

ICE HISTORY GROUP

THE ROAD TO CIVIL WAR

The USA 1820 - 1860



THE USA IN 1820



- An era of 'good feeling' – President James Monroe virtually sweeping the board at the 1820 election
- Slavery not a major issue, would die out in time
- Political parties had support throughout the nation
- Free & Slave States were not significantly different in size – 5.2m in Free States, 4.4m in Slave States
- Nation was primarily agrarian although what industry there was, existed mainly in the north.
- The southern States had dominated politics in the USA – 4 of the 5 Presidents to date.

- ✓ Abolition of slavery had been raised in 1787 at the Constitutional Convention but dropped to keep southern states in union.
- ✓ Congress did retain right to restrict expansion and abolish the international slave trade.
- ✓ 1807 Britain bans the slave trade and the RN enforces the closure of the Atlantic slave trade. Slavers are deemed pirates and can be hung.
- ✓ General view throughout the USA was that slavery was an historic legacy and a necessary evil for now. Would die out for economic reasons
- ✓ 1808 Congress banned the importation of slaves although the domestic slave trade was untouched.
- ✓ A number of northern States banned slavery after 1820 – the number of slaves recorded in the Free states dropped from 18,000 in 1820 to less than 800 in 1840. The split between Slave and Free states was fairly established by 1830

1820-1860 WHAT CHANGED?

Significant changes occurred in

- Population & Demographics
- Economics
- Territory
- Political Parties
- Regional attitudes



We will briefly review each of these in turn and then go through the major events between 1820 and 1860 looking at how these areas impacted on the changes which eventually led to the outbreak of the Civil War

POPULATION & DEMOGRAPHICS				
Year	Free States	Slave States Free / Slave	Total	Ratio Free:Slave
1820	5.2m	2.9m / 1.5m	9.6m	54%:46%
1830	7.0m	3.8m / 2.0m	12.8m	55%:45%
1840	9.8m	4.8m / 2.5m	17.1m	57%:43%
1850	13.5m	6.4m / 3.2m	23.1m	58%:42%
1860	19.0m	8.3m / 4.0m	31.3m	61%:39%

- ✓ Population: Population grew from 9.6m in 1820 to 31.4m in 1860. In 1820 the South had 46% of the nations population, in 1860 only 39%
- ✓ The overall slave population during these 40 years changed from 18% of the population to 13% however in the slave states it only reduced from 34% to 32%
- ✓ Delaware and Maryland although in the North were Slave States but had smaller percentages of slaves and these were declining from 36% in 1820 to 11%
- ✓ Population numbers as defined at the census were used to allocate the number of Representatives in Congress as well as the number of Electoral Votes in Presidential elections.
- ✓ For the purposes of representation slaves counted as 3/5 of a person so important for the Southern Slave states in political clout

IMPACT ON POLITICAL POWER



Election Year	Senators			Electoral Votes		
	Slave	Free	Diff	Slave	Free	Diff
1820	24	24	0	106	129	+23
1824	24	24	0	114	147	+33
1828	24	24	0	114	147	+33
1832	24	24	0	123	165	+42
1836	26	26	0	126	168	+42
1840	26	26	0	126	168	+42
1844	26	26	0	114	161	+47
1848	30	30	0	121	169	+48
1852	30	32	+2	120	176	+56
1856	30	32	+2	120	176	+56
1860	30	36	+6	120	183	+63

Electoral Votes not same as number of representatives but proportion is about correct

ECONOMICS



USA in 1820 primarily agrarian – in north mainly small farms, in south farms plus large plantations

The South was suited to cash crops & slavery

- Longer growing season – less idle time
- Good network of rivers & harbours for export – cash to pay for costs of purchase & upkeep of slaves

Conversely North and later West was less suitable

Geography played a large part in fostering the North – South split.

MAJOR INVENTIONS - 1



The invention of the Cotton Gin revolutionised the cotton industry mechanising the extraction of cotton fibres from cotton seeds



What had been a man-power intensive activity to manually pick the fibres from the seeds now became a quick and efficient step in production.

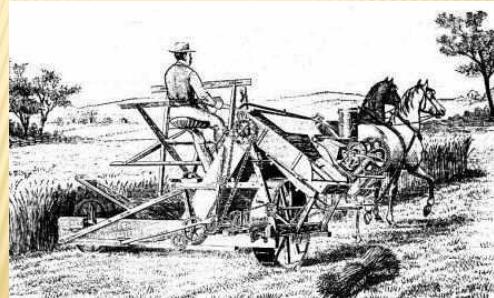
Cotton picking however remained manual and drove slave use.

Coupled with the growth of the textile industry in Britain and other part of Europe as part of the industrial revolution the demand for cotton grew and produced enormous profits for southern plantation owners

MAJOR INVENTIONS - 2



The invention of the McCormick Reaper likewise dramatically improved productivity of grain farming in the North West as new territories were opened up for settlers.



Whereas before farmers had to harvest with scythes and by hand the reaper mechanised the process enabling a farmer to farm a much larger area of land on his own – this helped fuel the growth of the population in the western prairies.

ECONOMIC DRIVERS



Northern Manufacturers wanted

- 1) Tariff protection for their industries against European competition
- 2) Federal investment in infrastructure (canals, roads, harbours & later railways) to facilitate transport of their goods

Southern Plantation Owners wanted

- 1) Low tariffs to maximise their exports
- 2) Low taxes to maximise their profits

The north had always been the industrial centre of the USA and as the industrial revolution spread from Europe manufacturing grew in the northern states.

The North wanted to keep out cheap imports from Europe to enable their nascent industries to grow and sell to captive internal market. They also wanted the transportation system developed to enable the transport of their goods throughout the USA

The South wanted to avoid retaliatory tariffs from Europe and internal taxes on their crops which generated money that was spent primarily in the north.

The South began to feel that it was funding the entire Federal government whilst northern businessmen reaped the benefit.

TERRITORY - LOUISIANA PURCHASE

In 1820 in addition to the existing 22 States the USA controlled the territories of the Louisiana purchased obtained from France in 1803.



In 1821 Florida was purchased from Spain which decided it was uneconomical to retain it.

The country was gaining land which eventually would be organised into Territories and then eventually admitted as States. Both the North and the South began to appreciate the implications of this for future political and economic power.

TERRITORY -WAR WITH MEXICO

In 1845 the USA annexed Texas leading to war with Mexico. At the end the USA acquired yet more land.



The area of modern day California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and parts of Colorado as well as Texas became part of US territories.

At the point the area controlled by the USA had become (on the whole) what we now recognise as the Continental USA. These vast lands became central to the growing struggle between the North and the South over Slavery as well as the overall direction of the country.

POLITICAL PARTIES



- 1820 started with the 'Era of Good Feeling' but soon began to splinter into various factions.
- By the 1830's there had emerged the Democratic Party and the Whig Party which shaped politics until 1850s. Both parties had support in the North and the South.
- From 1850 political became to take on more sectarian and geographic forms. The Whigs dissolved and the Democratic Party split into northern and southern grouping.
- In the mid 1850s the Republican Party arose as an avowed anti-slavery Party

Era of Good Feeling was a period of non-partisan politics with the Democratic-Republican Party as the only recognisable political force.

There was a tacit agreement amongst all major parties/groups to avoid discussing slavery or at least making it a major issue. The general hope was it would 'go away' in due course thus avoiding the problem.

Democrats favoured Presidential power, individualism, State over Federal and opposed national Banks. More keen on expansion of USA

Whigs favours Congress over Presidential power, intervention in the economy, Federal investment, meritocracy & equality of opportunity whilst been weary of expansion.

REGIONAL ATTITUDES - SOUTH

Southern view of slavery gradually changed and became more defensive.

- From a ‘necessary evil’ to being ‘the natural state’
- The paternalistic Plantation owner compared to the callous money grabbing northern industrialist.
- The well looked after Negro compared to the exploited factory worker who could be fired at any time.

A distinct Southern culture and viewpoint developed which saw itself as at risk from northern abolitionists.



In response to growing anti slavery (and thus anti-southern) rhetoric Southerners began to defend the ‘peculiar institution’ rather than apologise for it.

As the North sought more and more to limit slavery and weaken the political power of the Slave states the South saw a time when their way of life and their prosperity would be taken away.

Southern Nationalism grew steadily from the early 1850’s with the idea of secession from the Union to protect the Southern way of life gaining support

REGIONAL ATTITUDES - NORTH

Opposition to Slavery had more to do with resentment of Southern political power.

Abolitionists were a small vocal minority, well organised and influential. The moral argument was strong

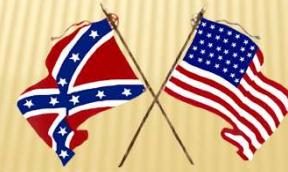
Growing feeling that American pledge to Freedom and the maintenance of slavery were incompatible

North began to view the South as ‘un-American’ controlled by a Planter aristocracy



THE EVENTS - 1840-60

**THE ROAD
TO SECESSION
AND WAR**



KEY EVENTS 1840-60



1820 The Missouri compromise

The number of Slave & Free States were equal

Opposition to Southern dominance grew

North was blocking admission of another Slave State

Compromise

- Northern Massachusetts split off into State of Maine
- Both Missouri & Maine admitted
- No Slave States to be created north of $36^{\circ} 30'$ parallel

1800 there were 16 States in the USA – 8 Slave and 8 Free.

Between 1800 and 1820 6 more states were admitted to the Union – 3 Slave and 3 Free.

This maintained a balance in the Senate. Then in 1820 Missouri applied for admission as a Slave State.

Compromise headed off a crisis and provided a frame work for the immediate future (keeping the Slave-Free balance)

In 1836 Arkansas and then in 1837 Michigan were admitted as new States. One Slave, one Free

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



USA 1830-40

- US population grew by 33% between 1830 & 1840 but not uniform across the country
- Religious and Rational thought was becoming more anti-slavery
- Abolitionist movement became firmly established in the 1830's
- New generation of Americans sought to promote the ideal of Freedom
- South began feeling more under threat and started to look for solutions

Population: 1830 – 12.9m. 1840 17m. North grew by nearly 40%, South by only 25%

This would grow even faster from mid 1840's with the Irish famine and the political unrest in Europe in 1848

Quakers & Methodists were early opponents of slavery in late 18th Century and grew more vociferous into the 19th century soon joined by other denominations.

Slavery as an immoral, illogical and economically inefficient practice also grew and was reinforced by European immigrants

The post revolutionary generation became more concerned about what 'Freedom' in the USA meant.

As the Federal government grew and northern population increased southern politicians became more vociferous in championing States Rights over Federal laws

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



1840-50 – The fight to expand slavery

- Expansion of slave territory seen as key to survival of Southern way of life. Missouri Compromise meant slavery could not go North so had to go South
- Annexation of Texas - next crisis.
- Presidential Election of 1844. First election where slavery was a key issue.
- Mexican War – Vast new territories ceded to USA.
- Attempts to ban slavery prevented by Southern dominated Senate

1840 election saw Democrat incumbent Van Buren defeated by Whig William Harrison primarily on dissatisfaction of Democratic handling of economy (crash of 1837).

Harrison died a month after taking office and his vice-President John Tyler turned out not to be a Whig but more a Democrat and favourable to slavery expansion and was supportive of annexing Texas.

1844 – Whig opposition to expansion of slavery and risk of war with Mexico over Texas and Britain over Oregon. Democrats in favour of annexing Texas and admitting it as a Slave State. However expected Democrat candidate ex-President Van Buren was not in favour of annexing Texas and got pushed out in favour of James Polk. In the North a new anti-Slavery party - The LIBERTY party – stood separately from the Democrats and the WHIGS.

Polk stood on the new policy of ‘Manifest Destiny’ - that the USA was destined to grow and dominate the continent. It gained support from the south in annexing Texas and in the west from settlers over Oregon. The Whig vote was split by the Liberty Party in the marginal states of New York and Michigan giving the election to Polk.

Polk made a peaceful agreement to split the area of Oregon between British Canada and the USA. Texas was annexed in 1845 and in 1846 Mexico went to war with the USA. Mexico was soundly defeated. California and the Spanish lands north of the Rio Grande were ceded to the USA. The nation increased its land area by 1.2m Sq. Miles - over 60%.

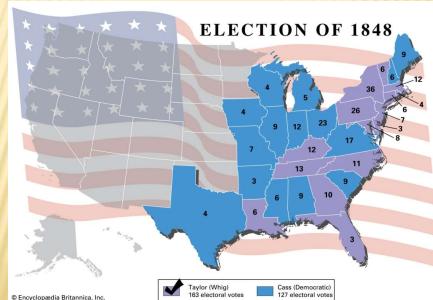
Whigs passed a proposal in the House to ban slavery from all lands taken from Mexico but this was blocked in the Senate. Move to expand the USA & slavery southwards to Cuba, Nicaragua, Caribbean became a regular Southern refrain

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



The Election of 1848

- Split in the Democratic Party
- Whigs won the election due to war hero Zac Taylor



Martin Van Buren, a founder of the Democratic Party and ex-President was again side-lined for the party nomination due to his anti-slavery views. In disgust he left the Democrats and formed the Free-Soil Party on the platform of no slavery in the west. A number of northern democrats joined him as well as some anti-slavery WHIGS.

No real passion on either side.

Free Soil party picked up 10% of the total vote – exclusively in Northern States. Not on the ballot in the South.

Both main parties had appeal across the nation both North and South

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



The 1850 Compromise (Henry Clay)

Deadlock in Congress over admitting new States. New compromise to move forward.

- California to be admitted as Free
- Slavery to be allowed in rest of South-West if people wanted it (*Popular Sovereignty*)
- New Fugitive Slave Law

It broke the deadlock but the debates in Congress over it foresaw trouble ahead.

The Senate was balanced between Free & Slave states (15 each) whilst the House had a majority opposed to expansion of slavery. This was preventing new States being admitted and development of the new territories, especially railroads being undertaken.

Representatives taking on a sectional North-South split regardless of party.

A new compromise was agreed championed by Henry Clay of Kentucky. California would be admitted as a Free State, the rest of the South-West would be open to Slavery (but only if settlers agreed) and a new Fugitive Slave Law would be enacted. The Missouri Compromise line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ was modified but maintained in principle.

Extremists in the South decried it as an attack on States Rights whilst Abolitionists in the North denounced it as pandering to Slave owning aristocrats.

However moderates on both sides saw it through.

During this time the southern secessionist movement began to gain wider support but was not mainstream amongst Southern politicians. The 1850 Compromise put a dampener on Southern secessionist agitation for now.

It did introduce the concept of 'popular sovereignty' which would blow up in a few years time.



KEY EVENTS 1840-60

New Fugitive Slave Law

- Old Law impossible to apply in parts of the North
- Passed to appease Southern Slave owners & gain their support for California and development
- Made State Officials liable to apprehend escaping slaves anywhere

Outraged Northern States. Opposition to the law was widespread with mobs freeing fugitives.

Large numbers left the WHIGs for Anti-Slavery Parties

Under current Fugitive Laws Federal authorities responsible for the apprehension and return of escaped slaves. Some States forbade their own officials from assisting.

New Law helped galvanise opposition to slavery as Federal troops were called on to enforce the return of slaves.

A lot of northern opposition with captured slaves being freed by mobs and assisted in escaping to Canada

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

- First published as a serial in newspaper in 1851
- 300,000 books sold in 1st year of publication
- 1 million copies sold in UK in 12 months
- Plays performed based on it
- Publicised the 'plight of the Negro'
- Denounced aggressively in the South

Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote this in reaction to the new Fugitive Slave Law

Did much to publicise the slavery issue and rally northern opinion against the south and its 'peculiar institution'.

Increased the 'moral' argument against slavery.

Also made the South even more defensive who answered with books & publications promoted slavery as being best for the negro



KEY EVENTS 1840-60

1852 ELECTION: Calm before the Storm

- Both Whigs & Democrats endorsed 1850 Compromise
- No other major issues
- Many Southern Whigs voted Democrat as Whig candidate was not pro-slavery
- Many Northern Democrats who had voted Whig in 1848 returned to Democrat party
- Landslide win for Democratic candidate Franklin Pierce
- Whig Party demoralised by defeat and sectionalism

The 1850 compromise took the steam out of the immediate problems and calmed down southern hotheads.

However it was a temporary sticking plaster and polarised views.

1852 on the surface was mainly about personalities and was last election for nearly 30 years where slavery was not the primary issue.

However Whig party especially was badly split between Northern and Southern wings over the candidate.

After the election Whig supporters & voters abandoned the party both North and South. It began to disintegrate.

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



1854 The KANSAS-NEBRASKA Act

- Senator Stephen Douglas, a Democrat from Illinois was keen to develop and open up the western territories.
- Southern politicians, had been blocking this.
- Douglas's solution was to apply the principle of 'popular sovereignty' to all the territories not yet States.
- The Kansas-Nebraska Act legislated this and at the same time overturned the 1820 Missouri Compromise

The Kansas-Nebraska Act was a key event that broke up attempts to find a middle ground polarising both sides. It abrogated the 1820 Missouri Compromise - land that had been assumed would be FREE for over 30 years was now (in theory) open to slavery.

The debates in Congress were acrimonious – the Senate with its Democratic majority made it easy to pass but in the House it only passed with support of the Whigs from the South. The House had split primarily along sectional/regional lines. To northerners it was another example of southern single mindedness to expand and even impose slavery throughout the Union.

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



Impact of the KANSAS-NEBRASKA Act

- Collapse of the Whig Party accelerated. Northern Democrats felt separate from those in the south
- Outrage in the North over potential spread of slavery to new territories in the west
- Hardening of anti-southern & anti-slavery feeling

Other Events

- The OSTEND MANIFESTO Incident
- Bleeding Kansas 1854-56

All Whig Representatives from the North had voted to oppose the Kansas-Nebraska Act whilst the majority of Whig Representatives from the South had voted for it.

Whig support collapsed on both sides of the N-S line.

Anti-Slavery supporters began forming their own parties as they felt betrayed by the Whigs and that the Southern Planter class were controlling the country and pursuing the expansion of slavery at any cost. The idea that the Southern Slave Power was un-American and at odds with the American principle of Freedom became more prevalent in the North

Towards the end of 1854 the House published the Ostend Manifesto authored by three US Ambassadors to Europe with southern sympathies. They had been directed by the then Secretary of State to look into acquiring Cuba from Spain. The South had regarded Cuba and much of central America as prime territory for expanding slavery. The proposal recommended buying Cuba from Spain but taking it by force if Spain refused.

This generated even more anti-southern sentiment in the north as more evidence of 'Slave Power' driving US foreign policy. As a direct consequence of the 'Popular Sovereignty' clause both pro and anti slavery supporters poured into Kansas in an attempt to 'vote' the territory one way or another. Fighting broke out, both sides elected their own territorial governments and appealed to be recognised. The unrest went on until 1856 when the US Army took control and enforced the law. The actions of pro-slavery groups during the period incensed the North and raised the temperature. John Brown and his militant abolitionists came to prominence in Kansas.

KEY EVENTS 1840-60

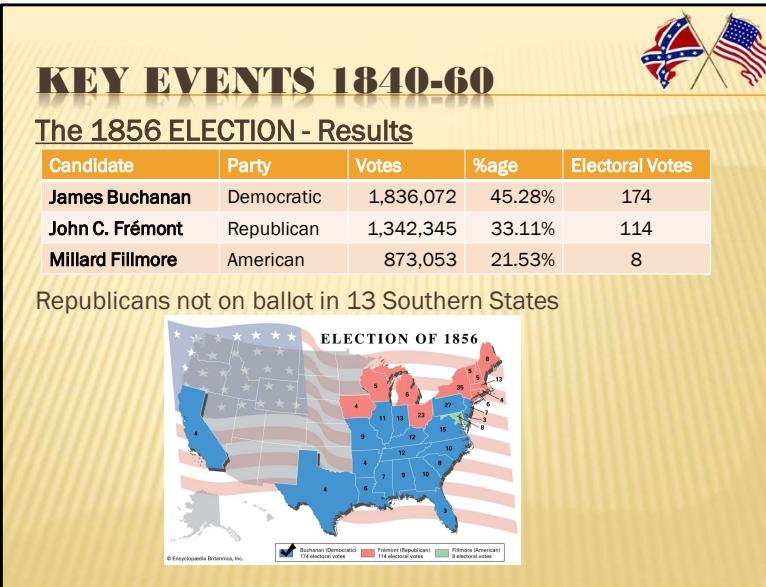


The 1856 ELECTION

- Whig party had collapsed
- ‘Bleeding Kansas’ the big issue together with immigration
- Various Anti-Slavery Groups had merged into the Republican Party
- Other ex-Whig supporters had formed the ‘Know Nothing’ Party (or American Party)
- Democratic Party was still united, but its different wings disagreed over slavery

The No Nothings were an anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic party opposed to the mass immigration of the past 20 years. The Republicans campaigned on a platform of restricting slavery, reinstating the Missouri Compromise, supporting the Anti-Slavery Kansas government and admitting Kansas as a Free State. It campaigned on ‘Liberty’ and ‘Free Soil’.

The Democrats campaigned on the basis of supporting the Kansas-Nebraska Act and Popular Sovereignty and recognising the Pro-Slavery Kansas government. They also made a big thing about a Republican victory risking the secession of some southern States and parts were in favour of the Ostend manifesto. Northern Democrats tended to be supportive of Popular Sovereignty but more as a means of keeping the South in the Union rather than expanding slavery. Many democrats in the north defected to the Republicans over the Free Soil issue. Their candidate was from the north (Pennsylvania) and conservative regarding slavery, supportive of popular sovereignty but a staunch unionist. At this time democrats also had support from many immigrants due to hostility from the American/No Nothing Party and from some elements of the Republican Party. However immigrants in the north were almost universally anti-slavery.



A distinct North – South electoral split is evident in the results. The Democratic vote in the northern states it won was not overwhelming and not particularly pro-slavery amongst the immigrants who made up a large part of its support.



KEY EVENTS 1840-60

Kansas 1856-58

- Conflict in territory continued but vast majority of the new settlers were anti-slavery
- President Buchanan attempted to get Kansas admitted as a Slave State but did not get the support
- Pro-slavery settlers and southern politicians continued to push for Kansas allowing slavery and blocked any compromise that would prevent slavery.
- Polarised the country even more.

Proposals for Kansas to be admitted as a State bogged down. Southern politicians and the President would not allow anything that would outlaw slavery to be put forward.

Northerners saw this as yet more evidence of Slave Power trying to make Slavery the de-facto status throughout the Union. The 'Free Soil' wing of the Democratic party under Stephen Douglas would not support the President and the Southern wing in accepting Kansas as a Slave State.

Issues other than slavery began to be viewed as North V South. Tariffs, western expansion, national infrastructure etc. Kansas was eventually admitted into the Union in 1861 as the Civil War was underway.

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



1857 Recession

- Economic boom collapsed. Unemployment in North
- South unaffected – bumper crops

1857 Dred Scott Case

- Southern dominated Supreme Court ruled Federal Government had no right to prevent Slavery in the Territories

The prosperity of the South whilst the North was in recession was justification to the South of the superiority of the Southern model.

Happy well fed and housed Negro Slaves compared to out of work and destitute Wage Slaves. Fed Southern nationalism and their cries for States Rights to be paramount.

Dred Scott case ruled that slaves were not citizens and could not sue in court and were property that regardless of the place of resident of their owner could not be overruled.

Seen by North as another attempt by Slave Power to enforce slavery

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



1858 Douglas-Lincoln Debates

- Abraham Lincoln challenged Douglas for his Senate seat in Illinois
- Douglas was a Democrat who supported Free Soil & Popular Sovereignty with support in Republican Party
- Debates clarified Republican views against any extension of slavery
- Helped split Democrat Party – Southerners did not trust Douglas to defend slavery

Stephen Douglas was a well known politician and Northern Democrat. Seen as a moderate on the slavery issue and not part of the southern ‘slavocracy’. He had some support amongst Republican leaders who thought they could work with his section of the Democratic Party to hold ‘Slave Power’ in check.

Abraham Lincoln was little known until these debates. His ‘House Divided’ speech stating that the USA could not continue forever ‘half slave and half free’ solidified northern thought. The Republican Party moved to supporting a position of preventing any further expansion of slavery on moral grounds.

Popular Sovereignty was thus indefensible – it was amoral.

The Negro was to have equal rights as defined in the constitution – although not necessarily regarded as equal. However Racial equality not on the table.

Douglas was already at odds with the southern Democrats over his ambivalence over slavery and opposition to southern nationalism – this turned into an open split with Southern Democrats opposed to Douglas.

KEY EVENTS 1840-60



1859 John Browns Raid

- Split the nation
- Many in the north regarded him as a martyr
- To the South he was a fanatic abolitionist

Nation was already split

An attack by violent abolitionist on Federal Arsenal as part of a plan for a mass slave uprising in Virginia.
Easy defeated by Federal troops. Brown hanged for Treason, insurrection and murder.
The raid and Browns execution just highlighted the national split.

USA ON EVE OF 1860 ELECTION

THE NORTH BELIEVED

- Slavery was immoral and should be prevented
- Could not support slavery whilst promoting Freedom
- The South wanted to expand Slavery everywhere

THE SOUTH BELIEVED

- It had become distinct from the North
- States Rights were more important than Federal Laws
- The Southern way of life was superior
- The North wished to destroy that way of life



Northern views had grown steadily anti-southern over the decades seeing Southern attempts to hold on to political power by expanding slave territory as an affront to the principles of the Founding Fathers and the Declaration of Independence

The old view that slavery would eventually die out of its own accord did not hold in the face of Southern expansionism

The Southern political class despised northern industrialisation and were afraid at what the loss of political power would mean for their way of life.

Southern Nationalism took hold in the previous decade and the idea of secession and forming their own nation gained ground as northern attacks on slavery grew.

Rather than allow themselves to be at the mercy of an abolitionist leaning North they would go their own way.

THE 1860 ELECTION



- ✖ The Democratic Party split over who would be their candidate and nominated two.
- ✖ The Republican Party had a number of factions but eventually agreed on a moderate compromise candidate – Abraham Lincoln
- ✖ The American party from 1856 had reinvented itself as the Constitutional Unionists and was also standing

Stephen Douglas's less than enthusiastic defence of slavery against Lincoln in the debates of 1858 and his opposition to President Buchanan over Kansas made him unacceptable to the Southern Democrats despite Douglas having the support of the majority of the party. The South formed their own Constitutional Democratic Party.

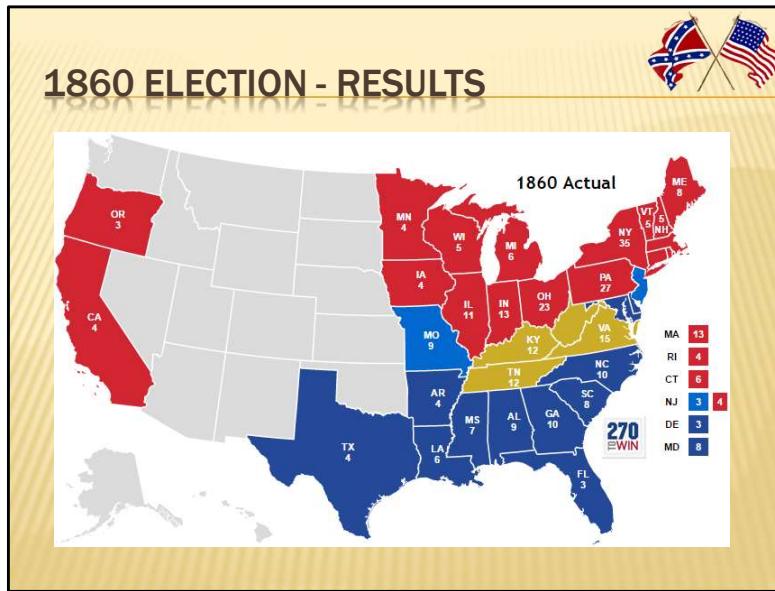
The Republicans, after three rounds of voting selected Lincoln over a number of better known politicians because he was not as radical and would appeal to a wider audience

Republican manifesto promised to respect slavery where it existed but was otherwise aimed at expansion of the west

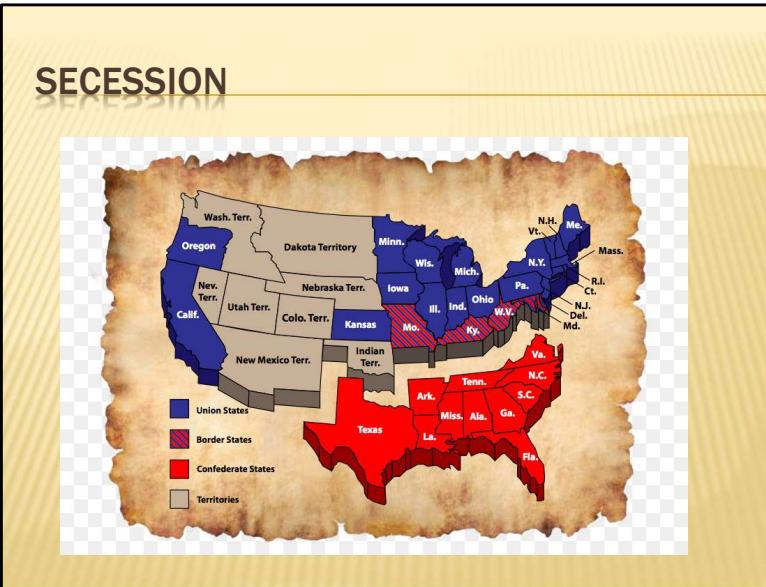
1860 ELECTION - RESULTS				
Candidate	Party	Votes	%age	Electoral Votes
Abraham Lincoln	Republican	1,865,908	39.82%	180
John C. Breckinridge	Southern Democratic	848,019	18.10%	72
John Bell	Constitutional Union	590,901	12.61%	39
Stephen A. Douglas	Northern Democratic	1,380,202	29.46%	12

- Republican Party not on ballot in 9 States
- Of 18 States won by Lincoln he got over 50% of the vote in 15 of them which represent 169 electoral votes

Even if the Democratic Vote had not been split Lincoln would still have won a majority of the electoral votes



A very clear North – South divide



7 Southern States seceded before Lincoln inaugurated.

4 more seceded when fighting broke out.

West Virginia split/seceded from Virginia