

Appendix

TABLE 1

1948 STATE REQUIREMENTS FOR QUALIFYING PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTORAL CANDIDATES FOR PLACES ON BALLOTS *

I. PETITIONS

A. *Required Number of Registered Voters' Signatures Determined by Percentage of Vote in Prior Election for Specified Office*

Arizona	2	of vote in last gubernatorial election (from each of at least 5 counties).
California	10	of vote in last gubernatorial election.†
Connecticut	1	of vote in last presidential election.
Georgia	5	of registered voters.†
Indiana	½ of 1	of vote for Secretary of State in last election.
Michigan	1 to 4	of vote for Secretary of State in last election.
Nevada	5	of vote in last congressional election.

TABLE 1 (continued)

Ohio	1	of vote in last gubernatorial election (to qualify independent electors).
or	15	of vote in last general election (to qualify as third party).
Oregon	5	of vote in last congressional election.†
Pennsylvania	½ of 1	of highest vote for any state office in last election (State Judge—1947).
South Dakota	2	of vote for Governor in last election (qualify as independent).
or	20	of vote for Governor in last election (qualify as third party).
Vermont	1	of vote for Governor in last election.
West Virginia	1	of vote in last presidential election.

B. *Required Number of Registered Voters' Signatures Determined by Statute*

Arkansas	no specified number	
Colorado	500	
Delaware	750	250 in each of 3 counties.
Illinois	25,000	at least 200 from each of 50 counties (of 102).
Kansas	2,500	separate petitions for each of 8 electors.
Kentucky	100	
Louisiana	1,000	not affiliated with any major party.
Maine	1,000	

Maryland	2,000	
Massachusetts	50,000	
Minnesota	2,000	separate petitions for each elector.
Mississippi	50	
New Hampshire	1,000	
New Jersey	800	
New York	12,000	at least 50 in each county.
North Carolina	10,000	nonaffiliated.
North Dakota	300	
Oklahoma	5,000	
Rhode Island	500	
Tennessee	1,425	15 from each of 95 counties.†
Utah	300	
Virginia	250	
Wisconsin	1,000	separate petitions for each of 12 electors, plus 1 each for presidential and vice-presidential candidates.
Wyoming	100	separate petition for each of 3 electors.

II. CONVENTIONS

Delegates Required

Alabama	no designated number of delegates.
Idaho	200
Iowa	2 (1 to sign as chairman, 1 as secretary.)
Montana	no designated number.
Nebraska	750
Oregon	250 †
Tennessee	no designated number.†
Washington	25

III. OTHER METHODS

A. *Change of Registration*

California	1% of voters in last gubernatorial election.†
Florida	5% of registered voters.‡

TABLE 1 (continued)

B. <i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Mississippi	any group may name slate.
New Mexico	formal organization and filing.
South Carolina	print and distribute ballots at polling places.
Texas	formal organization.

* This table was assembled primarily from newspaper sources. The *New York Times*, January 2, 1948, published a summary as compiled by the Associated Press. This was corrected in the light of later reports and information. The most recent scholarly works in the field at the time were an article by Joseph R. Starr, "The Legal Status of American Political Parties," *American Political Science Review*, June and August, 1940, and a compilation, "Legal Obstacles to Minority Party Success," published in the *Yale Law Journal*, July, 1948.

† Alternate methods provided.

‡ Law amended in course of 1948 campaign to allow presidential electoral nominees to file without meeting formal requirements.

TABLE 2

COMBINED TOTALS OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES
FOR THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND THE NATIONAL
WALLACE-FOR-PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

	<i>Total</i> <i>Contributions</i> *	<i>Adjusted Total,</i> <i>or "Actual"</i> <i>Contributions</i> †
Progressive Party	\$ 382,825.12	\$ 491,090.84
National Wallace-for- President Committee	578,370.47	789,188.65
	<hr/> \$ 961,195.59	<hr/> \$1,280,279.49

	<i>Total</i> <i>Expenditures</i> *	<i>Adjusted Total,</i> <i>or "Actual"</i> <i>Expenditures</i>
Progressive Party	\$ 535,050.13	\$ 490,385.61

	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	<i>Adjusted Total, or "Actual" Expenditures</i>
National Wallace-for- President Committee	813,532.67	769,717.30
	<u>\$1,348,582.80</u>	<u>\$1,260,102.91</u>
	<i>Refund of Expenditures *</i>	
Progressive Party	\$ 152,920.24	
National Wallace-for- President Committee	254,633.55	
	<u>\$ 407,553.79</u>	
<i>Net Expenditures</i>	941,029.01	
<i>Surplus †</i>	\$ 20,166.58 ‡	\$ 20,176.58 ‡

* Figures as filed with the Clerk of the House.

† These figures were arrived at by breaking down the party's "Refund of Expenditures" item as follows: "Admissions less than \$100" and "Sale of Campaign Material at Cost" were added to contributions; "Advances," "Redeposits," "Exchanges," and "Reimbursed Expenditures" were deducted from expenditures.

‡ The \$10 discrepancy arises from what appears to be an incorrect addition in the report of "Refund of Expenditures" for the Progressive Party during the period Oct. 29–Dec. 31, 1948. The reported total is \$51,523.43, but the figures submitted actually total \$51,533.43.

TABLE 3

REPORTED CONTRIBUTIONS BY ASSOCIATED GROUPS TO
THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND TO THE NATIONAL
WALLACE-FOR-PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

Labor

Fur and Leather Workers Committee for Wallace, Taylor, and Progressive Candidates	\$5,000.00
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TABLE 3 (continued)

Labor

Independent Political Committee of the Greater New York Council	1,425.00
Committee for Wallace, AFL Food, Hotel and Restaurant Workers	1,000.00
PAC (Local 1139, Minneapolis and Chicago Joint Board, IFLW)	500.00
Labor Committee for Wallace, New York City	500.00
FTA-CIO Wallace Committee, Philadelphia	500.00
Labor Committee for Wallace and Taylor, Local 430	100.00
	<u>\$9,025.00</u>

Nationalities

Armenians for Wallace	\$1,648.00
Greeks for Wallace	443.20
Irish-American Committee for Wallace	100.00
Italian-American Committee for Wallace	300.00
Lithuanian Wallace Committee	200.00
Romanians for Wallace	120.00
Russian Club for Wallace	100.00
Serbian-American Committee for Wallace	309.00
Slovenian-American National Council	1,887.00
Ukrainians for Wallace	100.00
Yugoslav-Americans for Wallace	200.00
	<u>\$5,407.20</u>

Progressive Citizens of America (PCA)

California Chapters	\$1,350.00
New York Chapters	1,298.90
Other Chapters	1,456.00
	<u>\$4,104.90</u>

Women-for-Wallace

Greater New York Branches	\$ 782.85
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TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTED STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND TO THE NATIONAL WALLACE-FOR-PRESIDENT COMMITTEE IN COMPARISON WITH DISTRIBUTION OF VOTE

<i>State</i>	<i>Amount Contributed</i>	<i>1948 Votes for Electors</i>	<i>Rank in Total Organizational Contributions</i>	<i>Rank in Total Vote</i>
New York	\$76,466.85	509,559	1	1
Pennsylvania	56,734.00	55,161	2	3
Illinois	46,450.63	*	3	
California	38,864.00	190,381	4	2
Missouri	14,500.00	3,998	5	22
Texas	14,375.32	3,764	6	24
Indiana	13,173.00	9,649	7	16
New Jersey	12,650.00	42,683	8	5
Minnesota	12,543.10	27,866	9	9
Ohio	12,250.62	37,596	10	7
Colorado	12,000.00	6,115	11	19
Maryland	8,980.00	9,983	12	15
Connecticut	8,450.00	13,713	13	12
District of Columbia	7,650.00	†	14	
Michigan	6,475.00	46,515	15	4
Wisconsin	5,400.00	25,282	16	10
Iowa	4,996.43	12,125	17	13
Idaho	4,200.00	4,972	18	20
Florida	4,000.00	11,620	19 ‡	14
Oregon	4,000.00	14,978	19 ‡	11
Washington	3,683.30	31,692	21	8
Georgia	3,000.00	1,636	22 ‡	35
Massachusetts	3,000.00	38,157	22 ‡	6
Kansas	2,416.30	4,603	24	21
Nevada	1,900.00	1,469	25	38
New Mexico	500.00	1,037	26	41
Utah	385.00	2,679	27	29
Virginia	200.00	2,047	28 ‡	31

TABLE 4 (continued)

<i>State</i>	<i>Amount Contributed</i>	<i>1948 Votes for Electors</i>	<i>Rank in Total Organizational Contributions</i>	<i>Rank in Total Vote</i>
Puerto Rico	200.00	†	28 ‡	
Montana	111.02	7,313	30	18

Note: These totals represent only contributions from the various state parties and committees. Other group contributions will be found in Table 3.

* Wallace electoral slate did not appear on ballot.

† No vote in presidential elections.

‡ Tie.

TABLE 5

CONTRIBUTIONS AND ADMISSIONS REPORTED IN THE PRESS
FOR RALLIES AND DINNERS

		RALLIES		
<i>Date (1948)</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Attend- ance</i>	<i>Admis- sions</i>	<i>Contri- butions</i>
Jan. 18	Chicago			\$ 3,300.00 *
Feb.	Minnesota	16,000	\$ 15,000.00	20,000.00
Apr. 10	Chicago (2 rallies)			70,000.00
Apr.	Midwest, East (10 rallies)			10,000.00
May 12	New York (Madison Square Garden)		50,000.00	
May 17	Los Angeles	31,000	30,000.00	20,000.00
May 21	San Francisco			40,000.00 *
May 30	Denver	3,200		5,000.00 *
June 25	Philadelphia (Shibe Park)	25,000		60,000.00
June 26	Washington, D.C.			22,000.00 *
Sept. 20	New York (Yankee Stadium)	60,000	78,000.00	52,000.00
Oct. 27	New York (Madison Square Garden)	19,000	23,000.00	24,000.00
			<u>\$196,000.00</u>	<u>\$326,300.00</u>

DINNERS

<i>Date</i> (1948)	<i>Place</i>	<i>Attend- ance</i>	<i>Admis- sions</i>	<i>Contri- butions</i>
Jan. 17	Chicago			\$ 32,200.00
Apr. 20	New York (\$100.00 a plate)	1,400		100,000.00
June 22	New York (Busi- nessmen's Lunch)	600		25,000.00
Sept. 22	New York (\$100.00 a plate)	400		35,000.00
Oct. 2	Hollywood (\$12.50 a plate)	several hundred		2,000.00
Oct. 20	Philadelphia (\$25.00 a plate)	425		8,500.00
				<u>\$202,700.00</u>

WOMEN-FOR-WALLACE DINNERS

<i>Date</i> (1948)	<i>Place</i>	<i>Attend- ance</i>	<i>Admis- sions</i>	<i>Contri- butions</i>
Feb. 26	Brooklyn			\$ 5,000.00
Apr. 21	Bronx			2,000.00
Oct. 27	New York (\$100.00 a plate)	250		20,000.00
				<u>\$ 27,000.00</u>
			<i>Grand Total</i>	\$752,000.00

* Identification of separate figures impossible for Admissions and Contributions.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF EXPENDITURES BY NATIONAL GROUPS AND
A LOCAL GROUP

NATIONAL WALLACE-FOR-PRESIDENT COMMITTEE AND NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE PARTY * (Jan. 1–Oct. 31, 1948)			PROGRESSIVE PARTY DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA † (Apr. 1–Dec. 31, 1948)		
<i>Item</i>	<i>Expendi- tures</i>	<i>Per- cent- age</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Expendi- tures</i>	<i>Per- cent- age</i>
Advertising, Mail Solicita- tions	\$ 18,311.60	1.6	Travel	\$ 693.94	2.0
Tours (Wal- lace, Robe- son, Taylor)	61,700.27	5.5	Meetings, Ral- lies, and Special Events	4,682.42	13.2
Fundraising Events	207,624.50	18.2	Publicity	3,525.14	9.9
Cost of Cam- paign Ma- terial	171,589.46	15.0	Contributions (of which \$14,000.00— 39.4 per cent— was to na- tional groups)	14,612.00	41.1
Non-Fund- raising Events	55,622.70	4.9	Salaries	5,082.65	14.3
Direct Con- tributions to State Cam- paigns and Candidates	43,312.67	3.8	Office Supplies	2,519.54	7.1
Budgetary Ex- penses	583,484.25	51.0	Telephone and Tele- graph	1,144.51	3.2
			General	351.61	1.0
			Taxes	919.34	2.6

<i>Item</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
			Non-Itemized (expenditures of less than \$10.00 each)	2,003.93	5.6
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$1,141,645.45	100.0	<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$35,535.08	100.0

* Figures for the expenditures of the Progressive Party (national) and National Wallace-for-President Committee from Consolidated Surplus Statement prepared for national headquarters.

† Figures for the expenditures of the Progressive Party of the District of Columbia taken from report filed with the Clerk of the House, Rept. 1987.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGES OF STATES' VOTES RECEIVED BY 1948
WALLACE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

<i>State</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>State</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
New York	8.12	Maryland	1.67
California	4.73	Connecticut	1.55
North Dakota	3.81	Pennsylvania	1.47
Washington	3.51	Ohio	1.28
Montana	3.27	Colorado	1.19
Oregon	2.86	Iowa	1.17
Nevada	2.37	South Dakota	1.12
Idaho	2.32	Vermont	1.04
Minnesota	2.30	Utah	0.97
Michigan	2.20	Wyoming	0.92
New Jersey	2.19	New Hampshire	0.85
Florida	2.01	Rhode Island	0.79
Wisconsin	1.98	Delaware	0.76
Arizona	1.87	Louisiana	0.73
Massachusetts	1.77	Maine	0.71

TABLE 7 (continued)

State	Percentage	State	Percentage
Alabama	0.71	Texas	0.33
Kansas	0.58	Arkansas	0.31
Indiana	0.58	Missouri	0.25
New Mexico	0.56	Kentucky	0.19
North Carolina	0.49	Mississippi	0.12
Virginia	0.49	South Carolina	0.11
West Virginia	0.44	Illinois	*
Georgia	0.39	Nebraska	*
Tennessee	0.34	Oklahoma	*

* Progressive Party did not appear on ballot.

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF STATES' VOTES
RECEIVED BY SOME MINOR PARTIES

State	Wallace Progressive Party, 1948	All Minor Parties, 1864-1936	La Follette Progressive Party, 1924	Roosevelt Progressive Party, 1912	Populist (People's) Party, 1892
Alabama	0.71%	4.8%	4.9%	19.8%	36.60%
Arizona	1.87	6.5	23.3	34.3	*
Arkansas	0.31	3.8	9.5	18.8	8.07
California	4.73	9.3	33.2	49.7	9.38
Colorado	1.19	8.0	20.4	29.4	57.07
Connecticut	1.55	3.3	10.6	19.3	
Delaware	0.76	2.5	5.4	18.7	
Florida	2.01	4.3	7.9	10.1	16.06
Georgia	0.39	4.1	7.6	17.2	19.17
Idaho	2.32	10.6	36.5	27.6	54.66
Illinois		6.2	17.5	37.0	2.54
Indiana	0.58	4.0	5.6	27.2	4.00
Iowa	1.17	6.9	28.1	34.6	4.65
Kansas	0.58	8.6	14.9	35.5	48.44
Kentucky	0.19	2.7	5.0	23.3	6.92
Louisiana	0.73	1.3	3.3	12.6	5.30
Maine	0.71	3.7	5.9	38.4	2.04
Maryland	1.67	3.6	13.2	25.6	
Massachusetts	1.77	5.4	12.5	30.1	0.82
Michigan	2.20	6.2	10.5	41.4	4.32
Minnesota	2.30	11.0	41.3	42.4	11.35
Mississippi	0.12	2.2	3.1	5.7	19.42
Missouri	0.25	3.5	6.4	18.8	7.59

<i>State</i>	<i>Wallace Progressive Party, 1948</i>	<i>All Minor Parties, 1864-1936</i>	<i>La Follette Progressive Party, 1924</i>	<i>Roosevelt Progressive Party, 1912</i>	<i>Populist (People's) Party, 1892</i>
Montana	3.27	10.0	37.8	32.6	16.55
Nebraska		8.2	22.9	30.8	41.00
Nevada	2.37	8.7	36.2	33.4	66.76
New Hampshire	0.85	2.6	5.4	20.9	
New Jersey	2.19	4.2	10.0	35.3	0.28
New Mexico	0.56	3.4	8.5	18.0	*
New York	8.12	5.4	14.4	26.0	1.20
North Carolina	0.49	2.1	1.4	28.5	15.94
North Dakota	3.81	11.2	45.3	32.9	48.96
Ohio	1.28	5.2	17.6	23.6	1.74
Oklahoma		4.3	7.8	0.1	*
Oregon	2.86	9.5	24.5	31.5	16.24
Pennsylvania	1.47	5.7	14.3	39.9	
Rhode Island	0.79	3.9	3.2	22.5	0.43
South Carolina	0.11	0.6	1.0	2.5	3.42
South Dakota	1.12	12.4	37.0	54.6	37.58
Tennessee	0.34	2.8	3.5	22.1	8.92
Texas	0.33	4.5	6.5	9.7	23.64
Utah	0.97	6.5	20.8	23.5	*
Vermont	1.04	3.2	5.9	36.4	4.17
Virginia	0.49	1.7	4.6	16.1	
Washington	3.51	14.7	35.8	42.0	21.79
West Virginia	0.44	3.6	6.2	31.8	2.49
Wisconsin	1.98	9.9	54.0	17.5	2.66
Wyoming	0.92	9.0	31.5	23.6	46.14
<i>National Percentage</i>	2.3	5.7	16.85	29.6	8.63

Sources:

Percentages of states' votes cast for all minor parties, 1864-1936, from Cortez A. M. Ewing, *Presidential Elections*, p. 128.

Figures for La Follette Progressive Party, 1924, from Kenneth C. MacKay, *The Progressive Movement of 1924*, pp. 274-75.

Figures for Roosevelt Progressive Party, 1912, from *Political Almanac for 1948*, pp. 276-77.

Figures for Populist (People's) Party, 1892, from John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, p. 263.

* Not yet admitted to Union.

TABLE 9

VOTES RECEIVED BY PROGRESSIVE PARTY CANDIDATES,
NOVEMBER 2, 1948

<i>State</i>	<i>Votes for Wallace- Taylor Electors</i>	<i>Votes for Progressive Senatorial Candidates</i>	<i>Votes for Progressive House Candidates</i>	<i>Number of House Candidates</i>
Alabama	1,522			
Arizona	3,310	*	1,478	1
Arkansas	751			
California	190,381	*	228,180	14
Colorado	6,115	2,981		
Connecticut	13,713	*	9,186	5
Delaware	1,050	681		
Florida	11,620	*		
Georgia	1,636			
Idaho	4,972	3,154	3,130	2
Illinois			19,155	4
Indiana	9,649	*	1,076	1
Iowa	12,125	3,387	2,167	4
Kansas	4,603			
Kentucky	1,567	924	686	1
Louisiana	3,035			
Maine	1,884			
Maryland	9,983	*	12,172	3
Massachusetts	38,157			
Michigan	46,515		1,608	4
Minnesota	27,866			
Mississippi	225			
Missouri	3,998	*	3,039	4
Montana	7,313			
Nebraska				
Nevada	1,469	*		
New Hampshire	1,970	1,538	1,512	2
New Jersey	42,683	22,658	16,035	7
New Mexico	1,037	705	805	1
New York	509,559	*	512,148	44

<i>State</i>	<i>Votes for Wallace- Taylor Electors</i>	<i>Votes for Progressive Senatorial Candidates</i>	<i>Votes for Progressive House Candidates</i>	<i>Number of House Candidates</i>
North Carolina	3,915	3,490	3,345	6
North Dakota	8,391	*	1,758	1
Ohio	37,596	*		
Oklahoma				
Oregon	14,978		18,741	2
Pennsylvania	55,161	*	6,969	2
Rhode Island	2,587			
South Carolina	154			
South Dakota	2,801			
Tennessee	1,864		3,670	1
Texas	3,764		1,449	4
Utah	2,679	*		
Vermont	1,279	*		
Virginia	2,047	5,347	3,037	2
Washington	31,692	*	13,739	3
West Virginia	3,311			
Wisconsin	25,282	*	10,382	5
Wyoming	931			
<i>Total</i>	<u>1,157,140</u>	<u>44,865</u>	<u>875,467</u>	<u>123</u>

Sources:

Statistics of the Presidential and Congressional Elections of November 2, 1948, compiled from official sources by William Graf under the direction of Ralph R. Roberts, Clerk of the House of Representatives—for all states except New Mexico.

State of New Mexico, *Official Returns of the 1948 Elections*, compiled under the supervision of Alicia Romero, Secretary of State.

* No senatorial seat was at stake.