A SURVEY OF THE CHARACTER, EFFECTIVENESS AND COST OF THE PRIMARY LAW OF MICHIGAN

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF M. A.

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N.V.

A Survey
of
The Character, Effectiveness and Cost
of the Primary Law of Michigan

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"Toward the close of the nineteenth century the people became discouraged and dissatisfied with the convention plan of making nominations especially, for local offices, and an agitation for the direct primary began."[1]

This agitation seemed to be wide spread over the United States and it did not cease until nearly every state had adopted some form of the direct primary system of nominations. There were of course serious defects and discrepancies under the convention plan, and various reports of graft and corruption were not uncommon.

"It was believed the convention system was admirably adopted to management by the 'invisible government' of the industrial political magnate: cases of bribery, deadlock, bargaining, trading offices, factional struggles, all said or pointed to the fact that the convention was too remote from the people, and its judgments did not fairly represent the rank and file of the party."[2]

The Primary Law was not a product of the twentieth century, for as early as 1860, the Republican party of Crawford

1. L. T. Beman, "The Primary," p. 74

2. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol, CVI, p. 1.

County, Pennsylvania, less than six years after its organization, inaugurated the plan known as the Crawford County direct primary system.[3]

"In nominating candidates for the various county offices, it clearly is, or ought to be, the object to arrive as nearly as possible at the wishes of the majority; or at least a plurality of the Republican voters."[4]

Two opportunities have been given the people of Crawford County to return to the convention or delegate system, and they have emphatically shown their choice for the primary system. This law had its merits and defects; but it did discourage buying votes, machinery government and log rolling.

From the inception of the first primary law, the system gradually spread throughout the United States until by 1900 there were many states, especially in the southern part of our country which had adapted the direct primary system in place of the old convention plan of making nominations.[5]

Agitation for Adoption of the Primary System

Fred M. Warner, governor of Michigan from 1904 to 1910 was an ardent supporter of the primary law. He was elected under the convention system but he had conferred with ardent supporters of the new law in other states, and was convinced of its efficacy. Governor Warnerdid not, however, favor

3, Michigan Political Association, Vol, VI, p. 32.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, p. 35.

a mandatory primary law aw was later passed by the state legislature in 1909.[6] In a public statement Governor Warner said.

"Personally I believe a primary law should be passed by the next legislature....I very greatly doubt whether Michigan needs such an extreme mandatory direct voting law as some people are urging...If the politics of a country have been debauched by the use of money or patronage, or in any other way, a stringent law should be enacted to take care of the case. But I believe that in a large majority of cases the politics are practically clean, and I do not believe that such counties should be compelled against their will to make an entire change in their manner of making nominations, simply because a change is needed in other counties."[7]

At this time, Governor Warner made a survey of the states which had passed primary laws, and there were only four states having mandatory systems, namely: Minnesota, Florida, Mississippi, and Texas. We, with the four others took the most radical course and adopted the mandatory type of the primary law.[8]

In the 1907 legislature, Concurrent Resolution was passed to submit to a vote of the people the question of nomination of United States Senator, Governor, and Lieutenant Governor by direct vote of the electors.

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6. Ibid, p. 40

7. Fred W. Warner, " Nominations of Candidates by Direct Vote," p.2.

8. Ibid.

"Resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring: That there shall be submitted to the people of the state of Michigan at the election to be held on the seventeenth day of September, nineteen hundred seven, for choosing delegates to the Constitutional Convention, the question of nomination by direct vote of the qualified electors of the states, of United States Senators, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, the candidate of any one party receiving the highest number of votes of such party for either said offices to be the candidate of such party for such office, and the Secretary of State is hereby required to certify the same to the clerks of the several counties of the State and give notice of the same to the sheriffs of the counties of the state and the sheriffs of the several counties of this state shall be required to give notice of the same to the several townships and wards in said states, in the manner required by law, and the said question shall be printed upon a separate ballot to use at said election."[9]

This Resolution for the primary law was not inclusive enough, since it did not include the county officials or the members of the state legislature. In 1909 our present primary law was introduced which repealed all previous activities in that respect.

9. Compiled Laws 1907, p. 526.

The Primary Law

Nominations shall be made by direct vote of the party. " Primary is definite as used in the act and shall be construed to mean an election for the purpose of deciding by a ballot who shall be the nominees of the political parties for the offices named in this act or for the election by ballot of delegates to political conventions."[10]

The offices herein stated shall be nominated by the direct primary: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, United States Senators and Congressmen, members of the state legislature, and all county officials shall be chosen by direct ballot or vote of the people.[11] The remaining state officers are elected as before by the convention system. These offices might just as well be appointive offices since the duties of each office are prescribed by law. The people have very little voice in the nomination of these officials, but probably our high degree of individualism would not permit the deviation from our democratic policies.

The townships are permitted to use the caucus system of making nominations for local offices under our present primary law. The caucus system is generally used throughout the State with very little expense to the townships. Thus the law left us with both the primary system and the convention system of making nominations, so we have ample opportunity to study the merits and defects of each system.

10. Public Acts 1909, p. 515.

11. Ibid, p. 520.

Effectiveness of the Primary Law

The advocates of the Primary Law extol the democratic features of the law; in thatcitizens from small towns may become office holders as well as the citizens of the large metropolis.

The following list of our Governors since the passage of the primary law in 1909 will show some from smaller towns as well as the larger cities:

Governor Fred M. Warner, Farmington
" " Chase S. Osborn, Sault Ste. Marie
" " Albert E. Sleeper, Bad Axe
" " Woodbridge N. Ferris, Big Rapids
" " Alexander Groesbeck, Detroit
" " Fred Green, Ionia
" " Wilbur Brucker, Saginaw
Lieutenant" " Euren Dickinson, Charlotte

There have been several attempts to prove that the primary tended to place on the ticket candidates of higher or lower calibre than did the convention system of nomination, but as far as I know there have been no real tangible results from these investigations since a candidate's worth is largely a matter of personal opinion.

Their environment may have had little to do with the success or failure of administration, since all of them must have had interests outside of their own city in order to be well enough known throughout the state to win the election.

Defects of the Primary Law

The Primary Law is criticised because it encourages lack of party responsibility. This criticism is rather difficult to prove since there have always been insurgent candidates under the old convention plan, and we still have disgruntled factors in every party. As to whether there are more cases of irresponsibility under the Primary System is a debatable question.

"It is true that in many cases candidates have made announcements of personal platforms or pledges which cover their aims in general. These pledges however, do not bind the party. They offer only personal and not party responsibility in a system of party government."[12]

S. S. Riley, Republican of Ingham County says. "The office seeking candidate pledges nothing. He vouches for his own competency and integrity and is responsible only to self. Where the man seeks the office and not the office the man is not good business for the tax payer."[13]

There is another criticism of the Primary Law, the minority candidate, which is present in both the densely populated areas as well as in sparsely populated districts. The following table shows the minority candidate in these counties;

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12. Stuart Lewis, "Party Principles and Practical Politics." p. 195.

13. Lansing State Journal. April 11, 1932.

1928

	Population	Republican	Democratic
Iosco	7,517	2	0
Jackson	92,304	1	0
Keweenaw	5,076	1	0
Montmorency	2,814	0	0
Cheboygan	11,502	1	0
Iron	20,805	3	0
Lake	4,066	1	0
Ingham	116,586	5	0
Oakland	211,257	4	0
Eaton	31,728	1	0
Barry	20,928	0	0
Mackinaw	8,783	0	0
Kalkaska	3,799	0	0
Crawford	3,097	0	0
Ionia	35,093	0	0
Alcona	4,989	0	0
Genesee	211,641	3	0
Delta	32,280	0	0
Clinton	24,174	1	0
Baraga	9,168	0	0
Emmet	15,109	3	0
Gratiot	30,252	0	0
Branch	23,950	1	0
Cass	20,888	1	2
	Total	28	2

	1930		
	Population	Republican	Democratic
Iosco	7,517	0	0
Jackson	92,304	4	2
Keweenaw	5,076	0	0
Montmorency	2,814	0	0
Cheboygan	11,502	0	0
Iron	20,805	3	0
Lake	4,066	1	0
Ingham	116,586	5	2
Oakland	211,257	4	0
Eaton	31,728	4	0
Barry	20,928	0	0
Mackinaw	8,783	0	0
Kalkaska	3,799	0	0
Crawford	3,097	0	0
Ionia	35,093	0	0
Alcona	4,989	0	0
Genesee	211,641	3	1
Delta	32,280	0	1
Clinton	24,174	0	0
Baraga	9,168	1	0
Emmet	15,109	1	0
Gratiot	30,252	4	0
Branch	23,950	0	0
Cass	20,888	0	0
	Total	30	6

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14. Questionnaires sent to County Clerks.

There is no record of the number of minority candidates in the townships since the township use the caucus system to nominate their ticket. Usually there is a very small number out at the caucuses and very little interest shown unless there is some flagrant misuse of funds by an office holder and the party doesn't wish his name to appear on the ticket.

In some of these counties there was no use of holding a primary, since there were few office seekers. The following table shows the number of offices in the primary election where there was just one candidate for the office:

1928

	Population	Republican	Democratic
Iosco	7,517	4	No ticket
Jackson	92,304	2	2
Keweenaw	5,076	4	No ticket
Montmorency	2,814	8	" "
Cheboygan	11,502	1	2
Iron	20,805	3	1
Lake	4,066	4	No ticket
Ingham	116,586	0	1
Oakland	211,257	5	8
Eaton	31,728	7	6
Barry	20,928	3	2
Mackinaw	8,783	5	4
Kalkaska	3,799	1	No ticket

1928

	Population	Republican	Democratic
Crawford	3,097	9	7
Ionia	35,093	5	1
Alcona	4,989	4	No ticket
Genesee	211,641	2	6
Delta	32,280	2	No ticket
Clinton	24,174	1	3
Baraga	9,168	2	4
Emmet	15,109	1	0
Gratiot	30,252	6	8
Branch	23,950	2	1
Cass	20,888	2	4
	Total	83	60

1930

	Population	Republican	Democratic
Iosco	7,517	4	No ticket
Jackson	92,304	2	6
Keweenaw	5,076	3	No ticket
Montmorency	2,814	6	" "
Cheboygan	11,502	2	4
Iron	20,805	3	No ticket
Lake	4,066	6	1
Ingham	116,586	0	2
Oakland	211,257	2	7
Eaton	31,728	1	5
Barry	20,928	3	4
Mackinaw	8,783	4	3

1930

	Population	Republican	Democratic
Kalkaska	3,799	2	No ticket
Crawford	3,097	9	6
Ionia	35,093	0	4
Alcona	4,989	4	No ticket
Genesee	211,641	2	5
Delta	32,280	2	0
Clinton	24,174	0	4
Baraga	9,168	5	No ticket
Emmet	15,109	1	3
Gratiot	30,252	0	0
Branch	23,950	1	4
Cass	20,888	0	0
	Total	62	58

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These results would tend to show thatin the smaller counties where the population is scattering and largely rural that there is less attention paid to the primary election, and it would also tend to indicate that a mandatory primary was really unnecessary in the less densely populated counties.

These figures show a sharp contrast to the vote cast for state representatives in Detroit in 1930 where it is impossible to divide the city into untis comparable to counties. There were 113 candidates in the field, and only seventeen to be elected or nominated. The following figures show the vote for representatives in the 1928 Primary Elections

15. Questionnaires sent to County Clerks.

72,495	69,112	65,645	61,629
54,558	48,685	47,132	44,881
44,027	42,975	42,938	42,364
38,842	36,117	32,653	32,448
32,120	31,401	31,317	30,636
28,530	26,617	26,553	26,548
25,590	25,075	23,188	23,014
22,633	22,512	22,401	22,267
21,441	20,953	20,882	19,829
19,481	19,159	19,115	19,042
18,871	18,825	18,401	18,007
17,974	17,812	17,791	17,609
17,595	17,015	16,941	16,630
16,192	16,188	15,693	15,503
15,434	15,256	14,933	14,680
14,277	14,260	14,038	13,989
13,798	13,592	13,579	13,246
13,091	12,999	12,947	12,624
12,581	12,416	12,291	12,190
12,058	11,916	11,866	11,770
11,668	11,685	11,570	11,246
11,233	11,078	10,942	10,914
10,461	9,866	9,845	6,660
9,496	9,327	9,275	9,221
9,204	8,927	8,639	8,472
8,457	8,141	7,860	7,489
7,321	7,230	7,153	6,977
6,058	5,674	5,546	2,968
3,810	1,974	1,764	1,171
587	435	264	2,416

1,230	36	19	8,049	
3,813	2,842	54		16

Small Vote Cast

The clerks in the various counties were unable to give the number of registered voters in their county except in a few cases which shows that the number voting was much less in some counties than the elegible voting list:

Delta County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
15,039	8,843

Alcona County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
2,345	1,247

Crawford County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
944	773

Baraga County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
6,000	2,397

Eaton County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
14,000	6,710

16. Michigan Manual 1931, p. 227.

Lake County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
1,800	1,509

Montmorency County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
1,500	1,083

Jackson County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
32,500	16,292

Iron County

1928 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
6,500	5,447

Cass County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
11,000	2,406

Branch County

1930 Registered Voters	Highest Votes Cast
13,000	3,282

[17]

17. Questionnaires sent to County Clerks.

Remedial Legislation

The legislature in 1931 attempted to curb the large number of office seekers in order to simplify the ballot for the voters by compelling each candidate to have a petition signed by two percent of the voters or in lieu of that deposit $100.00 which shall be returned if he polls a vote to be nominated or if he polls a vote that falls in the list of like members that are nominated. The law applies only to cities where there are more than three candidates to be elected. The candidates may have to forfeit that much money, which is not a total loss since the publicity they receive undoubtedly helps them in a monetary way eventually.

The legislature in 1931 passed a law which tends to nullify the mandatory clause in the 1909 primary law.

Nominations without the primary in case of no opposition. If upon the expiration of the time for filing petitions in any primary election, it shall appear that as to any office or any party ticket there is no opposition then the office with whom such petitions are filed shall certify to the proper board of election commissioners the names of each candidate whose petitions have been properly filed and such candidate shall be the candidate for such political party for such office and shall be certified. As to such offices there shall be no primary and such office shall be omitted from the primary ballot. The provisions of this section shall also apply where more than one candidate is to be nominated for any office and there are no more candidates than there are persons to be nominated."[18]

18. Compiled Laws, 1931

" There is no doubt that the primary system has not worked as well as its advocates prophesied. In fact in many states, it has been worked until many less serious minded citizens declare for a return of the convention without reservation.[19]

The Corrupt Practice Act was passed to put a check upon the amount each candidate could spend in any one campaign to get elected to office. The important provisions of the Corrupt Practice Act are as Follows:

Section 1. No expenses may be incurred and no money expended in respect of the management or conduct of any political campaign leading to the nomination or election of any candidate, except by the persons authorized under the provisions of this section.

Every candidate, before making or authorizing any expenditures in connection with his candidacy for the nomination, and also immediately after his nomination, must appoint an agent who shall thereafter be the only person authorized to incur expenses or disburse money for the purpose of promoting or procuring the nomination or election of such candidate.

A candidate may name himself or some other person as agent, or he may designate a political committee to act as his agent. In case a committee is designated, only its treasurer may incur expenses or disburse money.

A person other than the agent of a candidate shall not incur any expenses in promoting or procuring either directly

19. National Municipal Review, Vol, XV. p. 529

or indirectly the nomination or election of any candidate, unless he is authorized in writing to do so by the agent, which authorization shall state the maximum amount to be so expended.

Any expenses authorized as aforesaid by the agent shall be duly returned as a part of the candidate's expenses and are included within the limitations set down in this act.

In case a candidate appoints as his agent a committee which is also engaged in acting as agent for another candidate or candidates for any public office, said committee shall make a return for each candidate and shall allocate as accurately as possible the joint expenditures to the account of each candidate, in addition to listing the receipts and expenditures which are individual to each candidate.

Section 1-2. No sums of money shall be paid and no expenses authorized or incurred by or on behalf of any candidate in excess of the amount determined by multiplying by two cents the total number of votes cast at the last preceding presidential election for the office of secretary of state in the state or political subdivision thereof in which he is a candidate for nomination: Provided that in no case shall a candidate be restricted to less than one hundred dollars in his campaign for nomination. Provided further that a candidate for a county, city, or district office shall in no case be permitted to spend a sum in excess of ten thousand dollars. The expenses of any candidate for election shall not exceed one-half of the sum permitted for that candidate in his campaign for nomination.[20]

20. Compiled Laws 1929, p. 1276

In many incidents the county clerks reported tha the candidates did not file their campaign costs so there was no way to check up on them. The deputy secretary of state told me that the state department was not as particular as in the regular election about candidates filing their expense accounts. These expense accounts do not have to be kept on file only one year anyway according to the 1929 Compiled Laws, Section 3311.[21]

The Cost of the Primary System

The cost of theprimary is a potent question today since the tax payer is already burdened with excess costs of government, and wishes to eliminate unnecessary laws as well as offices.

The convention costs are not filed, and it is impossible to find out the amounts used in any campaign. The expenses of the convention were met by contributions by candidate and friends of the party. Estimates have been made which range from way above the cost of the primary to far below its cost and some think that the convention cost and primary cost are about the same. The cost to the state for each primary election is a comparatively small amount since the counties have to bear the cost of printing the ballots, as well as distributing them to each precinct within the county.

The deputy secretary of state, Mr. Brown, certifies that each primary election never costs the state more than $300.00. They furnish the seals for the ballot boxes, and that is all. Another cost is their postage which is a large item in their expense of the election. This total cost is a negligible amount as compared to the cost in the counties in the following table:

21. Compiled Laws 1929, Section 3311.

		Population	Total Cost
Branch	1928	23,950	$ 1,368.42
	1930		960.10
Gratiot	1928	30,252	939.20
	1930		627.15
Cass	1928	20,888	499.02
	1930		576.33
Emmet	1928	15,109	768.57
	1930		769.85
Clinton	1928	24,174	971.28
	1930		945.33
Delta	1928	32,280	858.39
	1930		965.03
Genesee	1928	211,641	4,394.58
	1930		764.45
Alcona	1928	4,989	540.88
	1930		450.43
Wexford	1928	16,827	2,753.05
	1930		2,169.55
Ionia	1928	35,093	2,140.92
	1930		444.73
Crawford	1928	3,097	164.50
	1930		167.50

		Population	Total Cost
Kalkaska	1928	3,799	$ 309.33
	1930		358.17
Mackinaw	1928	8,783	243.55
	1930		259.63
Baraga	1928	9,168	653.05
	1930		643.13
Barry	1928	20,928	835.47
	1930		670.27
Eaton	1928	31,728	840.82
	1930		1,157.72
Oakland	1928	211,251	2,325.84
	1930		2,599.74
Ingham	1928	116,586	1,722.78
	1930		1,771.92
Lake	1928	4,066	429.42
	1930		369.07
Iosco	1928	7,517	570.28
	1930		489.27
Montmorency	1928	2,814	189.10
	1930		498.27
Keweenaw	1928	5,076	280.72
	1930		294.51

		Population	Total Cost
Jackson	1928	92,304	$ 2,832.42
	1930		1,744.46
Cheboygan	1928	11,502	574.87
	1930		596.76
Iron	1928	20,805	1,664.51
	1930		499.97
Wayne	1928	1,888,946	8,000.00
	1930		10,000.00

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The total cost for 1928 primary election in a little less than one third of the counties is approximately $27,000 while the cost for the 1930 primary is about $35,000 for the same numberof counties. Using $30,000 for an average the cost to the counties for the state as a whole would be about $100,000.

The Cost per vote in the Counties

Total Expense	Highest No. votes cast	Cost per vote
	1928 Alcona	
$ 540.88	1,247	$ .440
	1930	
450.43	1,666	.270
	1928 Kalkaska	
309.33	892	.346
	1930	
358.17	588	.609

22. Questionnaires sent to County Clerks.

Total Expense	Highest No. Votes Cast	Cost per Vote
	1928 Mackinaw	
$ 515.55	760	$ .678
	1930	
472.63	1,516	.311
	1928 Barry	
835.47	3,018	.276
	1930	
670.27	4,809	.139
	1928 Eaton	
840.82	5,162	.162
	1930	
1,157.72	6,710	.172
	1928 Lake	
429.42	1,469	.292
	1930	
369.17	1,513	.244
	1928 Iron	
1,664.51	6,980	.238
	1930	
	1928 Iosco	
572.28	2,000	.286
	1930	
507.77	2,365	.214

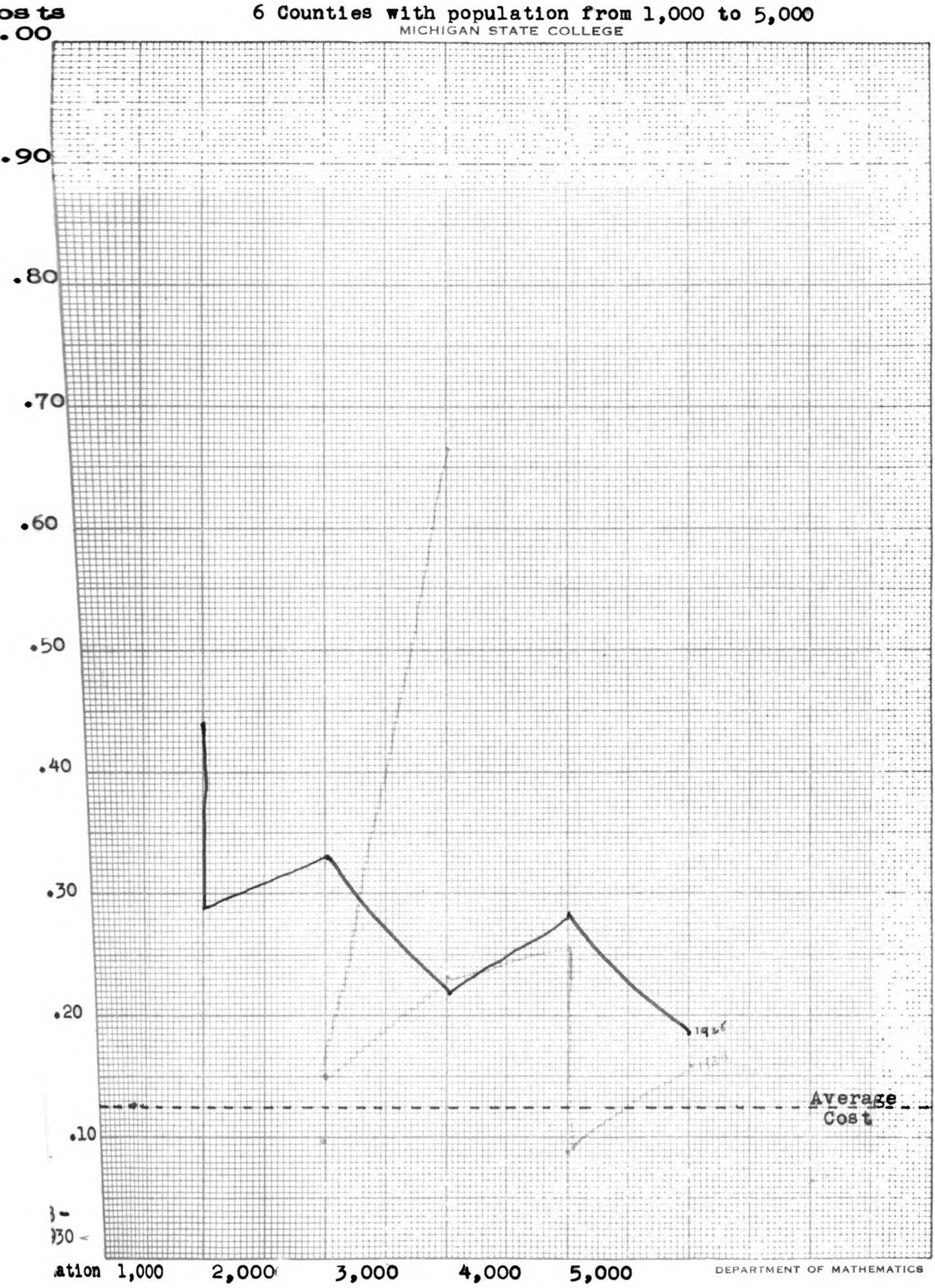
Total Expense	Highest No. Votes Cast	Cost per Vote
	1928 Macomb	
$ 2,380.44	20,128	$ .113
	1930	
1,810.10	11,473	.157
	1928 Keweenaw	
280.72	1,548	.181
	1930	
294.51	1,817	.161
	1928 Jackson	
2,832.42	12,770	.221
	1930	
1,744.46	16,771	.104
	1928 Ionia	
2,140.92	6,895	.310
	1930	
444.73	7,610	.058
	1928 Crawford	
164.50	787	.209
	1930	
167.50	773	.216
	1928 Cass	
489.02	1,155	.423
	1930	
576.33	3,024	.1905

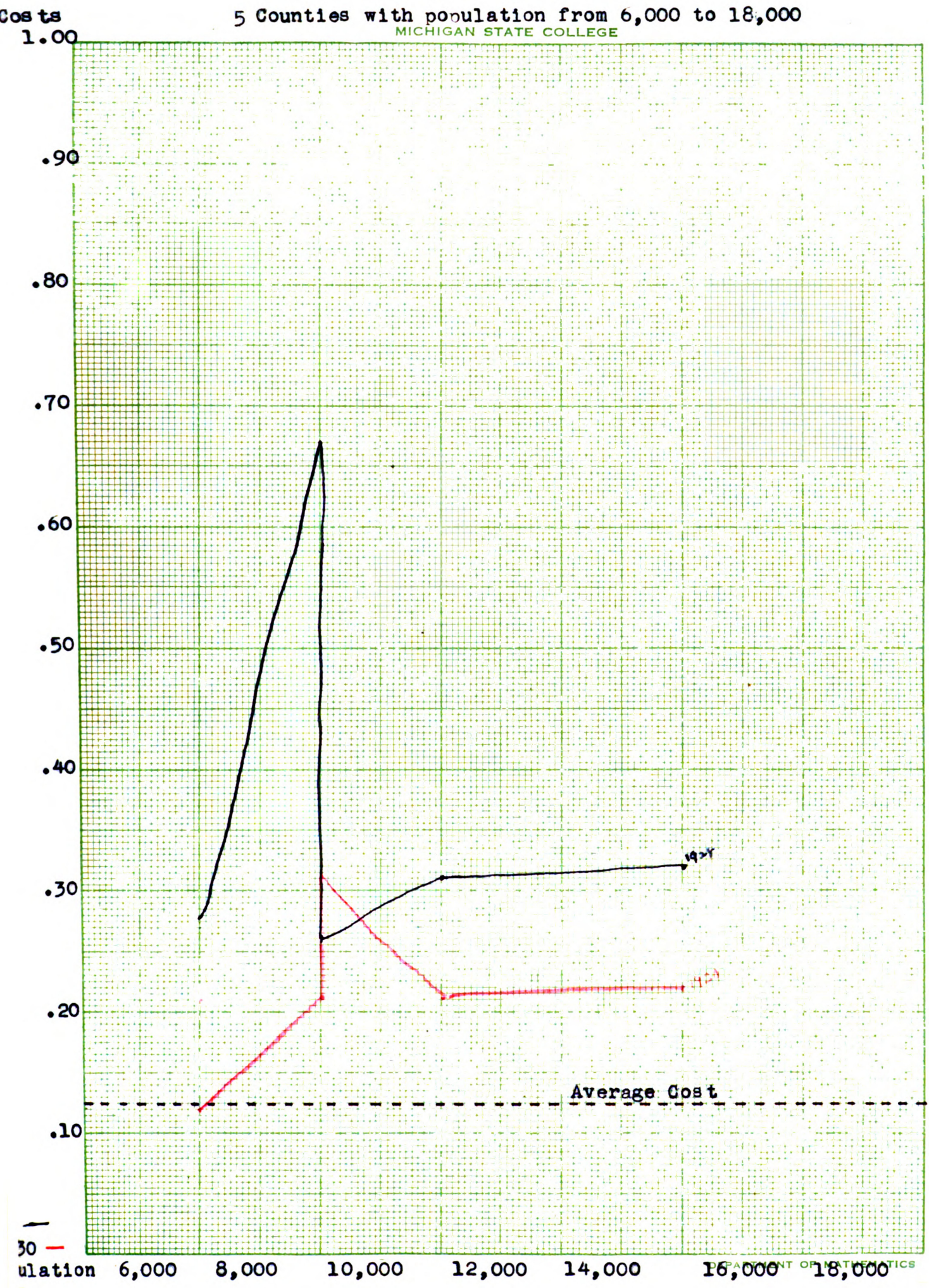
Total Expense	Highest No. Votes Cast	Cost Per Vote
	1928 Branch	
$1,358.42	3,094	$ .439
	1930	
960.10	3,288	.292
	1928 Baraga	
653.05	2,572	.253
	1930	
643.13	3,069	.209
	1928 Clinton	
2,785.96	2,056	.409
	1930	
1,949.50	4,772	.198
	1928 Delta	
858.39	7,967	.107
	1930	
965.03	8,843	.109
	1928 Genesee	
2,756.66	33,040	.083
	1930	
764.45	34,804	.022
	1928 Oakland	
5,325.84	45,840	.116
	1930	
2,393.24	36,117	.064

Total Expense	Highest No. Votes Cast	Cost per Vote	
	1928 Ingham		
$ 2,722.78	33,291	$.081	
	1930		
2,772.02	32,759	.084	
	1928 Gratiot		
837.20	5,459	.151	
	1930		
627.55	6,946	.093	
	1928 Emmet		
768.57	2,375	.323	
	1930		
769.85	3,593	.214	
	1928 Cheboygan		
674.87	2,173	.310	
	1930		
590.76	2,935	.201	
	1928 Montmorency		
189.10	527	.358	
	1930		
162.50	1,083	.150	
Approximately	1928 Wayne		
8,000 Plus	350,000	.02	
	1930		
8,000 Plus	350,000	.02	23

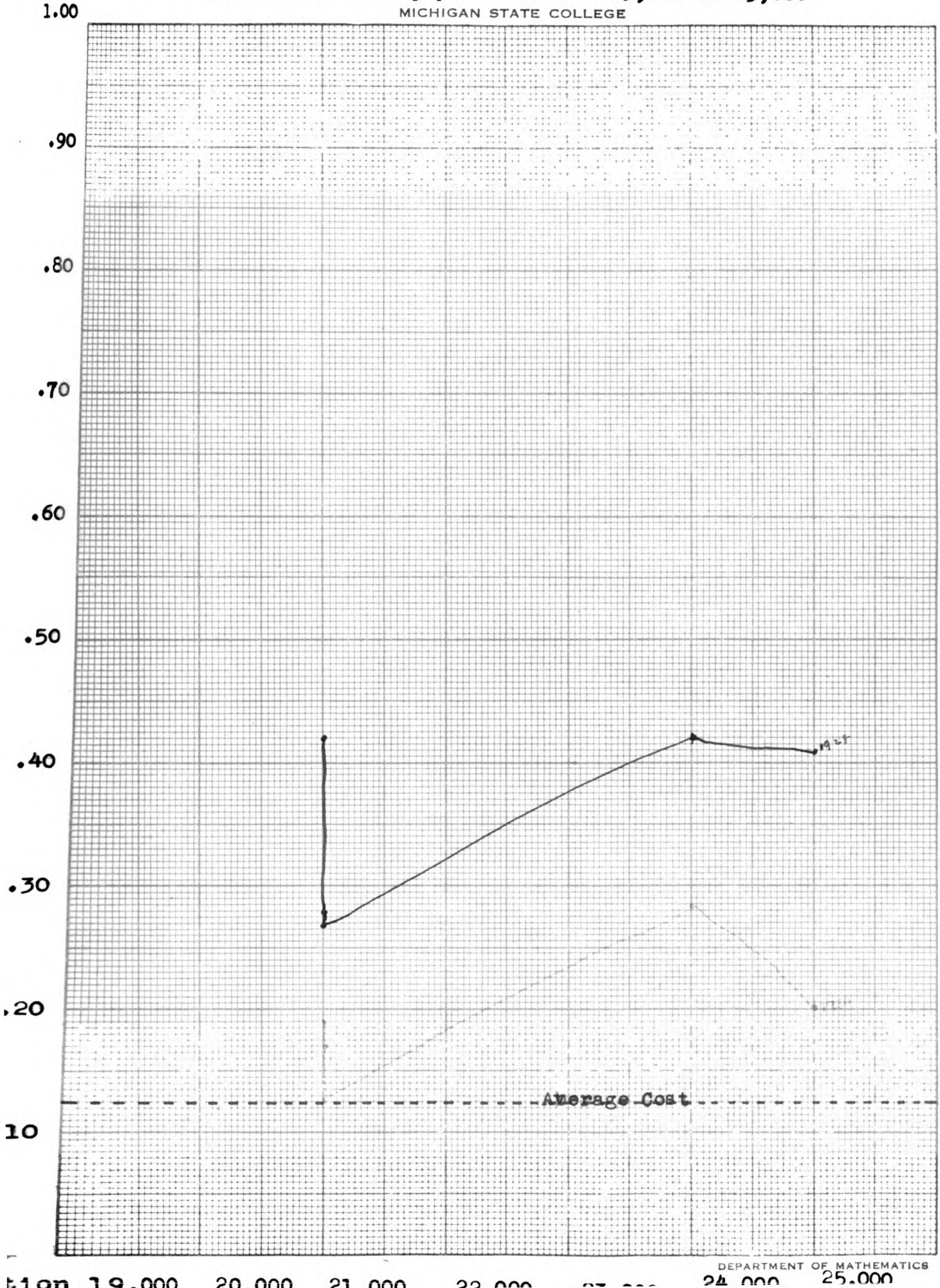
23. Questionnaires sent to county clerks.

The following graphs will show that there is no marked relationship between the costs in the counties of similiar size. These graphs do not include the cost to the precinct, but are merelycounty costs. Since the cost to the counties as a whole is about $100,000 and there are about 800,000 voters in Michigan the average cost would be about $.12½ per vote. From the graphs we can see that in the more densely populated areas that the costs are more nearly normal and follow out the average more closely. The less densely populated districts are nearly all above the average or mediam.


6 Counties with population from 1,000 to 5,000
MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE
.00
.90
.80
.70
.60
.50
.40
.30
.20
.10
Average Cost
1,000
2,000
3,000
4,000
5,000
DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

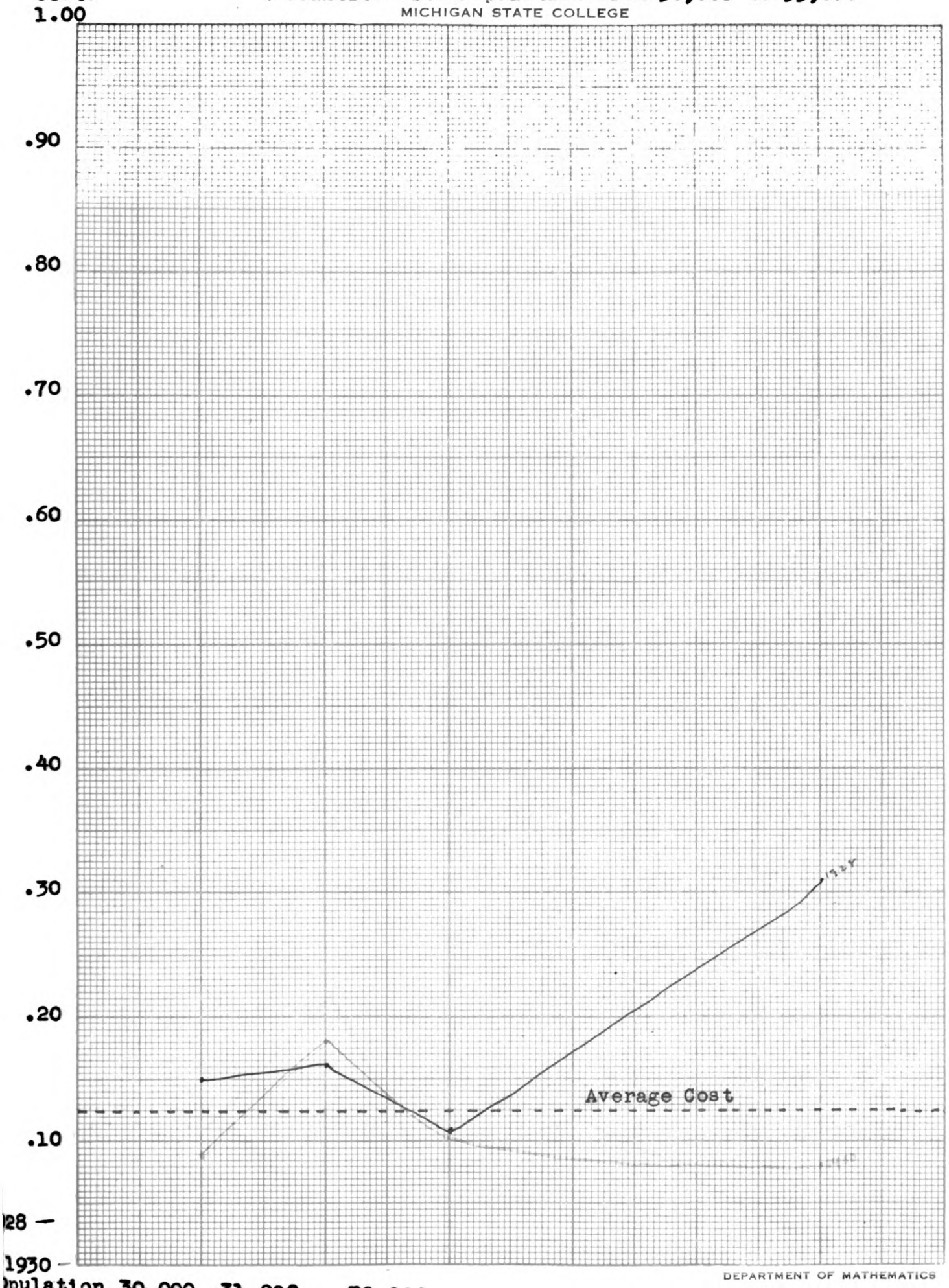

Costs
5 Counties with population from 6,000 to 18,000
MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE
1.00
.90
.80
.70
.60
.50
.40
.30
.20
.10
Average Cost
30
ulation
6,000
8,000
10,000
12,000
14,000
16,000
18,000
DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

5 Counties with population from 19,000 to 25,000



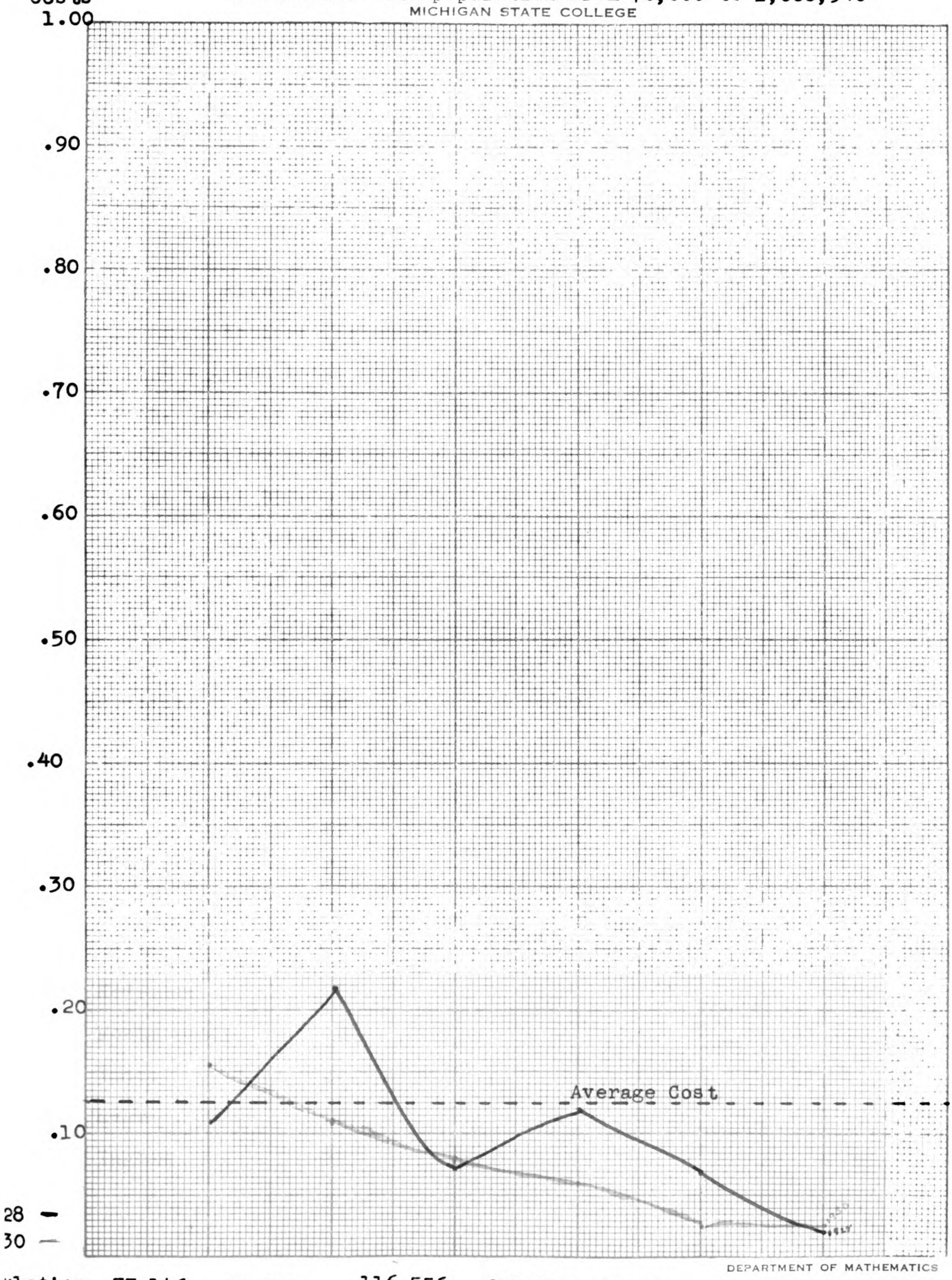
4 Counties with Population from 30,000 to 35,000

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE



DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

6 Counties with population from 70,000 to 1,888,946



In addition to the costs borne by the counties there is an expense to the various precincts within the county. These precincts have to bear the expense of five poll clerks and two gate keepers. The state law allows them $5.00 per day and any fraction over is counted as a half day. The two gate keepers

@ $5.00---$10.00

Five poll clerks plus over time-- 37.50

Notices (Printing)---------- 2.50

Making a grand total of----------$ 50.00 for each precinct. Heavily populated areas would perhaps run over that and in the smaller counties it would of course be less than $50.00 but at least $50.00 would be a safe average for the state.

The following table shows the number of precincts and costs in a few of the counties:

	1928			1930		
	No. Precincts		Total Cost	No. Precincts		Total Cost
Branch	23	@ $50.00	$ 1150	29	@$50.00	1450
Gratiot	29	" "	1450	29	" "	1450
Cass	21	" "	1050	21	" "	1050
Emmet	22	" "	1100	22	" "	1100
Iron	23	" "	1150	23	" "	1150
Cheboygan	25	" "	1250	25	" "	1250
Genesee	84	" "	4200	95	" "	4500
Jackson	68	" "	3400	50	" "	2500
Keweenaw	8	" "	400	8	" "	400
Montmorency	8	" "	400	8	" "	400
Iosco	22	" "	1100	19	" "	950
Lake	15	" "	750	15	" "	750
Ingham	63	" "	3150	65	" "	3250

	1928 No. Precincts		Total Cost	1930 No. Precincts		Total Cost
Oakland	61	@$50.00	$ 3050	61	@$50.00	3050
Eaton	26	" "	1300	26	" "	1300
Barry	25	" "	1250	25	" "	1250
Baraga	11	" "	550	11	" "	550
Makkinaw	21	" "	1050	21	" "	1050
Kalkaska	12	" "	600	12	" "	600
Crawford	6	" "	300	6	" "	300
Ionia	27	" "	1550	27	" "	1550
Wexford	21	" "	1050	21	" "	1050
Alcona	15	" "	1750	15	" "	1750
Delta	31	" "	1550	31	" "	1550
Clinton	20	" "	1000	20	" "	1000
Wayne	933	" "	46,650	933	" "	46,650

24

The total cost to the precinct is less than one third of the counties in Michigan is about $81,000, making the total cost approximately for the state well over $243,000.

Thus we have a three fold cost to consider in the primary system of making nominations; the state which is a small sum of about $300.00; the cost of $50.00 to each township which si comparatively small to each one; but to the counties we have relatively high costs which make the primary cost to the counties altogether well over $100,000 each time a primary election is held.

In addition to the above costs to the state as a whole we have the cost to the individual candidates. Only a few counties submitted the cost of the candidates since according to the 1929 compiled laws, section 3311, the counties are not requested to

24. Questionnaires sent to County Clerks.

keep the files of the candidates expenses more than one year. The County Clerks also submitted the information that it was not unusual for a candidate not to file a report of his expenditures and the prosecuting attorney as a rule did not enforce the law.

A county with a population of 116,586 submitted a rather complete report as to the expense of the candidates:

	Republican 1	2	1928 Election 3	4	5	Total
Sheriff	$280.68	336.96				$ 617.64
Clerk	193.10	486.14	324.74			1,003.98
Treasurer	186.40	167.00	67.50			420.90
Circuit Ct. Com'r	52.50	45.50				98.00
Register of Deeds	190.40	193.40				383.80
Coroners	113.35	167.40	98.50	191.05	44.00	614.30
	Republican		1930 Election			
Sheriff	442.30	216.30	260.88	318.13	687.29	
			6. 140.20			1,965.50
Clerk	175.89	573.23	[illegible]			749.12
Treasurer	159.00	206.80	258.20	81.05		705.05
Register of Deeds	369.94	221.45	172.19	295.27	342.03	
		6. 560.12	7. 377.95			2,606.73
Coroners	266.70	131.60	278.78			377.36

	Republican	Population 31,728	1928 Election
Sheriff	85.05		85.05
Register of Deeds	30.00		30.00

Population 31,728

1928 Election Republican

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Total
Pros. Atty.	13,50	11.86	25.36			$ 50.72
Coroners	5.00					5.00

1930 Election Republican

Sheriff	165.11	53.50				218.61
Clerk	6.00					6.00
Treasurer	49.43	103.44				152.87
Drain Com'r	50.28	80.00				130.28
Register of Deeds	48.13	30.33	62.26			140.72
Pros. Atty.	45.95	245.22				291.17
Coroners	82.07	65.57				147.54

Republican Population 32,280 1928 Election

Sheriff	77.00					77.00
Clerk	64.42					64.42
Judge of Probate		415.00				415.00
Pros. Atty.	128.00					128.00

1930 Election Republican

Sheriff	49.10	160.30	157.95	84.84	242.70	
		6	7	8		
		27.25	31.55	128.80		882.49
Clerk	80.35	45.85	24.75			150.95

Population 32,280

1930 Election Republican

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Total
Treasurer	23.90	95.25				$ 119.15
Register of Deeds	67.20	78.50	38.70			174.40
Pros. Atty.	217.65	167.10				384.75

Population 9,168

1930 Election Republican

Sheriff	69.00	94.35	128.00	49.75	341.10
Clerk	.50				.50
Treasurer	65.00	98.00			154.00

Population 7,517

1930 Election Republican

Sheriff	18.60	29.70	16.30	64.60
Clerk	26.65	17.40		38.05
Treasurer	11.95			11.95
Register of Deeds	12.25	17.70		29.95
Pros. Atty.	65.24	29.85		105.09

Population 30,252

1928 Election Republican

Sheriff	36.25		36.25
Clerk	136.04	149.40	285.44
Treasurer	119.45		119.45
Judge of Probate	12.70		12.70
Register of Deeds	14.25		14.25

Pros. Atty.	16.70.					Total 16.70

1928 Election Population 30,252 Democratic

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Total
Sheriff	6.90					6.90
Circiut Ct.Com'r	12.50					12.50
Pros. Atty.	23,00					23.00
1930 Election Republican						
Sheriff	93.85					93.85
Treasurer	107.65	134.35				242.00
Drain Com'r	133.10	44.35	93.60			271.05
Register of Deeds	54.50					54.50
Pros. Atty.	130.75	179.00				309.75
Democratic						
Sheriff	16.00					16.00

The above expenses as filed by the candidates show that[25] the expense to the candidate is much greater in the larger counties.

Conclusion

It is evident that we have few minority candidates in the sparsely populated districts, but there are many offices in small counties for which thereis only one candidate running making a mandatory primary unnecessary in those counties.

The small vote cast in some counties shows that the primary does not bring out a large vote. It tends to show a rather indifferent electorate in many cases.

25. Questionnaires sent to County Clerks.

The state costs for each primary election held areonly about $300.00.

The cost to the counties is about $100,000. There were about 800,000 votes cast for governor in the last election, and the average cost per vote to the counties is about $.12½. It is evident that the counties costs are much higher than this in most cases. However a few of the more densely populated areas are below that cost.

The cost to the precincts in one third of the counties is about $80,000, making the total approximate cost for the whole state $340,000. The average cost per vote for each is about $.43.

The State Law requires the two major parties to hold a primary election because they poll the major part of the vote cast for secretary of state at each election. It is only fair that there should be some possible chance for the state to escape the expense of holding a primary election every two year.

The pre-convention primary might solve this problem, because under that system a convention would be held first. At that time perhaps the whole ticket could be nominated to the satisfaction of every one concerned. But, however, if there should be some disgruntled factions, who thought they didn't have a fair deal, a primary election could be held to nominate candidate for those offices over which therewas a difference of opinion. This difference of opinion might not occur every year, but if it did, a primary election would probably not have to be held for only one or two contested offices, thus eliminating a large bulk of the expense to the state as a whole.

We really have pre-primary agreements now only they are not under state control, and a primary election is mandatory for the two major parties, before each general election is held.

The pre-convention primary system of making nominations would satisfy both the extreme conservatists or the convention advocates, and it would not entirely deprive the advocates of the primary law.from exercising the privilege of nominating candidates for the various offices.

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