

Table 3
Diverging Estimates of Turnout in Presidential Elections, 1828-1868
By Percent*

	1828	1832	1836	1840	1844	1848	1852	1856	1860	1864	1868	Average
Burnham	57.6	55.4	57.8	80.2	78.9	72.7	69.6	78.9	81.2	73.8	78.1	71.3
Rusk	55.2	54.4	54.4	77.5	74.5	67.3	63.2	70.9	72.1	66.2	71.8	66.1
Difference Relative to Burnham	-4.2	-1.8	-5.9	-3.4	-5.6	-7.4	-9.2	-10.1	-11.2	-10.3	-8.1	-7.3

* Sources: US Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States from Colonial Times to 1970*, Tables Y27-78 and notes, pp1067-1072; Rusk, *A Statistical History*, Tables 3-8 p. 56 and Tables 3-23 and 3-24, pp. 71-2.

TABLE 4
Differences in Turnout Rates Calculated from Census Figures Alone and Those Calculated from Census Plus Other Social Inventories, By Percent

Case Study and Election	Turnout from Census Alone	Turnout from Census Plus Other Social Inventories	Census Undercount of Eligible Electorate	Consequent Change in Turnout
Frontier: Washington County, Oregon President: 1860	87	73	15	-15
Commercial City: Alexandria, Virginia Governor: 1859	Extrapolated 63	As low as 51	Up to 22	Up to -19
Industrial City: Newport, Kentucky Local Government: 1874	Extrapolated 60	49	At Least 19	At least -19
Rural South: Todd County, Kentucky, Congress: 1870	72	59	19	-18
Rural South: Todd County, Kentucky, Congress: 1870	44	36	19	-18