Appendix A

for the article: "Partisanship and Racial Attitudes in U.S. Civil War Enlistment"
published in the *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* (doi:10.1017/rep.2022.19)

Kumar Ramanathan
Nathan P. Kalmoe

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1 Pro-suffrage referenda data

1.1 Background on the referenda

Five states held referenda on Black suffrage prior to the Civil War: CT (1847), MI (1850), WI (1846, 1849, and 1857), IA (1857), and NY (1846 and 1860). One state held a referendum during the war: IL (1862). Majorities of voters, ranging from 59% to 86%, voted against Black suffrage in all of these elections except one. The exception was the 1849 WI referendum, where 66% voted in support. However, turnout was very low in this election (there were 23,079 total votes in the 1846 referendum compared to 9,340 in 1849).

Below is a brief description of the political context for each referendum, drawn from secondary sources:

- **New York** (see Field 1982, chaps. 2-3)[1]:
  - The 1846 referendum emerged in the aftermath of a constitutional convention. Liberty party activists sought to make Black suffrage an issue in elections for convention delegates, pressuring Whig and Democratic party candidates to compete for Liberty supporters' votes. Whigs were somewhat more responsive, but ultimately Democrats won a majority of delegate seats. At the convention, two motions to allow equal suffrage were defeated 37-63 and 29-75 and the existing $250 property qualification for Black male suffrage was maintained with a 62-32 vote. The convention instead put the question to a referendum by the convention (secondary sources say little about the decision to do so).
  - The 1860 referendum followed a re-emergence of the Black suffrage issue on the state legislative agenda. During 1855-60, following the creation of the Republican party and a series of petitions from Black activists, the legislature voted on the issue several times. In 1860, the legislature passed a resolution that would amend the constitution to enable equal suffrage, conditional on approval in a referendum. Most votes for the resolution came from Republican legislators, but the party was reluctant to campaign publicly on the issue.
- **Wisconsin** (see Fishel 1963)[2]:
  - The 1846 referendum emerged in the aftermath of a constitutional convention. During the convention, some abolitionist activists among the delegates pushed for action on equal suffrage and stitched together a fragile coalition with Whigs and some reform Democrats. After an extended period of debate and tension, the convention decided to submit the question as a separate referendum to the voters (the proposed constitution itself would be submitted as a referendum).
  - The 1849 referendum had a similar origin. After the proposed constitution had failed to receive voters' approval, another constitutional convention met starting in December 1847. The delegates once again dealt with the equal suffrage issue through a referendum, this time conditional on the state legislature (which would be created if the constitution was approved and statehood granted) submitting the question to voters. The new legislature in 1848 did so, scheduling the referendum for 1849. A majority of votes cast on the question were in favor, but the State Board of Canvassers invalidated the result because the resolution required a majority of *all* votes cast and many voters had abstained from the suffrage referendum.
  - After years of the suffrage issue being of low salience in state politics, Black activists during 1855-57 sought to reintroduce the issue on the agenda through a petition campaign. After a period of extended and dramatic debate in 1857, the state legislature submitted a proposed constitutional amendment that would enable equal suffrage as a referendum to voters.
- **Connecticut** (see Kirschner 1996, chap. 1)[3]: Black rights became salient amid the the *Amistad* case, which was tried in a Connecticut court. The 1844 Whig party gubernatorial candidate was associated

[1] Field, Phyllis F. *The Politics of Race in New York: The Struggle for Black Suffrage in the Civil War Era*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv2n7f2t

[2] Fishel, Leslie H. "Wisconsin and Negro Suffrage." *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 46, no. 3 (1963): 180-96. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4633849

[3] Kirschner, Miles Jonathan. "The Shame of the North: The Black Suffrage Issue in Connecticut, 1814-1876." M.S. thesis, Southern Connecticut State University, 1996.

with the Amistad defense and articulated support for Black political equality during the election campaign and in a speech to the legislature. There is some evidence that Black men and abolitionists pressured the legislature for action on suffrage during 1844-47 through petitions. In 1847, the state legislature passed a resolution that put the question to a referendum, with support primarily coming from Whig legislators. In Kirschner's discussion of why the legislature pursued a referendum, one argument is that legislators were attempting to *remove* the issue from the agenda as they expected defeat.

- **Michigan** (see Emmer 1935, chap. 5)[4]: The 1850 referendum emerged from a convention to revise the state constitution. Issues related to slavery and Black political rights were salient during the convention, particularly in light of national political controversies. Advocates of racial equality submitted numerous petitions on the subject of Black suffrage, and pointed to recent referenda in Wisconsin and elsewhere to demand that a similar referendum be pursued in Michigan. Some opponents of suffrage at the convention welcomed a referendum, expecting a defeat that would bolster their position. The convention delegates voted 28-37 against striking racial qualifications for suffrage from the constitution, but voted 54-12 in favor of submitting the question to a referendum.
- **Iowa** (see Dykstra 1993, chap. 8)[5]: The 1857 referendum emerged from a convention to revise the state constitution. Several delegates, pressured by Black activists and other abolitionists, raised the issue of Black rights during the convention. In a party-line vote with Republican delegates in support and Democratic delegates in opposition, the convention voted to submit the question of suffrage to voters in a referendum. The threshold for approval was high: the convention resolution required that a majority of all voters voting on the first question (approval of the whole constitution) must approve the suffrage referendum. In effect, this meant abstentions on the latter counted as "no" votes. Iowa Republicans explicitly pointed to the experience of the 1849 Wisconsin referendum when including this high threshold explicitly.

It is important to note that these are not the only states where Black suffrage entered the policy agenda during the pre-war period. Indeed, several state legislatures considered petitions and bills for Black suffrage, as examined and analyzed by David Bateman (2019). Rather, these are the five states that *put the question to a referendum*.

1.2 Referenda included

We include one referenda from each state in our analyses: CT (1847), MI (1850), WI (1857), IA (1857), and NY (1860). For the states with multiple referenda, we use the latest one that took place before the war. The county-level results are highly correlated across years for these states, indicating that support for the political rights of Black residents was fairly stable on the local level over time. In NY, the correlation between county-level pro-suffrage voteshares in the 1860 and 1846 referenda is 0.81. In WI the correlation between the 1857 and 1846 referenda is 0.82 and that between the 1857 and 1849 referenda is 0.66. The correlation between the 1857 and 1849 referenda in Wisconsin, although high, is the weakest one, but since the 1849 referendum had dramatically lower turnout than the others, this does not pose a serious problem.

In NY, there are 3 counties for which suffrage returns are missing. There are also a number of counties for which war experiences data exists but suffrage referenda data does not exist, because these counties did not exist at the time of the referenda. Of the 5 states that held pre-war suffrage referenda, there are 273 observations with war experiences data and 221 observations with suffrage referenda data.

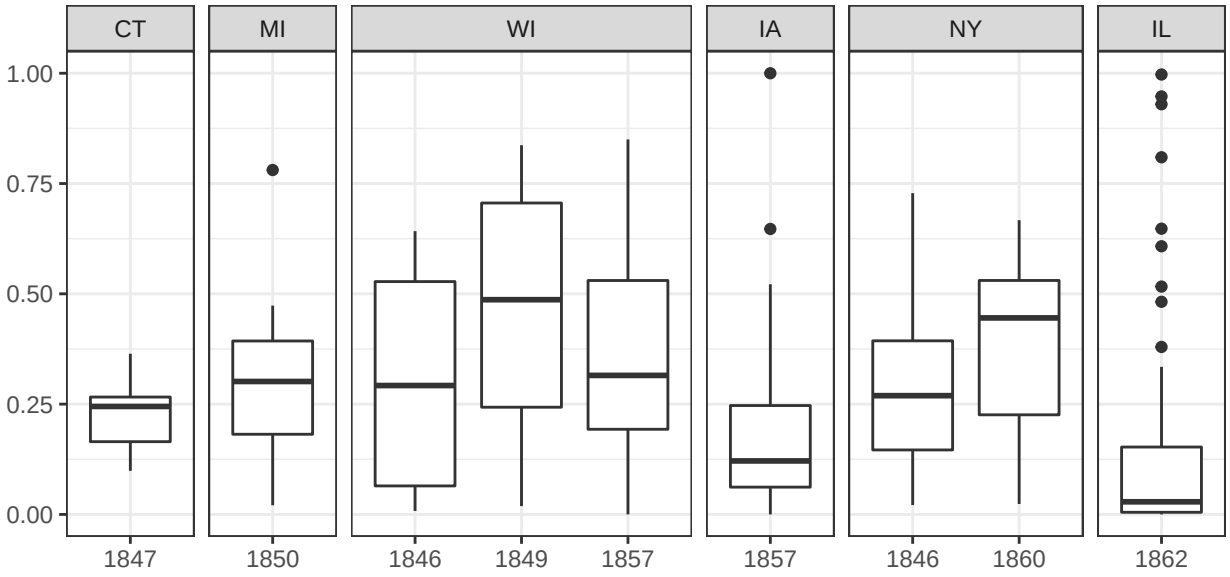
[4]Emmer, Dorothy. "The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest Before 1870." M.A. thesis, Wayne State University, 1935. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2375533716/citation/FD563B07ED494A6BPQ/1

[5]Dykstra, Robert. Bright Radical Star: Black Freedom and White Supremacy on the Hawkeye Frontier. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

1.3 Distribution of pro-suffrage vote and correlation with Republican/Free Soil voteshares

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the county-level support for Black suffrage in each of the referenda.

Figure 1: Distribution of pro−suffrage vote share



The correlation between (most recent) pro-suffrage referendum voteshare and the Republican vote index in the 5 states with pre-war referenda is 0.49. The correlation between these referenda results and the Free Soil vote index is 0.5.

2 Free Soil vote index

2.1 Data used to calculate Free Soil vote index

We constructed the Free Soil vote index by taking the average proportion of votes cast for Free Soil candidates in all presidential, gubernatorial, and congressional elections during 1848-53 that were constested by Free Soil candidates and for which data are available in the ICPSR (1999) dataset. Only general elections are included (i.e. special elections or run-off elections are not included). We chose 1853 as the end point because the Republican party was formed in 1854 and largely replaced the Free Soil party in elections that year.

For the 1848 CT gubernatorial election, we included the Liberty party's voteshare in the Free Soil vote index. The Liberty party was a pro-abolition minor party that was formed in 1840; most members joined the Free Soil party when it was formed in 1848. Across the elections listed in Table 1, the Liberty party only received votes in the 1848 CT gubernatorial election. Since our goal is to build a measure of anti-slavery support in these elections, we include the Liberty party's votes in this election in the index.

There were several elections in which some votes were returned for fusion Free Soil-Whig tickets: gubernatorial elections in NH (1848) and MI (1849) and some congressional races in NH (1851), MI (1848, 1850, 1852), MA (1848, 1850), and IN (1851). In these cases, these votes are included in the Free Soil vote index.

Table 1 reports elections taking place during 1848-53 (in the 14 states covered by our analysis) for which data is available in the ICPSR dataset. As the table indicates, not all elections were contested by Free Soil candidates. We calculate the Free Soil index using only those elections contested by the party. We also calculate a secondary verison of the index that averages across all races, recording '0' values for those races in which the party did not compete.

Table 1: Elections during 1848-53 for which data are available in ICSPR (1999) dataset

State	# of races	# of races contested by FS party	Races
CT	11	11	pres-48, gov-48, gov-49, cong-49, gov-50, gov-51, cong-51, pres-52, gov-52, gov-53, cong-53
MA	11	11	pres-48, gov-48, cong-48, gov-49, gov-50, cong-50, gov-51, pres-52, gov-52, cong-52, gov-53
NH	11	10	pres-48, gov-48, gov-49, cong-49, gov-50, gov-51, cong-51, pres-52, gov-52, gov-53, cong-53*
RI	11	9	pres-48, gov-48*, gov-49, cong-49, gov-50, gov-51, cong-51, pres-52, gov-52*, gov-53, cong-53
MI	8	8	pres-48, cong-48, gov-49, cong-50, gov-51, pres-52, gov-52, cong-52
VT	8	8	pres-48, gov-48, gov-49, gov-50, gov-51, pres-52, gov-52, gov-53
IL	7	7	pres-48, gov-48, cong-48, cong-50, pres-52, gov-52, cong-52
ME	7	7	pres-48, gov-48, gov-49, gov-50, pres-52, gov-52, gov-53
IN	7	6	pres-48, gov-49, cong-49, cong-51, pres-52, gov-52, cong-52*
NY	8	6	pres-48, gov-48, cong-48, gov-50*, cong-50*, pres-52, gov-52, cong-52
WI	8	6	pres-48, gov-48*, cong-48, gov-49, cong-50, gov-51*, pres-52, cong-52
IA	6	5	pres-48, cong-48, gov-50, cong-50, pres-52, cong-52*
CA	6	1	gov-49*, cong-49*, cong-51*, pres-52, cong-52*, gov-53*
KY	7	1	pres-48*, gov-48*, cong-49*, gov-51*, cong-51*, pres-52+, cong-53*

* These elections were not contested by Free Soil candidates

+ ICPSR dataset erroneously records no Free Soil votes in this election

Our primary analyses reported in the article cover data for 12 states. We start with the 15 out of 24 Union states for which we have war experiences data from the American Civil War Research Database (ACWRD). We exclude Minnesota, which was not a state until 1858. We also exclude California and Kentucky because the Free Soil party did not seriously contest elections in these states. In these two states, Free Soil candidates only competed in the 1852 presidential election (garnering 0.24% voteshare/266 total votes in KY and 0.08% voteshare/61 total votes in CA). The ICPSR dataset erroneously does not record any Free Soil votes in Kentucky for this election (presumably because primary sources such as *The Tribune Almanac* do not report Free Soil votes on the county level); however, given the small number of votes, this is not a major issue.

2.2 Distribution of Free Soil vote index

Figure 2 is a boxplot showing the distribution of the Free Soil vote index in the 12 states where the Free Soil party contested elections. As described earlier, this index only averages across elections that the Free Soil party contested during 1848-53.

Figure 2: Distribution of Free Soil vote index (1848−53)

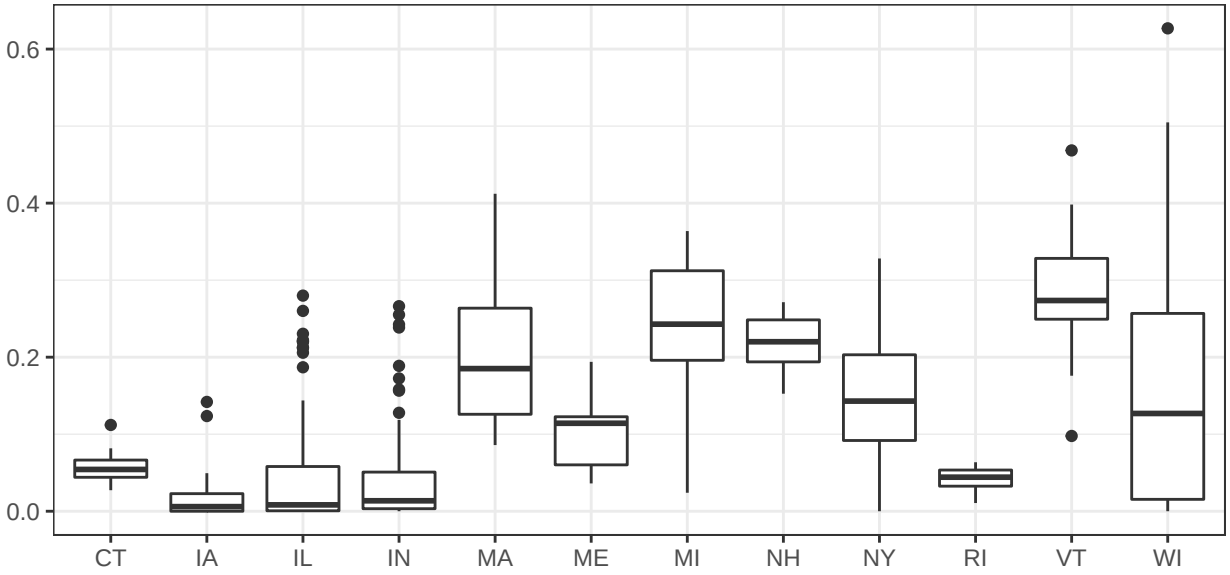
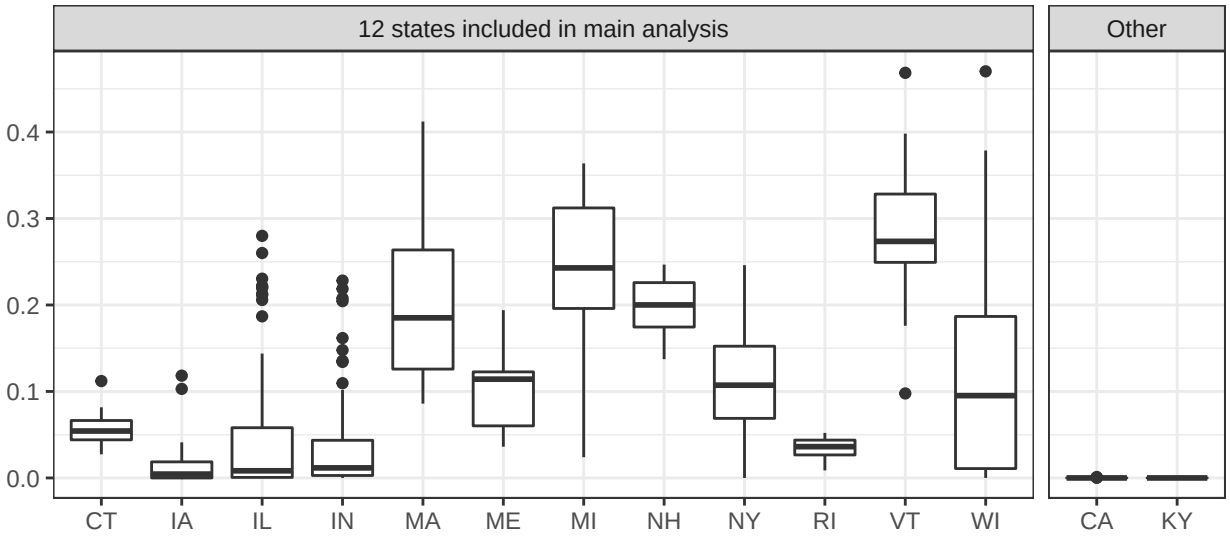


Figure 3 is a boxplot showing the distribution of the alternate version of the Free Soil vote index, where we include *all* elections during 1848-53 for which data is available, including those where the Free Soil party did not compete (vote shares are recorded as 0 in these cases). The figure illustrates that the FS party essentially did not compete in CA and KY.

Figure 3: Distribution of Free Soil vote index (1848−53)
Alternative specification with all races instead of contested races only



2.3 Correlations between Republican and Free Soil vote indices

The correlations between the Free Soil vote index and the Republican vote index are shown in Table 2 below The table also shows the correlations between these indices and the presidential voteshares of the Free Soil and the Republican parties in 1848/1852 and 1856/1860 respectively.

Table 2: Correlations between Republican and Free Soil voteshares

	Rep vote index (56-60)	Rep '60 pres vote	Rep '56 pres vote
FS vote index (48-53)	0.5343308	0.5208316	0.5933703
FS '52 pres vote	0.6175121	0.5820582	0.6662213
FS '48 pres vote	0.6489867	0.6332452	0.7179510

Table 3: Models predicting war experiences, for 5 states with pre-war referenda

	Total volunteer enlistment			Total white desertion		
	Rep index	Suffrage vote	Rep index + Suffrage vote	Rep index	Suffrage vote	Rep index + Suffrage vote
Rep index (56-60)	0.225+ (0.127)		0.527** (0.195)	−0.191*** (0.046)		−0.217*** (0.059)
Pro-suffrage vote		−0.050 (0.066)	−0.254** (0.094)		−0.062** (0.019)	0.022 (0.023)
Total population	0.012*** (0.003)	0.009** (0.003)	0.013*** (0.003)	0.004** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.004** (0.001)
Prop. immigrant	0.046 (0.134)	−0.050 (0.123)	0.114 (0.136)	0.060+ (0.036)	0.122** (0.041)	0.054 (0.037)
Wealth per cap	−0.056 (0.055)	−0.070 (0.055)	−0.024 (0.059)	0.107*** (0.016)	0.123*** (0.016)	0.104*** (0.017)
Num.Obs.	221	221	221	220	220	220
R2	0.152	0.131	0.204	0.723	0.666	0.724
RMSE	0.13	0.14	0.14	0.04	0.04	0.04
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

3 Models comparing Republican vote index and pro-suffrage vote

Table 3 shows models predicting the outcomes of *total volunteer enlistment* and *total white desertion*, using data from counties where pro-suffrage data is available across the five states with pre-war referenda. For each outcome, we use three model specifications with different sets of independent variables: one with the Republican vote index, one with the pro-suffrage voteshare, and one with both. The model results shown in Figures 1 and 3 in the article come from columns 1-3 and columns 4-6 in Table 1 respectively.

Table 4 shows the results of models with the same specifications, but dropping observations with a turnout estimate under 50%. We calculate an estimate of turnout by dividing the total number of votes cast in the suffrage referendum by the total number of votes cast in the most temporally proximate presidential election (where a referendum takes place inbetween two presidential elections, we round up to the later presidential election).

Table 5 shows the results of models with the same specifications, but using additional data from the 1862 referendum in Illinois.

Across all three tables, all models are reported with robust standard errors, are weighted by *number of 1860 voting-age males*, and include controls for *total population*, *immigrant population*, and *wealth per capita*.

Table 4: Models predicting war experiences, for 5 states with pre-war referenda, only counties above turnout threshold

	Total volunteer enlistment			Total white desertion		
	Rep index	Suffrage vote	Rep index + Suffrage vote	Rep index	Suffrage vote	Rep index + Suffrage vote
Rep index (56-60)	0.211		0.411+	−0.200***		−0.286***
	(0.129)		(0.222)	(0.049)		(0.062)
Pro-suffrage vote		0.018	−0.166		−0.057*	0.072**
		(0.070)	(0.116)		(0.024)	(0.025)
Total population	0.013***	0.011***	0.013***	0.004**	0.005***	0.004**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Prop. immigrant	0.033	−0.049	0.090	0.045	0.116*	0.019
	(0.135)	(0.127)	(0.145)	(0.041)	(0.051)	(0.040)
Wealth per cap	−0.113*	−0.126*	−0.084	0.104***	0.120***	0.091***
	(0.054)	(0.054)	(0.065)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.021)
Num.Obs.	173	173	173	172	172	172
R2	0.246	0.222	0.266	0.744	0.669	0.759
RMSE	0.12	0.12	0.12	0.03	0.04	0.03
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

Table 5: Models predicting war experiences, for 5 states with pre-war referenda + Illinois

	Total volunteer enlistment			Total white desertion		
	Rep index	Suffrage vote	Rep index + Suffrage vote	Rep index	Suffrage vote	Rep index + Suffrage vote
Rep index (56-60)	0.133		0.330**	−0.123***		−0.158***
	(0.084)		(0.102)	(0.028)		(0.034)
Pro-suffrage vote		−0.093+	−0.214***		−0.020	0.038*
		(0.050)	(0.060)		(0.013)	(0.016)
Total population	0.009***	0.006**	0.011***	0.005***	0.007***	0.005***
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Prop. immigrant	−0.014	−0.023	−0.018	0.098**	0.101**	0.099**
	(0.108)	(0.110)	(0.094)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Wealth per cap	−0.070	−0.052	−0.059	0.110***	0.104***	0.108***
	(0.047)	(0.052)	(0.046)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.014)
Num.Obs.	323	323	323	322	322	322
R2	0.077	0.080	0.134	0.686	0.630	0.696
RMSE	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.03	0.03	0.03
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

4 Models comparing Republican and Free Soil voteshares

Tables 6 and 7 show the results of models predicting the outcomes of *total volunteer enlistment* and *total white desertion* respectively. These models use the primary version of the Free Soil vote index, which are averages of Free Soil vote shares in all presidential/gubernatorial/congressional elections which the party contested during 1848-53. Of the 15 states for which we have war experiences data, 12 are included here; we exclude CA and KY because the Free Soil party did not seriously contest elections in these states and MN because it was not a state until 1858. The first three models in each table use the Republican vote index (1856-60), Free Soil vote index (1848-53), and both indices, as discussed in the article. The model results shown in Figures 2 and 4 in the article come from columns 1-3 in Table 6 and columns 1-3 in Table 7 respectively. The remainder of the models report different specifications of independent variables as robustness checks:

- To account for the differences in Free Soil party support in its 1848 and 1852 presidential election campaigns, we specify models that use each of these as independent variables rather than the Free Soil vote index.
- To account for the temporal gap between the electoral results, we specify models that use the Republican 1860 presidential vote and the 1852 Free Soil presidential vote (which are the latest available presidential election for each party), and that use the Republican 1856 presidential vote and the Free Soil 1852 presidential vote (which are the most temporally proximate presidential election results for the two parties).
- For comparison, we specify models that use each of the Free Soil 1852 presidential vote, the Free Soil 1848 presidential vote, the Republican 1860 presidential vote, and Republican 1856 presidential vote separately.

The remaining tables report the results of robustness checks that use alternate variables or alternate sets of county observations.

- Table 8 reports the results of models predicting volunteer enlistment and desertion, using an alternate version of the Free Soil index calculated by averaging Free Soil vote shares in all elections during 1848-53, including those that the party did not contest. In counties where there where elections that the party did not contest, this alternative index has a lower value than the primary index (since the Free Soil vote shares for non-contested elections are 0). These models use county observations from the same 12 states.
- Table 9 reports the results of models predicting volunteer enlistment and desertion, also using the alternative version of the Free Soil index calculated by averaging Free Soil vote shares in all elections during 1848-53, including those that the party did not contest. However, these models use county observations for all 14 states for which we have war experiences data, i.e. including CA and KY as well. The Free Soil vote index is zero or near-zero for almost all counties in these states, since the party only contested the 1852 presidential election in these states and we only have the election returns for CA (see section 1 of the appendix for more details).
- Table 10 shows the results of models predicting volunteer enlistment and desertion, using the primary version of the Free Soil vote index (same as Tables 3-5), but dropping the 30 counties in New York where the difference in the Free Soil vote share between the 1848 and 1852 presidential elections was more than 20 percentage points. This specification accounts for the possibility that the distinctive trajectory of the Free Soil party in New York–where the party won a high level of support in 1848 which dropped significantly following the election when many Free Soil leaders returned to the Democratic party–affects the results of the models.
- Table 11 shows the results of models predicting the outcome of volunteer enlistment, but separated by year of the war rather than pooling volunteer enlistment throughout the war, using the primary version of the Free Soil vote index for 12 states (same as Tables 6-7). Similar to Kalmoe (2020), we find that Republican partisanship predicts higher levels of volunteer enlistment in 1861 and 1864, when Democratic leaders supported the war less than Republicans did. The Free Soil party does have a positive coefficient for volunteer enlistment in 1864 (p=0.02), but this relationship is no longer statistically significant once we control for Republican party support.

For all models, to enable comparisons, we only use observations for counties for which the Free Soil vote index is available, i.e. only counties that existed during 1848-53. Of the 526 counties (678 when including CA and KY) for which we have war experiences data, there are 433 counties (569 when including CA and KY) for which we have Free Soil vote index data. All models are reported with robust standard errors, are weighted by *number of 1860 voting-age males*, and include controls for *total population*, *immigrant population*, and *wealth per capita.*

Table 6: Models predicting total volunteer enlistment (standard FS index, 12 states)

	Primary specifications			Alternative specifications							
	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep 60	Rep 56	FS 52	FS 48	Rep index + FS 52	Rep index + FS 48	Rep 60 + FS 52	Rep 56 + FS 52
Rep index (56-60)	0.149* (0.063)		0.241** (0.081)					0.175* (0.080)	0.371*** (0.092)		
Rep 60 pres vote				0.069 (0.065)						0.037 (0.077)	
Rep 56 pres vote					0.056 (0.042)						0.043 (0.046)
FS index (48-53)		−0.023 (0.072)	−0.178+ (0.092)								
FS 52 pres vote						0.096 (0.085)		−0.068 (0.101)		0.065 (0.101)	0.037 (0.090)
FS 48 pres vote							−0.129+ (0.075)		−0.331*** (0.095)		
Total population	0.009*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.010*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.009*** (0.002)	0.010*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)	0.007*** (0.002)
Prop. immigrant	−0.014 (0.080)	−0.033 (0.085)	0.000 (0.079)	−0.009 (0.085)	−0.027 (0.082)	−0.010 (0.083)	−0.013 (0.095)	0.006 (0.081)	0.067 (0.091)	−0.010 (0.084)	−0.007 (0.083)
Wealth per cap	−0.028 (0.037)	−0.010 (0.040)	−0.018 (0.037)	−0.024 (0.039)	−0.022 (0.039)	−0.021 (0.039)	0.008 (0.042)	−0.029 (0.037)	0.001 (0.037)	−0.024 (0.039)	−0.025 (0.040)
Num.Obs.	433	433	433	429	430	430	394	430	394	428	428
R2	0.058	0.041	0.072	0.042	0.046	0.043	0.057	0.058	0.126	0.043	0.045
RMSE	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.14
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

Table 7: Models predicting total white desertion (standard FS index, 12 states)

	Primary specifications			Alternative specifications							
	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep 60	Rep 56	FS 52	FS 48	Rep index + FS 52	Rep index + FS 48	Rep 60 + FS 52	Rep 56 + FS 52
Rep index (56-60)	−0.111*** (0.023)		−0.129*** (0.025)					−0.074** (0.027)	−0.149*** (0.026)		
Rep 60 pres vote				−0.067** (0.022)						0.010 (0.023)	
Rep 56 pres vote					−0.050** (0.015)						−0.001 (0.016)
FS index (48-53)		−0.048+ (0.026)	0.035 (0.028)								
FS 52 pres vote						−0.152*** (0.028)		−0.083* (0.036)		−0.159*** (0.034)	−0.151*** (0.031)
FS 48 pres vote							−0.027 (0.022)		0.055* (0.022)		
Total population	0.005*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)
Prop. immigrant	0.093*** (0.025)	0.108*** (0.027)	0.090*** (0.025)	0.102*** (0.028)	0.102*** (0.026)	0.102*** (0.027)	0.115*** (0.031)	0.096*** (0.026)	0.082** (0.027)	0.103*** (0.027)	0.102*** (0.027)
Wealth per cap	0.079*** (0.012)	0.073*** (0.013)	0.077*** (0.012)	0.075*** (0.014)	0.076*** (0.013)	0.076*** (0.012)	0.070*** (0.014)	0.080*** (0.012)	0.073*** (0.013)	0.075*** (0.013)	0.076*** (0.012)
Num.Obs.	432	432	432	428	429	429	393	429	393	427	427
R2	0.623	0.575	0.626	0.583	0.590	0.618	0.567	0.633	0.631	0.619	0.618
RMSE	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

Table 8: Models with alternate FS vote index specification (12 states)

	Predicting total volunteer enlistment			Predicting total white desertion		
	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index
Rep index (56-60)	0.149*		0.184*	−0.111***		−0.123***
	(0.063)		(0.082)	(0.023)		(0.026)
FS index (48-53)		0.058	−0.071		−0.062*	0.024
		(0.073)	(0.093)		(0.028)	(0.033)
Total population	0.009***	0.007***	0.010***	0.005***	0.007***	0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Prop. immigrant	−0.014	−0.033	−0.011	0.093***	0.107***	0.092***
	(0.080)	(0.084)	(0.080)	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.025)
Wealth per cap	−0.028	−0.018	−0.025	0.079***	0.074***	0.078***
	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Num.Obs.	433	433	433	432	432	432
R2	0.058	0.042	0.060	0.623	0.579	0.624
RMSE	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.03	0.03	0.03
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

Table 9: Models with alternate FS vote index specification (12 states + CA and KY)

	Predicting total volunteer enlistment			Predicting total white desertion		
	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index
Rep index (56-60)	0.273***		0.306***	−0.111***		−0.116***
	(0.048)		(0.061)	(0.018)		(0.022)
FS index (48-53)		0.238**	−0.094		−0.110***	0.013
		(0.075)	(0.088)		(0.026)	(0.034)
Total population	0.014***	0.012***	0.015***	0.005***	0.006***	0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Prop. immigrant	−0.110+	−0.123+	−0.111+	0.102***	0.108***	0.102***
	(0.066)	(0.073)	(0.066)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Wealth per cap	−0.009	0.007	−0.006	0.071***	0.066***	0.070***
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Num.Obs.	569	569	569	551	551	551
R2	0.145	0.078	0.147	0.397	0.342	0.397
RMSE	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.08	0.08	0.08
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

Table 10: Models with standard FS index & 12 states, excluding selected New York counties

	Predicting total volunteer enlistment			Predicting total white desertion		
	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index
Rep index (56-60)	0.170*		0.220**	−0.111***		−0.118***
	(0.066)		(0.085)	(0.024)		(0.025)
FS index (48-53)		0.041	−0.098		−0.061*	0.012
		(0.066)	(0.082)		(0.025)	(0.026)
Total population	0.009***	0.007***	0.009***	0.005***	0.007***	0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Prop. immigrant	−0.031	−0.055	−0.022	0.097***	0.113***	0.096***
	(0.073)	(0.080)	(0.073)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.026)
Wealth per cap	0.005	0.019	0.009	0.075***	0.069***	0.074***
	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.040)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.014)
Num.Obs.	401	401	401	401	401	401
R2	0.070	0.044	0.075	0.656	0.616	0.657
RMSE	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.03	0.03	0.03
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1

Table 11: Models predicting total volunteer enlistment by year (standard FS index, 12 states)

	1861			1862			1863			1864		
	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index	Rep index (56-60)	FS index (48-53)	Rep index + FS index
Rep index (56-60)	0.047+ (0.026)		0.094** (0.030)	0.025 (0.027)		0.040 (0.033)	0.019 (0.013)		0.042+ (0.023)	0.062** (0.022)		0.053+ (0.028)
FS index (48-53)		−0.030 (0.028)	−0.091** (0.032)		−0.004 (0.027)	−0.030 (0.032)		−0.017 (0.026)	−0.044 (0.037)		0.052+ (0.027)	0.018 (0.034)
Total population	0.008*** (0.001)	0.007*** (0.001)	0.009*** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.003*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.000)	−0.002** (0.001)	−0.003*** (0.001)	−0.002** (0.001)
Prop. immigrant	−0.050+ (0.029)	−0.055+ (0.031)	−0.042 (0.028)	−0.048+ (0.026)	−0.051+ (0.026)	−0.045+ (0.026)	−0.018 (0.018)	−0.020 (0.019)	−0.014 (0.019)	0.071* (0.029)	0.063* (0.030)	0.070* (0.029)
Wealth per cap	−0.007 (0.016)	0.002 (0.017)	−0.002 (0.016)	−0.008 (0.014)	−0.005 (0.015)	−0.007 (0.014)	0.004 (0.009)	0.008 (0.011)	0.006 (0.010)	−0.010 (0.012)	−0.009 (0.012)	−0.010 (0.012)
Num.Obs.	433	433	433	433	433	433	433	433	433	433	433	433
R2	0.225	0.219	0.244	0.018	0.015	0.021	0.041	0.040	0.048	0.062	0.052	0.063
RMSE	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05
Std.Errors	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1	HC1