

Political Affiliations of American
Economic Elites: Wayne County,
Michigan, 1844, 1860, as a Test
Case

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POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC ELITES:
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AS A TEST CASE

by

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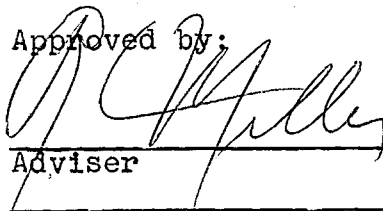
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PREFACE

The scope of this study has been dictated by its methodology, which, in turn, has been determined by its aim. In order to formulate with precision a theory of political behavior for economic leaders of the mid-nineteenth century it is necessary to document the economic careers, ethnic origins, religious affiliations and family backgrounds of a carefully selected economic elite. What is obtained by the extensive documentation of over one-hundred and seventy-five individuals is the opportunity to study the relationship of these attributes to political affiliation. By tabulating these attributes against party affiliation, relationships were discovered which indicate that religious and ethno-cultural influences among certain groups affected political behavior more strongly than did economic factors. At the same time, other groups may have been influenced by their economic class position. When similar studies have been undertaken, it will be possible to develop precise generalizations concerning political behavior. Such generalizations are indispensable for a more complete understanding of the nature of political conflict in American life.

The manuscript and newspaper sources available in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, together with its excellent biographical indexes, made a thorough study of the Wayne County elite possible. Discoveries and flashes of insight on the part of Burton Collection staff members turned up much valuable information.

This study was directed by Professor Lee Benson. His conviction that elite studies must complement larger investigations of voting behavior established the purpose of this undertaking.

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CHAPTER I

CLASS AND POLITICS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The emphasis on conflict in history must arise in part from its timeless essence as narrative. The greatest villains and the biggest battles make the best stories. The history of the American republic, the only nation in Western society without a feudal-chivalric past, is no exception. Its heroes and villains, however, are politicians, bankers, businessmen and planters instead of kings, its battlegrounds not fields but legislatures and stock exchanges, its gods, the Constitution or the People. Since the prevailing view of the present is that America, unlike Europe, produced the classless society of the middle-class, it is somewhat astonishing that the great majority of its historians have established as major themes political conflicts based on economic class or geographical section.

Historians of the Jacksonian period can be grouped according to era, bias, methodology and frame of reference, but they all saw the time as one of intense party battles. As historical writing became more refined, they made attempts to explain political affiliations on the basis of

class, section or interest group. In cases where they did not, their accounts contained implicit assumptions concerning the relationship between class and politics.

The earlier historians of the Jackson period created a stage where national leaders dramatically encountered each other over issues. Concentrating on political leaders, they superficially treated the nature of party support. For the most part, these post-Civil War historians were patrician reformers whose preoccupation with the corruption of the Grant era directed their attention to Jackson as the innovator of the spoils system and the subsequent degradation of the Republic. To the extent that they described the parties, they tended to accept the Whig view that it was Jacksonian demagogues who used politics to set class against class.¹

The bias of these historians in favor of patrician rule probably accounted in part for their uncritical acceptance of the idea that the Jacksonians represented the "country's untutored instincts" which had overthrown a decadent "silver-forked civilization." Nevertheless, as staunch believers in laissez faire economics, they were forced to recognize some merit in the Jacksonian dedication to limited government. In his Life of Andrew Jackson, James

¹ Alfred Alexander Cave, "The Jacksonian Movement in American Historiography" (PhD. thesis, University of Florida, 1961), 232.

Parton showed how difficult it was for a patrician to reconcile a theoretical faith in democracy with the actualities of democratic rule. However, his misgivings about the dismal effects of universal suffrage were balanced by his espousal of the laissez faire policies of the Democrats.²

William Graham Sumner's analysis of the Jacksonian period suffered from his projection of the conflicts of the 1890's back to the 1830's. He saw the developing tension between agrarianism and strict laissez faire in his own time and regarded the Jacksonian era as an early example of this conflict. Thus while indicting the bank policy as an ignorant attack on a valuable financial institution and finding its motivation in the "tyranny" of Jackson's popularity which "crushed out reason and common sense," Sumner praised most of the policies themselves as conforming to "the general non-interference policy" which "strengthens any government which recurs to it."³

Another advocate of laissez faire, Edward Shepard, writing a biography of Martin Van Buren in the same year in which Sumner's Andrew Jackson appeared, came to the same conclusions concerning the nature of Jacksonian policies

²James Parton, Life of Andrew Jackson (New York: Mason Bros., 1861), III, 150.

³William Graham Sumner, Andrew Jackson (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1910), 235, 265, 296, 316, 397.

but departed from other anti-Jacksonian historians by re-interpreting the nature of the movement. As a hard money, Grover Cleveland Democrat, Shepard favored the Democratic party of Jackson as a basically conservative institution which guarded the Jeffersonian faith in limited government. In his view, the dangerous innovators were the Whigs with their advocacy of the tariff, distribution of revenue, alliance of government and banking and demands for governmental action against the Panic of 1837.⁴

That historians could concoct such idiosyncratic mixtures from the same ingredients is not merely a result of personal bias. Their methodology reinforced the defects caused by their partisanship. Parton, for example, began with the view that "the people" should have "wrested the scepter" from the hands of those "who had not shown themselves worthy to hold it," that is, "the ruling class in the United States . . . composed of men who had graduated at colleges, and had passed the greater part of their lives on carpets."⁵ But he failed to define "the people" and made no attempt to describe the kinds of support the Jackson party received. Sumner, a trained sociologist with a keen interest in economic matters, went considerably beyond Parton in attempting to clarify the sources of party support. His account of the Jackson coalition as a free-trade South,

⁴Cave, 137-139.

⁵Parton, III, 149-150.

free-land West combination reinforced by the "unaccountable" Jackson popularity in Pennsylvania and the "ambitious politicians of New York" forshadowed Turner and subsequent historiography.⁶

Sumner also described the Democratic party in terms of ideology. His objectivity overcame his anti-popular prejudices to a remarkable degree when he gave credit to the "loco-focos of 1835" as the originators of "the hard money, free trade, the non-interference theory of government."⁷ Having suggested that the foundations for politics were sectional and economic, Sumner at another juncture implied that leadership and careerism were the moving forces:

Great parties did not organize on the important political questions. Men were led off on some petty side issue, or they attached themselves to a great man, with whom they hoped to come to power.⁸

Sumner's gropings produced contradictions characteristic of historians who wrote without developing a theory of political behavior.

Frederick Jackson Turner's book, The United States, 1830-1850, the work of a lifetime, represented a tremendous advance in analysing the bases of political forces. He swept away Sumner's imprecise leadership concept as he set

⁶Sumner, 176,232.

⁷Ibid., 438.

⁸Ibid., 425.

out to clear up the fogs of his predecessors:

Undoubtedly, initiative and important influence arose from personal leadership; but history is prone to attribute to such leadership an effect that is exaggerated. The names of the principal men are used as symbols in a way that conceals the part played by the lesser leaders who worked with them and who sometimes shaped their action. The larger tendencies, in section and state, that determined much of the course of the outstanding statesmen are too little considered.⁹

Turning from national issues as the stuff of history, Turner presented a detailed investigation of the entire society of the various sections. His evidence suggested a multiple causation of political behavior, although his thesis of the frontier perhaps led him to over-emphasize the geographical factor. His closest approach to a theoretical statement about political motivation was a kind of sectional-class formulation with characteristic Turner qualifications:

But, while regional antagonisms determined the geography of party district, the quality of the region did not consistently determine the party complexion. Not all regions of property and prosperity voted Whig, and not all the poor regions of rough country were predominantly Democratic. There were exceptions that prevent the historian from formulating a law of political distribution on physical or economic grounds. It can be said, however, that different physical regions usually voted in opposition to each other and that there was a tendency, falling short of the inevitable, for the Democrats to control the less prosperous areas and for the Whigs to rule in the regions of

⁹Frederick Jackson Turner, The United States, 1830-1850 (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1935), 382.

greater wealth and vested interests.¹⁰

Within his study of the sections themselves Turner found a tendency for voting districts to coincide with economic regions, but he conscientiously noted exceptions with suggested a more complex picture. In keeping with his basic idea that democracy was a product of the West was his notion that western Whigs were different:

In this section there had not been developed an aristocracy like that of the planting class in the South and Southwest and like that of the mercantile and banking classes in the Northeast, with their social distinction and the inter-marriage of their leaders.¹¹

He further suggested that ethnic groupings had something to do with voting. In the Middle Atlantic states, he pointed out, "on the whole, the better farm lands, the lines of communication, the areas settled by New Englanders, tended to vote the Whig ticket." Again:

But the danger of overgeneralizing on purely geographical and economic grounds is illustrated, not only by the Democracy of the Germans in the rich agricultural countries of the Great Valley of Pennsylvania, but also by the Whig affiliation of certain rough counties in the Adirondacks in New York. Certain it is that stock and personal leadership must be considered, as well as physical geography.¹²

¹⁰Ibid., 13.

¹¹Ibid., 362.

¹²Ibid., 116. It is interesting to note in this connection that "New Englanders" were considered as an economic as well as an ethnic grouping. Following the statement quoted above on New Englanders he added, "It has been said the seven-eighths of the New Englanders who could afford to subscribe to the more expensive party papers were Whigs."

Religion also appeared as a possible determinant of party affiliation: in New England the Congregationalists supported the Whigs, the Methodists and Baptists the Democrats.¹³

Turner's observations that voting behavior may have been based on ethnic and religious factors point the way to the questions raised by this study. The work of Charles A. Beard was even more clearly a new departure in the methodology of research into voting behavior. In his most original work, The Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, Beard projected a more or less explicit economic determinist theory of political behavior with his hypothesis that men took positions for and against the Constitution because of their economic interests.¹⁴ It was the economic-class bias of this work that created the animus which inspired his hard-working critics writing in the conservative revisionist period after World War II.¹⁵ His hypothesis unsupported, however, would not have stimulated such activity. His careful search for evidence of wealth to correlate with voting behavior and his ingenious

¹³Ibid., 66.

¹⁴Lee Benson, Turner and Beard (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), 134-137.

¹⁵Robert E. Brown, Charles Beard and the Constitution (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956); Forrest McDonald, We The People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

projections of a few statistics to estimate total voters are themselves testimony to the value of an innovating hypothesis. Historians had to refute him with additional evidence and, in the opinion of one scholar, at this writing "a convincing case has yet to be made, for or against it."¹⁶

Beard was far less precise in defining his concepts of class and section in his works covering the pre-Civil War period. Writing with a grand sweep in The Rise of American Civilization, he devoted little attention to the nature of party support during the Jacksonian era. Although he indicated that "often a rich money lender was a perfectly good Democrat" and that

. . . it would be a mistake to assume that the Democrats refused all political relations with banks . . . the party which destroyed the second federal bank so ruthlessly that the Whigs could never restore it was Jackson's farmer-labor combination, the new Democracy of the middle period."¹⁷

Although he talked about classes, Beard's economic groups in power overlapped sections. The three groups struggling for dominance were the capitalists, the planter interest and the farmers.¹⁸

¹⁶Benson, Turner and Beard, 175.

¹⁷Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: MacMillan Co., 1930), I, 669, 682.

¹⁸Ibid. Beard's qualifications: "It is not contended that all capitalists with mechanical exactness were drawn to one combination and all planters and farmers to another." Indeed, he suggested that it was the small farmer in large

When he came to the causes of the Civil War, Beard hazarded a thesis as bold as his earlier view of the Constitution:

. . . in 1860 the country stood in fundamental respects just where it did in 1787 under the Articles of Confederation. Nothing but another radical change in the membership of the Supreme Bench or a constitutional revolution, such as that effected in 1789, could repair the havoc wrought in business enterprise by agrarian reforms.¹⁹

Since the South would not accept the "radical change" represented by the election of Lincoln, the nation experienced a "social cataclysm in which the capitalists, laborers and farmers of the North and West drove from power in the national government the planting aristocracy of the South."²⁰

Beard's design of proof for this sweeping thesis was chiefly based on relating party to policy rather than men and faction to property as in his study of the Constitution. Contrasting the economic policies of the government during the Democratic administrations prior to 1860 with those of the victorious Republicans, Beard concluded that a revolution had taken place, since the capitalist class had gained within four years all the Federalists and Whigs had

areas of the South who "furnished the original substance of Jacksonian Democracy." Although the working classes of the cities were generally thrown by social differences into opposition to the capitalists, many accepted the Whig tariff argument, especially in New England and Pennsylvania. 669-670.

¹⁹Ibid., I, 689.

²⁰Ibid., II, 54.

attempted from 1790 on.²¹ Further to support the contention that the economic aims of the capitalists and their agrarian allies were paramount, he dismissed the traditional view that antislavery opinion was crucial. Evidence for this argument was the weakness of earlier antislavery parties and the failure of Frémont in 1856. It was only when the Republicans appealed to economic interests and offered free lands and a protective tariff that they were able to win over "the divided ranks of the enemy."²²

It is these "divided ranks" that Beard neglected as well as the actual composition of the Republican party itself. The coalition of capitalists and their agrarian allies was assumed on the basis of the Republican program. As evidence of its economic appeals he recorded the testimony of the stenographic report of the Republican convention where "the cheering became especially loud and prolonged when the homestead and tariff plans were reached."²³ If his economic thesis were true for the Republican party, what about the other parties whose division was crucial to Republican victory and the war? His insistence on economic motivation and his fluid designation of party and class led him to some strange formulations. In 1860, Beard pointed out, the leaders of the "planting interest" worked out an

²¹Ibid., 105-106.

²²Ibid., 38-39.

²³Ibid., 31.

economic and political scheme which offered nothing but submission to the old Whigs of the South.²⁴ Yet these same Whigs, who in 1850 owned at least three-fourths of all the slaves in the country, had been painfully moving into the Democratic camp even though they "disliked wildcat banking as much as they hated high duties on the manufactured goods they bought."²⁵ Obviously clarification of terms is needed and questions about motivation must be answered on the basis of a variety of factors. Who were the leaders of the planting interest if the Whigs were the large planters? And, even assuming that most of the Whigs had become Democrats by 1860 despite their aversion to wildcat banking, was their motive for the switch primarily economic? In the case of the northern Democrats, Beard contradicted any general theory of the economic basis for political action when he explained that "the northern wing, while entirely willing to indorse the general economic program of the planters, absolutely refused to grant them sovereignty in the party and throughout the country."²⁶

Altogether Beard's hypothesis is tentative. He made no attempt, as he did in his study of the Constitution, to connect specific people in power with specific economic interests. Nor did he try to distinguish among elements of

²⁴Ibid., 28-30.

²⁵Ibid., 20.

²⁶Ibid., 30.

electoral support on particular issues. Civil War causation presents a far more complex problem than that which Beard isolated in connection with the Constitution. Instead of one decision (ratification of the Constitution) many have to be investigated. An examination of the relationships of masses to leaders and an analysis of public opinion in connection with specific issues are required to determine whether Northern opinion on the expansion of slavery was formed by economic, political, moral or other influences.²⁷

The first full statement that a large proportion of the business community supported the Whigs in the Jacksonian period was Dixon Ryan Fox's The Decline of Aristocracy in the State of New York. Fox's pioneering methodology was a landmark in the study of voting behavior. He aimed at proving a connection of wealth with the Whig party by correlating property assessments and voting returns in county and ward. Although operating on Beardian assumptions concerning the economic basis of politics, Fox pointed out that his evidence refuted Beard's thesis, "that the two great parties of our history represent respectively two

²⁷Lee Benson and Cushing Strout, "Causation and the American Civil War, Two Appraisals," in George Nadel (ed.), History and Theory (The Hague, 1961), I, 172.

kinds of property interest, personal and real."²⁸ He found that the study of counties as political units did not contribute to his economic hypothesis and suggested that "perhaps it was because within a section like a county it is impossible to find out how property was distributed." From smaller units such as city wards he thought he could safely assume a general economic character. Refining his criteria beyond per capita wealth to include occupations, he discovered that "the reliable Whig wards" contained the largest wealth per capita and "the largest proportion of merchants, manufacturers and members of the learned professions." His proof was weakened, however, by some stubborn exceptions such as the fifth and eighth wards of New York and the entire city of Rochester. He explained the Whig vote of the poor fifth and eighth wards on the basis of their large proportion of Negroes who were qualified to vote. Rochester he simply dismissed by saying that "the traditions of that city were so strongly Whig that it scarcely furnishes the evidence for our inquiry."²⁹

In cases of Whig loyalties where no direct correlations between wealth and voting behavior could be obtained, Fox

²⁸Dixon Ryan Fox, The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," Vol. LXXXVI; New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919), 424.

²⁹Ibid., 430-431, 436-437.

fell back on general economic explanations. He also raised points which suggest factors more complex than those accounted for by his hypothesis. Concerning a number of solid Whig counties of western New York, Fox stated, "It had been the fire of anti-masonry which had fused the western counties into an almost solid section." Without pursuing the causes of this "fire" he returned to his economic categories: ". . . but the allegiance to Weed's party was retained because the young industrial communities and the commercial farmers found Whig policy comported with their interest."³⁰ Despite his identifying both Whigs and the old aristocracy with wealth, Fox made a distinction between them. It was a Whig administration which cleared jails of anti-renters and Whig legislators who were willing to vote away ancient privileges of landlords. The attraction of capital and business enterprise to the Whig party meant that its only steady principle was "that business should go on."³¹

Fox's economic interpretation set the pattern and the methodological framework for most of the historians writing in the 1920's. E. Malcolm Carroll in Origins of the Whig Party depicted the Whigs as a party without principles but which attracted the "men who were conservative by temperament." Leaning on Fox and contemporary sources which attributed "all decency, refinement, wealth and cultivation"

³⁰Ibid., 425.

³¹Ibid., 438.

to the Whigs, Carroll failed to develop any original insights.³² To explain the western Whigs who were "probably less prosperous than their eastern associates," Carroll suggested other possible motivations for political behavior: "The levelling influences of the frontier could not in all cases overcome temperament and family traditions."³³

Uncritical acceptance of the economic thesis appears in Henry Mueller's The Whig Party in Pennsylvania. Having found, without showing evidence, that the majority of iron manufacturers were Whigs, Mueller tried to explain an occasional Democrat in this group: ". . . due to the avowed protective principles of the Democracy, a manufacturer, who started life as a Democrat, did not abandon his party upon the acquisition of wealth."³⁴ He attempted to justify his claim that "the vast majority of those possessing vested interests felt that the Whig party offered them more protection than did the opposition party" by analysing the aggregate wealth and voting returns on a county basis. The inconclusiveness of his figures supports Fox's opinion that results gained from a study of wealth and politics on a county basis are not a good index because they do not

³²Malcolm Carroll, Origins of the Whig Party (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1925), 170, 187, 188, 191.

³³Ibid., 190.

³⁴Henry Mueller, The Whig Party In Pennsylvania (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922), 243.

how property is distributed. Out of sixty-four counties in Pennsylvania in 1851 there were seventeen Whig counties. Mueller found that these contained 35% of the population and 43% of the wealth.³⁵

An important study made in the 1920's presented an interesting multiple-cause explanation for the continuity of party affiliation. Carl Russell Fish, in The Rise of the Common Man, 1930-1950, followed Beard, Fox and others in his assumption of a "natural division based on political theory or economic interest." But Fish insisted that at all times these basic divisions have been modified by "causes dependent upon original stock, geographical location, religion, migration, immigration and mere tradition."³⁶

After World War II, the apotheosis of the "people versus the interests" theme appeared with Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.,'s The Age of Jackson. Since Dixon Ryan Fox had, according to Schlesinger, established "beyond doubt the class character of the vote," he felt free to elaborate on the wider implications of that concept. The Jacksonian period became for Schlesinger a study in the recurring nature of American liberalism, which he defined as

³⁵ Ibid., 244-245.

³⁶ Carl Russell Fish, The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850, Vol. VI of A History of American Life, eds. A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox (13 Vols.; New York: MacMillan Co., 1927-48), 169.

"the movement on the part of the other sections of society to restrain the power of the business community."³⁷ This conception required a stress on economic aims as the key to understanding Jacksonian Democracy. Repudiating Turner's notion of democracy as a frontier creation, Schlesinger saw the impetus to Jacksonian policy as coming from the class-divided East.³⁸

Schlesinger did not attempt any methodical investigation of the relationship of party to economic class. He accepted as axiomatic that the Federalists and Whigs "intended to serve the business classes."³⁹ There is no analysis of the actual composition of the Whig party beyond the explanation that it included most of the wealthy planters in the South.⁴⁰ That it was not merely a cabal of merchants or capitalists is suggested, however, in a couple of instances. It was "liberal Whigs," for example, who passed a general banking law in New York.⁴¹ Furthermore,

³⁷Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Jackson (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945), 257n, 505.

³⁸Ibid., 208-209.

³⁹Ibid., 279.

⁴⁰Ibid. As an interesting contrast to Beard (see above, p. 11), Schlesinger described these Southern Whigs as steadily obliged to accept the Whig economic program. . . . They came in the fifties, to decide that Calhoun had been right. But it was too late, the game was lost.", 249.

⁴¹Ibid., 286. The reversal of Whigs and Democrats in regard to the banking law was explained as Whig trickery in making a law with insufficient regulatory provisions. The regulating Democrats had no choice but to vote against it.

it offered opportunities to able younger men like Seward, Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens because vested interests developed in the party of democracy.⁴²

Schlesinger identified the party of Jackson with the concept "Jacksonian Democracy" by a discussion of the ideas of its leaders. By placing the heaviest emphasis on intellectuals like Orestes Brownson, William Leggett, Theodore Sedgwick and George Bancroft, Schlesinger created the impression that the party ideology had a strong reform cast. Rich Democrats like the Massachusetts boss, David Henshaw, presumably had an affinity with the business community, but such an exception was explained on the basis of the personal rancor of a self-made man against a snubbing aristocracy. George Bancroft's Democratic apostasy against his own class was probably owing to political ambition. The existence of conservative Democrats was occasionally recognized: the unreliable liberal, Robert Rantoul, kept making deals with them.⁴³

Schlesinger's boldest innovation was his transformation of the Jacksonians' Jeffersonian laissez faire inheritance into a kind of Wilson-like interventionism. Defining laissez faire as either "a fighting belief in the virtue of competition" or "a fighting belief in the evil of government intervention," Schlesinger unhesitatingly put the

⁴²Ibid., 391.

⁴³Ibid., 147, 161, 173.

Jacksonians in the first camp, since they had "no hesitation in advocating government intervention in order to restore competition." He further suggested that it was Jackson's rigorous governmental policy which influenced the business community to abandon Hamilton's economics and take up *laissez faire*.⁴⁴ Schlesinger cited as proof that government intervention was a policy the attack on the Bank, the independent treasury, hard money policies, and, on the state level, general corporation laws, all seen as anti-monopoly measures. Furthermore, the ten-hour day for federal workers and a liberal land policy were indications of a pro-labor policy whose concern was with "economic equality, the laboring classes, human rights and the control of industrialism."⁴⁵

It is interesting to note Schlesinger's critique of Civil War causation. Having demonstrated that during the 1830's and 1840's there was a conflict between the business community and the Jacksonian Democrats, he proceeds to attack economic interpretations of the causes of the war, especially the Beardian claim that capitalists

⁴⁴Ibid., 316. "The presidency of Jackson had begun to reduce the conservative enthusiasm, in the manner of Hamilton, for state interference, and the business community now commenced to purloin the phrases of *laissez faire*."

⁴⁵Ibid., 312, 336, 342, 346.

were responsible. The Civil War was a humanitarian crusade and Schlesinger wants Jacksonian Democrats or their heirs to get the credit for it.⁴⁶ The difficulty with this theory is that Jacksonians in the thirties were bitterly opposed to abolitionists as a threat to their Southern alliance. However, when the conflict between North and South came to a head, "the group which took the lead on the political stage in combating the slave power were the radical Democrats in the straight Jacksonian tradition."⁴⁷ This leap characterizes the weakness of Schlesinger's method. Limiting his discussion to a few leaders, he neglects the nature and extent of party support on issues. Since antislavery was not generally held either by Democrats en masse or by the leadership, he says that it was a principle of the "radical Democrats." Then he blankets this limiting category with the large, but meaningless modifier "in the straight Jacksonian tradition."⁴⁸

⁴⁶A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Causes of the Civil War," Partisan Review, XVI (October, 1949), 969-981.

⁴⁷Schlesinger, Age of Jackson, 424, 433.

⁴⁸Ibid., 480-482.

A major problem for Schlesinger (and many other historians) in describing the Whigs as the party of the business community was to account for Whig strength. W. E. Binkley admitted the difficulty:

In New England, as elsewhere, the Whigs were primarily the party of accumulated property, supported at the polls by their dependents, paradoxical though the expression sounds. In the more prosperous communities, whether urban or rural, these notables could count upon the allegiance of lawyers, clergy, and teachers, while shopkeepers, native laborers, and other urban elements also accepted their leadership.⁴⁹

Binkley moved further away from his definition of the Whigs when he evaluated party doctrine as an indicator of support. He noted that the equalitarian ideals of the Whig propagandist Horace Greeley indicated that the Whig party "while not just a cross-section of American society, was nevertheless, like every major party in our history, a broad multi-group combination."⁵⁰ While Binkley followed Turner, Fox and others in giving emphasis to "prosperous communities" for Whigs and "regions of lower land values" for Democrats, he also stressed ethnic background as influential. The Scotch-Irish, "the nucleus of Jacksonian Democracy," and the Pennsylvania Dutch were solidly Democratic, and "wherever New England stock dominated, Whigs carried the counties."⁵¹

⁴⁹Wilfred E. Binkley, American Political Parties (3d ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 162.

⁵⁰Ibid., 165.

⁵¹Ibid., 121, 125, 165.

A marked change in historians' over-all view of the nature of conflict in American history showed itself in the tremendous activity in Jacksonian historiography after the publication of Schlesinger's book. The new look tended to stress the basic consensus of American society and to deny the existence of class cleavage. New interpretations still, however, had to explain the basis for the party battles of the Jackson period. Bray Hammond, a student of banking history who viewed the destruction of a central credit system as a disaster, attempted to demolish Schlesinger's identification of the business community with the Whig party by showing that Jackson's entire Kitchen Cabinet was composed of wealthy men or men on the make. In Hammond's view, their attack on the bank simply represented a blow at an older set of capitalists by a newer, more numerous set under whose political leadership "the democracy became greedy, intolerant, imperialistic and lawless." Hammond thus reduced the agrarianism of Jacksonian leaders to rhetoric.⁵²

A true eclectic, Richard Hofstadter recognized the claims of both Schlesinger and Hammond in his essay, "Andrew Jackson: Rise of Liberal Capitalism." In the manner of Hammond, Hofstadter described the typical American of the time as an expectant capitalist and the Jacksonian movement

⁵²Bray Hammond, Banks and Politics in America (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 326-340.

as "a phase in the expansion of liberated capitalism." At the same time Hofstadter accepted Schlesinger's comparison of the Jacksonian movement with the New Deal as a struggle "of large sections of the community against a business elite and its allies."⁵³

Abandoning economic struggle as the mainspring of politics, Louis Hartz and Marvin Meyers, explained political conflict on a psychological basis. Hartz used political theory and a comparative method to develop the thesis that in the Jacksonian period Americans were deceiving themselves in their neurotic fears of either tyrannical government or the rule of the mob. Behind their campaign frenzies which had produced "the whole social war trend of American thought" was a homogeneity based on a Lockean respect for property and individualism, so generally held as to be "a massive national cliché."⁵⁴ Marvin Meyers also began with an assumption of classlessness, based not on empirical evidence but on his reasoning that since each party always managed to gain a little more or less than half the popular vote there could be "no general or simple class differences in party preferences."⁵⁵ Meyers described the doctrine of each party

⁵³Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1959), 54-55.

⁵⁴Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1955), 119-142.

⁵⁵Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion (Palo Alto, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957), 1-10.

as a "persuasion" in which the Whigs spoke to the hopes and the Democrats to the fears of a population living through revolutionary economic and social change.

In addition to the work of these historians, a host of small empirical studies yielded some fruitful, if occasionally confusing, data to the new consensus interpretation. Schlesinger's thesis inspired the tenor of rebuttal. Joseph Dorfman analysed the character of urban labor and found that labor spokesmen were closer in outlook to entrepreneurs than they were to workingmen. Their object "was not to help labor--they generally neglected direct labor reforms--but to create better business conditions." His proof was the labor spokesmen's advocacy of strict laissez faire and their indifference to conditions of labor. Party battles, then, were feuds fought within the business community.⁵⁶ Approaching the labor-Jackson coalition from the point of view of government policy, Richard Morris contradicted Schlesinger's picture of a paternalistic government supporting protective legislation by pointing out that Jackson was the first president to call troops during a strike.⁵⁷

Most interesting from a methodological point of view were two investigations of working-class voting patterns

⁵⁶Joseph Dorfman. "The Jackson Wage Earner Thesis," American Historical Review, LIV (January, 1949), 306.

⁵⁷Richard Morris, "Andrew Jackson, Strikebreaker," American Historical Review, LV (October, 1949), 54.

in Boston and Philadelphia. Supporting Dorfman's discovery of the lack of class consciousness among "Workingmen," both Edward Pessen and William L. Sullivan found that the minority workingmen's parties of Boston and Philadelphia ran upper class candidates, many of whom were also on the Whig ticket.⁵⁸ To test working-class support for Democratic candidates Pessen and Sullivan used the old method Fox had applied to Whigs: they compiled voting figures for the poorest wards which were determined on the basis of aggregate property assessments. Sullivan found that after 1832 the poorer wards voted Whig.⁵⁹ In Boston the analysis of poorer ward votes produced a somewhat different result--Pessen discovered a trend toward the Democrats, but interpreted this as a reflection of a relative increase in the number of Democrats. "Jackson continued to run a poor second, even in working-class wards."

One value of this empirical approach to class and politics was a sharpening of the methodological acumen of scholars. That an aggregate property assessment might not be an accurate indicator of a working-class ward was suggested by Joseph G. Raybeck, who pointed out that highly

⁵⁸William L. Sullivan, "Did Labor Support Andrew Jackson?" Political Science Quarterly, LXII (December, 1947), 575; Edward Pessen, "Did Labor Support Jackson?: The Boston Story," Political Science Quarterly, LXIV (June, 1949), 266-267.

⁵⁹Sullivan, Ibid., 578. Just as in Dixon Ryan Fox's study some wards did not fit: in the early period, Chestnut, the richest ward, voted Democratic.

valued industrial properties could conceal a working-class ward.⁶¹ He also suggested that the decline of the Jackson vote in Philadelphia could be attributed to population shifts. This uninvestigated generalization corresponds to Carl N. Degler's critique of Fox's method for New York City. Degler showed that after 1850 it was insufficient for the study of several wards, the wealthy First, for example, having become a downtown complex of slums and great commercial houses.⁶² A more sophisticated criticism of Pessen's method indicated what knowledge the historian would require when he embarked on thorough-going empiricism. Robert T. Bower commented that it was "not too illuminating to discover that even relatively poor areas often voted over 50% Whig in a predominantly Whig city," and pointed out that the relative size of the vote from ward to ward must be examined. Using a correlation coefficient, Bower found an increase in Boston working-class support for the Democrats between 1829 and 1835.⁶³

Studies of states in the Jackson period offer a large

⁶¹Joseph G. Raybeck, Review of The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, by William L. Sullivan, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLIII (September, 1956), 312.

⁶²Carl N. Degler, "Labor in the Economy and Politics of New York City, 1850-1860" (PhD. thesis, Columbia University, 1952), 332.

⁶³Robert T. Bower, "Note on 'Did Labor Support Jackson? The Boston Story,'" Political Science Quarterly, LXV (September, 1950), 442-444.

variety of method and interpretation. Edwin A. Miles's Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi presented a traditional narrative of political issues, leaders and newspaper battles. Keeping abreast of the anti-class interpretation, Miles saw political ambition as the mainspring of political loyalty among the Jacksonian leaders. They would, to paraphrase Robert J. Walker, have voted for recharter of the bank had Jackson ordered it. Nevertheless, Miles stuck to the established view of Southern Whigs, who received their "most uniform support from the planting and commercial interests of the river counties."⁶⁴

A state study of the Whig Party which used a correlative method is Herbert J. Doherty's The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854. Reversing the dominant trend, Doherty took the old stand that there was a "definite correlation between property ownership and political affiliation," and he used several indices to prove his thesis. On the basis of the county method rejected by Fox he found that in general Whigs won in slave-holding counties. His explanation for poor, non-slaveholding but Whig counties seems inadequate: they bordered on Whig areas in Alabama.⁶⁵ Of greater interest

⁶⁴Edwin Arthur Miles, Jacksonian Democracy in Mississippi (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 86, 168.

⁶⁵Herbert J. Doherty, The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854 (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1959), 63-66.

is Doherty's use of a collective biography of political leaders to show connections between class and party. Although Doherty concluded that "the leadership of the Whig party was more predominantly drawn from the wealthy slaveholding, landowning, upper South 'gentry' than was the leadership of the Democratic party," his tabulations do not seem to support such predominance. He studied two groups, 196 legislators and nineteen top state officials in terms of party, age, occupation, place of birth, number of slaves and value of real estate. The larger group revealed fewer differences in economic indicators--slaveholding, value of real estate and occupation--than in place of origin, a factor which Doherty notes but fails to assess. The possibility of ethnocultural influence is strongly suggested.⁶⁶

	Whigs	Democrats
Slaveholding	Av. 18.8	14.2
Real Property	Av. \$3,493.29	\$3,462.50
Place of Birth		
Upper South	41%	19.9%
Lower South	37.3%	64.2%
North Carolina	28%	
Georgia		36%

Doherty's conclusion about the class division in leadership rests almost entirely on the group of nineteen state officials. The seven Whigs among them had a larger property-slave valuation than the twelve Democrats. To take this small group as proof and ignore the legislators would seem to be straining his evidence to fit his hypothesis.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 68-71.

Methodologically the most ambitious challenge to the old view of Whigs and Democrats is Lee Benson's The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York As a Test Case. Benson checked voting returns of counties and wards not only against wealth but also against ethnocultural and religious groupings. He concluded that his data did not support "significant differences" either in "the class nature of party leadership" or of mass support. It is the concept of Jacksonian Democracy, which has generally meant a socio-economic divisions between the parties, Benson insisted, which severely hampers historians who try to fit their investigations into this framework. He suggested a tentative substitute concept, the Age of Egalitarianism. This would have the advantage of expressing the central tendency of the period without associating it with a particular party.⁶⁷

Any impression created by this essay that recent historians have found the insights of their predecessors useless should be corrected by reference to the work of an early historian, Algie M. Simons. Writing at the time of Turner and Beard, Simons accepted the conceptualization of "that peculiar thing that has been called Jacksonian Democracy." He went on, however, to describe it in almost Hammondian

⁶⁷Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York As a Test Case (New York: Atheneum, 1964), 331-332, 336.

terms: "It was neither frontier, nor wageworking, nor even purely capitalist in its mental make-up. It can be better characterized as the democracy of expectant capitalists."⁶⁸

The above outline indicates that historians need more exact knowledge of those relationships by which men's actions change society. The discussion of the various empirical methods used by historians to test the relationship between political party and class exposes some major difficulties. Accurate measurement of the socio-economic character of mass voting behavior necessarily requires a study of large units such as counties and wards. The possibility of discovering far more information about upper class political behavior is available to us, however, through the method of collective biography. Because prominent citizens leave extensive biographical information it is possible to consider other factors besides wealth which might account for their political affiliations. This study, then, is based on the assumption that a careful investigation of certain characteristics of the Wayne County, Michigan, elite will produce some valid generalizations, especially if they are confirmed by similar studies, concerning the relationships of groups to politics in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁶⁸Algie M. Simons, Social Forces in American History (New York: MacMillan Co., 1914), 209-210.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

A systematic evaluation of empirical evidence concerning a local economic elite should deepen our understanding of the relationship between class and politics. Almost all the historians of the pre-Civil War period conceive of political parties based on some combination of economic-sectional interest groups. There is little recognition, however, that such a conception assumes that self-interest is the only determinant of political behavior.¹ We have shown that many historians found evidence to contradict such a simplistic view. In the writings of Sumner, Turner Carroll, Fish, Schlesinger and Binkley, leadership, ethnic background, religion, temperament, family tradition and ideology are variously introduced as factors in forming

¹Benson, Turner and Beard, 152-153. In commenting on Beard's method in The Economic Basis of the Constitution of the United States, Benson pinpoints the pitfalls of working with unexamined assumptions: "Unless Beard had first demonstrated that perceived self-interest is the only determinant of political behavior, his design of proof was logically untenable. Apart from other considerations it was logically untenable because it assumed what Beard proposed to demonstrate."

political loyalties. However, except in the case of Lee Benson's study of voting behavior in New York, there has been no attempt to investigate the relationship of these characteristics to political behavior in the methodical way in which Beard and Fox and their followers investigated the connection between wealth and party. Critics of Schlesinger used the methods of Fox to try to disprove the class nature of Democratic party support, but they made no attempt to suggest an alternative theory of political behavior. In fact, Dorfman's idea that "workingmen" voted Whig because they were incipient entrepreneurs and Hammond's emphasis on the acquisitiveness of Democratic politicians also assume that economic interest is the basic motivation for political behavior.

This study is based on the assumption that no historical explanation can have validity without reference to an empirically supportable hypothesis.² In the study of men shaping events by acting through political parties, one of the basic hypotheses requiring verification in order to establish the nature of party conflict is a theory of political behavior. The historians discussed above have all had to operate on some sort of hypothesis but have refrained from a careful examination of it either because it seems too

²Carl Hempel, "The Function of General Laws in History," Herbert Feigl and Wilfrid Sellars, Readings in Philosophical Analysis (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949), 461.

obvious to mention or because it is "very difficult to formulate the underlying assumptions explicitly with sufficient precision and at the same time in such a way that they are in agreement with all the relevant empirical evidence available."³

It is the aim of this study to seek data concerning a carefully selected group, an economic elite. With the knowledge gained from an analysis of this data a hypothesis might be formulated which makes wealth, economic function, ethnic origin or religion a major factor in determining political behavior. However, since there are more possible variables than can be empirically studied, our results will give us a correlation of characteristics in connection with political behavior rather than the establishment of a cause.⁴ Nevertheless, we shall have a more solid understanding of the complexities of political behavior than those historians who operate with unexamined assumptions or hypotheses only partly showing.

Collective biography, an approach used by several historians, will be employed in this study in a modified form. Here again Beard was an innovator, his study of the Constitution being generally considered the first

³Ibid., 464.

⁴Benson, Turner and Beard, 159,195; Edward N. Saveth, "The American Patrician Class: A Field for Research," American Quarterly, XV (Summer, 1963), 250.

application of the method.⁵ Although there is great variety within the genre, the essence of collective biography is the posing of certain questions with reference to individuals according to characteristics which might have a bearing on political behavior. These attributes can then be correlated with political action in order to establish relationships.⁶ Although the technique was used by Beard and some of his critics as well as by historians studying business leaders, labor leaders and patricians, the method became associated with the English historian, Lewis B. Namier, and his followers.⁷

Namier's method has been considered an innovation because of his use of quantitative technique, but his great work, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III, has little affinity with sociology.⁸ It is essentially the quest for knowledge of individuals through intensive use of manuscripts. It is regarded as new because Namier's subject is the House of Commons, not a reign. He analyses why and how men go into parliament. Divisions are studied

⁵J. E. Neale, "The Biographical Approach to History," History, XXXVI (October, 1951), 194.

⁶Saveth, American Quarterly, XV, 250.

⁷Jacob M. Price, "Party, Purpose, and Pattern: Sir Lewis Namier and His Critics," Journal of British Studies (November, 1961), 77.

⁸Ibid., 75. The "Namier school is at its most characteristic and its most nearly unique in its use of quantitative technique."

in connection with issues like the repeal of the Stamp Act to reveal the nature of opposing sides rather than to advance the story. He carried his search to certain counties during elections in order to illustrate his basic theme that party was held together almost entirely by the desire for place.⁹ The relationship between class and politics was hardly a problem for Namier since most of the Commons was composed of the gentry; his refinement was to identify a "country gentlemen" type whose distinguishing characteristic is an independent character and station in life combined with an indifference to office which made men of such a stamp "practically a standing opposition."¹⁰ In his examination of how members voted on the repeal of the Stamp Act Namier found that the strongest opposition was among the county representatives. He attributed the tendency to the "authoritarian attitude of independent country gentlemen." On the other hand, the marked majority in favor of the Repeal among representatives of the larger urban constituencies Namier attributes to "pressure from the trading interests," suggesting an economic interest from which his "authoritarian" landed gentry was exempt.¹¹ Both

⁹L. B. Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1929), II, 291-369.

¹⁰Ibid., I, 7-9.

¹¹Ibid., II, 187-188.

authoritarian attitudes and trading interests would seem to indicate a wider concept of behavior than Namier sets forth in his own hypothesis:

At all times a system of spoils and benefits necessarily obtains in governing representative bodies where sharp contrasts of ideas and interests or strong party organizations do not pre-determine the vote of the individual member, and do not reduce him to a mere pawn in the Parliamentary game.¹²

Another collective study of Parliament during a period when a strong contrast of ideas was unmistakable presents no hypothesis at all concerning why parties contend. D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington in Members of the Long Parliament discovered that within the narrow limits of class differences in the Commons--greater and lesser gentry, merchants and lawyers--no division could be discovered between Royalist and Parliament and later between Independent and Presbyterian.¹³ Strangely, although Brunton and Pennington pursue quantification further than Namier did in checking social class, education, and age for all members of Parliament, they remain closer to the attitude commonly associated with historians in their skepticism concerning the possibility of a theory of political behavior:

¹²Ibid., I, 22.

¹³D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1954), 19-20, 177.

Study of motive must always be necessary and always unsuccessful, and it is in his struggle with this problem that the historian is tested. Crude theorizing and attempts to assign men to general categories, or endeavors to estimate political, religious and economic influences in their exact quantitative effect are, as we have already remarked, clearly absurd: how much more foolish then to practice on a large scale what is invalid in dealing with the individual. The study of motive is a delicate matter, and requires a sense of values; this sense the historian must not sacrifice, nor must he evade judgments of value by substituting judgments of quantity.¹⁴

It would seem that one value worth considering in connection with the Long Parliament would have been religion. Brunton and Pennington completely dismiss it, merely remarking that J. H. Hexter had already shown that "in all probability most of the Independents were also Presbyterians in the sense that they accepted the Presbyterian church and in many cases became its elders."¹⁵

Critics of the Namier school feel that the method relies too heavily on structural analysis and gives insufficient weight to "ideas" as a basis for action. Herbert Butterfield goes so far as to say that historians using the technique of structural analysis must believe in the "irrationality" of political behavior.¹⁶ Since Namier's politicians seek

¹⁴Ibid., 19.

¹⁵Ibid., 43; J. H. Hexter, "The Problem of the Presbyterian Independents," The American Historical Review, XLIV (October, 1939), 29-49.

¹⁶Herbert Butterfield, George III and the Historians (London: Collins, 1957), 211-213.

preferment through place, they appear to be perfect specimens of rationality in the commonly accepted nineteenth century sense. Butterfield apparently refers to their being unmotivated by causes or ideas. In his general outlook, however, Sir Lewis was frankly an "irrationalist," a follower of Freudian psychology.

If people tend to vote a certain way because of their identification with a party by virtue of group attributes, class, religion or ethnocultural origin, the idea of rational choice in a particular election over a particular issue does, of course, give way to what could be called the irrational basis of behavior. In their very important study of why people voted in the presidential campaign of 1948, Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee not only found that religion, ethnic origin, family and personal relationships supplemented class as a basis for voting, but also discovered a large degree of irrationality in choice. This occurred in a phenomenon they described as "perceptual distortion." They found that voters actually deceived themselves about external reality in order to preserve a picture of their chosen party which would conform to their interest or belief. For example, a worker who wanted to vote Republican tended to ignore the fact that the Taft-Hartley Act was supported by the Republicans, and prejudiced voters were likely to assign Negroes and Catholics to the other

party.¹⁷

Aside from charges of irrationality and conservatism, another major criticism directed at Sir Lewis concerned his conception of "the House of Commons as the essence, the epitome, the microcosm of the politican nation."¹⁸ A similar argument has been raised against Beard's collective biography of the Constitutional Convention. Beard divides the convention into economic groupings (merchants, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, farmers and capitalists) and tabulates the votes for and against the Constitution according to these categories. Since farmers were the only group with a majority opposed, Beard concludes that the Constitution was supported by personalty rather than realty interests. Lee Benson points out that Beard erroneously assumed that the convention was a microcosm. In actuality, since the delegates were elected on a geographical rather than an economic basis, the breakdown of the convention into farmers, merchants and so on only showed that the non-agrarian delegates exceeded their proportion in the population.

¹⁷Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William F. McPhee, Voting. A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 66, 75, 73. Unlike Butterfield, these authors consider "irrationality" a boon because it makes for stability. "From one point of view, this (perceptual distortion) makes for a lack of flexibility in the system; but, from another, it conserves political integrity and makes progress . . . appropriately gradual." 86.

¹⁸Price, Journal of British Studies (November, 1961), 79.

It is therefore clear that while a collective biography of a legislature offers one of the few ways of getting at divisions of opinion on important issues, it cannot be assumed that the members of any public body form a representative sample of the population.¹⁹ To discover how groups in the population voted representative groups must be studied. The problem is that, lacking opinion polls, it is almost impossible to determine group opinion on specific issues except in cases like the vote on the Constitution. The value of a collective biography of an economic elite is that it will show the political affiliations of merchants, capitalists, landowners and so on more accurately than will the study of a legislature. However, in achieving greater accuracy on group affiliations, the primary value of studying a public body is sacrificed. We are no longer finding a division on an issue but are merely determining political affiliation. An exact determination of group opinion on specific issues is beyond the scope of this study. Greater accuracy on group support of issues will eventually be obtained by supplementing the analysis of legislation and public opinion with elite studies. An investigation of state banking legislation would, for example, be strengthened by the discovery that the bankers of the economic elite

¹⁹Benson, Turner and Beard, 164-166. The House of Commons might be more justifiably considered a microcosm of the political nation because of the severely limited franchise.

of the same state were Democrats.

The use of an economic elite rather than a political assembly as the basis for collective biography raises other problems. One of the major deficiencies in the historians' view of parties as units reflecting economic groups was a failure to work out a concept of class itself. In general, historians who de-emphasize the class divisions in society tend to conceive of many categories of interest groups.²⁰ On the other hand, we have such ill-defined concepts as Beard's capitalists who displaced the Southern agrarians, Schlesinger's business community, Fox's merchants and so on.

Sociologists who have applied themselves far more rigorously than historians to defining class, have delineated some of the aspects of class which historians can use to advantage. Max Weber's concept of status based on honor, consumption or styles of life, a modification of the Marxian concept of class as a functional relationship to the means of production, greatly influenced the hypothetical tools of sociologists. Although Weber believed that "every technological repercussion and economic transformation threatens stratification by status and pushes the class situation into the foreground," American sociologists tend to use status

²⁰Saveth, American Quarterly, XV, 249.

as a tool for devising systems of stratification.²¹ Status, however, implies more than style of life or wealth. It includes also occupation and ranking by other members of the community.²²

Outstanding among these sociological studies was W. Lloyd Warner's model of a six-class typical American community. Warner's method for arriving at this system involved a complicated point system based on two methods of approach. One was to measure socio-economic levels by occupation, source of income, house type and dwelling area. The other was to rank individuals according to other people's rating of associations and institutional participation.²³ Criticism of Warner points up the problem of making class an empirically based concept. According to C. Wright Mills, Warner reduces the usefulness of class as a concept by making it absorb too many variables--economic, status and distribution of power" so that "you cannot ask questions

²¹Max Weber, Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1947), 194.

²²Bernard Barber, Social Stratification, A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1957), 51. Barber seems to be taking a position opposed to Weber when he says that "the significance of wealth as a criterion of evaluation in modern industrial society seems to be decreasing."

²³W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949), 35-43; W. Lloyd Warner, J. O. Low, Paul S. Lunt, Leo Srole, Yankee City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 43.

with it concerning the relations of the analytically isolable items which it miscellaneously harbors."²⁴

If the merging of class and status reduces the usefulness of the concepts, the addition of the idea of power creates problems of the first magnitude. Power has been primarily the concern of political scientists who have been highly critical of what they regard as the sociologists' unproved assumptions that it resides in top economic groups in both local and national spheres. They tend to regard power as inhering in decisions made by public bodies. The notion that economic elites wield power behind the scenes, "the shadow behind the substance," in Beard's phrase, they reject as empirically undemonstrated.²⁵ Two recent studies which assume economically based national and local elites, C. Wright Mills' The Power Elite and Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure, fail to meet the political scientists' requirements for an elite: they do not show "that political choices preferred by the elite are, in fact,

²⁴Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953), 244.

²⁵Studies holding that power is exercised more or less covertly in American communities: Robert and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1949); W. L. Warner et al, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949); August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949); C. Wright Mills, "The Middle Classes in Middle-Sized Cities," American Sociological Review, XIII (December, 1946), 520-529.

carried out in nearly all cases."²⁶ Therefore the political scientists shift their focus from a study of economic elites to a study of who supports key decisions. Thus they claim they are able to test empirically the transferability of elites from one set of decisions to another.²⁷ Of course, as they themselves admit, the value of their work stands or falls on the researcher's definition of key decisions.²⁸ And, as one critic pointed out, "The extent to which power is concentrated or diffused has been shown to be much influenced by the researcher's procedure."²⁹

The question of power has been raised to clarify the intentions of this study whose aim is to analyse an economic elite not with any assumption that it does in fact wield power on any or all key decisions affecting the community, but merely to find out how it is connected with political parties and to what degree it participates in the political

²⁶Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," American Political Science Review, LII (June, 1958), 463-469. Dahl says the hypothesis of a ruling elite can be strictly tested only if (1) the hypothetical ruling elite is a well-defined group (2) there is a fair sample of cases involving key political decisions in which the preferences of the hypothetical elite run counter to those of any other likely group that might be suggested (3) in such cases the preferences of the elite regularly prevail.

²⁷Nelson W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," Social Forces, XXXVII (March, 1959), 232-236.

²⁸Dahl, American Political Science Review, LII, 463-469.

²⁹Saveth, American Quarterly, XV, 249.

sphere. Our major question is not who governs, but whether economic elites identify with one party. Of course, if it should be shown that an economic elite overwhelmingly adhered to a political party which stayed in power, we should have a strong case for a ruling elite. The term elite as used in this study, however, merely means holders of economic power, according to criteria established in Chapter III, and does not contain the political power implication usually associated with the term.³⁰

The term elite has not been limited here to the precise formulations of the political scientists. American businessmen and millionaires have been studied as elites by both historians and sociologists. A review of the considerable literature on American elites makes it clear that few studies actually penetrate "the uncharted frontier-region where political and economic interests meet."³¹ Primarily interested in the self-made man myth or the Robber Baron image, historians who have studied businessmen and millionaires in

³⁰There would seem to be some confusion even among political scientists. For instance, a statement which suggests that elite and ruling class are different entities: "Among the personal and social characteristics of an elite which are worthy of separate examination must be included the means by which the active members of a ruling class reach the very top positions, or, contrariwise, fail." If they fail, on what basis are they assigned to the ruling class? Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner, C. Easton Rothwell, "The Elite Concept," in S. Sidney Ulmer, (ed.), Introductory Readings in Political Behavior (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1961), 428-429.

³¹R. H. Tawney in introduction to Brunton and Pennington, xiv.

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have, for the most part, considered their subjects almost exclusively in the economic sphere.³² Their questions concerning origins included occupation of the father, religion, ethnic origin, education and age they entered the business arena.³³ C. Wright Mills' study, which concentrated on seven generations of businessmen culled from the Dictionary of American Biography, was the only one to raise a political question. Mills was interested in the degree to which his businessmen were political office-holders, but did not address himself to the question of political affiliation. Mills found that although 45.7% of the businessmen he selected held office there was a sharp drop after 1780.³⁴ In a study of New Haven politics from 1784 to the present Robert A. Dahl found that

³²Chester M. Destler, "Entrepreneurial Leadership Among the 'Robber Barons: A Trial Balance," Journal of Economic History, Supplement VI, The Tasks of Economic History (1946), 32. Destler makes a generalization about power in line with many of the historians discussed in Chapter I: "Politically the United States was governed until 1860 by a coalition of merchants, bankers, Southern planters, and farmers, with a modicum of railroad promoters and their spokesmen."

³³Frances W. Gregory and Irene D. Neu, "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's;" William Miller, "The Business Elite in Business Bureaucracies," in William Miller (ed.), Men in Business (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 197-204, 288-289; Pitirim Sorokin, "American Millionaires and Multimillionaires," Journal of Social Forces, III (May, 1925), 627-640; F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, American Business Leaders: A Study in Social Origins and Social Stratification (New York: MacMillan Co., 1932), 10-22.

³⁴C. Wright Mills, "The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait," Journal of Economic History, Supplement V, The Tasks of Economic History (1945), 36.

during the period 1784-1842 public office was almost the exclusive prerogative of what he called patrician families. Federalists and Whigs monopolized the government, although of fourteen mayors for the period, six were Democrats (three of these Democrat-Republican).³⁵

Because Dahl's study explores more fully than any other the "uncharted frontier" of political and economic coincidence, its methods bear further examination. His main thesis concerning New Haven political life is that there was a shift from oligarchy to pluralism after 1842. Allowing for the theoretical possibility that "real" decision makers differed from the official decision makers, Dahl nevertheless assumes that by examining political officials he is describing the character of the elite.³⁶ Thus the existence of an oligarchical control during the "patrician period" is proved by the fact that public office was monopolized by holders of wealth, social position, education and Congregational Church membership.³⁷ What Dahl fails to explain is the elite division on party affiliation. Content to describe a Jeffersonian or Jacksonian supporter as "the occasional maverick who 'betrayed his class,'" he nevertheless accounts for only two of the six deviating mayors during the

³⁵Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 12.

³⁶Ibid., 11.

³⁷Ibid., 15.

patrician period.³⁸ Beyond listing the mayors Dahl does not identify his patricians. A table of the distribution of occupations in New Haven in 1811 is given to indicate class divisions but there is no attempt to tie this in any way to political groupings. He supports a generalization that religious dissent probably accounted for the occasional challenge to the patrician class by the fact that as early as 1787 only about 26% of the population was actually enrolled in the Congregational churches.³⁹

In order to make generalizations concerning any kind of elite, the group must be defined, selected and studied as systematically as possible. Dahl's study of New Haven mayors' class origins was revealing, but the lack of unanimity in their political affiliation seems to suggest that the concept of oligarchical control requires a fuller study of the nature of party support. The initial problem is to determine a sound basis for selection of the elite group. Most of the studies referred to above, concerned with national economic leaders after the development of corporate enterprise, selected their individuals among

³⁸Ibid., 18-19. One mayor was Ralph Ingersoll whose Jacksonian persuasion is explained on the basis of his family's Episcopalian opposition to the Congregational Standing Order of Connecticut. Another Democratic-Republican mayor, appointed customs collector by Jefferson, was not of the elect.

³⁹Ibid., 17-18.

officials in large corporations.⁴⁰ The only investigation based on wealth, Sorokin's study of millionaires, has been criticized because most of his generalizations concerning his 668 wealthy men are made without any breakdown according to generation.⁴¹

Wealth as a criterion for selection seems to present the most accurate approach to holders of economic power, especially in the period prior to the bureaucratization of industry. It has been argued that wealth offers a far sounder criterion for the study of a national economic elite than either selected corporation officials or the Dictionary of American Biography. As Mills himself admits, the businessmen in the D. A. B. were "probably selected because of their political importance rather than primarily because of their success in business."⁴² With wealth as indicator a composite picture of far greater accuracy could be obtained. As for local elites, Sidney Ratner points out that lists of millionaires appearing since Moses Yale Beach wrote Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of New York in 1842 "provide the chance to do a volume on who controlled a given

⁴⁰Gregory and Neu, 195-196; Miller, Men in Business, 287; Taussig and Joslyn, 6-7.

⁴¹Sidney Ratner (ed.), New Light on the History of Great American Fortunes (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1953), xiv.

⁴²Mills, Journal of Economic History, Supplement V, 20.

locality economically or otherwise, and why."⁴³

Accordingly, wealth has been the chief criterion for the selection of the elite of Wayne County, Michigan, in 1844 and 1860, with a few modifications discussed in Chapters III and IV. Furthermore the complexities involved in a definition of class as discussed above has made it seem advisable to keep the definition of elite simple. It is limited to the holders of economic power and carries no further implication. There is no attempt to rank by status.

Having selected a local elite on the basis of wealth, political affiliations will be ascertained in order to discover, for example, whether rich merchants were in fact Democrats or Whigs. A division of the elite into political categories will further enable us to test as variables the factors which both historians and social scientists have suggested are possible influences on voting behavior-- economic role, ethnic origin, religion and family influences. In the development of quantitative techniques it has been shown that the introduction of additional factors--which Beard and Fox failed to do--may have any or several of these effects:

⁴³Ratner's book contains what he considers the two most important sources for holders of wealth, "American Millionaires," Tribune Monthly (June, 1892), xiii-xxii, and "American Millionaires," World Almanac, I (1902), 95.

- (1) An additional factor may explain the results of a simple cross-tabulations of two relationships. We might find that a tendency for Democrats to be landowners was explained by adding another factor, length of residence in Wayne County.
- (2) It may reveal an independent effect of a third factor.⁴⁴ Where ethnocultural origin may not appear to be a significant difference between Whigs and Democrats, by adding religion as a test to the same group we may discover that Yankees divide politically according to religion.

The general procedure for submitting our data to multi-variate analysis will be the testing of several factors in simple cross-tabulations with political affiliation. The significant subgroups, Democratic landowners, for example, will then be tested against other variables. The problem is, of course, that once a group becomes too small the results cease to be meaningful. The rule we shall follow will be:

If a result is analysed successively by various breakdowns and it is known or suspected that some of these breakdowns are interrelated, then it is advisable to tabulate these interrelated breakdowns, not successively but simultaneously.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Hans Zeisel, Say It With Figures (New York: Harper and Bros., 1947), 209.

⁴⁵Ibid., 203.

Beyond quantification we have also used the traditional historian's sources, manuscripts and newspapers, in order to discover further insights into characteristics of Whigs and Democrats. In Chapter X the value of these findings is discussed and in Chapter XI we include many of the insights in our discussion of Ideal Types. Although we could agree with Brunton and Pennington that "endeavors to estimate political, religious and economic influences in their exact quantitative effect are . . . clearly absurd" we are of the opinion that multivariate analysis will bring us closer to understanding why men acted as they did. Nevertheless, should we find that certain groups apparently chose a political party because of religion we would still be a long way from understanding the full meaning of this relationship.

Since the historian's basic task is the investigation of change over a period of time, this study as outlined would seem to lie outside the generally understood province of the discipline. However, because we have studied two sets of elites, one chosen for the year 1844, the other for 1860, we have been able to investigate several important changes. In the economic sphere, the changing qualifications for elite membership tell us a good deal about economic development up to the Civil War. Also the extent to which personnel did or did not remain the same gives clues to

mobility. In the political sphere, the most important questions concerned the continuity of party loyalties and the characteristics of those who switched parties. As will be shown, the investigation of the small group of changers yielded some of the most interesting insights on political behavior.

It must be stressed that before any of the generalizations made here can be considered definitive concerning the relationships between class and voting, this study must be matched against a similar study being undertaken of the voting behavior of the general population of Wayne County, Michigan, at the same time.⁴⁶ If, for example, there is a tendency for both French members of the elite and French voters in the population at large to vote Democratic, the ethnic factor would outweigh class. If, however, there is a less marked Democratic preponderance among the elite, class could not be entirely ruled out as an influence on voting.

⁴⁶By Ronald Formisano of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC ELITE OF 1844

Ninety-seven individuals made up the economic elite of Wayne County, Michigan, in 1844. These men were selected primarily on the basis of their known wealth with important economic roles as a secondary consideration. Tax assessment rolls for real and personal property for the city of Detroit and Wayne County provided the comprehensive measurement by which the men were ranked.¹ Wealth figures were based on the assessment formula then in operation, which was to rate property at 30% of actual cash value.² Therefore, Lewis Cass, whose real and personal property was assessed at \$73,383, appears on Table 1, as being worth \$244,365.

¹"Detroit Real and Personal Property Tax Assessment Roll, 1844," Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library (hereinafter referred to as BHC); "Wayne County Real and Personal Property Tax Assessment Roll, 1844," BHC. "Springwells Real and Personal Tax, Assessment Roll, 1845," in William Woodbridge Papers, BHC. The existence of *more* than one record provided a good check. The Detroit records were more complete and are therefore the main source. A few individuals qualified on the basis of land owned in the townships outside the city.

²Michigan Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Projects Administration, Inventory of the Municipal Archives of Michigan, City of Detroit, No. 10, City Treasurer (Detroit: The Survey, 1940), 18.

TABLE 1

THE ECONOMIC ELITE OF 1844--BASES FOR
SELECTION AND ECONOMIC ROLE

Listed According to	Wealth	To Detroit	Other Indicator	Economic Role
Lewis Cass	\$244,365	1813		Landowner
Oliver Newberry	179,553	1820		Shipping
DeGarmo Jones	116,150	1818	Director, St. Joseph Railroad	Non-specialized Entrepreneur
Shubael Conant	110,882	Born		Merchant
John R. Williams	117,459	Born		Landowner
James Abbott	116,523	Born	Treas. Copper Co.	Fur (source)
John Biddle	116,207	1820's		Fur
Joseph Campau	111,791	Born	Board of Trade	Fur
Barnabas Campau	103,672	Born		Fur
Peter J. Desnoyers	92,241	Before 1820		Merchant
Josiah R. Dorr	79,144	1825	Director, Bank of St. Clair, Detroit Iron Company	Non-specialized Entrepreneur
Edmund A. Brush	77,704	1802		Landowner
Antoine Beaubien	75,124	Born		Landowner
William Brewster	71,878	1815	Pres., Board of Trade	Fur
Franklin Moore	58,308	1833	Board of Trade Director	Merchant
Zachariah Chandler	58,275	1833	Director, Mich- igan State Bank	Merchant
Charles Moran	56,809	Born		Landowner
John Drew	51,521		Trustee, Copper Company	Merchant

Note:

These eighteen men having property over \$50,000 are classified as "High."

TABLE 1--Continued

Listed According to	Wealth	To Detroit	Other Indicator	Economic Role
Jonathan Kearsley	\$48,151	1819		Landowner
John Hurlburt	47,892			Fur
Robert Stuart	46,959	Before 1820		Fur
Thomas C. Sheldon	46,786	1817		Landowner
Jonathan L. King	43,872	1829	Thirty-six hands; \$50,000 per yr.	Merchant-Manufacturer
Dominique Riopelle	39,160	Born		Landowner
John McDonnell	37,395	1812		Landowner
David Cooper	35,407	1799		Merchant
Darius Lamson	34,132	1830's	Board of Trade	Merchant
John Owen	34,054		Trustee, Copper Company	Merchant
John Palmer	33,699	1818		Merchant
Solomon Sibley	33,093	Before 1810		Manufacturer (Quarry)
Thomas Rowland	32,733	1812		Landowner
Pierre Teller	29,304	Before 1830		Merchant
Chas. C. Trowbridge	27,579	1819	Pres., Michigan State Bank	Banker
Alex. C. McGraw	26,640	1809	Twenty hands employed	Merchant-Manufacturer
Theodore Romeyn	25,363	1835		Lawyer
Levi Cook	25,557	1815	Pres., Farmers & Mechanics Bank Bank of St. Clair	Merchant
Louis Davenport	25,041	1830's		Shipping
Francis Eldred	39,294	1816	Tannery, \$60,000 per annum	Merchant-Manufacturer

Note:

These twenty men, representing approximate wealth of between \$25,000 and \$50,000, are classified as "Medium."

TABLE 1--Continued

Listed According to	Wealth	To Detroit	Other Indicator	Economic Role
William Woodbridge	\$24,718	1812		Lawyer
Douglass Houghton	24,598	1830	President, Mich. Insurance Bank	Banker
David Thompson	23,829			Landowner
Shadrach Gillet	23,676	1815	Director, Bank St. Clair	Non-specialized Entrepreneur
John Watson	23,476		Board of Trade	Merchant
Moses L. Dickinson	23,176	1831		Merchant- Manufacturer
Eustache Chapaton	23,026	Born		Builder
Charles Desnoyers	22,693	Born		Merchant
Henry N. Walker	22,680	1834	Board of Trade	Banker-Lawyer
Eurotas P. Hastings	21,934	1825		Merchant
Frederick Wetmore	21,811	1841		Merchant
Richard H. Hall	21,645	1836		Merchant
Alanson Sheley	21,534	1831	Manager, Black River Saw Mill	Builder
W. N. Carpenter	21,328	1826	Board of Trade	Merchant (Retired)
Charles Brush	21,078	Born		Landowner
George F. Porter	20,855	1829		Banker-Lawyer
Harmon DeGraff	20,313	1837		Merchant- Manufacturer
Buckminster Wight	20,273	1832		Manufacturer (Sawmill)
Thomas Coquillard	19,906	Born		Mason
Elon Farnsworth	19,330	1822		Lawyer
Alexander Newbould	19,064		President, Copper Company	Merchant

Note:

The next fifty-nine men listed with wealth under \$25,000 or included on the basis of Other Indicator are classified as "Low."

TABLE 1--Continued

Listed According to	Wealth	To Detroit	Other Indicator	Economic Role
Lewis Goddard	\$18,697			Banker
James F. Joy	18,564	1836	Director, Mich. State Bank	Lawyer
James A. VanDyke	18,691	1834	Trustee, Copper Companies	Lawyer
John Scott	17,649	1829		Builder
Peter Desnoyers	17,629	Born		Merchant
William Chittenden	17,149	1835	Superintendent, Central Railroad	Officer
J. Nicholson Elbert	16,899	1840		Non-specialized Entrepreneur
John Roberts	16,816	1820	Director, Mich. Insurance Bank	Merchant- Manufacturer
Alpheus S. Williams	16,533	1836	Board of Trade; Owner, <u>Daily Advertiser</u> ; Pres. Copper Company	Non-specialized Entrepreneur
Francis Cicotte	16,317	Born		Landowner
Alexander D. Fraser	16,137	1823		Lawyer
John G. Atterbury	15,984	1830's		Lawyer
Alvah Ewers	14,418	1829		Merchant
Samuel Pitts	14,069	1831	Saw Mill, 3,000,000 Feet of Lumber	Manufacturer
Theodore Williams	13,852	Born		Merchant
Henry P. Baldwin	12,820	1838	Employs twenty hands	Manufacturer
Chauncey Hurlbut	12,654	1825	Director, Board of Trade	Merchant
Benj. B. Kercheval	12,097	1821	Board of Trade	Merchant
Orville Dibble	11,655	1830's		Hotel Proprietor
Alfred A. Dwight	11,655	1833	Co-partner, Eagle Steam Saw Mill	Non-specialized Entrepreneur

TABLE 1--Continued

	Wealth	To Detroit	Other Indicator	Economic Role
George C. Bates	\$10,000	1834	Director, Three Copper Companies Director, Bank of St. Clair	Lawyer
Robert Banks			Employs 25 hands	Merchant- Manufacturer
William Barclay			Employs 45 hands, \$70,000 per annum	Manufacturer (Iron Foundry)
Christian H. Buhl		1833	Boart of Trade; Director, Mich. State Bank; 25 hands	Merchant- Manufacturer (Hats and Caps)
Frederick Buhl		1833	Board of Trade; Director, Mich. State Bank; 25 hands (jointly with above)	Merchant- Manufacturer (Hats and Caps)
Charles Howard		1840	Board of Trade; Pres., Farmers & Mechanics Bank, 1846; Trustee Copper Company	Non-specialized Entrepreneur
Oliver Moulton Hyde		1832	Employs 56 hands	Manufacturer (Foundry and Machine Shop)
Silas N. Kendrick		1837	Employs 64 hands; \$80,000 per annum	Manufacturer (Foundry and Machine Shop)
George B. Russel		1836	Ferry business; Iron Foundry; Builder	Non-specialized Entrepreneur
William F. Smith		1841	Eagle Steam Saw Mill (A.A.Dwight) 36 hands	Manufacturer (Saw Mill)
George B. Throop		1832	Pres., Farmers & Mechanics Bank	Banker-Lawyer

TABLE 1--Continued

	Wealth	Detroit	Other Indicator	Economic Role
Wesley Truesdail		1836	Cashier, Bank of St. Clair; Saw Mill, Oakland Co. Bank, Steam Barge, Trustee, Copper Company	Non-specialized Entrepreneur
John A. Welles			Cashier, Farmers and Mechanics Bank	Banker
Gurdon Williams			Pres. Pontiac & Detroit Railroad Board of Trade; Officer, Copper Company	Officer
Charles Jackson	\$15,700	1816		Builder
Horace Hallock		1831	Employs 60 hands; \$50,000 per annum (with F. Raymond)	Merchant- Manufacturer
Francis Raymond		1832	Employs 60 hands; \$50,000 per annum (with H. Hallock)	Merchant- Manufacturer
William Gooding			Employs 120 hands	Manufacturer (Steamboats)

Property in Wayne County was, of course, not as precise a measurement of wealth as an income tax would have been. It left out extensive ventures into land in other Michigan counties and other states.³ Personal wealth did not reveal itself entirely on the tax rolls where personal property was usually itemized as horses, carriages and furniture. The Farmers and Mechanics Bank was assessed for \$20,000 worth of stock, but nowhere does individual ownership of bank stock show up. Nor is there any evidence of the investments of twenty-three men known to be involved in burgeoning copper companies.⁴ Robert Stuart, a former American Fur Company official, who negotiated a treaty of sale of copper lands with the Indians, owned 125 shares "given gratis."⁵ Charles Moran, a leading landowner, held fifty shares in the Eagle Harbor Mining Company, along with Charles Howard, John Hurlburt, Shadrach Gillet and Fred Wetmore.⁶

³Abbott Papers, BHC; E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC; C. C. Trowbridge Papers, BHC, "Land Book of Alfred Dwight," A. A. Dwight Papers, BHC; Robert Stuart Papers, BHC.

⁴Jacob Houghton, Jr. and T. W. Bristol, Reports of Wm. A. Burt and Bela Hubbard, Esqs. on the Geography, Topography and Geology of the U. S. Survey of the Mineral Region of the South Shore of Lake Superior for 1845 (Detroit: C. Wilcox, 1846), 92-102. Officers of working companies: DeGarmo Jones, Gurdon Williams, Charles Howard, John Owen, George C. Bates, Wesley Truesdail, A. H. Newbould, Pierre Teller, James A. Van Dyke. Officers of organized companies: O. M. Hyde, A. S. Williams, James Abbott, James Van Dyke, Peter Desnoyers, F. Cicotte, John Drew, Theodore Williams, George C. Bates.

⁵Robert Stuart Papers, May 1, 1846, HBC.

⁶Charles Moran Papers, BHC; "Statement of Assets-Eagle Harbor Mining Company Stock, Nov. 1845," E. P. Hastings Papers.

The predominance of realty in the tax rolls, while undoubtedly reflecting the major source of wealth, obscures the relative liquidity of individuals. Elon Farnsworth's plea for ten dollars from Solomon Sibley (valued at \$19,330 and \$33,093, respectively) suggests an occasional dire lack of cash as late as five years after the crash of 1837:

I am obliged to raise some money today and take the liberty to ask you for the ten dollars for which I gave you a receipt and was credited to your account in the Henry estate. I would not trouble you, but I suppose this fund is lying in the bank and I find it impossible to collect any old debts.⁷

Indebtedness undoubtedly plagued many of these men, but there is insufficient evidence to take it into consideration. The affairs of C. C. Trowbridge reveal the long struggles of a debtor struggling to pay off the obligations incurred when the banks went under after 1837.⁸ Trowbridge complained to T. W. Olcott, President of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Albany, as if he were beyond recovery:

. . . the failure of the bank brought down upon my head the consequence of acts with which I had no more connection than the Grand Turk himself. I lost by this and another bank \$25,000 which added to my other losses left me almost hopelessly in debt.⁹

⁷Pencilled note, Elon Farnsworth to Solomon Sibley, Nov. 12, 1842, Solomon Sibley Papers, BHC.

⁸C. M. and M. Agnes Burton (eds.), History of Wayne County and the City of Detroit (Detroit: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1930), II, 1222, 1224, 1220.

⁹C. C. Trowbridge to T. W. Olcott, Detroit, Dec. 3, 1843, C. C. Trowbridge Papers.

Trowbridge was probably sounding poor to Olcott, his creditor because in 1845 he was buying property worth over \$1,000 in Allegan County, and in 1846 his friend Robert Stuart congratulated him on his expanding opportunities: "I am truly gratified at the good state of your affairs. Will you make anything out of the railroad?"¹⁰ Trowbridge's testimonial that E. P. Hastings "has no property that the Assignees know of" would seem to disqualify Hastings, but he has been included because he paid taxes in 1844 on a total of 947 acres in eight Michigan counties.¹¹

Other evidence of economic standing to complement known wealth was sought for two reasons: first, to sustain the selection of men at the lower ranks, worth less than \$15,000, and second, to include people in key positions who simply did not turn up on the tax rolls. Thus, nine individuals worth between \$10,000 and \$15,000 holding key positions were added to those seventy-two over \$15,000 who were clearly of the top elite on the basis of wealth alone.¹² The positions were members of the Board of Trade, officers in banks

¹⁰Dee, Samuel Hubbard of Boston to C. C. Trowbridge, Nov. 11, 1845; Robert Stuart to C. C. Trowbridge, Jan 2, 1846, C. C. Trowbridge Papers.

¹¹Account Book, Jan. 1, 1844, "Statement of Securities Remaining in the Hands of the Assignees of the Bank of Michigan on the 1st Day of January, 1844," C. C. Trowbridge Papers; E. P. Hastings Papers.

¹²From the combined Wayne County and Detroit Tax Rolls there were eighty-three individuals with property over \$15,000. Of the thirteen who were dropped, two were women, one, S. Larned was in the East at the time, and a big owner, William E. Sill, was an easterner whose agents were James F. Joy and George F. Porter.

or corporations or manufacturers of concerns employing more than twenty hands (see "Other Indicator," Table 1). Sixteen who did not appear on the tax rolls were selected if they were officers or manufacturers of large concerns.¹³ It was entirely possible that among these were a few like the nominal "Bostonians, who invariably move out of the city before the first of May, into some small county town, where they make a specific bargain for the amount of tax, thereby saving themselves some thousands of dollars."¹⁴ George Russel, for example, owned ferry boats and an iron foundry and engaged

¹³Officers of banks operating in 1845 were the only men selected on that basis alone. Directorships are listed for the same time. The major source was James H. Wellings, Directory of the City of Detroit (Detroit: Harsha & Willcox, 1845), 104, which listed only three banks: Michigan Insurance Comp. U. S. Deposit Bank: Douglas Houghton, President; Henry Brown, Cashier; Directors: Douglas Houghton, John Owen, Henry N. Walker, Henry H. Brown; Bank of St. Clair (Capital Stock, \$150,000, with privilege to increase to \$250,000): Levi Cook, President; W. Truesdall, Cashier; Directors: Levi Cook, George C. Bates, S. Gillet, J. R. Dorr, H. N. Monson, John Clark; Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Michigan (established 1829. Capital Stock, \$700,000, paid in \$400,000): George Throop, President; John A. Welles, Cashier. Monson, Clark and Brown were dropped because of insufficient information. Gurdon Williams was chosen as President of the Detroit and Pontiac Railroad, Ibid., 103.

¹⁴Abner Forbes and J. W. Greene, The Rich Men of Massachusetts (Boston: W. J. Spencer, 1851), 35.

in land speculation but did not appear on the tax rolls.¹⁵

Key positions were shown to be a reliable indicator when careers were followed beyond 1844. Many of the men at the lower ranks had the enterprising qualities which would make them men of great wealth in 1860. Though not rich in 1844, H. P. Baldwin, Christian H. and Frederick Buhl, and James F. Joy showed their abilities by buying up the stock of the Michigan State Bank for 15% of face value before it re-opened in 1845.¹⁶ It was the enterprise of these men which gave them a foothold, because during the early forties most of the capital for railroads and banks came from eastern sources.¹⁷ James F. Joy's promotion of the sale of the Michigan Central brought him out of the limited scope of

¹⁵Detroit Free Press, March 15, 1891 (hereinafter referred to as Free Press); Michigan Works Progress Administration, Vital Records Project, "Early Land Transfers, Detroit and Wayne County, Mich." (Sponsored by Michigan State Library and D. A. R., Louisa St. Clair Chapter, 1936-40), Vols. 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. Russel made extensive purchases and sales, 1845 to 1851.

¹⁶Also George F. Porter, Z. Chandler, C. C. Trowbridge, President, Alex. H. Adams, Cashier, Burton, Wayne, II, 1224.

¹⁷Five New York Capitalists offered to take \$10,000 each or half of the capital stock of the Michigan State Bank, Thomas Olcott to John R. Williams, Albany, May 16, 1835, John R. Williams Papers, BHC; "The stock [of the Bank of Michigan, defunct in 1844] was purchased in the name of James Abbott, but this was only for the purpose of concealing the name of the real owner, who was Henry Dwight of Geneva, New York, the largest stockholder," Burton, Wayne, II, 1214-1215; Sherman Stevens, "The Building of the Pontiac Railroad," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Historical Collections, XIII, 485 (hereinafter referred to as Mich. Collections); James F. Joy, "Railroad History of Michigan," Mich. Collections, XXII, 300-301.

of debt-collecting for banks into the large sphere where he was to make his fortune.¹⁸

Manufacturers were identified from a study of Detroit industry made in 1848. This list was of inestimable value because it described the 139 establishments then operating either as to number of employees, annual value of product, or, in the case of lumber, total square feet produced.¹⁹

Once selected, the elite was divided as to economic role, degree of wealth and time of arrival in Wayne County. (See Tables 2 and 3). These categories would be useful for

¹⁸Joy, Ibid., 298.

¹⁹Detroit Daily Advertiser, June 16, 1848, August 22, 1848 (hereinafter referred to as Advertiser). The twenty-two largest firms--employing more than 25 hands, doing annual business worth \$50,000 or more or producing more than 2,000,000 of lumber--were: S. N. Kendrick, Machine Shop, 64 hands, \$80,000 per annum; H. (Wm) Barclay, Michigan Foundry, 45 hands, \$70,000 per annum; William Gooding, Ship and Steamboat Building, 120 hands; William Smith, Eagle Steam Saw Mill, 36 hands (partner, Alfred Dwight); Robert Banks, Clothing Manufacturer, 25 hands; Hallock and Raymond (Horace Hallock and Francis Raymond) Clothing, 60 hands, \$50,000 per annum; O. M. Hyde, Hydraulic Foundry and Machine Shop, 56 hands; F. and C. H. Buhl, Hat Manufacturers, 25 hands, \$30,000 per annum; Wights' Steam Saw Mill, 2,000,000 feet (Buckminster Wight); Moore's Lumber Yard, 2,600,000 feet (Franklin Moore); Black River Lumber Yard, 2,500,000 feet (Alanson Sheley, manager); Ladue and Eldred's Tannery, \$60,000 per year (Francis Eldred); Pitts' Saw Mill, 3,000,000 feet (Samuel Pitts); J. L. King, Clothing Manufacturer who keeps a store, 36 hands, \$50,000 per annum. Those yielding insufficient information to include: Beard's Lumber; Coe and Barnard Lumber; Walcott's Steam Boiler Factory; Montreuil's Mill; Christopher Reeve, Saw and Plaster of Paris Mill; Isaac Miller, Tobacco Manufacturing; A. Amberg, Clothing; T. J. Walker, Cabinet, Chair and Sash.

measuring against political affiliation and would also suggest possible relationships in the strictly economic sphere. Which economic activity offered the best route to wealth? Were late-comers disadvantaged in the race?

Exact delineation of function in a non-specialized, dynamic economy is difficult, if not impossible. The attempt was to assign roles according to probable major source of income. All the men chosen from the tax rolls were landowners, for example, but only men who had no other apparent major source of income were identified as landowners. To recognize its importance to a frontier economy, fur was listed where it represented rise to wealth, even though the actual trade had passed its peak.²⁰ "Merchant-Manufacturers" (under Manufacturers on Table 2) were those whose main activity was the manufacture and retail sale of a certain product. In this category were J. L. King and Hallock and Raymond, referred to in the Detroit Advertiser article referred to above as "manufacturers who also keep stores."²¹ Classified as non-specialized entrepreneurs

²⁰As late as 1840 the Census reported Michigan sales of \$54,232 worth of fur. By 1850 thirty-three men were listed as traders; no sales were mentioned. Ida Amanda Johnson, The Michigan Fur Trade (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1919), 153.

²¹Merchants of Detroit conformed to the pattern of merchants in other western towns: they assumed functions of bankers, transportation, manufacturing and produce trade. They were not incorporated. Lewis E. Atherton, The Pioneer Merchant (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1939), 83, 126.

were men who had interests diversified beyond one business and a directorship. Josiah L. Dorr, for example, was a merchant, part owner of the Detroit Iron Company, and a director in both a copper company and a bank. Bankers were often lawyers; they are classified solely on their active officership in 1844. Thus, Elon Farnsworth, a lawyer in 1844, became a banker in 1860.

The wide divergence in wealth suggested an investigation of the relationship of economic roles to wealth. Landowners and fur fortunes were almost exclusively concentrated among the top (above \$50,000) and medium (\$25,000 to \$50,000) brackets:

TABLE 2
ECONOMIC ROLE AND DEGREE OF WEALTH

		High		Medium		Low	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Landowners	(13)	5	38	5	38	3	24
Fur	(7)	5	71	2	29	--	--
Merchants	(23)	5	22	6	26	12	52
Manufacturers	(20)	--	--	4	20	16	80
Non-specialized	(9)	2	22	--	--	7	78
Lawyers	(8)	--	--	1	13	7	87
Bankers	(7)	--	--	1	15	6	85
Other	(10)	1	10	1	10	8	80

Conversely, all other roles were concentrated in the low bracket, with lawyers, bankers and manufacturers conspicuously lacking among the highest incomes. This division, favoring roles natural to a frontier economy, suggests that early arrival was also a key factor. It is therefore not surprising to note that 72% of the men at the top of the wealth scale were in Wayne County before 1820, in contrast to the majority of the lower ranks who came after 1830.

TABLE 3
DEGREE OF WEALTH AND ARRIVAL IN WAYNE COUNTY

	Before 1820		1820-1830		After 1830		Unknown	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
High (18)	13	72	2	11	2	11	1	6
Medium (20)	13	65	2	10	3	15	2	10
Low (59)	10	18	9	17	30	47	10	18

Time of arrival becomes more striking when we break down the groups and investigate both degree of wealth and time of arrival of lawyers, bankers and manufacturers, none of whom was in the high bracket.²²

Again there is a marked correlation between late arrival and low ranking in wealth. Only where figures are

²²The method of multivariate analysis comes into play here. By discovering that correlations hold for degree of wealth and time of arrival within economic groupings, time of arrival is emphasized over economic role.

TABLE 4

DEGREE OF WEALTH, TIME OF ARRIVAL, ECONOMIC ROLES

	Before 1820		1820-1830		After 1830		Unknown	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Lawyers</u>								
(1) Medium	--	--	--	--	1	100	--	--
(7) Low	1	14	2	29	4	57	--	--
<u>Bankers</u>								
(1) Medium	1	100	--	--	--	--	--	--
(6) Low	--	--	1	17	3	50	2	33
<u>Manufacturers</u>								
(4) Medium	3	75	1	25	--	--	--	--
(16) Low	--	--	1	6	11	69	4	25

too small, as in the case of medium-income lawyers, does the pattern vary. The twenty manufacturers show the relationship between time of arrival and degree of wealth very neatly: 75% in the medium bracket were in Wayne County before 1820, and, conversely, 69% in the low bracket arrived after 1830.

The value of arriving early might seem to suggest that the top members of the elite were self-made men. Quite the contrary was true. Out of a total of thirty-two well-to-do fathers known for the entire ninety-seven, twelve of these belonged to the eighteen men worth more than \$50,000.²³

²³Two of these represented other helpful wealthy relatives: an uncle and a brother.

The likelihood is that a much larger number of these men had enjoyed an advantaged early environment to enable them to start a business in the West, where \$5,000 or \$6,000 was required to purchase a good stock.²⁴

The frontier stage of the economy is reflected by comparing the Wayne County elite with rich men of the East. Taking into consideration relative population, the eighteen men worth over \$50,000 make a modest showing next to the seventeen millionaires and 739 men worth more than \$100,000 claimed for New York City in the early 1840's.²⁵ The relative poverty of the rich was in line with per capita income in 1840--\$44 for Michigan as against \$80 for New York.²⁶

The modest riches of these men tempt one to describe this society as homogeneous, the democratic frontier

²⁴Atherton, 126.

²⁵Moses Y. Beach, Wealth and Pedigree of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City (3d ed.; New York: Sun Office, 1842). In 1840 Wayne County had a population of 24,173 to New York City's 312,710. The men worth over \$50,000 in Wayne County thus represented .007% of the population compared with .002% for the wealthy (over \$100,000) of New York. Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States As Obtained at the Department of State From the Returns of the Sixth Census (Washington: Thomas Allen, 1841), 22, 94.

²⁶Richard A. Easterlin, "Interregional Differences in Per Capita Income, Population, and Total Income, 1840-1950," A Report of the National Bureau of Economic Research, New York, Trends in the American Economy in the Nineteenth Century ("Studies in Income and Wealth, Conference on Research in Income and Wealth," Vol. XXIV; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), 97.

visualized by Turner, as amended by Elkins and McKittrick.²⁷ Yet their modest affluence was also characteristic of business and professional men in Eastern factory towns. One scholar even includes highly skilled mechanics in "the ranks of the middle class."²⁸ The Wayne County elite included men who began their careers as tradesmen but whose property ownership disqualified them as "skilled mechanics."²⁹ Alvah Ewers, for example, was a cooper and grocer by trade. It was his accumulation of real estate that put him among the elite.³⁰

There was an easy manner, a democratic stance among the economic elite in the early days. Jacob Farrand recalled:

The people here in the earlier days of Detroit went along just about as they were; men in business lived along in a conservative sort of way, one year and another, devoid of any aristocracy. All the old inhabitants were

²⁷ "The land-holding elite--with all traditional functions, social and political, that such an elite would certainly exercise--was rendered quite out of the question . . . The democracy of the Northwest would be that of the squatter, the frontier businessman, and no doubt that of the small speculator." Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," Political Science Quarterly, LXIX (September, 1954), 338-339.

²⁸ Vera Shlakman, Economic History of a Factory Town ("Smith College Studies in History," Vol. XX, Nos. 1-4; Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1935), 68.

²⁹ Although information on early careers is sparse, five were known to have begun as skilled tradesmen. Blacksmith (Chittenden), watch-maker (Conant), silversmith (P. J. Desnoyers), apprentice tailor (Hallek) and cooper (Ewers).

³⁰ Mich. Collections, XXVIII, 616.

people of a social nature inviting to each others houses and lived along in an enjoyable way.³¹

The story told to the credit of Oliver M. Hyde was that he brought a country bumpkin carrying a carpet bag whom he met on the street home to dinner where he was seated next to the appalled Mayor of London.³² For all their distaste for "aristocracy," both these accounts at the same time indicate a consciousness of class. There is some evidence that a country gentlemen ideal was aspired to: seven men retired early in their careers and became landowners, and many listed themselves as "gentlemen."³³ Lewis Atherton's conclusion that merchants became something else because of the "low esteem in which they held merchandising" was probably only partially true.³⁴ For those merchants who retired there were as many who became capitalists or bankers. These were the men who saw the new avenues for making great fortunes. They became leaders in the group designated as the economic elite of 1860.

³¹"Detroit in History," Palmer Scrapbooks, IV, BHC, 210.

³²Silas Farmer, The History of Detroit and Michigan (Detroit: Silas Farmer and Co., 1889), II, 1041.

³³Retired merchants: Levi Cook, W. N. Carpenter, David Cooper, Moses F. Dickinson (see discussion in Chapter XI as ideal type for Democratic landowner), Darius Lamson, John Roberts. 1860 elite: William K. Coyl.

³⁴Atherton, 58.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMIC ELITE OF 1860

The take-off period of the American economy prior to 1860 left unmistakable evidence in Wayne County in the number of wealthy men and the size of their fortunes. One-hundred and thirty-five men worth more than \$50,000 made up the economic elite.¹ In 1844 there were only eighteen individuals who surpassed this qualifying lower limit and more than half of the elite were worth less than \$25,000. Wealth therefore was a sufficient basis for selection without regard to economic role. Selection was buttressed by the existence of two sources listing property, the Detroit tax rolls and the Census of 1860.² Income was also used as an indicator of wealth. Thanks to the Civil War income tax and the custom of printing lists of taxpayers in the local papers, the top Detroit incomes for 1864 could be identified.³

¹There are slight modifications as will be shown below.

²"Finance City Treasurer Tax Roll Real and Personal Property, 1860," BHC; Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Michigan. Microfilm copy, BHC.

³Joseph A. Hill, "The Civil War Income Tax," The Quarterly Journal of Economics (July, 1894), 436. Printed in the Detroit Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865. Not exact for Detroit, since it covered the First Congressional District.

The formula worked out for combining income and property as criteria was as follows: Only the thirty-four incomes over \$10,000 were used as a basis for selection because the figures were for 1864 rather than 1860. Since anyone with an income in 1860 between \$5,000 and \$10,000 was accounted among the "rich," those over \$10,000 would seem to be economic leaders, even interpolating back to 1860.⁴ Furthermore, these high incomes undoubtedly concealed greater wealth. The tax of 1864 excluded income as dividends or interest received from banks, trust companies, railroads, canals or turnpike companies, or gains from the sale of real estate held more than one year.⁵ Thus the \$91,037 received by millionaire E. B. Ward did not reflect his extensive property in steamboats, railroads, plank roads and banks.⁶

With property evaluations ranging from \$50,000 to \$1,000,000, only those worth over \$200,000 were ranked "High," bracketed with men having incomes over \$10,000 (see Table 5). The existence of two sources for 1860 on real

⁴The "middle-class" received between \$800 and \$5,000. Edgar W. Martin, The Standard of Living in 1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 394.

⁵Rufus Tucker, "The Distribution of Income Among Income Taxpayers in the United States, 1863-1935," Quarterly Journal of Economics, (August, 1938), 361.

⁶"Inventory of E. B. and Samuel Ward's Stocks, April 1852," E. B. Ward Papers, BHC.

TABLE 5

ECONOMIC ELITE OF 1860--BASES FOR
SELECTION AND ECONOMIC ROLE

HIGH: Property worth over \$200,000 and/or income over \$10,000.

	Property (Census)	Property (Tax Roll)	Income (1864)	Economic Role
Joseph Campau*	\$3,400,000	\$ 380,653		Landowner
Lewis Cass*		1,189,725	\$22,700	Landowner
E. B. Ward	1,007,000	89,743	91,037	Capitalist
Wm. Woodbridge*	330,000	599,916		Landowner
Albert Crane	210,000	474,704		Landowner
Charles Merrill	210,000	409,923	11,026	Lumber
Z. Chandler*	300,000	433,288	56,236	Merchant
E. A. Brush*		392,646		Landowner
James F. Joy*		365,584	19,918	Capitalist
William Hale		354,228		Landowner
George B. Russel*		333,166		Capitalist
Wm. B. Wesson	105,000	313,592		Landowner
C. H. Buhl*	250,000	217,682	33,400	Capitalist
J. C. D. Williams	125,000	249,750		Landowner
John Owen*	180,000	245,254	19,522	Capitalist
Alex. M. Campau		232,184		Landowner
Luther Beecher		221,944		Merchant
David Cooper	93,000	208,500		Landowner
H. P. Baldwin*	115,000	208,291	33,647	Capitalist
Henry E. Benson		141,774	30,480	Lumber
David Whitney			30,000	Lumber
K. C. Barker		48,285	29,611	Manufacturer
Charles DuCharme	55,000	50,449	29,400	Merchant

Note:

Members of 1844 elite.

TABLE 5--Continued

	Property (Census)	Property (Tax Roll)	Income (1864)	Economic Role
Allen Shelden		\$ 40,950	\$27,500	Merchant
Reuben Town		49,950	27,500	Merchant
Edward Orr			27,498	Merchant
N. W. Brooks		38,000	24,100	Lumber
E. Ward	\$ 18,000	52,558	24,508	Shipping
J. J. Bagley			23,180	Manufacturer
Richard Hawley		167,998	22,205	Manufacturer
Francis Adams		38,661	18,803	Lumber
Franklin Moore*	41,000	74,259	19,181	Merchant
F. Buhl*	83,000	182,750	16,280	Capitalist
S. Pitts*		140,526	19,829	Lumber
John Stephens	140,000	143,134	18,730	Merchant
Ira Davis	65,000	27,072	14,777	Shipping
D. M. Richardson			14,650	Manufacturer
George Curtis			14,500	Manufacturer
C. W. Jackson	32,300	77,439	14,226	Manufacturer
J. Wiley		66,200	14,179	Manufacturer
George Kirby	45,000	66,933	12,708	Manufacturer
G. F. Bagley			11,326	Merchant
George Peck			10,913	Capitalist
S. Mandelbaum		50,782	10,000	Capitalist
Francis Palms ^a		25,641		Landowner

^aExtensive lumber lands, Francis Palms Papers, BHC.

TABLE 5--Continued

<u>MEDIUM: Property worth between \$100,000 and \$200,000</u>			
	Property (Census)	Property (Tax Roll)	Economic Role
Charles Moran*	\$101,000	\$198,468	Landowner
Alexander McGraw*	135,000	192,773	Merchant- Manufacturer
Wm. S. Biddle	120,000	191,308	Landowner
J. Mott Williams	52,000	163,236	Landowner
John P. Clark	162,600	62,637	Shipping
Jacob Beeson	160,000	29,304	Banker
John Hull	156,000	129,397	Merchant
Jacob S. Farrand	145,000	59,440	Banker
Henry Haigh	154,000	17,482	Merchant
Richard H. Hall		155,993	Merchant
Samuel Lewis	77,500	144,062	Capitalist
N. P. Stewart	60,000	142,357	Banker
Theodore Eaton	95,000	141,247	Capitalist
J. W. Johnston	110,000	140,397	Landowner
H. H. Emmons	140,000	102,064	Landowner
William A. Butler	42,000	139,860	Banker
Shubael Conant*	121,500	134,348	Capitalist
Moses Dickinson*	35,000	130,039	Landowner
Alanson Sheley*		124,125	Capitalist
W. C. Duncan	55,000	121,794	Manufacturer
David Thompson	120,000	100,982	Landowner
O. M. Hyde*	120,000	62,271	Capitalist
Eustache Chapaton*	24,000	112,809	Builder
Ebenezer Penniman	112,500		Merchant
E. M. Clark	76,000	111,205	Capitalist
Jonathan L. King*		110,556	Merchant- Manufacturer

TABLE 5--Continued

	Property (Census)	Property (Tax Roll)	Economic Role
Peter Desnoyers*	\$ 36,000	\$107,026	Landowner
W. N. Carpenter*	105,000	61,605	Landowner
Albert Ives	100,000	104,678	Banker
Francis Eldred*	50,000	102,897	Merchant- Manufacturer
Samuel P. Brady		101,614	Merchant
John C. Williams	101,000	94,155	Landowner
Gabriel Chene	53,000	101,731	Landowner
C. C. Trowbridge*	100,000	62,853	Banker
H. N. Strong	146,000	101,481	Shipping

LOW: Property worth between \$50,000 and \$100,000

A. D. Fraser*		99,067	Lawyer
Buckminster Wight*	33,000	99,594	Lumber
Ashael S. Bagg	80,000	99,733	Hotel Proprietor
Henry T. Backus	80,000	18,731	Lawyer
Alexander H. Newbould*	66,000	94,738	Landowner
Dominique Riopelle, Jr.		94,821	Landowner
Hugh Moffat	50,000	92,407	Lumber
William Barclay*	66,800	91,575	Manufacturer
George F. Porter*		91,297	Banker
Gurdon O. Williams	90,000	43,883	Capitalist
George Foote	87,000	53,280	Merchant
Chauncey Hurlbut*		86,945	Merchant
James Burns		86,746	Merchant
Theodore Williams*		84,781	Landowner

TABLE 5--Continued

	Property (Census)	Property (Tax Roll)	Economic Role
Oliver Bourke	\$85,000	\$21,395	Merchant
Caleb Ives		85,364	Banker
Ransom Gardner	75,000	83,333	Merchant
C. A. Trowbridge	75,000	79,920	Manufacturer
Henry A. Wight	35,000	79,254	Lumber
Stanley G. Wight	33,000	79,254	Lumber
Francis Raymond*	20,000	76,590	Merchant
F. B. Sibley	60,000	75,880	Manufacturer
S. B. Scott	75,000		Merchant
Caleb Van Husan	70,000	73,593	Capitalist
George Duffield	50,000	70,096	Landowner
Alexander Stowell	70,000	11,655	Landowner
Henry N. Walker*	70,000		Banker
John Palmer*	12,000	67,832	Landowner
Alexander Chapaton	40,000	67,732	Builder
Jared C. Warner	66,000		Landowner
George B. Truax	60,000	65,054	Lumber
Eugene St. Amour	65,000	94,821	Builder
William Ten Eyck	64,130	61,921	Landowner
Charles Jackson*	64,000	50,749	Builder
Colin Campbell	23,000	63,603	Merchant
William Kieft Coyl	60,000	62,637	Landowner
Giles B. Slocum		61,921	Merchant
Frederick Wetmore*		61,671	Merchant
Levi Cook*	60,000	60,772	Banker
Samuel Truedell	60,200	60,106	Landowner

TABLE 5--Continued

	Property (Census)	Property (Tax Roll)	Economic Role
Darius Lamson*	\$	\$60,106	Landowner
Thomas Lockwood	60,000	26,007	Lawyer
Elon Farnsworth*	50,000	58,774	Banker
Thomas F. Abbott	55,000		Merchant
George W. Bissell	50,000	48,701	Merchant
F. J. B. Crane	50,000	49,726	Landowner
<u>Members of Previous Elite Also Included</u>			
Horace Hallock	30,000	44,788	Merchant- Manufacturer
A. S. Williams	39,000		Gentleman
Thomas Coquillard	13,520	33,300	Builder
George C. Bates		22,105	Lawyer
John A. Welles	25,000		Lawyer
John Drew	22,000		Capitalist
John Roberts	14,000	15,251	Retired
Theodore Romeyn	15,000 (4 servants)		Lawyer
J. Nicholson Elbert	16,500		Post Office Clerk

and personal property provided an excellent check on the identity of the elite. Although the Census evaluation and local property value did not always coincide, the existence of two records showed unmistakably who the rich men were.⁷ The great majority show up as men of considerable property on both lists.⁸ Those who appeared on one list with property between \$100,000 and \$200,000 were ranked "Medium" and those between \$50,000 and \$100,000, "Low." Nine members of the 1844 elite worth less than \$50,000 in 1860, were included for the purpose of looking at change in political affiliation over time.

The rise in the value of rich men's holdings since 1844 appears more striking when one considers that 1860 was not a boom period--prices had remained depressed since the crisis of 1857 with only a slight improvement in the middle of 1860. Total land sales in Michigan in 1860 were \$46,000 as compared with \$29,000 for 1844, but this represented a distinct decline from the peak year of the

⁷The figures for local wealth were reached by multiplying assessed valuation by 3.33 since property was rated at 30% of actual cash value. Survey Project, City Treasurer, 18.

⁸Seventy individuals from eighty-five worth \$50,000 or more in the Census for Wayne County were selected. Of those discarded, six were women, no further data could be found for eight others and Oliver Newberry died in 1860. Missing from the Census, but qualifying for "High" on the basis of tax assessments were E. A. Brush, William Hale, George Russel, A. M. Campau and Luther Beecher. Also from the tax rolls alone were R. H. Hall, P. Desnoyers, S. P. Brady, D. Riopelle, C. Hurlbut, J. Burns, Theodore Williams, and C. Ives.

mid-fifties (1854) when sales reached \$668,000.⁹ Although Detroit was far from matching New York City's seventy-nine men who reported incomes of \$100,000 or more in 1864, 315 incomes over \$2,000 was not a bad showing next to New York's 10,900 in 1863.¹⁰ Compared against the incomes of the general population of New York, the wealth of Detroit's elite stands out sharply: in the 1860's only about 1% of the population of New York received incomes of \$842 or more.¹¹ When it is also remembered that burgeoning dividends were omitted from income calculations, the wealth of the Wayne County elite supports Rufus Tucker's conclusion that during the Civil War period "the wealthy were wealthier in relation to the mass than now, although there were fewer of them."¹²

A breakdown of the composition of the 1860 elite

⁹Douglas North, The Economic Growth of the United States (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), 213, 259. Total real property, Detroit, 1858: \$14,202,506. Total real property, Detroit, 1859: \$13,597,416, Free Press, April 29, 1859.

¹⁰Tucker, Quarterly Journal of Economics, LII, 563,568.

¹¹Martin, 393.

¹²Gross dividend and interest payments by the non-financial corporate sector rose about fifty-fold from 1835-39, somewhat lower 1859-71; 1871-90 less than half of that of the first period. Anna Jacobson Schwartz, "Gross Dividend and Interest Payments by Corporations at Selected Dates in the 19th Century," Trends in the American Economy, 446; Tucker, Quarterly Journal of Economics, LII, 569.

according to economic roles shows significant changes in the economy. The non-specialized entrepreneur gives way to the capitalist. Instead of engaging in banking, selling and small manufacturing, the successful merchant now invests the proceeds of his successful business in other firms and becomes director of several. The Buhl brothers are good examples of the merchant turned capitalist, although Frederick Buhl modestly referred to himself in the 1860 Census as "hatter." Their early venture as fur merchants and hat manufacturers came to a profitable close in 1853.¹³ C. H. Buhl bought out a hardware firm, invested extensively in railroads and by 1863 had enough to put one million dollars into iron manufacturing in Pennsylvania.¹⁴

Despite industrial growth, landowners were the leading group, representing 26% of the 1860 elite (Table 6). Their predominance reflect the vital role rising land values played in the growth of American fortunes.¹⁵ They were not, however, a homogeneous group. Eight were heirs of large landowners and six were retired merchants.¹⁶ Others were

¹³Farmer, II, 1038, 1043.

¹⁴Palmer Scrapbooks, BHC, III, 149.

¹⁵Forbes and Greene, 36.

¹⁶Inheriting: from J. R. Williams, his sons, J. C. D. Williams, J. Mott Williams, John C. Williams and Theodore Williams; from John Biddle, his son, William S. Biddle; from P. J. Desnoyers, his son, Peter; from Barnabas Campau, his son, Alexander M. Former merchants: W. N. Carpenter, David Cooper, Moses L. Dickinson, Darius Lamson, Alex H. Newbould and John Palmer.

TABLE 6
ECONOMIC ROLES--1844 AND 1860

	1844		1860	
	No.	%	No.	%
Landowners	13	13	34	26
Fur	7	7	--	--
Merchants	23	24	26	19
Capitalists	--	--	17	12
Non-specialized Entrepreneurs	9	9.5	--	--
Manufacturers	20	21	17	12
Lumber	--	--	11	8
Bankers	7	7	13	10
Lawyers	8	8.5	5	3
Shipping	--	--	4	3
Other	10	10	8	7
	<u>97</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>100</u>

actually modern real estate operators. Partners William B. Wesson and Albert Crane dominated the field and made fortunes as pioneers in land-divididing. They were the first to sell lots on time with only a small down payment.¹⁷ That these men did differentiate their roles is seen by

¹⁷Farmer, II, 1074.

their designations in the 1860 Census. While Crane and J. W. Johnston referred to themselves as "real estate dealers," David Thompson and Alexander Newbould were "speculators," Wesson called himself a "landowner," and seven put themselves as "gentlemen." John C. Williams was a "farmer." George Duffield was actually a leading Presbyterian clergyman, but since this role could hardly have been the direct route to a fortune worth \$50,000, he has been called a landowner. Like other landowners, he was alert to the possibilities of making money elsewhere. In his Diary is a testimonial to the efficacy of Providence in the promotion of business enterprise:

Feb. 22, 1868. I have been much occupied of late with correspondence and meetings for the purpose if possible of effecting a change in the management of the Quincy Mining Co.? in which are my principal means of support . . . which have failed for the last year through mismanagement if not fraud of the officers . . . Closely examining my heart I felt that mercenary considerations did not control me and I sought the good of my fellow man the benefit of Society & the honor of God & have felt that tho in myself utterly unworthy I could get the whole matter Sic to the care of God's Providence. I have done so. Thus far the way seems to be propitious. Without His blessing I have no hopes of success.¹⁸

Quite predictably, manufacturers also outnumber the the merchants among the elite.¹⁹ Twenty-eight individuals

¹⁸Lewis G. Vandervelde (ed.), "Notes on the Diary of George Duffield," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIV (1937-38), 65.

¹⁹Men designated under Lumber on Table 6 are included here as manufacturers.

received a good share of the \$5,000,000 worth of manufactures produced in Detroit in 1860.²⁰ Eleven of these "industrialists" were in lumber manufacturing, typically combined with large operations in lumber lands. Samuel Pitts and Buckminster Wight continued from profitable beginnings in the forties, surpassed, however, by New England lumbermen, F. Adams, N. W. Brooks, Charles Merrill and Henry Benson, who came to Detroit in the fifties.²¹ New men and earlier starters shared other fields. E. B. Ward, who made a fortune in the forties as a vessel owner, began his enormously successful career as iron manufacturer when he established the Wyandotte Rolling Mill in 1853. D. M. Richardson built the first match factory in 1856 and two others got rich with tobacco: K. C. Barker and Company, was built in 1848, John J. Bagley's firm in 1853.²² Alexander McGraw and Henry P. Baldwin had expanded their shoe manufacturing and merchandising operations--Baldwin's income was next to Ward's in 1864 at \$33,647. Other basic products which supported the elite were beer (William C. Duncan and

²⁰"Industrial Chronology of Detroit," The Detrouiter, IV (September, 1913), 16.

²¹Farmer, II, 1208, 1219; Wayne County Historical and Pioneer Society, Chronography of Notable Events in the History of the Northwest Territory and Wayne County (Fred. Carlisle, Comp.; Detroit: O. S. Gulley, Bornman & Co., 1890), 120.

²²The Detrouiter, IV, 16.

Richard Hawley, meat (John Hull), and leather (George Curtis and George Kirby).

An interesting type was the doctor turned capitalist. Doctors, who required only the most rudimentary training to practice, were attracted to growing towns where the opportunities in non-medical pursuits engaged them to such an extent that it was "often difficult to differentiate between their merchandising activities and professional practice."²³ Dr. George Russel abandoned his practice as early as 1837 to begin his career as a manufacturer in the construction of ferry boats.²⁴ Dr. Eliphalet M. Clark's medical practice was so subsidiary to his industrial pursuits that even a medical source considered only his "first grain elevator at the foot of Fort Street and his enterprise to manufacture locomotives in 1855."²⁵ There is no available evidence of Dr. Samuel Truedell's activities as a businessman, but it is doubtful that he could have accumulated his estate on the basis of medical practice alone. With professional man William Woodbridge, whose skyrocketing wealth had placed him fourth among the elite, Truedell has been called a landowner.

²³Atherton, 9.

²⁴Carlisle, 460.

²⁵C. B. Burr, Medical History of Michigan (Minneapolis: Bruce Publishing Co., 1930), II, 251.

A man's economic activity did not seem to have as great a bearing on his relative wealth as it did in 1844 when landowners and fur fortunes monopolized the higher ranks. As Table 7 indicates, capitalists and manufacturers had the greatest likelihood of attaining the high and medium brackets of the wealthy.

TABLE 7
ECONOMIC ROLE AND DEGREE OF WEALTH

		High		Medium		Low	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Landowners	(34)	11	33	11	33	12	34
Merchants	(26)	9	35	5	19	12	46
Capitalists	(17)	9	53	6	35	2	11
Manufacturers	(17)	8	46	4	23	5	31
Lumber	(11)	6	54	--	--	5	46
Shipping	(4)	2	50	2	50	--	--
Bankers	(13)	--	--	6	46	7	54
Lawyers	(5)	--	--	--	--	5	100
Other	(8)	--	--	--	--	8	100

Bankers and lawyers were, predictably, still in the low brackets.

Mobility, seen as the achievement of wealth by men of lower class origins, was difficult to determine. Evidence

was too scanty to determine with any certainty to what extent the elite of 1860 were self-made men. The forty-one men known to have well-to-do fathers divided among the various ranks as follows:

<u>High</u> 18	<u>Medium</u> 12	<u>Low</u> 11
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There was, however, a marked persistence in holding on to wealth once gained. The carry-over of the elite from 1844 was pronounced. Taking into consideration those known to have died or moved away, only one-fifth of the 1844 elite failed to qualify in 1860.²⁶ The old elite divided themselves in the different ranks as follows:

<u>High</u> 27%	<u>Medium</u> 27%	<u>Low</u> 46%
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Those who were at the top in 1844 tended to stay there.²⁷ Only one took a fall: John Drew, who had been worth more than \$50,000 in 1844 as a merchant, had become a retired "gentlemen" with a modest estate of \$22,000.

As a post-script to the discovery that wealth tended to multiply and perpetuate itself, seventeen of the men of 1860 or their inheriting descendants were listed among

²⁶Fifty-two of former elite also elite in 1860; twenty-one known to have died, others probable; four known to have left the city; only twenty unaccounted for.

²⁷Of the former top elite: High: L. Cass, J. Campau, E. A. Brush, F. Moore, Z. Chandler; Medium: S. Conant and C. Moran.

Detroit's forty-two millionaires in 1892.²⁸

²⁸Ratner, 24-25. E. Alfred Brush and Lillie Thompson (son and granddaughter of E. A. Brush), Christian H. Buhl, Mrs. Dr. Book and Francis Palms (daughter and son of Francis Palms), Estate of John J. Bagley, Theodore H. Eaton, Estate of Jacob S. Farrand, James F. Joy, William B. Moran (real estate inherited in part from Charles Moran), Mrs. T. W. Palmer (daughter of Charles Merrill, inherited), Allen Sheldon, Alanson Sheley, Estate of William B. Wesson, David Whitney, Jr., Luther Beecher, William Butler.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC ELITE--1844

The systematic selection of an economic elite makes it possible to determine partially the relationship between political affiliations and economic class positions. Whether in Michigan the "vast majority" . . . of the Whig party . . . "were well-to-do and conservative men or those who, for some reason, upheld the interest of this class" and whether the Democrats were "composed mainly of the poor and uneducated people in the cities and the rural districts," will not be known until a thorough study has been made of the voting patterns for the entire state by county and ward. Districts voting Whig and Democrat have to be analyzed as to composition in an effort to determine whether voting reflects membership in economic, ethnic, religious or other groups. Through this method of multivariate analysis it will be possible to develop a solid basis for hypothesis about the nature of "those [Whigs] who, for some reason upheld the interest of this [well-to-do] class."¹

¹Floyd B. Streeter, Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860 (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1918), 5-6.

The over-all study of voting behavior by district, ward or county cannot by itself settle the question of economic class as a determinant. A separate study of economic elites must be made because voting statistics cannot be used to ascertain the political affiliations of men who, by definition, constitute only a small proportion of any aggregate political unit. Lee Benson cites the example of the Fifteenth Ward in New York City in The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy. It was known as "aristocratic," yet, since it "probably contained only a small proportion of voters who belonged to the upper classes," . . . its strong support for the Whigs fails to discredit the post-election estimate of a leading anti-Whig newspaper that 'a large portion of the monied men and capitalists of this city and throughout the State, voted the Democratic ticket.'"²

Clearly what is needed to test the relationships between class and political affiliation is a systematic study of how men assigned to different economic classes actually voted. Once the political affiliations of the elite have been ascertained and subjected to multivariate analysis, the results can be examined against the pattern of mass voting behavior for the same unit. If the voting pattern of rich men of one etho-cultural group follows the same pattern as that of the lower class of the same group, then

²Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 146.

we have strong evidence to support the thesis that "ethnic and religious differences have tended to be relatively the most important sources of political differences."³ If, on the other hand, the elite members of an ethnic group show a tendency to adopt different political affiliations, class cannot be ruled out as an important influence on political behavior.

The political affiliations of the economic elite of Wayne County in 1844 were not difficult to ascertain. Members of this group tended to be active in politics, so that their names appear continually in the newspapers as candidates for office, delegates to ward, county or state party meetings or as signers of petitions. Newspaper references provided a check against party designations in biographical sources which were usually corroborated. Since it was not possible to find data directly referring to all men's party affiliations in the year 1844, evidence was taken from accounts dated as far back as 1839 when both the Democratic and Whig parties had become established organizations.

The assumption made in this study, which was born out by the evidence, is that men remained loyal to a political party. Although Floyd B. Streeter's description of parties in the late 1830's would seem to dispute the hypothesis of party loyalty, he does not document with names men who

³Ibid., 165.

actually changed parties. Streeter claimed that well-to-do Democrats in the central tier of Michigan counties became disgusted with their party over internal improvements--the Democrats wanted to splurge on railroads outside the central tier--and united with the Whigs. He also claimed that "each party was so utterly broken up into factions in the thirties and forties that it might almost be said that the name Whig or Democrat represented an idea rather than an actuality."⁴ What is suggested here is that factions worked together for particular immediate goals. It does not necessarily contradict continuing allegiance to party on the part of individuals.

We found strong support for the continuance of party membership. Although more than one source has been found to document political affiliations for seventy-five of the elite, only two cases of a party switch before the 1850's turned up.⁵ H. N. (elsewhere H. P.) Baldwin, who was later a Whig, was a member of a Democratic First Ward Committee of Vigilance in a charter election in 1839, and William K. Coyl (not a member of the elite until 1860), designated as an "earnest Whig in early life," was Democratic nominee for assessor in 1839.⁶ That party loyalty was a customary

⁴Streeter, 12.

⁵See Appendix I.

⁶Free Press, April 9, 1839; Farmer, II, 1136.

mode of behavior during this period is suggested by Lee Benson's exhaustive analysis of voting patterns in New York. He found that "secular trends appear to have stemmed more from shifts to minor parties and from changes in the composition of the electorate than from a sizeable number of voters gradually deserting one major party to support another."⁷

On the basis of available evidence, and assuming constancy in political affiliations, the Wayne County elite in 1844 can be described as follows: sixty Whigs, twenty-eight Democrats, five Liberty Party and four unknown.

TABLE 8
POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE ELITE--1844

Whigs	60	62% of the Elite
Democrats	28	29% of the Elite
Liberty	5	5% of the Elite
Unknown	4	4% of the Elite
	<u>97</u>	<u>100%</u>

Although Whigs predominate, Streeter's characterization of the Whigs as the party of the well-to-do cannot be regarded as definitive. Clearly, we ought not to accept an economic explanation of party which leaves 40% of the

⁷Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 131, 136.

group as an exception. What is essential, then, is to examine other factors which might reasonably influence men's political affiliations. Streeter, along with the historians discussed in Chapter I, suggests ethnocultural as well as economic factors as possible influences on Whig membership: "a large number of the Whigs had been reared in homes in New England and eastern New York where they had enjoyed the advantages of wealth and education."⁸ By the use of multivariate analysis we hope to be able to relate ethnocultural and economic characteristics to party membership with greater precision.

The economic elite can be characterized as a politically active one. The office of mayor was almost their preserve. Sixteen of the thirty-two mayors between 1824 and 1875 qualified as members of the elites of 1844 and 1860.⁹ Alderman was also an attractive office: forty men from both groups served as aldermen between 1840 and 1860.¹⁰ There were only twenty-two who were not found to have engaged in some form of political activity, including the signing of letters and petitions. Testing political political activity against party affiliation, Democrats

⁸Streeter, 5.

⁹Detroit News-Tribune, Oct. 31, 1897.

¹⁰Farmer, I, 142-144.

were found to be more politically active than Whigs in proportion to their numbers.¹¹

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGES OF EACH PARTY ACTIVE OR PASSIVE
POLITICALLY--1844

	Whigs (60)		Democrats (28)		Liberty*(5)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Active	33	55	18	64	4	75
Passive	27	45	10	35	1	25
	60	100	28	100	5	100

*Liberty party would read 100% active, as would be expected, were not Robert Banks, Negro pamphleteer and clothing manufacturer included.

TABLE 10
PERCENTAGES OF "ACTIVES" AND "PASSIVES"
IN EACH PARTY--1844.

	Active (51)		Passive (37)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	33	65	27	73
Democrats	18	35	10	27

¹¹Active: all who entered the political arena to the extent of attending conventions or running for office in the 1840's, and office holders between 1840 and 1860. Passive: those for whom no activity could be discovered beyond signing letters.

It will be noted that because the Whigs have more than twice the number of Democrats they have the largest proportion of both "actives" and "passives" but that their share of "passives" is greater than their share of "actives."

That five per cent of the elite were antislavery to the extent of active participation in the Liberty Party is worthy of notice. Furthermore, antislavery sentiment among the elite reached beyond the four Liberty activists and Robert Banks, Negro clothing manufacturer and antislavery orator.¹² Whigs Shubael Conant, George C. Bates, James F. Joy and Franklin Moore all signed a letter of commendation to Robert Banks on his oration celebrating West Indian emancipation.¹³ This strong segment of antislavery opinion among the urban elite would seem to require a modification of Floyd Streeter's generalized description of Michigan abolitionists as rural, professional and small farmers.¹⁴ Even less would the four Liberty Party candidates (two

¹²Francis Raymond, Horace Hallock, Alanson Sheley and George F. Porter. The inclusion of the Negro manufacturer Banks among the elite results from using purely economic criteria and disregarding social and political considerations. He was obviously a well educated man.

¹³Robert Banks, An Oration . . . Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, Held By Colored Americans, Aug. 1, 1839, BHC; the Zachariah Chandler-James F. Joy "faction" in the Fort Street Presbyterian Church was reputed to have driven out Reverend Henry Neill on account of a pro-slavery sermon in 1857. Robert B. Ross, Early Bench and Bar of Detroit (Detroit: Joy and Burton, 1907), 126.

¹⁴Streeter, 64.

manufacturers, a builder and a lawyer-bank president) seem to fit David Donald's description of antislavery activity as a "quite unconscious attack upon the new industrial system."¹⁵

They would seem rather to help document Gerald Sorin's thesis that abolitionism attracted respectable citizens from urban communities who were religious idealists rather than displaced malcontents seeking leadership roles (to be discussed below in Chapter VII on religion).¹⁶ It is suggestive that the Liberty Party men were in the "low" bracket of wealth whereas Conant, Moore and Chandler, anti-slavery Whigs, were already very wealthy merchants.

Assigning specific economic roles to the elite made it possible to determine whether there were any patterns of party affiliation according to occupation. Some occupations showed a marked concentration of the same political adherents.¹⁷ Merchants and non-specialized entrepreneurs were preponderantly Whig (87% and 89%) with manufacturers showing a marked tendency to the same party (68%).

¹⁵David Donald, "Toward A Reconsideration of Abolitionists," in Lincoln Reconsidered (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 34.

¹⁶Gerald Sorin, "The Historical Theory of Political Radicalism: Michigan Abolitionist Leaders As a Test Case" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Wayne State University, Detroit Michigan, 1964), 68, 69, 71, 73-78.

¹⁷Table 12, Percentages of Party by Economic Role (below), shows less marked differences because there are more categories. Appended to Table 12 are the names of individuals.

TABLE 11
 PERCENTAGES OF ECONOMIC ROLE BY PARTY--1844

		Whigs		Democrats		Liberty	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Merchants	(23)	20	87	3	13	--	--
Landowners	(12)	4	34	8	66	--	--
one no party							
Manufacturers	(19)	13	68	3	16	3	16
one no party							
Non-specialized	(9)	8	89	1	11	--	--
Lawyers	(8)	5	62	3	38	--	--
Bankers	(6)	2	30	3	50	1	20
one no party							

Landowners were the only group showing a marked Democratic concentration, although not to the degree that merchants and entrepreneurs were Whigs (66% of landowners Democrats, 34% Whigs). Whigs led among the lawyers and Democrats among bankers, but here the smaller numbers involved makes the correlation seem less significant. The pattern for bankers is in line with a study of New York bankers who were found not to be "prone to be Whigs any more than they were to be Democrats."¹⁸

¹⁸Leonard Zivits, "The Political Affiliations of Bankers in New York State in 1844" (Unpublished seminar paper, Columbia College, 1958), 3, and *passim*, cited in Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 160.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGES OF PARTY BY ECONOMIC ROLE--1844

	Whigs (60)		Democrats (28)		Liberty		No Party	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Merchants	20	34	3	11	--	--	--	--
Manufacturers	13	22	3	11	3	60	1	25
Landowners	4	7	8	29	--	--	1	25
Non-specialized	8	13	1	3	--	--	--	--
Fur	4	7	2	6	--	--	1	25
Lawyers	5	8	3	11	--	--	--	--
Bankers	2	2	3	11	1	20	1	25
Other	4	7	5	18	1	20	--	--
	60	100	28	100	5	100	4	100

Whigs:

Merchants: W. N. Carpenter, Z. Chandler, S. Conant, D. Cooper, J. Drew, L. Cook, C. Desnoyers, P. J. Desnoyers, Alvah Ewers, R. H. Hall, E. P. Hastings, Chauncey Hurlbut, F. Moore, Alex. Newbould, J. Owen, J. Palmer, P. Teller, F. Wetmore, T. Williams, D. Lamson.

Manufacturers: H. P. Baldwin, C. H. Buhl, F. Buhl, H. DeGraff, F. Eldred, W. Gooding, S. Kendrick, J. L. King, A. McGraw, O. M. Hyde, S. Pitts, J. Roberts, B. Wight.

Landowners: A. Beaubien, C. Brush, T. Rowland, D. Thompson.

Non-specialized: J. Dorr, A. Dwight, J. N. Elbert, S. Gillet, C. Howard, Degarmo Jones, W. Truesdail, A. S. Williams.

Fur: J. Abbott, J. Biddle, W. Brewster, R. Stuart.

Lawyers: J. G. Atterbury, G. C. Bates, J. F. Joy, J. Van Dyke, W. Woodbridge.

Bankers: C. C. Trowbridge, J. A. Welles.

Other: E. Chapaton (Builder), L. Davenport (Vessels), O. Newberry (Vessels), C. Jackson (Builder).

Democrats:

Merchants: P. Desnoyers, B. B. Kercheval, J. Watson.

Manufacturers: W. Barclay, S. Sibley, M. F. Dickinson.

Landowners: E. A. Brush, L. Cass, F. Cicotte, J. Kearsley, J. McDonnell, C. Moran, T. C. Sheldon, J. R. Williams.

Non-specialized: G. B. Russel.

Fur: J. Hurlburt, J. Campau.

Lawyers: E. Farnsworth, A. D. Fraser, T. Romeyn.

Bankers: G. Throop, D. Houghton, H. N. Walker.

Other: T. Coquillard (Builder), W. F. Chittenden (Officer), O. Dibble (Hotel Prop.), J. Scott (Builder), G. Williams (Railroad President).

Liberty: H. Hallock, F. Raymond, R. Banks (Manufacturers); A. Sheley (Builder); G. F. Porter (Banker).

No Party: D. Riopelle (Landowner); W. Smith (Manufacturer); L. Goddard (Banker); B. Campau (Fur).

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC ELITE--1860

A demonstration of how an economic elite voted in 1860 provides data useful in seeking an understanding of the question of Civil War causation.¹ If, as Charles Beard maintained, the war resulted from the determination of northern capitalists to win control of the government in order to end the obstructionist economic policies of Southern planter aristocrats, then one would expect to find economic elites supporting the Republican party.² If, on the other hand, economic elites were found to be divided politically in 1860, the economic hypothesis would require further support: it would be necessary to show that party division coincided with economic roles. Philip S. Foner did, in fact, discover that a majority of the New York merchants, whom he pictures as predominantly Whig since the

¹Obviously a study of the economic elite of Wayne County is by itself of limited importance, but it is suggested that the important questions can be answered by further studies of the same kind.

²Beard, Rise of American Civilization, II, 54.

Jackson period, supported the Democratic party (Union ticket) or withdrew from politics in 1860 because of their fear that Republican victory would mean disunion and the loss of the Southern market.³ What Foner fails to do is to identify his Democrats and Republicans or even to define "merchants," used apparently as synonymous with the entire business community. The result is that the connection between economic interest and political party is not proved, and his conclusion that a majority of merchants voted Democratic or withdrew because of economic interests is unwarranted.⁴

The point of this study is to identify as exactly as evidence permits how members of the economic elite actually voted in 1860. These groups can then be measured against economic roles to see whether there was, for example, a

³Philip S. Foner, Business and Slavery, The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 131, 146, 148, 206, 207.

⁴Ibid., 99, 100, 138, 207. Foner shows a consistent economic determinist bias in assessing possible reasons for Republican support as well, even though he refers continually to antislavery sentiment among merchants. "Vote for Fremont indicated that there were important businessmen in the city who believed that peace and prosperity would never be obtained under a Southern-dominated administration. . . ." On Republican successes in winning over many merchants in 1860: "Whether this was due to their economic appeals, to their emphasis upon the necessity of turning out of power a corrupt administration dominated by that Slave Power responsible for the Panic and constituting a hindrance of the economic development of the nation, or whether it was due to the fear of the election being thrown into the House of Representatives, and to the 'Reign of Terror' conducted by the fusionists, it is impossible to determine."

Democratic tendency among merchants or a Republican trend among manufacturers. Having marked out possible correlations between economic role and party we can then proceed to test political affiliation against ethnic and religious identification. In this way we will be able to measure the relative influence of economic, ethnic or religious factors. If, for example, rich Republicans show a marked divergence from rich Democrats along ethnic and religious lines, antislavery sentiments based on religious and ethnocultural influences might be reasonably regarded as significant determinants of Republican affiliation. Shifts in party affiliation will provide valuable clues. For example, did Whigs who became Democrats share common characteristics differentiating them from Whigs who became Republicans? And what did Democrats who voted Republican have in common?

Because of the splintering of parties from 1852 on, designation of political affiliations for 1860 was far more difficult than in 1844. There was the possibility that, as in New York, a significant proportion of Whig merchants moved over into the Democratic party. Therefore no one was classified on the basis of earlier party designation. If clear biographical data or evidence of party activity between 1859 and 1861 were not found for an individual, he was assigned to the category party unknown. Of the 135 members of the economic elite of 1860, fifty-eight were Republicans, forty-nine were Democrats, four supported the

the Constitutional Union Party and no affiliations could be found for twenty-five, although fourteen of these were former Whigs.

TABLE 13
A COMPARISON OF THE ELITES, 1844 AND 1860,
BY POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	1844		1860		
	No.	% of Elite	No.	% of Elite	
Whigs	60	62	Republicans	58	43
Democrats	28	29	Democrats	48	36
Liberty	5	5	Constitutional Union	4	3
Unknown	4	4	Unknown	25	18
	97	100		135	100

It will be noted that the Republicans hold a much reduced majority from the Whigs in 1844, that Democrats have increased to over one-third, and that there is a much larger group with no known affiliation. The pull toward the Democrats suggests that the Republican party was regarded by some as great enough threat to the status quo to justify joining the Democrats. Fifteen former Whigs in fact did so. There were only two instances discovered of Democrats switching to the Republican party, although several prominent Democrats supported a patriotic, non-partisan, union

ticket in the city elections of 1861.⁵ Democrats of a different persuasion were the group called "free-speech" or "Vallandigham Democrats" in 1863.⁶ Only one man, Theodore Eaton, was eclectic enough in his opinions to be a supporter of both these Democratic factions. The large number of inactives in 1860 parallels the passivity of many New York merchants who became disgusted "with four democratic factions and two or three little fussy Bell-Everett cliques all wrangling among themselves."⁷ The "greatest of all the conservatives," William Woodbridge, typified those who could neither support Republicanism nor go over to the Democrats.⁸

Elite behavior during the splintering of parties in 1859 and 1860 over both the national crisis and local issues

⁵Albert Crane was Secretary, 1st Ward Democratic meeting in 1845 and had his house illuminated in a Republican Grand Torchlight in 1860. Alexander Stowell was an active Democratic politician, who seems to have deserted his party. The Democratic Free Press attacked him as an inspector of elections in 1860 and he later went South to recruit men for a colored regiment. See Appendix II; Democrats and Republicans are about equally represented in the non-partisan group: Democrats: C. Moran, S. Lewis, E. Farnsworth, George B. Russel, J. C. Warner, C. W. Jackson, Theodore Romeyn, Theodore H. Eaton, William Barclay. Republicans: E. B. Ward, J. J. Bagley, J. Owen, B. Wight, G. Foote, F. Moore, F. Buhl, N. W. Brooks, C. Merrill, H. P. Baldwin, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861.

⁶W. S. Biddle, A. Ives, W. C. Duncan, John Hull, Peter Desnoyers, A. S. Bagg, M. F. Dickinson, Theodore H. Eaton. Called "Democrats . . . in favor of maintaining free speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 15, 1863.

⁷Foner, 171.

⁸Streeter, 182.

shows that elite patterns cannot be assumed for the body of voters as a whole. There is evidence to suggest that the elite supported both Breckinridge Democrats and the Constitutional Union party to a far greater extent than the population at large. While the vast majority of Democrats who supported Douglas on the Lecompton issue stayed with him in 1860, men who had supported Buchanan organized a Breckinridge party.⁹ Two members of the elite, A. S. Bagg and Jacob Beeson, were prominent leaders and it is possible that other elite Democrats supported this group.¹⁰ Edward Orr, a merchant whose prosperity declined during the war allegedly because of his Copperhead opinions, was a likely Breckinridge die-hard.¹¹ Lewis Cass, who did not resign from Buchanan's cabinet until December, 1860, was reputed to favor the movement--the 150 delegates to the July, 1860, Breckinridge meeting all adjourned to General Cass's house.¹² The Republican Advertiser gave what was undoubtedly an accurate description of this group as "represented chiefly by life-long Democrats whose habits of devotion to party illly fits them to change for devotion to men."¹³ The Michigan vote showed how

⁹Streeter, 283.

¹⁰Advertiser, Aug. 28, 1860; Advertiser, Aug. 29, 1860.

¹¹News-Tribune, July 4, 1897.

¹²Streeter, 286. It should be stressed that Cass and other office-holding Democrats undoubtedly supported Douglas at election time.

¹³Advertiser, Aug. 29, 1860.

unrepresentative these men were: Breckinridge received 805 votes to Douglas's 66,163.¹⁴

Even less representative of Michigan opinion were the men who supported Bell, who received only 373 votes. Streeter identifies these men as representing the remnant of the Know-Nothings who were "too conservative to unite with the Republicans and too bitter toward their old enemies, the Democrats to form a coalition."¹⁵ Four members of the elite, three of whom were formerly active Whigs, were leaders of this splinter group.¹⁶ It is also possible that some of the Whigs not identified as being Republicans voted Constitutional Union. On the basis of the four known supporters alone, 3% of the elite supported Bell compared with .2% of the population as a whole. The party switches of a prominent Bell-Everett man, Francis Eldred, reveal how difficult it was for conservatives to make a choice between the major parties. Eldred was an active Whig who led conservative Whigs in 1854 in a futile effort to maintain the party in the face of Republican inroads.¹⁷ After the Whigs threw in the sponge, Eldred

¹⁴Streeter, 292.

¹⁵Ibid., 270, 292.

¹⁶W. N. Carpenter, George E. Curtis, Francis Eldred, George Kirby, Signers for Bell and Everett for a meeting at Michigan Exchange, Free Press, July 22, 1860.

¹⁷Advertiser, Sept. 8, 1842; Advertiser, Aug. 21, 1854.

joined the Whigs supporting Buchanan.¹⁸ He found Bell more acceptable than either Democratic group in 1860, however, and we find him in 1861 still active but without a party: he was a signer with other Democrats and Republicans of the "Call" for a non-partisan, citizens' ticket.¹⁹

The relationship between political party and economic role is one way of examining the complex problem of support on economic issues. For example, since federal aid for river and harbor improvement was considered of paramount importance to Republicans, one would expect those with a direct interest such as vessel owners to vote Republican.²⁰ Of the four men classified as vessel owners, none were Democrats, two were Republicans and one a former Whig (see Table 14 below).²¹ No other occupational grouping by itself would represent as clear a connection to specific economic policy as vessel owners. The political complexions of other roles, in fact, reverse expectations raised by historians

¹⁸"To the Whigs of the State of Michigan: . . . in view of the great issue now before the country . . . we deem it best to make no nomination," Advertiser, Oct. 7, 1854; Whigs for Buchanan, Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856.

¹⁹Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861.

²⁰Reinhold Luthin, The First Lincoln Campaign (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), 8-9.

²¹No actual evidence was found for the political party of E. Ward, II, but there is a strong assumption that he followed his father's politics. The other vessel owner for whom no party could be found, H. N. Strong, was a former Whig.

who posit economic interest as the basis for politics. In contrast to Foner's hypothesis that New York merchants voted Democratic for fear of economic loss, Wayne County merchants were preponderantly Republican (46% to 19% with 35% unknown). Economic interest is not, however, completely ruled out here because Michigan merchants were not as directly tied to the Southern market.²² It would be necessary to determine the actual trade connections of individual firms to assess this factor with precision.

TABLE 14
PERCENTAGES OF ECONOMIC ROLE BY PARTY--1860

	Republicans		Democrats		Constitutional Union		Unknown	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Landowners (34)	9	26	16	47	1	3	8	24
Merchants (26)	12	46	5	19	--	--	9	35
Capitalists (17)	12	70	5	30	--	--	--	--
Manufacturers (16)	6	38	6	38	3	19	1	5
Bankers (11)	5	46	6	54	--	--	--	--
Lumber (11)	7	64	2	18	--	--	2	18
Shipping (4)	2	50	--	--	--	--	2	50

²²M. M. Quaife and Sidney Glazer, *Michigan From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), 196. "Economic circumstances also fostered hostility to the peculiar institution since Michigan to a greater extent than the majority of northern states lacked important commercial links with the South."

Manufacturers certainly do not support the Beardian picture of high-tariff Republicans. The six Republicans who were manufacturers balanced the six Democrats (each representing 38% of manufacturers). A closer look into the products they manufactured still fails to support a division which could be explained in terms of tariff-requiring industries. Two Republicans and two Democrats were iron masters.²³ Two of these, of different political persuasion, were partners. Cyrus W. Jackson was a former Whig who switched to the Democrats as early as 1853, while his partner, Jefferson Wiley, became an active Republican. A Republican tobacco manufacturer, J. J. Bagley, had his counterpart Democrat, K. C. Barker. Of possible significance from a status and ethno-cultural rather than directly economic point of view was the political affiliation of the two brewers in the group, William C. Duncan and Richard Hawley: they were Democrats, also former Whigs.

A final assessment of economic role as a possible factor in political affiliation cannot be made without examination of religious and ethnic factors, but a comparison of the 1860 elite with 1844 makes possible the isolation of those groups where there seems to be a continuity of role

²³Republicans: C. A. Trowbridge and J. Wiley. Democrats: Wm. Barclay and C. W. Jackson. Men called capitalists who were involved in iron also divided politically. Republicans: E. B. Ward and E. M. Clark. Democrats: G. B. Russel and Caleb Van Husan.

TABLE 15
 PERCENTAGES OF PARTY BY ECONOMIC ROLE

	Republicans (58)		Democrats (48)		Constitu- tional Union (4)		Unknown (25)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Landowners	9	15	16	33	1	25	8	32
Merchants	12	21	5	10.5	--	--	9	36
Capitalists	12	21	5	10.5	--	--	--	--
Manufacturers	6	10	6	12.5	3	75	1	4
Bankers	5	8	6	12.5	--	--	--	--
Lumber	7	12	2	4	--	--	2	8
Shipping	2	4	--	--	--	--	2	8
Other	5	9	8	17	--	--	3	12
	58	100	48	100	4	100	25	100

Republicans:

Merchants: G. Bissell, C. Ducharme, G. Foote, R. Gardner, Z. Chandler, F. Moore, F. Raymond, G. B. Slocum, F. Wetmore, J. Burns, E. N. Penniman, A. Shelden.

Capitalists: C. H. Buhl, F. Buhl, O. M. Hyde, E. M. Clark, H. P. Baldwin, J. F. Joy, George Peck, J. Owen, A. Sheley, S. Conant, E. B. Ward, G. O. Williams.

Landowners: A. Crane, H. H. Emmons, D. Lamson, J. W. Johnston, J. Palmer, D. Thompson, W. B. Wesson, Theodore Williams, A. Stowell.

Manufacturers: J. J. Bagley, D. M. Richardson, A. C. McGraw, H. Hallock, C. A. Trowbridge, J. Wiley.

Bankers: W. A. Butler, L. Cook, J. S. Farrand, G. F. Porter, C. C. Trowbridge.

Lumber: F. Adams, H. Benson, N. W. Brooks, Charles Merrill, Hugh Moffat, Buckminster Wight, David Whitney, Jr.

Shipping: J. P. Clark, Ira Davis.

Other: G. C. Bates, H. T. Backus, T. W. Lockwood (Lawyers)
A. Chapaton, E. Chapaton (Builders).

Democrats:

Landowners: E. A. Brush, J. Campau, L. Cass, W. S. Biddle, A. Campau, M. F. Dickinson, W. Hale, C. Moran, W. Ten Eyck, S. Truedell, J. C. Warner, J. C. Williams, J. C. D. Williams, J. Mott Williams, Peter Desnoyers, D. Riopelle, Jr.

Merchants: S. P. Brady, H. Haigh, J. Hull, E. Orr, S. B. Scott.

Capitalists: T. H. Eaton, S. Lewis, S. Mandelbaum, C. Van Husan, G. Russel.

Manufacturers: W. Barclay, K. C. Barker, W. C. Duncan, R. Hawley, C. W. Jackson, F. D. Sibley.

Bankers: J. Beeson, E. Farnsworth, A. Ives, C. Ives, N. P. Stewart, H. N. Walker.

Lumber: H. A. Wight, S. G. Wight.

Other: C. Jackson, T. Coquillard, E. St. Amour (Builders); A. D. Fraser, T. Romeyn (Lawyers); A. S. Bagg (Hotel Prop.); J. N. Elbert, A. S. Williams.

Party Unknown:

Merchants: T. F. Abbott, L. Beecher, C. Campbell, G. F. Bagley, O. Bourke, C. Hurlbut, R. H. Hall, J. Stephens, R. Town.

Landowners: G. Chene, F. J. B. Crane, W. K. Coyl, D. Cooper, G. Duffield, A. Newbould, F. Palms, W. Woodbridge.

Lumber: G. B. Truax, S. Pitts.

Shipping: E. B. Ward, II, H. N. Strong.

Other: J. Drew, J. Roberts, J. A. Welles; (manufacturer)
J. L. King.

Constitutional Union:

Manufacturers: F. Eldred, George Curtis, George Kirby.

Landowner: W. N. Carpenter.

and party connection. What, for example, has happened to the Whig-merchant, Democratic-landowner in 1860? There has been a distinct flattening out since 1844: Republican numbered only 46% of the merchants compared with the Whigs' 87%. Landowners, who were 66% Democratic in 1844, divided 47% Democratic, 26% Republican. These results undoubtedly reflect in part the more nearly equal party division in 1860. An increase in Republican landowners can also be attributed to merchants who retired and were classified as landowners.²⁴

While the equal division of manufacturers between the two parties would seem to make that role insignificant as a determinant of political affiliation, other things being equal, the capitalists, a new designation in 1860, were

²⁴ Republicans formerly merchants classified in 1860 as landowners: Darius Lamson, J. W. Johnston, John Palmer, Theodore Williams. Former Whig merchants turned landowner for whom no affiliation could be found were W. K. Coyl and Alexander Newbould.

over two-thirds Republican. The over-all view of the relationship of economic role to political party over time thus isolates only a few groups which show a positive constant association: Democratic landowners, Whig non-specialized entrepreneurs, Republican capitalists and Republican lumbermen. These groups will be examined against religion and ethnic origin to determine whether economic role can be assigned as a determinant of party choice.

An important political group which should be examined against both economic role and degree of wealth are the former Whigs who shifted to the Democratic Party. Later religious and ethnic similarities of this group will be explored, but disgruntlement over declining wealth or possible economic interest cannot be ruled out. The fifteen Democrats who were formerly Whigs were found to be completely heterogeneous as to economic roles, so that economic interest as a possible determinant for the group must be ruled out.²⁵ As to wealth, 53% of this group were ranked low. The economic position in 1860 of the two Whig-Democrats who alone were also members of the 1844 elite is interesting. J. Nicholson Elbert although ranked "low" both years, had

²⁵Landowners: Biddle, Riopelle and Truedell. Manufacturers: Duncan and C. W. Jackson. Merchants: Haigh and Brady. Lumber: H. A. and S. G. Wight. Other: St. Amour, C. Jackson, A. S. Williams and J. N. Elbert. Capitalists: Mandelbaum and Theodore H. Eaton.

obviously failed as an entrepreneur. In 1860 he was worth only \$12,000 and was classified in the Census as a post office clerk. A. S. Williams, a former newspaper owner and inheritor of a sizeable estate, was also an unsuccessful businessman whose wealth placed him in the low ranks. Ironically, the war provided this Democrat with his great opportunity. Alpheus Williams found the military milieu better suited to his talents than the mercantile and became a distinguished general.

TABLE 16

COMPARISON OF POLITICAL GROUPS ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF WEALTH

	Whig-Republicans (31)		Whig-Democrats (15)	
	No.	%	No.	%
High	12	40	2	14
Medium	8	25	5	33
Low	11	35	8	53
	31	100	15	100

Contrasting these former Whigs with the thirty-one known to have become Republicans, we find only one difference as to economic characteristics. As with the smaller group, their economic roles were heterogeneous, but they contained among their group twelve ranked as among the

wealthiest.²⁶ As a group they were wealthier than the Whigs who became Democrats.

An examination of religious and ethnic characteristics of these party "changers," along with the larger groupings, will give further clues as to political motivation.

²⁶ Capitalists: C. H. and F. Buhl, S. Conant, J. F. Joy, O. M. Hyde, J. Owen, E. B. Ward. Merchants: Z. Chandler, F. Moore, F. Wetmore, G. Bissell, E. P. Penniman. Landowners: D. Lamson, J. Palmer, D. Thompson, H. H. Emmons, T. Williams. Bankers: L. Cook, C. C. Trowbridge. Manufacturers: A. McGraw, H. P. Baldwin, J. J. Bagley. Other: G. C. Bates, H. Backus, T. W. Lockwood, E. Chapaton, I. Davis, A. Chapaton. Lumber: B. Wight, N. W. Brooks, C. Merrill.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICS AND RELIGION--ELITES OF 1844 AND 1860

Any study of the political behavior of men in nineteenth-century America would be completely superficial without the investigation of one of their dominating concerns--religion. Despite separation of church and state, religion had thrived on an institutional basis and "by 1860 the clergy had recovered whatever influence over public affairs they had lost in the generations of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson."¹ The Great Protestant revivals had not only transformed the mode of religious experience but had brought about expanded church membership. By 1855 15% of the population were members of a Protestant congregation compared with the 10% including both Catholic and Protestants who were members in 1790.²

¹Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth America (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), 38.

²In a population of 27,000,000, 4,088,675 were members of a Protestant congregation in 1855, Ibid., 17; Liston Pope, "Religion and the Class Structure," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLVI (March, 1948), 84.

Observations derived from the letters of the Wayne County elite strikingly corroborates the statistics. Many of these men were not only leaders who were involved with the church as an important social institution--they were uninhibited in expressing themselves over their concern for personal salvation. A letter to elite member E. P. Hastings on the occasion of a serious illness from John P. Cleaveland, former pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, illustrates a stern acceptance of God's will:

My dear friend E. P. Hastings is very low and not expected to recover . . . But why should I be shocked? He is a mortal man. Die he must . . . it is all all right . . . and now to crown the whole, it will be right if God should see fit to take you away in the midst of your days in the prime of your usefulness.³

That religion influenced economic activity has been recognized--and contradicted--ever since Max Weber's thesis that there was a link between Calvinist theology and the industriousness of urban classes. The narrower question of the relation between religion and political affiliation can be ascertained, at least formally, by finding out whether Presbyterians and Episcopalians chose different parties. Furthermore, using methodology developed by political scientists, we can get at the question of the relative influence of class or religion on political persuasion.

³John P. Cleaveland to E. P. Hastings, Cincinnati, Ohio, 21 February 1844, E. P. Hastings Papers.

When a complete study has been made of the voting behavior of Wayne County we can find out whether the relationship between vote and religious affiliation held true on each socio-economic level, as it did in Erie County, Ohio, in 1944.⁴ Did, for example, the Catholics of Wayne County who became members of the economic elite vote Democratic to the same degree that Catholics at large did, or did they exhibit "cross pressures" noted by political scientists among upper-class Catholics and show a wavering toward the opposite party?⁵ Were the economic elite as inclined toward church membership as the rest of the population or did "religious organizations decline in influence at both extreme ends of the social scale?"⁶

The Wayne County elite in 1844 was more religious than the population at large. This conclusion is based on the assumption that affiliation rather than membership prevailed among the general population as it did among the elite. Church records did not clearly delineate membership. A separate membership roll for the Fort Street Presbyterian Church suggests that a minority were full-fledged members:

⁴Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), 22.

⁵Pope, Annals, CCLI, 85; Gerhart H. Saenger, "Social Status and Political Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, LI (September, 1945), 106.

⁶Pope, Annals, CCLVI, 90.

of twenty-four elite members who were pew renters at Fort Street Presbyterian, only four were found on the membership roll.⁷ Men were assigned religious affiliations on the basis of identification in biographical accounts or if they were listed in the burial records of a particular church. With these qualifications as to "membership," 79% of the elite of 1844 were found to be affiliated with religious organizations. In 1840 roughly 51% (4,700 of 9,102) of the population of Detroit were estimated to be church members.⁸ Since Catholics, who comprised a big minority of the general population, classify all persons baptized as members, the elite would seem to have been considerably more active in church affairs than the general population.

There is a pretty strong supposition that the 21% for whom no religious affiliation could be found in 1844 were not religious, since they do not appear in the records of the only Episcopal and Presbyterian churches then in existence, nor in the records of the Catholic church of the French

⁷"Records of the Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11, Pew Rents; Roll of Membership (Fort Street Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan).

⁸Farmer, I, 630; Johnston's Detroit City Directory and Advertising Gazeteer of Michigan, 1861 (Detroit: H. Barns & Co., 1861), 6.

community, Sainte Anne's.⁹ Among the twenty men for whom no religious affiliations could be determined there were still family connections with churches. James Van Dyke was converted to Catholicism, his wife's religion, on his death bed; Thomas C. Sheldon and possibly John Scott were married to Catholics.

Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism, not surprisingly, were the predominant faiths of the elite, together comprising 65%. Presbyterianism, "the religious form preferred by the industrial classes, by men of enterprise and initiative," had the most adherents (38%).¹⁰ Undoubtedly many Presbyterians from New England and New York came from a recent background of Congregationalism.¹¹ The Presbyterian form had been the favorite choice of frontier communities

⁹"Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit," BHC; George Duffield, "First Presbyterian Church Records, Detroit, Michigan, 1834-1868," BHC; "Registre de Sainte Anne, Detroit," Vols. 4, 5, 7, BHC; "Congress Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Detroit, Michigan, Membership Book, 1844-1845," BHC. The only other churches were Scotch Presbyterian, two Negro churches, one German Lutheran church and three other Catholic churches, one of which was German, another Irish and the third, St. Peter's and Paul's, not in possession of a congregation until 1848, Wellings, Detroit Directory, 1845, 6-9. Another source checked for religious affiliation of French members was Christian Denissen, "Genealogy of French Families of Detroit" (26 Vols.; Type-written), BHC.

¹⁰T. L. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, 26; It is interesting to note that after World War II the four groups drawing the largest proportion of their members from the upper class were Episcopalian, Congregational, Presbyterian and Jewish. See Pope, Annals, CCLVI, 85.

¹¹Lewis G. VanderVelde, "The Synod of Michigan and

TABLE 17
 DIVISION OF ELITES OF 1844 AND
 1860 BY RELIGION

	1844		1860	
	No.	%	No.	%
Presbyterian	37	38	42	31
Episcopalian	28	29	34	35
No Religion*	20	21	28	22
Catholic	7	7	10	7
Congregational	2	2	4	3
Baptist	2	2	2	1
Methodist	1	1	3	2
Unitarian	--	--	10	8
Church of Christ	--	--	2	1
	97	100	135	100

*No affiliations discovered.

Movements for Social Reform, 1834-1869," (Paper read before a meeting of the American Society of Church History, New York, December 30, 1935), 8.

after Jonathan Edwards, Jr., President of Union College drew up the Plan of Union in 1802 which allowed communicants of either faith to call a minister of either denomination.¹² A separate Congregational congregation did not establish itself in Detroit until 1844 and claimed only two members of the elite. One of these, Francis Raymond, was an abolitionist, that is, a Liberty Party member in 1844. Congregationalism in its early decades after 1840 was strongest in the rural areas which were considered by antislavery leaders to provide the most fruitful fields.¹³ Presbyterianism in Detroit, however, was not unalloyed by reform elements. At its inception the First Church was of the New School branch, led by Presbyterians who had been expelled from the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1837, allegedly as the result of a "deal" between conservative Scotch-Irish churchmen who opposed the revivalists' doctrinal heresies and the Southerners who feared anti-slavery sentiments.¹⁴ Under the leadership of the evangelist

¹²David Maldwyn Ellis, "The Yankee Invasion of New York, 1783-1850," New York History, XXXII (January, 1951), 14.

¹³VanderVelde, "The Synod of Michigan," 14.

¹⁴T. L. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, 26-27, 185.

reformer and abolitionist, John P. Cleaveland, Pastor of the First Church until 1838, an atmosphere was created "in which it was possible for prominent men in the city to debate the question [of slavery] on its merits without too much rancor and bitterness."¹⁵ Two Elders of the First Church, Horace Hallock and Alanson Sheley, elite members who were Liberty Party candidates and among the top one hundred abolitionist leaders of Michigan, typified the respectable urban antislavery leader motivated, as Sorin has suggested, by religious idealism.¹⁶

The hospitality to revivalist doctrines disappeared with the replacement of Cleaveland by George Duffield (himself a member of the 1860 elite), who remained pastor of First Presbyterian until 1868. Although Duffield had been one of the leaders in the New School Revolt, he was far more conservative than Cleaveland and "sought for the next twenty five years to reconcile Old and New School positions."¹⁷ Duffield's social conservatism was intimately connected with his trend toward Presbyterian orthodoxy, shown by his outburst in his Diary, February 26, 1847, at the arrival of Charles Finney in Detroit, welcomed to

¹⁵, Sorin, 83.

¹⁶See above Chapter V, p. 101.

¹⁷T. L. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, 26; VanderVelde, "The Synod of Michigan," 11.

speak at the Congregational Church:

The miserable spirit of Congregationalism which disdains all watch and care of an eldership ordained to take the spiritual oversight, knows no obligations of governmental relations, and inflates each individual with the notion that they [sic] are judges and have as much right as anyone to move in matters affecting the public social [?] interests continually produces distraction.¹⁸

The character of Presbyterianism has been developed at some length because, as the largest body of the elite they tended toward Whiggery. It will be noted on Table 18 that 76% of the Presbyterians were Whigs compared with 16% who were Democrats.

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR RELIGIOUS
GROUPS ACCORDING TO PARTY

	1844							
	Presbyterian		Episcopalian		Catholic		No Religion	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Whig	28	76	18	64	4	57	7	35
Democrat	6	16	10	36	3	43	9	45
Liberty	2	5	--	--	2	10	--	--
Unknown	1	3	--	--	--	--	2	10
	37	100	28	100	7	100	20	100

(Omitted: 5)

Note: Identifications can be found appended to Table 22 in Chapter VIII, p. 154.

¹⁸VanderVelde, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIV, 56.

TABLE 18--Continued

	Presbyterian		1860 Eposcopalian		Catholic		No Religion	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Republican	28	67	9	26	2	20	8	29
Democrat	6	14	17	50	6	60	12	43
Constitu- tional Union	--	--	3	9	--	--	1	3
Unknown	8	19	5	15	2	20	7	25
	42	100	34	100	10	100	28	100

(Omitted: 21)

The Whig-Presbyterian correlation makes sense when we investigate Presbyterian attitudes and note the congruence with Whig positions. Both Whigs and Presbyterians were antipathetic to Catholics. Although George Duffield's anti-Catholicism took an extreme theological form, his attitudes conformed to the outlook of the Michigan Presbyterian Synod.¹⁹ One of the Synod's chief preoccupations was the preservation of the sanctity of the sabbath, the desecration of which was blamed on Roman Catholics, European immigrants, increasing ties with Europe, Sunday newspapers

¹⁹Duffield's Diary for April 27, 1868, answers the question raised at a pastor's meeting--whether Romanism or popery should be regarded as a form of Christianity--with a resounding "no." VanderVelde, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIV, 66.

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE OF EACH PARTY ACCORDING TO RELIGION

	1844							
	Whig		Democrat		Liberty		Unknown	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Presbyterian	28	48	6	21	2	40	1	25
Episcopalian	18	31	10	36	--	--	--	--
Catholic	4	6	3	11	--	--	--	--
No Religion	7	9	9	32	2	40	2	50
Congrega- tional	1	2	--	--	1	20		
Baptists	1	2	--	--	--	--	1	25
Methodist	1	2	--	--	--	--	--	--
Unitarian	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Church of Christ	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	60	100	28	100	5	100	4	100
	1860							
	Republican		Democrat		Constitutional Union		Unknown	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Presbyterian	28	48	6	12	--	--	8	32
Episcopalian	9	14	17	38	3	75	5	20
Catholic	2	4	6	10	--	--	2	8
No Religion	8	15	12	25	1	25	7	28
Congrega- tional	4	7	--	--	--	--	--	--
Baptist	--	--	2	4	--	--	--	--
Methodist	3	5	--	--	--	--	--	--
Unitarian	4	7	4	8	--	--	2	8
Church of Christ	--	--	1	3	--	--	1	4
	58	100	48	100	4	100	25	100

and railroads.²⁰ In the political sphere Whig newspapers and politicians echoed the Presbyterians. The Detroit Advertiser did not give unqualified support to the Know-Nothings, but clearly revealed its anti-Catholic bias in Describing them as native born who would "use any honorable means to counteract the secret and jesuitical influence of the Pope."²¹ Although it is difficult to separate the strands, anti-Catholicism among Whig-Presbyterians may have been inspired by religious prejudice rather than racism.²² A letter written in 1853 by the widow of prominent Whig and Presbyterian, Robert Stuart, gives voice to the intensity of anti-popery:

You are right in thinking the Catholic question an important one, it is the only one, which should at this moment occupy the American mind--They for the last 20 yrs. have been moving all their powers to enslave our beautiful Republic, but they have gone too fast . . . Every Christian has to buckle on his Armour & keep it Bright--The Battle of the Lord of Hosts has begun--In this struggle, the German and French Catholics have behaved most nobly --the Irish and Belgians were his Satanic Majesty's Standard Bearers.²³

²⁰VanderVelde, "The Synod of Michigan," 21.

²¹Advertiser, Sept. 6, 1854.

²²Thomas J. McAvoy, "The Formation of the Catholic Minority in the United States, 1820-1860," Review of Politics, X (January, 1948), 25. McAvoy says that nativism was to a great extent a religious persecution, but at the same time it was a cultural reaction to the influx of immigrants.

²³Mrs. Robert Stuart to Kate Stuart, undated, 1853, Robert Stuart Papers.

Political ambitions of Whigs certainly reinforced religious attitudes. That Democrats would gain the immigrant vote was the upper-most Whig motif. In 1835 William Woodbridge received a characteristic complaint from a gloomy Whig:

. . . Mistaken I have been if the profligate Irish, the mercenary border Dutch and German, the mindless Canadian, the hired Britains and other numerous foreigners may all be put into the hands of heartless politicians as so much material and strength to be used at will and yet without danger to the property of the individual or the quietude of the State.²⁴

Temperance was strong among Presbyterians and undoubtedly reinforced nativism. However, Catholics were not the only threat to morals in this regard. The other religion of the elite, Episcopalianism, "the fashionable church of America," represented the greater danger to the sobriety of the upper classes.²⁵ Duffield's anguish was exacerbated by the spectacle of Episcopal Bishop McCroskey's drinking at a dinner party of General Brady's to which Duffield felt he had been invited "as a sort of restraint as much as by way of compliment:" "Oh what an obstacle in the way of true spiritual religion is that Episcopal Church! I mourn

²⁴Streeter, 164.

²⁵T. L. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, 28.

over its benumbing influence upon many members of my own church."²⁶ Whether or not Episcopalians were responsible, Duffield was an accurate observer of the temptations of social conviviality, as we know from an eyewitness:

. . . What do you think, Sophie? Since Mr. Duffield has come the Presbyterians have taken to drinking wine and giving parties. We were invited to Mrs. Davis' home some time ago where Mr. Robert Stuart, Mr. E. P. Hastings and all the 'true blues' drank champagne!²⁷

Temperance was nevertheless an active elite cause. Evidence shows that it was almost exclusively an interest of Whigs and Presbyterians. Of seventeen elite members (both 1844 and 1860) who signed the Constitution of the Temperance Society in 1840, all were Whigs in 1844 except for two Liberty men. Of those whose religion is known, twelve were Presbyterians and one a Baptist. Were it not for Episcopalian H. H. Emmons it would appear from this source that Episcopalians were never rather than hardly ever temperance enthusiasts.²⁸

²⁶VanderVelde, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIV, 59.

²⁷Elizabeth Campbell to Sophia Biddle, 2 December 1838, John Biddle Papers, BHC.

²⁸"Constitution and Proceedings, Detroit Temperance Society, 1840-1846," BHC. Whig Presbyterians: A. A. Dwight, R. Stuart, A. C. McGraw, B. Wight, T. Rowland, S. Conant, J. Atterbury, J. S. Farrand; Whigs, no religion known: Wm. C. Duncan, H. A. Wight, S. G. Wight, T. F. Abbott, L. Beecher; Liberty Presbyterians: A. Sheley, H. Hallock; Baptist Whig: S. N. Kendrick; Presbyterian, no party: W. Smith. It should be noted that Duncan, H. A. and S. G. Wight later became Democrats and Duncan became an Episcopalian in 1865.

In 1844 Episcopalianism did not identify as closely with one party as did Presbyterianism. Although it represented the largest affiliation of Democrats (36% of them Episcopalian), 31% of the Whigs also embraced the fashionable faith (see Table 19 above). Further more, because Whigs were preponderant they accounted for 64% of the Episcopal group (36% Democratic; see Table 18 above). Despite their small numbers Democrats did lead, however, in the number of men who were not found to be affiliated with any religion (they account for 45% to Whig 35% of all non-affiliated men). Joseph Campau was reputed to have left the Catholic church for political reasons--he was outraged when Father Gabriel Richard ran for territorial delegate against his nephew, John R. Williams. Williams himself was baptised a Catholic but was not found to be a member of any church, although most of his children were Episcopalians.

The voting pattern of the seven Catholics among the Wayne County elite of 1844 is perhaps one of the more interesting findings of this study. Four, or 57% of the Catholics have been identified as Whigs and three, or 43% of the Catholics were Democrats. The first conclusion suggested by the Whig preponderance among Catholics is that economically successful Catholics were subjected to "cross pressures" as they distanced their co-religionists and abandoned the Democratic party, the overwhelming favorite

of Catholic voters.²⁹ However, the ethnocultural characteristics of these Wayne County Catholics present complicating factors. They were all French, but only one family among them, the Desnoyers, could be called "immigrants," and two of the three Desnoyers, Peter J. Desnoyers and one of his sons, Charles, were Whigs. Peter J. Desnoyers, the father, became a successful merchant, having started out in Detroit in the early 1800's as a silversmith, financed by his father in Paris. His Whig orientation could easily be explained as an identification away from (negative reference group reaction) the native French whose separation from the invading Yankees was based on their ethnocultural differences as much as upon their religion. Two of the richest French members of the elite, Antoine Beaubien and Joseph Campau, were distinctly "peasant" types. Beaubien was illiterate and Joseph Campau (ex-Catholic and Democrat) was "a picturesque French gentlemen" and shrewd peasant landlord who conversed "colorfully" in broken English. Beaubien's Whig affiliation was a weak one. The only evidence for it was his signature on a broadside for one of the first organizational meetings of the Whig Party, signed also by Joseph Campau, who has been classified as a Democrat because of

²⁹Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 187. Of the "Catholic voters" 95% supported the Democrats in New York.

his close connection with his nephew, John R. Williams.³⁰ If the political affiliations are considered from the point of view of ethnocultural similarity rather than religion, then the pattern is more in conformity with New York and elsewhere (see Chapter VIII for further comment). Of eleven of French descent, five were Democrats, four Whigs and two no party. It should be noted in connection with religion that four, or 36%, of the French members of the elite were not found to be practicing Catholics. This may also represent a negative reference group reaction.

No significant pattern of political identification can be read from the two Baptists (Whig and no party) and one Methodist in the 1844 group because of their numbers. That so few of the elite embraced these sects conforms to the class patterns of Methodism and Baptism. From the nineteenth century through the twentieth they were the Protestant sects of the common man with Baptists having their greatest success in the rural South and Methodism in the Eastern cities.³¹

Turning to the 1860 elite, we find one striking

³⁰Great Whig Meeting (Broadside, Detroit, Michigan: December 18, 1834), BHC.

³¹T. L. Smith, Revivalism and Reform, 22; Methodism showed a higher percentage among upper economic groups in the twentieth century. See Pope, Annals, CCLVI, 86.

contrast with the political-religious groupings in 1844-- the increase of Episcopalians who voted Democratic. Although there was a slight increase in the total proportion of Episcopalians in the elite as a whole (see Table 17), the significant change took place in party affiliations.³² Democrats who made up 36% of Episcopalians in 1844 now accounted for half their numbers (see Table 18). While Whigs had represented 64% of Episcopalians in 1844, Republicans accounted for only 26%. In terms of percentage of party, Episcopalians comprised only 14% of Republican membership compared with 31% who were Whigs in 1844 (see Table 19). In addition to being the party of Episcopalians the Democrats continued to claim the largest number with no known religion (43% to Republican 29%), although it should be noted that the existence of a greater number of churches in 1860 whose records were unavailable meant a greater possibility that some religious affiliations were missed.³³

³²It will be noted on Table 17 that the over-all proportions of religious affiliation among the elite remained fairly constant. The Unitarians and Church of Christ show up as new groups in 1860.

³³Church records not found in Burton Historical Collection were located by consulting Michigan Historical Records Survey Project, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration, Inventory of the Church Archives of Michigan, Presbytery of Detroit and Protestant Episcopal Bodies (Detroit: 1940-1942). According to the Free Press, April 15, 1859, there were thirty-eight churches in Detroit. Of the seven Presbyterian churches,

Can we draw any conclusions as to religious influence on political behavior from the above? Why do Presbyterians tend toward Republicanism, Democrats to Episcopalianism? An examination of the Whigs who were opposed to Republicanism with enough vehemence to join the opposition party points up the most significant variable for this group, non-Presbyterianism. Of the fifteen former Whigs who joined the Democrats after 1856 none was a Presbyterian in 1860, and the largest affiliation for this group was Episcopal (43%).

Religion, especially non-Presbyterianism, is reinforced as the important variable for the Whigs who became Democrats because we have already shown that economic roles in this

the available records of First, Fort Street, Jefferson Avenue and Westminster were investigated, leaving French, Scotch and Kirk of Scotland which probably did not claim members of the elite among their membership. Alexander McGraw, for example, left the Scotch church to join the more fashionable Fort Street in 1864. Of the six Episcopal churches, the records of St. Paul's, Christ, St. John's and Mariners' were available, leaving St. Matthew's (colored) and St. Peter's. Records, or parts of records available from other churches in the Burton Historical Collection were from the Unitarian, the Congregational, Congress Street Methodist Episcopal and Sainte Anne's among the Catholic churches. That these churches represented the likely churches attended by the elite is supported not only from finding the elite among their parishioners but by their permanence. Another valuable source for determining the participation of Frenchmen in the Catholic church was Denissen's "Genealogy." The religious individuals are distinguished from the lapsed Catholics by the note on their burials. Dominique Riopelle, for example, was simply "buried from Detroit" whereas Dominique Riopelle, Jr. was "buried from St. Peter's and Paul's."

TABLE 20
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF PARTY CHANGERS

	Whigs to Democrats		Whigs to Republicans	
	No.	%	No.	%
Presbyterian	--	--	15	48
Episcopal	6	43	6	19
Catholic	2	8	2	7
No Religion	4	28	3	10
Other	3	21	5	16
	15	100	31	100

Identification of those changing to the Democratic party:

Whig-Democrats (Episcopal): Biddle, Duncan, Eaton, Elbert, Haigh, A. S. Williams; (Catholic): St. Amour, Riopelle; (Religion not Known): Brady, Truedell, H. A. Wight, S. G. Wight; (Unitarian): C. Jackson, C. W. Jackson, (Presbyterian, 1864), Simon Mandelbaum (also Episcopal).

Identification of those changing to Republican party:

Whig-Republicans (Presbyterian): C. H. Buhl, F. Buhl, Chandler, Conant, Cook, Joy, Lamson, McGraw, Moore, Palmer, Thompson, Wetmore, B. Wight, Bissell, Lockwood; (Episcopal): Baldwin, Bates, Hyde, Trowbridge, Theodore Williams, Emmons; (Catholic): E. Chapaton, A. Chapaton; (No religion): Backus, Davis, Penniman; (Other): Owen, Brooks, Bagley, Merrill, Ward.

group showed no significant relationship to party (see Chapter VI, p. 118, n25). The exclusiveness of the Presbyterian-Republican connection is strengthened by the fact that none of the four men who supported the Constitutional Union Party

was a Presbyterian (75% Episcopal, 25% no religion). When we examine the fourteen living Whigs who were Episcopalians in 1844, the Presbyterian-Republican affinity is again shown. Only five (36%) of this group became Republicans. The rest (64%) became Democrats, joined no party or adhered to the Constitutional Union group.

In 1860 the Catholic minority of the elite conformed more closely to "normal" for Catholics by showing a Democratic majority (60%). The shift paralleled the trend toward the Democrats and was accounted for partly by former Whigs who became Democrats, Eugene St. Amour and Dominique Riopelle, Jr. As in 1844, all the Catholic members of the elite were French, except for the only "immigrant" of the group, Francis Palms, son of a rich Belgian manufacturer, whose vast estate in pine lands was in the process of accumulation.³⁴ The two Frenchmen who became Republicans do not seem to have been swayed by religion. Both Eugene Chapaton and his son Alexander were staunch Catholics. The only French member of the elite to adopt a Protestant faith was Alexander M. Campau, a Democrat and Episcopalian. Campau was logically the person to take the drastic step--his

³⁴No record of affiliation for Palms could be found for 1860. There is a strong presumption of Republicanism because he had been a Whig and his early association in business was with Franklin Moore, a stalwart of the Republicans at Fort Street Presbyterian.

father Barnabas was not found to be a practicing Catholic, his uncle Joseph was anti-Church and his cousins of the John R. Williams clan were Episcopalians. With his marriage to Eliza Throop he made a connection with a Democratic and Episcopalian family. The Campaus thus represent a negative reference group reaction in the sphere of religion which the Chapatons adopted in politics.³⁵

³⁵Robert K. Merton, "Positive and Negative Reference Groups," Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press 1957), 305. "To the extent that status-conferral represents a major basis for the selection of non-membership groups, the social structure, which assigns varying degrees of prestige and authority to groups and which determines the degree of accessibility to them will tend to pattern this selection for those variously located in the society."

CHAPTER VIII

ETHNOCULTURAL ORIGINS AND POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

An investigation of the ethnic and geographical origins of the elite is essential in order to clarify the role religion played in influencing political affiliation. Since religion tended to coincide with ethnic origin as in the case of French Catholics, it might be assumed that a separate investigation of ethnocultural origin is superfluous. We shall discover, however, that by separating out ethnic background from religion we are able to pinpoint more sharply the determining role of religion. As Lee Benson discovered in New York, religion separated Irish voters: the Protestants voted Whig, the Catholics Democratic.¹ One of the values of an elite study is that available sources make it possible to check religious affiliation against ethnocultural background with a certain degree of exactitude. Benson's study enabled him to estimate percentages of party affiliation according to ethnocultural groups, but the religious affiliations of the same groups could not be examined except where the religion and ethnic component

¹Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 167, 171.

created the total group character as in the case of Irish Catholics and French Huguenots.² His study indicated that Yankees, who also dominated the Wayne County elite in 1844 and 1860, could be expected to show much greater variations in politics than immigrant groups.³ Using less exact methods than Benson, Dixon Ryan Fox also suggests that Yankees outside New England tended to lose their cohesion, even though "election maps reveal a tendency to Federalist, Whig and finally Republican support in districts where Yankee settlement was general." The data on Yankees in this study makes it possible to elicit more exact patterns of deviation than those suggested by Fox:

The New England migrants were from the uplands where allegiance to the standing order was not as rigid as in the old towns by the water. New York leaders of the successive conservative parties could be most certain of their Yankee following when they favored the idealism of anti-masonry, abolition, temperance and the like.⁴

The contradiction inherent in Fox's description--that Yankee "radicals" would be most likely to affiliate with "conservative parties"--arises from the traditional division discussed in Chapter I which categorizes Federalists, Whigs and Republicans as conservatives and Democrats as liberals or agrarians.

²Ibid., 180, 185.

³Ibid., 177, 179.

⁴Dixon Ryan Fox, Yankees and Yorkers (New York: New York University Press, 1940), 211.

Because the Yankee presence in Wayne County in the 1840's represented an invasion, repercussions of cultural conflict could be anticipated in the political sphere. Just as Yorkers tended to vote more strongly Democratic in areas where Yankees were crowding in, so it could be expected that the native French of Wayne County would react accordingly.⁵ According to a local novelist, conflict between Yankee and Frenchman destroyed the golden days of social harmony when the only Englishmen in the community were Army families and fur traders:

One could not well imagine a pleasanter state of feeling than [sic] mutually existed, with sufficient distinction between the different castes or classes to prevent wrangling, and yet sufficient community of interest, prejudice and pleasure to make everybody sociable. . . .

Ah! that was a happy time for everybody. Our little community was not yet divided on the question of Bible in schools, or wine on the side-boards But as settlers from New England began to thicken among us--Bostonians they were indiscriminately denominated--it gradually came to light that our lively little community was scarce a grain better than the wicked, nay than the very heathen.⁶

This novelistic account is interesting because it suggests that it was the number of English or Yankees relative to the native French which occasioned conflict. It is obviously inadequate, however, to attribute nativist conflicts which

⁵Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 182.

⁶Major March [O. B. Willcox], Walter March: or Shoepac Recollections (Detroit: Raymond and Selleck, 1857), 10, 17.

Detroit experienced in the 1850's along with the rest of the country to the Yankee invasion. It was undoubtedly a far more complicated situation with Know Nothingism among New Englanders exacerbated by the influx of Irish and other immigrants.⁷ Although few conclusions can be drawn from such a small group, we shall see that the political affiliations of the French segment of the elite showed a more anti-Yankee trend in 1860 than in 1844.

In documenting the ethnic identification of the Wayne County elite we have used the term ethnocultural rather than ethnic, which according to sociological usage means membership in "a group with a foreign culture."⁸ This definition is misleading when applied to Wayne County where the French were "natives" and the English Yankees "foreigners;" ethnocultural is better suited to the study of the elite who were, for the most part, natives of English, French and other stock. The method of ascertaining ethnocultural background was to combine nationality with place of origin. Thus English from New England, English from

⁷A large portion of the conservative wing of the Whig party formed the Know-Nothing organization, according to Streeter, 178; of a population of 21,000 in 1850, 10,000 were foreign born with 3,289 from Ireland, 2,851 from Germany and 1,245 from England and Wales. See Sidney Glazer, Detroit, A Study in Urban Development (New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1965), 36.

⁸W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups ("Yankee City Series," Vol. III; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), 28.

New York and English from Michigan are differentiated under the heading of "Native English" (See Table 21 below). Immigrants were those who were born in foreign countries, whose place of origin and nationality coincided except where Canada was the place of origin.

Obviously men whose American ancestry extended back several generations were not apt to be purely English, but if biographical or genealogical sources traced their ancestry back to English immigrants they were called English. Another group, for whom no direct evidence of ancestry could be found but who came from New England or from New England-dominated counties of New York (see below) who also had English surnames were called English.⁹ Paradoxically, the availability of extensive knowledge about a man's ancestry increased the difficulty of classifying him. John R. Williams was a case in point. His father, Thomas Williams, who came from Albany, New York, was English, but genealogical charts show that his family had married into Dutch families for a couple of generations. Thomas further complicated matters by marrying a French girl in Detroit, Cecile Campau, sister of Joseph. Although John R. Williams undoubtedly benefited from the benevolent protection of his munificent French uncle, it was decided to call him English

⁹Elsdon C. Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names (1st ed.; New York: Harper and Bros., 1956).

since he obviously did not become "French," and in fact influenced his uncle away from the Catholic church (see above). His children all became Episcopalians and married into English families. His "English" grouping, however, clearly represents a different ethnocultural milieu from the New Englanders.

Where an individual was known to have identified his own origins there was no problem, although the instances were rare. E. A. Brush, who apparently was sensitive over the accident of his birth--he had been born across from his family's Detroit home in Canada--claimed Scottish ancestry.¹⁰ Possibly his satisfaction in such identification was heightened not only by his "alien" birth but by his situation as a native Detroit landowner engulfed by the Yankee influx.

A breakdown of the ethnocultural groups among the elite of Wayne County shows that the Yankees had indeed taken over, their numbers in 1860 increasing to 50% (English from New England and New York in Table 21). It will be noted that the great preponderance of "Native English" came from New York or New England. The New Yorkers considered to be of Yankee stock were so designated because of their English

¹⁰H. S. Brush, Jr. to Garnett McCoy, Mt. Clemens, Mich., 13 March 1964. Several French "natives" were also born in Assumption or Sandwich across the river from Detroit, Michigan, but, as in the case of Brush, they have been called natives, since they grew up in Wayne County.

TABLE 21

DIVISION OF ELITES OF 1844 AND 1860 BY ETHNIC
BACKGROUND AND PLACE OF ORIGIN

	1844		1860	
	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Native English</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>59</u>
From New England	26	27	37	27
From New York	19	20	31	23
Other	3	3	11	9
	<u>48</u>		<u>79</u>	
<u>Native French</u>	10	10	11	9
<u>Native Other</u>	18	19	14	10
Dutch	5		4	
Scots	4		3	
Scotch-Irish	2		3	
German	2		2	
Irish	2		1	
French Huguenot	1		1	
Welsh	1			
Negro	1			
	<u>18</u>		<u>14</u>	
<u>Immigrants</u>	12	12	23	16
English	3		9	
Scots	6		7	
Welsh	2		2	
French	1		1	
Irish			2	
Belgian			1	
Bohemian			1	
	<u>12</u>		<u>23</u>	
No Place of Origin	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	<u>97</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>100</u>

ancestry and because twenty-three out of thirty-six were from counties or towns predominantly Yankee.¹¹ Their political affiliations will be considered separately from the New Englanders because significant differences between the two groups of "Yankees" might yield some valuable insights about cultural changes in a different environment. Did, for example, Yankees from New England differ in their party affiliations to the same degree as Lee Benson has found to be the case for Yankees in New York?¹²

The sizeable numbers of immigrants among the elite (increasing to 15% in 1860) suggests two possibilities. Either these were atypical immigrants who arrived with some capital or education, unlike the mass who "came because they had no option but to come, because hunger and want were at their

¹¹From counties which were predominantly Yankee: Herkimer (K. C. Barker, T. C. Sheldon); Ostego (W. N. Carpenter, F. Eldred); Oneida (F. Wetmore, A. S. Bagg, William Hale); Broom (W. A. Butler); Chenango (Charles Howard); Ontario (A. Crane, F. J. B. Crane, G. C. Bates, J. Palmer); Chautauqua (H. N. Walker, D. Houghton); western New York (George Throop). From towns dominated by Yankees: Troy (R. H. Hall); Hamilton (S. Kendrick); Utica (T. H. Eaton); Elmira (C. A. Trowbridge); Catskill (J. P. Clark); New York City (H. Hallock, F. Raymond). Ellis, New York History, XXXII, 7-11, 14; Fox, Yankees and Yorkers, 200; Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 177, 178, 182. Others from eastern counties have been considered Yankee English because of New England ancestry (Bagleys and Trowbridge) or because of English name and characteristics. Alanson Sheley, for example, who came from Albany, was so markedly temperance and Presbyterian that it is more than likely that his forbears were among the New Englanders who "outnumbered the original inhabitants by 1803," Ellis, 11.

¹²Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 179.

heels," or opportunities for enrichment were so great that mobility far exceeded the modern situation where studies have shown that "within about thirty years more successful of ethnics managed to enter the middle class."¹³ The possession of capital or education can be documented only for a few but the important distinction between these men and the twentieth century "ethnics" studied by Warner and Srole is that they were almost all of British stock.¹⁴ The two Irish merchants in the group, Oliver Bourke and John Stephens, were predictably not Catholics and may well have been of English stock. Bourke was an Episcopalian and John Stephens became a member of the Fort Street Presbyterian Church, stronghold of Yankeeism. His membership suggests the same conformity to elite mores as that of Charles DuCharme, French Canadian, who was also a member of the Fort Street congregation. Francis Palms was the only non-British

¹³ Warner and Srole, 55, 69.

¹⁴ Francis Palms and Peter J. Desnoyers had wealthy fathers although they began, respectively, as a clerk and silversmith. Alex. D. Fraser had a law degree from Edinburgh, G. F. Porter was a lawyer from a family of some means and Samuel Truedell was a physician. E. B. Ward, although from Canada, was (as was Porter) of New England stock and his family could not be called poor, although he started an early career of industry in the exemplary manner as a cabin-boy. Hugh Moffat owned a mill and William Barclay a foundry, so there is a presumption they did not start penniless. Trade connections with Europe may have been part of the background of rich importers like Bourke and Stephens. J. W. Johnston, a Scot from Canada, started out as an itinerant peddler, but his profitable jewelry business (later sold to enter real estate) began with the proceeds from his father's estate.

immigrant who remained a Catholic. He kept his religion but reinforced his class position by marrying a Campau. What Simon Mandelbaum's original religion was is not known, but, as an immigrant from Bohemia, he also showed a tendency to adopt elite cultural patterns: he became both a Unitarian and an Episcopalian.

The dominance of New Englanders among the elite becomes marked when a comparison is made with the general population of Michigan.¹⁵ Next to natives of Michigan, New Yorkers

Native born	341,591	Slave states	3,266
Foreigner	54,852 (14%)	Michigan	140,648 (35%)
	<u>396,443</u>	Northwest	17,567
		New York	133,756 (34%)
		New England	30,923

in 1850 constituted the largest group of the general population, accounting for 34%. Among the elite the New York (English) contingent represented 20% in 1844 and 23% in 1860. In the case of the New Englanders the situation was reversed: as opposed to 8% of the general population in 1850, New Englanders constituted 27% of the elite in 1844 and 1860. The proportion of immigrants among the elite, however, was close to the foreign born among the general population: 12% in 1844 and 16% in 1860 compared with 14% for the entire population in 1850.

¹⁵ Statistical View of the United States, Embracing Its Territory, Population--White, Free Colored and Slave--Moral and Social Condition, Industry, Property and Revenue; the Detailed Statistics of Cities, Towns, and Counties: being a Compendium of the Seventh Census (Washington: Beverly Tucker, 1854), 116-118.

Having found Yankees to be the largest ethnocultural group in both elites (47% in 1844, 50% in 1860) and Whigs and Republicans the major parties (62% and 58%), it is not surprising to find Yankees dominating the leading parties. It is interesting to note that the Republican Party showed an even greater proportion of Yankees (70%) than did the Whigs in 1844 (54%).

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE OF EACH MAJOR PARTY ACCORDING
TO ETHNOCULTURAL ORIGIN

	1844				1860			
	Whigs		Democrats		Republicans		Democrats	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
New England English	22	36	4	14	22	38	10	21
New York English (Yankee)	11	18	5	18	19	32	6	13
	33	54	9	32	41	70	16	34
Other Native English	2	5	1	4	1	2	7	14
Native French	3	5	5	18	2	3.5	8	17
Other Native	11	18	6	21	5	9	7	14
Immigrants	7	12	4	14	7	12	7	14
No known origin	4	6	3	11	2	3.5	3	7
	60	100	28	100	58	100	48	100

The increased Yankee majority among Republicans, it should be noted, represents a larger proportion of New York English. In 1844 the greatest concentration was New Englanders in the Whig party.

Politics, Ethnocultural Origins and Religion
for Tables 18 and 22

1844

<u>New England English Presbyterian Whigs: Atterbury, Chandler, Conant, Cook, Dwight, Ewers, Gillet, Brewster, Hastings, Joy, King, Lamson, Moore, Newberry, Pitts, B. Wight, Woodbridge.</u>	17
<u>New England English Episcopalian Whigs: Baldwin, Hyde, Williams.</u>	3
<u>New England English Whigs--No Religion: Davenport, C. Jackson.</u>	$\frac{2}{22}$
<u>New England English Episcopalian Democrats: Dickinson, Farnsworth, Sibley.</u>	3
<u>New England English Presbyterian Democrat: Cass.</u>	$\frac{1}{4}$
<u>New York English Episcopalian Whigs: Bates, Carpenter, Eldred, Hall, Trowbridge, Truesdail.</u>	6
<u>New York English Presbyterian Whigs: Palmer, Thompson, Wetmore.</u>	3
<u>New York English Whigs (Congregational, Baptist): Howard, Kendrick.</u>	$\frac{2}{11}$
<u>New York English Episcopalian Democrats: Dibble, Houghton, Throop, Walker.</u>	4
<u>New York English Democrat--No religion: Sheldon.</u>	$\frac{1}{5}$
<u>New York English Liberty: Hallock, Sheley (Presbyterian); Raymond (Congregational).</u>	3
<u>Other Native English: Whig Episcopalians: Biddle, T. Williams; Democrat--No religion: John R. Williams; No party: Goddard (Baptist) Wm. Smith (Presbyterian).</u>	$\frac{5}{13}$
<u>Native French: Catholic Whigs: E. Chapaton, Beaubien, C. Desnoyers.</u>	3

<u>Catholic Democrats:</u> T. Coquillard, Cicotte, P. Desnoyers, Charles Moran.	4
<u>Democrat, No Religion:</u> Joseph Campau.	1
<u>No Party, No Religion:</u> Barnabas Campau, Riopelle.	2
	<u>10</u>
<u>Other Native:</u>	
<u>Whig Presbyterian:</u> German (Pa.), C. H. Buhl, F. Buhl, Welsh (Pa.), Rowland; Scot (N.Y.), McGraw; Dutch (N. Y.), Jones.	5
<u>Whig Episcopalian:</u> Dutch (N. Y.), DeGraff; Scot (Mich.) C. Brush; Irish (Mich.), Abbott.	3
<u>Whig No Religion:</u> Dutch (N.Y.), Teller; Dutch (Pa.), VanDyke; Scot (N. Y.), Hurlbut.	3
	<u>11</u>
<u>Presbyterian Democrats:</u> Scotch-Irish (Pa.), Kearsley, Russel; Dutch (N.J.), Romeyn.	3
<u>Episcopalian Democrats:</u> Scot (Mich.), Brush; French Huguenot, (Va.), Kercheval.	2
<u>No Religion Democrat:</u> Irish (N.H.), Scott.	$\frac{1}{6}$
<u>Liberty Negro:</u> Banks.	1
<u>Immigrants:</u>	
<u>Whig Presbyterian Scots:</u> Cooper, Stuart.	2
<u>Whig Episcopalians:</u> Roberts (Welsh), Newbould (English)	2
<u>Whig Catholic:</u> P. J. Desnoyers (French).	1
<u>Whig Methodist:</u> Owen (Welsh).	1
<u>Whig No Religion:</u> Drew (Scot).	$\frac{1}{7}$
<u>Presbyterian Democrat:</u> Barclay (Scot).	1
<u>Episcopalian Democrat:</u> Fraser (Scot).	1
<u>No Religion Democrats:</u> McDonnel (Scot), Chittenden (English).	$\frac{2}{4}$

<u>Liberty No Religion:</u> Porter (English).	1
<u>No Place of Origin:</u>	
<u>Whigs:</u> Welles, Elbert (Episcopalian); Dorr, (Presbyterian); Gooding.	4
<u>Democrats:</u> G. Williams, Watson, Hurlburt.	<u>3</u>
	7

1860

<u>New England English:</u>	
<u>Republican Presbyterians:</u> Adams, Bissell, Chandler, Conant, Cook, Foote, Joy, Lamson, Lockwood, Moore, Peck, B. Wight, Whitney.	13
<u>Republican Episcopalians:</u> Baldwin, Hyde, Wesson, Stowell.	4
<u>Republican Congregationalists:</u> Brooks, Richardson.	2
<u>Republican Unitarians:</u> Merrill, Wiley.	2
<u>Republican No Religion:</u> Backus.	<u>1</u>
	22
<u>Episcopalian Democrats:</u> Dickinson, Farnsworth, A. S. Williams.	3
<u>No Religion Democrats:</u> A. Ives, C. Ives, S. G. Wight, H. A. Wight.	4
<u>Baptist Democrat:</u> Warner.	1
<u>Unitarian Democrat:</u> C. Jackson.	1
<u>Presbyterian Democrat:</u> Cass.	<u>1</u>
	10
<u>No Party:</u> T. F. Abbott (Unitarian), Beecher, J. L. Kind (Presbyterian), S. Pitts (Unitarian), Woodbridge (Presbyterian).	5

New York English:Republicans:

Presbyterians: Clark, Gardner, Hallock, Palmer,
A. Sheldon, Sheley, Thompson, Wetmore. 8

No Religion: Butler, Slocum, Penniman, C. A.
Trowbridge. 4

Episcopalian: Emmons, A. Crane, Bates, C. C. Trow-
bridge. 4

Congregational: J. P. Clark, Raymond. 2

Unitarian: J. J. Bagley. 1

New York English:Democrats:

Episcopalian: Eaton, Walker. 2

No Religion: Barker, Hale. 2

Unitarian: Bagg, C. W. Jackson. 2

6

No Party: F. J. B. Crane (Presbyterian), G. F.
Bagley (Presbyterian), R. H. Hall (Episcopal),
Strong (No Religion). 4

Constitutional Union: Carpenter, Eldred (Episcopal) 2

Other English

Republican: T. Williams (Episcopalian, Mich.). 1

Democrats: W. S. Biddle, F. B. Sibley, J. C. Williams.

J. M. Williams, J. C. D. Williams (Episcopalians,
Mich.); Beeson (Presbyterian, Pa.); John Hull
(No religion, D. C.). 7

No Party: Truax, E. Ward, II, Duffield (Presby-
terian). 3

Native French:

Republican Catholics: E. Chapaton, A. Chapaton. 2

Catholic Democrats: Coquillard, Desnoyers, Lewis,
Moran, Saint Amour, Riopelle, Jr. 6

No Religion Democrat: J. Campau. 1

Episcopalian Democrat: A. M. Campau. 1

No Party: Chene. 1

11

Other Native:

<u>Republican:</u> <u>Presbyterians:</u> German (Pa.), C. Buhl, F. Buhl; French Huguenot (N. Y.), Farrand; Scot (N. Y.), McGraw.	4
<u>Methodist:</u> Scotch-Irish (N.Y.), Burns	<u>1</u>
	5
<u>Presbyterian Democrats:</u> Scotch-Irish (Pa.), Russel; Dutch (N. J.), Romeyn.	2
<u>No Religion Democrats:</u> Scotch-Irish (Pa.), S. Brady; Dutch (Mich.), Ten Eyck.	2
<u>Episcopalian Democrats:</u> Scot (Mich.), Brush; Irish (N. Y.), Duncan.	2
<u>Baptist Democrat:</u> Dutch (N. Y.), Van Husan.	<u>1</u>
	7
<u>No Party:</u> Coyl (Dutch, Presbyterian, N. E.), Hurlbut (Scot, N.Y.).	2

Immigrants:

<u>Republican Presbyterians:</u> Ward (English, Canada); Moffat (Scotland); Ducharme (French Canadian).	3
<u>Republican Methodists:</u> Owen (Welsh, Canada); Johnston (Scot, Canada).	2
<u>Republican No Religion:</u> Porter, Davis (English, Canada).	<u>2</u>
	7

Immigrants:

<u>Episcopalian Democrats:</u> Haigh, Stewart (English); Fraser (Scot); Mandelbaum (Bohemia).	2
<u>Church of Christ Democrat:</u> Hawley (English).	1
<u>Presbyterian Democrat:</u> Barclay (Scotland).	1
<u>No Religion Democrat:</u> Truedell (English, Canada).	<u>1</u>
	7

<u>No Party:</u> Bourke, Stephens (Ireland, Episcopalian, Presbyterian); Roberts (Wales, Episcopalian); Palms (Belgium, Catholic); Drew (Scotland); Cooper (Scotland, Presbyterian); Newbould (England, Episcopalian); Campbell (Scotland, Church of Christ).	8
---	---

<u>Constitutional Union:</u> Kirby (England).	1
---	---

No Place of Origin:

<u>Republicans:</u> Benson (Presbyterian), G. O. Williams	
<u>Democrats:</u> Elbert (Md. no ethnic), S. D. Scott, Orr (Presbyterian); <u>Constitutional Union:</u> Curtis (Episcopalian); <u>No Party:</u> Welles (Episcopalian), Town.	8

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGES OF YANKEE ENGLISH AND NEW
YORK ENGLISH ACCORDING TO PARTY

	1844			
	New England English (26)		New York English (19)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	22	84	11	58
Democrats	4	16	5	26
Liberty	--	--	3	16
	26	100	19	100
	1860			
	New England English (37)		New York English (31)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Republicans	22	59	19	61
Democrats	10	27	6	20
Constitutional Union	--	--	2	6
No Party	5	14	4	13
	37	100	31	100

The greater cohesion of New Englanders in 1844 (84% of them Whigs) compared with New Yorkers (58% of them Whigs), which bears out the observations of Fox and Benson on New York Yankees, would seem to hold only for 1844. In 1860 the New Yorkers showed a greater polarization in party affiliation (61% of them Republicans, 20% Democrats) than New Englanders (59% Republican, 27% Democratic).

The high Yankee correlation with the Whig and Republican parties would seem to suggest a strong ethnocultural influence on political affiliation. If the ethnocultural factor were decisive, however, it would follow that Yankees were hardly ever Democrats. This was indeed not the case. Yankees (again both New England English and New York English) made up the largest ethnocultural grouping in the Democratic Party (32% in 1844 and 34% in 1860). All we can say from these figures is that Yankees tended to be Whigs and Republicans to a much greater extent than they were Democrats.

Can we then find any variable presented in this study which seems to be definitive as to party? On the basis of simple cross tabulations of one variable against political affiliation we have found tendencies for certain groupings to favor one party but in no case has the relationship been exclusive as to party. By using multivariate analysis --in this instance by combining both religion and ethnocultural origin--we have been able to isolate religion, already noted above in Chapter VII, as a dividing factor between Democrats and Whig-Republicans. When Presbyterianism is combined with Yankee origin and tested against political affiliation there is a marked polarization between the two parties which holds for both 1844 and 1860. Yankees who were Democrats were not Presbyterians. The fact that Lewis Cass was the sole Presbyterian Yankee Democrat in

TABLE 24

YANKEE PRESBYTERIANS ACCORDING TO
POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	1844 (23)		1860 (26)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	20	87	--	--
Democrats	1	4	1	3
Liberty	2	9	--	--
Republicans	--	--	21	81
No Party	--	--	4	16

1844 and 1860 makes the non-Presbyterianism of Yankee Democrats seem almost 100%, because Cass's Democratic politics were determined by the circumstances of his early career in the territory.

Non-Presbyterianism applied only to Yankee Democrats. When we examine non-Yankee Presbyterians as to political affiliation we no longer find a sharp demarcation. The non-Yankee Presbyterian Democrats were of heterogeneous ethnocultural background: George Russel (Scotch-Irish), Jonathan Kearsley (Scotch-Irish) and Jacob Beeson (English) all from Pennsylvania; William Barclay from Scotland, Theodore Romeyn of Dutch Reformed antecedents from New Jersey, and Edward Orr and John Hurlburt, origins unknown.

Is there any possible explanation for the non-Presbyterianism of Yankee Democrats? Robert Dahl's study of

TABLE 25

NON-YANKEE PRESBYTERIANS ACCORDING TO
POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	1844 (14)		1860 (16)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	8	57	--	--
Democrats	5	35	5	31
No Party	1	8	4	25
Republicans	--	--	7	44

New Haven and Dixon Ryan Fox's of Yankees in New York are suggestive. Dahl found that "patrician" Episcopalians were Democrats because their religion put them in opposition to the political control of the Congregational Church, the "Standing Order" of Connecticut "consisting of Congregational ministers, lawyers and men of business of whom the ministers had historically furnished most of the leadership."¹⁶ (It should be reemphasized here that Congregationalism was the fount of western Presbyterianism. Of the few Congregationalists among the elite none was a Democrat). Fox attributed the westward migration of New England Baptists as well as Connecticut Episcopalians to their desire to escape their disadvantages under the church-state system.¹⁷

¹⁶Dahl, Who Governs? 15, 18, 19.

¹⁷Fox, Yankees and Yorkers, 208.

These interesting suggestions of a religious basis for opposition to the political order can provide only partial insights, because the Yankee-Episcopalian-Democratic connection is by no means as great as the Yankee-Democratic negativity toward Presbyterianism. Taken as a whole, Episcopalians showed a great shift away from the Whigs towards the Democrats (64% Whig and 36% Democratic in 1844 to 26% Republican and 50% Democratic in 1860). But when we divide them as we have Presbyterians into Yankees and non-Yankees we find that Yankee Episcopalians have a higher Whig-Republican component than Democratic.

TABLE 26
YANKEE EPISCOPALIANS ACCORDING TO
POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	1844 (16)		1860 (16)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	9	56	--	--
Democrats	7	44	5	31
Republicans	--	--	8	50
Constitutional Union	--	--	2	12
No Party	--	--	1	7

When looked at from a party standpoint, however, the proportion of Yankee Democrats who were Episcopalian in 1844 was greater than the proportion of Yankee Whigs or

TABLE 27

POLITICAL YANKEES GROUPED ACCORDING TO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

<u>Yankee Whigs (1844) (33)</u>				<u>Yankee Republicans (1860) (41)</u>			
Episcopal	Presbyterian	No Religion	Other	Episcopalian	Presbyterian	No Religion	Other
No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
9 29	20 61	2 5	2 5	8 20	21 52	5 9	7 19

<u>Yankee Democrats (1844) (9)</u>				<u>Yankee Democrats (1860) (16)</u>			
Episcopal	Presbyterian	No Religion		Episcopalian	Presbyterian	No Religion	Other
No. %	No. %	No. %		No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
7 77	1 11.5	1 11.5		5 31	1 6	6 39	4 24

Republicans who were Presbyterians. The real shift of Episcopalians to Democracy took place among non-Yankees.

TABLE 28

NON-YANKEE EPISCOPALIANS ACCORDING TO
POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	1844 (12)		1860 (18)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs-Republicans	9	75	1	6
Democrats	3	25	12	66
Constitutional Union	--	--	1	6
No Party	--	--	4	22

These non-Yankee Episcopalians showed no marked ethno-cultural similarity. There was a carry-over of six individuals from 1844. In the 1860 group, one-third of the Democrats were immigrants (two English, one Scot, one Bohemian) and 41% of the Democrats were native English, born in Michigan. These five were sons of former elite members, John Biddle (Whig), Solomon Sibley (Democrat), and John R. Williams (Democrat).

If the switch to Democracy of non-Yankee Episcopalians suggests opposition to the New England establishment, how can we account for the Yankee Whigs and Republicans who were staunchly Episcopal? There is strong evidence that half of the eight Yankee Republican Episcopalians came from a

background of Congregationalism or Presbyterianism.¹⁸ They may have become Episcopalians through marriage or because it had been the leading religion of the elite, with certain exceptions, since the eighteenth century.¹⁹ Henry P. Baldwin serves as a good example. He claimed descent from a long line of Puritan ancestors with a Presbyterian pastor in his paternal line and a maternal grandfather who was both a Harvard graduate and a Congregationalist minister. Baldwin was not merely a member of the Episcopal church; he was an unusually active one. He also showed a reformist zeal in politics. He was defeated in his campaign for mayor in 1861 on a patriotic union ticket because, according to one source, he championed temperance. "The seductive power of ale and the hatred of the people for that old foggy institution called Sunday" brought to the office of Mayor, elite member and Democrat William C. Duncan, a non-Yankee brewer,

¹⁸Henry P. Baldwin, Charles C. Trowbridge, William L. Wesson and H. H. Emmons. Trowbridge was an extremely active leader in the church, a temperance advocate, who had joined St. Paul's after his marriage. The presumption is that he had been a Presbyterian as a member of the First Protestant Society. Wesson was the son of a Congregational minister. His Episcopalianism is easy to explain. He lived with his brother-in-law Moses L. Dickinson, Episcopalian Democrat from the time he was ten. Emmons was a temperance man, although there is no evidence of direct connection with Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. In fact, one source described him as an exemplary man "though not a professing Christian." His wife may have been the Episcopalian. Alexander Stowell and Albert Crane had been active Democrats until 1860.

¹⁹E. Digby Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen, The Making of A National Upper Class (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958), 227-228.

who perhaps chastened by slurs on his irreligion, joined the Episcopal church in 1862.²⁰ This contest between two Episcopalian, Democrat and Republican, non-Yankee and Yankee, on a temperance issue suggests that ethnocultural influence was strong in influencing party choice. Antipathy to Yankee reformism may have been part of the make-up of men who became Democrats.

Another way of investigating possible religious and ethnocultural influences on voting is to examine those men identified as having no religion (with the recognition that this group could be identified with less certainty than those affiliated and recorded as members). Taken as a whole, this group shows a consistent majority for the Democrats.

TABLE 29
NON-AFFILIATED MEN ACCORDING TO
POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	1844 (16)*		1860 (28)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	7	44	--	--
Democrats	9	56	12	43
Republicans	--	--	8	28
Constitutional Union	--	--	1	4
No Party	--	--	7	25

*Minus 2 Liberty, 2 No Party

²⁰Advertiser, Nov. 6, 1861.

Dividing these unaffiliated men into Yankees and Non-Yankees, we found that a slightly higher percentage of Democrats obtained among the Yankees.

TABLE 30

NON-AFFILIATED YANKEES AND NON-YANKEES
ACCORDING TO POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	<u>Yankees</u>			
	1844 (6)		1860 (13)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	2	34	--	--
Democrats	4	66	6	46
Republicans	--	--	5	38
No Party	--	--	2	16
	<u>Non-Yankees</u>			
	1844 (10)		1860 (15)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	5	50		
Democrats	5	50	6	40
Republicans	--	--	3	20
No Party	---	--	5	33
Constitutional Union	--	--	1	17

These findings conform to other studies which have found "free thought" associated with the Democratic Party. Dahl

described one of New Haven's anti-establishment patricians as being accused of atheism.²¹ In New York Lee Benson found non-religious attitudes far more characteristic of Democrats than Whigs.²²

The native French element continued to maintain itself among the elite in 1860 (10% in 1844, 9% in 1860). Following the general trend, the French voted 75% Democratic in 1860 compared with 50% in 1844 when 30% of the French were Whig supporters. It is interesting, if inexplicable, that when French Catholics are considered as a group there is a larger proportion of Whigs and Republicans than when the French are taken as an ethnocultural group without regard to religion. The Whig-Republican proportion would be increased if Peter J. Desnoyers, an immigrant, were added to the 1844 group and Charles DuCharme, a French Canadian immigrant and Republican Presbyterian, were included with the 1860 group. Without a study of the overall pattern of French voting in Wayne County conjecture can only be tentative, but the large Whig minority in 1844 certainly suggests that ethnocultural solidarity cannot automatically be assumed on all socio-economic levels. The small French elite defection to the Whigs suggests that class identification for some was stronger than religious-cultural

²¹Dahl, Who Governs? 15.

²²Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 193.

TABLE 31

NATIVE FRENCH AND FRENCH CATHOLICS ACCORDING
TO POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	Native French			
	1844 (10)		1860 (11)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	3	30	--	--
Democrats	5	50	8	73
No Party	2	20	1	9
Republicans	--	--	2	18
	French Catholics			
	1844 (7)		1860 (8)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	3	43	--	--
Democrats	4	57	6	75
No Party	--	--	--	--
Republicans	--	--	2	25

antipathy or ethnic solidarity. The shift to the Democrats in 1860 can only be speculated upon. It, of course, followed the trend among Episcopalian non-Yankees. Could it represent a French reaction against nativism in Whig quarters during the 1850's?

British immigrants represented the great bulk of elite immigrants and accounted for 11% and 13% of the elites of

1844 and 1860, which was a greater proportion than they formed in the population at large.²³ They showed a Whig majority in 1844 but divided equally between Republicans and Democrats in 1860.

TABLE 32
BRITISH IMMIGRANTS ACCORDING TO POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	1844 (11)		1860 (18)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	6	54	--	--
Democrats	4	36	6	34
Liberty	1	10	--	--
Republicans	--	--	6	34
No Party	--	--	5	28
Constitutional Union	--	--	1	4

Although too few in number to be of great significance, it is interesting to note that the new British did not show the overwhelming Whig preponderance Benson found for this group in the general population in New York.²⁴ Only one

²³In 1850 there were 1,245 or 6% British in a Detroit population of 21,000. See Glazer, Detroit, 36.

²⁴"Except for the Negroes, the New British were by far the strongest Whigs of any group in New York, the New non-British by far the strongest Democrats," Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 166.

of the five new non-British, whom Benson found to be heavily Democratic, voted Democratic. Again these individuals are too few to make much of but it is possible that as with the French a different behavior on the part of the elite is suggested. Again it must be emphasized that the final determination of class influence on political affiliation can only be reached when mass voting patterns of Wayne County are tested against the elite.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

The two major parties in 1844 and 1860 attracted members of the elite who differed in certain economic roles and religious affiliation. Landowners, merchants, non-specialized entrepreneurs and capitalists showed a marked preference for one party.

Elite Democrats were less inclined to entrepreneurship and more likely to be landowners than were Whigs and Republicans.¹ Although their association with landowning declined in 1860, their relatively small numbers of non-specialized entrepreneurs and capitalists reinforces the over-all impression that Democrats were less active in business than Whigs and Republicans. Political rhetoric also suggests that Democrats, whether for demagogic purposes or not, entertained an anti-business stereotype. When Zachariah Chandler ran for governor on the Whig ticket

¹We could be more assertive about the influence of economic role in the case of landowning Democrats if we could show that Democrats untypical in other categories, i.e., Democratic Presbyterians, were also landowners. Such, however, is not the case. The six Presbyterian Democrats were completely heterogeneous as to economic role.

TABLE 33

ECONOMIC ROLES SHOWING A MARKED CORRELATION
WITH ONE PARTY

	1844 (12)		1860 (34)	
	No.	%	No.	%
			<u>Landowners</u>	
Whigs	4	34	--	--
Democrats	8	66	16	47
Republicans	--	--	9	26
Other	--	--	9	27
			<u>Merchants</u>	
	(23)		(26)	
Whigs	20	87	--	--
Democrats	3	13	5	13
Republicans	--	--	12	46
Other	--	--	9	35
			<u>Non-specialized Entrepreneurs</u>	
	(9)			
Whigs	8	89	--	--
Democrats	1	11	--	--
			<u>Capitalists</u>	
	(17)			
Republicans	--	--	12	70
Democrats	--	--	5	30
Other	--	--	--	--

in 1852, Lewis Cass questioned his fitness for office on the ground of political inexperience. The Whig Advertiser

read Cass's speech as a slur on businessmen:

Whigs never claimed Mr. Chandler to be more fit because he is a merchant but General Cass insists that he is positively unfit because he is a merchant.²

Religion, in the case of Presbyterianism, the predominant faith among the elite, showed a more constant correlation with political affiliation than did any economic role. What makes this relationship impressive is that religion presents a much more clear-cut designation than economic role. Many who were merchants or capitalists were also landowners but no one was a Presbyterian and an Episcopalian simultaneously. Furthermore, the continuity of Presbyterianism among Whigs and Republicans was matched by the consistency of non-Presbyterianism among Democrats.

The swing of Episcopalians and other non-Presbyterians to the Democratic Party in 1860 strongly suggests a Democratic opposition to the New England establishment. That Yankees numbered more Democrats in their ranks in 1860 does not contradict this assertion, since these Democrats were shown to be, to a man, non-Presbyterian. Furthermore, as we have suggested in Chapter VIII, Yankee Episcopalians who remained Republicans were probably of Presbyterian or Congregational origins and apt to be of a strong religious or reform bent. Therefore, to the extent that the establishment

²Advertiser, Oct. 28, 1852.

TABLE 34

RELIGIOUS AND ETHNOCULTURAL GROUPS SHOWING
CORRELATION WITH ONE PARTY

<u>Presbyterians</u>	1844 (35)		1860 (42)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Whigs	26	76	--	--
Democrats	6	16	6	14
Liberty	3	8	--	--
Republicans	--	--	28	67
Other	--	--	8	19
<u>Episcopalians</u>	(28)		(34)	
Whigs	18	64	--	--
Democrats	10	36	17	50
Republicans	--	--	9	26
Other	--	--	8	24
<u>Yankees</u> ³	(45)		(68)	
Whigs	33	71	--	--
Democrats	9	20	16	24
Liberty	3	9	--	--
Republicans	--	--	41	62
Other	--	--	11	14
<u>French (Native and Immigrant)</u>	(11)		(12)	
Whigs	4	36	--	--
Democrats	5	45	8	66
No Party	2	19	1	9
Republicans	--	--	3	25

³New England and New York English. It should not be forgotten that Yankees represented the largest ethnocultural group among Democrats also: 32% in 1844 and 34% in 1860.

connoted Presbyterianism and reformism the pattern of party division among the elite becomes meaningful.

It is interesting that contemporaries recognized the religious basis for division between the major parties. Zachariah Chandler wrote a friend after the election of 1862: "The Catholic Church was solid against us and at least four-fifths of the Episcopal."⁴ Characteristically, Chandler's biographer, Wilmer C. Harris, interpreted this statement to mean that Episcopalians voted against the Republicans because they were wealthy, conservative and therefore pro-Southern:

Although the Episcopal Church as an organized body did not ally itself on the side of the Democratic party, it probably included among its members many of the wealthier class of Detroit society whose conservative instincts and greater sympathy with Southern aristocracy led them to prefer peace with compromise to civil war.⁵

The loose notion of Episcopalians supporting the South because they were wealthy and hence conservative has to be modified by our discovery that 32% of the carefully selected elite were Presbyterian and Republican compared with 19% who were Episcopalian and Democratic.⁶ These findings show that

⁴Wilmer C. Harris, Public Life of Zachariah Chandler, 1851-1875 (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1917), 37.

⁵Ibid.

⁶These percentages are based on eighty-nine men for whom both religion and politics were known.

it was religion in an ethnocultural context rather than wealth which affected the party choice of the elite in 1860.

If antislavery as well as temperance was characteristic of the New England establishment, party division along religious lines makes a great deal of sense. Temperance has already been shown to have been associated with Presbyterianism, and in several cases where Yankee Episcopalians were Whig-Republicans they were also strong temperance men. There are strong indications that antislavery sentiment was strong in the Fort Street Presbyterian Church, established in 1854, which contained an almost solid phalanx of leading Republicans.⁷ One member, Shubael Conant, had been President of the first Antislavery Society of Detroit as early as 1837, and another non-elite parishioner, Samuel Zug, was an activist.⁸ Hostility to pro-Southern sentiment is suggested by Edward Orr's sale of his pew at Fort Street in 1859. A member of the elite, Orr was reputed to have suffered later because of his Copperhead opinions.⁹ Above all, "the Chandler-Joy faction" forced out the Reverend Henry

⁷"Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V.11. Elite Republicans: S. Conant, R. Gardner, E. M. Clark, Z. Chandler, F. Adams, F. Buhl, C. H. Buhl, George W. Bissell, George Foote, Charles DuCharme, Levi Cook, Alexander McGraw, J. F. Joy, Franklin Moore. Only elite Democrats who were pew holders in 1862: T. Romeyn and J. Beeson.

⁸Farmer, I, 346.

⁹Free Press, Jan. 1, 1859; News-Tribune, July 4, 1897.

Neill in 1857, according to one source, on account of a pro-slavery sermon.¹⁰ Zachariah Chandler wrote letters to James F. Joy documenting the controversy with Neill. They are inexplicit but suggestive as to the source of the "faction's" irritation with Neill:

. . . Mr. Neil run empting /? extempore for an hour and a half this afternoon and I am going to write to him this evening and refer him to your letter in the hands of Mrs. Neil. It must be done. The sermons were both good, but the 30 minutes with 20 repetitions destroyed the whole.¹¹

. . . Judge Conant, Col. Cook and others will speak to Neil about talking at random without anything to say. We must do the best we can for the present and let the future take care of itself. Mrs. Neil, Mrs. Thom and Tom with the old maid and mother constitute the kitchen cabinet of the parsonage and mean to manage things their own way. Allowing us to pay merely.¹²

That doctrinal and personal disagreements were involved in the dispute as well as Neill's pro-slavery sentiments is apparent from the fact that the seceders set up Reverend Neill in Westminster Presbyterian, which was designated as Old School.¹³ Elite member Thomas W. Lockwood, a Free Soil

¹⁰Ross, 126.

¹¹Zachariah Chandler to James F. Joy, Jan. 14, 1855, J. F. Joy Papers, BHC.

¹²Chandler to Joy, n.d., J. F. Joy Papers.

¹³"Church Statistics," Free Press, Feb. 20, 1859; The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the Westminster Church (Oct. 6, 1882), 8, gives as reason for its founding that a majority of those contemplating a new church and its pastor preferred the "Old School" connection, and "that those engaged in it might demonstrate their affection for and adhesion to one, who, by faithful service in the pastoral office had earned this tribute."

Republican, referred to by Chandler as part of Neill's "kitchen cabinet," was reported as leaving with Neill because he did not believe a pro-slavery speech a sufficient cause for dismissal.¹⁴ The other elite members who joined the seceders from Fort Street, Jonathan Kearsley and Jacob Beeson, were both Democrats from Pennsylvania. Beeson was a volatile type. He became one of the few Breckinridge supporters in 1860, returned to the Fort Street church in 1861 and was dismissed from the Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church in 1868.¹⁵

Religion cannot be shown to be a determinant of political affiliation among other ethnocultural groups. The small minority of French who were Whigs or Republicans kept their religion to a greater extent than the Democratic French majority who numbered a few lapsed Catholics and an Episcopalian among their ranks. Except for Antoine Beaubien, the French who were Whigs and Republicans were builders or merchants rather than landowners, the economic role of over half of the French members of the elite. Would it be too fanciful to suggest that the Whig-Republicans attracted the most "puritan" of the French?

¹⁴Ross, 126.

¹⁵"Sessional Records, Westminster Church of Detroit;" "Church Register of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan," V. 1, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Detroit; "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11; "Church Records, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church," Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, Detroit.

A theory suggests itself from the apparently contradictory fact that whereas the dominant pattern shown in the affiliations of the Yankee majority was religion, class seemed to be indicated as significant among smaller groups such as the French in 1844 and New British immigrants--their political affiliations did not conform to the voting patterns found for their ethnocultural groups in New York. The division of the generally Democratic French into Whigs and Democrats and the generally Whig New British immigrants into Democrats and Whigs suggests that the Yankee predominance subjected the minority groups among the elite to cross pressures, that is, should they vote with their ethnocultural group or with the leading party of the elite? The French showed that ethnocultural pull was stronger in 1860 when they voted more solidly Democratic, although it should be reemphasized that they paralleled an over-all elite trend. Ethnocultural awareness could be assumed to be even stronger among minority groups than among Yankees. The tension of being identified with a minority where an ethnocultural group set the tone for the elite could understandably have produced deviant behavior. Thus the Wayne County environment with its clash of Yankee and Frenchmen complicated by the continuing stream of immigrants could well evoke a set of responses different from those discovered by Benson in New York where the Yankees rather than the immigrants showed

the widest variation in political affiliation. His New British immigrants were identified as forming homogeneous settlements which was certainly not the case for the immigrant members of the Wayne County elite.¹⁶

The dominant group of the elite was the New England establishment. It can perhaps be epitomized as a combination of reformist zeal and capitalist energy. The typical member was a Yankee Presbyterian Whig-Republican (61% of Yankee Whigs, 52% of Yankee Republicans, Presbyterians), who was likely to be a merchant, manufacturer or a capitalist.

TABLE 35
YANKEES ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC ROLE

	1844			
	Whigs (33)		Democrats (9)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Merchants	11	34	1	11
Manufacturers	7	21	1	11
Non-Specialist Entrepreneur	5	15	--	--
Landowners	1	3	2	22
Bankers	1	3	3	34
Lawyers	4	12	1	11
Other	4	12	1	11
	33	100	9	100

¹⁶Benson, Concept of Jacksonian Democracy, 176-177.

TABLE 35--Continued

	1860			
	Republicans (41)		Democrats (16)	
	No.	%	No.	%
Merchants	10	24	--	--
Capitalists	7	17	1	8
Landowners	7	17	4	25
Manufacturers	5	12	2	12
Lumber	5	12	2	12
Bankers	3	8	4	25
Other	4	10	3	18
	41	100	16	100

A contrasting type was the Yankee Episcopalian or No Religion Democrat (77%) of Yankee Democrats Episcopalian in 1844, 31% of them Episcopalian, 39% No Religion in 1860). As indicated in Table 35, the Yankee Democrat was apt to be a landowner or a banker. That opposing party types were characterized by different religious affiliations and economic roles proves conclusively, we think, that these were major components in the shaping of political behavior. Men's political choices depended on complex social conditioning rather than on narrow economic interests.

CHAPTER X

PERSONAL INFLUENCES AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION

Party loyalties can best be understood through an investigation of the primary environment of individuals, their family influences and personal contacts. Since the family determines religious, ethnic and class identifications, which have been found to be crucial in political orientation, a voter's conformity to the political convictions of his father would follow.¹ The study of voting in Elmira, New York, in 1948, has shown that in contemporary society people also tend to vote as their friends and associates do.² In Wayne County, Michigan, in the 1840's and 1850's, the family patterns which are known, along with business and personal associations revealed through newspapers and correspondence, suggest considerable political deviation from family loyalties as well as extensive social associations across party lines.

¹Such has proved to be the case in 1948 in Elmira, N.Y., where 75% of new voters voted as their fathers did. Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, 89.

²"For community as a whole the proportion of associates from the other party is about 25%," Ibid., 94.

The historian's unique kind of evidence, the unsolicited personal statement preserved in diary and correspondence, enables us to view political behavior in its relation to social and business arrangements. The spontaneity of a diary entry telling why a man decided to vote a certain way gives insights denied to poll takers. The possibility, for example, of a completely opportunistic reason for voting seldom appears in the poll method. What question could be devised which would elicit the admission that a man votes against his principles in order to influence someone? George Duffield's account of his decision to vote for Lewis Cass could be safely confided only to his diary:

Nov. 1848. This is election day and the town is in great excitement about whom they will make Pres. Gen. Cass of our own city or Gen. Taylor of the South. I cast my vote for the former believing that on the whole it would accomplish most good. Not that I desired to see him president or approved of his political principles [not?] that if elected he would make a safe pres. But I felt convinced that he would have the electoral vote of this state and yet be defeated in the general election. Personal attachments & to prevent him and his family from harboring feelings toward myself which might in any degree impair my usefulness or prevent opportunities as a minister to be of use among them determined me under such circumstances to cast the vote I did. It was a vote that could not affect the general interest of the country and therefore in casting which I might properly have respect to personal attachments & social relations & especially what might conduce, as I judged most to my ministerial usefulness.³

³ Vandervelde, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXIV, (1937-1938), 56-66. Duffield was reputed to have been a zealous Whig partisan in 1840: "Some of his democratic members called on the doctor and threatened to nail up their

This succinct statement demonstrates that an individual vote may be the result of a rational decision. If not in the classic Enlightenment tradition of choosing the best policy, it is still a rational (and rationalizing) choice between opposing values. It does not fit Berelson's analogy which links political preferences with general cultural tastes since they "both seem to be matters of sentiment and disposition rather than 'reasoned preferences.'"⁴ Duffield's statement suggests that such "reasoned preferences" might be given higher priority if there were better ways of getting at them. However, the peculiar nature of his sources might lead the historian to emphasize the individual acting rationally, while the methods of behavioral scientists will tend to show groups acting irrationally.

Duffield's careful calculation of his vote implies that public commitment was expected of important figures. The Whig banker, Charles C. Trowbridge, also defended his vote during the election of 1839 when his banking partner, Elon Farnsworth, was running for governor on the Democratic

pew doors--Major Kearsley, Jonas Titus and others--if he did not stop preaching politics, because for six Sundays he had refused, or at least neglected to pray for the President. The doctor said if that was so he did not know it. He meant as in duty bound, to pray for all who needed prayer, and he knew of no one that needed it more than Martin Van Buren." Reverend W. Fitch, "Reminiscences of Detroit," Mich. Collections, V, 538.

⁴Berelson, et al, Voting, 311.

ticket. Trowbridge, who "had hoped to have been spared the necessity of saying one word on the subject of the election," felt required to scotch the rumor "circulating in the Grand River country" that he would vote for Farnsworth. Trowbridge appeared to be an entirely different type of man from Duffield. As a Whig he would be loyal to his party and his resort to his doubting correspondent made it clear that no conflict existed between loyalty to party and loyalty to friends:

Chancellor Farnsworth and myself have been intimate personal friends for many years, and [I ?] trust nothing will occur to interrupt that friendship. But on a late occasion when we were similarly situated I did not expect him to abandon his political opinions on account of our friendship nor does he in the present expect me to give up mine. On the contrary he knows that I do not intend to vote for him.⁵

In another individual, the Baptist iron manufacturer from New York, Silas Kendrick, Whig party loyalty faded before eternal truths and courtly manners. He wrote a furious letter to the Whig paper in reply to its insinuations that Mrs. Lewis Cass's charitable activities were politically inspired:

⁵C. C. Trowbridge to W. G. Henry, Detroit, Michigan, October 9, 1839. C. C. Trowbridge Papers. It is tempting to surmise family influences in the case of the political affiliation of Farnsworth, one of the Yankee Episcopalian Democrats. His cousin, Oliver Farnsworth, Jr., published the Rhode Island Republican from 1799 to 1801 as a Jeffersonian party organ. Claudius Buchanan Farnsworth, Matthias Farnsworth and His Descendants in America (Pawtucket, R. I.: The Author, 1891), 97.

I find no fault with you for calling Sunday-schools and Orphan associations 'little matters,' for I fear that you are at so great a moral distance from them, as scarcely to discern them. But if you can descend to things so vile as to impugn the motives of a pious Sunday-school teacher, and follow with your political poison the charitable and truly philanthropic acts of a Christian lady, who seeks only as she has ever done, to benefit the orphans and ignorant children of our city, you will not leave such corrupt effusions at my door. Send your bill tomorrow morning, and allow me to say that it is my happiness to believe that more good will result from these 'little matters,' than from your whole political career.⁶

These men show the crucial role personality plays in political loyalties. A thorough understanding of why men deviated from their fathers' politics would require evidence available only to psychoanalysts. Of elite members whose fathers' party affiliation is known, 43% chose a different party.⁷ Since the fathers of these changers were (in all cases but one) also members of the elite and hence of the same economic class, their reasons for deviation would hardly seem to conform to Berelson's emphasis on changing social status in cases where children vote differently from their

⁶S. W. Adams, Memories of Reverend Nathaniel Kendrick D. D., and Silas N. Kendrick (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1860), 353.

⁷Nine out of twenty-three. It should be pointed out that, for purposes of simplicity, no deviation was recognized where the father was a Federalist and the son a Whig (John Biddle and James F. Joy) or the father was a Republican and the son a Democrat (Lewis Cass). Most of these men were sons of the local elite who were Whigs or Democrats. Included as "fathers" were C. C. Trowbridge, uncle of C. A. Trowbridge, and M. L. Dickinson, brother-in-law of W. L. Wesson, since both these men raised their young relatives.

fathers.⁸ The great party shifts of the fifties might go far to explain the differing affiliations of William S. Biddle, Henry A. Wight and Stanley G. Wight, Whigs who became Democrats. (The Wights' father, Buckminster, was an active Republican in 1860. Biddle's father, John Biddle, died in 1859 and there is no record that he became a Democrat). Francis Eldred, the Whig who voted Constitutional Union in 1860, was actually less of a deviationist than his father Julius, a former Whig who associated himself with the group called "Vallandigham Democrats" in 1863.

The family of the Democrat John R. Williams, who inherited his estate in 1858 and contributed four members to the elite in 1860, presents a puzzle. The eldest son Theodore began as an active Whig and became an active Republican. His younger brothers, James Mott and J. C. D. Williams, followed him as inactive Whigs but switched to Buchanan in 1856. Thereafter they with their brother, John Constantine, devotedly supported their father's party. The equal division of General Williams' estate among his eight children in 1858, and his early attitude toward Theodore's political career show no animosity on account of differing politics. In fact, the General used his military connections to urge his son's appointment to office by the Whigs. He wrote General Solomon Van Rensselaer, Postmaster in Albany:

⁸Berelson et al, Voting, 90.

. . . My son Theodore Williams who is now county clerk of this county (Wayne) has signified to me that he is desirous of obtaining the office . . . fees from present office leave him but a base pittance to support himself and family. Theodore is one of the most popular men in the county and has done much to support the Whig ascendancy in this state.⁹

John R. Williams, as seen by his children, showed a characteristic often attributed to the rich: he talked poor.¹⁰ Theodore, who had gone to work for his father at the age of nine, and whose efforts one writer credits as being the actual source of John R. Williams' successful land speculations, may have turned to the Whigs out of resentment at his father's parsimony.¹¹ Another explanation for Theodore's adherence to Whig-Republican affiliations might lie in his experience as a hard-working businessman. His brothers became landed gentlemen in their twenties and thirties; Theodore was fifty when he inherited property.¹²

⁹John R. Williams to General Solomon Van Renssleer, Detroit, April 29, 1841, John R. Williams Papers, BHC.

¹⁰Gershom Mott Williams' complaint to Thomas Williams typifies the grumbling of his children: "The Old Gent is unchanged. He growls as usual, and is as fond as ever of keeping what he has, to the entire exclusion of his familie." G. Mott Williams to Thomas Williams, Detroit, Michigan, April, 3, 1843, John R. Williams Papers.

¹¹Theodore was chief factotum of his father's store, the profits of which were used by the father in his purchase of land, "so that Theodore was really the main source of the wealth of the Williams family." Ross, 231.

¹²A letter from another brother clearly shows an aristocratic outlook: "Kate Stuart I suppose your heard was yoked some time since to a very plain personage, who deals in wall paper and the like in N. Orleans--supposed to be rich but

Another family with divided political loyalties was the Desnoyers family. The defection of Peter Desnoyers from the Whig identification of his father and brother might be explained on the basis of Peter's political ambitions. The Democratic party was the most promising vehicle for a politician who was both Catholic and French. Furthermore, it won most of the elections in Wayne County. Peter was also a classmate at Hamilton College of E. A. Brush, local landed magnate and a Democrat.

The Brush brothers represent a case of divided affiliations without any living father to exert pressure. Charles Brush was a Whig, and one might surmise that he resented his older brother's tight control of the family property. Biographical accounts indicate that E. A. Brush was the talented member of the family when it came to handling property:

. . . His brothers Charles and Albert were not careful business men and allowed money to slip through their fingers. Edmund relieved them and even took good care of their children, but their debts were settled by deducting their share of the estate.¹³

The carry-over of political associations into the business community is difficult to assess. On the one hand, there is evidence of a conviction that business conditions depended upon party success. Robert Stuart, writing to C. C. Trowbridge on the future of canal stock, was confident

very dubious in these times." G. Mott Williams to Thomas Williams, Detroit, Michigan, July 29, 1842, John R. Williams Papers.

¹³Palmer Scrapbook, III, BHC, 147.

that, "if Locofocoism is kept down . . . you will see the stock @ 75%: get in a good Whig President and I think you may be sure of this more."¹⁴ On the other hand, as already noted in the case of Trowbridge and Farnsworth, close business relationships existed across party lines. On the basis of an examination of several banks and business firms from 1844 and 1860, there would seem to be no marked party exclusiveness in the financial community (see Table 36). The exceptions found were two "Whig" banks during the earlier period when banks were a lively political issue. Since the officers and directors of the Bank of St. Clair were solidly Whig, it was no surprise to find the Democratic Free Press accusing the Whig Advertiser of "attempting to white-wash the putrid carcass of the Bank of St. Clair."¹⁵ It is impossible to determine the full motivation of the suit against the newly reconstituted, Whig-dominated Michigan State Bank initiated by a Democratic administration in 1845. It is suggestive that the Democratic Attorney General was Henry N. Walker, a director of another bank.¹⁶

Some of the Whigs involved in the re-opened Michigan State Bank had also gained unpopularity in connection with their leadership of the defunct Bank of Michigan. Eastern

¹⁴Robert Stuart to C. C. Trowbridge, Lockport, April 23, 1847, C. C. Trowbridge Papers.

¹⁵Free Press, June 5, 1845. ¹⁶Burton, Wayne, II, 1224.

capital had been involved in that institution to a far greater extent than local money and the directors were pictured as saving the investments of Easterners at the price of ruin for Michigan and its residents. This feeling was so strong that the Whig Advertiser joined the Free Press in condemning the officers of the Bank. A temporary injunction closing the bank, forbidding transfer of assets and asking for a receiver was removed in a court action. The judge handing down the decision favorable to the bank was the Democrat, Chancellor Elon Farnsworth.¹⁷

Members of the elite also took opposite sides without regard to party allegiance in an occasion of public "decision-making." Democrats A. D. Fraser and John R. Williams joined Whig politician (not elite) J. M. Howard in opposing a special city tax proposed to pay the interest on the city debt in 1843. Leading supporters of the tax, Whigs James Van Dyke and James F. Joy, were supported by Democrat Theodore Romeyn. Howard's political aim was clear from his description of the tax as an unjust burden on the laboring man who would suffer as large a levy "as Gen. Cass or any other wealthy landowners." A compromise measure was offered by another Whig, Thomas Rowland.¹⁸

Business promotion was also carried on by economic

¹⁷Father Peter Beckman, "James F. Joy and His Railroad Career," (Unpublished manuscript), 15, 22.

¹⁸Advertiser, May 9, 1843.

TABLE 36

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS--MEMBERS OF FIRMS

<u>Bank of St. Clair (1844)^a</u>	7 Whigs
President:	Levi Cook
Cashier:	Wesley Truesdail
Directors:	L. Cook, Geo. C. Bates, S. Gillet, W. Truesdail, J. R. Dorr
<u>Michigan Insurance Comp. U. S. Deposite Bank (1844)^b</u>	2 Democrats, 2 Whigs
President:	Douglass Houghton
Directors:	D. Houghton, John Owen, Henry N. Walker John Roberts
<u>Farmers and Mechanics Banks of Michigan (1844)^c</u>	1 Democrat, 1 Whig
President:	George B. Throop
Cashier:	John A. Welles
<u>Michigan State Bank (re-opened 1845)^d</u>	7 Whigs, 1 Democrat
President:	C. C. Trowbridge
Stockholders:	H. P. Baldwin, J. F. Joy, F. Buhl, C. H. Buhl, Henry Ledyard (Democrat)
<u>Detroit Savings Fund Institute (1849)^e</u>	3 Whigs, 4 Democrats
Trustees:	S. Conant, John Palmer, L. Cook (Whigs) E. Farnsworth, Charles Moran, B. B. Kercheval, Gurdon Williams (Democrats)
<u>Peninsular Bank (1859)^f</u>	3 Democrats, 1 Republican 1 Constitutional Union
Directors:	K. C. Barker, Nelson P. Stewart, Samuel P. Brady (Democrats) E. B. Ward, Francis E. Eldred

^aDetroit City Directory, 1845, 104.^bIbid.^cIbid., 105.^dBurton, Wayne, II, 1224.^eIbid., 1223.^fFree Press, June 11, 1859.

TABLE 36--ContinuedDetroit and Milwaukee Railroad (1859)^g

5 Republicans,
2 Democrats
Stockholders: S. Conant, John Owen, H. P. Baldwin,
E. B. Ward, T. W. Lockwood (Republicans)
E. A. Brush, N. P. Stewart

Detroit Locomotive Works (1857)^h

2 Republicans,
2 Democrats,
1 No Party
Directors: John Owen, B. Wight, S. N. Kendrick
(Republicans) Caleb Van Husan, Henry
Ledyard (Democrats)

Old Settlers' Mining Company (1845)ⁱ

4 Democrats, 3 Whigs
"Connected with:" Gen. J. R. Williams, Charles Moran,
Capt. Francis Cicotte, Peter Desnoyers
(Democrats), James Abbott, Peter J.
Desnoyers, James A. Van Dyke (Whigs)

^gFree Press, Jan. 23, 1859.

^hAdvertiser, Sept. 19, 1857.

ⁱFree Press, Sept. 3, 1845.

leaders acting jointly without regard to party.¹⁹ The big economic (and political) event of 1845, the purchase of the state-owned Michigan Central Railroad by eastern capitalists, was encouraged by businessmen of both parties, although James F. Joy and his partner, George F. Porter, who were retained

¹⁹ Names attached to "Call for Railroad Meeting," Free Press, Sept. 29, 1845; Democrats: L. Cass, B. B. Kercheval, E. Farnsworth, J. McDonnel, E. A. Brush, Whigs: W. N. Carpenter, S. Conant, DeGarmo Jones, A. S. Williams, J. Biddle, J. F. Joy; Liberty: G. F. Porter.

by the eastern interests, did most of the necessary lobbying. The Bostonian sent out to investigate the possibilities, John W. Brooks, was advised through Senator Cass that he communicated with Chancellor Farnsworth and Attorney-General Walker, who, in fact, did promote the sale in the House. The Democratic opposition was also sectional: men from counties of the Southern Railroad united with men from northern counties to oppose the sale.²⁰

In the purely political sphere one would expect to find more party solidarity, but again we find instances where personal favors were sought and granted by individuals of opposite parties. Whig James Van Dyke recommended Democrat A. D. Fraser to a Whig administration for appointment to the District Court bench and was joined by the predominantly Whig "Members of the Bar of Wayne."²¹ Henry Hastings Sibley's account of his efforts in Washington during the Tyler administration indicates that courtesy from opposing politicians was more readily forthcoming than jobs. He wrote his father, Judge Sibley (Democrat), that:

Woodbridge [then Whig Senator] has been particularly

²⁰Beckman, 3,4. John Brooks later described the tactics of Joy and his supporters in promoting the sale over the objections of a majority (Democrats). They introduced petitions from counties with small population at each session to create the impression of a popular demand for the sale.

²¹James Van Dyke to William Woodbridge, Detroit, Michigan, Feb. 14, 1840; Undersigned Members of the War of Wayne to William Woodbridge, Detroit, Michigan, Feb. 14, 1840, William Woodbridge Papers, BHC.

kind to me and I feel under obligation to him . . . Rowland [Whig] has been appointed Postmaster. I did all I could to have poor Shel McKnight [Democratic postmaster] kept in but without avail."²²

There is considerable evidence of a wide range of social intercourse among the elite without regard to party. Democrats, especially important ones, would be invited to Whig functions, even though they were likely to be talked about afterwards. On the occasion of the celebration of Whig James Abbott's new country house old resident Democrats, Peter Desnoyers, Charles Moran, Elon Farnsworth and E. A. Brush, all graced the scene.²³ The daughters of Charles Larned, one of whom married Alpheus Williams, have given us a record of a very social Whig family's connections. There were important Democratic callers--Mrs. Hulbert, Mrs. Mason, wife of Democratic Governor Stephens T. Mason, and Mrs. Norvell, wife of Democratic Senator John Norvell. In turn, Alpheus Williams called with his mother on Mrs. Lewis Cass. The men who were personal friends of Alpheus Williams --those who came frequently and stayed to dinner--were Whigs. ("Mr. Emmons dined with us on some quail which he sent Mother as a present.")²⁴

²²Henry Hastings Sibley to Solomon Sibley, Washington, D. C., March 10, 1842. Solomon Sibley Papers.

²³George C. Bates, "By-Gones of Detroit," Mich. Collections, XXII, 306.

²⁴Wesley Truesdail, Samuel Pitts, H. H. Emmons and J. N. Elbert were frequently mentioned as friends of Alpheus

Public ceremonial functions, which naturally called for elite participation, showed conspicuous bi-partisanship. The funeral of a leading citizen of French descent is a case in point. A loyal Democrat and staunch Catholic, Samuel Lewis was honored at his funeral by two Republican ex-Governors (elite members Baldwin and Bagley) and Honorary Republican pallbearers Alexander Chapaton, Frederick Wetmore and J. S. Farrand.²⁵ In 1860 Lewis and Judge Charles Moran were the only French representatives on the huge Mayor's Reception Committee for the Prince of Wales, which read like a roster of the elite. Its party composition showed a tendency of the Republican Mayor, Christian H. Buhl, to favor his own party, but a large number of Democrats were present, among them "old Democrats" (or their sons) who had been members of the elite in 1844.²⁶

The national crisis of the Civil War created strong pressures on established loyalties. A patriotic pull was

Williams. Mrs. Williams was a member of the Larned family, which was connected with the family of C. C. Trowbridge. Jane Williams to Lewis Allen, Detroit, Michigan, 1840; Catherine Larned to Lewis Allen, Detroit, Michigan, Sept. 5, 1839; Catherine Larned to Mrs. Lewis Allen, Detroit, Michigan, Oct. 22, 1839; Jane Williams to Mrs. Lewis Allen, Detroit, Michigan, Sept. 25, 1839. Lewis Allen Papers, BHC: A. S. Williams to Jane Williams, Detroit, Michigan, July 24, 1842, A. S. Williams Papers, BHC.

²⁵Free Press, Nov. 22, 1878.

²⁶Free Press, Sept. 7, 1860. Of 63 elite members on the Mayor's Committee, 31 were Republicans, 20 Democrats, ten No Party and two Constitutional Union.

was reflected by the joining of prominent Democrats with Republicans to nominate Henry Baldwin for mayor on a "Citizens" ticket in 1861.²⁷ A larger group of Democrats was identified with the extremists who opposed the conduct of the war, supported free speech and were branded "Vallandigham Democrats."²⁸ Significantly, the die-hards contained a much larger proportion of Episcopalians and non-religious types, in short, typical Democrats.

The above discussion indicates the paradoxical nature of political loyalties during the mid-nineteenth century. These loyalties were passionately held, shaped by religious and family environment and cemented by friendships. Yet they did not preclude mutual business ventures, harmonious social relationships or even close friendships. Class cohesion among the elite helps to explain consensus in the society as a whole. Thus, class interests among the elite operated in the same way as party loyalties in the community as a whole; class solidarity tended to lessen party cleavage in the same way that party loyalties among all economic strata blurred class antagonisms.

²⁷Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861; Advertiser, Oct. 26, 1861. Democrats: Charles Moran (Catholic), Samuel Lewis (Catholic), Elon Farnsworth (Episcopalian), J. C. Warner (Baptist), C. W. Jackson (Unitarian), Theodore Romeyn (Presbyterian), William Barclay (Presbyterian), T. H. Eaton (Episcopalian).

²⁸Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 15, 1863. Episcopalians: A. D. Fraser, W. S. Biddle, J. C. D. Williams, W. C. Duncan, M. F. Dickinson, A. M. Campau, T. H. Eaton. No religion: A. Ives, S. P. Brady, John Hull, S. G. Wight, A. S. Bagg. Catholic: P. Desnoyers.

CHAPTER XI

IDEAL TYPES

A clearer understanding of the relationships between the politics and the characteristics of Wayne County's elite might be gained from biographical sketches of several typical individuals. These individuals will represent the various major groupings isolated from the evidence of the preceding chapters.¹ From among the dominant Whig-Republicans two individuals have been selected to represent dominant constellations of traits: Zachariah Chandler, a Presbyterian merchant from New England who represents certain leading characteristics in economic role, religion and ethnocultural origin of the elite in both 1844 and 1860; and James F. Joy, another Whig-Republican Presbyterian from New England, who became a leading capitalist in contrast to Chandler's achievements in national politics.

¹The term "ideal type" was originated by Max Weber. These individuals differ from Weber's in that they are actual individuals who represent the composite types drawn from the empirical data. Weber's were "pure cases . . . logically controlled and unambiguous conceptions . . . more removed from historical reality" than . . . "less precise concepts, which are more closely geared to the empirical world." See Gerth and Mills, 59-60.

The Democrats among the elite were predominantly Episcopalian or had no religion. The majority was Yankee and many were landowners. Representative of the major Democratic type was Moses F. Dickinson, a New England Episcopalian, and a merchant who became a landowner. Because the Democrats also claimed the allegiance of the majority of the French landed gentry, Charles Moran, French Catholic, landlord and judge, has been selected to illustrate this type.

*A Democrat with rather different characteristics has been selected in order to emphasize the basic consistency of the Democratic type as a whole. As a Presbyterian, Theodore Romeyn was an atypical Democrat. In spite of this unusual religious factor, however, he does not violate the Democratic pattern. Finally, as the Whig who became a Democrat in the 1850's, Alpheus S. Williams, New England aristocratic Episcopalian, epitomizes these party changers.

Most spectacularly successful of the Yankee elite who were successively Whigs and Republicans was Zachariah Chandler. Born in a small New Hampshire town of moderately well-to-do parents of old English stock, Chandler's most important early decision was his choice of the \$1,000 offered him by his father in place of the college education received by his brothers.² So profitable was his venture

²Michigan Historical Commission, Michigan Biographies (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1924), I, 164-165; The Detroit Post and Tribune, Zachariah Chandler: An Outline of His Life and Public Service (Detroit: Post and Tribune Co., 1880), 44; Chandler's father, Samuel Chandler, was farmer, Justice of the Peace, town clerk and selectman. See

into the wholesale and drygoods business in Detroit after 1833 that by 1845, as one of the Whig directors of the re-organized Michigan State Bank, he was a member of "the strongest combination of businessmen in the state."³

Until 1851 Chandler was a typical Yankee Whig merchant, devoting himself primarily to making money while supporting the Whig party. In 1851 he went into politics seriously when he ran for mayor against Democrat John R. Williams. Although obviously overcome by the political virus, Chandler's early attitude was one of supercilious aloofness, worth elaborating as a characteristic attitude of Whigs:

. . . But I would not go before the people again for President of the U. S. Its /sic/ the meanest business you ever knew. Touch not, taste not, handle not. Imagine my position for the past 10 days, with a perspective of Dutch groceries, small beer, rot gut whiskey, and bad segars, and yet even this you must face or be defeated . . . There's no honor in any office if you look at the means of attaining it.⁴

George F. Porter had another view of Chandler's feeling about politics: "Chandler is receiving today. He is as tickled as a boy with a new jacknife--is nearly as fond of speaking as Ladue."⁵

George Chandler, The Chandler Family (Worcester: Chas. Hamilton Press, 1883), 777.

³T. H. Hinchman, Banks and Banking in Michigan; with Historical Sketches, General Statutes of Banking Under State and National Laws and Personal Notices of Late Prominent Bank Officers (Detroit: W. Graham, 1887), 46.

⁴Z. Chandler to James F. Joy, Detroit, Michigan, March 2, 1851, James F. Joy Papers.

⁵George F. Porter to James F. Joy, Detroit, Michigan, March 12, 1851, James F. Joy Papers.

Discounting the psychological defense mechanisms employed by Chandler (he did, in fact, lose this election), the moralistic scorn and ethnocultural egotism were characteristic of rich New England Whigs. John G. Atterbury, another Whig member of the elite whose distaste for the democratic mingling required by politics was stronger than Chandler's, has left an amusing account of his aristocratic recoil:

. . . I had the honor of representing the 2nd Ward of the City of Detroit in the Whig County Convention on Thursday, and of assisting Maj. Biddle as President of that convention . . . One day I submitted to be carried to Dearborn by a Mr. Nobody with a rat of a horse--amusing to look at but a hard 'un to ride after. One day I wore an old coat, drunk bad brandy, talked of the interests of the working classes, log-rolled, shook hands with and hugged everybody as one who is no resspecter of persons--commended one mans claims for office and threw my ballot for another and in short did everything fitting and proper for a politician of the modern school. With the next sun however I arose quit of my insanity, put on my own coat, walked the streets without recognizing my associates of the day previous, allowed my nose to choose its own company, minded my own business and left longer lived fools than myself to finish the canvass.⁶

Chandler was a solid but not devout Presbyterian, an organized rather than an inspired Christian. He was active in the Fort Street Presbyterian Church, but was never a full-fledged member and toward the latter part of his career was flamboyantly non-temperance. During the fight to oust Reverend Neill (see above Chapter IX), Chandler's irritation

⁶ John G. Atterbury to Julie Allen, Detroit, Michigan, Oct. 5, 1839, Lewis Allen Papers. Atterbury was a lawyer who married into the Larned family and was a friend and relation of A. S. Williams.

arose in part from what seemed a challenge to his authority:

" . . . the kitchen cabinet of the parsonage . . . mean to manage things their own way. Allowing us to pay merely."⁷

The social cast of his religious conviction is suggested by his attitude toward a "first rate" lady whom he met during his courting days:

Fixed Unitarian sentiments would be an insuperable objection with me. No sentiments at all in particular would be preferable. What would my mother say if her son should marry a Unitarian. She would think the scepter had departed from her house. It won't do.⁸

Chandler's biographers describe him as being intensely antislavery.⁹ These convictions are difficult to document because Chandler was a politician whose mode of appeal was vitriolically "anti." Anti-Southernism was his forte, rather than the narrower, less popular humanitarianism of antislavery. (He later became an accomplished Anglophobe).¹⁰ An example of his antislavery conviction was his financial

⁷Z. Chandler to James F. Joy, No Date, James F. Joy Papers.

⁸Z. Chandler to James F. Joy, Detroit, Michigan, Aug. 8, 1840, James F. Joy Papers.

⁹A typically vague description: "No man more truly represented this radical spirit of the northwest than did Zachariah Chandler. Himself an immigrant and the descendant of immigrants, he was the embodiment of Michigan Republicanism," Harris, 34; Post and Tribune, 80.

¹⁰"In defending Michigan he would revile New England and New York; in defending the North he would castigate the South; as a loyal Republican he would flay Copperheads, and as an American he took great delight in berating Great Britain." Harris, 82.

support of the defendants in the Crosswhite case in 1847-- three citizens of Marshall, Michigan, who were on trial for obstructing the return of the Crosswhites to a Kentucky slaveowner. However, in 1848 he eschewed Van Buren and Free Soil and made a speech for Zachary Taylor. In 1852 he ran unsuccessfully for governor against a Free Soiler and a Democrat.¹¹

Rather than projecting an antislavery identification, Chandler launched his political career in the image of the self-made businessman. His maiden speech in the 1851 mayoralty campaign was addressed to the Young Men's Society on "The Element of Success in Character."¹² During the Chandler campaign for governor in 1852, the Whigs were grandiloquent on the "intelligent, upright and able businessman" theme.¹³ The Democrats countered that they had "had enough of business sympathies." They were outraged at the open Whig appeal to merchants, and castigated as "infamous" Whig brochures to merchants, which were seen as insidious "Confidential Circulars."¹⁴ Lewis Cass, the leading Democrat and largest landowner in Detroit, used a more indirect tack to question Chandler's fitness for office. It was not his being a businessman per se that disqualified him

¹¹Post & Tribune, 74, 79, 86.

¹²Ibid., 81.

¹³Advertiser, Oct. 28, 1852.

¹⁴Free Press, Oct. 29, 1852.

for the governorship, but rather his lack of political experience.¹⁵

The lines of political rhetoric employed here coincide to a large extent with the empirical data on economic functions. The Whigs were the party of the merchants (34% opposed to the Democrats' 11% in 1844), the Democrats the party of the landowners (29% as opposed to Whigs' 7% in 1844). The stress that Cass, the Democratic magnate, put on political experience suggests the appeal of an aristocratic concept of public service--a Jeffersonian idea rather than a Jacksonian notion of easy access to office.

Although Chandler was endorsed by the Temperance party in 1852, he was clearly not the sternest of New England puritans.¹⁶ He based his conditional approval of a proposed Maine liquor law on the "cardinal Whig principle of opposition to the executive interference with the Legislative power."¹⁷ During his later career as Senator he lived ostentatiously, in keeping with the Washington of the Grant

¹⁵The original Cass speech could not be found. The references to Cass's speech in the Advertiser, Oct. 28, 1852, claimed that "Gen. Cass expressly stated that to be Governor, a man should begin political life early and follow it up-- that he should be a politician and nothing else."

¹⁶Post & Tribune, 85; "Mr. Chandler is a temperance man! Many, very many will laugh at this," Free Press, Oct. 26, 1852.

¹⁷Free Press, Oct. 13, 1852.

era. On a European tour in 1869 his family was reputed to have taken four Negro servants in dazzling costumes. His personal style as a politician was anything but puritanical: "He was always ready to smoke a cigar, take a drink, play a game of cards or tell a good story."¹⁸ Although this behavior suited his milieu, there were mutterings. An outraged classmate of James F. Joy, urging Joy to run for office "now that you have acquired more money than you can spend," complained: "Why should Chandler continue to fill a place which his habits and morals disgrace. Excuse my plainness in thus speaking of him if he is one of your church pillars."¹⁹

The contrast of James F. Joy, the sober railroad tycoon, with Zachariah Chandler, the roistering politician, seems to indicate that puritanism had a greater affinity with business than politics. Although a Whig, a Free Soiler and a Republican, Joy was never an active office-seeker. His energies were concentrated on business from his early start as a lawyer engaged in making collections for banks and merchants to his later great career as a railroad coordinator. In the early 1840's Joy had such scorn for politicians that he considered Michigan Whigs as bad as Locofocos.²⁰ His law

¹⁸Harris, 113, 116.

¹⁹John Lord to J. F. Joy, Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 12, (?), James F. Joy Papers.

²⁰Beckman, 10.

partner, George F. Porter, was antislavery to the extent of running for office on the Liberty ticket and Joy supported the Free Soil party in 1848.

Joy's father, like Chandler's, was well-to-do, a blacksmith who succeeded in enlarging his activities to the manufacture of scythes and the building of a textile mill. Unlike Chandler, Joy chose college and after graduating Phi Beta Kappa from Dartmouth in 1830 studied law at Harvard. His religious development is significant. The object of some concern on the part of his father because of "the value you set on money and the free use you feel inclined to make of it," Joy outdid his father, an only occasional church-goer, by making a public declaration of faith. This conversion, his biographer notes, "did not change his views on the importance of money."²¹ Joy continued through his life to be a serious Christian. He was one of the few elite members associated with the Fort Street Presbyterian Church to be inscribed on the membership roll.

In 1845 Joy became the agent for eastern capitalists seeking to buy the Michigan Central Railroad from the state. He described his meeting with their agent, John W. Brooks, as an unfortunate step leading him away "from the practice of the noble profession of law." He insisted that his urging the sale of the railroad by the state was disinterested

²¹Ibid., 5.

and pointed out, in an article on railroads, that he had advocated the sale:

a long time before the visit of Mr. Brooks to Joy and Porter in 1845 and without any thought of having personally any part in the matter except as a citizen favoring a sound and proper policy for the state government.²²

As much as Joy might look down on politicians, when he became a railroad promoter he had to placate and woo them. Recounting the difficulties he encountered in obtaining railroad charters in Indiana and Illinois, Joy claimed that he failed in Illinois despite the able assistance of a Whig politician, A. Lincoln.²³

Joy, a promoter behind the scenes, tended to see politics as a means. For Chandler politics became an intense personal commitment. Although these two were exceptional in their success, both patterns of activity were typical for Yankee Whig-Republican Presbyterians of the Wayne County elite.

That a landowning aristocratic ideal was characteristic of rich Democrats is suggested by the career of Moses F. Dickinson. An early comer to Detroit--he came from Massachusetts in 1831--Dickinson spent twenty years accumulating a respectable fortune as a coppersmith and hardware merchant. Having acquired a snug fortune of around \$200,000, he retired

²²Joy, Mich. Collections, XXII, 298.

²³Ibid., 303-304.

completely from business, built himself a country house and lived the life of a landed gentlemen.

Although never active politically, he was intensely loyal, as indicated by his support of free speech which grouped him with the so-called "Vallandigham Democrats" in 1863. His public activities were in accord with an aristocratic pattern; he actively supported education, was a vestryman in St. Paul's Episcopal Church and served as justice of the peace. He did not have a college education, which was rare even among the elite, but he had received a solid academic background at Amherst Academy. He sent his young brother-in-law, William L. Wesson, to the University of Michigan.²⁴

In handling money he was careful. He was not a speculator, "never endorsed a note nor asked a similar favor for himself."²⁵ Nevertheless, he was not a skinflint. A reputation for fairness as a landlord is borne out by his letter to his tenant, Marshall J. Bacon:

. . . My dear Bacon. You have occupied my house for a whole year without paying one cent of rent. Now won't you move to another house and give me a chance? If you rent another place for a year I may let you into my house again.

²⁴ Gave \$3,000 to Miss Hunt's School in 1851; influential in the organization of school district No. 5. "Detroit in 1837," Mich. Collections, XXVIII, 588; Burton Scrapbook, V, 71, BHC.

²⁵ "Detroit in 1837," 588.

He was always very correctly dressed in "high black satin stock and high standing collars." The house he built on his forty-acre Springwells farm had pretensions. It was "Gothic" with immense double windows with diamond-shaped panes and green blinds.²⁶

As a landowner, Catholic and Democrat, Charles Moran typified the French members of the elite. He was, however, more active in politics than most of the French landowners, serving as Alderman of the Fourth Ward from 1839 through 1846 and continuing to be active in Democratic politics until 1863 when he associated himself with the patriotic Democrats who opposed holding city elections.²⁷

He was related by marriage to the wealthiest member of the elite in 1860, Joseph Campau, whose example he followed in profitably subdividing parcels of his ancestral farm as the city grew. Even though he prospered as a result of the growth of the Yankee settlement, Judge Moran "actively opposed the eastern extension of Jefferson Avenue."²⁸ His opposition may have been motivated by conservatism rather than hostility to Yankees. He seems not to have been excluded from Yankee elite circles. His daughter Matilda

²⁶Burton Scrapbook, V, 71.

²⁷Farmer, I, 142-143; Free Press, Oct. 22, 1863.

²⁸J. Bell Moran, The Moran Family: 200 Years in Detroit (Detroit: Alred of Detroit, 1949), 55.

was married to a grandson of Judge James Witherell at a "brilliant" wedding at which "were gathered all the elite of Detroit."²⁹ He was a stockholder in the Old Settlers Mining Company and one of the two French members of the elite to be included on the Reception Committee for the Prince of Wales in 1860.³⁰

His style of life comported with his conservatism. His business habits were leisurely and his thrift did not permit ostentation. He "declined to gratify his wife's desire for a carriage with a team of horses and coachmen of her own, remarking that his was a good enough vehicle and team for all."³¹

Theodore Romeyn's Presbyterianism made him a deviant Democrat, but a full view of his personality shows a conformity with Wayne County elite Democrats. His Presbyterianism was a modification of the Dutch Reformed environment in which he grew up, the son, brother and grandson of ministers.³² Dutch ancestry rather than Presbyterianism

²⁹Friend Palmer, Early Days in Detroit (Detroit: Hunt and June, 1906), 529.

³⁰Receipt, James Abbott, Treasurer, to Charles Moran, for subscription payments on 50 shares of stock of the Old Settlers Mining Co., of Detroit, Michigan, Charles Moran Papers; Free Press, Sept. 7, 1860.

³¹Moran, 56, 58.

³²Wayne County, Chronography, 130.

may have been an important factor in influencing his political affiliation. Benson found that Democratic party leaders in New York claimed either Dutch or German descent while Whigs were invariably British.³³ More specific influences were his early apprenticeship as a lawyer at the very fount of the Democracy: the office of Benjamin F. Butler in Albany which was frequented by such notables of the Albany Regency as Silas Wright, William L. Marcy, John A. Dix, A. C. Flagg, and T. W. Olcott. His Democratic connections were continued when he moved to Detroit in 1835 and entered a legal partnership with Democrat A. D. Fraser. Although not an office-holder, he remained a Democrat throughout his life except in 1864 when he voted for Lincoln.³⁴

Romeyn's career presents many puzzles. His reputation in Detroit suffered from his connection with several of the failed wild-cat banks established under Michigan's General Banking Law in 1837.³⁵ An investigating committee of the state legislature cleared Romeyn of the taint surrounding the Bank of Ypsilanti, but his reputation, at least among Whigs, remained that of an unscrupulous operator.³⁶

³³Benson, Concept of Democracy, 64.

³⁴Wayne County, Chronography, 131.

³⁵Romeyn, Director, Bank of Gibraltar, Hinchman, 36; Romeyn, purchaser of Bank of Ypsilanti, Ross, 174.

³⁶"Mr. Romeyn sold out to Mr. P. S. Rawson as agent for Arba K. Maynard and others . . . nothing appears, in the history of the transaction upon the books, to in any manner

Alpheus Williams refused to associate with him, an act which put a great strain on the close friendship of their respective wives. Correspondence of the Larned girls (Mrs. Alpheus Williams was Jane Larned) is full of the Romeyns and reflects certain Whig attitudes:

He has purchased a large quantity of new furniture in New York. It is very queer how he gets so much money to spend. They are now in Mr. Welles' house and the Mason family are in theirs. I heard that the Mason family /Democratic Governor Stephens T. Mason/ left their house as filthy and dirty as they did ours.³⁷

The puzzle of Romeyn's career is that his most outstanding law case was against the General Banking Law in which he argued the unconstitutionality of a general law for incorporation of charters.³⁸ Did Romeyn's personal unfortunate experience with wild-cat banks influence his stand against free incorporation, or was he basically conservative on the subject of corporations as Lee Benson has shown the Albany Regency to have been?³⁹

implicate Mr. Romeyn in the subsequent frauds, or that he was in any way privy to them," State of Michigan, House of Representatives, Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Affairs of the Bank of Ypsilanti, No. 43, April 10, 1839, 4.

³⁷Kate Larned to Lewis Allen, Detroit, Michigan, May 24, 1838, Lewis Allen Papers.

³⁸Wayne County, Chronography, 131; Green v. Graves, 1st Douglass, (Mich.), 351.

³⁹Benson, Concept of Democracy, 92, 100.

Romeyn's style of life was so emphatically splendid that he found it necessary to be "almost always concerned in some enterprise where money-getting was the final issue."⁴⁰ His refitting of the house of John A. Welles, purchased in 1838, made it the finest residence in town. His sideboard was always graced by a large round of beef, "roasted in a scientific manner," and his wines were expensive. He constantly quoted Daniel Webster's alleged description of a good lawyer as one who "lives like a game cock and dies like a pauper."⁴¹ In 1860 Romeyn seemed to be working toward this end: although he was worth only \$15,000 according to the Census, he kept four servants.

Romeyn's showiness and his efforts to climb into the community dominated by New Englanders were undoubtedly as damaging as his shady reputation. He showed no sense of proper bounds: one evening he "gave a party to the Moral and Religious part of the community and the next. . . to the Loafing Gentry and Aristocracy."⁴² What was unforgivable was his presumption. Mrs. Romeyn claimed that Alpheus Williams:

. . . is supposed to have said that we held a position in society to which we had no right--classing us among the mushroom gentry of the land and proposing that we should be 'put down!'

⁴⁰Palmer, 767.

⁴¹Ross, 174.

⁴²Robert Forsyth to Lewis Allen, Detroit, Michigan, Jan. 6, 1842, Lewis Allen Papers.

and not admitted among the elite of Detroit."⁴³

It is possible that this attitude toward the Romeyns influenced his removal to New York City in 1848 where he practiced law for ten years before returning to Detroit. Nevertheless, if society disapproved, it did not spurn his hospitality. There is another account of a Romeyn social gathering which echoes the scorn of the Larneds: "Mr. Romeyn is, or affects to be, a man of great taste and has his house very handsomely furnished." An amusing episode was furnished this Romeyn critic by the plaster Venus in the ladies' dressingroom where a chambermaid,

. . . thinking it might shock the delicacy of some of the ladies, pinned a sheet over it. When the Sibleys got there no one was in the dressing room, so they had the curiosity to take a peep, and when they came out the gentlemen happened to get a glimpse of it and asked what it was. On being told it was a Venus, Mr. Armstrong asked if it was a Venus of Democracy, which appellation you know is given to Fanny Wright. As Mr. Romeyn professes to be such a thorough Democrat I suppose it very proper that he should have the image of their feminine champion."⁴⁴

With this picture of Romeyn as the flamboyant outsider, his Democratic affiliation seems more understandable than his Presbyterianism. His association with the Fort Street Presbyterian Church, stronghold of New England Republicanism,

⁴³Anna M. Romeyn to Julia Allen, Detroit, Jan. 12, 1840, Lewis Allen Papers.

⁴⁴Elizabeth Campbell to Sophie Biddle, Detroit, Michigan, Feb. 6, 1839, John Biddle Papers.

was probably more indicative of climbing instincts than rock-ribbed Presbyterian convictions.

Romeyn's chief critic, Alpheus Starkey Williams, was an Episcopalian Whig from Connecticut who became a Democrat when the Whig party broke up in the 1850's. His apostasy is particularly ironic because, as an active Whig in the early 1840's, he had been the target of scurrilous personal abuse by the Democratic Free Press. He was sneeringly referred to as the "Count," who lived grandly but "never had a dollar until he got another's dowry."⁴⁵ There was personal as well as political animus behind this innuendo since Williams at the time was editor of the rival paper, the Daily and Weekly Advertiser. Williams' shift to the party of his old enemies shows how strongly men like Williams felt about the Republican threat, as well as how changed was the tenor of the Democratic stance.

Williams was active in the Whig party until he withdrew from the State Convention of 1854 with the announcement that the "majority were disposed not only to disregard the opinions, but as far as possible to irritate, not to say insult, the feelings of those who differed with them on the Republican ticket policy."⁴⁶ Williams' earlier friendship

⁴⁵ Free Press, June 23, 1845. Williams had married Jane Larned Pearson, widow of Benj. Pearson, wealthy eastern ironmaster.

⁴⁶ Advertiser, Oct. 6, 1854.

with Lewis Cass gives a key to his later action. Cass supported his appointment as postmaster under Zachary Taylor, expressing a nice balance between the claims of party and of friendship:

. . . If opposition to you would have secured the appointment of a Democrat, I should have opposed you, as a political duty, I owe to my party. But this could not be done, and most assuredly personally I rejoice at your appointment, and both Gov. Felch /Democrat/ and myself long since determined to support you zealously, and we did so.⁴⁷

Cass also confided to Williams that the Whig administration had "no sympathies with the higher law people" and urged Williams to "go your own way, with your sound protests, and sound judgments, as a true national Whig, and you are sure to be supported by the administration."⁴⁸

Williams conviction of belonging to the gentry was based on his privileged upbringing as the son of a manufacturer who sent him to Yale and Yale law school and who left him a patrimony of \$75,000. Williams lived like a gentleman and travelled widely in the United States and Europe. He also invested his money like a gentleman: he was continually unsuccessful.⁴⁹ His failures may, in part, account for his resentment of an upstart like Theodore Romeyn and perhaps

⁴⁷Lewis Cass to A. S. Williams, Washington, D. C., Sept. 2, 1850, A. S. Williams Papers.

⁴⁸Lewis Cass to A. S. Williams, No Date, A. S. Williams Papers.

⁴⁹Ross, 224-225.

conditioned his political opposition to Republicans who were becoming millionaires like E. B. Ward, Chandler and Joy. His close friends were J. N. Elbert and Wesley Truesdail, also unsuccessful financially, who followed him into the Democratic party.

His advice to his family reflects just as much New England puritanism as that of any Presbyterian, although a difference may be detected. He is more concerned with propriety before society than before God. Urging upon his daughter the habit of reading something every day, he submits the carrot of "the vast advantages that a well trained and educated mind will give you when you are old enough to take your place in society." His extreme concern for decorous feminine behavior was probably typical of his milieu. His daughter was warned that her "impulses and enthusiasms are often excessive and lead you into follies sometimes."⁵⁰ He even insisted that his wife be accompanied on her trips to the dentist because "there are so many good-natured people in Detroit that would find pleasure in remarking upon women going alone to the dentist when their husbands are away."⁵¹

⁵⁰A. S. Williams to Irene Williams, Detroit, Michigan, Dec. 17, 1854; A. S. Williams to Irene Williams, Detroit, Michigan, Nov. 4, 1858, A. S. Williams Papers.

⁵¹A. S. Williams to Mrs. A. S. Williams, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 21, 1844, A. S. Williams Papers.

Conservative would seem to be the appropriate designation for this Yankee aristocrat who failed at business and became a general in the Civil War. He remained an active Democrat after his switch to that party in 1856. For conservatives like Williams who wished to remain in the political arena there was no other choice when the Whig party broke up. The old party of Jackson, Stephens T. Mason and Theodore Romeyn had clearly become the party of the status quo.

APPENDIX I

CITATIONS -- ELITE OF 1844

ABBOTT, JAMES (d. 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$2,795, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844 (Wards 1, 5, 6, Hamtramck); \$31,420, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; F. Palmer, 243, 737; Hinchman, 108; Houghton and Bristol, 98; Johnson, Fur Trade, 138; Michigan Historical Coll., III, 213-22.

POLITICS: Whig nominee 2d Ward Alderman, Advertiser, March 1, 1842; Signer, Call to Whig State Convention, Advertiser, Aug. 21, 1854. RELIGION: Records of First Vestry, St. Paul's Episcopal, History of Churches of Detroit, 94. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, left property encumbered with debt, M. M. Quaife, "The Abbotts of Detroit," Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society, I, Nos. 2 and 3, 10-12; 23-24; Abbott Papers, BHC.

ATTERBURY, JOHN G.

ECONOMIC: \$4,800, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Delegate, 2d Ward, Whig County Convention, John G. Atterbury to Julie, October 5, 1839, Lewis Allen Papers, BHC. RELIGION AND FAMILY: Ross, Father well-to-do, Yale graduate, Bench and Bar, 16-17.

BALDWIN, HENRY P. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$3,850, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Boot and Shoe Mfr.. 20 hands, Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$62,550, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$33,647, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Signer, "Friends of Clay," Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Nominated Union Ticket for Mayor, Free Press, October 27, 1861. RELIGION: St. John's Episcopal Church, A New Parish Register, 1858-1869. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father Presbyterian minister, Dartmouth graduate, Farmer, II, 1055.

BANKS, ROBERT

ECONOMIC: Clothing manufacturer, 25 hands, \$20,000 per annum, Advertiser, August 22, 1848; Detroit Directory, 1845, 15. POLITICS AND ETHNIC: Robert Banks, An Oration. . .

Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies. Held By Colored Americans, August 1, 1839.

BARCLAY, WILLIAM (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: Iron foundry, 45 hands, \$70,000 per annum, Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$27,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$66,800, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Delegate, Democratic County Convention, 5th Ward, Free Press, October 18, 1843; Signer, Call Democratic Republican Mass Meeting, for those friendly to nomination of Calhoun, Free Press, February 18, 1843; Democratic nominee, 6th Ward, Free Press, February 28, 1845; Signer, Independent Democrats opposing regular Democratic ticket on Catholic school support, Free Press, March 2, 1853; Alderman, Advertiser, September 18, 1858; Supporter Union local ticket (Baldwin), Free Press, October 25, 1861. RELIGION: Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, 1861, 16. ETHNIC: Scotland, Census, 1860.

BATES, GEORGE C. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$3,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Bingham, Michigan Biog., 77; Ross, Bench and Bar, 25; Detroit Directory, 1845, 104; Houghton and Bristol, 94, 102; \$13,305, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. POLITICS: Whig Alderman, 1st Ward, Free Press, April 15, 1839; Republican Nominee for Supervisor, 1st Ward, Advertiser and Tribune, October 23, 1863. RELIGION: Confirmed, 1836, Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC.

BEAUBIEN, ANTOINE

ECONOMIC: \$22,560, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Signer, Broadside, "Great Whig Meeting," December 18, 1834. RELIGION AND FAMILY: SB/Palmer, III, 156, BHC. Inherited 337 acres, illiterate.

BIDDLE, JOHN (d. 1859)

ECONOMIC: \$34,897, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Hinchman, 105; Farmer, II, 1032. POLITICS: President, Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; McCabe, 42-44; Michigan Biog., 97. RELIGION, FAMILY AND ETHNIC: Father well-to-do Federalist, Henry D. Biddle, Notes on the Genealogy of the Biddle Family, 140; Thomas P. Govan, Nicholas Biddle, 3, 23, 25, 74.

BREWSTER, WILLIAM

ECONOMIC: \$16,280, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; (Wards 3 and 4); \$21,585, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Michigan Pioneer

Coll., XXVIII, 595; Free Press, April 20, 1879; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; 4th Ward Committee, Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; Signer, Whigs recommend unity (vote Republican), Advertiser, October 7, 1854. RELIGION: Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian, 1854-1856. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father extensive land owner, Emma C. Brewster Jones, The Brewster Genealogy, 1566-1907, 238, 525.

BRUSH, CHARLES (d. 1849)

ECONOMIC: \$6,330, Wayne County (Ward 6) and Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Committee, 6th Ward Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848. FAMILY AND RELIGION: C. M. Burton, Typescript, Families of Forsyth, Kinzie, and Lytle, BHC. ETHNIC: Scot, H. S. Brush, Jr., to Garnett McCoy, March 13, 1964.

BRUSH, EDMUND A. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$23,368, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$116,392, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$1,520, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; Estate at death, 1877, \$3,500,000, SB/Palmer, III, 147, BHC. POLITICS: Minor offices, Democrat, McCabe, 57; Signer, Democrats of City of Detroit urging no contest of political parties; Free Press, October 22, 1863; Farmer, II, 1210. RELIGION: Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father, well-to-do landowner, Dartmouth graduate, Democrat; family claims to be Scotch, H. S. Brush, Jr., to Garnett McCoy, March 13, 1964.

BUHL, CHRISTIAN H. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: Manufacturer fur hats, 25 hands, \$30,000 per annum, Advertiser, August 22, 1848; Director, reorganized Michigan State Bank, 1845, Hinchman, 46; Farmer, II, 1043; SB/Palmer, III, 148, BHC; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848, 9; Taxable income, 1864, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; \$65,370, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$3,220 Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; \$250,000, Census, 1860; Estate, 1893, \$5,000,000. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Business meeting of Republicans, Advertiser, August 28, 1860; Republican nominee for Mayor, Free Press, November 2, 1863. RELIGION: Records, V. 11, Fort Street Presbyterian Church.

BUHL, FREDERICK (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: For 1844 same as Christian H. Buhl; Taxable income, 1864, \$16,280, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; \$53,280, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$1,600, Wayne County

Tax Roll, 1860; \$83,000, Census, 1860; Estate, \$800,000, SB/Palmer, III, 149; BHC. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Mayor, 1848, SB/Palmer III, 149, BHC; House illuminated for Republican torchlight parade, Advertiser, November 15, 1860. RELIGION: Records, V. 11, Fort Street Presbyterian Church.

CAMPAU, BARNABAS (d. 1846)

ECONOMIC: \$31,133, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Burton, History of Wayne County, V, 22-23; Michigan Pioneer Coll., IV, 472; SB/Palmer, III, 151, BHC; F. Palmer, 500.

CAMPAU, JOSEPH (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$32,492, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$96,015, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$18,285, Wayne County Tax Rolls, 1860; \$3,500,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS, FAMILY, ETHNIC: Amer. Biog. Mich. Vol., 1st Dist., 38-39; Sketch by Friend Palmer, Free Press, January 24, 1904; Detroit News-Tribune, November 3, 1912; Campau Family Papers, BHC.

CARPENTER, WILLIAM N. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$6,405, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$18,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$105,000, Census, 1860; Farmer, II, 1210; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848, 9. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Signer, "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Signer, "Meeting for Bell and Everett," Free Press, July 22, 1860; Nominee, School Inspector, 4th Ward, Union (Citizens, Non-partisan) Ticket, Advertiser, October 30, 1861. RELIGION: Baptized, confirmed, communicant, May 26, 1845, Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875. FAMILY: Father "a magnate of the town," F. Palmer, 497.

CASS, LEWIS (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$75,383, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$357,275, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$22,700, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; Porter, II, 723-725. POLITICS: McCabe, 61. RELIGION: Farmer, II, 1058. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, ardent Federalist and National Republican, Cass K. Shelby, Typescript, "The Paternal Ancestry of Lewis Cass," BHC.

CHANDLER, ZACHARIAH (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$20,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$133,450, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$300,000, Census, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$56,236, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser,

November 4, 1844; Signer, "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Business Meeting of Republicans, Advertiser August 28, 1860; The Detroit Post and Tribune, Zachariah Chandler: An Outline Sketch of His Life and Public Services, 74, 82, 87, 119-131. RELIGION: Records, V. 11, Fort Street Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, George Chandler, The Descendants of William and Annis Chandler Who Settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1637, 777.

CHAPOTON, EUSTACHE (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$6,915, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$37,210, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$24,000, Census, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$2,686, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Secretary, Third Ward Whigs, Advertiser, September 8, 1842; Alderman, 3d Ward, Free Press, March 23, 1844; Alderman, Advertiser, September 18, 1858; House lighted for Republican victory, Advertiser, November 15, 1860. RELIGION AND FAMILY: Baptism of Etienne, son of Eustache and Julie Chapoton, Registre de Ste. Anne's, V. 7 (3263), BHC; Denissen Genealogy, V. 2, 2537, BHC.

CHITTENDEN, WILLIAM F.

ECONOMIC: \$5,150, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Democratic alderman, 1839, 1841, 1846, Bingham, 171.

CICOTTE, FRANCIS H.

ECONOMIC: \$4,467, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844 (Wards 3, 6, Ecorse); \$460, Springwells, 1845; Houghton and Bristol, 98. POLITICS: Meeting to push Cass, Free Press, June 23, 1843; Alderman, 3d Ward, Free Press, February 29, 1840. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Denissen Genealogy, V. 3, 2828, BHC; "Reminiscences of Edward V. Cicotte, Taken Stenographically in the Winter of 1891 at Detroit," BHC.

CONANT, SHUBAEL (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$25,355, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844 (Brownstown, Ecorse, Greenfield, Hamtramck, Ward 1); \$7,943. Warren Township, Macomb County Tax Roll, 1844; Amer. Biog. Mich. Vol., 1st Dist. \$40,345, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$121,000, Census, 1860; Stockholder, Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad, Free Press, January 23, 1859; Director, Savings Fund Bank, Free Press, July 1, 1859. POLITICS: Signer, Clay Meeting, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Signer, "Whigs Decline to Participate in Public Reception of Van Buren," Advertiser, July 7, 1842; Whig representative, Advertiser, October 3, 1844; Signer, "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Banks, An Oration. . . Abolition of Slavery; Michigan Pioneer Coll., XXVIII, 630-637. RELIGION: Records, V. 11,

Fort Street Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC: "Genealogical Notes," W. S. Conant, 1844-1946, BHC.

COOK, LEVI (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$7,675, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$18,250, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$60,000, Census, 1860; SB/Burton, V, 62-63; Hinchman, 110. POLITICS: Signer, Clay Meeting, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Vice-President, Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; Michigan Biog., 194; Farmer, II, 1033. RELIGION: "Account of Sales of Pews in the Presbyterian Church -- Sold at Public Auction, Saturday, 30 May 1835 Detroit," E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC. ETHNIC: "Cook Genealogical Chart," BHC.

COOPER, DAVID (Also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$10,633, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$62,650, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$93,000, Census, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$11,172, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Whig nominee county convention, Free Press, September 16, 1845; Signer, Call to Whig State Convention, Advertiser, August 21, 1854. RELIGION AND ETHNIC: Carlisle, 228-230.

COQUILLARD, THOMAS (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,788, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Detroit Directory, 1845, 29; \$10,000, Detroit Tax Rolls, 1860; \$12,520, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Meeting for Cass, Free Press, June 24, 1843. RELIGION: Registre de Ste. Anne, V. 7, 3234, BHC.

DAVENPORT, LEWIS (d. 1848)

ECONOMIC: \$7,520, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Carlisle, 239; F. Palmer, 76, 550. ETHNIC: Davenport Family Folder (DAR Chart for Bessie R. Wight), BHC.

DE GRAFF, HARMON

ECONOMIC: \$6,100, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842. RELIGION: "A New Parish Register, 1858-1869," St. John's Episcopal Church.

DESNOYERS, CHARLES R. (d. 1846)

ECONOMIC: \$6,330, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Detroit Directory, 1845, 31. POLITICS: Gillet & Desnoyers, Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Nominated Whig alderman, 3d Ward, Advertiser, March 7, 1842. RELIGION: Registre de Ste Anne, V. 7, 3302. ETHNIC: Denissen, V. 1 D, 3394.

DESNOYERS, PETER (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,294, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$23,540, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$8,600, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; \$32,432, Census, 1860; Michigan Biog., 225; Detroit Graphic (November 29, 1879); Houghton & Bristol, 98. POLITICS: Democratic alderman, Free Press, April 15, 1839; Treasurer, Democratic convention, Advertiser, September 24, 1842; Candidate for Senator, Free Press, September 30, 1860; "Democrats for free speech and press," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, October 15, 1863. RELIGION: Registre de Ste. Anne, V. 7, 3429. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Denissen, V. I,D, 3392-3394.

DESNOYERS, PETER J. (d. 1846)

ECONOMIC: \$26,935, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Signer, "Whigs Decline to Participate in Public Reception of Van Buren," Advertiser, July 7, 1842; Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842. ETHNIC, FAMILY AND RELIGION: Denissen, V. I,D, 3393-3394; Father, Paris, well-to-do, bought land for P. J. from Scioto Co., "Peter J. Desnoyers," Burton Reading Room File.

DIBBLE, ORVILLE B.

ECONOMIC: \$3,500, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; Proprietor, Michigan Exchange Hotel, Detroit Directory, 1845, 31. POLITICS: Nominated delegate Democratic State Convention, Free Press, January 1, 1844; Chairman, First Ward Democratic Club, Free Press, August 22, 1844; Democratic candidate for Senator, Free Press, September 30, 1860; "Call for non-partisan ticket," Advertiser, October 26, 1861; Reception Committee for Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860. RELIGION: Buried 1864, Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC. ETHNIC: "Family Genealogical Typescript," BHC.

DICKINSON, MOSES F. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$,960, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$39,051, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$35,000, Census, 1860; Michigan Pion. Coll., XXVIII, 586; SB/Burton, V, 71; Amer. Biog., Mich. Vol., 1st Dist. POLITICS: "Democrats. . . in favor of maintaining the freedom of speech and of the press," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, October 15, 1863. RELIGION: Buried 1871, Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC.

DORR, JOSIAH R.

ECONOMIC: \$15,800, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$1,020, Detroit Iron Co.; \$2,497, Springwells, Tax Roll, 1845; Houghton & Bristol, 97. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844. RELIGION: "Account of Sales of Pews in the Presbyterian Church -- Sold At Public Auction --" 30 May 1835 Detroit, B. P. Hastings Papers, BHC. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Rich brother to Detroit first, "Detroit in 1837," Michigan Pion. Coll., XXVIII, 595; Doors to New England from England 1670, Edward Carpenter, Samuel Carpenter and His Descendants, 128.

DREW, JOHN (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$15,490, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$22,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842. ETHNIC: Scotland, Census, 1860.

DWIGHT, ALFRED A.

ECONOMIC: \$3,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Eagle Steam Saw Mill (partner), 36 hands, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; Farmer, II, 1213; Article on William F. Smith, Michigan History Magazine, XVI, 510; Considerable lands in Lapeer, Huron, Sanilac and Huron counties, A. A. Dwight's Land Book, 1853, BHC. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844. RELIGION: Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, Received 1854.

ELBERT, J. NICHOLSON (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,075, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$16,500, "P. O. Clerk;" Census, 1860; Burton, V, 642; Moore, I, 447. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Democratic candidate, 10th Ward, Free Press, November 11, 1859; Leader of Grand Torchlight Procession for Douglas, Free Press, October 12, 1860; Committee of Reception for Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860; Delegate, 10th Ward, Democratic Congressional Convention, Advertiser, August 6, 1860. RELIGION: The Commemoration of 75 Years, Christ Church, Detroit, 58.

ELDRED, FRANCIS (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$11,800 ("Eldred & Co."), Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Detroit Directory, 1845, 35; \$30,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$400, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; \$50,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Whig ward convention, Advertiser, September 8, 1842; Whig County convention, Advertiser, August 21, 1854; Whigs for Buchanan, Free Press, August 23, 1856; "Bell and Everett Meeting," Free Press, July 22, 1860;

Supporter Union local ticket (Baldwin), Free Press, October 25, 1861. RELIGION: Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit 1849-1874. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, Whig-Democrat, C. D. Higby, Edward Higby and His Descendants, 3, 170.

EWERS, ALVAH (d. 1851)

ECONOMIC: \$2,820, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; \$1,509, Springwells Tax Roll, 1845; Land in other counties, Michigan Pion. Coll., XXVIII, 616. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; First Ward committee, Advertiser, September 28, 1842; First Ward committee, Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848. ETHNIC: Elsdon Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names.

FARNSWORTH, BLON (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,805, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; Trowbridge Papers; Carlisle, 115; \$17,650, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. POLITICS: Committee for the Reception of Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860; Nominee (Democratic) State Treasurer, Free Press, October 28, 1860; Supporter Union local ticket (Baldwin), Free Press, October 25, 1861. RELIGION: Burial 1877, Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC; SB/Burton, IV, 31. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Michigan Biog., 259; C. B. Farnsworth, Matthias Farnsworth and His Descendants in America, 2, 97-101.

FRASER, ALEXANDER D. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$4,846, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$29,750, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. POLITICS: "Democrats for Free Speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, October 15, 1863. RELIGION: SB/Burton, IV, 31; Free Press, February 25, 1894. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: "poor parents," Ross, Bench and Bar, 66, 69; President, first St. Andrews Society, 1835, SB/Burton, V, 283.

GILLET, SHADRACH

ECONOMIC: \$6,810, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$1,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; one term in legislature, Michigan Pioneer Coll., II, 63. RELIGION: Record, 25th Anniversary, Fort Street Presbyterian Church, 30-31. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Michigan Biog., I, 329; Gillet Biog. Folder, BHC.

GODDARD, LEWIS

ECONOMIC: \$5,615, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; Michigan Pioneer Coll., III, 344-345; "Statement of Theodore Romeyn, Report of the Committee to Investigate the Affairs of the Bank of Ypsilanti," State of Michigan, No. 43, House of Representatives, April 10, 1839; Ross, 174; Hinchman, 23. RELIGION: F. Palmer, 260. ETHNIC: Elsdon C. Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names.

GOODING, WILLIAM

ECONOMIC: "Ship and Steamboat Building Establishment, 120 hands," Advertiser, June 16, 1848. POLITICS: Prominent Whig in 1840 campaign, F. Palmer.

HALL, RICHARD H. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$6,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$36,295, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$10,550, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$5,509, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842. RELIGION: Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875. ETHNIC: Carlisle, 305.

HALLOCK, HORACE (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: "Manufacturers of Clothing Who Keep Stores - Employs 60 hands and does \$50,000," Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$13,450, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$30,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: County "Abolition ticket," Advertiser, November 22, 1844; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Republican City Convention, Advertiser, September 24, 1860; House lighted up Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, November 15, 1860; Nominee, 7th Ward Alderman, Union Ticket, Advertiser, October 30, 1861. RELIGION: Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Gerald Sorin, "The Historical Theory of Political Radicalism: Michigan Abolitionist Leaders As A Test Case," 73-78.

HASTINGS, BUROTAS P.

ECONOMIC: \$6,587, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; Charles D. Hastings to George B. Catlin, Catlin Papers, BHC; C. C. Trowbridge Papers, BHC. POLITICS: Auditor General, 1840-1842, Michigan Biog., 330. RELIGION: E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC; Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: D. A. B., VIII, 387.

HOUGHTON, DOUGLASS (d. 1845)

ECONOMIC: \$7,387, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; President and Director, Michigan Ins. Comp. U. S. Deposit Bank, Detroit Directory, 1845, 104; SB/Palmer, III, 147; Michigan Pioneer Coll., XXVIII, 619. POLITICS: Meeting to advance Cass, Free Press, June 24, 1843; Mayor, 1842, News-Tribune, October 31, 1897. RELIGION: Edsel K. Rintala, "Douglass Houghton, Michigan's Pioneer Geologist," 48-49. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, D. A. B., IX, 254.

HOWARD, CHARLES

ECONOMIC: Farmer, II, 1039; Houghton & Bristol, 93; Constitution, Board of Trade, 9. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Independent Democrats (Catholic school issue), Free Press, March 2, 1853. RELIGION: Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Congregational Church and Society of Detroit, 22. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: D. A. B., IX, 276.

HURLBURT (HULBERT), JOHN

ECONOMIC: \$14,382, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Detroit Directory, 1845, 47. Detroit Evening News, March 23, 1891. POLITICS: Democratic nominee, school inspector, Free Press, March 1, 1844. RELIGION: "Sale of Pews, 1835," E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: D. A. B., IX, 360.

HURLBUT, CHAUNCEY (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$3,800, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848, 9; Farmer, 11, 1156; \$15,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Alderman, Free Press, April 13, 1839; Candidate county convention, Free Press, November 6, 1843; Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Signer, Call to Whig State Convention, Advertiser, August 21, 1854. ETHNIC: Thomas Hurlbut, The Hurlbut Genealogy, 230.

HYDE, OLIVER MOULTON (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: Hydraulic and Machine Shop, 56 hands, Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$13,700, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$5,000, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; \$120,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Business Meeting of Republicans, Advertiser, August 28, 1860. RELIGION: St. John's Episcopal Church, A New Parish Register, 1858-1869. ETHNIC: Farmer, II, 1040.

JACKSON, CHARLES (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$4,715, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$64,000, Census, 1860; SB/Burton, V, 180. POLITICS: Delegate, Whig congressional convention, Advertiser, July 25, 1843; Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Committee reception for Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860; "most of life ardent Whig -- in his old age he became a Democrat," SB/Burton, V, 180. RELIGION: Burton, The City of Detroit, II, 1258. ETHNIC: SB/Burton, V, 180.

JONES, DE GARMO (d. 1846)

ECONOMIC: \$48,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; "The Jones Family," News-Tribune, July 4, 1897. POLITICS: Mayor, Free Press, April 15, 1839; SB/Palmer, XV, 89. RELIGION: "Sale of Pews, 1835," E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC.

JOY, JAMES F. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,575, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$109,785, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$19,918, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Farmer, II, 1062; Ross, 109; Republican City Convention, Advertiser, September 14, 1860; Republican candidate 1st District, Free Press, October 25, 1860. RELIGION: Roll of Membership, Fort Street Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, manufacturer of scythes, MSS., "Career of James F. Joy," Peter Beckman, O. S. B., 10.

KEARSLBY, JONATHAN (d. 1859)

ECONOMIC: \$14,460, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Democratic candidate for mayor, Free Press, April 9, 1839; Chairman 2d Ward Democratic Club, Free Press, August 22, 1844; "Old Office Holder," Advertiser, November 22, 1842; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Independent Democrats (opposed to regular ticket on Catholic school issue), Free Press, March 7, 1857. RELIGION: "Receipt from F. T. Wardell on Account of Church Debt, January 19, 1837," E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC; Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church, 1854-1858; The Church Register of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan, V. 1, Register of Communicants, 1858. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, Carlisle, 236-237; E. L. White, The Descendants of Jonathan Kearsley, 1718-1782, and His Wife, Jane Kearsley, 1720-1801 (From Scotland) Who Settled at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 4, 5, 51.

KENDRICK, SILAS N.

ECONOMIC: "Kendrick's Foundry and Machine Shop, 64 hands, \$80,000 per year," Advertiser, August 22, 1848. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854. RELIGION, FAMILY AND ETHNIC: S. W. Adams, Memoirs of Rev. Nathaniel Kendrick, D. D. and Silas N. Kendrick, 14, 300-308, 320-325, 353.

KERCHEVAL, BENJAMIN B.

ECONOMIC: \$3,633, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848, 10. POLITICS: Alderman, 1830, Democrat, Michigan Biog., 392. RELIGION: Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Detroit, BHC. ETHNIC: Kercheval Family file, BHC.

KING, JONATHAN L. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$13,175, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; "Employs 36 hands, \$50,000 a year," Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$33,200, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$6,408, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; Edwards, 136. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Whigs who decline to participate Van Buren reception, Advertiser, July 7, 1842; Call to Whig State Convention, Advertiser, August 21, 1854. RELIGION: Pew Holder, 1835, E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC; "J. L. King, 1863," Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875; "Jonathan L. King, 1865-1884," Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church.

LAMSON, DARIUS (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$10,250, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Detroit Directory, 1845, 42; Director of Bank of Michigan, 1842; SB/Burton, V, 40; \$18,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$54,000, Census, 1860; Constitution of Board of Trade, 1848, 10. POLITICS: Alderman, 4th Ward, Free Press, April 15, 1839; Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; House illuminated Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, November 15, 1860. RELIGION: "Sale of Pews, 1835," E.P. Hastings Papers, BHC; George Duffield, "Records in Connection with the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit, 1838-1868," BHC.

MC DONNEL, JOHN (d. 1846)

ECONOMIC: \$11,230, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: "Committee of Vigilance," Free Press, April 9, 1839; "Old Office Holder," Advertiser, November 22, 1842; First Ward,

Democratic Meeting, Free Press, August 20, 1845; state and local offices, Bingham, 447. RELIGION: None found. ETHNIC: Bingham, 447.

MC GRAW, ALBXANDER (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$8,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; "Boot and Shoe Manufacturers Who Keep Stores, Employs 20 hands," Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$57,890, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$135,000, Census, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$8,536, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; Mitchell, Detroit in History and Commerce, 18. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Wayne County Delegate, Republican state convention, Advertiser, August 19, 1858; House illuminated Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, November 15, 1860. RELIGION: Roll of Membership, Fort Street Presbyterian Church, Transferred from Scotch Presbyterian Church, 1864. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father owned portion of old Clinton estate on Hudson, Carlisle, 167.

MOORE, FRANKLIN (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$17,510; Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$22,300, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$41,000, Census, 1860; Taxable Income, 1864, \$19,181, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848, 10. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; House illuminated Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, November 15, 1860; Call for Non-partisan ticket, Free Press, October 25, 1863. RELIGION: Pew renter, V. 11, Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Farmer, II, 1220.

MORAN, CHARLES (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$17,060, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$59,600, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$101,000, Census, 1860; J. Bell Moran, The Moran Family, 55. POLITICS: Alderman, 4th Ward, Free Press, April 15, 1839; Call, Democratic Republicans favorable to Calhoun, Free Press, February 17, 1843; Reception Committee for Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860; Supporter Union local ticket (Baldwin), Free Press, October 25, 1861; Alderman, Advertiser, September 18, 1858. RELIGION: Registre de Ste. Anne, V. 7, 3284. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father inherited estate, Moran, 38.

NEWBERRY, OLIVER C. (d. 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$53,950, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$100,000, Census, 1860; Obit., Advertiser, July 31, 1860; Carlisle, 184-195. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; F. Palmer, 243. RELIGION: "Sale of Pews, 1835," E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC; "Frequent attendant of Dr. Duffield's church though not a member," Advertiser, July 31, 1860. ETHNIC: Society of Colonial Wars. Application Truman H. Newberry in right of Capt. Caleb Phelps, 1895, BHC.

NEWBOULD, A. H. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,725, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Alex. H. Newbould, Hardware, Detroit Directory, 1845; Houghton & Bristol, 96; \$28,450, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$100,000, Census, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$2,261, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Whigs declining to participate Van Buren reception, Advertiser, July 7, 1842; Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844. RELIGION: Buried St. Paul's 1864, Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC. ETHNIC: Born in England, Census, 1860.

OWEN, JOHN (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$7,700, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$73,650, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$180,000, Census, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$19,522, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; Farmer, II, 1067; Houghton & Bristol, 93. POLITICS: Whig county delegate, Advertiser, September 8, 1842; Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Republican business meeting, Advertiser, August 28, 1860; Fireworks Republican Torchlight, Advertiser, November 15, 1860; Supporter Union local ticket (Baldwin), Free Press, October 25, 1861; Republican candidate state auditor general, Advertiser and Tribune, October 2, 1864. RELIGION AND ETHNIC: Farmer, II, 1067.

PALMER, JOHN (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$10,120, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$20,370, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$12,000, Census, 1860; Michigan Pioneer Coll., IV, 428; Free Press, June 30, 1871. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; F. Palmer, 244. RELIGION: Record, 25th Anniversary, Fort Street Presbyterian Church, 117.

PITTS, SAMUEL (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$4,225, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; Saw Mill, 3,000,000 ft., Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$42,200, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$19,829, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842. RELIGION: "Sale of Pews, 1835," E. P. Hastings Papers, BHC; Unitarian, 1850, Burton, The City of Detroit, II, 1258. ETHNIC: Daniel Goodwin, Jr., Memorial of the Laws and Services of James Pitts and His Sons, John, Samuel and Lordell During the American Revolution, 39-40. FAMILY: Father banker, Harvard graduate, Ross, Bench and Bar, 158.

PORTER, GEORGE F. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$6,950, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$27,750, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; President Michigan Bank, 1844, C. C. Trowbridge Papers, BHC; Estate, 1862, \$175,000, Ross, Bench and Bar, 161. POLITICS: Candidate, Alderman, 4th Ward, Liberty Party, Free Press, March 1, 1844; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father and brother college graduates, Porter Genealogy, Porter Family File, BHC; Farmer, II, 1126; Michigan Pioneer Coll., XVIII, 597.

RAYMOND, FRANCIS (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: Clothing manufacturer, Hallock & Raymond, 60 hands, \$50,000 per annum, Advertiser, August 22, 1848; \$23,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$20,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Candidate, Alderman, 6th Ward, Liberty Party, Free Press, February 27, 1845. RELIGION: "Register Number One (1844), First Congregational Church," Genealogical Records, V. 7. Made and Presented by the Genealogical Records Committee of Louisa St. Clair Chapter, DAR, BHC. ETHNIC: American Ancestry, VII, 32-33.

RIOPELLE, DOMINIQUE (d. 1859)

ECONOMIC: \$11,760, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$28,475, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Hook, 105; SB/Burton, XXVII, 12. POLITICS: "D. Riopelle, Jr." Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842 (probably son who later is alderman in 6th Ward, 1852. No evidence of politics of D. Riopelle, pere. Assume he is the rich one since biographical accounts indicate land was inherited). RELIGION AND ETHNIC: Registre de Ste. Anne, V. 7, 3629, baptism of daughter of Dominici Riopel et Elizabeth Gouin, 1846. Junior married to Elizabeth Gouin, Denissen, V. R, 1, 3250.

ROBERTS, JOHN (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$14,000, Census, 1860; Director, Michigan Insurance Company U. S. Deposit Bank, Detroit Directory, 1845, 104; "Soap and Candle Factory of Mr. J. Roberts, 50,000 lbs. of soap, 20,000 lbs. of candles and 50 tons of potash yearly," Advertiser, June 14, 1848. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844. RELIGION: St. John's Episcopal Church, A New Parish Register, 1858-1869. ETHNIC: Born in Wales, Carlisle, 141-142.

ROMEYN, THEODORE (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$7,950, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$15,000, 4 servants, Census, 1860; Report No. 43, State of Michigan, House of Representatives, April 10, 1839. POLITICS: Voted for Lincoln 1864, "one exception to voting Democratic ticket," Carlisle, 132; Supporter Union local ticket (Baldwin), Free Press, October 25, 1861; "Democrats. . . urging other Democrats to forbear to call city elections," Free Press, October 22, 1863. RELIGION: Pew holder, V. II, Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC: Schelvin, 88; Carlisle, 130.

ROWLAND, THOMAS (d. 1849)

ECONOMIC: \$9,830, Detroit Tax Toll, 1844. POLITICS: Active politician 1820's, 1830's, Whig, Ross, 177. RELIGION: Record, 25th Anniversary of the Fort Street Presbyterian Church, 19, 31. ETHNIC: Elsdon C. Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names.

RUSSEL, GEORGE B. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$83,350, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$16,500, Wayne County Tax Roll. Ferry owner: "From 1844 to 1849 I ran the United and in the latter year I built the Argo," Free Press, March 15, 1891; vast purchases and sales of lands, 1845-1851, Land Records, Wayne County, Vols. 11, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21; First to establish manufacture of cars in Detroit, 1856, Carlisle, 460. POLITICS: "never voted Republican ticket," SB/Burton, VIII, 93; Independent Democrats opposing regular ticket on school issue, Free Press, March 2, 1853; Reception Committee for Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860; Supporter Union local ticket (Baldwin), Free Press, October 25, 1861. RELIGION: Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC: Great grandfather, Hugh Russel, came to America 1746 after escaping from Battle of Culloden, SB/Burton, VIII, 93; Scotch-Irish according to L. Connor, Medical History of Michigan.

SCOTT, JOHN (d. 1846)

ECONOMIC: \$5,300, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; F. Palmer, 753. POLITICS: Candidate Democratic alderman, Free Press, April 9, 1839; Democratic delegate state convention, Free Press, January 1, 1844; Chairman, City Democratic convention, Free Press, March 3, 1845; Delegate ward meetings, Free Press, August 20, 1845. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Bingham, 575; Great grandfather William Scott from Coleraince in north of Ireland, typed biography of "Jim" Scott, Morris J. White Papers, BHC.

SHELDON, THOMAS C.

ECONOMIC: \$14,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; "Sheldon block," Catlin, 287; Michigan Pioneer Coll., V, 373. FAMILY AND ETHNIC: Sheldon A. Wood to G. B. Kram, June 1, 1936, Sheldon Papers, BHC; E. C. Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names.

SHELEY, ALANSON (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$6,724, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; General Manager, Black River Steam Mill and Lumber Co., Carlisle, 191; \$37,275, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$7,491, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Candidate mayor, Liberty Party, Free Press, March 1, 1844; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Wayne County delegate, Republican state convention, Advertiser, August 19, 1858; House illuminated Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, November 15, 1860; Republican nominee mayor, Free Press, October 20, 1863. RELIGION: Elder, First Presbyterian Church, Ross, 177. FAMILY: Farmer, II, 1169.

SIBLEY, SOLOMON (d. 1846)

ECONOMIC: \$9,738, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; stone quarry in Trenton, SB/Burton, VIII, 155. POLITICS: Democrat, Bingham, 588; Family may have had close Whig connections, H. H. Sibley to Mrs. Sarah Sibley, March 2, 1840, Solomon Sibley Papers, BHC "I should have thought the Whigs might have made a better selection than A. S. Porter for senator. However, it is pretty much of a piece with the rest of the proceedings (How do you Whigs like that?)." RELIGION: Sons, Alex and E. Sproat, Ledger Book Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875; Daughters, Mary and Sarah, Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC; Book Order "Works Suitable for Parish Family and Sunday School Libraries," Solomon Sibley Papers, BHC. FAMILY AND ETHNIC: R. P. Sibley, Ancestry and Life of Josiah Sibley, 2, 7.

SMITH, WILLIAM F.

ECONOMIC: Eagle Steam Saw Mill, 36 hands, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; RELIGION AND FAMILY: Prominent Presbyterians loaned Smith money to rebuild burned mill; Father well-to-do, had given Smith money to bring machinery to Detroit, "William F. Smith," Michigan History Magazine, XVI, 504-511.

STUART, ROBERT (d. 1848)

ECONOMIC: \$12,675, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Astor partner, Ross, 190; Mining stock, Michigan State Bank stock, mortgages, Robert Stuart Papers, BHC. POLITICS: Whig State treasurer, 1840-1841 Ross, 190. RELIGION: Elder, Presbyterian Church, Michigan Pioneer Coll., I, 424. ETHNIC: Schelvin, 91.

TELLER, PIERRE

ECONOMIC: \$8,800, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; "Druggist," Detroit Directory, 1845, 78. F. Palmer, 467. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Second Ward committee, Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848. RELIGION: Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875 (baptism, son of James Pierre Teller). ETHNIC: Detroit Tellers descend from Wilhelm Teller, born Holland, 1620, to Fort Orange, New York, 1639, Teller Family File, BHC.

THOMPSON, DAVID (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$4,779, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$2,386, Springwells Tax Roll, 1845; \$30,325, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$120,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Republican nominee, alderman, 2d Ward, Free Press, October 28, 1863; Whig candidate sheriff, Advertiser, October 2, 1842. RELIGION: Pew Renter, V. 11, Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church.

THROOP, GEORGE (d. 1854)

ECONOMIC: President, Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Detroit Directory, 1845, 104. POLITICS: Chairman Democratic meeting, 3d Ward, Free Press, August 20, 1845. RELIGION: Buried 1854, Records, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC. ETHNIC: English according to Professor Throop of University of Michigan.

TROWBRIDGE, C. C. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,200, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$1,082, Springwells Tax Roll, 1845; \$13,775, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860;

\$4,500, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; C. C. Trowbridge Papers, BHC. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Schelvin, 89. RELIGION: Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875. ETHNIC: Francis Bacon Trowbridge, The Trowbridge Genealogy, 529, 559-562.

TRUESDAIL, WESLEY

ECONOMIC: "Cashier, Director, Bank, St. Clair," Detroit Directory, 1845, 104; extensive flour mills and other activities, Jenks, II, 836. POLITICS: Signer, Call to Whig state convention, Advertiser, August 21, 1854; Whigs for Buchanan, Free Press, August 23, 1856; Reception committee for Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860. RELIGION: Records, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC. ETHNIC: E. C. Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names; SB/Palmer, I, 108.

VAN DYKE, JAMES

ECONOMICS: \$5,610, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844. POLITICS: Vice-President, Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; Speaker, Whig rally, Advertiser, October 22, 1852; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Speaks for keeping Whig party and principles, Advertiser, October 6, 1854; Signer, letter of Whigs advising no nominations, Advertiser, October 7, 1854. RELIGION AND FAMILY: Married Elizabeth Desnoyers, Catholic, converted deathbed, 1896; Father well-to-do, Ross, 205-206. ETHNIC: Dutch ancestry, Burton, Detroit, V, 62.

WATSON, JOHN

ECONOMIC: \$7,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848, 10. POLITICS: Democratic county committee, Free Press, October 25, 1844.

WALKER, HENRY N. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$5,745, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1844; \$70,000, Census, 1860; Taxable income, 1864, \$4,033, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865; Banking activities, Hinchman, 21, 113. POLITICS: Chairman, 2d Ward Democratic club, Free Press, August 22, 1844. RELIGION: Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875. FAMILY AND ETHNIC: Michigan Biog., 665-666.

WELLES, JOHN A. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: Cashier, Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Detroit Directory, 1845, 104; Hinchman, 104; \$25,000, Census; Taxable income, 1864, \$2,294, Advertiser and Tribune,

January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842. RELIGION: Records, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC.

WETMORE, FREDERICK (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$6,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$14,600, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$3,920, Wayne County Tax Roll, 1860; china and crockery store, Detroit Directory, 1845, 84; Taxable income, 1864, \$6,135, Advertiser and Tribune, January 14, 1865. POLITICS: Letter of Whig Merchants, Advertiser, November 4, 1844; Call Whig state convention, Advertiser, August 21, 1854; House illuminated Republican Grant Torchlight, Advertiser, November 15, 1860. RELIGION: Record, 25th Anniversary Fort Street Presbyterian Church, 28; Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church. ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Father well-to-do, English ancestry, Carlisle, 388.

WIGHT, BUCKMINSTER (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$6,088, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Steam sawmill, 2,000,000 ft., Advertiser, June 16, 1848; Carlisle, 165; \$33,000, Census, 1860; \$29,575, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Michigan Pioneer Coll., IV, 423. POLITICS: "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Republican nominee, alderman, 4th Ward, Free Press, October 21, 1859; Bingham, 690. RELIGION: Record, 25th Anniversary Fort Street Presbyterian Church, 28. ETHNIC: William Ward Wight, The Wights, A Record of Thomas Wight of Dedham and Medfield and of His Descendants, 1635-1890, 184-185.

WILLIAMS, ALPHEUS S. (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$4,965, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Owner, Advertiser, President, Bank of St. Clair, 1843, Ross, 225-227; Houghton & Bristol, 97, 102; Constitution, Board of Trade, 1848, 10. POLITICS: Delegate, Whig convention, Advertiser, July 25, 1843; Personal abuse of "Count" Williams, Free Press, June 21, 23, 1845; Report on Whig state convention, Advertiser, October 6, 1854; Whigs for Buchanan, Free Press, August 23, 1856; Reception committee for Douglas, Free Press, October 14, 1860. RELIGION: Records, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit, BHC. FAMILY: A. S. Williams Papers, BHC; Father extensive manufacturer, A. S. inherited \$75,000, Ross, 225.

WILLIAMS, GURDON (d. before 1860)

ECONOMIC: President, Pontiac and Detroit Railroad, Detroit Directory, 1845, 104, 85; Houghton & Bristol, 93; Constitution of Board of Trade, 1848, 10. POLITICS: Call,

Democratic Republicans favorable to Calhoun, Free Press, February 17, 1843.

WILLIAMS, JOHN R. (d. 1854)

ECONOMIC: \$35,272, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; Farmer, II, 1031; Hinchman, 104; Houghton & Bristol, 98. POLITICS: Democratic meeting to push Cass, Free Press, June 24, 1843; McCabe, 4, Mayor, Free Press, March 10, 1845. RELIGION: Sons Theodore and John Constantine, St. John's Episcopal Church, A New Parish Register, 1858-1869; Ross, 231. ETHNIC: English-Dutch-French, George Catlin, "Family of Gen. John R. Williams," Williams Family File, BHC; J. R. Williams Papers, BHC.

WILLIAMS, THEODORE (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$4,160, Detroit Tax Roll, 1844; \$25,460, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; share of father's estate 1854, \$125,000, Ross, 231-232. POLITICS: Friends of Clay, Advertiser, September 16, 1842; Whig convention clerk, Advertiser, October 4, 1842; Secretary, Rough and Ready Club, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; Whig convention, Advertiser, September 22, 1854; Whigs recommending abstention from nominations, Advertiser, October 7, 1854; elected Republican ticket, Free Press, November 11, 1859; Alderman, 3d Ward, Advertiser, November 4, 1858; Nominated alderman, 3d Ward, Advertiser, October 31, 1860. RELIGION, FAMILY AND ETHNIC: See John R. Williams.

WOODBIDGE, WILLIAM (also 1860)

ECONOMIC: \$7,423, Springwells Tax Roll, 1845; \$179,155, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$1,000 Springwells Tax Roll, 1860; \$330,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Whig governor, 1841, Senator, 1841-1847, Farmer, II, 1076; William Woodbridge Papers, BHC. RELIGION: First Presbyterian Church, Record of the 25th Anniversary of Fort Street Presbyterian Church, 22. ETHNIC: D. A. B., XX, 483.

APPENDIX II

CITATIONS -- ELITE OF 1860*

ADAMS, FRANCIS

ECONOMIC: \$11,610, Detroit Tax Roll, 1864; \$18,803, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 1, 1865; partnership, N. W. Brooks, Lumber, 1857, Farmer, II, 1208. POLITICS: Farmer, Ibid. "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11. ETHNIC: Farmer, Ibid.

ABBOTT, THOMAS F.

ECONOMIC: \$50,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$9,300, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Edwards, 193; Mich. Pion. Coll., IV, 447; Detroit Directory, 1861, 107. POLITICS: Letter Whig Merchants, Advertiser, Nov. 4, 1844; Call to Whig State Convention, Advertiser, Aug. 21, 1854. RELIGION: "Account Book, Unitarian Society in Account with Samuel Dow Elwood, Treasurer and Others, 1858-1859," BHC; V. 11, Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church.

BACKUS, HENRY TITUS

ECONOMIC: \$80,000, Census, 1860; \$5,250 Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. POLITICS: Whig nominee, Free Press, Sept. 16, 1845; Declines Whig nomination, Advertiser, Oct. 4, 1852; Alderman, 9th Ward, Free Press, Nov. 10, 1859; RELIGION: leaning toward spiritualism, "more animated by curiosity than Christianity," Ross, 17.

BAGG, ASHAEL SMITH

ECONOMIC: \$80,000, Census, 1860; \$29,950, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; built and owned Cass Hotel 1860, Free Press, Sept. 7, 1880. POLITICS: County delegate, state convention, Breckinridge Democracy, Advertiser, Aug. 29, 1860; "Democrats for free speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 15, 1863. RELIGION: "Account Book, First Congregational Unitarian Society," 1858-1859, BHC.

*Not complete. Others cited in Appendix I.

BAGLEY, GEORGE F.

ECONOMIC: Tax. Inc., 1864, \$11,326, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Detroit Directory, 1861, III. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11. ETHNIC: Farmer, II, 1053; Free Press, Jan. 3, 1877.

BAGLEY, JOHN J.

ECONOMIC: Tax. Inc., 1864, \$23,180, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Farmer, II, 1052. POLITICS: "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Republican candidate alderman, Free Press, Oct. 21, 1859; Republican city convention, Advertiser, Sept. 24, 1860; Call for union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861. RELIGION: Unitarian according to Farmer, II, 1053; "A New Parish Register, St. John's Episcopal Church, 1858-1869." ETHNIC: Farmer, II, 1053.

BARKER, KIRKLAND C.

ECONOMIC: \$14,500 Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax Inc., 1864, \$29,611, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; tobacco factory, SB/Burton, V, 97, 181. POLITICS: Alderman, 1st Ward, Free Press, Jan. 14, 1863; Democratic candidate mayor, Free Press, Oct. 19, 1863. FAMILY: Farmer, II, 1044.

BEECHER, LUTHER

ECONOMIC: \$66,650, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Hall, America's Successful Men of Affairs, II, 78. ETHNIC: E. C. Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names.

BEESON, JACOB

ECONOMIC: \$160,000, Census, 1860; \$8,800, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; bank president, director in others, Bingham, 87; "U. S. Receiver of Public Moneys," Detroit Directory, 1860, 86. POLITICS: "LocoFoco Central Committee," Advertiser, Sept. 15, 1854; Committee on Electors, Breckenridge Democrats, Advertiser, Aug. 30, 1860; "Democrats for free speech (H. W. Beeson)," Free Press, May 24, 1863. RELIGION: one of seceders from Fort St. Presbyterian over Rev. Neill's pro-slavery sermon, Reata P. Jorgenson, A Century of Service, Westminster Church (1857), 3; "The Church Register of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Michigan," V. 1, 1857-1861; "Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church," member dismissed, 1868. ETHNIC: descended from Jacob and Henry Beeson, Quaker founders of Uniontown, Pa., S. B. Nelson, Biog. Dictionary and History Reference Book of Fayette County, Pa., II, 174, 729.

BENSON, HENRY E.

ECONOMIC: \$42,575, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$30,480, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; "lumber merchant, steamsaw mill," Detroit Directory, 1861, 116; Free Press, Aug. 16, 1870. POLITICS: House lit up Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1860. RELIGION: "Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church."

BIDDLE, WILLIAM S.

ECONOMIC: \$57,450, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$120,000, Census, 1860; Leake, Detroit, III, 1042. POLITICS: "Whigs for Buchanan," Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856; "Young Men's Democratic Central Union," Free Press, July 3, 1860; "Democrats for free speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 15, 1863. RELIGION: "Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit 1849-1875." ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Henry D. Biddle, Notes on the Genealogy of the Biddle Family, 1.

BISSELL, GEORGE

ECONOMIC: \$14,625, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$50,000; Census, 1860; shipping and produce, Detroit Directory, 1861, 118; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$8,600, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865. POLITICS: Ass't. Marshal, Republican mass meeting Advertiser, Sept. 15, 1860. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11.

BOURKE, OLIVER

ECONOMIC: \$85,000, Census, 1860; "importer, whiskey and retail wines, brandies, cigars," Detroit Directory, 1861, 120. RELIGION: Communicant, 1852, "Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit," BHC. ETHNIC: Born, Ireland, Census, 1860.

BRADY, SAMUEL PRESTON

ECONOMIC: \$30,515, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Carlisle, 218; Commission merchant, Detroit Directory, 1860, 6; Director, Peninsular Bank, Free Press, June 11, 1859. POLITICS: "Whigs for Buchanan," Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856; "Free Speech Democrats," Free Press, May 24, 1863. RELIGION: Father, Hugh Brady, communicant Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian. ETHNIC: Name Irish but since from Indiana County, Pennsylvania, probably Scotch-Irish.

BROOKS, NATHANIEL W.

ECONOMIC: \$11,500, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$24,000, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Carlisle, 120. POLITICS: Whig Central Committee, Advertiser, Oct. 8, 1852; Business meeting Republicans, Advertiser, Oct. 28, 1860; Republican cand. alderman, 1st Ward, Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 23, 1863; Call union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861; Cand. state rep., 1st Dist., Free Press, Oct. 30, 1864. ETHNIC AND RELIGION: "Although not a member, Brooks a trustee and regular attendant of the First Congregational Church," Carlisle, 120.

BURNS, JAMES

ECONOMIC: \$26,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; dry goods merchant, Detroit Directory, 1860, 19. POLITICS AND ETHNIC: Carlisle, 261. RELIGION: "Membership Book, Congress Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Detroit, 1844-45," BHC.

BUTLER, WILLIAM A.

ECONOMIC: \$34,950, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$42,000, Census, 1860; "Wm. A. Butler & Co., Bankers," Detroit Directory, 1860, 21. POLITICS: Delegate, Republican ward caucus, Advertiser, Sept. 22, 1860; President, Republican city convention, Advertiser, Sept. 24, 1860; Republican nominee, school inspector, 1st Ward, Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 23, 1863. ETHNIC: Smith, Dictionary of American Family Names.

CAMPAU, ALEXANDER M.

ECONOMIC: \$69,725; Burton, Wayne, V, 23. POLITICS: "Democrats for free speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863. ETHNIC: Denissen, V. I, C, 2200. RELIGION: "Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875," (1860). FAMILY: Father, well-to-do, Barnabas, elite of 1844.

CAMPBELL, COLIN

ECONOMIC: \$19,000 Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$23,000, Census, 1860; Burton, II, 1149. RELIGION: Long letter from Colin Campbell re the Christian Church controversy, Advertiser and Tribune, March 21, 1868.

CHAPATON, ALEXANDER

ECONOMIC: \$20,340, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$40,000, Census, 1860; Mitchell, Detroit in Industry and Commerce, 76. "Alexander Chapaton, Master Builder, Eustache Chapaton, Alexander, Jr., mason," Detroit Directory, 1861, 132.

POLITICS: Whig and Republican, state legislature, 1863, building commission by Gov. Baldwin, Bingham, 167. ETHNIC AND RELIGION: Burton, Wayne, Ill, 213.

CHENE, GABRIEL

ECONOMIC: \$30,350, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$53,000, Census, 1860. RELIGION: "Registre de Ste. Anne," V. 4, 3466. ETHNIC: Denissen, V. 3-C.

CLARK, ELIPHALET M.

ECONOMIC: \$35,395, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$76,000, Census, 1860; Burr, Medical History of Michigan, II, 251; "Detroit's Big Landowners," News-Tribune, June 23, 1895. POLITICS: "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; House illuminated Republican mass meeting, Advertiser, Sept. 5, 1860; Call non-partisan ticket, Advertiser, Oct. 26, 1861. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11.

CLARK, JOHN PERSON

ECONOMIC: \$18,400, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$162,000, Census, 1860; Tax Inc., 1864, \$9,820, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Farmer, II, 1212; Beers, Hist. of Great Lakes, II, 66. POLITICS: Republican, Carlisle, 212. RELIGION: Congregational: "regular attendant and foremost in his contribution for its advancement, although not a member." Carlisle, 212.

COYLE, WILLIAM KIEFT

ECONOMIC: \$18,750, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$60,000, Census, 1860; SB/Burton, V, 60. POLITICS: "Earnest Whig in early life--no desire to become prominent," Farmer, II, 1136; Democratic nominee for assessor, Free Press, April 9, 1839. RELIGION: SB/Burton, V, 60. ETHNIC: Dutch, Farmer, II, 1136.

CRANE, ALBERT

ECONOMIC: \$142,554, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$210,000, Census, 1860; "Crane and Wesson, real estate agents," Detroit Directory, 1861, 142. POLITICS: Secretary, 1st Ward Democratic meeting, Free Press, Aug. 20, 1845; House illuminated Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1860. RELIGION: "Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875," (1859). ETHNIC: E. B. Crane, Genealogy of the Crane Family, II, 11, 137-138, 206.

CRANE, FLAVIUS J. B.

ECONOMIC: \$14,930, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$50,000 Census, 1860; fortune in real estate, Bingham, 202. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11; founder, Redeemer Presbyterian, George F. Barr to C. M. Burton, Oct. 30, 1924, Burton Reading Room File.

CURTIS, GEORGE E.

ECONOMICS: Tax. inc., 1864, \$14,500, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; "last manufacturer and leather dealer," Detroit Directory, 1861, 143. POLITICS: Signer meeting for Bell and Everett, Free Press, July 22, 1860. RELIGION: "A New Parish Register, St. John's Episcopal, 1858-1869," (1861).

DAVIS, IRA

ECONOMIC: \$8,130, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$65,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$14,777, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865. POLITICS: Whig nominee, Advertiser, Oct. 4, 1852; Republican candidate, 5th District, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1860, Bingham, 220. ETHNIC: B. Canada, Census, 1860.

DUCHARME, CHARLES

ECONOMIC: \$15,150, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$55,000, census, 1860; Tax, Inc., 1864, \$29,400, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Hall, America's Successful Men of Affairs, II, 264. POLITICS: Republican nominee, mayor, Free Press, Oct. 20, 1863; Call, non-partisan ticket, Advertiser, Oct. 26, 1861. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11. ETHNIC: French ancestors came to Canada from Normandy middle 17th century, Burton, Wayne, III, 800.

DUFFIELD, GEORGE

ECONOMIC: \$21,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$50,000, Census, 1860. RELIGION AND ETHNIC: "Scotch-Irish," Carlisle, 334; "Huguenot and Scotch-Irish parentage," Address by D. Bethune Duffield, Mich. Pion. Coll., VII, 625; article on grandson, Dr. George, "ancient English ancestry," Burton, IV, 864.

DUNCAN, WILLIAM C.

ECONOMIC: \$36,575, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$55,000, Census, 1860; "Duncan's Central Brewery," Detroit Directory, 1861,

152. POLITICS: Whig ward committee, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; Whig delegate, Advertiser, Oct. 6, 1852; "Young Men's Union for Douglas and Johnson," Free Press, July 3, 1860; Reception committee for Douglas, Free Press, Oct. 14, 1860; "Democrats for free speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 15, 1863; Mayor, 1862-1863, Bingham, 240; "Old-Time Campaigns," SB/Burton, V, 101. RELIGION: "Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit," (1865) BHC.

EATON, THEODORE H.

ECONOMIC: \$42,750, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$95,000, Tax Inc., 1864, \$8,333, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Burton, Detroit, III, 188. POLITICS: Whigs for Buchanan, "Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856; "Call for union ticket," Free Press, Oct. 24, 1861; "Democrats for free speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863; "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 15, 1863. RELIGION: "Ledger Book, Christ Church, 1849-1875," (1845); "Records of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit," (1866), BHC. ETHNIC: English, Burton, Detroit, III, 188.

EMMONS, HALMER H.

ECONOMIC: \$30,650, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$140,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Reputation in forties defending clergyman who attacked Catholicism, Ross, Bench and Bar, 55-58; Wayne County delegate, Republican state convention, Advertiser, Aug. 19, 1858. RELIGION: Judge Emmons, though not a professional Christian, was a very exemplary man, "Palmer, Detroit, 856; "Ledger Book, Christ Church, 1849-1875." ETHNIC AND FAMILY: Emmons Family File, BHC.

FARRAND, JACOB SHAW

ECONOMIC: \$17,850, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$175,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864; \$7,243, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Burton, Detroit, III, 5th Ward, Free Press, Nov. 10, 1859; Repub. nominee mayor, Free Press, Oct. 20, 1863; Republican nominee state senate, 2nd Dist., Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 30, 1864. RELIGION AND ETHNIC: Elder, First Presbyterian; French Huguenot, N. Ireland, New England, Burton, Detroit, III, 100.

FOOTE, GEORGE

ECONOMIC: \$16,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$87,000, Census, 1860; Carlisle, 290. POLITICS: Letter of Whig merchants, Advertiser, Nov. 4, 1844; Republican alderman, 1st Ward, Free Press, Nov. 10, 1859; House illuminated

Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1860;
 Call for union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861.
 RELIGION: "Roll of Membership," Fort Street Presbyterian
 Church. ETHNIC: English, Burton, Detroit, V, 1047.

GARDNER, RANSOM

ECONOMIC: \$25,025, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$75,000, Census,
 1860; Bingham, 283. POLITICS: House illuminated Republican
 Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1860. RELIGION:
 "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11.

HAIGH, HENRY

ECONOMIC: \$5,250, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$154,000, Census,
 1860; Edwards, 232. POLITICS: "Whigs for Buchanan,"
Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856. RELIGION: "Ledger Book, Christ
 Church, Detroit, 1849-1875," (B. C. C. 1861). ETHNIC: B.
 England, Census, 1860.

HALE, WILLIAM

ECONOMIC: \$104,525, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Russell House
 and real estate, Bingham, 317; Detroit Directory, 1861, 176.
 POLITICS: Democratic alderman, 2nd Ward, Free Press, Nov.
 11, 1859. ETHNIC: Smith, Dictionary of American Family
 Names.

HAWLEY, RICHARD

ECONOMIC: \$50,450, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864,
 \$22,205, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Brewer,
 Carlisle, 401. POLITICS: Whig until 1854, since has acted
 with Independent Democrats, Carlisle, 402; "Whigs for
 Buchanan," Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856; Democratic cand.,
 state representative, Free Press, Oct. 17, 1864. RELIGION:
 Church of Christ, Letter of Colin Campbell, Advertiser and
 Tribune, March 21, 1868. ETHNIC: Born, England, Carlisle,
 401.

HULL, JOHN

ECONOMIC: \$38,858, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$162,000, Census,
 1860; Self-made butcher, Carlisle, 390. POLITICS: Demo-
 cratic alderman, 5th Ward, Free Press, Sept. 27, 1859;
 Reception committee for Douglas, Free Press, Oct. 12, 1860;
 "Democrats for free speech," Free Press, May 24, 1863;
 "Vallandigham Democrats," Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 15,
 1863. ETHNIC: "Ancestors settled in Maryland during days
 of Lord Baltimore," Carlisle, 390.

IVES, ALBERT

ECONOMIC: \$31,435, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$100,000, Census, 1860; short-term loan banker with brothers, News-Tribune, Oct. 31, 1897. POLITICS: Delegate Democratic county convention, Free Press, Feb. 13, 1859; Young Men's Democratic Central Union for Douglas and Johnson, Free Press, July 3, 1860; Reception committee for Douglas, Free Press, Oct. 14, 1860; alderman, treasurer, school board, SB/Burton, V, 230.

IVES, CALEB

ECONOMIC: \$25,635, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; "C. and A. Ives, Bankers and ex-brokers," Detroit Directory, 1861, 193. POLITICS: "Democrats for Non-Partisan Election," Free Press, Oct. 22, 1863. ETHNIC: Smith, Dictionary American Family Names.

JACKSON, CYRUS W.

ECONOMIC: \$23,235, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$14,226, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1965; "Jackson and Wiley, Foundry machinists," Detroit Directory, 1861, 194. POLITICS: Whig nominee alderman, 1st Ward, Advertiser, Oct. 28, 1852; "Independent Democrats," Free Press, Mar. 2, 1860; nominated Committee of reception for Douglas, Free Press, Oct. 14, 1853; nominated (declined) by Wayne county Democrats, Free Press, Oct. 24, 1860; Call for union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861; Nominee union ticket, "he deserves an election for converting the Free Press from its secession proclivities when in Storey's hands, if nothing else," Advertiser, Nov. 5, 1861. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11 (1864); "Account Book, First Unitarian Society, 1858-1859," BHC.

JOHNSTON, JOHN W.

ECONOMIC: \$42,162, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$110,000, Census, 1860; "J. W. Johnston, land dealer at 160 Jefferson Avenue, wants to purchase Lyell's certificates in the amount of \$22,000," Free Press, March 9, 1859. POLITICS, RELIGION AND ETHNIC: Carlisle, 432.

KIRBY, GEORGE

ECONOMIC: \$20,00, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$45,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$12,708, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; "tanner and leather dealer," Detroit Directory, 1861, 200; Carlisle, 379. POLITICS: Letter of Whig

merchants, Advertiser, Nov. 4, 1844; Signer of meeting for Bell and Everett, Free Press, July 22, 1860; Call for union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861. RELIGION: Family (Zebulon and Anna W. Kirby), "Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875." ETHNIC: Carlisle says from Berkshire Co., Mass; b. England, Census, 1860.

LEWIS, SAMUEL

ECONOMIC: \$3,262, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$77,000, Census, 1860; merchant-capitalist, at death bank director, Free Press, Nov. 19, 1878. POLITICS: "Undersigned Democrats of the city of Detroit, beg. . .there should be no contest of political parties," Free Press, Oct. 22, 1863; Call for union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861. RELIGION: "member of Ste. Anne's nearly all his life, and to the end was faithful and exemplary," Free Press, Nov. 21, 1878. ETHNIC: Note Burton File: Son of Thomas and Mary (Brown) Lewis, descendant of Louis Villier Dit St. Louis; Alex. Lewis, brother; family on father's side originally Wales, came to this country early 17th century; mother's family from France. Father Thomas born Three Rivers, Canada, Farmer, II, 1047.

LOCKWOOD, THOMAS W.

ECONOMIC: \$7,810, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$60,000, Census, 1860. POLITICS: "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Republican candidate, judge, Advertiser, Aug. 17, 1860; Republican candidate, 1st Dist., Free Press, Oct. 25, 1860; Representative, 1861-1864, Bingham, 419. RELIGION: Left Fort Street 1857 in fight with Chandler-Joy faction over Reverend Neill's pro-slavery sermon, Ross, Bench and Bar, 126; Communicant, 1857, "Church Register of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, Detroit, Mich.", V. 1.

MANDELBAUM, SIMON

ECONOMIC: \$15,250, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$10,000, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; Free Press, May 6, 1876. POLITICS: "Whigs for Buchanan," Free Press, Aug. 23, 1865. RELIGION: "Account Book, First Congregational Unitarian Society, 1858-59," BHC; "Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875," (1862). ETHNIC: b. Bohemia, Census, 1860.

MERRILL, CHARLES

ECONOMIC: \$123,100 Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$210,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$11,026, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan 14, 1865; "subsequent to 1848 became one of largest operators in pine lands and lumber in Michigan, saw mills in Saginaw, Muskegon, Falmouth," Farmer, II,

1219. POLITICS: House illuminated Republican Grand Torchlight, Advertiser, Nov. 15, 1860; Call union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861. RELIGION: "Account Book, First Congregational Unitarian Society, 1858-1859," BHC.

MOFFAT, HUGH

ECONOMIC: \$27,750, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$50,000, steam saw mill, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Republican mayor, 1871, Farmer, II, 1046. ETHNIC: St. Andrews Society, Farmer, 1046; b. Scotland, Census, 1860.

ORR, EDWARD

ECONOMIC: Tax. Inc., 1864, \$27,498, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865. POLITICS: former employee: "I think Mr. Orr's copperhead opinions hastened his financial difficulties," News-Tribune, July 4, 1879. RELIGION: "Edward Orr desires to sell pew 94 in the Fort Street Presbyterian Church," Free Press, Jan. 1, 1859.

PALMS, FRANCIS

ECONOMIC: "purchased 40,000 acres government land Macomb and St. Clair counties, 1837. Within 10 years realized between \$300,000 and \$400,000. Invested large tracts Michigan and Wisconsin. Became not only largest landowner in N.W. but possibly largest individual land owner in U. S. Minerals discovered, Farmer, II, 1070; dates in Farmer not substantiated Macomb County Tax Assessment Roll, 1844, or Francis Palms Papers, BHC--earliest land patents 1849; \$7,700, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Hotchkiss, History of the Lumber, 87-88. POLITICS: "Friends of Clay," Advertiser, Sept. 16, 1842; Call for union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861. RELIGION: "Registre de Ste. Anne," V. 7. ETHNIC-FAMILY: Father one of largest interests in Belgium, destroyed by fire, 1833, Hotchkiss, 87.

PECK, GEORGE

ECONOMIC: Tax. Inc., \$10,913, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; "From errand boy to bank president," SE/Burton, XXX, 17. POLITICS: "George Peck's drygoods store lighted for Torchlight Parade after Lincoln's election," Advertiser, Oct. 1, 1860. RELIGION: "Church Register, Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church," ETHNIC: English, b. Conn., Farmer, 1166.

PENNIMAN, EBENEZER JENCKS

ECONOMIC: \$112,500, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Whig delegate, Advertiser, July 25, 1843; Whig nominee, Free Press, Aug. 20,

1845; Congress on Whig ticket, 1851-1853, Bingham, 518; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Whig congressional convention, Advertiser, Sept. 22, 1854; Delegate Republican county convention, Advertiser, Aug. 17, 1860. ETHNIC: English, New England, Leake, III, 1201.

RICHARDSON, DAVID M.

ECONOMIC: \$14,650, Tax Inc., 1864, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; match factory, sole proprietor, 1859-1875, burned down 1860, rebuilt with assistance N. W. Brooks, Farmer, II, 1200. POLITICS: Republican candidate, alderman, Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 28, 1863; Republican candidate school inspector, Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 30, 1864. RELIGION: "Register No. One (1844) First Congregational Church, Genealogical Records," V. 7, BHC. ETHNIC: Farmer, II, 1200.

RIOPELLE, DOMINIQUE, JR.

ECONOMIC: \$28,475, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. See D. Riopelle, Appendix I. POLITICS: Democratic alderman, 5th Ward, Free Press, Feb. 24, 1852.

ST. AMOUR, EUGENE

ECONOMIC: \$7,150, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$65,000, Census, 1860; "dock builder," Detroit Directory, 1861, 280. POLITICS: "Whigs for Buchanan," Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856. RELIGION: "Registre de Ste. Anne," V. 7, 3426, 3495. ETHNIC: Denissen, V. S, 3617, 3616.

SCOTT, S. B.

ECONOMIC: \$75,000, fur dealer, Census, 1860; "S. B. Scott, Travel Agent, M. I. Mills," Detroit Directory, 1861, 268. POLITICS: "Young Men's (Democratic) Central Union," Free Press, July 3, 1860.

SHELDEN, ALLAN

ECONOMIC: \$15,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$27,500; \$5,000, Census, 1860; Burton, Wayne, V, 524; "Town and Shelden, dry goods jobbers," Detroit Directory, 1861, 270; on kinds of property, News-Tribune, June 23, 1895. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11. ETHNIC AND POLITICS: Burton, 524.

SIBLEY, FREDERICK B.

ECONOMIC: \$22,787, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$60,000 Census, 1860. POLITICS: Democrat, Leake, II, 441. RELIGION: "Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875." ETHNIC: R. P. Sibley, Ancestry and Life of Josiah Sibley, 2, 7, 26.

SLOCUM, GILES B.

ECONOMIC: \$23,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Carlisle, 152. POLITICS: Whig committee supporting Republican candidates, Advertiser, Oct. 7, 1854; Delegate Republican county convention from Monguagon, Advertiser, August 17, 1860. ETHNIC: R. I. Quaker antecedents, Carlisle, 155.

STEPHENS, JOHN

ECONOMIC: \$42,950, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$140,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$27,508; "Stephens and Beatty, wholesale grocers and commission merchants," Detroit Directory, 1860, 109. POLITICS: Call for union ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861. RELIGION: "Records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11. ETHNIC: b. Ireland, Census, 1860.

STEWART, NELSON P.

ECONOMIC: \$42,750, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$60,000, Census, 1860; Director, Peninsular Bank, Free Press, June 11, 1859; Stockholder, Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad, Free Press, Jan. 23, 1859; "Banker," Detroit Directory, 1861, 282. POLITICS: "Independent Democrats," Free Press, March 2, 1853; Committee of reception for Douglas, Free Press, Oct. 14, 1860. RELIGION: "Ledger, Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875." ETHNIC: b. England, Census, 1860.

STOWELL, ALEXANDER

ECONOMIC: \$70,000, Census, 1860; SB/Burton IXC, 28-29. POLITICS: Democrat, alderman, 1850-53, state senator, 1854, Bingham, 617; Does he become Republican? Democrats attack him as inspector of elections, 5th Ward, Free Press, Nov. 7, 1860; defeated alderman 5th Ward, Advertiser, Nov. 4, 1858; "one of first to urge the raising of the colored regiment by Colonel Burns, even went South and brought up about 70 men for it," SB/Burton, Ibid. RELIGION; Episcopal, SB/Burton, Ibid.

STRONG, HENRY NORTON

ECONOMIC: \$30,475, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$146,000, ship owner, Census, 1860; "Shipping, merchant," Detroit Directory,

1861, 283. POLITICS: "Friends of Clay," Advertiser, Sept. 16, 1842.

TOWN, REUBEN

ECONOMIC: \$15,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; "Town and Shelden, dry goods-jobbers," Detroit Directory, 1861, 293.

TRUEDELL, SAMUEL

ECONOMIC: \$16,050, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$60,200 physician, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Whig delegate county convention, Advertiser, Sept. 30, 1842; Whig nominee from Springwells, "If we mistake not, he has been doing noble service in the Whig ranks for more than fourteen years past. . . we feel as confident of his election as we do of his loyalty to the Whig faith," Advertiser, Oct. 20, 1852; Committee of reception for Douglas, Free Press, Oct. 12, 1860; Democratic candidate, 9th Ward, Free Press, Oct. 24, 1860.

TROWBRIDGE, CHARLES A.

ECONOMIC: \$24,000, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$75,000, Census, 1860; Mich. Pion. Coll., XIV, 162. POLITICS: "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Delegate Republican state convention, Advertiser, Aug. 18, 1858; Business meeting Republicans, Advertiser, Aug. 28, 1860. ETHNIC: Francis Bacon Trowbridge, The Trowbridge Genealogy, 529, 559-562.

TEN EYCK, WILLIAM

ECONOMIC: \$18,595, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$64,130, Census, 1860. POLITICS: Democratic county convention, Free Press, Feb. 2, 1859.

TRUAX, GEORGE BRIGHAM

ECONOMIC: \$19,536, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. FAMILY AND ETHNIC: Carlisle,

VAN HUSAN, CALEB

ECONOMIC: \$22,100, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$70,000 Census, 1860; Burton, Wayne III, 530. POLITICS: Democratic candidate state senator, Free Press, Oct. 7, 1860; Reception Committee for Douglas, Free Press, Oct. 12, 1860. ETHNIC AND RELIGION: Dutch, Baptist, Burton, Ibid.

WARD, EBER, 2nd

ECONOMIC: \$15,750, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$18,000, "Steamboats," Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$24,508, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865. See Ward Below.

WARD, EBER BROCK

ECONOMIC: \$25,950, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$1,007,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$91,037; Ward Family Papers, BHC; Kenneth N. Matcalf, "Detroit Steelmaker to the Nation," Detroit Historical Society Bulletin, XVIII, 4-10. POLITICS: Whig ward meetings, Advertiser, Sept. 14, 1854; "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Business meeting Republicans, Advertiser Aug. 28, 1860; Republican city convention, Advertiser, Sept. 24, 1860; Call for non-partisan ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861; Nominee union ticket, 9th Ward, Advertiser, Nov. 5, 1861. RELIGION: "Account Book, First Congregational Unitarian Society, 1858-1859," BHC: "records, Fort Street Presbyterian Church," V. 11. ETHNIC: "Genealogy and Descendants of Reverend David Ward through Andrew Ward," Ward Family File, BHC.

WARNER, JARED C.

ECONOMIC: \$66,000, Census, 1860; Farmer, II, 1233. POLITICS: Call for non-partisan ticket, Free Press, Oct. 25, 1861; Democratic candidate school inspector, Advertiser, Nov. 7, 1861. RELIGION: one of earliest members First Baptist Church, Farmer, Ibid.

WESSON, WILLIAM BRIGHAM

ECONOMIC: \$94,172, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$105,000, landowner, Census, 1860; Crane and Wesson pioneer realtors, Farmer, II, 1074. POLITICS: "Call to Jackson," Advertiser, July 6, 1854; Republican candidate state senate, Advertiser and Tribune, Oct. 30, 1864. RELIGION: "Mariner's Church Register, Detroit, 1849-1915," BHC; "Records, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Detroit," BHC. ETHNIC: Farmer, II, 1074.

WHITNEY, DAVID, JR.

ECONOMIC: Tax. Inc., 1864, \$30,000, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; SB/Burton, V (A), 20. POLITICS, RELIGION, ETHNIC: Burton, III, 579.

WIGHT, HENRY A

ECONOMIC: \$23,800, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$35,000, Detroit Directory, 1861, 304. POLITICS: Whig committee, 4th Ward, Advertiser, June 16, 1848; "Whigs for Buchanan." Free Press,

Aug. 23, 1856; "Young Men's Democratic Central Union for Douglas," Free Press, July 3, 1860. ETHNIC: William Ward Eight, The Wights, 184-185.

WIGHT, STANLEY G.

ECONOMICS: Items same as under Henry A. Wight. POLITICS: Bingham, 690.

WILEY, JEFFERSON

ECONOMIC: \$19,880, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; \$33,000, Census, 1860; Tax. Inc., 1864, \$14,179, Advertiser and Tribune, Jan. 14, 1865; "first engaged in active business as member of firm of Jackson and Wiley, iron and brass founders," Bingham, 693. POLITICS: Business meeting of Republicans, Advertiser, Aug. 28, 1860; Republican candidate city elections, Detroit Tribune, Nov. 15, 1858. RELIGION: "Account Book, First Congregational Unitarian Society, 1858-1859," BHC.

WILLIAMS, GURDON O.

ECONOMIC: \$13,175, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. POLITICS: Republican candidate for Sheriff, Advertiser, Aug. 17, 1860; Business meeting of Republicans, Advertiser, Aug. 25, 1860. FAMILY: Inherited fortune from uncle, Advertiser and Tribune, Nov. 2, 1863.

WILLIAMS, J. C. D.

ECONOMIC: \$67,530, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; "real estate," Detroit Directory, 1861, 308. POLITICS: "Whigs for Buchanan," Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856; Democratic alderman, 4th Ward, Free Press, Oct. 28, 1860; Democrats for free speech, Free Press, May 24, 1863. RELIGION: "Ledger Book, Christ Church, Detroit, 1849-1875." ETHNIC: English-Dutch-French, Catlin, "Family of General John R. Williams," BHC.

WILLIAMS, JAMES MOTT

ECONOMIC: \$49,525, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860; "coal dealer," Detroit Directory, 1861, 308. POLITICS: "Whigs for Buchanan," Free Press, Aug. 23, 1856. FAMILY AND ETHNIC: See J. C. D. Williams.

WILLIAMS, JOHN CONSTANTINE

ECONOMIC: \$31,385, Detroit Tax Roll, 1860. POLITICS: Democratic candidate alderman, 6th Ward, Free Press, Oct. 28,

1860. RELIGION: "A New Parish Register, St. John's
Episcopal Church," (1860). FAMILY AND ETHNIC: See
J. C. D. Williams.

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Citizens of New York City. 3d ed. New York:
Sun Office, 1842.
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Civilization. One vol. ed. New York: Macmillan
Co., 1930.
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Teaching Associate in history, University of North
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