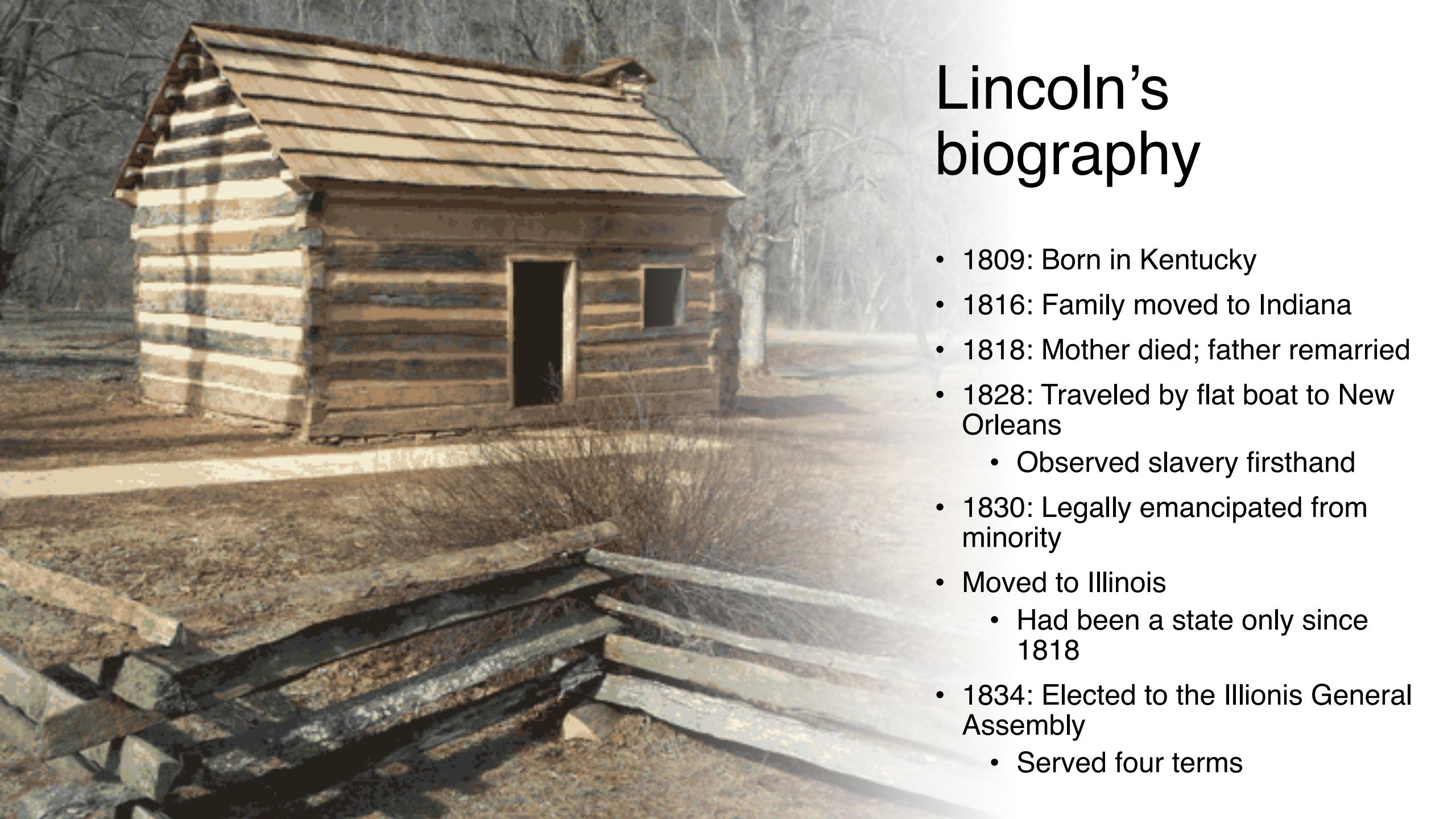


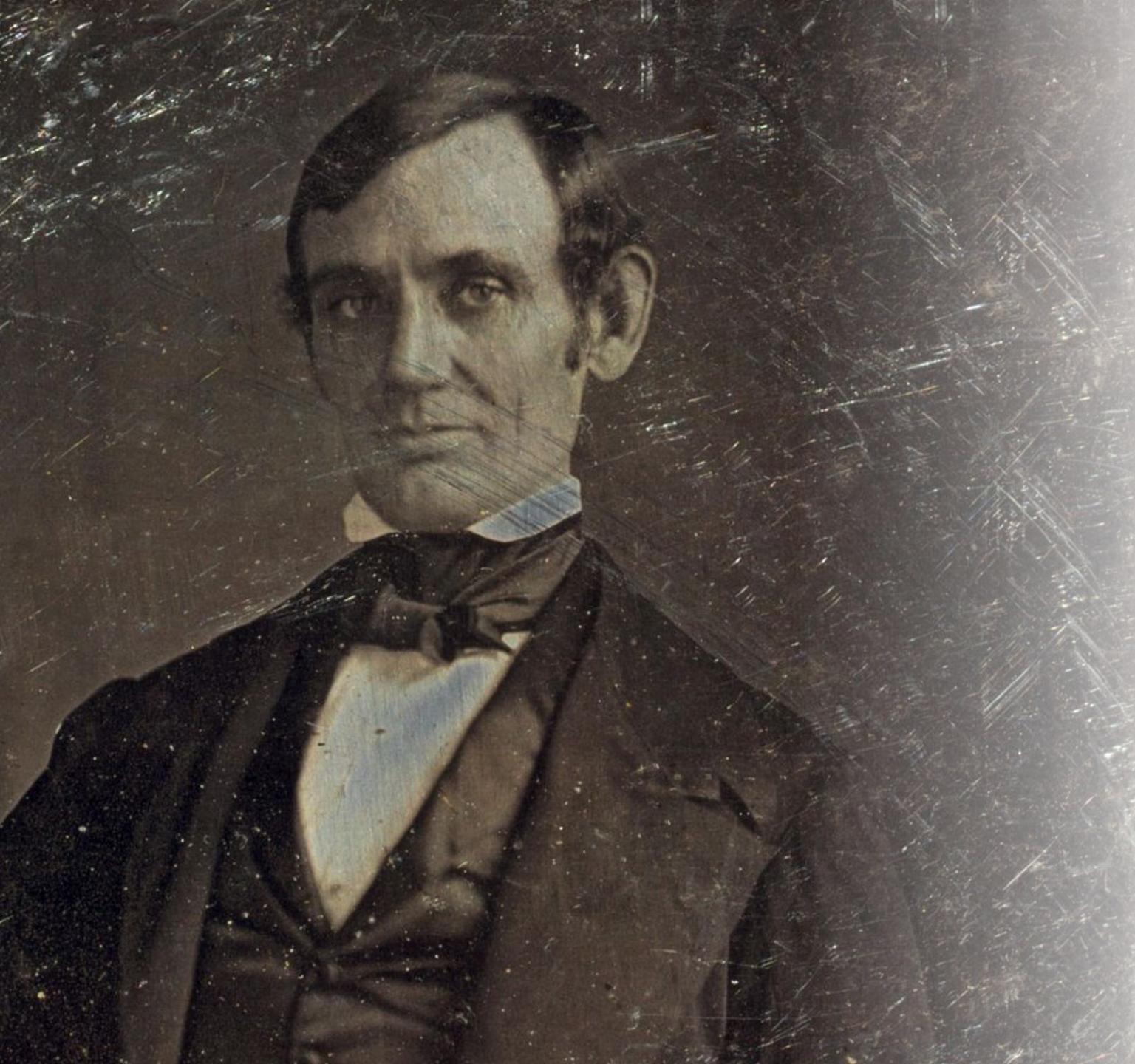


Abraham Lincoln and the Election of 1860

A photograph of a rustic wooden cabin, likely a log cabin, with a gabled roof and a small porch. The cabin is surrounded by bare trees, suggesting a winter or early spring setting. A dirt path leads towards the cabin.

Lincoln's biography

- 1809: Born in Kentucky
- 1816: Family moved to Indiana
- 1818: Mother died; father remarried
- 1828: Traveled by flat boat to New Orleans
 - Observed slavery firsthand
- 1830: Legally emancipated from minority
- Moved to Illinois
 - Had been a state only since 1818
- 1834: Elected to the Illinois General Assembly
 - Served four terms



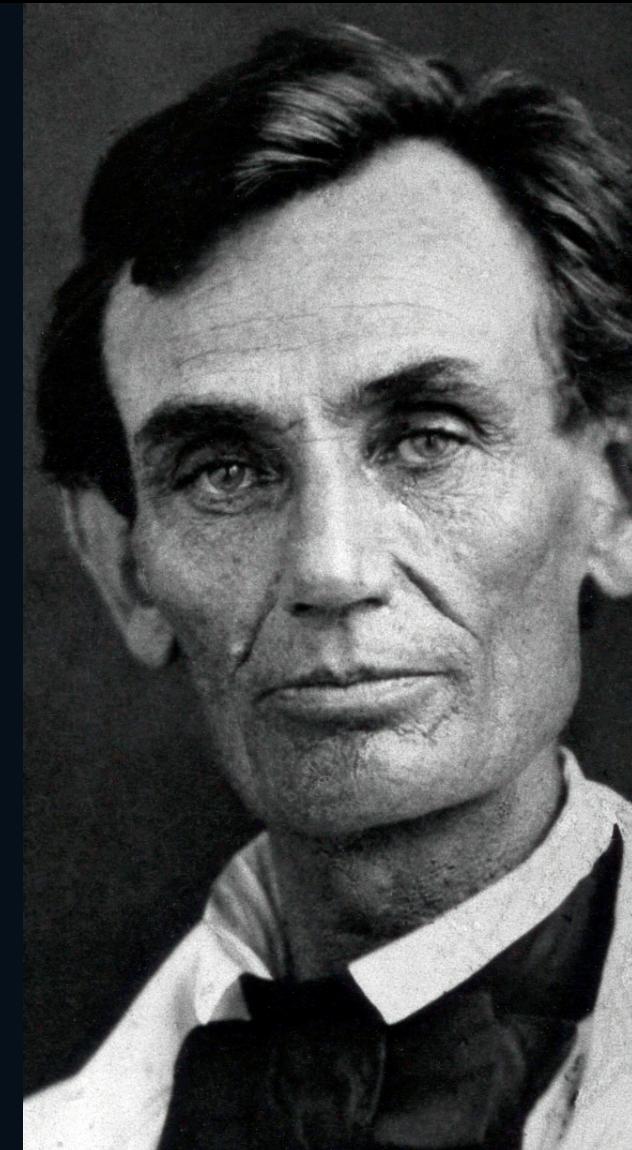
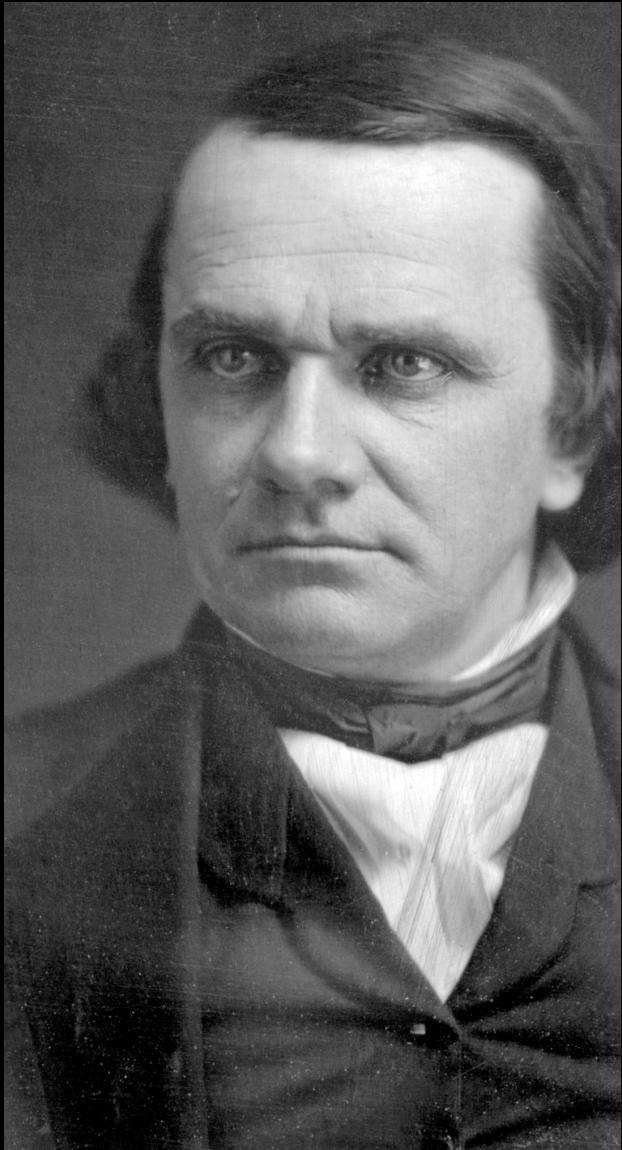
Lincoln biography, cont.

- 1842: Married Mary Todd
- 1846-49: Elected and served in US Congress
- Returned to Illinois and established a thriving law practice
- 1854: Outrage over the KS-NE Act and the formation of the Republican Party drew him back into politics
- 1858: Ran unsuccessfully for the US Senate against Stephen Douglas
 - Gained fame during the Lincoln-Douglas debates

Lincoln on accepting the Republican nomination for Illinois Senate race

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure, permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved – I do not expect the house to fall – but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become lawful in all the States, old as well as new – North as well as South."

Douglas and Lincoln



Lincoln- Douglas Debates

- Clarified key differences between the Democrats and the Republicans on slavery and race
- Lincoln: Founders wanted to put slavery on the course to extinction
 - But Democrats had now declared a constitutional right to hold slaves
 - Denied right of Congress to regulate slavery in the territories
 - One more Supreme Court decision like Dred Scott and slavery will be legal everywhere
- Douglas (incumbent): Founders understood that states required different “institutions”
 - No reason why the nation could not endure “half slave, half free”
 - Merged the issue of slavery with the question of racial equality

Douglas and race- baiting

“Do you desire to strike out of our State Constitution that clause which keeps savages and free negroes out of the State, and allow the free negroes to flow in, and cover your prairies with black settlements? Do you desire to turn this beautiful State into a free negro colony...? If you desire negro citizenship; if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the white man; if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights,—then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party....I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made on the white basis.”

Abraham Lincoln, first debate

"I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and the black races. There is a physical difference between the two, which, in my judgment, will probably for ever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality; and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position."

Background to Election of 1860

- May 1860: Republican Convention held in Chicago, Illinois
- Era when conventions decided on the nominee
 - Candidates were not actually present; did not campaign
- Senator William H. Seward of NY was expected to win (becomes Lincoln's Secretary of State)
- But Lincoln clinched the nomination on the third ballot
 - Other contenders:
 - Governor Salmon P. Chase of Ohio (Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury)
 - Sen. Simon Cameron (Lincoln's Secretary of War ... until replaced due to corruption)
 - Edward Bates, former US Rep from Missouri (Lincoln's Attorney General)



THE REPUBLICANS IN NOMINATING CONVENTION, IN THEIR WIGWAM AT CHICAGO, MAY, 1860.

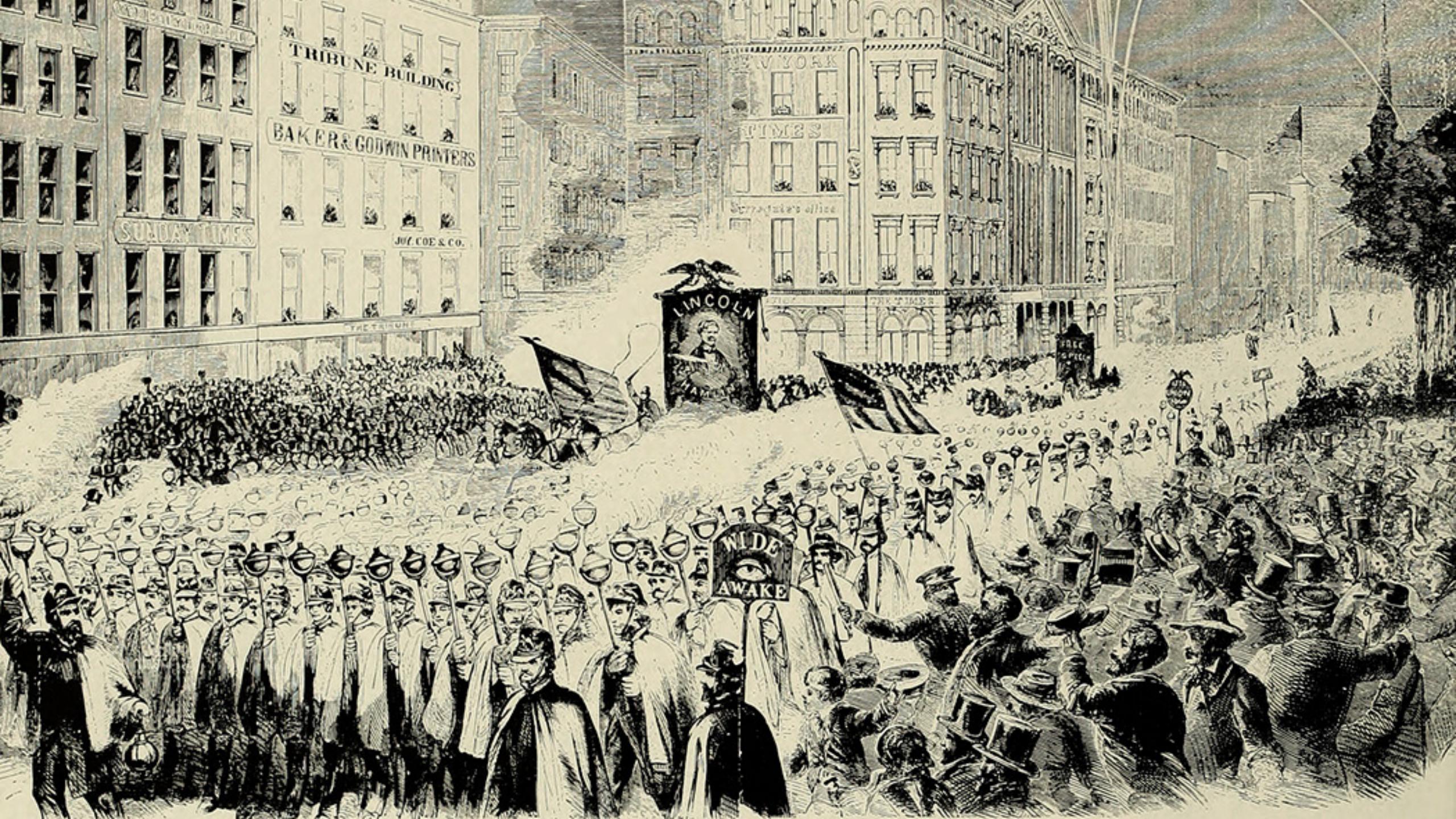
1860 election

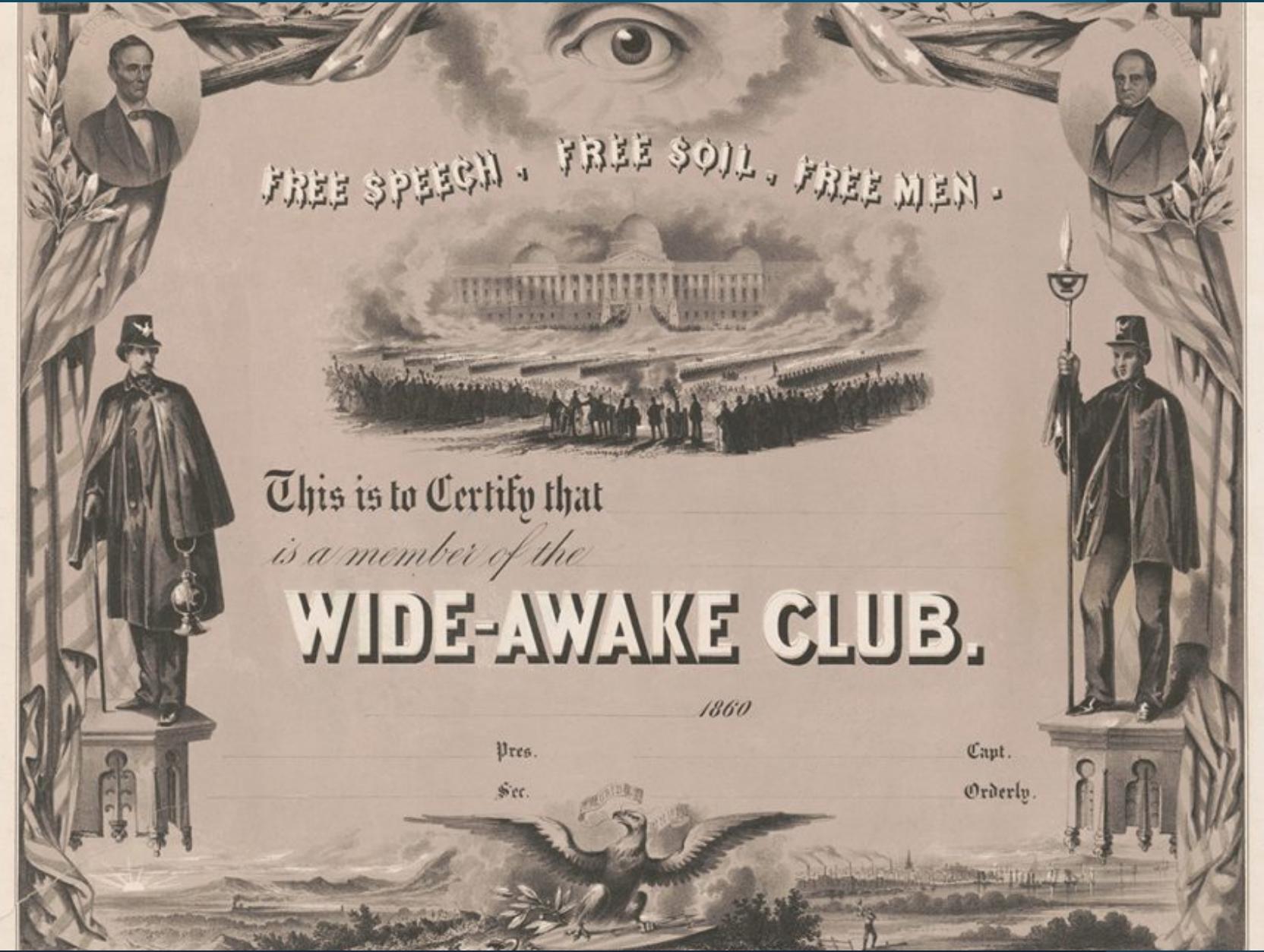
- Four-way race
- April-May: Democratic Party held its convention in Charleston, SC
- June: Reconvened in Baltimore, MD, and split in two
 - Conflict revolved around issue of a federal slave code, which southern representatives now demanded
 - Split anticipated the secession of states from the Union
 - Stephen Douglas the candidate of northern Democrats
 - John C. Breckinridge the candidate of southern Democrats
- John Bell candidate of the Constitutional Union Party
- By this time, militias had formed in the South; Wide Awakes had begun marching in the North



“Wide Awakes”

- Kind of militarized politics
 - Growing idea of politics as combat
 - Did *not* regularly march with weapons or advocate violence
 - Never evolved into actual militias
 - *Did* practice drilling and study military manuals
 - Reflected the “militia fever” of the 1850s
 - Appealed strongly to the young
 - In this period, those below age 20 made up more than *half* of the population
 - Completely freaked out the South





FREE SPEECH, FREE SOIL, FREE MEN.

This is to Certify that
is a member of the
WIDE-AWAKE CLUB.

1860

Pres.

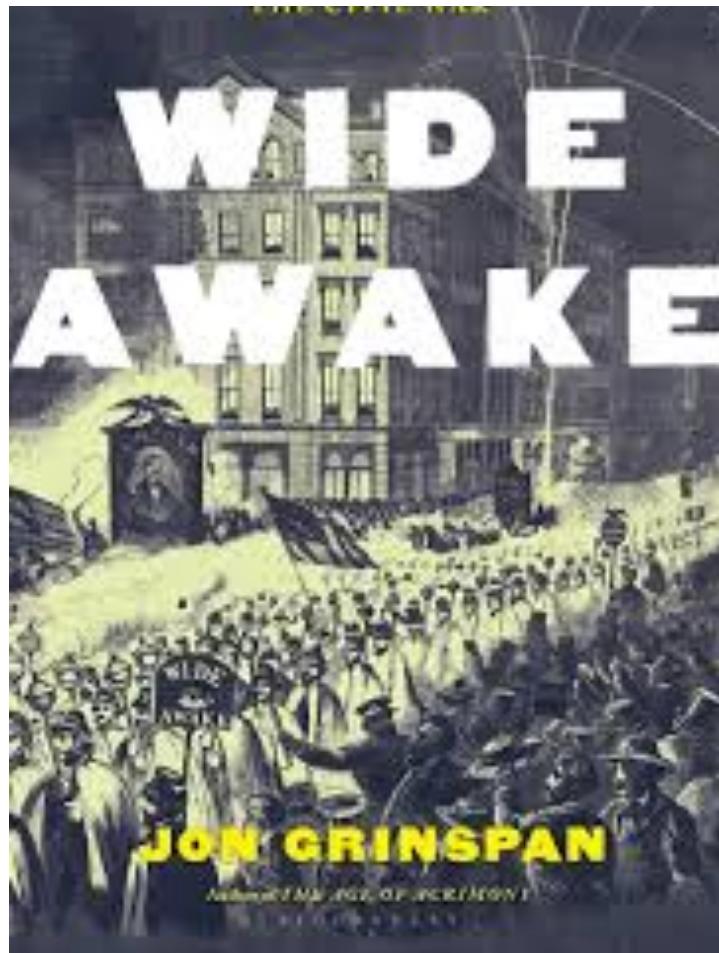
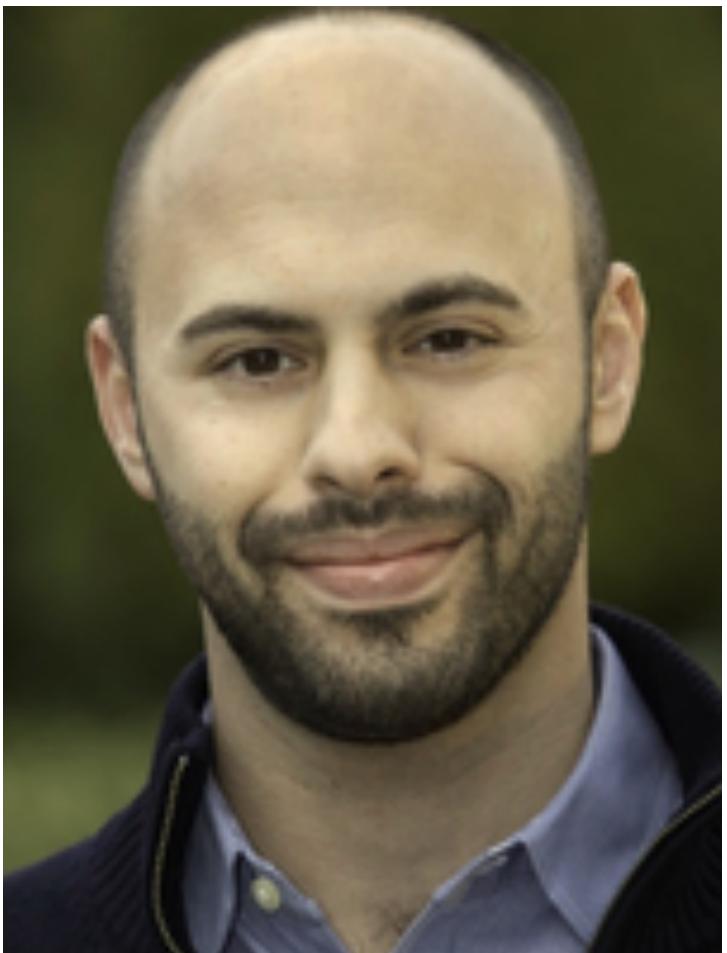
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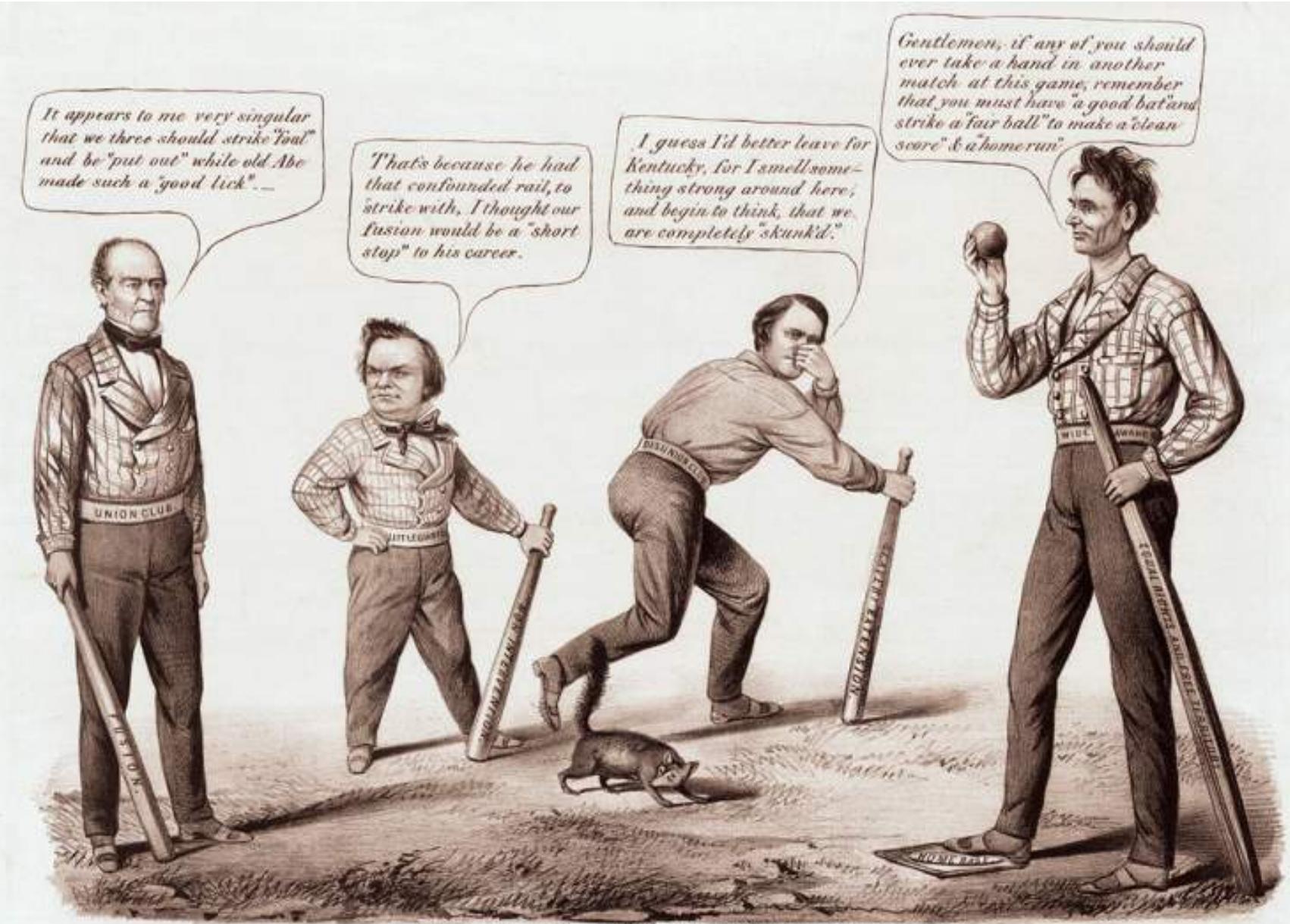
Capt.

Orderly.



New book by Jon Grinspan; revival of “wokeness”





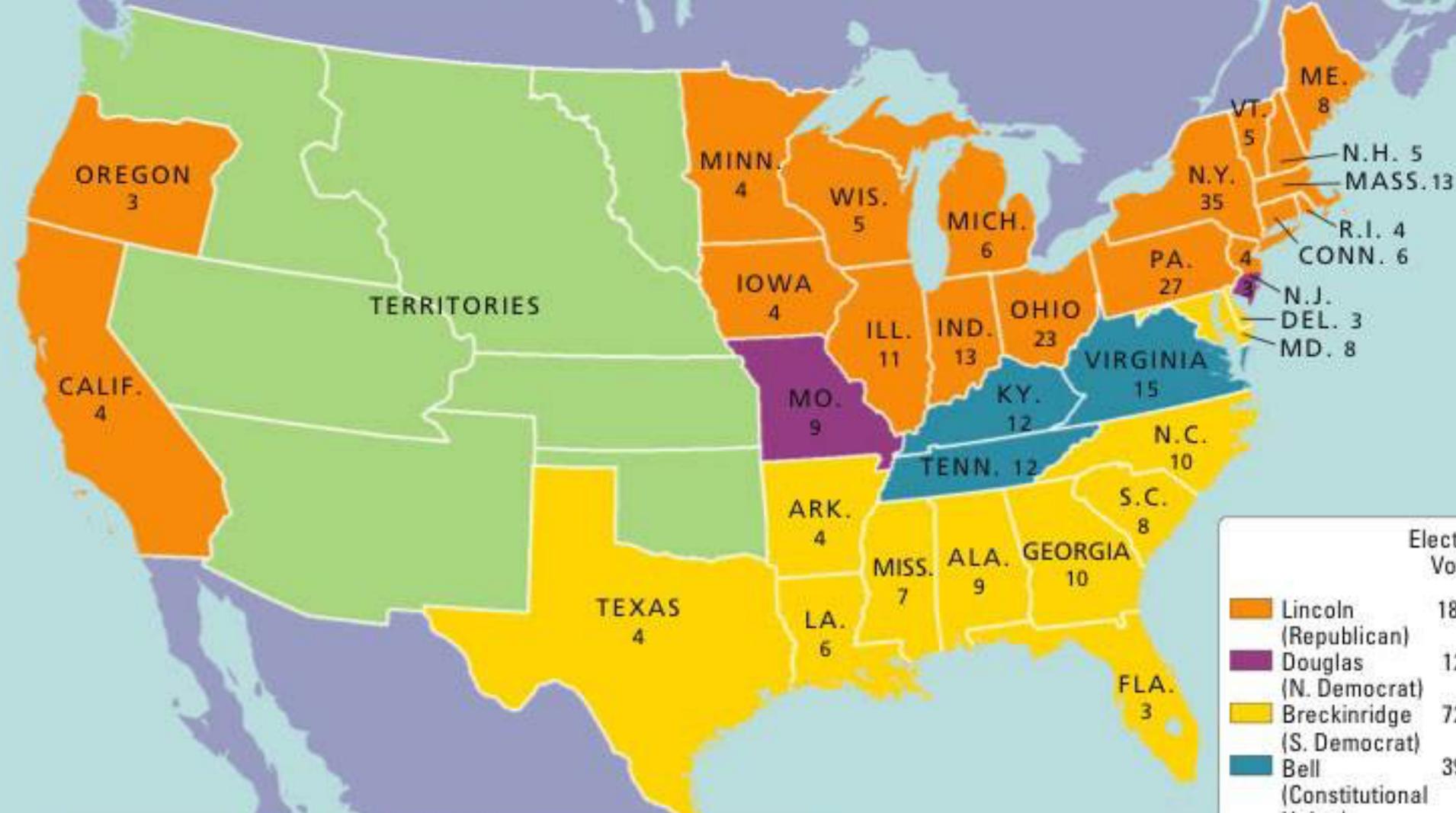
Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1862 by Currier & Ives, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of N.Y.

THE NATIONAL GAME. THREE "OUTS" AND ONE "RUN". ABRAHAM WINNING THE BALL.

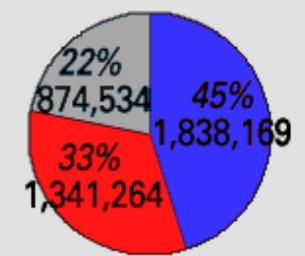
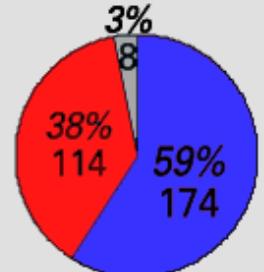
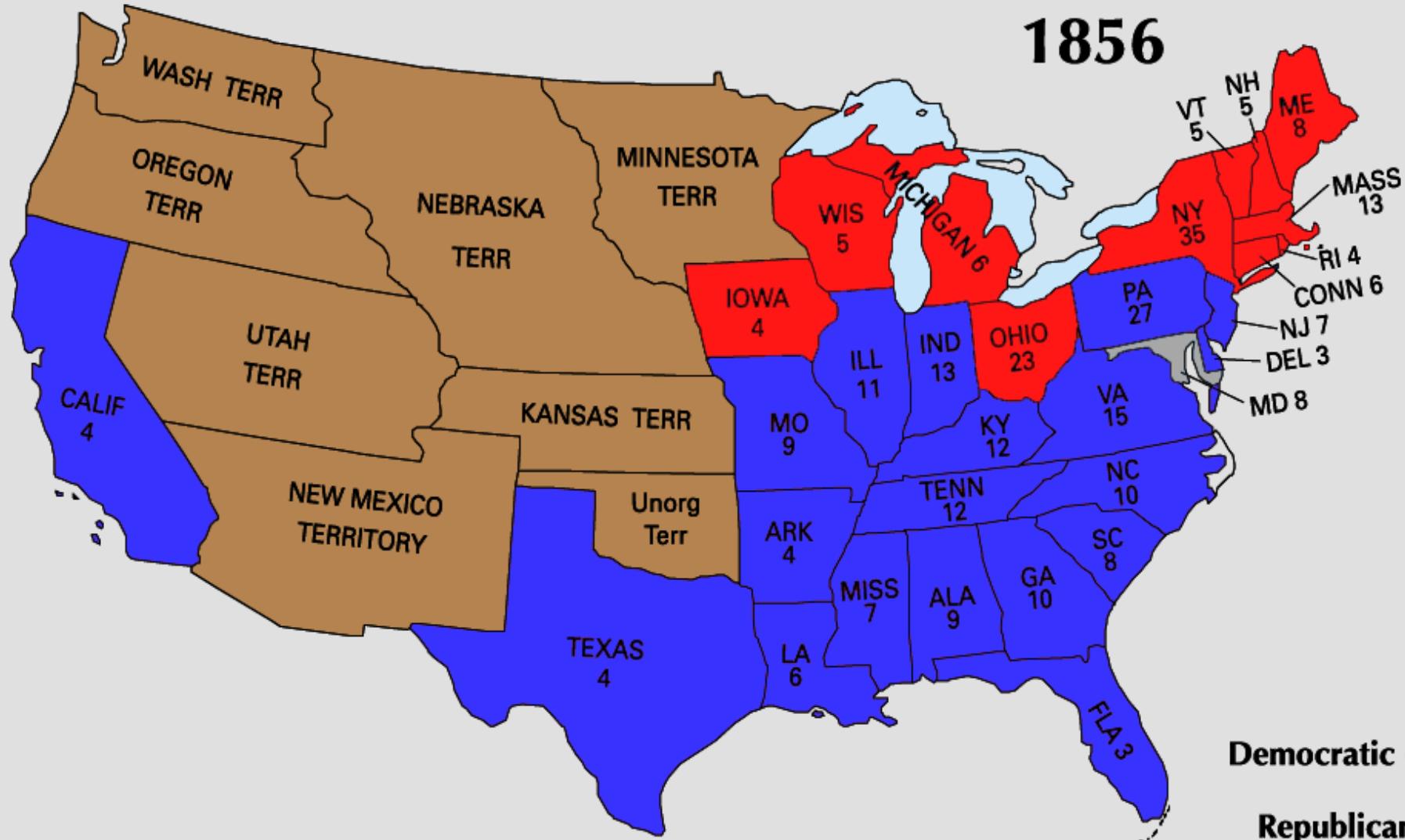
1860 Election Results

- Around 81% of eligible voters participated
 - 2020: 61.5%
- Lincoln won with 40% of the popular vote
 - He won 180 of 303 electoral votes, *none* from the southern states
 - His name was not even on the ballot in many southern states
 - Douglas had second most votes (30%)
 - But he won only a single state, Missouri (plus part of New Jersey)
 - Bell (13%) won three slave-holding states (Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky) in the Upper South
 - Breckinridge (18%) carried all the other slave-holding states

The Election of 1860



1856



Democratic (Buchanan)



Republican (Fremont)



American-Know Nothing-Whig (Fillmore)



Territories

California

- Although admitted as a free state, California politics were dominated by proslavery Democrats through the 1850s
 - Some had carried enslaved people with them into California
- In 1860, Lincoln carried California with less than a third of the state's votes (32%)
 - Beat Sen. Douglas by less than 1300 votes
 - Weakest performance by Lincoln in any state he won that year – “the closest political bookkeeping that I know of”
- After 1860, some Californians wanted to form a separate, breakaway republic
 - Lincoln kept troops garrisoned in SoCal

South Carolina's Ordinance of Secession

- 169 members of South Carolina's secession convention included the following justifications for secession:
 - Violations of the Fugitive Slave law
 - Northern efforts to incite “servile insurrection”
 - “The election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery.”
 - “Rule of a sectional anti-slavery government” would lead to “the emancipation of the slaves in the South.”
- State approved secession ordinance on December 20, 1860

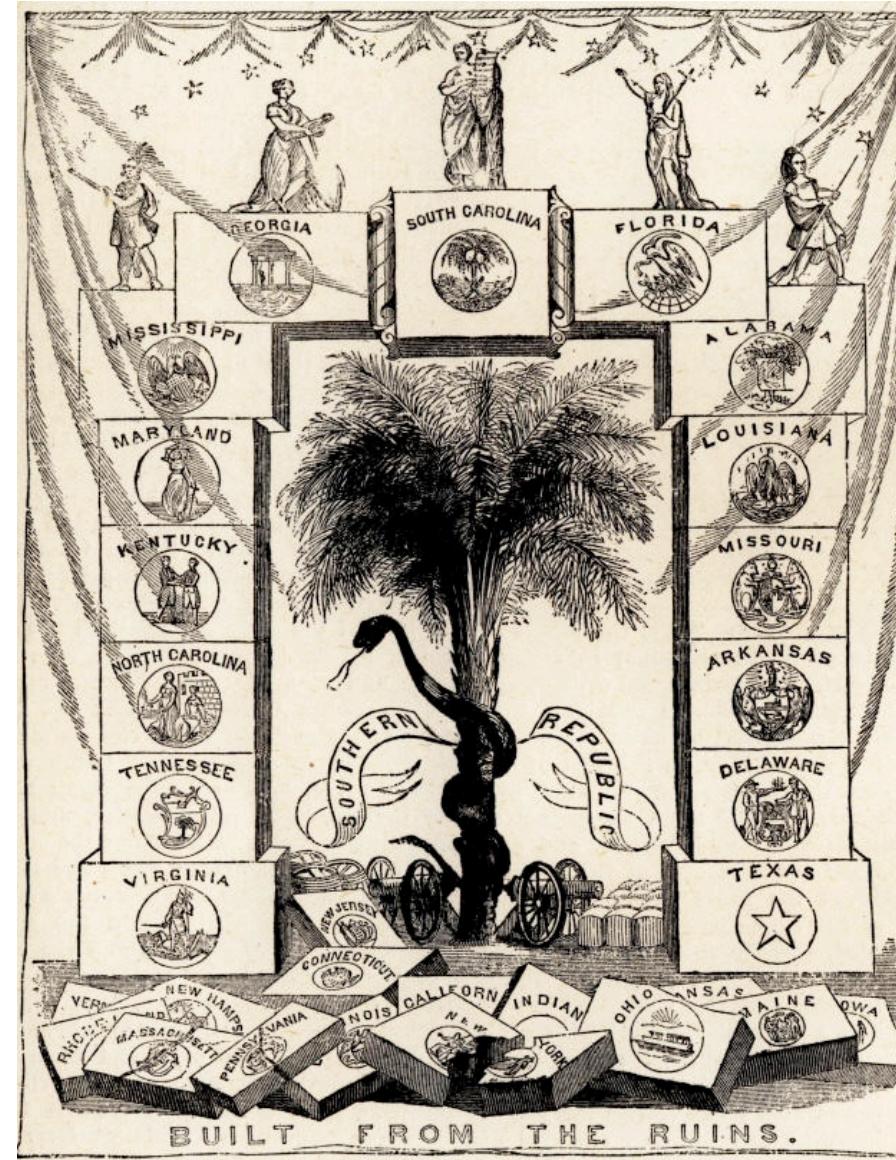
*Charleston
Mercury, Nov. 1,
1860*

“The midnight glare of the incendiary’s torch, will illuminate the country from one end to another; while pillage, violence, murder, poisons and rape will fill the air with the demoniac revelry, of all the bad passions of an ignorant, semi-barbarous race, urged to madness by the licentious teachings of our Northern brethren. A war of races—a war of extermination—must arise, like that which took place in St. Domingo.”

Appeals to poor whites

- 
- Cast Lincoln's election as a threat to families
 - Threat of equality with Black people
 - “Set the negroes free, and the rich man . . . can escape . . . [but] the poor man must remain upon the soil to encounter the ravages of the ‘black plague’ . . .” - Alfred Iverson

Banner of the South Carolina Secession Convention

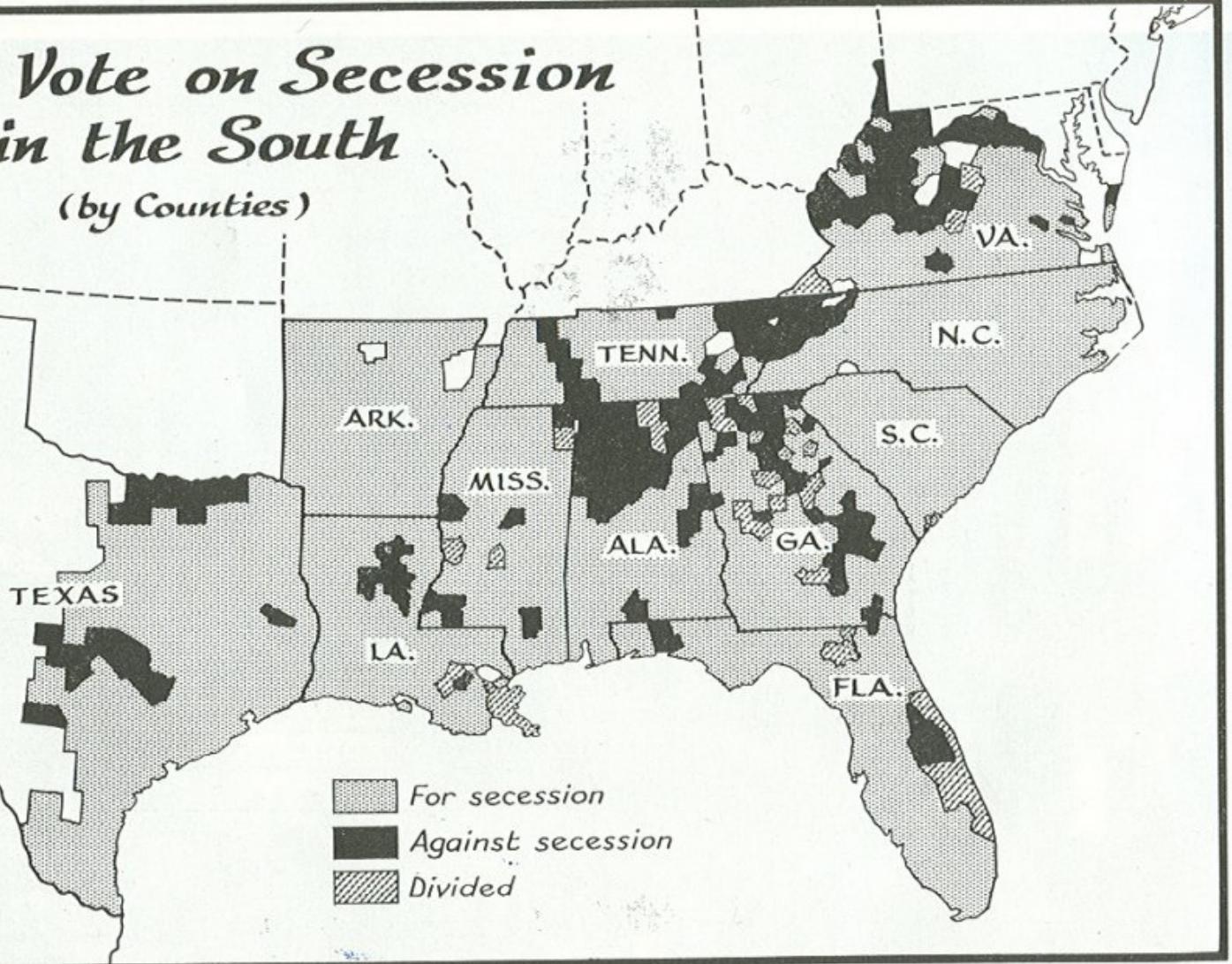


Secession

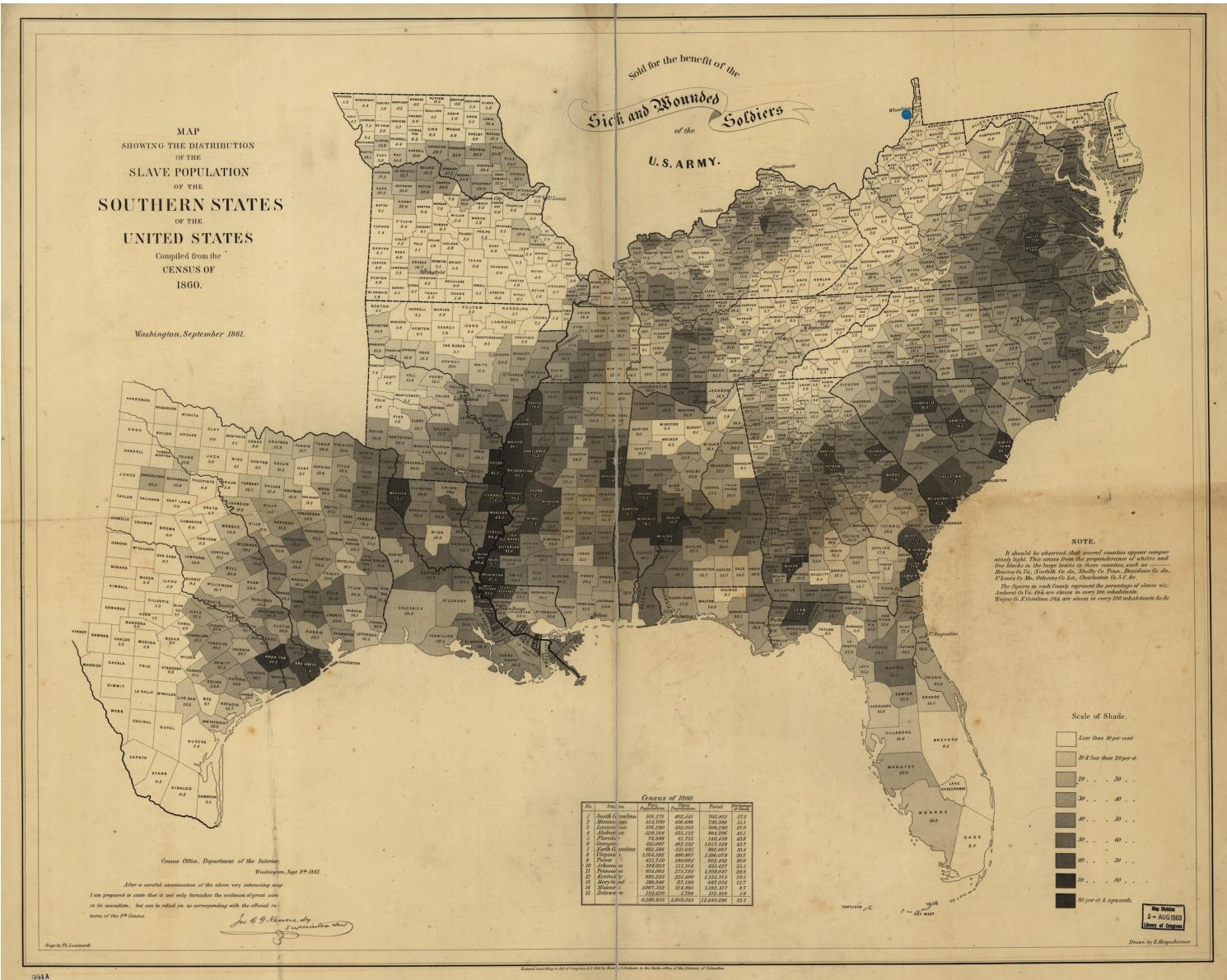
- Jan. 9 through March 2, 1861: 6 more states seceded
 - MS, FL, AL, GA, LA, TX
- Question of constitutionality: Jefferson Davis addressed in his “Farewell Address” to Congress, Jan. 21, 1861
 - Claims there was a time when “none would have denied” a state’s right to leave
 - Clarifies differences between nullification and secession
 - Slavery at the heart of the speech: “The Declaration of Independence is to be construed by the circumstances and purposes for which it was made...”
 - “All men created equal” meant to apply to the “men of the political community”
- Still no “solid South” at this point; big question is Virginia

The Vote on Secession in the South

(by Counties)



Map made by
the US Coast
Survey, 1861,
using 1860
census data



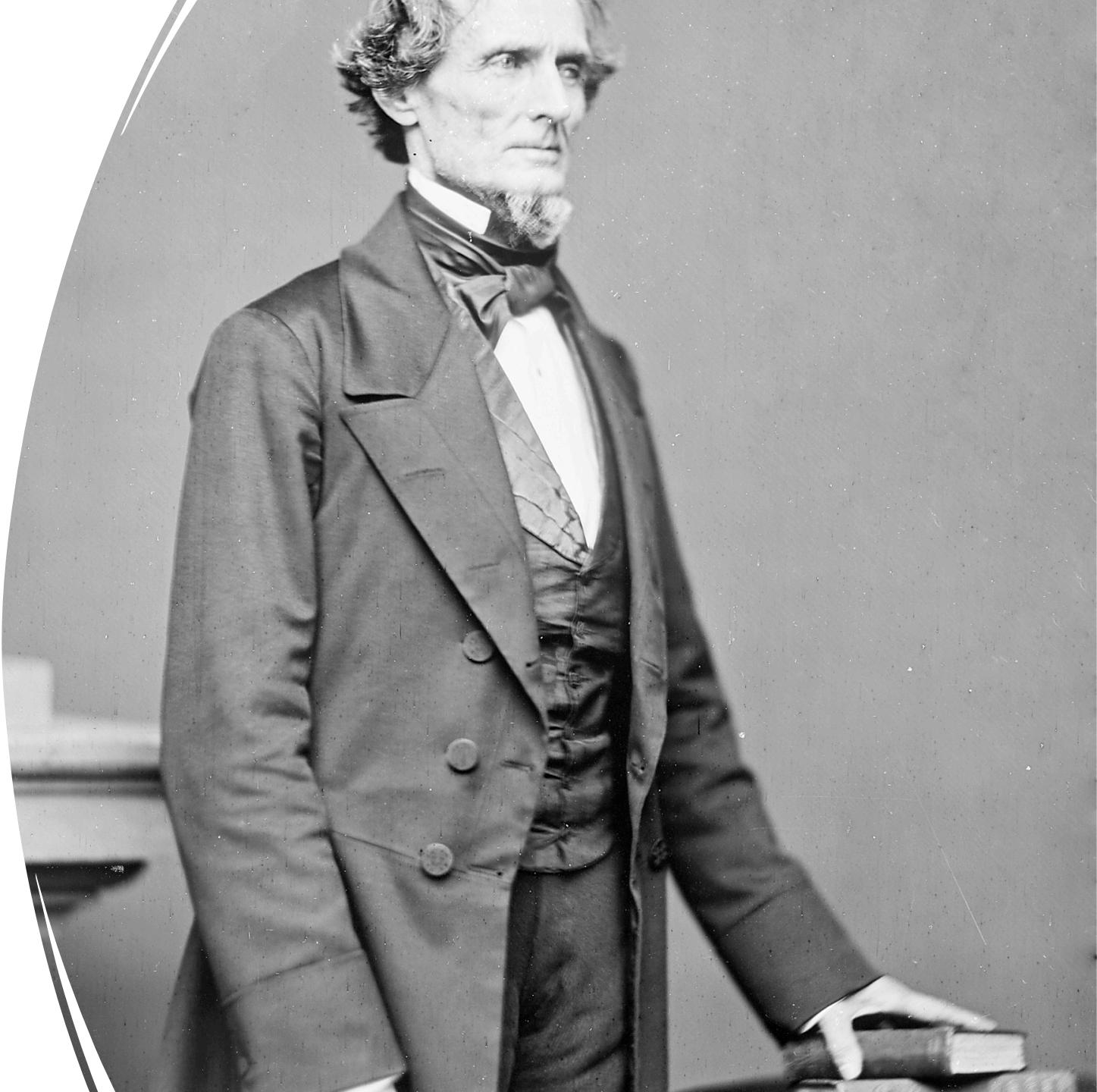


Jefferson Davis's inauguration on February 18, 1861, in Montgomery, Alabama

- Early 1861, delegates from the 7 seceded states came together to form a provisional government.
- Drew up a new constitution and chose Jefferson Davis as their first president.
- The Union has been “perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained.”
- At the same time, seceded states are seizing federal properties
- All happening as Lincoln waits in Springfield, Illinois

Jefferson Davis

- Former US Secretary of War and Senator from Mississippi

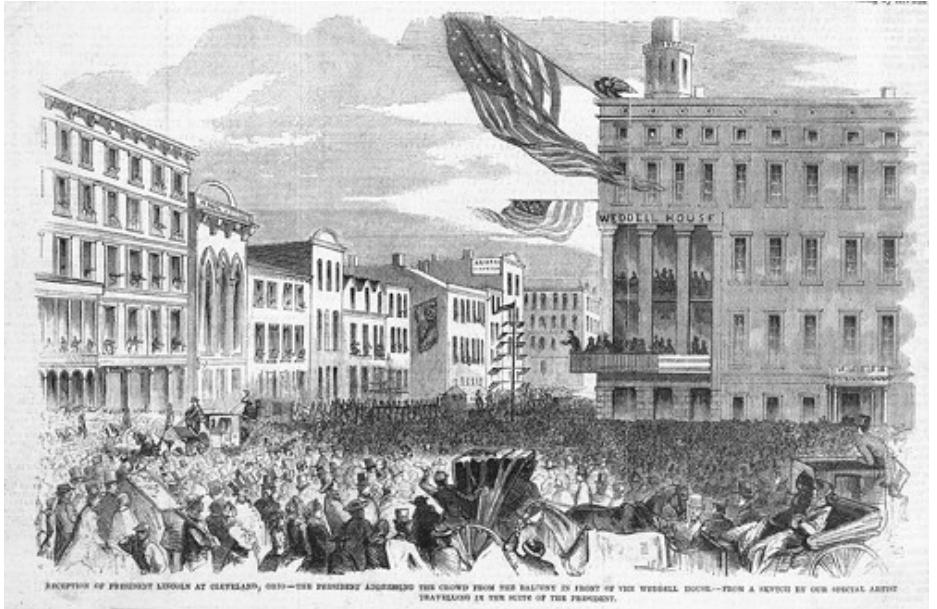


Jefferson Davis's First Inaugural Address, Feb. 1861

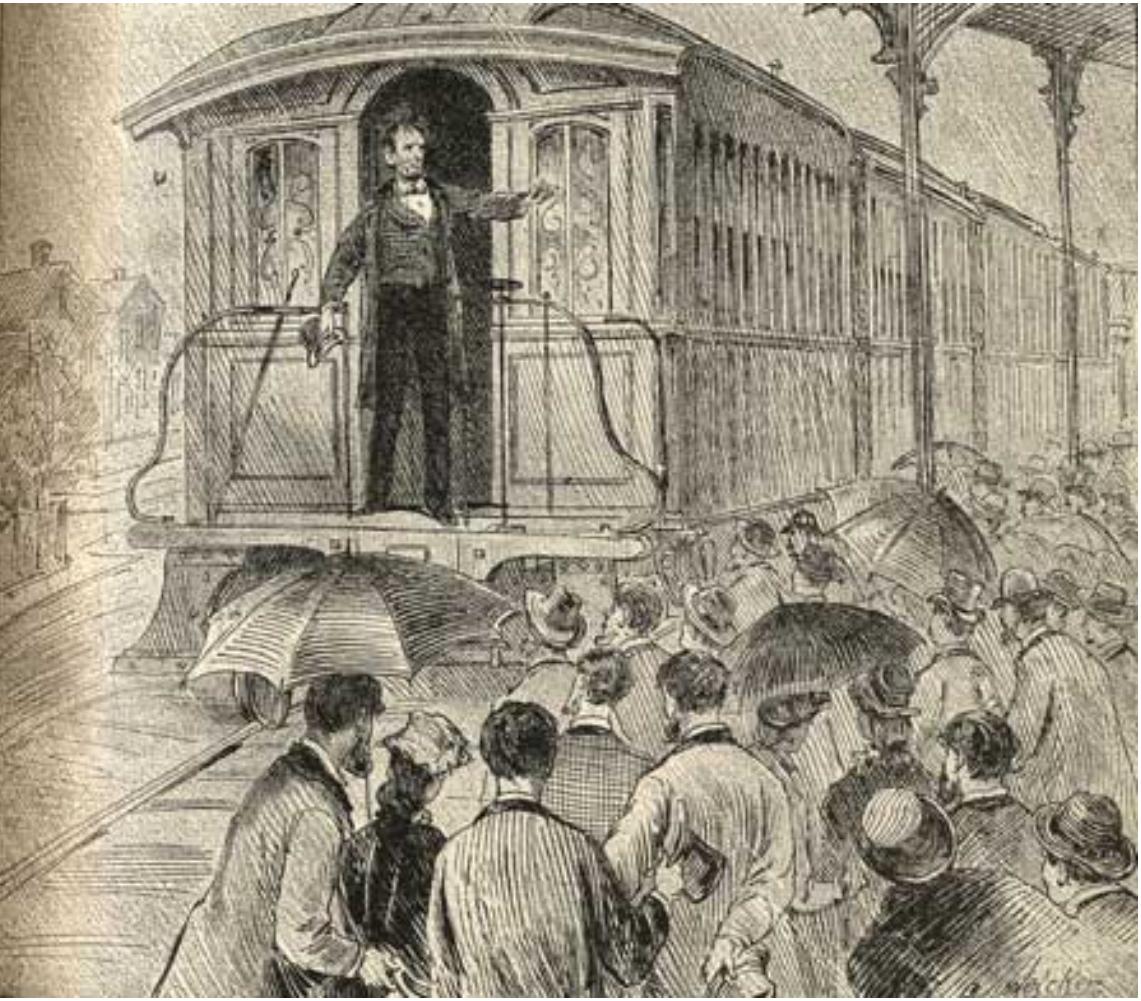
“Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish governments whenever they become destructive of the ends for which they were established.”

Lincoln's whistle- stop trip to DC

- Two-week trip, stopping at many cities and towns to speak with the public
 - Traveled on train that could go 30 mph; seemed the epitome of progress/modernity
 - Wanted to reassure the populace
 - Understood he was a relative unknown
 - Reports of assassination plots in Baltimore forced him to change his itinerary
- Arrived in DC in disguise, in dark of night
 - Mocked in the press



RECEPTION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN AT CLEVELAND, OHIO.—THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSING THE CROWD FROM HIS BALCONY IN FRONT OF THE WILMOTT HOUSE.—FROM A SKETCH BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST, FRANCIS D. BRADLEY, IN THE Suite OF THE PRESIDENT.



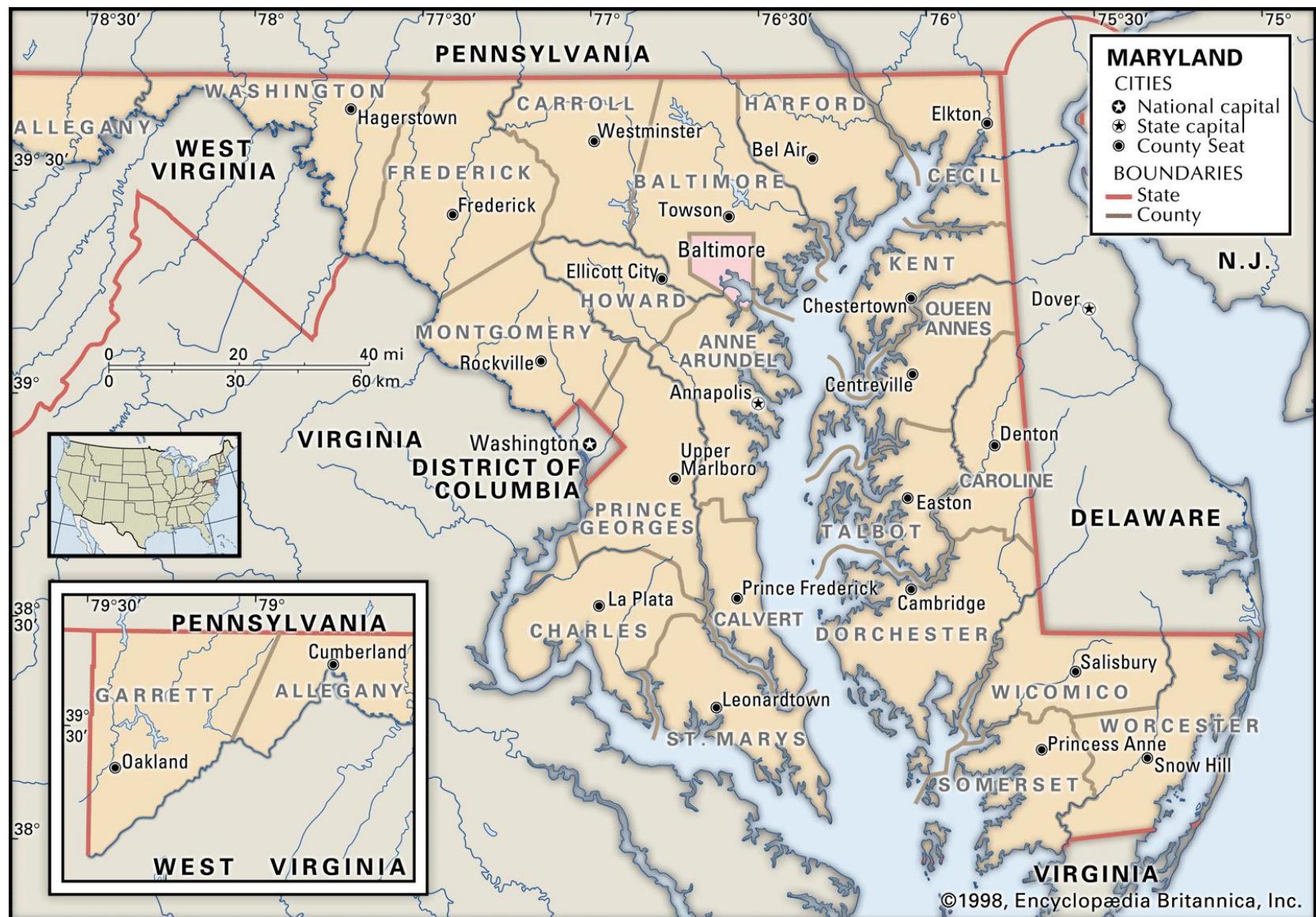
Harper's Weekly, March 9, 1861

•“He wore a Scotch plaid Cap and a very long Military Cloak, so that he was entirely unrecognizable.”



(3.) THE SPECIAL TRAIN.

He wore a Scotch plaid Cap and a very long Military Cloak, so that he was entirely
unrecognizable.”



Lincoln's Inauguration March 4, 1861



Inaugural address, March 4, 1861

- No intention of eradicating slavery
 - Will enforce the nation's laws
 - Including the Fugitive Slave Act
- *"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican Administration their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension.... I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."*

Lincoln, First Inaugural

BUT he will enforce all the laws:

- “*...no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union....acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.*”
- “*I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States.*”

Lincoln, First Inaugural

- The Union is perpetual; nothing in the Constitution allows for its destruction
- Clarified what was at stake in the dispute:
 - *“One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute.”*
- Urged southerners to slow down and recall their shared heritage
- Says to the South, the choice is yours:
 - *“In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors.”*

Lincoln, First Inaugural

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

Meanwhile, a crisis is already brewing at Fort Sumter....