	145	151	7.8
Sauk .....	122	146	161	171	22.1
Vernon .....	108	128	149	156	11.4
District .....	117	143	158	164	17.1
State .....	107	131	149	158	12.8
United States ..	80	100	122	140	....

Source: County and City Data Book 1949 and 1956; Wisconsin Agriculture in Mid-Century.

TABLE 10 - Employment and Individual Income in the Third District 1950

County	Population	Employment Mfg.	Ag.	Family Median Income	Less Than \$2000 Income	More Than \$5000 Income
Crawford ..	17652	15.9%	43.6%	\$2250	49.3%	8.0%
Grant .....	41460	9.0	43.1	2430	50.2	14.3
Iowa .....	19610	7.4	55.0	2290	49.4	9.9
Juneau ....	18930	9.2	38.4	2342	48.8	8.9
LaCrosse ..	67587	33.0	9.4	3394	31.8	21.2
LaFayette .	18137	6.4	56.6	2417	47.8	9.7
Monroe ....	31378	6.7	44.5	2322	47.2	10.3
Richland ..	19245	7.5	53.9	2181	27.4	9.2
Sauk .....	38120	12.0	35.7	2565	44.2	11.8
Vernon ....	27906	4.9	58.0	2107	54.9	7.7
State .....	3434575	30.6	18.6	3256	34.0	20.3

Source: County and City Data Book, 1956; Census Reports, 1950.

As can be seen in Table 8 there are no large cities in the Third district. LaCrosse had a population of 47,535 in 1950, though it is somewhat larger now. Only four other cities in the district have more than 5,000 population: Baraboo, Sparta, Platteville, and Prairie du Chien. Three others, Tomah, Richland Center, and Reedsburg are over 4,000.

Iowa county has only one city, Dodgeville, which barely

meets census standards for an urban place. LaFayette county has not a single urban place.

But despite the fact farm population in the district has declined, prosperity still depends upon the farm, not on the cities. The district is still primarily a producer of agricultural crops. In 1954 total value of farm products sold by the district was \$136,908,000. Next largest producer was the Ninth Congressional district, also in western Wisconsin, with \$131,937,000, followed by the Second district with \$121,515,000 (22,p.513).

The district's farm families are comparatively prosperous, according to the level of farm-operator living ( Table 9). This index, based on income, utilities, appliances, and other indices of a high standard of living, shows the counties of the district to be well above the United States level. All but four of the counties in the district are above the state level.

One aspect of this index may be of some significance politically. The index shows that from 1950 to 1954 the rate increase for the Third district has not been as great as the rate of increase for the country as a whole. The fact the standard of living for farm families in this area is not going up as fast as it is for others is interesting also in the light of the data contained in Table 10.

Median family income in the district is below that for the state except in LaCrosse county. And in eight of the 10

counties more than 40 per cent of the population had an income in 1950 of less than \$2,000 annually. The difference between median income and levels of income in LaCrosse county and the other counties of the district should also be noted.

The relative importance of manufacturing in the Third district can also be seen in Table 10. LaCrosse is a manufacturing center; Prarie du Chien has some industry; Sauk county has the Badger Ordnance plant at Baraboo.

None of the other Third district counties boast much industry. What there is is largely devoted to processing of milk into cheese, butter, dried milk, and condensed milk.



## CHAPTER V

### POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE LOCAL LEVEL

Wisconsin since the Civil War has been a modified one-party state.

In the Third Congressional district, southwestern Wisconsin has been consistently Republican and the one-party pattern has been modified by only occasional break-throughs by other parties.

In the two Congressional elections in 1848, in 1850, and in 1852 southwest Wisconsin, then the Second district, elected a Democrat to Congress. In 1882, 1890 and in 1906 the Third district elected a Democrat to Congress. In 1934 and 1936 the district elected a Progressive to Congress.

Except for these well-spaced departures, the Third district has been loyal to the Republican party. Within the counties voters have been solidly Republican, with occasional lapses, for longer than most living politicians can remember.\* Since 1932 when the Democrats became dominant, national party Republicans have had a near-monopoly on county offices in the Third district.

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\*Berlie Moore, who has been county clerk of Vernon county for more than 50 years and deputy clerk before that, told the writer in August, 1958, that the last Democrat elected to a county office in Vernon county was a "one-armed man elected sheriff sometime in the 1880s."

Most contests for county office have occurred not in the general election, but in the Republican primary.

Examination of election records in the 10 counties in the district reveal that out of 1,040 offices at stake in the 13 county elections since 1932 Republicans have been elected to 834, or 80.2 per cent.

This one-party dominance, moreover, came during a period when both the Democratic party and the LaFollette Progressive party were actively seeking office in the counties, in state Legislative and Congressional districts, and statewide.

Democrats from 1932 to 1956 campaigned for only 483 county offices in the Third district and won only 49, or 4.7 per cent, of the total offices available. The Progressives, active in only five elections, entered 266 candidates and won 98 county offices, a total of 9.4 per cent of the offices available during the 10 years they campaigned as a party.

About five per cent of the county offices, usually the post of county surveyor, were not sought by candidates of either party.

With such persistent success at the polls, Republican officials in the Third district have tended to become possessive. Many have been re-elected for term after term and have developed considerable political acuteness, one evidence of which is their tendency to regard county offices as more or less non-partisan.

Although officially Republican, many county officials shy

away from active participation in the affairs of the county Republican organization. Their contributions to party treasuries are skimpy and reluctant; they do very little partisan campaigning.\*

There are exceptions, of course, but usually among the district attorneys who are less interested in tenure as a county officer than in political activity which will lead upward in politics or help build their law practice.\*\*

This non-partisan attitude among county officials is in large part a desire to appeal to voters of various political faiths; they are anxious to have split tickets in November.

As a result party lines are consciously blurred by county candidates and there has been a consistent pattern in the district of Republican candidates for county office appealing to the voters when they lose in the Republican primary.

Study of county elections shows numerous elections where one or more Republican candidates lose in the primary and, refusing to accept the decision of the primary, run in the general election as an Independent.

Wisconsin law permits this appeal from the decision of a party primary. Candidates not nominated by a party may

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\*Research would amply document this and other generalizations about the non-partisan leanings of county officials, but these statements are, largely personal observation on the part of the writer.

\*\*For example, Mark Hoskins, district attorney of Grant county, has been active in his party organization and served for several years as secretary of the Grant county Republican organization.

circulate nomination papers as an Independent. (74, p. 19).

TABLE 11 Independent Candidacies in the Third district from 1932 to 1956

County	Independent Candidates	Republican Competition for office
Crawford .....	2	93.3 %
Grant .....	7	99
Iowa .....	2	87.5
Juneau .....	6	72.1
LaCrosse .....	-	99.0
LaFayette .....	2	80.1
Monroe .....	4	90.4
Richland .....	5	100
Sauk .....	2	83.7
Vernon .....	-	88.5
District	30	80.2

Table 11 lists all Independent candidacies for county office from 1932 to 1956. The total number is not particularly significant, but the Independent candidate occasionally makes Wisconsin elections interesting and the results surprising.

Iowa county had an Independent candidate for Sheriff in 1948 who ran second, but far ahead of the regularly nominated Democratic candidate. Grant county had two candidates who ran as Independent Republicans in 1954; one presented the only

opposition to the Republican nominee for County Treasurer; the other was a dissatisfied candidate for Sheriff in the Republican primary.

Grant county also had two Independent candidates in 1948 when there were no Democrats on the ballot. In 1946 an Independent candidate for Sheriff, also an unhappy loser in the Republican primary, was elected by a 98 vote margin.

Grant county, second only to Richland county in its devotion to the Republican party, has had the largest number of Independent candidates of any of the counties in the district.

This tendency to appeal from party decisions is an indication of: (1) the way Wisconsin's election laws have limited the power of political parties to control nominations; (2) of the lack of opposition to the Republican party in the counties; and (3) of the lack of party discipline and respect for party labels in the counties.

Elected county officials, the Court House officers, are, however, important to the party even though they try to maintain enough independence to attract voters from all parties in the general election.

Candidates for Congress and the various state offices regularly send their nomination papers to county officers. These papers are quite often "circulated" merely by placing them on the counter in the official's office in the Court House where they can be seen and signed by anyone without special solicitation.

However, the fact remains that within the party on the higher levels, the county official is considered an important link with the voters, particularly the voters of his party.

During campaigns when candidates visit a county seat they invariably make the rounds of the Court House to visit with and gather political gossip from the county officials. This access to a local group of elected Republicans, most of whom are close to the voters and consistently able vote-getters, gives Republican candidates some advantage in campaigning.

In the 1958 Congressional campaign, just ended, the Milwaukee Journal noted of Gardner Withrow, Republican candidate for Congress:

"Withrow can drop into a courthouse and pick up a coterie of candidates, most of them already in office, to help him open local doors. Clapp (the Democratic nominee) must usually beat a lonely trail" (112).

One of the most interesting phenomena of county politics in southwestern Wisconsin has been the loyalty of Progressive Republicans to the LaFollettes and the loyalty of voters to the Progressive Republicans no matter which ticket their names appeared on.

In 1934 when the LaFollettes organized the Progressive party many county officials moved directly from the Republican column to the Progressive.

In vernal county the Court House officials, all of

TABLE 12 -- Competition for County Office in the Third Congressional District from 1932 to 1956

County	Republicans 1932-1956						Democrats 1932-1956						Progressives 1934-1944					
	Total Offices Available	Attempts	Per Cent of Candidates Won	Offices Won	Per Cent of Success	Total Offices Available	Attempts	Per Cent of Candidates Won	Offices Won	Per Cent of Success	Total Offices Available	Attempts	Per Cent of Candidates Won	Offices Won	Per Cent of Success	Total Offices Available	Attempts	Per Cent of Candidates Won
Crawford ...	104	97	93.3	68	70.1	104	85	81.7	31	29.8	48	16	33.0	none				
Grant .....	104	103	99.0	101	97.1	104	39	37.5	1	1.0	48	22	45.8	none				
Iowa .....	104	91	87.5	101	97.1	104	37	35.6	none	none	48	13	27.0	1	2.1			
Juneau .....	104	75	72.1	53	51.0	104	34	32.7	6	5.8	48	41	85.4	33	68.7			
LaCrosse ...	104	103	99.0	99	95.2	104	64	61.5	1	1.0	48	32	6.7	3	6.3			
LaFayette ..	104	84	80.1	80	76.9	104	41	39.4	10	9.6	48	21	43.7	6	12.5			
Monroe .....	104	94	90.4	74	71.2	104	66	63.5	none	none	48	34	70.8	23	47.9			
Richland ...	104	104	100.0	104	100.0	104	32	30.8	none	none	48	14	29.1	none				
Sauk .....	104	87	83.7	80	76.9	104	57	54.8	1	1.0	48	29	60.4	9	18.8			
Vernon .....	104	92	88.5	74	71.2	104	28	26.9	none	none	48	36	75.0	19	39.5			
District ...	1040	932	89.6	834	80.2	1040	483	46.4	49	4.7	480	266	55.4	98	20.4			

Source: County clerks' original election records.

TABLE 13 -- Extent of Party Activity in County Elections - 1932-1956 -  
Progressives - 1934-1944

Year	Crawford	Grant	Iowa	Jureau	LaCrosse	LaFayette	Monroe	Richland	Sauk	Vernon	District
1934	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	75	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	75	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	84.5
1936	75	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	50	100	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	75	50	75	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	70.5
1938	..	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	100	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	75	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	75	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	60.8
1940	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	75	..	100	75	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	..	75	87 $\frac{1}{2}$	55
1942	..	..	..	50	50	..	50	..	50	50	25
1944	..	..	..	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	..	..	..	50	12.5

Source: County clerks' original election records.

them Republican, moved into the Progressive column en masse. Tables 12 and 13 show in detail the extent of the Progressive movement in the various counties of the district.

Former Republicans proved able vote-getters as Progressives. As Stalwart Republican opposition to the Progressive movement mounted, and as the Progressive surge began to lose momentum, Progressives on the county level began to lose their competitive spirit. Most of the county officials slipped back into the Republican column in 1940 and 1942. Few Progressives were left at the county level in 1944, the last election in which the Progressives participated as a party.

The Progressive movement and the extreme loyalty of



voters to Republican county officials accounts in some degree for the difficulty the Democratic party had in bringing out an effective vote for local and state candidates while having no difficulty in carrying the state for a Democratic Presidential candidate.

Another fact that helps explain the difficulties of the Democrats is the traditional one-sidedness of Wisconsin politics. The Democrats have since the Civil War been a minority party, particularly on the Congressional and county level. While minority parties as such have flourished in the state and indirectly have exerted great influence --the Greenback and Prohibition parties for example -- they have not been in the habit of electing their candidates. It has been the practice of Democrats to join Republicans in settling issues in the Republican primary, a situation already discussed in a previous chapter.

Democratic and Progressive competition for county offices in the Third district fell off rapidly after enthusiastic beginnings in 1932 and 1934, as can be seen in Tables 14 and 15. Except for personal loyalty to some individuals, the Republican voters --and independent voters-- of the district quickly shifted their votes back to the traditional majority party.

Yet, as already suggested, minority parties even though not capable of winning elections, have had considerable influence on the Republicans. In the case of the Democrats their

TABLE 14 -- Extent of Party Activity in County Elections - 1932-1956-  
Democrats

Year	Crawford	Grant	Iowa	Jureau	LaCrosse	LaFayette	Monroe	Richland	Sauk	Vernon	District
1932	100 %	75	50	37½	100	37½	62½	87½	75	12½	63.7
1934	87½%	75	100	87½	100	87½	75	50	87½	62½	81.2
1936	87½%	75	75	62½	100	75	87½	25	75	62½	72.5
1938	87½%	50	62½	50	87½	75	75	12½	12½	..	51.2
1940	62½%	..	50	..	37½	75	87½	..	87½	..	40
1942	100 %	25	..	..	25	37½	75	62½	62½	..	41.2
1944	62½%	..	..	..	12½	12½	75	..	..	..	16.2
1946	75 %	37½	..	12½	..	..	50	..	..	..	16.2
1948	75 %	..	12½	..	50	..	37½	..	..	..	17.5
1950	100 %	87½	62½	75	100	37½	50	62½	75	62½	71.2
1952	87½%	..	12½	..	87½	50	50	..	87½	..	37.5
1954	50 %	2½	25	50	62½	..	50	87½	75	62½	47.5
1956	62½%	50	12½	50	37½	25	50	12½	75	75	46.2

Source: County clerks' original election records.

competition for office on the county level has helped narrow the Republican margin of victory in Congressional races.

If the local candidate is viewed as a link in the political communication net, as a channel of communication from the party to the voter, the mere presence of local candidates should help the party on higher levels where candidates are

TABLE 15 -- Extrent of Party Activity in County Elections - 1932-1956-  
Republicans

Year	Crawford	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaCrosse	LaFayette	Monroe	Richland	Sank	Vernon	District
1932	100 %	100	75	100	100	75	87½	100	87½	87½	91.2
1934	100 %	100	87½	100	100	12½	62½	100	87½	87½	85
1936	100 %	100	87½	62½	100	87½	100	100	75	100	91.2
1938	100 %	100	87½	50	100	75	100	100	50	87½	83
1940	100 %	100	100	87½	100	87½	100	100	87½	87½	95
1942	87½ %	100	87½	12½	100	75	100	100	87½	87½	83
1944	87½ %	100	87½	25	100	100	87½	100	87½	87½	86.2
1946	100 %	100	87½	62½	87½	87½	87½	100	87½	87½	88.1
1948	87½ %	87½	87½	87½	100	87½	87½	100	87½	87½	90
1950	87½ %	1100	75	87½	100	87½	87½	100	87½	87½	90
1952	100 %	100	87½	87½	100	87½	100	100	87½	87½	93
1954	87½ %	100	100	87½	100	87½	87½	100	87½	87½	92.5
1956	75 %	100	100	87½	100	87½	87½	100	87½	87½	92.5

Source: County clerks' original election records.

perforce more remote from the voters.

The local candidates, as part of the local voter group, are able to exert personal influence:

As Katz and Lazarsfeld put it, they form a line of communication parallel to and beyond the mass media (88).

As Schattschneider puts it, they reach the voter where

he is through direct, personal solicitation (102).

As we shall see this personal influence seems to have greatest effect on Congressional elections where the Congressional candidate is fairly close to the voter himself and has some personal influence and lines of communication of his own.

This appears to be borne out by close examination of competition for county office.

In order to be able to draw some generalizations from county elections a complete record of competition for the eight county offices was compiled from records on the county clerks in the 10 counties in the Third Congressional district and summarized in Table 12.

An index of "competitiveness" based on the total number of county offices available and the number of candidates who actually were nominated for the office was constructed from the election records from 1932 to 1956.

As table 11 shows, the Republicans have an average of 89.6 per cent in competition for the 1,040 available county offices in the district over the 13 elections in this period.

In computing this index of competitiveness the eight county offices of county clerk, clerk of court, treasurer, register of deeds, sheriff, coroner, district attorney, and surveyor were counted. Since in some counties there has been little interest in the office of surveyor and occasionally lack of interest in the coroner's post, even the Republicans as majority party have not had a perfect competitive record.

When an office was not filled at all or when candidates were not formally nominated in the primary it was considered that there was no competition for the office.

Hence the Republican district-wide record of only 89.6 per cent competition. Democrats only nominated candidates for 483 of the 1,040 available offices during the years since 1932 for an over-all competitive index of 46.4 per cent.

Progressives, during the 10 year period they competed as a separate party, had a better average. Out of the 480 offices available during the 10 year period 1934 to 1944, Progressives nominated candidates for 266 offices for a competitive index of 55.4 per cent.

Republicans as the traditionally dominant party have had the greatest success in winning county elections. They elected 834 out of 932 candidates during this period and held 80.2 per cent of the available offices. The Democrats were able to elect in this period only 49 county officers.

The Progressives during their period of competition had better success and were able to elect their candidates to 20.4 per cent of the available offices.

However, in considering the local candidate as a part of the communication process it is competition --the act of campaigning-- that is important, not the candidate's success in winning the election.

This can be seen from the fact that:

1 - Increased competition, or communication, at the

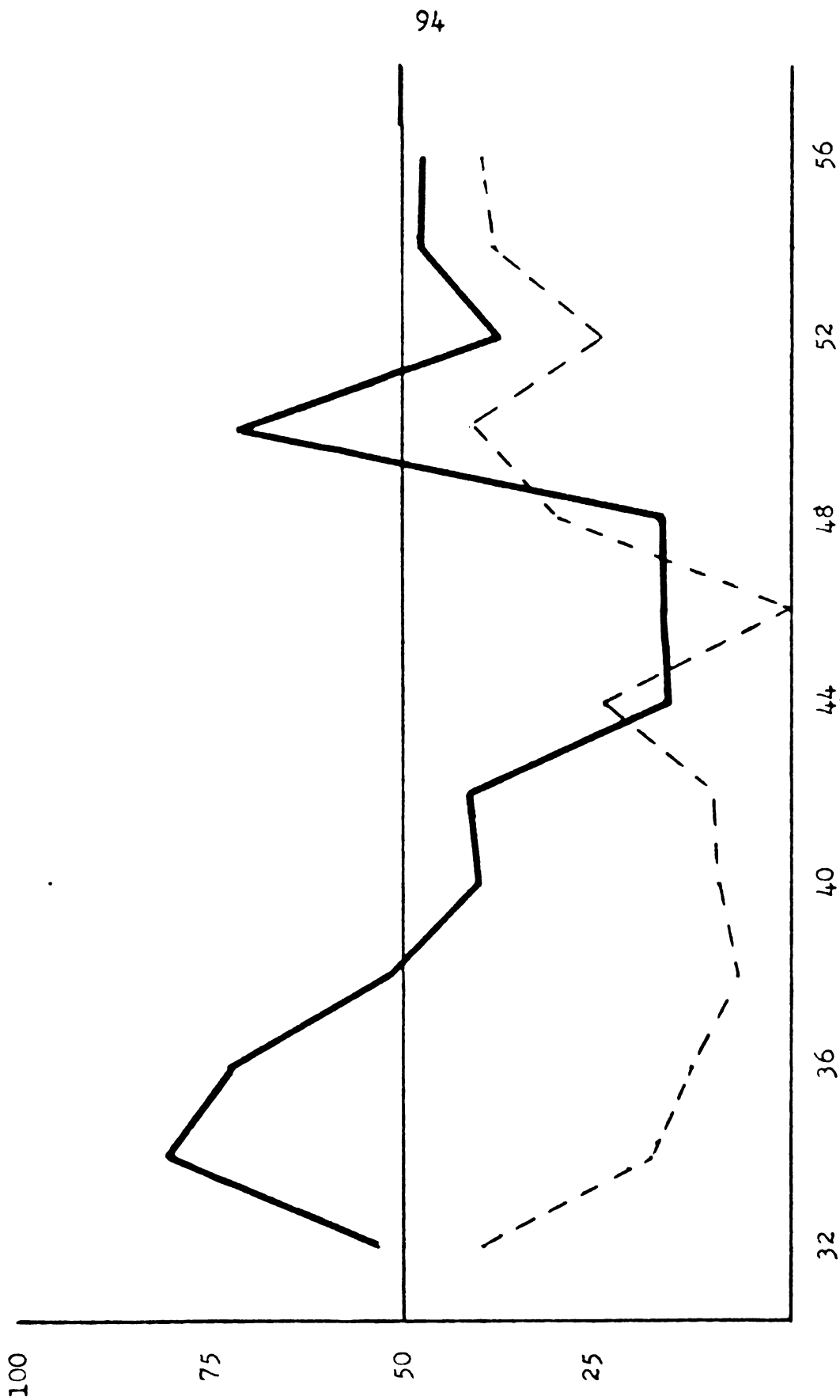


FIGURE 9 -- Democratic "competitiveness" in the Third Congressional district from 1932 to 1956 (solid line) and the Democratic percentage of the vote for Congress.

county level seems to be accompanied by a narrower margin between the winning Congressional candidate and the runner up.

2 - Winning Congressional candidates generally run ahead of candidates for Governor and President.

Evidence of these tendencies can be seen by examination of data in Table 12 and Figure 8.

First, however, it should be pointed out that generalizations about the competitiveness and communication factors are based on Democratic party behavior. This is so because the Republicans as the dominant party, holding most of the county offices and winning nearly all of the Congressional and Gubernatorial elections during this period, show fewer fluctuations from which conclusions can be drawn.

Generalizations can be drawn, on the other hand, from Democratic behavior because it does fluctuate and variations in competitiveness can be compared with Congressional voting statistics which also show fluctuations.

The Democratic party's index of competitiveness, based as we have seen on the number of times Democrats have nominated candidates for county office, follows closely the fluctuations in the Democratic party's percentage of the vote for Congress.

The relationship is not exact, nor probably is it to be completely depended on, but certainly the relationship as shown in Figure 8 reveals:

1 - That as Democratic competitiveness on the county level fell off from 1932 to 1946 the Democratic party's share of the

Congressional vote also fell off.

2 - That after 1948 when the Democratic Organizing Committee was formed and the party began to be more competitive at the county level the Democratic share of the Congressional vote increases.

As figure 8 shows the combined pressure of Democratic and Progressive competition from 1932 to 1944 kept the Republican stalemate index low. But from 1944 to 1948 with the Progressives out of the picture and the Democratic competition at a low point the Republican stalemate index shot up.

From 1948 until the present the stalemate index has moved up or down with the changes in Democratic competition.

An even closer relationship between Democratic competition and the Democratic share of the Congressional vote can be seen in Figure 9. This graph shows clearly how the Democratic percentage of the Congressional vote dropped from 1932 to 1946 and then rose gradually after 1948 as Democratic competitiveness increased.

There are some indications from the evidence contained in Figure 9, for example, that while the Congressional vote is influenced directly by competitiveness for county office that this competitiveness at the county level is related directly to Presidential election campaigns.

In 1934 after the successful 1932 campaign in which the Democrats swept Wisconsin and the nation, Democratic competitiveness on the county level was high. In 1944 the influences



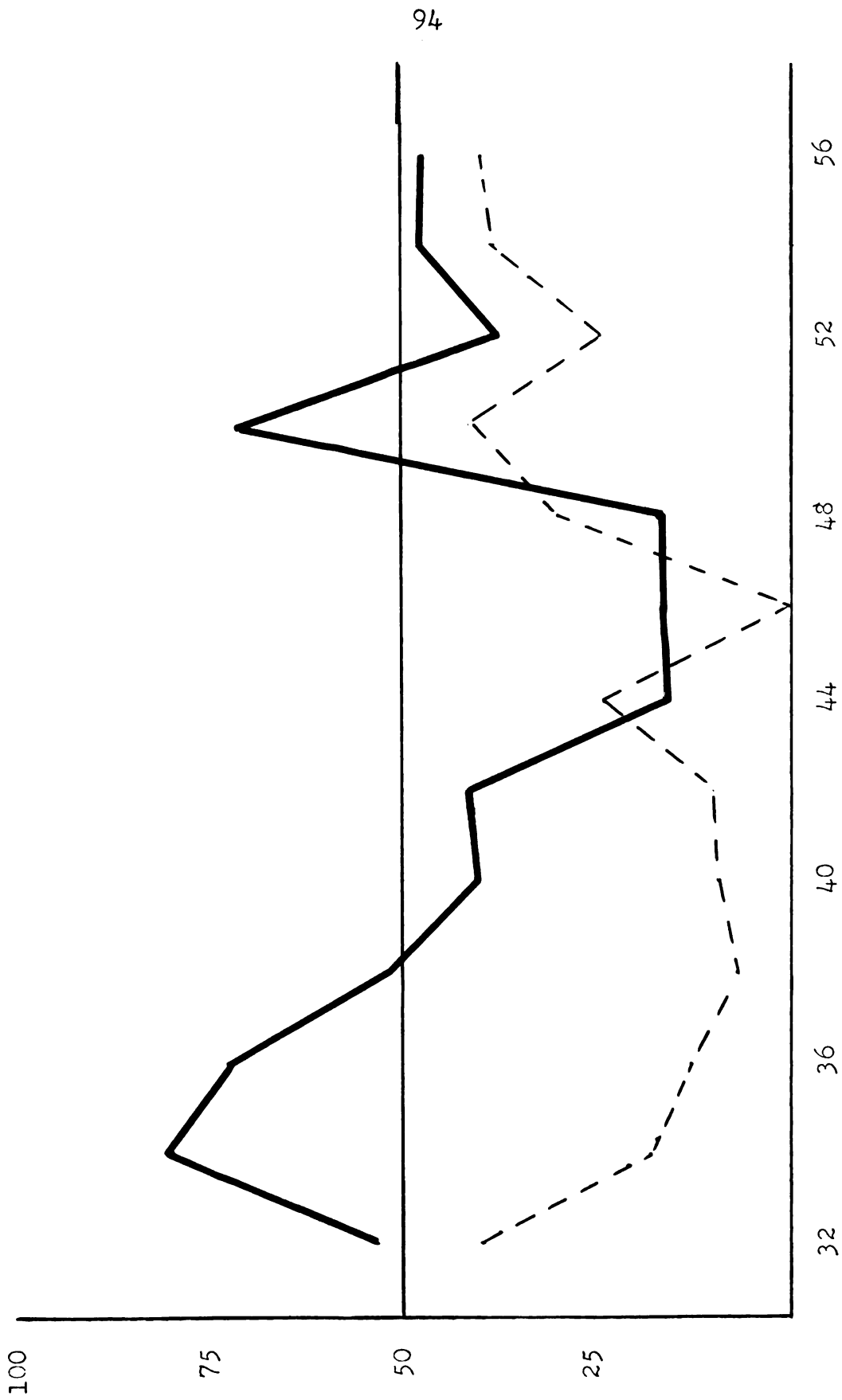


FIGURE 9 -- Democratic "competitiveness" in the Third Congressional district from 1932 to 1956 (solid line) and the Democratic percentage of the vote for Congress.

that caused Wisconsin to shift into the Republican column in the Presidential election probably caused the sharp drop in Democratic competitiveness at the county level.

The Democratic share of the Congressional vote no doubt moved upward in this election due to the elimination of Progressive candidates.

County competitiveness was low while Democratic fortunes were low from 1944 to 1948. In 1948 Wisconsin went Democratic in the Presidential election, but the Third district voted Republican.

In 1950 the increase in county competitiveness can probably be ascribed to the enthusiasm engendered by Truman's 1948 victory and, partially at least, to the reorganization getting underway in state Democratic politics.

In 1952 both competitiveness on the county level and the Democratic Congressional vote fell as Eisenhower carried the district and the state for the Republicans.

Much has been made of the influence of Presidential elections on Congressional campaigns. Moos (94) shows that in recent years there has been a tendency for the President to run ahead of his ticket and, inferentially, to attract a larger vote to others on the ticket, including Congressional candidates.

We might examine this situation in regard to the coat-tails of both Presidential and Gubernatorial candidates in the Third district.

Table 16 shows the relationship of the Gubernatorial and Congressional vote in the Third district.

In only three out of 13 elections has the Governor run ahead of the successful Congressional candidate in the district. In 1936 Phil LaFollette ran ahead of the successful Progressive candidate for Congress and in 1938 Julius P. Heil ran ahead of the successful Republican candidate for Congress.

Table 16 Comparative Strength of Congressional and Gubernatorial Candidates for All Parties 1932-1956

	Governor Ahead	Governor Behind	<u>Winner's</u> Governor	<u>Party</u> Congress
1932		X	Dem.	Rep.
1934		X	Prog.	Prog.
1936	X		Prog.	Prog.
1938	X		Rep.	Rep.
1940		X	Rep.	Rep.
1942		X	Rep.	Rep.
1944		X	Rep.	Rep.
1946		X	Rep.	Rep.*
1948		X	Rep.	Rep.
1950		X	Rep.	Rep.
1952		X	Rep.	Rep.
1954		X	Rep.	Rep.
1956	X		Rep.	Rep.

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\* There was no Democratic candidate for Congress in 1946.

In 1956 Vernon Thomson ran ahead of the successful Republican candidate for Congress. In the other 10 elections Democratic, Progressive and Republican Gubernatorial candidates, all of whom were elected, ran behind the successful Congressional candidates -- all of whom were Republican except in 1934 when a Progressive was elected -- in the Third district.

As for Presidential coattails the picture is not so clear. Democratic candidates for President have run ahead of the Congressional candidates in the Third district in every election. They have also run ahead of the Democratic Gubernatorial candidates except in the 1956 election.

Republican Presidential candidates ran ahead of the Congressional and Gubernatorial candidates in 1932, 1936 and 1940, a period dominated by the Democrats nationally and by the Democrats and Progressives within the state. In 1944, 1948 and 1952 the Republican Presidential candidates ran behind the Congressional candidates even though in two of those campaigns, 1944 and 1952, the Republicans carried the state.

In 1956 the Republican Presidential candidate ran behind the successful Congressional and Gubernatorial candidates in the Third district voting.

As for the coattail influence of Presidential candidates in this district:

1 - The coattails of the Democratic Presidential candidates probably were of some help to Congressional candidates because of the strong position of the Democratic party nation-

ally and the extremely weak position of the party in the Third district.

2 - Republican Presidential candidates ran ahead of Congressional and Gubernatorial candidates in four out of seven Presidential elections. However, in three of the four elections where the Presidential candidate ran ahead the Wisconsin Republicans were losing out to Democrats and Progressives.

In the four elections beginning with 1944 the Republican Presidential candidate ran ahead only once, in 1956.

The inference is that in the Third district Republican county, Congressional district, and Gubernatorial candidates help the Presidential candidate more than he helps them.

In summary:

The Republicans as majority party and winner in most elections have derived considerable strength from their success in county elections. Republican Congressional candidates in the Third district have, moreover, lent strength to the state and national Republican tickets.

The Democrats, on the other hand, have lacked strength at the county and Congressional district level. Democratic Presidential candidates have run ahead of Congressional and Gubernatorial candidates in the Third district with only one exception as was noted previously.

All of which lends credence to the theory that the effectiveness of county competition and communication with the voter

has more influence on Congressional elections in this district than does the influence of the Presidential or Gubernatorial campaigns.

This is further borne out by the fact that from 1932 to 1948 when the Democrats won the Presidential election four out of five times both Democratic competitiveness and the Democratic share of the Congressional vote eroded away in campaign after campaign; but from in 1952 and 1956 when the Democrats were losers in Presidential campaigns, Democratic competitiveness and the Democratic share of the Congressional vote in the Third district have been climbing slowly upward.

There does seem to be some evidence then that the county candidate has some effectiveness in the political communication network.

Where local candidates compete, where they campaign and exert their personal influence in direct solicitation, where they seek out the voters, there the effectiveness of the candidate as a communicator is felt in the Congressional vote.

## CHAPTER VI

### COMMUNICATION PATTERNS IN THE 1956 CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN

The impact of competition by candidates on the county level was analyzed in Chapter V and it was suggested that this competition is in reality an act of communication.

In this chapter the various channels of communication used by a candidate for Congress and, more briefly, the channels of communication and influence of the county candidates, will be discussed.

The candidate for Congress in Wisconsin has open to him numerous channels of communication and influence which lead both upward through the party and outward to the voter.

Because under Wisconsin's unique political system there are two Democratic parties, one legally created and ordered, the other voluntarily organized, candidates have two distinct sets of relationships with the party.

And Democrats in Wisconsin because of their party's firm policy of keeping hands off primary contests have two distinct campaigns: first, the primary without party help; second, the general election with party help.

The Democratic party and the Congressional candidate make use of or create under these conditions a maze of friends, supporters, clubs, committees, and volunteer organizations.

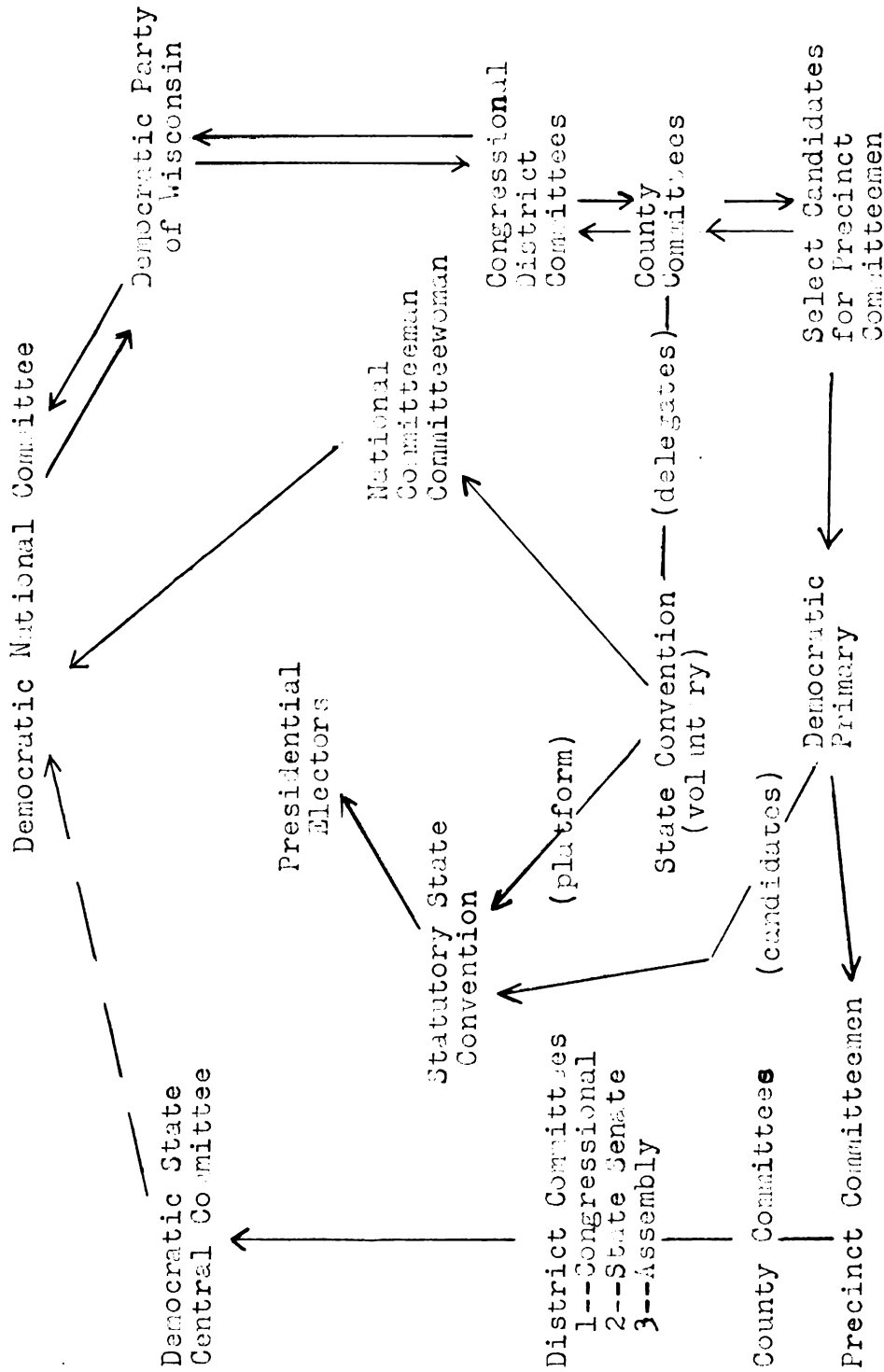


Figure 10 -- Statutory and Voluntary Activities of the Democratic Party in Wisconsin.



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All these channels exist for two reasons: first, to permit financial aid to reach the candidate legally and to permit him to expend funds legally in campaigning; second, to provide a means of passing political information through the party's various levels to the candidate and finally the voter.

Prior to 1948 this network of communication did not exist and it was this lack as much as Republican and Progressive aggressiveness which prevented the Democratic party from winning Congressional and state elections.

Wisconsin's system of statutory and voluntary party organizations is charted in Figure 10. At left are the statutory committees which today are largely inactive, and at the right are the various voluntary groups which actually are the Democratic party (117).

The two overlap and the voluntary Democratic Party of Wisconsin through its various committees and through the candidates controls the activities of the statutory party.

Political organization is a round-robin affair. There is no beginning and no end. However, to understand the working of the party and its channels of influence it would be safe to say that the organization begins with the county committee.

Influence of the county Democratic organization is twofold: it generally solicits volunteers to run for the posts of precinct committeemen; and it selects delegates to the state convention.

The state convention writes the party platform, elects the national committeemen and women, elects the party's state chairman, and elects Congressional district officers.

There is no direct connection between the voluntary party organization and the statutory organization. The voluntary Democratic Party of Wisconsin has exerted its influence over the statutory party only through its candidates for legislative and state office and by hand-picking candidates for precinct committee posts. In theory the statutory and voluntary parties are separate entities. In fact the same people manage both organizations.

The Democratic Party of Wisconsin does not endorse candidates in the primary nor support them financially. Persons seeking nomination in the Democratic primary are on their own until they are nominated; after nomination they get the support of the party voluntary organization and have a share in the party's statutory machinery.

Nominees for state executive and legislative offices are delegates to the statutory convention held after the primary (74, 5.36) and there they put a seal of approval on the platform previously drawn up at the voluntary convention; choose presidential electors; and elect members and chairmen of the State Central Committee.

Party business is conducted by the voluntary organization almost exclusively and the Democratic National Committee deals with Wisconsin Democrats through the voluntary organization (117).

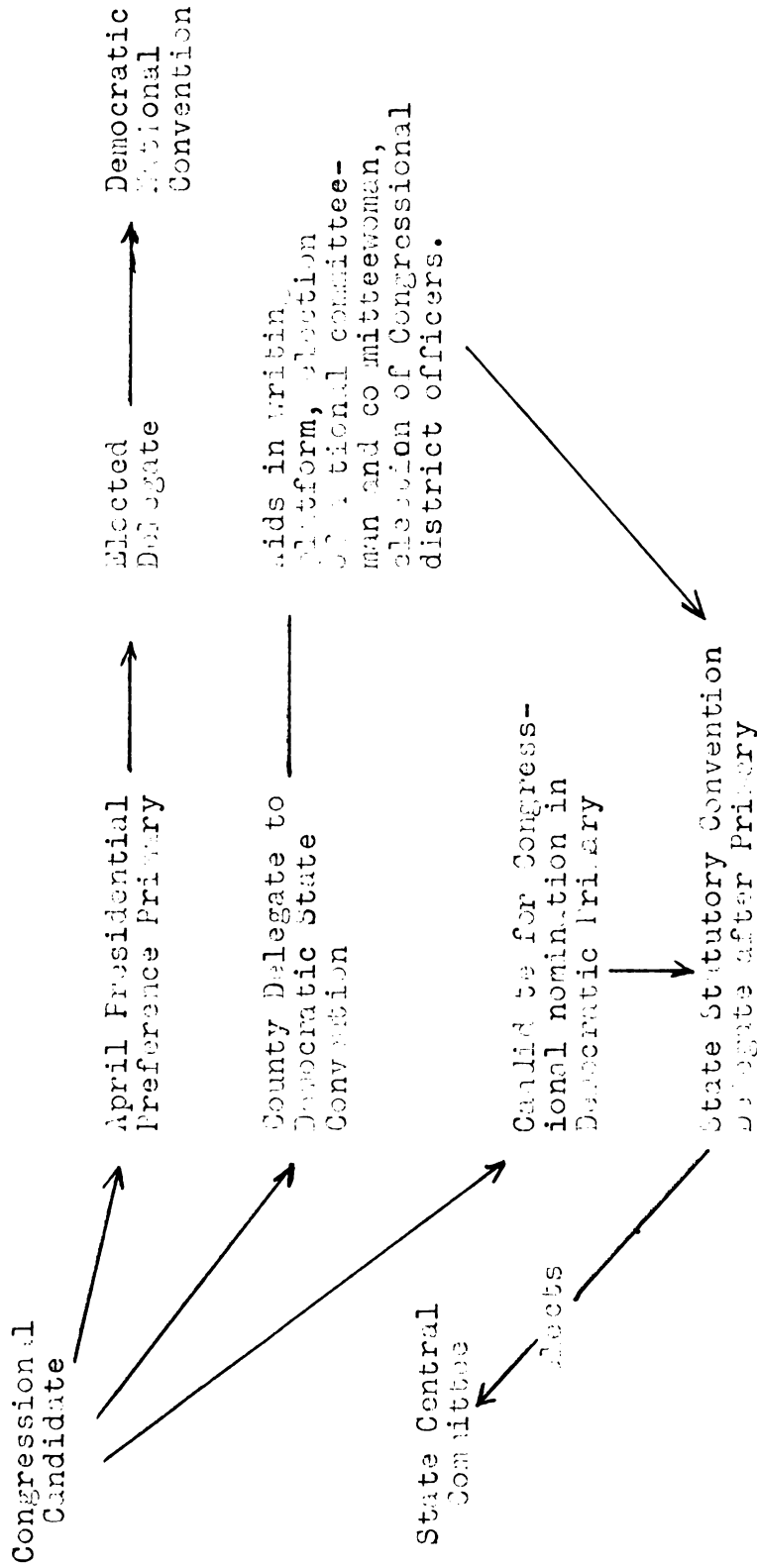


Figure 11 -- Congressional Candidate's Participation in Institutional Activities of the Democratic Party in 1956.

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Figure 11 shows the activity of Norman M. Clapp, the Democratic candidate for Congress in the Third district, prior to the general election campaign in 1956.

In April he entered the Presidential Preference primary as a delegate pledged to Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, was elected, and in August took part in the Democratic national convention in Chicago.

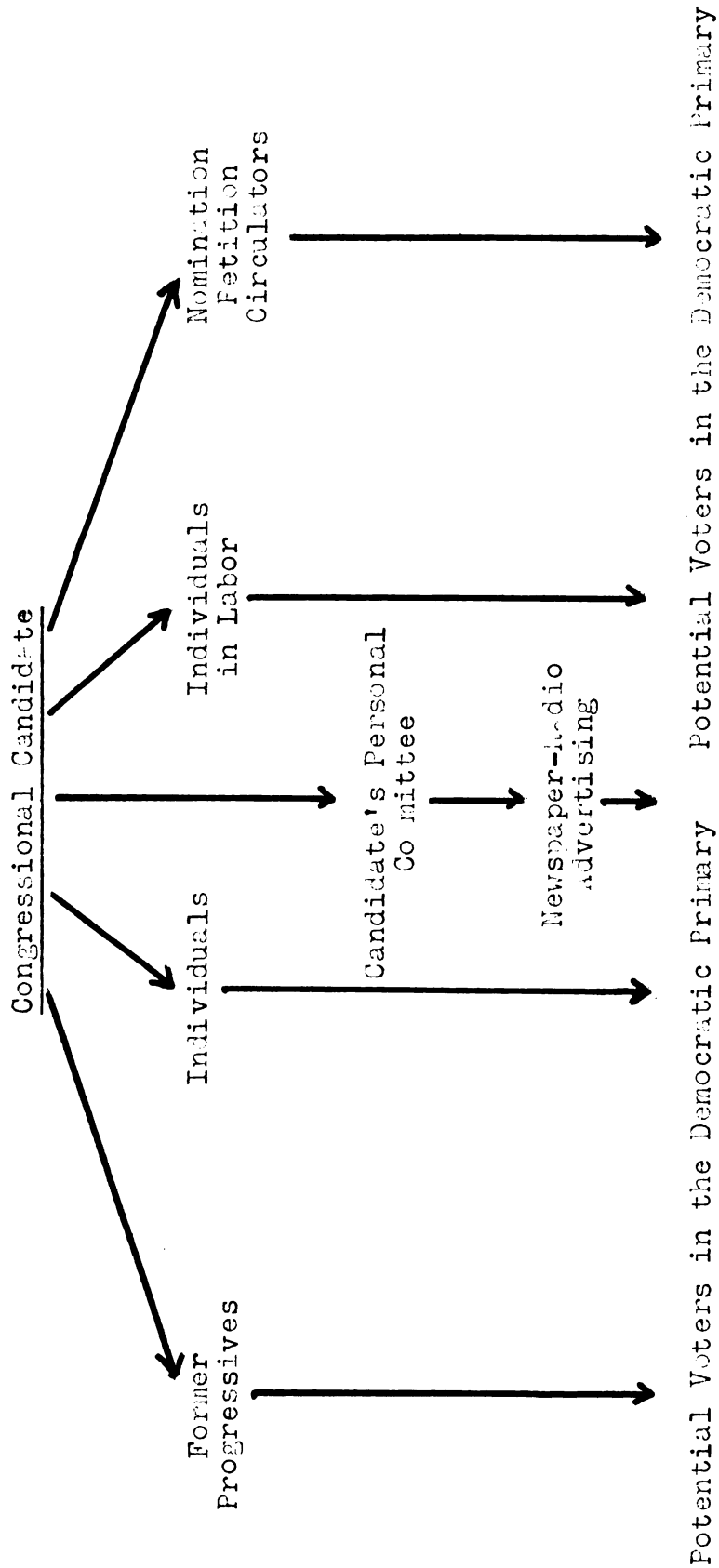
This contact placed him on a friendly footing with Kefauver who had the support of the Wisconsin delegation in his bid for the Presidential nomination. Kefauver later came into the Third district and campaigned with Clapp.

Clapp was named a delegate to the state voluntary convention in Duluth and took part in the convention's election of state chairman, national committeeman and committeewoman, and preparation of the state party platform.

In September Clapp was one of three candidates seeking the Democratic nomination. Other candidates were LeRoy Gore, a newspaper publisher at Sauk City, and originator of the plan to recall the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy; and Richard McKnight, a farmer from South Wayne. Clapp won the nomination easily.

In addition to various statutory and informal relationships within the party prior to the primary the candidate has to set up an organization of his own.

Since the Democratic party does not endorse candidates before the primary, nor help them campaign, the candidate at this point is really an independent.




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Figure 12 -- The relatively simple channels of communication before the Primary Election

Before the primary the candidate has three main channels through which he can reach the voters: (1) through the people in the various counties who circulate his nomination papers; (2) through newspaper and radio publicity; and (3) through direct personal solicitation.

In the 1956 primary campaign Clapp had a personal campaign committee through which funds were disbursed for direct mail and newspaper advertising. Secretary of this committee was Mrs. Bowden Curtis, of Darlington, wife of the publisher of the Darlington Republican-Journal.

Figure 12 shows the somewhat limited organization of the candidate prior to the primary.

Activity before the primary is limited because, first of all, the candidate is seeking only the support of the more active Democrats who will vote in the primary. Secondly, he is pretty much barred from areas where his opponents show strength. Finally, funds are limited and expenditures for mailing and newspaper advertising are held to a minimum.

The job before the 1956 primary was to contact personally those persons who were willing to circulate nomination papers and use their influence among their friends to vote for him in the primary; and to secure commitments from these and others for further help after the primary.

Clapp had one channel of communication open to him which was not available to other candidates. At one time as an administrative assistant to Senator Robert M. LaFollette Jr.,



Clapp had participated in LaFollette campaigns through the Third district. In 1956 he was able to seek out many former Progressives whom he had known previously. With other Progressives the association with LaFollette was enough to enlist support.

His liberal and Progressive background also enabled Clapp to make personal contacts with labor in LaCrosse and although labor organizations there did not endorse candidates prior to the primary he enlisted some enthusiastic individual supporters.

Clapp won easily in the primary and as a party nominee he took part in the statutory convention in Madison which met in September to elect the state central committee and approve the state party platform previously prepared at the voluntary state convention.

In Wisconsin a lull follows the primary in early September and vigorous campaigning usually gets underway again late in September.

At this point in 1956 a whole new series of voluntary relationships was set up through which the candidate channeled his efforts to communicate with the voters.

After the primary Clapp, as the Democratic nominee, had at his disposal all the formal and informal party organizations.

He was able to employ also through the campaign:

1 - A network of volunteer committees organized especially to campaign in his behalf.

2 - Special groups organized by the voluntary organization and others to campaign in behalf of the Congressional candidate

and other Democratic nominees.

3 - The influence of friends among the national and state Democratic nominees.

4 - The influence of the county candidates.

#### The Candidate's Committees

Political candidates in Wisconsin make extensive use of volunteer committees or clubs since expenditures by these organizations are not limited by law (117).

Other committees and clubs are set up merely for prestige purposes. These groups often spend no money, but merely lend their names and personal influence to the candidate's campaign.

Clapp employed both types of organization in the 1956 campaign.

First, he had a personal campaign committee and a Congressional district committee. These were primarily committees to handle collecting and disbursement of funds.

Second, he had committees in four counties, some very informally organized, to lend prestige to the campaign and use the personal influence of members to attract votes.

The names of members of the personal influence committees were used in news stories released to newspapers and radio stations. In Vernon county for example, his committee published a newspaper ad urging his election to Congress.

This ad was signed by Paul A. Dahl, chairman of the county board of supervisors; William C. Mueller, former mayor of Viroqua; Ole Traastad, supervisor from the town of Franklin and a prominent farmer; Orbec Sherry, a prominent farmer and cattle buyer; James Buchen, an automobile dealer; Don Aitken, owner of a fertilizer factory at Hillsboro; Dr. Lars Gulbrandsen, a well-known and highly respected Viroqua doctor; Otto Harder, a township treasurer and well-known farmer; Robert L. Graves, publisher of the Viroqua newspaper; Raymond Jacobson, restaurant owner and a former Sheriff; and by Ellefson Brothers, contractors.

A somewhat similar ad was run in the Dodgeville Chronicle. In Grant county a committee sent out 10,000 letters to rural route boxholders urging Clapp's election. In Crawford county an informal committee was active in personally campaigning for Clapp and in raising funds.

### Special Committees

In addition to clubs and committees organized by the candidate, other Democrats formed volunteer groups to help in the campaign.

Richard McKnight, defeated by Clapp in the primary, formed the Non-Partisan Farm-Labor Alliance, and contributed to Clapp's campaign.

In Vernon county Olaf Johnson, a former Progressive, organized the Independent Businessmen for Norman Clapp committee and sent out a mailing piece just before the election.

A Third district Democratic club was organized by Charles F. Dahl, Democratic chairman of the Third district.

Most of these organizations were organized primarily to serve as a front for transfer or expenditure of funds, a perfectly legal device under Wisconsin election laws. In addition they were used for publicity purposes and they served to involve numerous persons in the campaign in a more personal manner.

#### Influence of Friends Among the Candidates

Through his activities in the voluntary Democratic organization Clapp was on friendly terms with other candidates, most influential of whom were Senator Kefauver and William Proxmire, the Democratic nominee for Governor.

Proxmire campaigned in the district extensively and Kefauver made a trip into the district not only to campaign for himself and Stevenson but to lend the prestige of a national candidate to the Congressional campaign.

#### County Candidates

As we have seen in another chapter the Democrats have not been active on the county level in every county. In 1956 there were county candidates in every county and particularly strong slates in both Vernon and Crawford counties. A vigorous campaign for the Assembly seat in Vernon county also served to heighten interest in the campaign.

The county Democratic committees were very active in both counties and Clapp was a frequent visitor at meetings in Crawford and Vernon counties.

The extensive inter-personal relationships of the county candidates were a factor in the large Democratic vote in Vernon county.

Candidates for county office in Vernon county and their group affiliations:

Orpheus Clawson, candidate for county clerk; town clerk of the town of Whitestown; treasurer of his school district; a member of the United Brethren church at Dell; secretary of the Dell Creamery.

Melvin Thompson, candidate for county treasurer: a successful farmer; treasurer of the town of Whitestown; county chairman of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Program; a part-time insurance salesman.

Donald Dahlke, candidate for clerk of court: a member of his school district board; member of the Farmers Union; operator of a rural store at Purdy.

Norman Skundberg, candidate for register of deeds: operator of a rural store at Avalanche; member of a Rod and Gun club and the Vernon County Conservation club.

Otto Jefson, candidate for Sheriff: operator of a gasoline station in Viroqua; former deputy Sheriff; former Viroqua police chief; alderman in Viroqua; member Viroqua Lutheran church; member of American Legion and Veterans of Foreign

Wars.

D. M. Langve, candidate for district attorney: a former Progressive Assemblyman; veteran of World War I; member of Our Saviour's Lutheran church, Westby; attorney and member of the Vernon County Bar Association.

Robert Borrison, candidate for coroner: a member of the village board in LaFarge; member of the Knights of Pythias; member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Eldon Traastad, candidate for Assembly: served on the Wisconsin State Democratic Farm Platform Advisory committee; an officer of the Vernon County Rural Schools Association; a member of his school district board; president of a rural telephone cooperative; member of Immanuel Lutheran church, Viroqua.

### The Newspapers

The Third district has 41 weekly and two daily newspapers, most of them firmly Republican.

There were, however, a handful of newspapers which were either Democratic or supported Clapp because they believed he was the best candidate.

As a newspaper publisher Clapp knew many of the editors of weeklies in nearby counties personally.

Among the newspapers that supported Clapp were his own Grant County Independent, Lancaster; the Crawford County Independent, Gays Mills; the Mauston Star, at Mauston; the Vernon County Broadcaster, Viroqua; the Monroe County Democrat, Sparta;

the Darlington Republican Journal, Darlington; and the Muscoda Progressive, Muscoda.

Charles Roethe at Fennimore, one of two brothers who publish the Fennimore Times, personally wrote to the editor of every weekly in the district and urged their support of a fellow editor for Congress. The Fennimore Times, normally Republican, supported Clapp.

### Labor Support

Clapp received considerable support from labor even though before 1956 LaCrosse labor had supported Gardner Withrow who has a Progressive background and was a union member. Labor in 1956 was not altogether friendly with Withrow and Clapp was able to make numerous good friends among labor leaders in LaCrosse.

He received financial assistance from the LaCrosse labor League for Political Action; and from the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor Committee on Political Education (COPE).

### The Democratic Party

The voluntary Democratic party organization, of course, campaigned vigorously. The Third Congressional district committee headed by Charles F. Dahl of Viroqua opened a district headquarters in Viroqua; advertised extensively; raised funds for advertising and for the Congressional candidate; and worked with county committees and special committees.

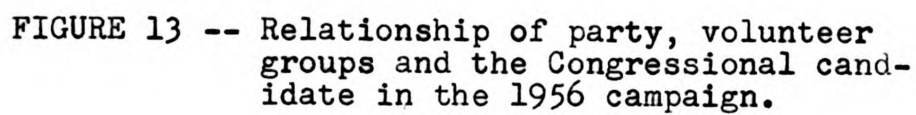


FIGURE 13 -- Relationship of party, volunteer groups and the Congressional candidate in the 1956 campaign.



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The county committees varied in their contribution to the campaign. Only Vernon, Juneau, Sauk, Crawford, and La-Crosse county Democratic committees reported expenditures to the Secretary of State.

Figure 13 shows the over-all relationship of the various groups working in the 1956 campaign and outlines their relationship with each other and with the Congressional candidate.

Much of the activity and the interrelationships shown in Figure 13 was traced through the financial reports of the groups and individuals concerned.

Careful examination of the relationships outlined in Figure 13 reveals the importance of the Congressional candidate in Wisconsin political campaigns.

The Congressional candidate deals directly with district and state party organizations and nationally with the party's Congressional committee. In the 1956 campaign the candidate in the Third district was also directly linked with the presidential campaign.

Below the district level the candidate works closely with his own committees in the various counties and with the party's county committees; with county candidates, precinct committeemen, and with the mass media.

Campaigning, these relationships indicate, is not a direct process. Only at the very lowest levels do candidates and party activists deal directly with the voter. At higher

levels almost all political communication is directed through various other candidates and organizations.

This filtering down of political information and influence appears to be, in the political sphere, a process similar to the Katz and Lazarsfeld two-step flow of information (88).

The "influence of people" which Katz and Lazarsfeld visualized as paralleling the mass media (84,p.7) in the political process appears not only to parallel the mass media's political messages, but in most instances supplants the mass media as a means of delivering political information to the voter.

In the case of the Congressional candidate, as Figure 13 indicates, this is particularly true.

Messages from the Congressional candidate to the voter are filtered through committees and party organizations and through county candidates. The newspapers and radio and television stations are used as a go-between in some instances. Most of the Congressional candidates message is transmitted to the voter through channels other than the mass media.

Much of the activity and the interrelationships shown in Figure 13 were difficult to trace. Some evidence is preserved in the financial reports required of all candidates and political organizations by Wisconsin statutes (11). Many of the personal relationships which existed in this particular district and campaign would not have been known to the writer had he not had a personal knowledge of the 1956

campaign in the Third district. They have been recorded not as something that can be examined empirically, but interesting nuances of the campaign which the writer knows existed.

Piecemeal and casual as the evidence presented here may be, it does show the similarity of the political communication process and the Katz and Lazarsfeld concept of the two-step flow of information in other areas.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Conclusions

The intention of the writer in making this study was to seek an answer to the question: why can't Democrats win elections in the Third Congressional district? A secondary aim was to examine the manner in which the Democrats have been campaigning to see whether this would yield any clues to their lack of success in winning elections.

Our major conclusions are:

1--That historically the Republican tradition of the district has placed the Democratic party at a disadvantage.

2--That the Progressive movement and the Progressive party during the 1930s has contributed further to the weaknesses of the Democratic position.

3--That competitive pressure on the county level is a factor in narrowing the margin between the Democratic and Republican Congressional vote.

4--That increased competition on the Congressional level and the exploitation of all the lines of influence discussed in Chapter VI tends to strengthen the position of the Democratic party in the district.

### Recommendations for Further Study

As has been suggested in Chapters V and VI the political candidate is a part of the communication process. How effective he is as a communicator determines his party's success at the polls.

The discussion of the network of relationships within the party and between the groups and individuals adds further substantiation to the theory of opinion leaders and personal influence presented by Katz and Lazarsfeld (88).

More evidence of a similar nature could undoubtedly be gathered in other Congressional districts and in other elections. It would be worthwhile to compare the communication network described here with those existing in Congressional districts in other states.

Further study of the groups that take part in Congressional campaigns and the roles played by persons in these groups and by the candidate himself would also be in order.

Congressional districts offer a rich field for study of many aspects of the communication process as well as of the political process. It is to be hoped that further research will be undertaken in this area.

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APPENDIX I

THE VOTE - 1848-1956

Vote for Congress and Governor in May, 1848

County	<u>Governor</u>				<u>Congress</u>			
	Newey Democrat	Tweedy Whig	Durkee Free Soil	Total	Darling Democrat	Collins Whig	Durkee and Scattering	Total
Brown	311	137	...	448	308	137	...	445
Calumet	113	66	...	179	107	62	...	169
Columbia	328	411	...	739	328	411	...	739
Crawford	270	107	...	377	no returns given			
Dane	1098	751	13	1862	1047	763	7	1817
Dodge	1116	706	52	1874	1118	696	38	1852
Fond du Lac	622	510	136	1268	578	508	8	1094
Grant	1199	1467	3	2669	1156	1404	1	2561
Iowa/Richl	847	745	...	1592	873	743	...	1616
LaFayette	1232	863	...	2095	1233	853	...	1986
Marquette	230	258	23	511	225	253	...	478
Manitowoc	no returns given							
St. Croix	included in Crawford							
Sauk	187	157	9	353	186	160	...	346
Sheboygan	554	384	21	959	557	377	15	949
Washington	1598	263	...	1861	1533	236	...	1769
Winnebago	no returns given							
District	9705	6825	257	16787	9683	6835	69	16587
State	1 9065	14514		34119				

Source: Statement of State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress and President in November, 1848

County	<u>Congress</u>				<u>President</u>			Total
	Cole Whig	Smith Democrat	Crabb Free Soil	Total	Cass Democrat	Taylor Whig	Van Buren Free Soil	
Rock	1337	683	1123	3143	491	1300	1338	3138
Green	493	432	208	1133	391	479	287	1157
LaFayette	862	1073	11	1946	1105	921	31	2057
Grant	1624	1169	58	2851	1148	1649	144	2941
Dane	729	850	294	1889	757	724	443	1925
Iowa/Richl	823	877	68	1768	848	884	118	1850
Sauk	142	176	104	422	no returns given			
Crawford Chippewa	79	218	...	297	215	109	12	336
Portage	192	212	...	404	225	216	..	441
St. Croix	42	57	...	99	67	45	1	125
LaPointe	no returns given							
District	6323	5747	1866	13952 <sup>a</sup>	5247	6327	2374	13970 <sup>a</sup>
State	.....	.....	.....	.....	14924	10261	13642	38827

Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript,  
office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin

<sup>a</sup> Includes 16 scattering votes. <sup>b</sup> Includes 22 scattering votes.

Vote for Governor in 1849 and Congress in 1850

County	<u>Governor</u>					<u>Congress</u>			
	Dewey Democrat	Collins Whig	Chase	Scattering	Total	Eastman Democrat	Cole Whig	Scattering	Total
Rock	604	1168	541	—	2313	1387	1484	3	2874
Green	443	324	26	7	800	534	469	4	1007
LaFayette	1094	416	--	-	1510	1030	597	-	1627
Grant	1030	1103	16	-	2149	1124	1040	2	2166
Dane	666	759	86	14	1525	1349	836	-	2185
Iowa	688	655	6	-	1349	636	715	-	1351
Sauk	355	226	3	-	584	360	296	-	656
Richland	---	---	-	-	---	69	76	-	145
Crawford	152	32	-	-	184	364	76	-	440
Portage	287	259	1	-	547	203	50	-	253
St. Croix	56	21	-	2	79	109	43	-	152
LaPointe	no returns given								
Marathon	---	---	-	-	---	97	70	5	172
District	5375	4963	679	23	11040	7262	5752	14	13028
State	16649	11317	3761	32	31751				

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Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Governor in 1851

County	<u>Governor</u>			Total
	Upham Democrat	Farwell Whig	Scattering	
Rock	1141	1771	5	2917
Green	530	504	-	1034
LaFayette	712	467	-	1179
Grant	985	10 26	-	2011
Dane	1047	1454	-	2501
Iowa	679	659	-	1338
Richland	136	117	-	255
Sauk	490	474	1	965
Crawford	123	48	-	171
Portage	189	142	-	331
Marathon	95	113	-	208
LaPointe	no returns			
St. Croix	100	78	1	179
District	6227	6853	9	13089
State	21812	22319	59	44190

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Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript,  
Office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress and President in 1852

County	<u>President</u>				<u>Congress</u>			
	Pierce Democrat	Scott Whig	Hale Free Soil	Total	Eastman Democrat	Abbott Whig	Free Free Soil	Total
Bad Ax	87	69	--	156	90	70	—	160
Chippewa and Dunn	no returns given				960	895	4	1859
Crawford	173	131	--	304	203	94	—	297
Dane	2138	1104	287	3529	2082	1208	247	3537
Grant	865	1341	129	2849	1484	1281	64	2829
Green	865	659	186	1710	892	659	160	1711
Iowa	948	985	27	1961	no returns given			
LaCrosse	281	182	10	473	292	171	5	468
LaFayette	1389	857	16	2262	1447	746	—	2193
Marathon	203	141	--	344	203	140	—	343
Portage	377	267	--	644	432	203	—	635
Richland	166	167	16	349	200	130	—	330
Rock	1691	1509	923	3202	1718	1521	878	4117
S. Croix	166	107	2	275	169	105	—	274
Sauk	681	622	156	1459	721	593	143	1460
District	10544	8141	1752	20440 <sup>a</sup>	10893	7816	1497	20213 <sup>b</sup>
State	33658	22240	8842	64748 <sup>c</sup>				

Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript,  
office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>a</sup>Includes 3 scattering. <sup>b</sup>Includes 7 scattering. <sup>c</sup>Includes 8 scattering.

Vote for Governor in 1853 and Congress in 1854

County	<u>Governor</u>					<u>Congress</u>				
	Bristown Democrat	Holton Whig	Baird People's	Scattering	Total	Hoyt Democrat	Washburn Republican	Taylor	Scattering	Total
Adams	122	38	57	18	235	92	431	--	--	523
Bad Ax	208	7	77	--	292	44	130	27	--	201
Buffalo		no returns				41	17	14	--	72
Clark		no returns				29	107	--	2	138
Chippewa and Dunn		no returns				173	49	2	--	224
Crawford	118	24	29	--	171	75	197	4	--	276
Dane	1620	1234	177	16	3047	2033	1732	--	23	3788
Grant	988	1026	195	--	2290	869	1636	--	--	2505
Green	769	748	153	--	1670	484	911	--	--	1396
Iowa	402	464	14	--	880	800	1164	--	--	1964
Jackson	113	14	--	--	127	49	40	24	--	113
LaCrosse	276	150	61	--	487	102	168	75	--	345
LaFayette	1026	420	280	--	1726	1075	1056	--	--	2331



LaPointe	39	--	1	--	40				no returns	
Marathon	205	4	208	--	417	195	169	--	--	364
Monroe		no returns				40	114	--	--	154
Pierce	71	--	34	--	105	55	69	--	--	124
Polk		no returns				66	35	--	--	101
Portage	367	56	154	1	578	309	363	--	--	672
Richland	185	127	13	--	325	150	324	--	--	474
Rock	1375	1832	337	--	3544	821	2147	1	4	2973
St. Croix		no returns				92	106	1	--	199
Sauk	641	472	55	3	1171	373	965	--	3	1341
District	7721	6616	1845	38	17024	7967	11930	148	33	20078
State	30405	21886	3304	88	55683					

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Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

# Vote for Governor in 1855 and for President and Congress in 1856

County	Governor				President				Congress				
	Barstow Democrat	Washford Republican	Scattering	Total	Buchanan Democrat	Freemont Republican	Millmore American	Scattering	Total	Crawford Democrat	Washburn Republican	Scattering	Total
Adams	376	611	--	987	625	1617	9	--	2251	654	1570	-	2224
Bad Zx	298	306	--	604	231	597	31	48	907	221	605	-	826
Buffalo	115	8	--	123	163	68	--	1	232	167	65	-	232
Chippewa	121	77	--	198		no returns				176	146	-	322
Clark	45	7	--	52	37	73	--	--	110	39	47	2	88
Crawford	163	120	--	283	429	522	1	41	993	441	511	-	952
Dane	2367	2380	6	4753	3444	3999	6	--	7449	3448	3970	-	7458
Douglas	88	8	--	96		no returns				151	43	-	194
Dunn	124	43	--	167	119	390	--	--	509	72	420	-	492
Grant	1112	1588	--	2700	1419	2809	186	--	4414	1505	2859	-	4364
Green	600	1123	--	1723	1088	2004	32	--	3124	1098	2008	-	3106
Iowa	1092	768	--	1860	1474	1497	27	--	2998	1495	1480	-	2975
Jackson	114	176	--	290	144	306	6	12	468	139	308	-	447
Juneau	no returns				no returns				no returns				

LaCrosse		no returns	541	987	25	--	1553	548	998	--	1546
LaFayette	1199	743 --	1942	1415	19	--	3156	1720	1427	1	3248
Marathon	104	88 2	194	270	1	--	478	203	273	1	477
Monroe	92	213 --	305	722	6	--	982	269	718	--	987
Pierce	55	147 --	202	414	11	--	531	106	423	--	529
Polk	149	20 --	169	95	--	--	149	42	92	--	134
Portage	235	414 --	649	680	13	--	1057	381	690	--	1071
Richland	186	448 --	634	886	37	--	1378	475	896	--	1371
Rock	1018	2690 --	3708	4707	10	3	6685	1955	4717	1	6673
St. Croix		no returns	252	417	--	--	669	247	418	--	665
Sauk	482	950 --	1432	2015	4	3	3015	999	2016	--	3015
Trempealeau	18	47 --	65	190	--	--	235	45	190	--	235
Wood		no returns	95	260	--	--	355	114	211	--	325
District	10153	12975 8	23136	26940	424	108	43698	16750	27101	5	43856
State	36355	36198 45	72598	60092	580	469	120008				

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Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Governor in 1857. for Congress in 1858, and Governor in 1859

	<u>Governor 1857</u>				<u>Congress 1858</u>				<u>Governor 1859</u>			
	Cross Democrat	Randall Republican	Scattering	Total	Dunn Democrat	Washburn Republican	Scattering	Total	Hobart Democrat	Randall Republican	Scattering	Total
Adams	268	397	--	665	338	767	--	1105	293293	594	1	888
Bad Ax	445	549	--	994	194	457	--	651	619	995	--	1614
Buffalo	362	179	--	541	200	151	5	356	no returns			
Chippewa	256	70	--	326	235	130	--	365	248	156	--	404
Clark	39	59	--	98	42	110	1	153	42	71	--	113
Crawford	366	278	--	644	797	608	--	1405	748	619	--	1367
Dane	2959	2668	14	5641	4015	3134	--	7149	3880	3727	1	7608
Douglas	145	28	--	173	95	49	--	144	60	34	--	94
Dunn	111	204	--	315	203	167	--	370	175	192	--	367
Men Claire	133	199	--	332	263	3116	--	3379	no returns			
Grant	1260	1681	--	2941	1695	2230	--	3925	1715	2496	4	4215
Green	832	1156	--	1988	831	1473	--	2304	1141	1726	--	2867
Iowa	915	765	--	1680	1646	1375	--	3021	1320	1454	6	2780
Jackson	324	336	--	660	174	242	--	416	293	494	--	787

Juneau	505	499	--	1004	526	766	--	1292	874	1060	--	1934
LaCrosse	861	684	3	1548	998	919	--	1917	1034	1219	5	2258
LaFayette	1360	758	--	2118	1646	1167	--	2813	1514	1102	1	2617
LaPointe	43	--	--	43	132	38	--	170	109	72	--	181
Marathon	209	197	--	406	474	243	--	717	509	206	--	715
Monroe	434	555	--	989	536	762	--	1298	578	939	--	1517
Pepin		no returns			201	202	--	403	255	432	--	687
Pierce	171	306	--	477	251	501	--	7752	305	506	--	811
Polk	154	111	--	265	135	124	--	259	141	161	5	307
Portage	494	571	--	1065	478	633	--	1111	582	743	--	1325
Richland	608	538	--	1146	682	782	1	1465	647	745	--	1392
Rock	1633	3425	--	5058	1759	3810	--	5569	1578	4089	5	5672
St. Croix	383	358	--	746	471	478	--	949	560	516	--	1076
Sauk	835	1239	--	2074	744	1662	--	2406	799	1659	--	2458
Trempealeau	54	104	--	158	97	248	--	345	143	366	--	509
Wood	111	124	--	235	309	283	--	592	280	235	--	515
District	16275	18038	17	34330	20167	26627	7	46801	20442	26608	28	47078
State	44941	45059	58	90058					52539	59999	83	112621

Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress and President in 1860

County	<u>Congress</u>			<u>President</u>				Total
	Hanchett Republican	Reymert Democrat	Total	Lincoln Republican	Douglas Democrat	Breckenridge Southern Dem.	Bell Const. Union	
Adams	840	304	1144	844	296	5	-	1145
Ashland	35	33	68	35	32	-	-	67
Bad Ax	1126	511	1637	1145	465	22	-	1632
Buffalo	397	247	644	459	189	1	1	650
Chippewa	259	239	498	256	241	-	-	497
Clark	151	89	240	152	89	2	-	243
Crawford	833	836	1669	828	832	6	-	1666
Dane	4797	4210	9008	4798	4173	40	3	9014
Douglas	no returns			70	66	15	2	153
Dunn	547	364	911	564	341	9	-	914
Hau Claire	485	363	850	490	342	19	1	852
Grant	3573	1941	5514	3579	1920	33	-	5532
Green	2371	1338	3709	2372	1324	10	1	3706
Iowa	2100	1630	3731	1909	1581	46	2	3538
Jackson	611	247	858	654	207	-	-	861
Juneau	1038	749	1787	1033	737	9	5	1784
LaCrosse	1437	864	2301	1477	765	65	18	2325
LaFayette	1738	1938	3676	1737	1898	47	9	3691
LaPointe	39	29	68	43	4	26	-	73
Marathon	251	450	701	219	481	4	1	705

Monroe	1218	642	1860	1229	631	2	8	1870
Pepin	331	107	445	326	105	11	-	442
Pierce	630	424	1054	637	411	2	-	1050
Polk	193	140	333	199	122	12	1	334
Portage	1010	454	1464	944	471	57	-	1472
Richland	1164	815	1979	1168	777	28	3	1976
Rock	5188	1966	7154	5198	1916	64	8	7186
St. Croix	651	611	1262	664	597	3	-	1264
Sauk	2308	1026	3334	2309	985	37	2	3333
Trempeleau	478	145	623	490	134	-	-	624
Wood	424	296	720	362	301	58	-	721
District	36223	23008	59242 <sup>a</sup>	36190	22433	633	64	59320
State				86110	65021	888	161	152238 <sup>b</sup>

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Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>a</sup> Includes 11 scattering votes. <sup>b</sup> Includes 58 scattering votes.

Vote for Governor in 1861 and Special Election for Congress, December 1862

County	<u>Governor</u>			<u>Congress</u>				Total
	Harvey Republican	Ferguson Democrat	Total	McIndoe Republican	Ferris Democrat	Benton	Scattering	
Adams	678	170	848	531	232	8	-	771
Ashland	29	38	67		no returns			
Bad Ax <sup>*</sup>	966	287	1253	770	433	-	-	1203
Buffalo	567	237	804	237	138	44	-	419
Chippewa	155	191	346		returns rejected			
Clark	175	26	201	77	44	-	1	122
Crawford	582	672	1254	324	226	47	-	597
Dane	3113	2675	5791	1999	1962	124	2	4087
Douglas	51	41	92		returns rejected			
Dunn	490	7	497	211	124	-	43	378
Men Claire	404	194	598	318	211	-	7	536
Grant	2009	1046	3055	961	421	160	4	1546
Green	1461	661	2122	880	362	35	38	1310
Iowa	983	808	1796	554	914	-	-	1468
Jackson	605	99	704	402	168	20	-	590
Juneau	669	640	1311	706	570	-	-	1276
LaCrosse	1166	777	1943	922	881	-	2	1805
LaFayette	1464	1851	3315	629	1093	-	-	1722
LaPointe	57	--	57	102	2	-	-	104

\* Name changed to Vernon prior to the 1862 elections.



Marathon	100	403	503	144	437	-	-	581
Monroe	931	414	1345	867	547	-	-	1414
Pepin	467	137	604	172	50	16	-	238
Pierce	756	76	832		returns rejected			
Polk	257	11	258	49	36	-	-	85
Portage	619	275	894	637	458	-	-	1095
Richland	714	515	1229	595	521	-	-	1116
Rock	2796	969	3768	1889	583	-	14	2486
St. Croix	635	325	960	336	282	10	-	628
Sauk	1627	578	2205	1112	612	102	7	1833
Trempealeau	479	25	494	366	105	4	5	480
Wood	203	232	435		no returns			
District	25203	14380	39591 <sup>a</sup>	15790	11412	570	118	28398
State	53777	45456	99251 <sup>a</sup>					

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Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

<sup>a</sup> Includes 18 scattering votes. <sup>b</sup> Includes 18 scattering votes.

Vote for Congress in 1862 and Governor in 1863

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Sauk	Army	Dist	Home	Army	Whole
Congress												
Rep.	406	2479	1705	....	1146	891	1670	1703	10000			
Dem.	635	1899	1145	....	1815	694	1089	234	7511			
Total	1041	4378	2850	....	2961	1585	2759	1937	17511			

Governor

Rep.	712	3404	2046	1351	1483	1135	2061	....	12192	64949	7768	72717
Dem.	666	1313	836	1256	1463	627	854	....	7015	48511	542	49053
Other	....	....	....	....	....	....	146	....	146	161	66	227
Total	1378	4717	2882	2607	2946	1762	3061	....	19353	113645	8384	122029

Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress and President in 1864 and Governor in 1865

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Sark	Dist	Home	Army	State
<u>Congress</u>											
Rep.	708	3249	2016	1296	1467	1026	2075	11837			
Dem.	784	1550	1109	1419	1713	549	988	8112			
Total	1492	4799	3125	2715	3180	1575	3063	19949			
<u>President</u>											
Rep.	711	3247	2017	1282	1471	1020	2076	11824	68750	11372	80122
Dem.	786	1561	1107	1424	1712	652	985	8227	61839	2428	64267
Total	1497	4808	3124	2706	3183	1672	3061	20051	130589	13800	144389
<u>Governor</u>											
Rep.	517	2577	1552	1102	1213	967	1681	9609	57132	1200	58332
Dem.	581	1131	728	1051	1370	636	750	6247	48053	277	48330
Other	....	....	....	4	....	...	....	4	12	....	12
Total	1098	3708	2280	2157	2583	1603	2431	15860	105197	1477	106674

Source: 1864 election, original tabulation of state and county vote; 1865 election, statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscripts, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress in 1866 and Governor in 1867

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Sauk	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	968	3197	1994	1766	1790	1258	2033	13006	
Dem.	919	1320	639	1434	1864	748	731	7655	
Other	...	....	35	1		....	....	36	
Total	1987	4517	2668	3201	3654	2006	2764	20697	

	845	3095	2094	1677	1526	1166	2060	12463	73637
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	845	3095	2094	1677	1526	1166	2060	12463	73637
Dem.	1007	1649	1137	1604	1730	824	939	8250	68873
Other	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12
Total	1852	4744	3231	3281	3256	2050	2999	21413	142522

Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

# Vote for Congress and President in 1868 and Governor in 1869

	Crawford	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Senk	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	1099	4630	2777	2328	2198	1618	3253	17903	
Dem.	1187	2069	1302	1975	2157	1103	1369	11162	
Total	2286	6699	4079	4303	4355	2721	4622	29065	

<u>President</u>									
Rep.	1104	4640	2791	2345	2221	1619	3262	17982	108857
Dem.	1186	2071	1294	1959	2136	1102	1366	11114	84710
Other	....	....	....	....	....	....	49	49	53
Total	2290	6711	4085	4304	4357	2721	4677	29145	193620

<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	851	3008	2002	1413	1285	1247	1847	11653	69502
Dem.	874	1476	920	1262	1563	890	752	7737	61239
Other	...	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	40
Total	1725	4484	2922	2675	2848	2137	2599	19390	130781

Source: 1868 (Congress) and 1869 (Governor), Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin; 1868 (Presidential), Election returns, Vol. 4, 1861-1879, pp. 689-690, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress in 1870 and Governor in 1871

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Sauk	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	850	2818	1797	1679	1043	1064	1352	11503	
Dem.	834	1480	823	1962	1898	810	360	8157	
Other	2	8	....	....	1	....	....	11	
Total	1686	4306	2620	3641	3832	1874	1712	19671	

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	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Sauk	Dist	State
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	814	3154	1757	1457	1616	1401	1832	12031	78301
Dem.	916	1971	934	1632	1612	1009	891	8965	68910
Other	2	....	....	1	....	1	....	4	63
Total	1732	5125	2691	3090	3228	2411	2723	21000	147274

Source: 1870 election, Election Returns, Vol. 4, 1861-1879, page 717; 1871 election, Election Returns, Vol. 4, 1861-1879, page 725, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress and President in 1872 and Governor in 1873

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>								
Rep.	1172	4228	2467	2079	2076	1672	13745	
Dem.	1177	2359	1282	2030	1940	1092	9 880	
Total	2350	6637	3749	4109	4016	2764	23625	

<u>President</u>								
Rep.	1162	4327	2450	2028	2081	1675	13753	105012
Dem.	1151	2219	1246	1928	1908	999	9601	86390
Other	14	17	33	16	99	53	232	834
Total	2327	6643	3729	4072	4088	2727	23586	192255

<u>Governor</u>								
Rep.	681	2405	1402	1334	1294	1148	8264	66224
Dem.	1112	2104	1306	1549	1430	1066	8627	81599
Total	1793	4509	2768	2883	2724	2214	16892	147823

Source: Election of 1872, State ment of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript;  
 Election of 1873, Election Returns, Vol. 4, 1861-1879, page 739; both in the office  
 of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1874 and 1875

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress 1874</u>								
Rep.	1028	3198	1926	1874	1985	1524	11535	.....
Dem.	1233	2503	1649	1929	1843	1163	10400	.....
Total	2261	5701	3575	3803	3828	2687	21935	.....

Governor 1875

Rep.	847	3182	1960	1593	1673	1522	10777	85155
Dem.	1106	3182	1595	1665	1642	1132	9458	84314
Other	.....	.....	14	1	1	1	17	601
Total	1953	5500	3569	3259	3316	2655	20252	70070

Source: Legislative Manual 1875, pages 271 to 282 and 232; Legislative Manual 1876, pages 392 and 393.



Vote for Congress and President in 1876 and Governor in 1877

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress 1876</u>								
Rep.	1400	4596	2587	2602	2369	2028	15582	.....
Dem.	1540	3250	1862	2389	2359	1634	13034	.....
Total	2940	7846	4449	4991	4728	3662	28616	.....

<u>President 1876</u>								
Rep.	1355	4723	2601	2651	2424	2038	15792	130067
Dem.	1604	3198	1735	2348	2299	1591	12775	123926
Other	....	40	993	16	40	216	1305	3184
Total	2959	7961	5329	5015	4763	3845	29872	257000

<u>Governor 1877</u>								
Rep.	806	2620	1823	1461	1409	1201	9320	78759
Dem.	1008	1938	849	1175	1300	729	6999	70486
Other	146	1038	582	1025	269	705	3165	28877
Total	1960	5596	3254	3661	2978	2635	20084	178122

Source: Legislative Manual 1877, pages 402, 406 and 407; Legislative Manual 1878, pages 404 and 405.

Vote for Congress and President in 1876 and Governor in 1877

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress 1876</u>								
Rep.	1400	4596	2587	2602	2369	2028	15582	.....
Dem.	1540	3250	1862	2389	2359	1634	13034	.....
Total	2940	7846	4449	4991	4728	3662	38616	.....
<u>President 1876</u>								
Rep.	1355	4723	2601	2651	2424	2038	15792	130067
Dem.	1604	3198	1735	2348	2299	1591	12775	123936
Other	....	40	993	16	40	216	1305	3184
Total	2959	7961	5329	5015	4763	3845	29872	257000
<u>Governor 1877</u>								
Rep.	806	2620	1823	1461	1409	1201	9320	78759
Dem.	1008	1938	849	1175	1300	729	6999	70486
Other	146	1038	582	1025	269	705	3765	28877
Total	1960	5596	3254	3661	2978	2635	20084	178122

Source: Legislative Manual 1877, pages 402, 406 and 407; Legislative Manual 1878, pages 404 and 405.

Vote for Congress in 1878 and Governor in 1879

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress 1878</u>								
Rep.	1023	3245	2027	1861	1885	1654	11695	.....
Dem.	1301	2660	1890	2272	2080	1400	11603	.....
Total	2324	5905	3917	4133	3965	3054	23298	.....

Governor 1879

Rep.	938	3111	2000	1775	1673	1713	11210	100535
Dem.	755	1703	1104	1447	1619	580	7208	75030
Other	314	627	363	306	124	430	2164	13440
Total	2007	5441	3467	3528	3416	2723	20582	189005

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1879, page 310; Wisconsin Blue Book



Vote for Congress and President in 1880 and Governor in 1881

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LeFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress 1880</u>								
Rep.	1492	4558	2724	2601	2566	2285	16236	.....
Dem.	1538	3248	1778	2445	2204	1728	12941	.....
Total	3030	7806	4512	5046	4770	4013	29177	.....
<u>President 1880</u>								
Rep.	1415	4654	2740	2674	2541	2260	16284	144398
Dem.	1459	3038	1526	2310	2182	1635	12150	114644
Other	172	182	293	80	88	153	958	8146
Total	3046	7874	4559	5064	4811	4048	29402	267138
<u>Governor 1881</u>								
Rep.	746	2512	1643	1377	1476	1383	9137	81754
Dem.	636	1323	674	1382	1425	686	6127	69797
Other	413	529	412	518	268	413	2553	20305
Total	1795	4364	2729	3278	3169	2482	17817	171856

Source: Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office  
of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress in 1882

	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	District	State
<u>Congress</u>							
Rep.	1476	2805	692	1343	1608	7924	.....
Ind. Rep.	2412	35	652	210	1935	3791	.....
Dem.	4891	2616	6715	1935	1878	13035	.....
Other	1046	906	759	657	230	3598	.....
Total	9825	6362	3818	4145	4198	28348	.....

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1883, page

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1884

	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	Lafayette	District	State
<u>Congress</u>							
Rep.	6150	4010	2406	2387	2410	12433	.....
Dem.	6523	3485	2303	2290	2241	15942	.....
Other	554	339	380	373	250	1896	.....
Total	13227	7834	5089	5150	4901	36271	.....
<u>Governor</u>							
Rep.	6390	4149	2548	2460	2450	18047	163214
Dem.	6229	3210	1865	2292	2208	15894	143945
Other	538	488	615	399	280	2420	12838
Total	13257	7847	5048	5151	4938	36271	319937
<u>President</u>							
Rep.	6222	4137	2548	2463	2491	17881	161135
Dem.	6410	3258	1894	2297	2198	16052	146453
Other	617	471	627	389	276	2390	12247
Total	13249	7861	5099	5149	4965	36323	319835

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1885, pages 208 to 214, 246, 247 and 252.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1886

	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	District	State
<u>Congress</u>							
Rep.	6437	3689	2152	2208	2225	16711	.....
Dem.	4931	2684	1678	1967	1941	13201	.....
Other	1125	674	669	515	318	3301	.....
Total	12493	7047	4499	4690	4484	33213	.....

<u>Governor</u>							
Rep.	5956	3642	2114	2198	2264	16174	133247
Dem.	5219	2684	1716	1961	1873	13453	114529
Other	1331	719	676	534	372	3632	38594
Total	12506	7045	4506	4693	4509	33259	286,370

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1887. pp. 216-249; 261.



# Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1888

## Congress

	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	District	State
Rep.	6995	4287	2675	2502	2593	19052	.....
Dem.	6183	3375	2073	2239	2253	16123	.....
Other	1042	537	662	459	266	2066	.....
Total	14220	8199	5410	5200	5112	38141	.....

## Governor

Rep.	6844	4264	2625	2491	2563	18787	175636
Dem.	6410	3407	2122	2256	2284	16479	155423
Other	1086	530	664	462	266	3009	23595
Total	14340	8201	5411	5210	5113	38275	354714

## President

Rep.	6827	4242	2659	2484	2564	18776	176553
Dem.	6426	3414	2098	2257	2275	16470	155232
Other	1088	543	657	461	273	3022	22829
Total	14341	8199	5414	5202	5112	38268	354614

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1889, pages 202 to 249, 251 and 264.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1890

	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	Lafayette	District	State
<u>Congress</u>							
Rep.	5208	3317	2024	2094	2277	15430	.....
Dem.	6212	3224	1945	2193	2207	15432	.....
Other	614	219	272	324	128	1557	.....
Total	12634	7270	4292	4621	4621	33429	.....

	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	Lafayette	District	State
<u>Governor</u>							
Rep.	5632	3513	1980	2094	2276	15495	132068
Dem.	6212	3347	2003	2177	2145	15814	160388
Other	801	395	366	391	200	2153	16798
Total	12645	7255	4349	4592	4621	33462	309254

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1891, pages 256, 257 and 277.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1892

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Adams</u>	<u>Crawf</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>Jun</u>	<u>Hicnl</u>	<u>Sauk</u>	<u>Vern</u>	<u>Diat</u>	<u>State</u>
Rep.	920	1717	4180	2276	1965	2110	3259	3079	19506	
Dem.	423	1614	3679	2328	1967	1816	3144	1440	18419	
Other	55	125	511	384	181	466	436	618	2776	
Total	1398	3456	8370	4988	4113	4392	6839	5145	38701	

<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	967	1727	4206	2260	2330	2200	3250	3071	20011	170538
Dem.	408	1612	3690	2346	1782	1696	3183	1617	16134	178245
Other	35	126	504	393	166	511	442	695	2674	22905
Total	1410	3465	8400	4999	4280	4407	6875	5183	39019	371688

<u>President</u>										
Rep.	972	1727	4217	2274	1945	2194	3277	3106	19712	171101
Dem.	402	1615	3685	2336	1978	1670	3139	1440	16265	177325
Other	37	118	494	385	206	525	446	635	2846	23155
Total	1411	3460	8396	4995	4129	4389	6862	5181	38923	371581

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1895, pages 212-266, 294-295; Statement of the State Board of Canvassers, original manuscript, office of the Secretary of State, Madison, Wisconsin.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1894

	Adams	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Jun	Richl	Sauk	Vern	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	1138	1922	4512	2660	2416	2442	3832	3342	22264	
Dem.	330	1454	3764	2136	1748	1529	2781	1366	14608	
Other	17	18	278	360	88	212	296	109	1378 <sup>a</sup>	
Total	1485	3394	8054	5156	4252	4183	6909	4817	38250	
<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	1129	1911	4519	2644	2330	2392	3798	3528	22251	196119
Dem.	332	1414	3187	2153	1782	1438	2841	979	14126	1-2250
Other	47	128	428	408	168	390	368	419	2356	37064
Total	1508	3453	8134	5205	4280	4220	7007	4926	38733	375433

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1895, pages 308, 343-344. <sup>a</sup> Includes 4 scattering votes.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1896

	Adams	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Richl	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	1432	2319	5314	3124	2842	2642	4623	4395	26691	.....
Dem.	361	1443	3592	2152	1634	2110	2554	1322	15168	.....
Total	1793	3762	8906	5278 <sup>a</sup>	4476	4752	7177	5717	41861	.....
<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	1427	2307	5281	3080	2805	2635	4594	4378	26507	264981
Dem.	397	1526	3685	2145	1714	2088	2637	1638	15830	169257
Other	27	45	214	209	79	141	280	103	1098	9869
Total	1851	3878	9180	5434	4598	4864	7511	6119	43435	444107
<u>President</u>										
Rep.	1432	2323	5315	3115	2832	2636	4620	4393	26666	268135
Dem.	391	1509	3681	2060	1671	2098	2611	1627	15648	165523
Other	43	65	262	250	103	145	350	137	1355	13751
Total	1866	3897	9258	5425	4606	4879	7581	6157	43669	447409

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1897, pages 273, 191, and 260      <sup>a</sup>Includes 2 scattering votes.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1898

	Adams	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Richl	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	1160	1860	4104	2263	2303	1974	2709	2822	19195	.....
Dem.	368	1166	2958	1866	1572	1372	1922	813	12037	.....
Other	27	33	176	227	62	158	225	118	1032	.....
Total	1555	3059	7238	4350	3937	3504	4857	3754	32264	.....

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	Adams	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Richl	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	1055	1720	4094	2285	2203	1852	2671	2440	18320	173137
Dem.	420	1305	2947	1848	1661	1430	1999	1111	12721	135353
Other	58	102	262	291	121	310	275	220	1639	20950
Total	1533	3127	7303	4424	3985	3592	4945	3771	32680	329440

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1899, p. 332.

# Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1900

	Adams	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Nichl	Sank	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	1505	2331	5542	3226	2886	2559	4099	4445	26593	.....
Dem.	421	1359	3313	1781	1627	1526	2730	1260	14017	.....
Other	26	42	294	171	89	242	256	145	1265	.....
Total	1952	3732	9149	5178	4602	4327	7085	5850	41875	.....

<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	1529	2332	5683	3355	2932	2574	4357	4514	27276	264419
Dem.	401	1354	3192	1690	1571	1505	2478	1203	13394	160674
Other	29	47	297	191	100	243	282	160	1349	16892
Total	1959	3733	9172	5236	4603	4322	7117	5877	42019	441985

<u>President</u>										
Rep.	1513	2333	5609	3170	2914	2593	4329	4463	27024	265760
Dem.	409	1353	3254	1743	1586	1524	2491	1268	13628	159163
Other	31	45	309	218	100	240	290	173	1406	17578
Total	1953	3731	9172	5231	4600	4357	7110	5904	42058	442501

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1901, pp. 232-264, 349.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1902

	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Richl	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	1828	4387	2628	2364	2062	2851	3285	19405	.....
Dem.	1471	2508	1731	1371	1334	1936	854	11155	.....
Other	67	295	200	73	316	224	181	1356	.....
Total	3316	7190	4559	3808	3712	5011	4320	31916	.....

<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	1746	4411	2659	2398	2080	2775	3439	19508	193417
Dem.	1572	2642	1794	1435	1419	2085	759	11706	145818
Other	81	323	199	102	311	273	199	1488	26441
Total	3399	7376	4652	3935	3810	5133	4397	32702	365676

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1903, pages 447 and 478.



Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1904

	<u>Crawf</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>Juneau</u>	<u>Nichl</u>	<u>Sauk</u>	<u>Vernon</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>State</u>
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	1855	4166	2307	2306	2182	3788	2443	19047	.....
Dem.	1763	4431	2577	2165	1833	2996	2897	18662	.....
Other	36	256	182	57	301	313	218	1363	.....
Total	3654	8853	5066	4528	4316	7097	5558	39072	.....
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	1638	4440	2931	2642	2075	3297	4378	21401	227253
Dem.	1996	4170	2066	1806	1923	3280	1126	16367	176304
Other	113	401	189	196	385	578	277	2139	46006
Total	3747	9011	5186	4644	4383	7155	5781	39907	449580
<u>President</u>									
Rep.	2279	5804	3328	3234	2698	4805	4744	26892	280313
Dem.	1362	2886	1639	1244	1340	1914	762	11147	124205
Other	90	305	186	135	348	396	255	1695	38921
Total	3731	8995	5153	4613	4386	7115	5761	39734	443441

Source: Blue Book 1905, pages 296, 366, and 395.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1906

	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Richl	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	1447	3010	1549	1826	1483	2259	2116	13690	.....
Dem.	1404	3431	2605	1717	1602	2380	1562	14701	.....
Other	42	185	115	8	221	253	137	961	.....
Total	2893	6626	4269	3551	3306	4892	3815	29352	.....
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	1710	4249	2635	2406	2070	3101	3118	19289	183526
Dem.	1177	2100	1472	1100	1035	1509	638	9031	103114
Other	77	267	158	82	256	326	146	1312	33106
Total	2964	6616	4265	3588	3361	4936	3902	29632	319775

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1907. pp. 469, 500.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1908

	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Nichl	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	1934	4427	2776	2419	2368	3699	3786	21409	.....
Dem.	1691	4252	2242	1682	1685	2631	1827	16010	.....
Other	72	224	205	54	255	3	166	979	.....
Total	3697	8903	5223	4155	4308	6333	5779	38398	.....
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	2014	4883	2933	2498	2343	3788	4122	22581	242963
Dem.	1602	3666	2076	1625	1724	2536	1539	147 68	165977
Other	123	394	259	112	334	366	243	1831	40731
Total	3739	8943	5268	4235	4401	6690	5904	39180	449677
<u>President</u>									
Rep.	2041	4989	2986	2454	2464	3854	4114	22902	247757
Dem.	1586	3696	2077	1691	1689	2571	1561	14871	166662
Other	135	371	252	116	341	329	227	1771	40030
Total	3762	9056	5315	4261	4494	6754	5902	39544	454443

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1909, pages 334, 411, 419, and 435.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1910

	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Richl	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	1543	2846	1904	1575	1399	2356	1737	13360	.....
Dem.	1181	1735	1338	670	1229	1692	1197	9042	.....
Other	87	212	185	281	276	269	164	1474	.....
Total	2811	4793	3427	2526	2904	4317	3098	23876	.....
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	1570	2908	2004	1571	1611	2318	2277	14259	161559
Dem.	1176	1775	1294	722	997	1815	635	8414	110446
Other	119	239	189	315	324	315	218	1719	47457
Total	2865	4922	3487	2608	2932	4448	3130	24392	319462

Sources: Wisconsin Blue Book 1911, pages 275, 284 and 300.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1912

	<u>Grawf</u>	<u>Dane</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Green</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>LaFay</u>	<u>Richl</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>State</u>
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	1536	8226	3860	2017	2346	2472	1931	22388	.....
Dem.	1665	6734	3197	1532	1876	1844	1371	18219	.....
Other	83	488	267	299	184	61	405	1717	.....
Total	3284	15448	7324	3778	4406	4377	3707	42324	.....
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	1571	8358	3808	2044	2350	2414	1930	22475	179317
Dem.	1634	7102	3495	1707	2015	1971	1444	19368	167298
Other	117	671	318	278	193	86	453	2116	47036
Total	3322	16131	7621	4029	4558	4471	3827	43959	399651
<u>President</u>									
Rep.	1407	5244	3283	1601	1886	1747	1623	16791	130596
Dem.	1515	9017	3615	1716	2103	1852	1493	21311	164230
Prog.	321	1292	667	516	438	756	367	4357	62448
Other	134	697	321	291	257	108	475	2283	32652
Total	3377	16250	7886	4124	4684	4463	3958	44742	399975

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1913, pages 260, 266 and

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1914

	Crawf	Dane Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress</u>								
Rep.	1405	6110	2806	1980	1963	1529	17511	.....
Dem.	1275	5783	1836	1187	1365	809	13216	.....
Other	57	363	188	153	56	265	1226	.....
Total	2737	12256	4830	3320	3384	2603	31953	.....
<u>Governor</u>								
Rep.	1110	3537	2470	1511	1602	1040	12891	140835
Dem.	1303	5178	1753	861	1339	649	12850	119567
Other	539	4505	1107	812	530	1129	9307	65157
Total	2952	13220	5330	3184	3471	2618	34508	325559

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1915, pages 182-221, and 229.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1916

	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Militia	District	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	2000	9864	5068	2424	2519	2593	2243	74	26785	.....
Dem.	1445	5455	2406	1216	1670	1739	1247	20	15198	.....
Other	59	375	171	170	197	83	359	6	1360	.....
Total	3504	15694	7645	3810	4326	4415	3849	100	43343	.....
<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	1817	6168	4776	2103	2122	2422	1939		21347	227896
Dem.	1756	10335	3078	1857	2252	1983	1733		22994	164633
Other	78	430	237	234	185	123	406		1693	39906
Total	3651	16933	8091	4194	4559	4528	4078		46034	432435
<u>President</u>										
Rep.	1483	6931	4718	2422	2271	2544	2051		22820	220822
Dem.	1764	9859	3459	1687	2230	2059	1845		22903	191363
Other	72	483	205	234	155	102	328		1579	34949
Total	3719	17273	8382	4343	4656	4705	4224		47302	447134

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1917, pages 194-237, 239-281, and 289.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1918

	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LeFay	Richl	Soldier	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	1473	5933	3506	1854	2003	1800	1631	198	1-398	.....
Other	288	3757	634	289	447	771	423	58	6667	.....
Total	1761	9690	4140	2143	2450	2571	2054	256	25065	.....

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	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LeFay	Richl	Soldier	Dist	State
<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	1388	5967	3077	1566	1723	1682	1227		16630	155799
Dem.	1028	4537	1895	1086	1196	1631	1085		12458	112576
Other	126	662	207	185	175	96	212		1663	63207
Total	2542	11166	5179	2837	3094	3409	2524		30751	331582

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1919, pages 107-148, 154.



Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1920

	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Dane</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Green</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>LaFay</u>	<u>Richl</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>State</u>
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	3079	18950	6939	4435	4023	3661	3272	44359	.....
Dem.	1413	7850	3998	1042	1868	2332	1291	19794	.....
Other	1	12	11	6	1	1	....	32	.....
Total	4493	26812	10948	5483	5892	5994	4563	64185	.....
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	2853	18109	6996	3974	3767	3782	2760	42241	247911
Dem.	1892	10796	4613	2160	2610	2488	2187	26752	366300
Other	72	354	189	176	139	100	198	1228	
Total	4823	29259	11798	6310	6516	6370	5145	70221	
<u>President</u>									
Rep.	3600	22842	9638	5466	5428	4893	3952	55819	498716
Dem.	1112	4879	1971	633	942	1357	917	11811	113420
Other	134	1767	302	356	297	179	261	3296	89274
Total	4846	29488	11911	6455	6667	6429	5130	70926	701410

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1921, pages 164, 165-208, and 223.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1922

	Crawf'd	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<b>Congress</b>									
Rep.	1914	12695	5986	4566	2567	2765	2509	33002	.....
Dem.	560	3258	1749	442	540	1276	554	8379	.....
Other	2	11	8	9		1	1	32	.....
Total	2476	15964	7743	5017	3107	4042	3064	41413	.....
<b>Governor</b>									
Rep.	2060	14032	6313	4619	2640	3126	2433	35223	367929
Ind. Dem.	469	1888	1213	341	338	561	498	5308	51061
Other	127	1147	529	451	255	248	401	3158	62838
Total	2656	17067	8055	5411	3233	3935	3332	43689	481828

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1923, pages 565 and 572.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1924

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Crawf'd</u>	<u>Dane</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Green</u>	<u>Iowa</u>	<u>LeFay</u>	<u>Richl</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>State</u>
Rep.	3257	26772	8169	5575	5226	4459	3410	56868	.....
Dem.	1631	6358	2926	1002	1331	2119	1601	16968	.....
Other	2	8	.....	....	1	1	....	12	.....
Total	4890	33138	11095	6577	6558	6579	5011	73848	.....

<u>Governor</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
	2793	2357	216	5366
	21890	14435	1519	37844
	6498	5639	873	13010
	4306	3085	369	7760
	3600	3494	463	7557
	3606	3390	289	7285
	2343	2977	423	5743
	45036	35377	4152	84565
	412255	317550	66637	79642

<u>President</u>	<u>Rep.</u>	<u>Dem.</u>	<u>Prog.</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
	1687	936	2977	58	5658
	12280	2081	2455	252	39208
	5714	1518	6825	112	14169
	2922	423	4085	101	8331
	3291	689	4133	100	8213
	2671	1265	3681	82	7699
	2669	898	2660	111	6338
	31234	7810	49756	816	89616
	311614	68115	453678	7419	840826

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1925, pages 506-516, 518-560 and 569.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1926

	Crawf'd	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	2309	18737	6674	3165	3642	3660	3479	41666	.....
Other	3	11	4	1	4	....	4	27	.....
Total	2312	18748	6678	3166	3646	3660	3483	41693	.....

<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	2081	13215	6469	3253	3178	3659	3634	35489	350927
Dem.	805	2427	1208	291	359	1159	549	6798	72627
Other	412	6803	1624	662	1533	640	694	12368	129357
Total	3298	22445	9301	4206	5070	5458	4877	54655	552912

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1927, pages

Vote For Congress, Governor and President in 1928

	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	3662	27858	10020	5804	5466	5062	5066	62938	.....
Dem.	1974	9135	3968	741	1209	2312	923	20262	.....
Other	84	467	150	67	84	69	96	1017	.....
Total	5720	37460	14138	6612	6759	7443	6085	84217	.....

<u>Gov-rnor</u>									
Rep.	3288	19477	9829	4791	4683	4631	5248	51947	547738
Dem.	3072	23376	6185	2997	3654	3867	2298	45449	394368
Other	66	252	193	160	127	82	126	1006	47037
Total	6426	43105	16207	7948	8464	8580	7672	98402	989143

<u>President</u>									
Rep.	3452	23680	10052	5152	5484	5134	5685	58639	544205
Dem.	3238	19126	6630	2812	3129	3585	2262	40782	450259
Other	55	364	112	63	56	52	75	777	22367
Total	6745	43170	16794	8027	8669	8771	8022	100198	1016831

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1929, pp. 815, 817, and 822.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1932

	Crawf'd	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	2715	19578	6804	3937	4118	3060	2972	43184	.....
Dem.	822	447	291	51	122	68	368	1219	.....
Total	3537	20025	7095	3988	4240	3128	3340	45403	.....

Governor

Far.	2227	18241	7456	3695	3216	3053	2678	42371	392958
Dem.	1182	5061	2275	675	1032	1170	1056	12451	170020
Other	102	742	405	339	385	142	340	2455	43423
Total	4711	24044	10136	4709	5233	4370	4074	57277	606401

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book, 1931, pp. 467 and 503.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1932

	Gr'd	Gr't	Iowa	Jun	LaX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sank	Vern	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	2958	8089	4268	3750	13745	3817	5834	4201	6981	5892	59535	.....
Dem.	3369	6534	3065	1194	6372	4074	3490	2579	4812	2357	38646	.....
Total	6327	14623	7333	4944	20117	7891	9324	6780	11793	8249	98181	.....
<u>Governor</u>												
Rep.	2325	7168	3523	2824	10766	3593	3807	4042	5761	3638	47447	470805
Dem.	4333	8656	4520	3722	10194	4677	6147	3448	7000	5365	58062	590114
Other	47	148	72	103	126	49	140	101	131	95	1012	63437
Total	6705	15972	8115	6649	21086	8319	10094	7591	12892	9098	106521	1124356
<u>President</u>												
Rep.	1943	5986	3113	2018	7686	3246	3022	3256	5063	2979	38312	347741
Dem.	4754	9701	4621	4721	12919	4886	6757	4027	7638	5939	65965	707410
Other	71	232	122	129	200	81	175	152	166	1139	1467	59657
Total	6768	15919	7856	6870	20805	8213	9954	7435	12867	9057	105744	1114828

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book, 1933, pp. 511, 607-653.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1934

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaI	LaJay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	1637	4419	2060	969	4281	1772	1850	3435	3115	2313	25851	.....
Dem.	1846	2683	1188	1323	2708	1896	1298	869	2637	774	17222	.....
Prog.	2371	5182	3436	3876	10246	3044	5751	2205	6157	5043	47311	.....
Other	16	34	13	34	28	12	93	56	141	25	452	.....
Total	5870	12318	6697	6202	17263	6724	8992	6565	12050	8155	90836	.....

<u>Governor</u>												
Rep.	1657	4490	2148	1155	4445	2232	1929	3170	3316	2412	26954	172980
Dem.	2354	3734	1793	2353	5855	2304	2567	1787	3420	1800	27967	359467
Prog.	2185	5040	3515	3358	7732	2968	5065	1876	5950	4473	42162	373093
Other	14	57	53	47	48	19	149	106	274	52	819	48232
Total	6210	13371	7509	6913	18080	7523	9710	6939	12960	8737	97902	953772

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book, 1935, pp. 613, 619.





# Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1936

	Osw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LeI	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	7196	6474	3824	1932	6042	3128	3484	3685	4333	3600	38698	.....
Dem.	1917	2849	830	921	1708	1774	853	942	2365	761	14920	.....
Prog.	2805	5946	3519	4417	13945	3194	6775	2917	6780	5843	56141	.....
Total	6918	15269	8173	7270	21695	8096	11112	7544	13478	10204	109759	.....

<u>Governor</u>												
Rep.	2574	6791	3502	2812	7290	3537	3981	4145	5317	4387	14336	363973
Dem.	1837	2376	936	1096	1967	1584	1052	1136	1764	868	14616	268530
Prog.	2771	7030	4305	4012	13121	3670	6543	3054	7195	5847	57548	573724
Other	371	1423	176	170	289	237	234	169	190	75	3334	30680
Total	7523	17620	8919	8090	22667	9028	11810	8504	14466	11177	119834	1236690

<u>President</u>												
Rep.	2857	7196	3623	3084	7558	3801	4695	4245	5626	4811	47496	380828
Dem.	4377	9170	4988	4544	14455	4976	6491	4080	8355	6044	67480	802984
Other	722	1137	483	524	827	470	822	361	831	502	6679	74748
Total	7956	17503	9094	8152	22840	9247	12008	8686	14812	11357	121655	1258560

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book, 1937, pp. 418, 420, 425.

# Vote for Congress and Governor in 1918

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LeX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sark	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	3029	6165	3047	2451	8262	3116	4410	3468	5144	4403	43495	.....
Dem.	1300	911	406	604	855	1312	294	226	809	120	6887	.....
Prog.	1403	4114	2004	2937	9478	2399	4132	1778	5018	3846	36509	.....
Total	5732	11190	5457	5992	17995	6827	8836	5472	10971	8419	86891	.....

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	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LeX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sark	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Governor</u>												
Rep.	3558	7357	3479	3800	10946	3948	5529	4250	6654	5327	54848	543675
Dem.	1026	960	407	446	892	1059	333	283	434	249	6089	78446
Prog.	1610	3983	2048	2598	6624	2548	3478	1276	4227	3234	31616	353381
Other	125	52	17	13	32	12	20	12	19	19	321	6023
Total	6319	12352	5951	6847	18474	7567	9360	5821	11334	8829	92874	981525

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book, 1940, pp. 606, 612.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1940

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaX	LaPay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	3504	7896	4100	3086	10928	3921	4826	4886	6392	4896	54457	....
Dem.	1345	1379	865	415	2845	1589	766	820	1238	544	11806	....
Prog.	2518	6848	3058	4242	12207	2666	6024	2164	6577	5827	52131	....
Total	7367	16123	8025	7743	25920	8186	11616	7870	14207	11267	118394	....

Governor

Rep.	3712	7664	3834	2615	11504	4065	4539	4720	6535	5352	54540	558678
Dem.	1813	2298	1019	434	4375	1778	849	1083	1492	926	16113	264985
Prog.	2431	8046	4092	5632	10277	3330	7134	3041	5385	5833	57201	546436
Other	2	24	9	4	17	5	17	15	15	12	120	3498
Total	7958	18032	8954	8685	26173	9178	12579	8465	15427	12123	127974	1373597

President

Rep.	4667	11143	4978	5268	13711	5059	8042	5527	9363	6614	74372	679206
Dem.	2595	7458	4025	3354	13079	4315	4673	3524	6106	5776	55905	704821
Other	31	158	137	84	134	45	148	88	238	102	1165	19613
Total	8293	18759	9140	4706	26924	9419	12863	9139	15707	12492	131442	1403640

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1942, pp. 654, 655, 656, 662.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1942

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LeX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	2564	6255	2210	1678	6759	2331	2938	2768	3982	2692	34177	.....
Dem.	1861	1530	427	260	1062	687	302	428	575	253	7385	.....
Prog.	1085	4134	2622	2509	6969	1549	2970	1518	4126	3610	31092	.....
Other	10	27	14	9	25	9	36	13	104	6	238	.....
Total	5520	11940	5273	4446	14815	4576	6246	4732	8787	6561	72912	.....

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Governor

Rep.	7521	5400	1819	1138	6209	2155	2206	2116	3319	2164	29107	291945
Dem.	1343	1313	310	162	1028	585	337	385	500	228	6247	98153
Prog.	1675	6583	3588	3553	7611	2145	3924	2417	5390	4508	41394	397664
Other	29	82	30	19	66	15	42	26	78	20	407	12877
Total	5618	13884	5747	4932	14914	4900	6509	4944	9287	6920	77155	800639

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1944, pp. 572, 577.

# Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1944

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LeI	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sank	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	4022	10595	5054	4332	15021	4866	8067	5473	10286	6376	74092	.....
Dem.	2567	3356	1744	1377	7129	2157	2049	1500	3073	2026	26978	.....
Prog.	152	526	412	174	944	427	254	251	216	1235	4591	.....
Other	11	53	19	19	55	20	60	18	99	17	371	.....
Total	6752	14530	7229	5902	23149	7470	10430	7242	13674	9654	106032	.....

<u>Governor</u>												187
Rep.	4428	11853	6015	4811	14531	5559	7940	5362	10851	7067	78977	697740
Dem.	2455	3570	1911	1905	8086	2356	2602	1962	3724	2950	31521	536357
Prog.	109	324	221	592	1953	142	622	116	490	642	5211	76028
Other	15	44	21	21	43	12	62	38	81	23	363	10305
Total	7070	15791	8108	7329	24613	8069	11226	7978	15146	10682	116072	1320430

<u>President</u>												
Rep.	4199	10266	4608	4733	12784	4421	7277	5088	9751	5676	68763	674532
Dem.	3130	6091	3595	2857	12247	3696	4013	3179	5690	5409	49827	650413
Other	22	28	35	97	72	30	64	29	105	36	518	14207
Total	7351	16345	8228	7687	25103	8147	11354	8226	15546	11121	119108	1339152

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1946, pp. 662, 664, 670.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1946

	Crow	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LeX	LeFay	Mon	Rich	Sank	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	4198	10029	5133	4117	12312	4402	6322	4634	8662	5368	65177	....
Other	92	167	71	101	1127	66	159	69	600	181	2633	....
Total	4290	10196	5204	4218	13439	4468	6481	4703	9262	5549	67810	....

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Governor

Rep.	3887	9615	5168	3776	10904	4293	5693	4443	8305	4665	60749	621970
Dem.	2089	3050	1649	1318	6089	1843	2206	1242	2696	2396	24458	406499
Other	8	58	5	27	158	19	35	13	192	24	539	11812
Total	5984	12723	7822	5121	17151	6155	7934	5698	11133	7025	85746	1040281

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1948, pp. 670, 676.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1948

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaI	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	3073	9705	4782	4083	15914	4258	7056	4649	9270	6037	69727	....
Dem.	3877	3776	1892	1224	6473	2426	2815	1773	3369	3075	30650	....
Other	9	17	11	39	114	6	112	9	88	6	411	....
Total	6909	13498	6685	6246	22501	6690	9983	6431	12727	9118	100788	....

Governor

Rep.	3680	9759	4541	4405	12543	3921	6310	4373	8398	5087	63017	684839
Dem.	3148	5102	3050	2311	10241	3381	3980	2356	4960	4503	42932	558497
Other	14	35	31	46	228	17	72	19	146	18	626	9833
Total	6842	14896	7622	6762	23012	7219	10362	6748	13504	9508	106575	1253169

President

Rep.	3465	8299	3745	3793	10525	3288	5347	3836	7140	4139	55577	590959
Dem.	3639	6575	3917	2880	12345	3740	4970	2090	5831	5226	52122	647310
Other	81	215	132	127	390	76	173	80	336	105	1715	38531
Total	7185	15089	7794	6809	23260	7104	10490	6906	13307	9470	107414	1276800

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1950, pp. 746, 748, 749, 754.



Vote for Congress and Governor in 1950

	Oran	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaX	Lafay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	3745	7661	3855	3719	11260	3413	5153	4033	7714	4230	54783	....
Dem.	3410	5046	2691	1979	8557	3193	3032	2264	4616	3477	38265	....
Other	3	8	4	3	64	1	12	1	80	4	180	....
Total	7158	12715	6550	5701	19881	6607	8197	6298	12410	7711	93228	....

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Governor

Rep.	3858	8165	3756	3522	9887	3417	4789	4273	7267	4053	52987	605649
Dem.	3283	4746	3044	2383	10168	3399	3550	2222	5395	3778	41968	525319
Other	3	19	8	7	148	4	21	6	85	5	306	7119
Total	7144	12930	6808	5912	20203	6820	8360	6501	12747	7836	95261	1138087

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1952, pp. 739, 745.



Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1952

	Crow	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	Dist	State
<b>Congress</b>												
Rep.	5397	13436	6276	6445	21800	5818	9542	6895	12843	8456	96908	....
Dem.	1937	4276	2355	1416	9003	2312	2407	1708	4104	2647	32165	....
Total	7334	17712	8631	7861	30803	8130	11949	8603	16947	11103	129073	....

<b>Governor</b>												
Rep.	5455	14976	6603	6314	20147	6414	9443	6904	12811	8186	96980	1009171
Dem.	2105	3339	2298	1852	11369	2427	2906	2006	4677	3302	36281	601844
Other	4	22	8	6	64	4	8	4	19	18	197	3706
Total	7564	18337	8909	8172	31580	8572	12357	8914	17507	11506	133418	1614721

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<b>President</b>												
Rep.	5323	14327	6211	5978	19271	5731	8744	6605	12347	7619	92156	979744
Dem.	2256	4197	2722	2163	11808	2905	3717	2260	5267	4032	41327	622175
Other	9	30	19	23	53	17	34	10	52	12	259	5451
Total	7588	18554	2952	8164	31132	8653	12495	8875	17666	11663	133742	1607370

Source: Wisconsin Blue Book 1954, pp. 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 758.

Vote for Congress and Governor in 1954

	Cr'fd	Gr't	Iowa	Jun	LaX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vern	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	3465	8784	3434	3812	12830	3154	4989	3750	7593	4417	56228	.....
Dem.	2407	2941	2191	1765	9466	1851	3005	2764	4069	3916	34375	.....
Other	....	....	....	....	.....	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....
Total	5872	11725	5625	5577	22296	5005	7994	6514	11662	8333	90603	.....

Governor

Rep.	3388	8545	3233	3466	12023	2976	4603	3949	7065	4099	53347	596158
Dem.	2569	3595	2493	2231	10497	2104	3530	2603	4816	4337	38775	560747
Other	5	20	5	17	64	1	3	6	12	3	136	1722
Total	5962	12160	5731	5714	22584	5081	8136	6558	11893	8439	92258	1158627

Source: The Wisconsin Blue Book 1956, pp. 745,746, 747.

Vote for Congress, Governor and President in 1956

	Cr'fd	Gr't	Iowa	Jun	LaL	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vern	Diet	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	3770	11109	4807	4999	16488	4704	7132	4825	10284	5882	74000	.....
Dem.	2758	5240	3066	2308	13020	2971	4246	2835	5376	5091	46911	.....
Other		1				1				1	3	.....
Total	6528	16350	7873	7307	29508	7676	11378	7660	15660	10974	120914	.....

<u>Governor</u>												
Rep.	3593	10929	4762	4660	15498	4381	6712	4747	9715	5438	70435	808273
Dem.	3098	5699	3594	2837	14427	3570	5065	3200	6443	5787	53720	749421
Other		1					1	2	1		5	94
Total	6691	16629	8356	7497	29925	7951	11788	7949	16159	11225	124160	1557788

<u>President</u>												
Rep.	4123	11648	5201	5135	18264	4733	7460	5062	10644	6200	78470	954844
Dem.	2522	5208	3176	2428	11258	3212	4311	2783	5292	4923	45113	586768
Other	36	102	40	35	100	33	40	29	80	17	512	8946
Total	6681	16958	8417	7598	29622	7978	11811	7874	16016	11140	124095	1550558

Sources: Wisconsin Department of State, Division of Elections and Records.

APPENDIX II

PER CENT OF TOTAL VOTE BY PARTIES

1862-1956

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1862 and 1863

	Cfarr	Grant	Green	Iowa	LeJay	Richl	Sauk	Army	Dist	Home	Army	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	39.0	56.6	59.8	....	38.7	56.2	60.5	87.9	57.1			
Dem.	61.0	43.4	40.2	....	61.3	43.8	39.5	12.1	42.9			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			

<u>Governor</u>												
Rep.	51.7	72.2	71.0	51.8	50.3	64.4	67.3	....	63.0	57.2	92.7	59.6
Dem.	48.3	27.8	29.0	48.2	49.7	35.6	27.9	....	36.2	42.7	6.5	40.2
Other	....	....	....	....	....	....	4.8	....	.8	.1	.8	.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1864 and 1865

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Sauk	Dist	Home	Army	Whole
<u>Congress</u>											
Rep.	47.5	67.7	64.5	47.7	46.1	65.1	67.7	59.3			
Dem.	52.5	32.3	35.5	52.3	53.9	34.9	32.3	40.7			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			

<u>President</u>											
Rep.	47.5	67.5	64.6	47.4	46.2	61.0	67.8	59.0	52.6	82.4	55.5
Dem.	52.5	32.5	35.4	52.6	53.8	39.0	32.2	41.0	47.4	17.6	44.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>Governor</u>											
Rep.	47.1	69.5	68.1	51.1	47.0	60.3	69.1	60.6	54.3	81.2	54.7
Dem.	52.9	30.5	31.9	48.7	53.0	39.7	30.9	39.4	45.7	18.8	45.3
Other	....	....	....	.2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0





Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1868 and 1869

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Sauk	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	48.1	69.1	68.1	54.1	50.5	59.5	70.4	61.6	
Dem.	51.9	30.9	31.9	45.9	49.5	40.5	29.6	38.4	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

<u>President</u>									
Rep.	48.2	69.1	68.3	54.5	51.0	59.5	69.8	61.7	56.2
Dem.	51.8	30.9	31.7	45.5	49.0	40.5	29.2	38.1	43.8
Other	....	....	....	....	....	....	1.0	.2	....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	50.7	32.9	31.5	47.2	54.9	41.6	28.9	39.9	53.2
Dem.	50.7	32.9	31.5	46.2	54.9	41.6	28.9	39.9	46.8
Other	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1870 and 1871

[illegible]

Governor

[illegible]

Per Cent of Vote Cast in 1972 and 1973

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>								
Rep.	49.9	64.5	65.8	50.6	51.7	60.5	58.2	
Dem.	50.1	35.5	34.2	49.4	48.3	39.5	41.8	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

<u>President</u>								
Rep.	49.9	64.8	65.7	51.0	50.9	61.5	58.3	54.7
Dem.	49.5	34.9	33.4	48.6	49.7	36.6	40.7	44.9
Other	.6	.3	.9	.4	2.4	1.9	1.0	.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>Governor</u>								
Rep.	38.0	53.3	50.7	46.3	47.5	51.9	48.9	44.8
Dem.	62.0	46.7	49.3	53.7	50.5	48.1	51.1	55.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1874 and 1875

[illegible]

Governor Lx/5

[illegible]

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1876 and 1877

	Grwif	Grant	Green	Iowa	LeFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress 1876</u>								
Rep.	42.6	58.6	54.1	52.1	50.1	55.4	54.5	.....
Dem.	57.4	41.4	41.9	47.9	49.9	44.6	45.5	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

<u>President 1876</u>								
Rep.	45.8	59.2	48.8	52.9	50.9	53.0	52.8	50.6
Dem.	54.2	40.2	32.6	46.8	48.3	41.4	42.8	48.2
Other	.....	.5	14.6	.3	.8	5.6	4.4	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>Governor 1877</u>								
Rep.	41.2	46.9	56.0	39.9	42.3	45.5	46.4	44.2
Dem.	51.4	34.6	26.1	32.1	43.7	27.7	34.8	39.6
Other	7.4	18.5	17.9	28.0	9.0	26.8	14.8	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1878 and 1879

[illegible]

**Governor 1879**

[illegible]





Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1880 and 1881

	Crawf	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress 1880</u>								
Rep.	49.1	58.4	60.6	51.5	53.4	56.9	55.5	
Dem.	50.5	41.6	39.4	48.5	45.9	43.1	44.3	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

<u>President 1880</u>								
Rep.	46.5	59.1	60.1	52.8	52.8	55.8	55.4	54.0
Dem.	47.9	38.6	33.5	45.6	45.4	40.4	41.3	42.9
Other	5.6	2.3	6.4	1.6	1.8	3.8	3.3	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>Governor 1881</u>								
Rep.	41.6	57.6	60.2	42.0	46.5	55.8	51.3	47.6
Dem.	35.4	30.3	24.7	42.2	45.0	27.6	34.4	40.6
Other	23.0	12.1	15.1	15.8	8.5	16.6	14.3	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1892

	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	District	State
<u>Congress</u>							
Rep.	15.1	44.1	18.1	32.3	38.3	27.9	.....
Indep. Rep.	24.5	.6	17.1	5.1	11.5	13.4	.....
Dem.	49.8	41.1	44.9	46.7	44.7	46.0	.....
Other	10.6	14.2	19.9	15.9	5.5	12.7	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....













Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1892

	Adams	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Jun	Richl	Sauk	Vern	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	65.8	49.7	49.9	45.6	47.8	48.0	47.7	59.8	50.4	
Dem.	30.3	46.7	44.0	46.7	47.8	41.4	46.0	28.2	42.4	
Other	3.9	3.6	6.1	7.7	4.4	10.6	6.3	12.0	7.2	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	68.6	49.9	50.1	45.2	54.5	49.9	47.3	59.3	51.3	45.9
Dem.	28.9	46.5	43.9	46.9	41.6	38.5	46.3	27.3	41.3	48.0
Other	2.5	3.6	6.0	7.9	3.9	11.6	6.4	13.4	7.4	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>President</u>										
Rep.	68.9	49.9	50.2	45.5	47.1	50.0	47.8	59.9	50.8	46.1
Dem.	28.5	46.7	43.9	46.8	47.9	38.0	45.7	27.8	41.9	47.7
Other	2.6	3.4	5.9	7.7	5.0	12.0	6.5	12.3	7.3	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1894

[illegible]

Governor

[illegible]







Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1900

	Adams	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	Richl	Sank	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	77.1	62.5	60.6	62.3	62.7	59.1	57.9	76.0	63.5	.....
Dem.	21.6	36.4	36.2	34.4	35.4	35.3	38.5	21.5	33.5	.....
Other	1.3	1.1	3.2	3.3	1.9	5.6	3.6	2.5	3.0	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

Governor

Rep.	78.0	62.5	62.0	64.1	63.7	59.6	61.2	76.8	64.9	59.8
Dem.	20.5	36.3	34.8	32.3	34.1	34.8	34.8	20.5	31.9	36.4
Other	1.5	1.2	3.2	3.6	2.2	5.6	4.0	2.7	3.2	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

President

Rep.	77.5	62.5	61.1	62.5	63.3	59.5	60.9	75.6	64.3	60.0
Dem.	20.9	36.3	35.5	33.3	34.5	35.0	35.0	21.5	32.4	36.0
Other	1.6	1.2	3.4	4.2	2.2	5.5	4.1	2.9	3.3	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0









Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1908

	Crawf	Grant	Iowa	Juxneau	Richl	Sauk	Vernon	Districts	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	52.3	49.7	53.2	58.2	55.0	58.5	65.5	55.8	.....
Dem.	45.7	47.8	42.9	40.5	39.1	41.5	31.6	41.7	.....
Other	2.0	2.5	3.9	1.3	5.9	.....	2.9	2.5	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100

<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	53.9	54.6	55.7	59.0	53.2	56.6	69.8	57.6	54.0
Dem.	42.8	41.0	39.4	38.4	39.2	37.9	26.1	37.7	36.9
Other	3.3	4.4	4.9	2.6	7.6	5.5	4.1	4.7	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>President</u>									
Rep.	54.25	55.1	56.2	57.6	54.8	57.0	69.7	57.9	54.5
Dem.	42.15	40.8	39.1	39.7	37.6	38.1	26.45	37.6	36.7
Other	3.6	4.1	4.7	2.7	7.6	4.9	3.85	4.5	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0







Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1916

	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	Militia	District	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	57.1	62.8	66.3	63.6	58.2	58.7	58.3	74.0	61.8	.....
Dem.	41.2	34.8	31.5	31.9	38.6	39.4	32.4	20.0	35.1	.....
Other	1.7	2.4	2.2	4.5	3.2	1.9	9.3	6.0	3.1	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	49.8	36.5	59.1	50.1	46.5	53.5	47.5	46.3	52.7	
Dem.	48.1	61.0	38.0	44.3	49.4	43.8	42.5	50.0	38.1	
Other	2.1	2.5	2.9	5.6	4.1	2.7	10.0	3.7	9.2	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

<u>President</u>										
Rep.	50.6	40.1	56.3	55.8	48.8	54.1	48.5	48.3	49.4	
Dem.	47.4	57.1	41.3	38.8	47.9	43.7	43.7	48.4	42.8	
Other	2.0	2.8	2.4	5.4	3.3	2.2	7.8	3.3	7.8	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1918

	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	Lafay	Richl	Soldier	District	State
<u>Congress</u>										
Rep.	83.6	61.2	84.7	86.5	81.8	70.0	79.4	77.3	73.4	.....
Other	16.4	38.8	15.3	13.5	18.2	30.2	20.6	22.7	26.6	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

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<u>Governor</u>										
Rep.	54.6	53.5	59.4	55.2	55.7	49.3	48.6		54.1	47.0
Dem.	40.4	40.6	36.6	38.3	38.7	47.9	43.0		40.5	34.0
Other	5.0	5.9	4.0	6.5	5.6	2.8	8.4		5.4	19.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0



Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1920

	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	68.6	70.7	63.4	80.9	68.3	61.1	71.7	69.1	.....
Dem.	31.4	29.3	36.5	19.0	31.7	38.9	28.3	30.9	.....
Other	....	....	.1	.1	....	....	....	.....	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	59.1	61.9	59.3	63.0	57.8	59.4	53.7	60.2	53.0
Dem.	39.4	36.9	39.1	34.2	40.1	39.0	42.5	38.1	35.8
Other	1.5	1.2	1.6	2.8	2.1	1.6	3.8	1.7	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>President</u>									
Rep.	74.3	77.5	81.0	84.7	81.4	76.1	77.0	78.7	71.1
Dem.	22.9	16.5	16.5	9.8	14.1	21.1	17.9	16.7	16.2
Other	2.8	6.0	2.5	5.5	4.5	2.8	5.1	4.6	12.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0







Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1928

	Crawf	Dane	Grant	Green	Iowa	LaFay	Richl	District	State
<u>Congress</u>									
Rep.	64.0	74.4	70.9	87.8	80.9	68.0	83.2	74.7	.....
Dem.	34.5	24.4	28.0	11.2	17.9	31.1	15.2	24.1	.....
Other	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.2	.9	1.6	1.2	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....
<u>Governor</u>									
Rep.	51.2	45.2	60.6	60.3	55.3	54.0	68.4	52.8	55.4
Dem.	47.8	54.2	38.2	37.7	43.2	45.0	30.0	46.2	39.9
Other	1.0	.6	1.2	2.0	1.5	1.0	1.6	1.0	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>President</u>									
Rep.	51.2	54.9	59.8	64.2	63.3	58.5	70.9	58.5	53.5
Dem.	48.0	44.3	39.5	35.0	36.1	40.9	28.2	40.7	44.3
Other	.8	.8	.7	.8	.6	.6	.9	.8	2.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1932

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaF	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	46.8	55.3	58.2	75.8	68.3	48.4	62.6	62.0	59.2	71.4	60.6	....
Dem.	53.2	44.7	41.8	24.2	31.7	51.6	37.4	38.0	40.8	28.6	39.4	....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....

Governor

Rep.	34.7	44.9	43.4	42.5	51.0	43.2	37.7	53.2	44.7	40.0	44.5	41.9
Dem.	64.7	54.2	55.7	56.0	48.4	56.2	60.9	45.4	54.3	59.0	54.5	52.4
Other	.7	.9	.9	1.5	.6	.6	1.4	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.0	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

President

Rep.	28.7	37.6	39.6	29.4	36.9	39.5	30.4	43.8	39.3	32.9	36.2	31.2
Dem.	70.2	61.0	58.8	68.7	62.1	59.5	67.9	54.2	59.4	65.6	62.4	63.5
Other	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.9	1.0	1.0	1.7	2.0	1.3	1.5	1.4	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1934

[illegible]

Governor

[illegible]



Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1936

	Oras	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sank	Vernon	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	31.8	42.4	46.8	26.5	27.8	36.6	31.3	48.8	32.2	35.3	35.3	....
Dem.	27.7	18.7	10.2	12.7	7.9	21.9	7.7	12.5	17.5	7.4	13.6	....
Prog.	40.5	38.9	43.0	60.8	64.3	39.5	61.0	38.7	50.3	57.3	51.1	....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....

Governor

Rep.	34.1	38.5	39.3	34.8	32.2	39.2	33.7	48.7	36.8	39.3	37.0	29.4
Dem.	24.3	13.5	10.4	13.5	8.7	17.5	8.9	13.4	12.2	7.8	12.2	21.7
Prog.	36.7	39.9	48.3	49.6	57.8	40.7	55.4	35.9	44.7	52.3	48.0	46.4
Other	4.9	8.1	2.0	2.1	1.3	2.6	2.0	2.0	1.3	.6	2.8	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

President

Rep.	35.9	41.1	39.9	37.9	33.1	41.1	39.1	48.8	38.0	42.4	39.0	30.3
Dem.	55.0	52.4	54.8	55.7	63.3	53.8	54.1	47.0	56.4	53.2	55.5	63.8
Other	9.1	6.5	5.3	6.4	3.6	5.1	6.8	4.2	5.6	4.4	5.5	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1938

[illegible]

**Governor**

[illegible]

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1940

	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaF	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>											
Rep.	47.5	48.9	51.1	39.9	42.0	48.0	41.5	62.1	45.0	43.5	46.0
Dem.	14.3	8.6	10.8	5.3	11.0	19.4	6.6	10.4	8.7	4.8	10.0
Prog.	34.2	42.5	38.1	54.8	47.0	32.6	51.9	27.5	46.3	51.7	44.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>Governor</u>											
R.p.	46.6	42.5	42.8	30.1	43.95	44.25	36.1	53.2	42.3	44.1	42.6
Dem.	22.9	12.7	11.4	5.0	16.7	19.4	7.1	12.3	9.7	7.6	12.6
Prog.	30.5	44.7	45.7	64.85	39.3	36.3	56.7	34.3	47.9	48.2	44.7
Other	....	.1	.1	.05	.05	.05	.1	.2	.1	.1	.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>President</u>											
Rep.	56.3	59.4	54.5	60.5	50.9	53.7	62.5	60.4	59.6	53.0	56.6
Dem.	43.3	39.8	44.0	38.5	48.6	45.8	36.3	38.6	38.9	46.2	42.5
Other	.4	.8	1.5	1.0	.5	.5	1.2	1.0	1.5	.8	.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0



Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1944

	Crow	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaX	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	59.5	72.9	69.9	73.4	64.9	65.1	77.3	75.6	75.2	66.0	70.0	....
Dem.	38.0	23.1	24.2	23.4	30.8	28.9	19.7	20.7	22.5	21.0	25.4	....
Prog.	2.3	3.6	5.7	2.9	4.1	5.7	2.4	3.5	1.6	12.8	4.3	....
Other	.2	.4	.2	.3	.2	.3	.6	.2	.7	.2	.3	....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....

Governor

Rep.	63.5	75.1	73.6	65.6	59.0	68.9	70.7	73.4	71.6	66.2	68.0	52.8
Dem.	34.8	22.6	23.4	26.0	32.9	29.2	23.2	24.6	24.6	27.6	27.2	40.6
Prog.	1.5	2.0	2.7	8.1	7.9	1.8	5.5	1.5	3.2	6.0	4.5	5.8
Other	.2	.3	.3	.3	.2	.1	.6	.5	.6	.2	.3	.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

President

Rep.	57.1	62.5	56.0	61.5	51.0	54.2	64.1	61.8	62.7	51.0	57.8	50.4
Dem.	42.6	37.3	43.6	37.2	48.7	45.4	35.3	37.8	36.6	48.7	41.8	48.6
Other	.3	.2	.4	1.3	.3	.4	.6	.4	.7	.3	.4	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1946

	Craw	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LaX	LaFay	Monroe	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	4198	98.4	98.6	97.6	91.6	98.5	97.5	98.5	93.5	96.7	96.1	.....
Other	2.1	1.6	1.4	2.4	8.4	1.5	2.5	1.5	6.5	3.3	3.9	.....
<u>Total</u>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

Governor

Rep.	65.0	75.5	75.7	73.7	63.6	69.8	71.8	78.0	74.6	66.4	70.9	59.8
Dem.	24.9	24.0	24.2	25.7	35.5	29.9	27.8	21.8	23.7	33.3	28.5	39.1
Other	.1	.5	.1	.6	.9	.3	.4	.2	1.7	.3	.6	1.1
<u>Total</u>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1948

	Crow	Grant	Iowa	Juneau	LeI	LaFay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vernon	District	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	44.5	71.9	71.5	79.8	70.7	63.6	70.7	72.3	72.8	66.2	69.2	.....
Dem.	55.4	28.0	28.3	19.6	28.8	36.3	28.2	27.6	26.5	33.7	30.4	.....
Other	.1	.1	.2	.6	.5	.1	1.1	.1	.7	.1	.4	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

Governor

Rep.	53.8	65.5	59.6	65.1	54.5	54.3	60.9	64.8	62.2	52.9	59.1	54.6
Dem.	46.0	34.3	40.0	34.2	44.5	45.5	38.4	34.9	36.7	46.9	40.3	44.6
Other	.2	.2	.4	.7	1.0	.2	.7	.3	1.1	.2	.6	.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

President

Rep.	44.2	55.0	48.0	55.7	45.2	46.3	51.0	55.55	53.7	43.7	49.9	46.3
Dem.	50.7	43.6	50.3	42.4	53.1	52.6	47.4	43.3	43.8	55.2	48.5	50.7
Other	1.1	1.4	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.1	1.6	1.15	2.5	1.1	1.6	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

### Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1950

[illegible]

**Governor**

[illegible]



### Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1952

[illegible]

**Governor**

[illegible]

**President**

[illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

Per Cent of Votes Cast in 1956

	Cr'fd	Gr't	Iowa	Jun	LaX	LaPay	Mon	Rich	Sauk	Vern	Dist	State
<u>Congress</u>												
Rep.	57.8	67.9	61.1	68.4	55.9	61.3	62.7	63.0	65.7	53.6	61.2	.....
Dem.	42.2	32.1	38.9	31.6	44.1	38.7	37.3	37.0	34.3	46.4	38.8	.....
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....

Governor

Rep.	53.7	65.7	57.0	62.2	51.8	55.1	57.0	59.7	60.1	48.4	56.7	51.9
Dem.	46.3	34.3	43.0	37.8	48.2	44.9	43.0	40.3	39.9	51.6	43.3	48.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

President

Rep.	61.7	68.7	61.8	67.5	61.7	59.3	63.2	64.3	66.5	55.7	663.2	61.6
Dem.	37.8	30.7	37.7	32.0	38.0	40.3	36.5	35.4	33.0	44.2	36.4	37.8
Other	.5	.6	.5	.5	.3	.4	.3	.3	.5	.1	.4	.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX III

STALEMATE INDEX 1890-1956

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1890

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Dane	D 2.4 <sup>a</sup>	D 2.3
Grant	D 2.9	R 1.1 <sup>b</sup>
Green	R 0.55	D 0.3
Iowa	D 1.1	D 0.15
LaFayette	R 0.8	R 1.45
District	D 1.5	D 0.5
State	.....	D 4.6

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<sup>a</sup> Indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1892

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Adams	R 17.7 <sup>a</sup>	R 19.9	R 20.2
Crawford	R 1.5	R 1.7	R 1.6
Grant	R 2.9	R 3.1	R 3.2
Iowa	D 0.5 <sup>b</sup>	D 0.9	D 0.7
Juneau	- 0.0	R 6.5	D 0.4
Richland	R 3.3	R 5.7	R 6.0
Sauk	R 0.8	R 0.5	R 1.1
Vernon	R 15.8	R 16.0	R 16.1
District	R 8.0	R 5.0	R 4.5
State	.....	D 1.1	D 0.8

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1894

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Adams	R 27.2 <sup>a</sup>	R 26.5
Crawford	R 6.9	R 7.3
Grant	R 7.7	R 8.2
Iowa	R 5.1	R 4.7
Juneau	R 7.8	R 6.4
Richland	R 10.9	R 11.3
Sauk	R 7.6	R 6.9
Vernon	R 20.5	R 25.9
District	R 10.0	R 10.5
State	.....	R 7.2

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1896

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Adams	R 29.9	R 27.85	R 27.85
Crawford	R 11.6	R 10.0	R 10.45
Grant	R 9.7	R 8.75	R 8.8
Iowa	R 9.2	R 8.6	R 9.7
Juneau	R 13.5	R 11.85	R 12.6
Richland	R 5.6	R 5.65	R 5.5
Sauk	R 14.4	R 13.05	R 13.3
Vernon	R 26.9	R 22.35	R 22.5
District	R 13.8	R 12.35	R 12.65
State	.....		R 11.45

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.



Stalemate Index for the Election of 1898

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Adams	R 25.45	R 20.7
Crawford	R 11.35	R 6.65
Grant	R 7.9	R 7.8
Iowa	R 4.55	R 4.9
Juneau	R 9.3	R 6.8
Richland	R 8.55	R 5.9
Sauk	R 8.05	R 6.8
Vernon	R 26.75	R 17.6
District	R 11.1	R 8.6
State	.....	

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.



Stalemate Index for the Election of 1900

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Adams	R 27.75 <sup>a</sup>	R 28.75	R 28.3
Crawford	R 13.05	R 13.1	R 13.1
Grant	R 12.2	R 13.6	R 12.8
Iowa	R 13.95	R 15.9	R 14.6
Juneau	R 13.65	R 14.8	R 14.9
Richland	R 11.9	R 12.4	R 12.25
Sauk	R 9.7	R 13.2	R 12.95
Vernon	R 27.25	R 28.15	R 27.05
District	R 15.0	R 16.5	R 15.95
State	.....	R 11.7	R 12.0

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1902

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 6.1	R 2.6
Grant	R 13.05	R 12.0
Iowa	R 9.8	R 9.25
Juneau	R 12.05	R 12.2
Richland	R 8.7	R 8.7
Sauk	R 9.15	R 6.75
Vernon	R 38.0	R 30.45
District	R 12.9	R 11.9
State	.....	

---

\* An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1904

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 1.3 <sup>a</sup>	D 4.8 <sup>b</sup>	R 12.3
Grant	D 1.5	R 1.45	R 16.2
Iowa	D 2.7	R 8.35	R 16.4
Juneau	R 1.55	R 9.0	R 21.55
Richland	R 4.0	R 1.7	R 15.45
Sauk	R 5.6	R 0.15	R 20.3
Vernon	D 4.05	R 28.1	R 34.6
District	R 0.45	R 6.3	R 19.85
State	.....	R 5.7	R 17.6

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1906

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 0.75 <sup>a</sup>	R 9.0
Grant	D 3.2 <sup>b</sup>	R 16.25
Iowa	D 12.35	R 13.65
Juneau	R 1.5	R 18.2
Richland	D 1.8	R 15.4
Sauk	D 1.2	R 16.1
Vernon	R 7.3	R 31.75
District	D 1.75	R 17.3
State	.....	R 12.6

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1908

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 3.3 <sup>a</sup>	R 5.55	R 6.05
Grant	R 0.95	R 6.8	R 7.15
Iowa	R 5.15	R 8.15	R 8.55
Juneau	R 8.85	R 10.3	R 8.95
Richland	R 7.95	R 7.0	R 8.6
Sauk	R 8.5	R 9.35	R 9.45
Vernon	R 16.95	R 21.85	R 21.62
District	R 7.05	R 9.95	R 10.15
State	.....		

---

<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1910

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 6.45 <sup>a</sup>	R 6.9
Grant	R 11.6	R 11.45
Iowa	R 8.3	R 10.2
Juneau	R 17.95	R 16.25
Richland	R 2.95	R 10.45
Sauk	R 7.7	R 5.65
Vernon	R 8.75	R 26.20
District	R 9.0	R 12.0
State	.....	

---

<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.



Stalemate Index for the Election of 1912

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	D 1.95 <sup>a</sup>	D 0.95	D 1.6
Dane	R 4.8 <sup>b</sup>	R 3.9	D 11.6
Grant	R 4.5	R 2.0	D 2.1
Green	R 6.45	R 4.15	D 1.4
Iowa	R 5.3	R 3.7	D 2.3
LaFayette	R 7.2	R 4.95	D 1.15
Richland	R 7.55	R 6.4	R 1.65
District	R 4.95	R 3.5	D 5.1
State	.....	R 1.55	

<sup>a</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1914

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 2.35 <sup>a</sup>	D 3.25 <sup>b</sup>
Dane	R 1.3	DI 4.0 <sup>c</sup>
Grant	R 10.05	R 6.7
Green	R 13.45	R 10.25
Iowa	R 11.9	R 5.6
LaFayette	R 8.85	R 3.75
Richland	R 13.8	RI 3.3 <sup>d</sup>
District	R 6.7	R 0.05
State	.....	R 3.3

---

<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>c</sup> A "DI" indicates a Democratic majority with an Independent candidate in second place.

<sup>d</sup> An "RI" indicates a Republican majority with an Independent candidate in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1916

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 7.95 <sup>a</sup>	R 0.85	R 1.6
Dane	R 14.0	D 12.25 <sup>b</sup>	D 8.5
Grant	R 17.4	R 10.55	R 7.5
Green	R 15.85	R 2.9	R 8.5
Iowa	R 9.8	D 1.45	R 0.45
LaFayette	R 9.65	R 4.85	R 5.2
Richland	R 12.95	R 2.5	R 2.4
Militia Vote	R 27.0	.....	.....
District	R 13.35	D 1.85	D 0.05
State	.....	R 7.3	R 3.3

<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1918

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford		R 7.1 <sup>a</sup>
Dane		R 6.45
Grant		R 11.4
Green		R 8.45
Iowa		R 8.5
LaFayette		R 0.7
Richland		R 2.8
District		R 6.8
State		R 6.5

---

<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1920

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 18.6 <sup>a</sup>	R 9.85	R 25.7
Dane	R 20.7	R 12.5	R 30.5
Grant	R 13.45	R 10.1	R 32.25
Green	R 30.95	R 14.4	R 32.45
Iowa	R 18.3	R 8.85	R 33.65
LaFayette	R 11.1	R 10.2	R 27.5
Richland	R 21.7	R 5.6	R 29.55
District	R 19.1	R 11.05	R 31.0
State	.....		R 27.45

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1922

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 27.35	R 29.9
Dane	R 29.55	R 35.55
Grant	R 27.35	R 31.7
Green	R 41.1	R 39.55
Iowa	R 32.6	R 35.7
LaFayette	R 18.4	R 32.55
Richland	R 31.9	R 29.1
District	R 29.75	R 34.3
State	.....	R 32.9

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1924

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 16.6 <sup>a</sup>	R 4.1	PR 11.35 <sup>B</sup>
Dane	R 30.8	R 9.9	PR 15.65
Grant	R 23.6	R 3.35	PR 3.95
Green	R 35.3	R 7.85	PR 11.75
Iowa	R 29.7	R 0.75	PR 5.1
LaFayette	R 17.8	R 1.5	PR 6.55
Richland	R 13.1	D 5.50 <sup>c</sup>	RP 0.05
District	R 27.0	R 5.75	PR 10.3 <sup>d</sup>
State	.....	R 5.9	PR 8.5

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "PR" indicates a Progressive majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>c</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>d</sup> An "RP" indicates a Republican majority with the Progressive party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1926

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford		R 19.35 <sup>a</sup>
Dane		RI 18.25 <sup>b</sup>
Grant		RI 27.9
Green		RI 33.05
Iowa		RI 18.5
LaFayette		R 22.95
Richland		R 31.6
District		RI 23.95
State		RI 24.8

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> An "RI" indicates a Republican majority with the Independent party in second place.



Stalemate Index for the Election of 1928

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 14.75 <sup>a</sup>	R 17.0	R 1.6
Dane	R 25.0	D 4.5 <sup>b</sup>	R 5.3
Grant	R 21.45	R 11.2	R 10.15
Green	R 38.3	R 11.3	R 14.6
Iowa	R 31.5	R 6.05	R 13.6
LaFayette	R 18.45	R 4.5	R 8.8
Richland	R 34.0	R 19.2	R 21.35
District	R 25.3	R 3.3	R 8.9
State	.....	R 7.75	R 4.6
United States			

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1930

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 26.8 <sup>a</sup>	R 23.8
Dane	R 47.8	R 27.45
Grant	R 45.9	R 25.6
Green	R 48.7	R 32.1
Iowa	R 46.0	R 26.6
LaFayette	R 47.8	R 21.6
Richland	R 39.0	R 19.95
District	R 45.1	R 26.15
State	.....	R 18.4

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1932

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	D 3.2 <sup>b</sup>	D 15.0	D 20.75
Grant	R 5.3 <sup>a</sup>	D 4.65	D 11.7
Iowa	R 8.2	D 6.15	D 9.6
Juneau	R 25.8	D 6.75	D 19.65
LaCrosse	R 18.3	R 1.3	D 12.6
LaFayette	D 1.6	D 6.5	D 10.0
Monroe	R 12.6	D 11.6	D 18.75
Richland	R 12.0	R 3.9	D 5.2
Sauk	R 9.2	D 4.8	D 10.05
Vernon	R 21.4	D 9.5	D 16.35
District	R 10.6	D 5.0	D 13.1
Wisconsin	.....	D 5.25	D 16.15
United States	.....	.....	

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1934

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	PD 4.5 <sup>a</sup>	DP 1.4 <sup>b</sup>
Grant	PR 3.15 <sup>c</sup>	PR 2.05
Iowa	PR 10.25	PR 9.1
Juneau	PD 20.6	PD 7.3
LaCrosse	PR 17.35	PD 5.15
LaFayette	PD 8.55	PD 4.45
Monroe	PR 21.7	PD 12.9
Richland	RP 9.35 <sup>d</sup>	RP 9.35
Sauk	PR 12.65	PD 9.75
Vernon	PR 16.7	PR 11.8
District	PR 11.85	PD 7.25
State	.....	PD .7

<sup>a</sup> A "PD" indicates a Progressive majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "DP" indicates a Democratic majority with the Progressive party in second place.

<sup>c</sup> A "PR" indicates a Progressive majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>d</sup> An "RP" indicates a Republican majority with the Progressive party in second place.

Stalemate Index for 1936

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	PR 4.35 <sup>a</sup>	PR 1.3	D 9.55 <sup>b</sup>
Grant	RP 1.75 <sup>c</sup>	PR .7	D 5.65
Iowa	RP 1.9	PR 4.5	D 7.45
Juneau	PR 17.15	PR 7.4	D 8.9
LaCrosse	PR 18.25	PR 12.8	D 15.1
LaFayette	PR .45	PR .75	D 6.35
Monroe	PR 14.85	PR 10.85	D 7.5
Richland	RP 5.05	RP 6.4	R .9 <sup>d</sup>
Sank	PR 9.05	PR 6.45	D 9.2
Vernon	PR 11.0	PR 6.5	D 5.4
District	PR 7.9	PR 5.5	D 8.25
State	.....	PR 8.5	D 16.75

<sup>a</sup> A "PR" indicates a Progressive majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>c</sup> An "RP" indicates a Republican majority with the Progressive party in second place.

<sup>d</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1938

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	RP 14.15 <sup>a</sup>	RP 15.4
Grant	RP 9.15	RP 13.7
Iowa	RP 9.55	RP 12.05
Juneau	PR 4.05 <sup>b</sup>	RP 8.85
LaCrosse	PR 1.7	RP 11.7
LaFayette	RP 5.3	RP 9.22
Monroe	RP 1.55	RP 10.97
Richland	RP 15.45	RP 25.55
Sauk	RP 10.7	RP .6
Vernon	RP 3.3	RP 11.85
District	RP 4.05	RP 12.55
State	.....	RP 9.7

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<sup>a</sup> An "RP" indicates a Republican majority with the Progressive party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "PR" indicates a Progressive majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1940

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	HP 6.65 <sup>a</sup>	HP 8.05	R 6.5 <sup>b</sup>
Grant	HP 3.2	PR 1.1 <sup>c</sup>	R 9.8
Iowa	HP 6.5	PR 1.45	R 5.25
Juneau	PR 7.45	PR 17.37	R 11.0
LaCrosse	PR 2.5	HP 2.32	R 1.15
LaFayette	HP 7.7	HP 3.97	R 3.95
Monroe	PR 5.2	PR 10.3	R 13.1
Richland	HP 17.3	HP 9.45	R 10.9
Sauk	PR .65	PR 2.8	R 10.35
Vernon	PR 4.1	PR 2.05	R 3.4
District	HP 1.0	PR 1.05	R 7.05
State	.....	HP .42	R .9

<sup>a</sup> An "HP" indicates a Republican majority with the Progressive party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>c</sup> A "PR" indicates a Progressive majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1942

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 6.35 <sup>a</sup>	HP 7.55 <sup>b</sup>
Grant	HP 8.95	PR 4.45 <sup>c</sup>
Iowa	PR 3.9	PR 15.35
Juneau	PR 9.3	PR 23.85
LaCrosse	PR .7	PR 4.75
LaFayette	HP 8.5	HP .1
Monroe	PR .3	PR 13.2
Richland	HP 13.2	PR 3.05
Sauk	PR .85	PR 11.1
Vernon	PR 7. 0	PR 16.9
District	HP 2.15	PR 8.0
State	.....	PR 6.55

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> An "HP" indicates a Republican majority with the Progressive party in second place.

<sup>c</sup> A "PR" indicates a Progressive majority with the Republican party in second place.



Stalemate Index for the Election of 1944

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 10.75 <sup>a</sup>	R 14.35	R 7.25
Grant	R 24.9	R 26.25	R 12.6
Iowa	R 22.85	R 25.1	R 6.2
Juneau	R 25.0	R 19.8	R 12.15
LaCrosse	R 17.05	R 13.05	R 1.15
LaFayette	R 18.1	R 19.85	R 4.4
Monroe	R 28.8	R 23.75	R 14.4
Richland	R 24.45	R 24.4	R 12.0
Sauk	R 26.35	R 23.5	R 13.05
Vernon	R 22.5	R 19.3	R 1.15
District	R 22.3	R 20.4	R 8.0
State	.....	R 6.1	R .9

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with a Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1946

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford		R 15.05 <sup>a</sup>
Grant		R 25.75
Iowa		R 25.75
Juneau		R 24.0
LaCrosse		R 14.05
LaFayette		R 19.95
Monroe		R 22.0
Richland		R 28.1
Sauk		R 25.45
Vernon		R 16.55
District		R 21.2
State		R 10.39

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1948

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	D 5.45 <sup>a</sup>	R 3.9 <sup>b</sup>	D 1.25
Grant	R 21.8	R 15.6	R 5.7
Iowa	R 21.6	R 9.8	D 1.15
Juneau	R 30.1	R 15.45	R 6.65
LaCrosse	R 20.95	R 5.0	D 3.95
LaFayette	R 13.65	R 4.4	D 3.15
Monroe	R 21.25	R 11.25	R 1.8
Richland	R 22.35	R 14.95	R 6.12
Sauk	R 23.15	R 12.75	R 4.95
Vernon	R 16.25	R 3.0	D 5.75
District	R 13.4	R 9.4	R 0.7
Wisconsin	.....	R 5.0	D 2.2
United States	.....	.....	D 2.19

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<sup>a</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1954

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>
Crawford	R 9.0 <sup>a</sup>	R 6.85
Grant	R 25.0	R 20.35
Iowa	R 11.0	R 6.45
Juneau	R 18.4	R 10.85
LaCrosse	R 7.55	R 3.35
LaFayette	R 13.0	R 8.55
Monroe	R 12.4	R 6.55
Richland	R 7.6	R 10.25
Sauk	R 15.1	R 9.45
Vernon	R 3.0	D 1.4 <sup>b</sup>
District	R 12.1	R 7.9
State	.....	R 1.55

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

<sup>b</sup> A "D" indicates a Democratic majority with the Republican party in second place.

Stalemate Index for the Election of 1952

	<u>Congress</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>President</u>
Crawford	R 23.6	R 22.15	R 20.2
Grant	R 25.8	R 31.75	R 27.3
Iowa	R 22.7	R 24.15	R 19.5
Juneau	R 32.0	R 27.25	R 23.35
LaCrosse	R 20.8	R 13.9	R 12.05
LaFayette	R 21.6	R 21.67	R 18.3
Monroe	R 29.9	R 26.45	R 20.15
Richland	R 30.1	R 27.47	R 24.45
Sauk	R 25.8	R 23.25	R 20.05
Vernon	R 26.20	R 21.5	R 15.35
District	R 25.10	R 22.75	R 19.0
State	.....	R 12.6	R 11.5

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<sup>a</sup> An "R" indicates a Republican majority with the Democratic party in second place.

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