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Immigrant Vote in the 1860 Election: The Case of Iowa

The influence of the immigrant vote in the presidential election of 1860 has been a subject of continuing controversy since the date of the election. The disagreement, though, is not usually in terms of how a given immigrant group voted; it is in terms of how much influence its vote exerted on the outcome of the election. There is a consensus of opinion among historians about the partisan leanings of every major immigrant group. The starting point of this paper was the recognition that there is still some question on the more fundamental level; before it is reasonable to dispute about the influence of a group's vote, the most elementary considerations require that one first determine how the group voted. No adequate evidence has yet been offered on this basic question. This paper is an effort to determine as exactly as possible, on the basis of a study of township voting returns, how the major immigrant groups in Iowa voted in the election of 1860.

When historians try to analyze political trends, there are a number of courses open to them; they may reach a judgment on the basis of an impressionistic survey of the data; they may—in the manner of the modern pollster—accept the judgment of contemporary opinion; or they may use statistical analysis of the votes on the question at issue. Although the third of these alternatives seems to have much to commend it, statistical analysis has not, until recently, been widely used.

Lee Benson has suggested that a closer analysis of voting on the precinct level might reveal the unsoundness of many of our commonly accepted impressionistic judgments about past political behavior. By simply using state voting statistics, he was able, for instance, to disprove the generalizations of Allan Nevins about the Cleveland victory of 1884 and that of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. concerning the Jackson victory of 1824. But he was not able, using the figures available to him, to do more than show that the generalizations of German influence in the election of 1860 were not proved.¹

¹ Lee Benson, "Research Problems in American Political History," in Mirra Komarovsky, *Common Frontiers in the Social Sciences*, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957, 113-183.

The German vote is usually credited with being a major factor in Lincoln's victory in 1860, and on the surface at least, there is a great deal of evidence for this viewpoint. The seven states then known as the Northwest are generally regarded as a crucial area in that election. The area was just emerging from the frontier stage, its population was rapidly increasing, and it represented more than enough electoral votes to determine the outcome of the election. The total vote in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin increased by 440,223 in the quadrennium 1856-1860. In the same period, 976,678 immigrants arrived, many of whom went to the Northwest and most of whom were Germans.² Since Lincoln captured the 66 electoral votes in these states, winning them all by narrow margins over Douglas, a large bloc of united voters in this area could very easily have carried the election to Douglas. Lincoln's plurality in the Northwest was only 149,807—far less than the most conservative estimate of the number of German voters in the area. ✓

Addressing the Chicago Republican Convention in 1860, the German-American politician Carl Schurz promised the party 300,000 German votes in the Northwest.³ Since that time, it has been traditional to assert that the immigrants in general, and in particular the Germans, were largely responsible for Republican success in 1860. Both panegyrists who wished to laud the immigrants for their peculiar humanitarian concern for liberty, and apologists who wished to blame "foreigners" for Democratic losses in the Midwest and for the purely American chaos which followed the election of Lincoln in 1860, have advanced the claim continuously. *The Des Moines Valley Whig* of Lee County remarked in October, 1859: "Verily, Germany is a power in Lee County."⁴ The editorial observed that there were no Germans campaigning for the Democrats and estimated that over three-fourths of Lee County Germans had gone over to the Republican Party. On the unfriendly side, the *Sioux City Register* predicted that if the Republicans "refuse to accede to the demands of their German allies they will be defeated in every state west and north of the Ohio."⁵ 7
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Historians have generally fallen in line with the thinking of contemporary observers. When they have not maintained that the

² Frederick F. Schrader, *The Germans in the Making of America*, Boston: 1924, 195.

³ Charles W. Emery, "Iowa Germans in the Election of 1860," unpublished M.A. Thesis, State University of Iowa, 1940, 28.

⁴ *Des Moines Valley Whig*, October 17, 1859, 1.

⁵ *Sioux City Register*, Vol. 1, No. 47, June 16, 1859.

Germans were responsible for the victory in 1860, they have, at least, listed them as an important factor. The most extreme claim was that of Schrader, who, basing his estimate on German immigration into the Northwest between 1856 and 1860, estimated the German Republican vote in those states in 1860 to be nearly 450,000.⁶ Faust, in his two volume study of German immigrants, maintained that a large majority of German immigrants joined the Republican party in an "unselfish effort to advance the interests of humanity, i.e., to banish slavery from the country."⁷ Faust based his conclusion on a study of the spokesmen of the German community, who undoubtedly did, both in Iowa and the Midwest generally, campaign vigorously for the Republican party. The same type of evidence led Herriot to conclude that the Germans voted heavily Republican in the Iowa gubernatorial election of 1854,⁸ and, more recently, two historians to conclude that Midwestern Germans poured into the Republican party en masse during the decade in a "spontaneous overflow of powerful emotions."⁹

Among all of these studies, only Herriot actually made an effort to determine how the German masses voted, but since his analysis was on the county level, he had to confess that the returns were "somewhat perplexing."¹⁰ Dissent from the majority opinion first came in 1942 when Dorpalen tentatively concluded that the Germans were generally conformists, tending to vote as their neighbors did.¹¹

Following the suggestion in Benson's essay, this study was specifically designed as a test of the thesis that Germans were overwhelmingly Republican in 1860. For reasons that will appear later in the essay, this could not effectively be done without at the same time considering the other population groups. I selected Iowa purely as a matter of convenience on the grounds that it would serve quite as well as any of the others. The situation in Iowa at that time was similar to that in the other midwestern states. It had been solidly Democratic in 1850 and subsequent elections

⁶ Schrader, *The Germans in the Making of America*, 195.

⁷ Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, Boston, 1909, 130-131.

⁸ Frank I. Herriot, "A Neglected Factor in the Anti-Slavery Triumph in Iowa in 1854," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter; Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, XVIII-XIX, 1918, 1919, 174-335.

⁹ Lawrence S. Thompson and Frank X. Braun, "The Forty-Eighters in Politics," in Adolf E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters*, New York, 1950, 120.

¹⁰ Herriot, "A Neglected Factor," 342.

¹¹ Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 29:55, June, 1942.

began showing a marked Democratic decline. Whig strength increased, the Free Soil Party registered small percentages in 1852 in several counties, and the first opposition success came in 1854 with the election of James W. Grimes as governor on a combined Whig and Free Soil Platform. The Grimes supporters were later active in forming the Republican Party, which carried every election in Iowa from 1856 until long after the Civil War. The period of Republican rise coincided with the period of greatest increase in Iowa's population, and also with a definite shift in the focus of immigration from the southern states and the southern part of the Ohio Valley, to the Northern Ohio Valley, the Middle Atlantic states, and Europe. In 1850, the population stood at 192,214, and by 1856 had reached 517,875. Thereafter, immigration from all quarters greatly decreased, and by 1860 only another 150,000 was added to the population. Native Germans in 1860 formed 5.79 percent of the entire state population of 674,913.¹²

In order to apply systematic data in the analysis of a political problem, it is first necessary to translate the question of what happened into a question of who (what voting groups) caused it to happen. In this case, we have a state which over a period of ten years changed its political allegiance from one party to a rival party. The German-Americans allegedly were a causal factor in the change. If this be the case, one would hypothesize that in a national election at the end of the transition period, a relationship would be found between the Republican vote and the presence of large numbers of German-Americans in a given area. The hypothesis can be tested by listing the various nativity groups, or at least the larger ones, found in Iowa at the time and comparing the vote in areas of their dominance. If place of origin does, indeed, play a determining role in the way one votes, a clear pattern should emerge when a large number of areas are compared.

Still, there is one other difficulty which could interfere with the validity of the results. If a historian selects a group and then studies only those areas where it is numerically strong, he will be in danger of neglecting other groups in other areas, equally or more important as causal agents for the trend. For this reason, the author has not considered population as a factor in selecting the areas of study. The only criterion was intensity of partisanship. In making this kind of selection, the only necessary assump-

¹² *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Washington, 1864.*

tion is that if a group be notably partisan, it will be almost certain to emerge in a tabulation of extremes.

Two methodological conclusions emerged quite early in this study: first, that the township was the largest political unit that could yield the desired answers, and second, that total population figures were untrustworthy as guides to political strength. On the county level, population groups are so evenly divided and so many changes are occurring at once that no pattern can readily emerge. If, for example, the vote is fairly well split on the county level, as it was in Lee County in the presidential election of 1860 when 51.5% of the vote went to the combined Democratic parties; and if no one group of voters is clearly dominant, as was also the case in Lee County, there is little that the historian can properly deduce about the election. But the Democratic vote in the townships of Lee County ranged from 14% to 74%, and since groups originating from the same locality did tend to settle close together, a clearly dominant group can be distinguished in most of the townships.

The only disadvantages in this approach are in the labor involved and in the difficulty of locating returns by townships. In most cases, the counties themselves did not retain the returns for any great length of time, and one must resort to newspapers for their report. Where no newspaper existed, or where the newspaper did not choose to print such returns, the historian must usually admit failure and try another county. Although this lack of complete evidence does make it impossible to utilize any normal scientific sampling methods, it does not make it necessary to leave the existing material unstudied. The historian must, rather, make the best use he can of the materials he can find. This has been the procedure followed in this study. Township returns for twenty-six counties were located for the presidential election of 1860, and eleven more for the gubernatorial election of 1859. In addition to these, there were twenty-two counties so sparsely populated that for election purposes they were regarded as comprising one township each, and they can be so regarded by the investigator. The fifty-nine counties (from a total of ninety-nine) are distributed throughout the state, and they contained in 1860 over 70% of the total population of Iowa. Considering the present state of scientific sampling techniques, it can be seriously argued that covering this large a percentage of the total population is at least as conducive to accuracy as any sample could be.

While the desirability of pursuing one's study in terms of townships is hardly a controversial issue, there is a deficiency of the census that has not been so often remarked. A look below the surface of the county returns drives one to the conclusion that census figures showing the total population do not necessarily reflect the distribution of voting power. In studies of group voting behavior, historians have characteristically assumed that there is a real relationship between total and voting population, but the results of this study show not only that it is not necessarily so, but also that in a frontier community, it is highly unlikely to be so.*

A comparison of the two kinds of population statistics for any of Iowa's counties will demonstrate that the formal ethnic divisions of the census do not reflect voting power. Comparative figures for Clay County, a particularly revealing example, are shown below:

TABLE I
VOTING STRENGTH IN CLAY COUNTY

	<i>Percent of Total Population</i>	<i>Percent of Potential Voters</i>
Middle Atlantic	28.0	20.0
Ohio Valley	20.0	13.3
Germany	22.0	46.7

In other words, the census showed that the Middle Atlantic natives were the largest group and the Ohio Valley group followed closely behind the Germans, while in terms of the voting population, the Germans greatly outnumbered the two combined. In all of the other cases, the greatest discrepancies occurred along the normal migration lines of the most numerous group outside the Ohio Valley, and discrepancies increased in direct relation to proximity to Iowa. Missouri and Illinois were consistently overrated by the census and the immigrant groups consistently underrated in terms of their actual voting power. In cases where, for example, New England was listed as the birthplace of a large percentage of

* After submission of this manuscript, George A. Boeck's "A Historical Note on the Uses of Census Returns" appeared in the January edition of this journal, in which he made the same observations that occur in the above and the following three paragraphs. Doctor Boeck's work and my own were done independently and in total ignorance of each other. Had I known of Doctor Boeck's work earlier, it would have saved me a great deal of labor; but at this point I can only say that I agree completely with all that Doctor Boeck observed about the dangers inherent in working with the census returns. Since my examples were all newly settled frontier areas, and Doctor Boeck's a relatively stable urban area in the same frontier state, the two, taken together, provide a base for a rather broad generalization.

adult males, the Middle Atlantic states without exception received disproportionate representation in the census.¹³

The meaning of all this, so far as this particular study is concerned, is clear. Although we have no way of determining who actually did vote, it is apparent that in order to determine the relative strength of those who could possibly have voted, it will be necessary to count only adult males. This has been done in all the townships used.

The analysis in the remainder of this paper is largely based upon the group of counties for which township returns are available for the election of 1860. The other categories are used as a check upon the conclusions and will only be mentioned when necessary for clarification. While the desirability of including materials for an earlier period is unquestionable, returns before 1859 are so extremely fragmentary that they could add very little to the study.

In order to have a large number of townships for comparison, all those voting over 65% Democratic and all those voting less than 25% Democratic were tabulated along with the most Democratic and the most Republican townships in each county. The only significance which is attached to these percentages is that they undoubtedly deviate a great deal from the state averages and that they yield an equal number of Democratic and of Republican townships (40 each). These, then, are the extremes and their populations are compared in Table II. According to the Table, the Middle Atlantic States of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey supplied the most consistent Republicans.¹⁴ The Ohio Valley states were split, while Germans, Irish and Southerners were clearly Democratic. There are no other groups which appear often enough in a dominant position for one to judge.

These results were taken a step further on Table IV which shows that in every case, an increase in the dominance of a nativity group increased the trend of the township vote. The first entry

¹³ The three frontier counties of Boone, Decatur, and Marshall, which in 1850 had 2,051 residents were used to determine whether this kind of distribution was peculiar to the later period in Iowa, or whether it could be applied more generally to frontier communities. 417, or about one-fifth of the total residents were adult males and could possibly have voted in the gubernatorial election of that year. The same pattern is found as in 1860. At one extreme is the foreign group, which had 33 potential voters from a total foreign population of 55, and at the other extreme are the neighboring states of Missouri, Indiana and Illinois which together furnished only 42 voters out of a total of 802 immigrants from those states.

¹⁴ Although New Jersey is included as a Middle Atlantic State, only an insignificant number from this state ever came to Iowa. New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians are about equally represented. No differences were noted when the Ohio Valley States were considered separately.

on the Table shows the median Democratic vote of all the townships studied which contain more than 20% of a given nativity group; the second entry shows the median vote of townships containing more than 40% of the group. In townships where the Germans, for example, supplied over 20% of the voting population, the median Democratic vote was 70%. But if one considers only those townships where Germans numbered more than 40% of the population, the median Democratic vote rose to 81.1%. This is a clear indication that Germans in these Townships did contribute to the Democratic vote.

Every item on the chart, except that pertaining to the Germans, is in accord with the standard interpretation and will require little further comment. It does seem worthwhile to remark that if the known Republicanism of immigrants from the Middle Atlantic states and their known influx into the midwest during the decade 1850-1860 be considered in connection with the migration pattern alluded to in this study, historians will in all probability find that

TABLE II
LARGEST NATIVITY GROUPS IN MOST DEMOCRATIC AND
MOST REPUBLICAN TOWNSHIPS
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

<i>Nativities</i>	<i>Most Democratic Townships</i>	<i>Most Republican Townships</i>
New England	0	1
Middle Atlantic	3	21
Upper Ohio Valley	21	16
South	4	0
Germany	7	0
Great Britain	1	0
Ireland	4	0
Scandnavia	0	1
Holland	0	1

TABLE III
LARGEST NATIVITY GROUPS IN MOST DEMOCRATIC AND
MOST REPUBLICAN TOWNSHIPS
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION OF 1859

<i>Nativities</i>	<i>Most Democratic Townships</i>	<i>Most Republican Townships</i>
New England	0	1
Middle Atlantic	2	4
South	0	0
Upper Ohio Valley	7	5
Germany	1	1
Ireland	2	0

TABLE IV

MEDIAN DEMOCRATIC VOTE OF TOWNSHIPS ACCORDING TO THE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED NATIVITY GROUPS
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

<i>Nativity</i>	<i>+20% of Voting Population Median Vote</i>		<i>+40% of Voting Population Median Vote</i>	
Ireland	86.7	83.0	89.2	86.7
Germany	70.0		81.1	
South	67.1	66.3	75.1	
Upper Ohio Valley	56.4	56.0	68.4	67.7
Middle Atlantic	22.2		22.2	17.8

their migration into the midwest was the sole cause for the political shift. Although the percentage of population from the Ohio Valley was also increasing phenomenally at the same time, these immigrants were, as it seems, mostly women and children who could have had no immediate political influence. The fact that townships dominated by Ohio Valley immigrants were evenly divided reflects the divided sympathies of their background. There only remains the problem of reconciling the conflict between the statistics on German voting and other types of evidence.

Even though all of the German townships located in this study were Democratic in 1860, the theory of Dorpalen, which was endorsed by Benson is suggestive when it is applied to the Germans in Iowa's large cities. In all of the German townships studied, there was really no chance for the Germans to conform to anything; conformity requires frequent contact in order for the political attitude to be transferred. The situation in all seven of the townships precluded such contact and transfer, for the Germans all lived and worked in purely German communities. Iowa's two largest cities, Davenport and Dubuque, were also the cities which contained the largest number of Germans in an urban environment, where contact, and presumably outside political influence would be almost a daily occurrence. And, the Germans in both cities seemed to adopt the prevailing political attitudes. Dubuque voted Republican only once in the thirteen statewide elections between 1850 and 1860, and Davenport voted Democratic only twice during the same period. The Germans entering between 1852-1854 seemed to do no more than increase the already prevailing trend in each case. According to a census taken in 1858, there were approximately 496 Germans who could have voted in

Davenport in that year, and the Republican majority of that year was 438 out of the total 1864 votes cast for Representative in Congress.¹⁵ While similar population figures for Dubuque (Julian Township, Dubuque County) do not exist, contemporary reports indicate that the German population must have been about the same as in Davenport. Here the Democratic majority in 1858 was 503 out of 2339. It would require a great stretch of the imagination to believe that either city would have voted differently had there been no Germans in them.

Although the situation in Dubuque and Davenport may be explained in terms of conformity, as Dorpalen and Benson would have it, outside of these two areas, the great majority of Germans in Iowa were not diffused throughout the population. Instead, they normally formed communities of their own and enjoyed relative political isolation. In these cases, they did not conform to the political attitudes of the counties in which they lived; in every instance this study shows that they were a great deal more Democratic than their neighbors in 1860. The seven Democratic townships in which Germans formed the largest group were in six different counties, four of which were Republican in 1860, and one of which was only slightly Democratic. In this connection, it is significant to note that while 21% of Scott county's population in 1860 was German, Germans did not appear as a large group in any of the highly Republican townships in that County. On the other hand, in Dubuque County, which contained only 15.6% Germans, they were the largest group in two townships which voted more than 80% Democratic. The one German township voting Republican in the election of 1859 (Amana, Iowa County) is easily explained on the grounds that being a pietistic religious colony, it would have little ideological affiliation with other German groups in the state.

Any way the problem is approached, except by taking the word of interested politicians, German intellectuals and newspapers, it seems that Iowa Germans were definitely inimical to Republican aspirations in the election of 1860, and the indications are that a study would show that the same was true in 1856.¹⁶

Actually, there were two very potent reasons why German-Americans should have been attracted to the Democratic party

¹⁵ The census returns can be found in Franc B. Wilkie, *Davenport Past and Present*, Davenport, 1858, 325.

¹⁶ At least five of the seven German townships found in the election of 1860 were also highly Democratic in 1856. Records do not exist for the other two.

during that particular decade. Republicanism was linked, at least in the popular mind, with Know-Nothingism, and in Iowa it was also linked to prohibition. Democrats, on the other hand, tended to favor free liquor, and in their convention of 1856, had roundly denounced native Americanism and read the Know-Nothing element out of the party. Events outside the midwest also reflected a basic difference between the two parties in their treatment of immigrants, and the Iowa Democratic press seized every opportunity to play up Know-Nothingism in the Republican ranks. When the "two year" amendment was passed by the heavily Republican Massachusetts legislature in March 1859, every Democratic paper in Iowa featured it in their editorials. Obviously aimed at eliminating immigrant influence at the polls, the Massachusetts amendment provided that naturalized citizens must have resided in the state for two years before being eligible to vote. Iowa papers claimed that the Massachusetts action demonstrated that Republican love for humanity extended only so far as the African, while the Democratic party, "places the adopted citizen . . . on a basis of perfect and entire equality with the native."¹⁷ The *Weekly Independence Civilian* prophesied that if the Republicans of Iowa "were strong enough to do without foreign votes, they would soon be walking in the steps of Massachusetts."¹⁸

In answer to the Republican defense that the nativist attitude was purely local, not reflecting any national Republican attitudes, the Democrats pointed out that the New York and the Connecticut Republican party were sponsoring a similar proscriptive amendment.¹⁹ Democrats also claimed that the union of the American and the Republican parties in Hamilton, Ohio, proved that Know-Nothingism was not a local element in the Republican party.²⁰

There is abundant evidence that German-Americans in Iowa were aroused by the nativist tendencies in the Republican party. One German immigrant, a resident of Burlington, Iowa, wrote a lengthy public letter to the press, urging Germans not to vote for the party of nativism and prohibition.²¹ Denunciatory resolutions were drawn up by an association of Germans in Scott County,²² and a group of German political leaders submitted a

¹⁷ *Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, Vol. 1, No. 10, March 25, 1859.

¹⁸ *Weekly Independence (Iowa) Civilian*, Vol. 4, No. 40, May 12, 1859.

¹⁹ *Sioux City (Iowa) Register*, Vol. 1, No. 49, June 30, 1859.

²⁰ *Page County Herald*, Clarinda, Iowa, Vol. 1, No. 10, July 29, 1859.

²¹ *Weekly Independence (Iowa) Civilian*, Vol. 4, No. 45, June 16, 1859.

²² *Iowa Weekly Democrat*, Sigourney, Iowa, Vol. 1, No. 17, May 13, 1859.

questionnaire to the Congressional delegation from Iowa asking them, in effect, if they condemned the Massachusetts legislation.²³

All historians who considered the subject have noted these less attractive—at least from the German viewpoint—features of the Republican party, but have insisted that because of their love of liberty, the Germans overlooked these minor points. Speaking of the German intellectuals, this seems to be perfectly true; and the masses were also lovers of liberty. But like masses everywhere, the rank and file Germans who did the bulk of the voting considered their own liberty to be of paramount importance. Apparently ignoring the advice of their leaders, they cast their ballots for the party which consistently promised them liberty from prohibition and native-American legislation.

At least one German-American businessman expressed the same opinion just before the election of 1860. Samuel Stern of Boston, in an open letter to Carl Schurz, claimed that he had been in the Revolution of 1848, and had learned enough of "radicalism and idealism to learn to be conservative and look after my own interests." Although he offered no statistics to prove his contention, Mr. Stern's experience had convinced him that the bulk of the Germans who had become adopted citizens and could vote were largely Democratic. Only the newly arrived masses, he said, were fooled by Schurz and the other politicians who were really thinking of their own advancement.²⁴ Although Mr. Stern could hardly be called a disinterested observer, his analysis is suggestive, and would seem to be largely borne out by the results of this study. An editorial in the *New York Demokrat* which was widely reprinted in Midwestern newspapers, although it did not speak so frankly of conservatism and self-interest, came to roughly the same conclusions. The editor described German-Americans who were still voting Republican after all the kicks they had received as "stupid."²⁵ Whatever the merits of the arguments of Stern and the *New York Demokrat*, it is evident that large numbers of German voters, at least in Iowa, must have taken them seriously.

Although the prohibition issue was undoubtedly a factor, it was probably not as important as Republican native-Americanism. Had a split occurred over prohibition, one would expect a religious pattern to emerge. But an inspection of the *Census of 1860, Social Statistics* and the appropriate county histories indicates that the

²³ *Weekly Maquoketa (Iowa) Excelsior*, Vol. 4, No. 10, May 17, 1859.

²⁴ *Mississippi Valley Register*, Guttenberg, Iowa, November 1, 1860, 4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, (reprint) October 6, 1859, 2.

German Democrats ranged from Roman Catholic in Dubuque and Johnson Counties to Methodist-Episcopal and Mennonite in Lee, and Baptist in Des Moines. Any religious issues were apparently subordinated to the general German hatred of native-Americanism.

Even though it be granted that Iowa Germans were largely Democratic in 1860, it does not automatically follow that Germans throughout the Midwest were Democratic. Conclusions drawn from a study of one state cannot be automatically applied elsewhere, for it is possible that there were conditions peculiar to Iowa which caused the split between the German spokesmen and the German masses, but this conclusion is important for another reason. In a sense, this paper has been a case study in the relationship between the pronouncements of group spokesmen and the actions of group members. And, since no significant relationship existed in this case, it does call into question all generalizations about group voting based upon the opinions of leaders. Historians, accepting the statements of contemporary observers as true, had found reasonable grounds for assigning a large majority of the German vote to Fremont and to Lincoln. That they were wrong in at least one case has been demonstrated in this study; for well over half the Germans in Iowa lived in the six counties where the most Democratic townships were dominated by Germans. It is important to recognize that in every case conclusions of German Republicanism have been made on the same ground—acceptance of contemporary opinion. The broadest generalizations that can be made from this study are that the masses do not necessarily vote the way their spokesmen are campaigning, and that contemporary opinion, including that of newspapers, is a poor guide. If the historian would discover how any group actually voted, he must turn to an analysis of voting returns in terms of the smallest possible units. Only in a unit the size of a township can groups be isolated with enough precision for the historian to be sure that his conclusion is correct. If this study has any applicability outside of the immediate area considered, it is only in adding evidence to Benson's claim that historians must utilize systematic data in political studies if their statements are to bear scrutiny.

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APPENDIX A

THE DEMOCRATIC VOTE BY TOWNSHIPS ACCORDING TO NATIVITY GROUPS
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860*MIDDLE ATLANTIC TOWNSHIPS*

<i>Township</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Democratic Vote (%)</i>
Putnam	Fayette	9.4
Fremont	Buchanan	13.6
Jefferson	Butler	17.3
Boardman	Clayton	18.6
Scott	Johnson	16.4
Wayne	Jones	17.8
Cue	Benton	20.0
St. Claire	Benton	21.2
Taylor	Dubuque	35.4
Liberty	Scott	25.7
Union	Boone	31.4
Amity	Page	2.2
Douglas	Page	22.2
Fulton	Muscatine	22.7
Mitchell	Mitchell	9.9
Albion	Butler	17.5
Fremont	Butler	25.0
Sumer	Buchanan	18.8
Ohio	Webster	24.1
Washington	Webster	22.0
Harlan	Fayette	25.0
Clear Creek	Johnson	66.3
Auburn	Fayette	56.4
Rockingham	Scott	57.9

UPPER OHIO VALLEY TOWNSHIPS

Wayne	Henry	0.8
Gower	Cedar	11.3
Yellow Springs	Des Moines	16.9
Brown	Linn	20.7
Bruce	Benton	7.3
Harrison	Benton	23.6
Cedar	Lee	24.8
Valley	Page	11.4
Indiana	Marion	32.5
Milford	Story	30.0
Center	Pottawattamie	20.8
Crawford	Washington	15.2
Clay	Washington	14.7

APPENDIX A (Continued)

UPPER OHIO VALLEY TOWNSHIPS (Cont.)

<i>Township</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Democratic Vote (%)</i>
Richmond	Wayne	27.6
Drakeville	Davis	43.5
Springdale	Cedar	17.2
Jefferson	Lee	73.9
Roscoe	Davis	71.6
Dodge	Boone	67.1
March	Boone	78.7
Buffalo	Linn	63.3
Jackson	Jones	60.0
Augusta	Des Moines	73.1
Massilon	Cedar	57.2
Jackson	Butler	71.4
Baltimore	Henry	70.9
Buchanan	Page	70.8
Pierce	Page	68.4
Polk	Marion	79.2
Jefferson	Mahaska	70.7
Collins	Story	56.0
Rocky Ford	Pottawattamie	67.3
Pleasant Grove	Des Moines	67.7
Salt Creek	Davis	81.9
Lick Creek	Davis	73.0
Marion	Davis	74.5

SOUTHERN TOWNSHIPS

Fabius	Davis	88.7
Clay	Wayne	66.1
Fox River	Davis	75.1
Yell	Webster	63.2

NEW ENGLAND TOWNSHIPS

Denmark	Lee	13.7
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GERMAN TOWNSHIPS

West Point	Lee	70.0
Liberty	Dubuque	86.6
Mossalem	Dubuque	81.1
Liberty	Johnson	83.2
Clayton	Clayton	56.6
Benton	Des Moines	66.7
Moscow	Muscatine	55.8

APPENDIX A (Continued)

IRISH TOWNSHIPS

<i>Township</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Democratic Vote (%)</i>
Prairie Creek	Dubuque	83.0
Iowa	Dubuque	89.2
Union	Benton	86.7
Washington	Jones	93.4

SCANDANAVIAN TOWNSHIPS

Cedar	Mitchell	1.4
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DUTCH TOWNSHIPS

Black Oak	Mahaska	31.7
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APPENDIX B

THE DEMOCRATIC VOTE AND DOMINANT NATIVITY GROUPS BY TOWNSHIPS
GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION OF 1859

<i>Township</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Democratic Vote (%)</i>	<i>Dominant Nativity Group</i>
Butler	Jackson	100.0	Irish
Washington	Clinton	88.9	Irish
Warren	Keokuk	84.6	Ohio Valley
Sioux City	Woodbury	69.5	Middle Atlantic
Clear Creek	Jasper	69.4	Ohio Valley
Walnut	Jefferson	63.7	German
Iowa	Iowa	60.2	Ohio Valley
Columbia	Tama	59.0	Ohio Valley
Sugar Creek	Poweshiek	57.4	Ohio Valley
Green	Wapello	77.8	Ohio Valley
Union	Black Hawk	70.0	Ohio Valley
Amana	Iowa	3.2	German
Buckingham	Tama	8.1	Middle Atlantic
Richland	Jasper	8.6	Ohio Valley
Grinnell	Poweshiek	13.9	New England
Berlin	Clinton	19.9	Ohio Valley
Prairie	Keokuk	21.9	Ohio Valley
Richland	Wapello	23.4	Ohio Valley
Correctionville	Woodbury	25.0	Middle Atlantic
Monmouth	Jackson	25.7	Middle Atlantic
Liberty	Jefferson	33.5	Ohio Valley
Black Hawk	Black Hawk	15.4	Middle Atlantic

APPENDIX C

DEMOCRATIC VOTE AND DOMINANT NATIVITY GROUPS
OF COUNTIES NOT ORGANIZED INTO TOWNSHIPS
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860

<i>County</i>	<i>Democratic Vote (%)</i>	<i>Dominant Nativity Group</i>
Audubon	55.1	Upper Ohio
Sac	72.7	Upper Ohio
Clay	61.9	German
Ida	60.0	Middle Atlantic
Palo Alto	87.9	Irish
Kossuth	23.8	Middle Atlantic
Grundy	11.9	Middle Atlantic
Hancock	12.1	Middle Atlantic
Dickinson	13.2	Middle Atlantic
Humbolt	24.7	Middle Atlantic
Emmet	0.0	Middle Atlantic
Crawford	39.7	Middle Atlantic
Cherokee	23.1	New England
Shelby	39.0	Upper Ohio
Plymouth	15.8	Upper Ohio
Pocahontas	32.3	Irish