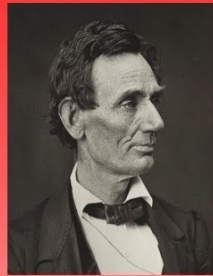
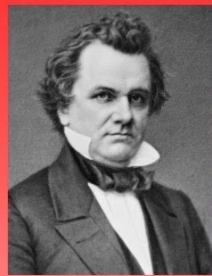


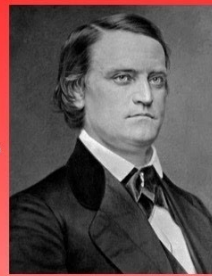
The Presidential Election of 1860



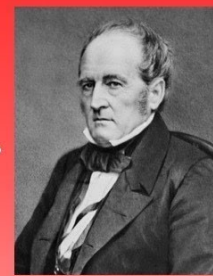
vs.



vs.



vs.



**Abraham
Lincoln**

**Stephen
Douglas**

**John
Breckinridge**

**John
Bell**

Turning Points of American Politics: 5 Conventions

The nominations for the 1860 presidential election



Course outline

Date	Topic	Readings
10/31	Introduction Presidential nominating conventions for the 1832 election	Genesis of the First National Political Convention: A Case Study in the Development of an American Institution How Political Conventions Began—And Changed .
11/7	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1860 election	Five Conventions, Four Candidates, and Three Parties: Chaos before the Election of 1860
11/14	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1948 election	Sweat, steak, five o'clock shadows: How TV transformed political conventions in 1948
11/21	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1968 election	Revisiting The 1968 Republican Convention ; The rise and fall of the televised political convention
12/5	Presidential nominating conventions for the 1980 election Conclusions	Narratives of the Presidential Nominating Conventions: Branding The Parties And Candidates



Course Resources



Look for the daffodils on the WISE home page



Follow up from last week



Failure to elect senators

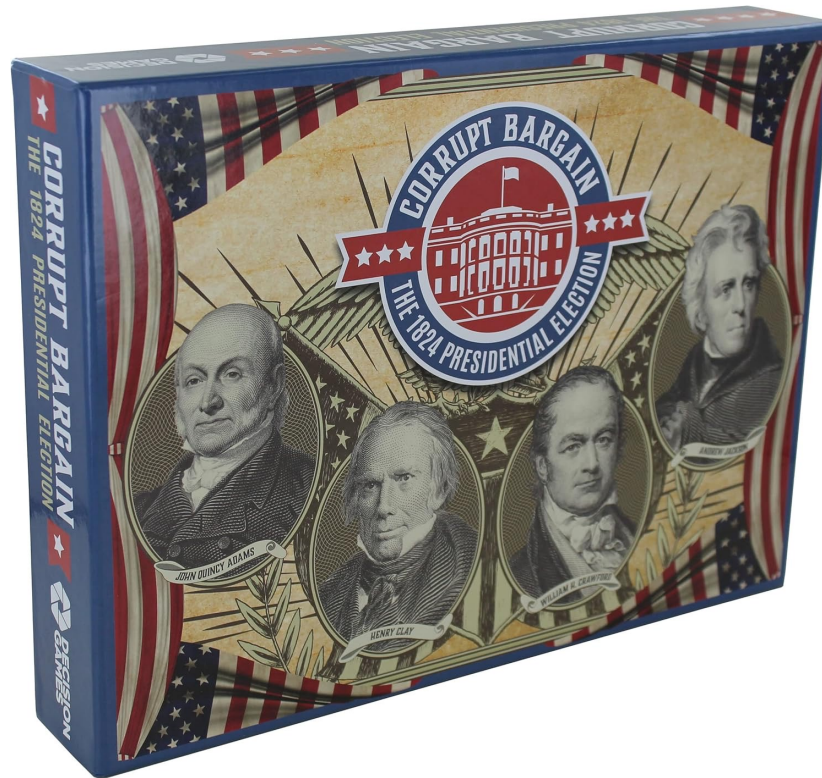
State	Year / Election cycle	Notes
Massachusetts	1851 (Class 1 term beginning March 4, 1851)	Legislature failed to elect; vacancy lasted until April 24, 1851.
Ohio	1851 (Class 1 term beginning March 4, 1851)	Legislature failed initially, then elected on March 15, 1851 after 37 ballots.
New York	1851 (Class 1)	Legislature failed initially and elected on March 19, 1851.
Wisconsin	~1848–49 (new-state)	Legislature failed to elect due to three-way split; Senator elected December 7, 1848.
Iowa	~1848–49 (new-state)	Legislature failed; Senator elected December 7, 1848.
North Carolina	1852 (regular election)	No candidate achieved majority, seat vacant until 1854 special election.
Connecticut	1852 (special, term began 1851)	Legislature failed; Senator elected May 12, 1852.
California	~1851 (special)	Legislature failed to elect a successor in time; elected January 30, 1852.
Maine	1852–53 (regular)	Legislature failed to elect until 1854.
Delaware	1899–1903 (two vacant seats)	The Legislature again failed to elect; both Senate seats went vacant from March 4, 1901 until later.
Pennsylvania	1899 (term began March 4, 1899)	Legislature failed (79 ballots) and the seat remained vacant until special election Jan 15, 1901.
General — multiple states	1891-1905	Between 1891-1905 there were ~45 deadlocks in 20 states; in 14 of those, no election was held for an entire session.



“Corrupt Bargain”

- No candidate had won a majority of electors in 1824. 131 were needed to win.
 - Andrew Jackson – 99
 - John Quincy Adams – 84
 - William Crawford – 41
 - Henry Clay - 37
- Clay was Speaker of the House.
- House voted by states.
- Clay announced his support for Adams, giving Adams the victory. Adams selected Clay as Secretary of State.
- Jackson’s supporters characterized this as the “corrupt bargain,” a charge that Jackson would use to win the 1828 election.





Decision Games Corrupt : The 1824 Presidential Election, Blue



The Scene



I have not resided here long enough to become insensible of pain for the objects which I every day behold. In the choice of my friends and acquaintance, I always endeavour to find out those whose dispositions are somewhat congenial with my own. We have slaves likewise in our northern provinces; I hope the time draws near when they will be all emancipated: but how different their lot, how different their situation, in every possible respect!...They are fat, healthy, and hearty, and far from repining at their fate; they think themselves happier than many of the lower class whites: they share with their masters the wheat and meat provision they help to raise; many of those whom the good Quakers have emancipated have received that great benefit with tears of regret, and have never quitted, though free, their former masters and benefactors.

Letters From an American Farmer : Letter IX, J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, 1782





The plan to annex Cuba in 1854





Forming the Republican Party





Fear of immigrants in 1850s



The German republicans were restless as a result of an amendment to the Massachusetts constitution, adopted, it was said, under republican auspices, which provided for political restrictions upon newly naturalized citizens. Lincoln therefore gave assurances that he was opposed to the Massachusetts provision; and the republican state committee through its chairman, N. B. Judd, published a strong letter of repudiation.

The era of the civil war, 1848-1870, Arthur C. Cole, p. 186



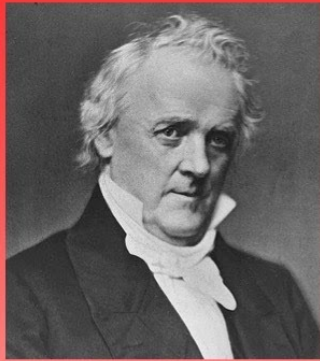
CHICAGO, June 28.

THE LIQUOR LAW.—One hundred guns were fired to-day in celebration of the defeat of the liquor law. The celebration was attended mostly by Germans and other foreigners.

Manufacturers' & Farmers' Journal Jul 2, 1855

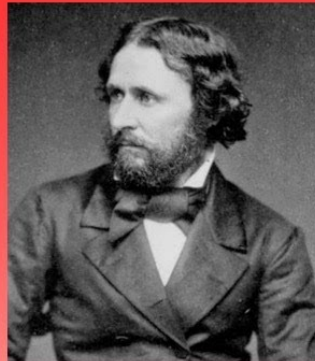


The Presidential Election of 1856



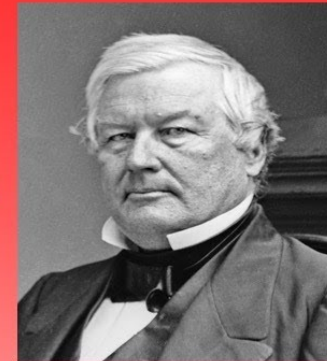
**James
Buchanan**

vs.



**John
Frémont**

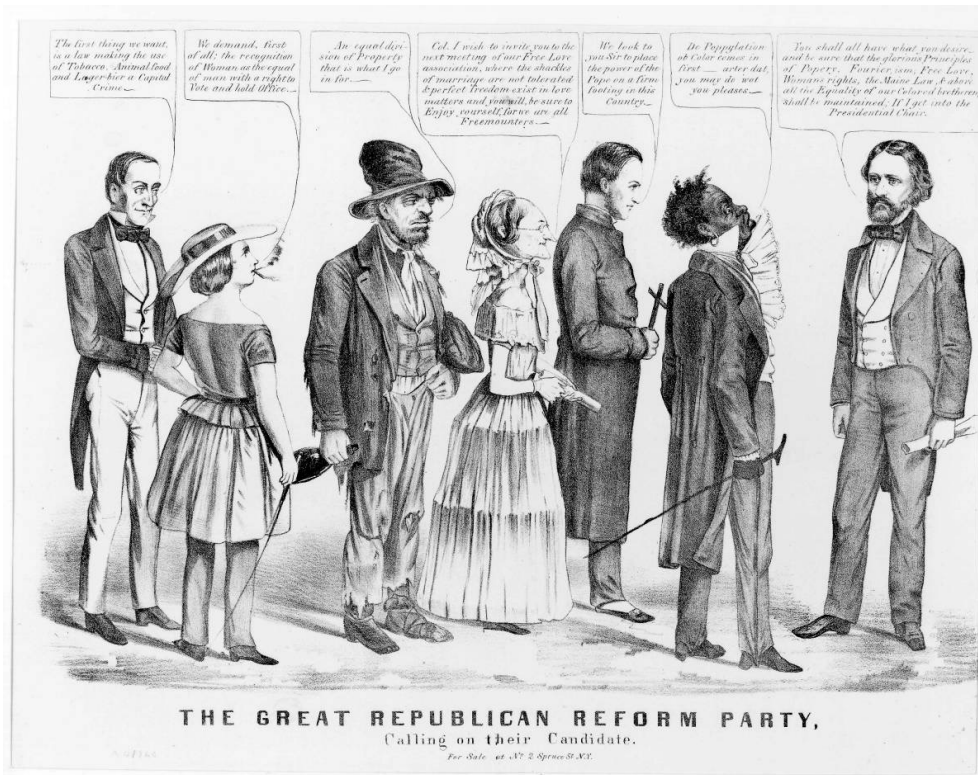
vs.



**Millard
Fillmore**

1856 Election





Calling on John Frémont (1856)

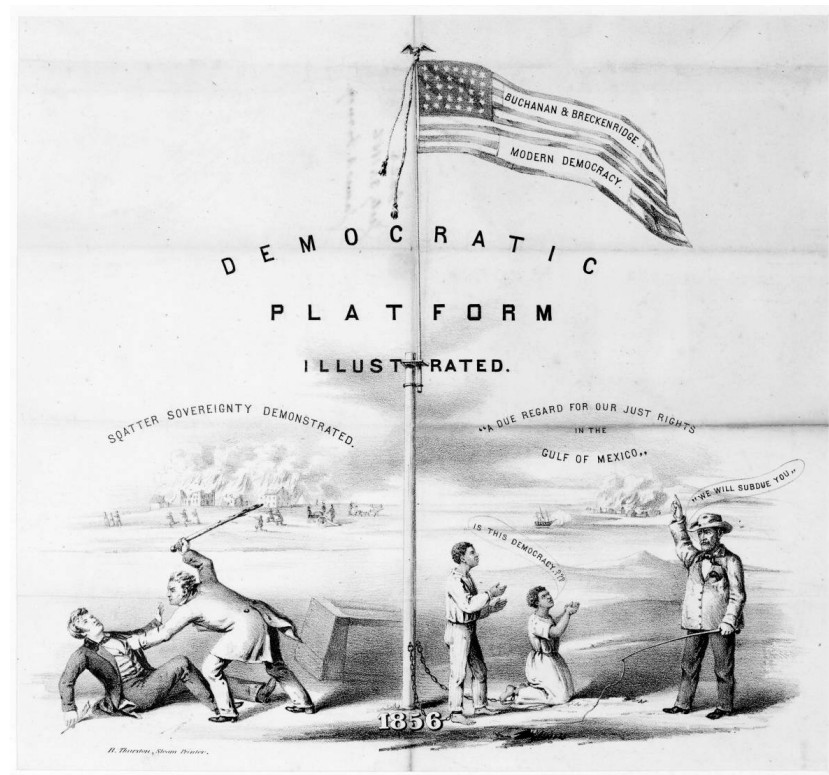




SMOKING HIM OUT. *Wm. L. Garrison*

Free-Soil Democrats (“Barn-burners”)





1856 Democratic Platform





”[The] only hope of forming a truly national party, which shall ignore this constant and distracting agitation of slavery.”

– Millard Fillmore to H. H. Stuart, 15-Jan-1855

American Party, aka “Know Nothings” (1856)



The Irrepressible Conflict.

A SPEECH

BY
WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

DELIVERED AT ROCHESTER, MONDAY, OCT 25, 1858.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The unmitigated out-
breaks of real which occur all around me, show
that you are earnest men—and such a man am
I. Let us therefore, at least for a time, pass
by all secondary and collateral questions,
whether of a personal or of a general nature,
and consider the main subject of the present
controversy. The Democratic party—or, to speak
more accurately—the party which wears that
attractive name, is in possession of the Federal
Government. The Republicans propose to dis-
lodge that party, and dislodge it from its high
trust.

The main subject, then, is whether the De-
mocratic party deserves to retain the confi-
dence of the American People. In attempting
to prove it unworthy, I think that I am not
actuated by prejudices against that party, or
by prepossessions in favor of its adversary; for
I have learned, by some experience, that vir-
tue and patriotism, vice and selfishness, are
found in all parties, and that they differ less in
their motives than in the policies they pursue.

Our country is a theatre, which exhibits, in
full operation, two radically different political
systems: the one resting on the basis of servile
or slave labor, the other on the basis of volun-
tary labor of freemen.

The laborers who are enslaved are all Afri-
can derivation. But this is only accidental.
The principle of the system is, that labor in
every society, by whomsoever performed, is
necessarily unintellectual, grovelling and base;
and that the laborer, equally for his own good
and for the welfare of the State, ought to be
enslaved. The white laboring man, whether
native or foreigner, is not enslaved, only be-
cause he cannot, as yet, be reduced to bond-
age.

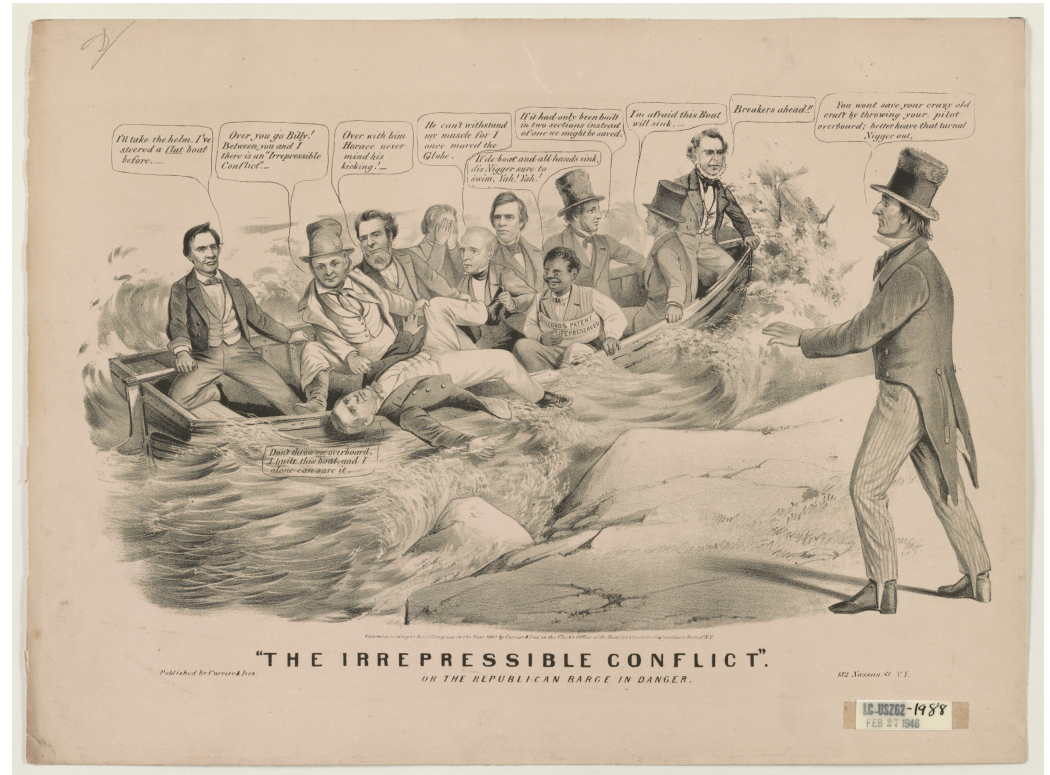
You need not be told now that the slave
system is the older of the two, and that once
it was universal.

The emancipation of our own ancestors,
Caucasians and Europeans as they were, hardly

dates beyond a period of five hundred years.
The great melioration of human society which
modern times exhibit, is mainly due to the
incomplete substitution of the system of volun-
tary labor for the old one of servile labor,
which has already taken place. This African
slave system is one which, in its origin and in
its growth, has been altogether foreign from
the habits of the races which colonized these
States, and established civilization here. It
was introduced on this new continent as an
engine of conquest, and for the establishment
of monarchical power, by the Portuguese and
the Spaniards, and was rapidly extended by
them all over South America, Central Amer-
ica, Louisiana, and Mexico. Its legitimate
fruits are seen in the poverty, imbecility, and
anarchy, which now pervade all Portuguese
and Spanish America. The free-labor system
is of German extraction, and it was establish-
ed in our country by emigrants from Sweden,
Holland, Germany, Great Britain, and Ire-
land.

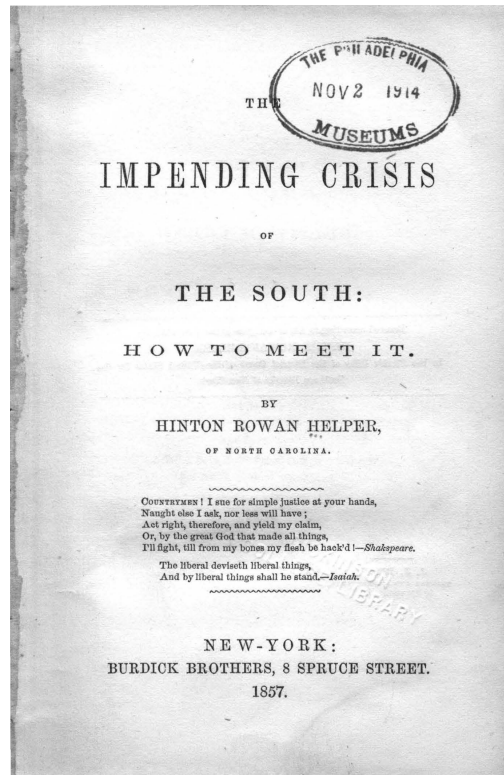
We justly ascribe to its influences the
strength, wealth, greatness, intelligence, and
freedom, which the whole American people
now enjoy. One of the chief elements of the
value of human life is freedom in the pursuit
of happiness. The slave system is not only in-
tolerant, unjust, and inhuman, toward the la-
borer, whom, only because he is a laborer, it
loads down with chains and converts into mer-
chandise, but is scarcely less severe upon the
freeman, to whom, only because he is a laborer
from necessity, it denies facilities for employ-
ment, and whom it expels from the commu-
nity because it cannot enslave and convert
him into merchandise also. It is necessarily
improvident and ruinous, because, as a gen-
eral truth, communities prosper and flourish or
droop and decline in just the degree that they
practise or neglect to practise the primary
duties of justice and humanity. The free-
labor system conforms to the divine law of
equality, which is written in the hearts and

For Sale at the Office of the New York Tribune. Price, per Single Copy, 4c.;
Dozen Copies, 30c.; per Hundred, \$3; per Thousand, \$15.



Irrepressible Conflict





Next to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), Hinton Helper's critique of slavery and the Southern class system, *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857), was arguably the most important antislavery book of the 1850s.



INCENDIARY PUBLICATIONS BY MAIL.—Mr. Holt, the Postmaster-General, has decided that the statute of Virginia in relation to the distribution of incendiary publications by mail, does not conflict with the postal laws of the United States.—He says:

The question thus presented was fully decided by Attorney-General Cushing in the case of the Yazoo city post office. He there held that a statute of Mississippi, in all respects analogous to that of Virginia as cited, was not inconsistent with the act of Congress, prescribing the duties of postmasters in regard to the delivery of mail matter, and that the latter, as good citizens, were bound to yield obedience to such State laws. You are referred to the luminous discussion of the case for the arguments urged by that distinguished civilian in support of the conclusion at which he arrived. The judgment thus pronounced has been cheerfully acquiesced in by this Department, and is now recognized as one of the guides of its administration. The authority of Virginia to enact such a law rests upon that right of self-preservation which belongs to every government and people, and which has never been surrendered, nor indeed can it be.

JOHN BROWN'S FUNERAL took place at North

Postmaster-General says it's ok to seize copies of “incendiary documents”

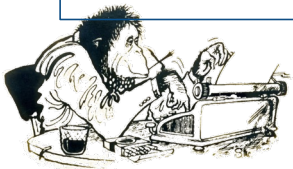


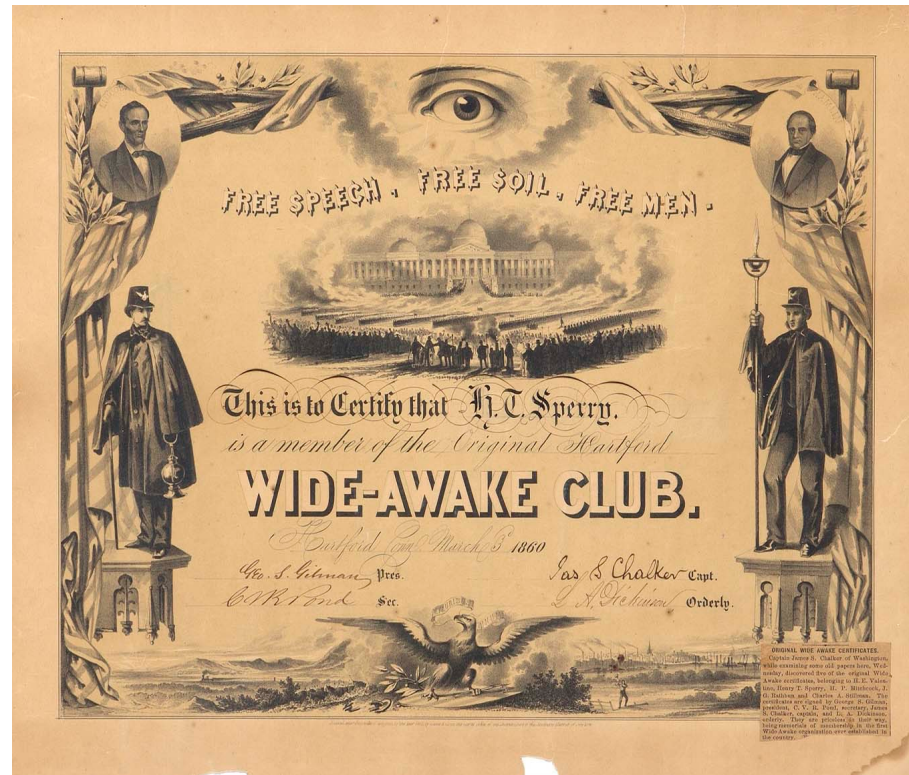
Greenville Patriot.

BURNING INCENDIARY DOCUMENTS.—On Thursday afternoon last, in the interval between the morning and evening session of our Court, several incendiary documents were committed to the flames, in the presence of a large crowd, in front of the Court House door. These objectionable works, consisting principally of the "Impending Crisis," had been put in circulation in this District by Harold Wyllys, who has been convicted of the offence, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. The pile of fuel was placed in order by an intelligent colored boy, *Bob*, who seemed to be as earnest in the matter as any one present. Contributions to the pile were made by citizens of Laurens, Pickens and Spartanburg. The match being applied by *Bob*, and the combustible matter having been made a little more combustible by a good sprinkling of alcohol, the books were consigned to the flames by the chief marshal of the town, and were soon destroyed.

Bob has called upon us since the bonfire, and expressed his regret at not having taken the opportunity of making a little speech on the occasion, which he says he would have done, had he not doubted the propriety of it. His speech, he informs us, would have been to the effect that as freely as he applied the lighted match to the pile of combustibles before him, so freely would he have applied it to any of the enemies of the South; for, said he, the man who is an enemy to the South is an enemy to my master, and an enemy to my master is an enemy to me. Pretty good reasoning, and we think he understands it too.—*Greenville Patriot.*

The Charleston Mercury Charleston, South Carolina • Friday, April 06, 1860





The Wide Awakes



The Conventions





The Election of 1860



Black journalists attending the 1860 conventions

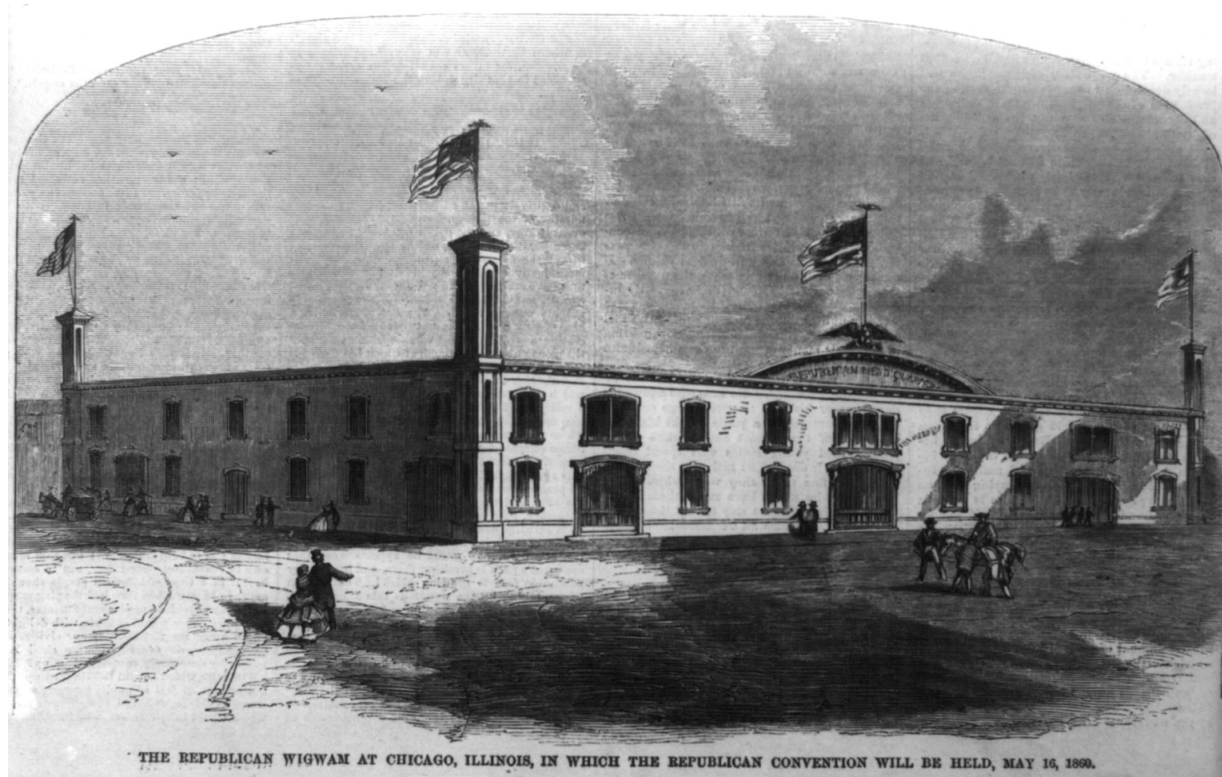


Female journalists attending the 1860 conventions



The Republican Convention





"The Republican Wigwam at Chicago in which the Republican Convention will be Held--May 16, 1860" [exterior]



... the Chairman, and received the votes of the Delegates separately.

FIRST BALLOT.

The first ballot resulted as follows:

FOR MR. SEWARD.

Maine.....	10	N. Hampshire	1	Massachusetts..	21
New-York....	70	Pennsylvania	3½	Maryland....	3
Virginia.....	8	Kentucky....	5	Michigan.....	12
Texas.....	4	Wisconsin....	10	Iowa.....	2
California....	8	Minnesota....	8	Kansas.....	6
Nebraska....	2	Dis. of Cal....	2		
Total.....					173½

FOR MR. LINCOLN.

Maine.....	6	N. Hampshire	7	Massachusetts..	4
Connecticut..	2	Pennsylvania.	4	Virginia.....	11
Kentucky....	6	Ohio.....	8	Indiana.....	26
Illinois.....	22	Iowa.....	2	Nebraska....	1
Total.....					102

The New York Times

Seward leads after the first ballot



SECOND BALLOT.							
States.	Seward.	Lincoln.	Bates.	Cameron.	McLean.	Chase.	Dayton.
Maine.....	10	6	—	—	—	—	—
New-Hampshire.....	1	9	—	—	—	—	—
Vermont.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts.....	22	4	—	—	—	—	—
Rhode Island.....	—	3	—	—	12	3	—
Connecticut.....	—	4	4	—	—	12	12
New-York.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—
New-Jersey.....	4	—	—	—	—	—	10
Pennsylvania.....	2½	48	—	1	2½	—	—
Maryland.....	3	—	8	—	—	—	—
Delaware.....	—	6	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia.....	8	14	—	1	—	—	—
Kentucky.....	7	9	—	—	—	6	—
Ohio.....	—	14	—	—	3	29	—
Indiana.....	—	26	—	—	—	—	—
Missouri.....	—	—	18	—	—	—	—
Michigan.....	12	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois.....	—	22	—	—	—	—	—
Texas.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin.....	10	—	—	—	—	—	—
Iowa.....	2	5	—	—	½	½	—
California.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minnesota.....	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon.....	—	—	5	—	—	—	—
<i>Territories.</i>							
Kansas.....	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska.....	3	1	—	—	—	2	—
District of Columbia...	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total.....	184½	181	85	2	8	42½	10

The third ballot was taken amid excitement, and cries for "the ballot." Intense feeling existed during the voting, each vote being awaited in breathless silence and expectancy.

The progress of the ballot was watched with most intense interest, especially toward the last, the crowd becoming silent as the contest narrowed down. The States, as called, voted as follows :

A shift toward Lincoln



THIRD BALLOT.						
	Seward	Bates	Chase	Lincoln	M. Lem.	Dayton
STATES.						
Maine.....	10	..	..	6	..	..
New Hampshire.....	1	..	..	9	..	..
Vermont.....	1	..	..	10	..	..
Massachusetts.....	18	..	..	8	..	..
Rhode Island.....	1	..	1	5	1	..
Connecticut.....	1	4	2	4	..	..
New York.....	70	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey.....	5	..	..	8	..	1
Pennsylvania.....	..	..	..	52	6	..
Maryland.....	3	..	..	9	..	..
Delaware.....	..	..	..	6	..	..
Vir. Ind.	3	..	..	14	..	..
Kentucky.....	6	..	4	13	..	..
Ohio.....	..	..	18	29	..	..
Indiana.....	..	..	..	26	..	..
Missouri.....	18	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan.....	12	..	..	23	..	..
Illinois.....	..	..	..	..	..	..
Texas.....	5	..	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin.....	10	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa.....	2	..	3	58	..	..
California.....	8	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota.....	8	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon.....	1	..	..	4	..	..
TERRITORIES.						
Kansas.....	6	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska.....	3	..	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia.....	2	..	..	..	..	..
Total.....	180	22	24½	231½	6	1

The progress of the ballot was watched with most intense interest, especially toward the last, the crowd becoming silent as the contest narrowed down, when, before the result was announced.

MR. CARTTER, of Ohio, said—I arise, Mr. Chairman, to announce the change of four votes of Ohio from Mr. Chase to Abraham Lincoln.

This announcement, giving Mr. Lincoln a majority, was greeted by the audience with the most enthusiastic and thundering applause. The entire crowd rose to their feet, applauding rapturously, the ladies waving their handkerchiefs, the men waving and throwing up their hats by thousands, cheering again and again. The applause was renewed and repeated for many minutes. At last, partial silence having been restored, with many gentlemen striving to get the floor,

MR. EVARTS, of New York—Mr. Chairman, has the vote been declared?

The CHAIR—No, sir.

MR. ANDREW, of Massachusetts—Mr. Chairman, I sought an opportunity some time since, and before finishing the roll-call of the States, at the direction of many of my associates of the Massachusetts delegation, to correct their vote. I am instructed to report that the vote from Massachusetts stands: for Abraham Lincoln, 18; for William H. Seward, 8. [Applause.]

MR. McBRIDE, of Maine—Mr. Chairman

It is decided



THE REPUBLICAN TICKET FOR 1860.

**Abram Lincoln, of Illinois, Nominated
for President.**

**The Late Senatorial Contest in Illinois to be Re-
Fought on a Wider Field.**

**Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, the Candi-
date for Vice-President.**

**Disappointment of the Friends of
Mr. Seward.**

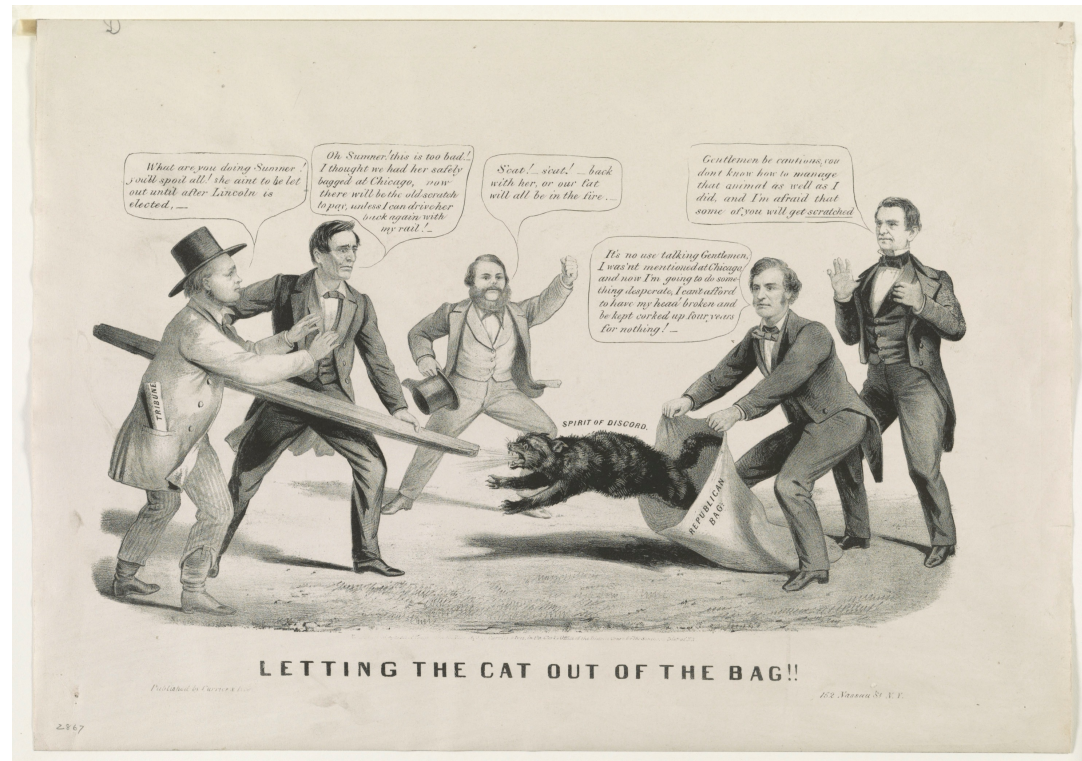
INTENSE EXCITEMENT AND ENTHUSIASM

Reception of the Nominations in this City.

**How They are Hailed Throughout the
North.**

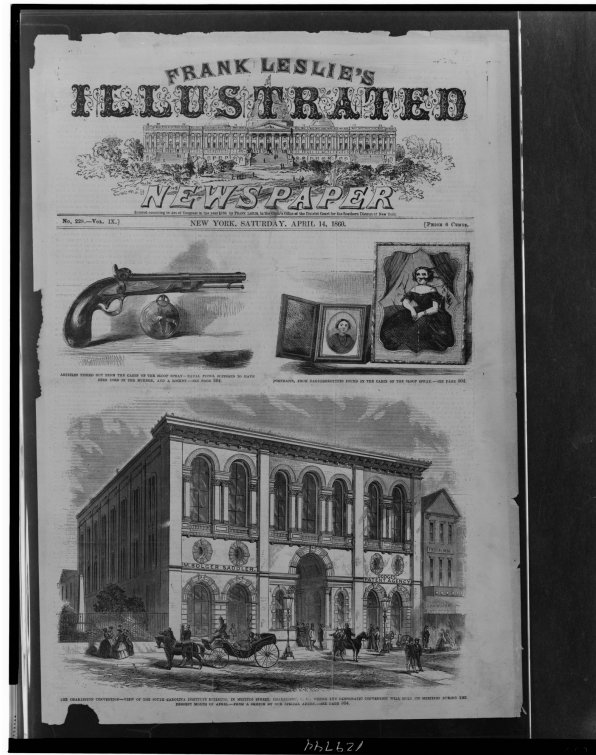
New York Times, 19-May-1860





Which was the bigger issue: holding the nation together or holding the North together?

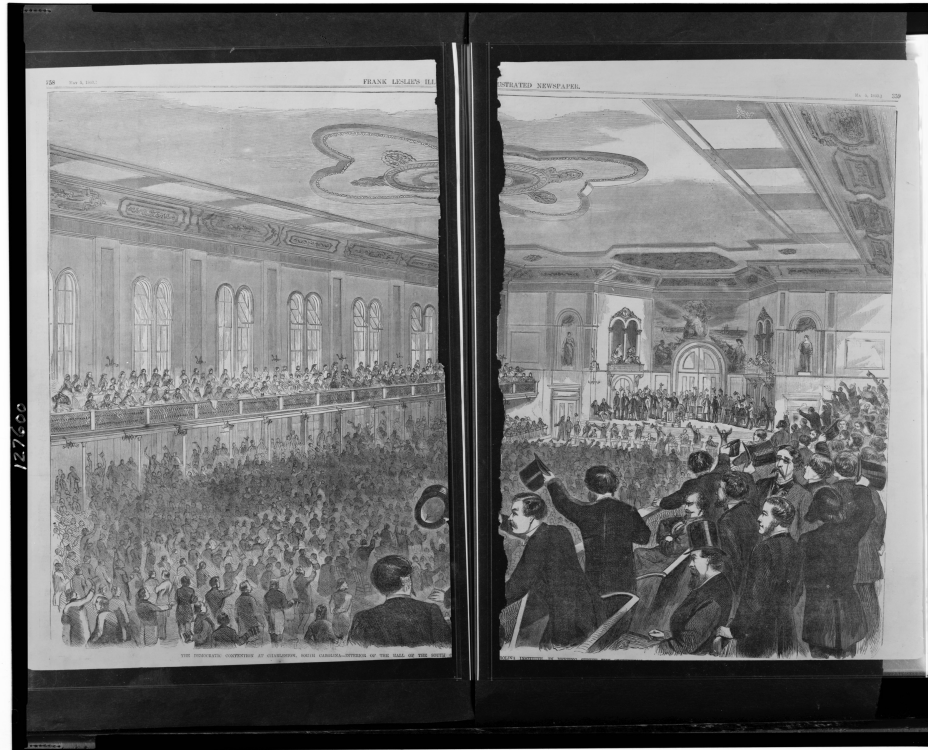




Democrats in Charleston

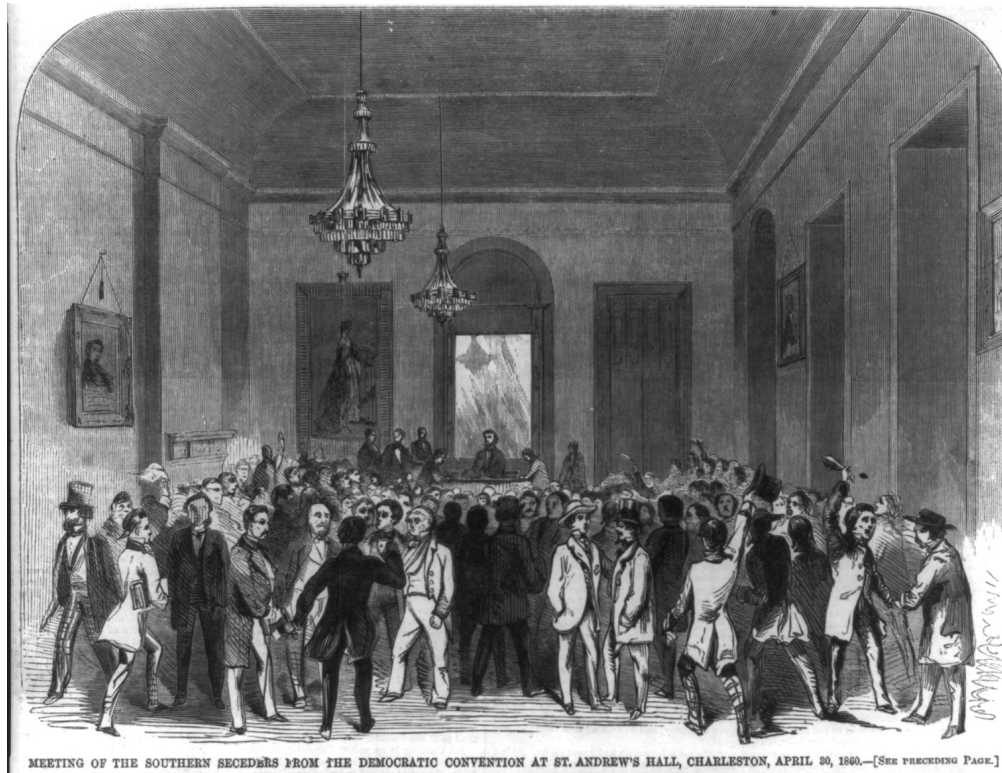


Turning Points - 2



Democrats meet in Charleston, SC

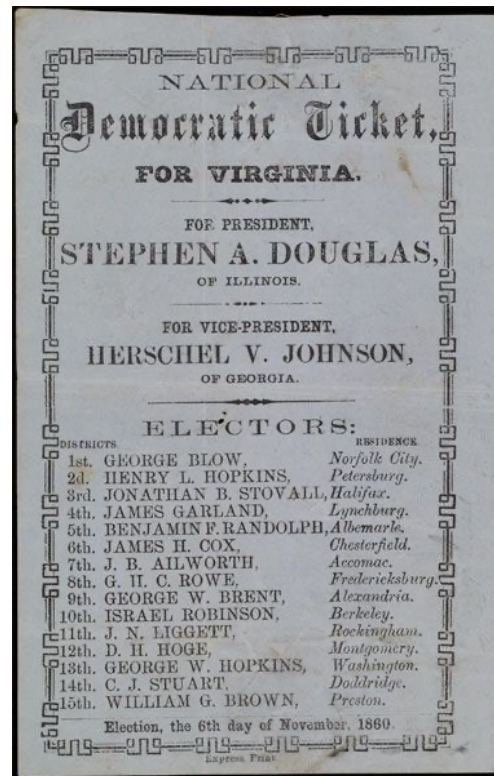




MEETING OF THE SOUTHERN SECEDERS FROM THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION AT ST. ANDREW'S HALL, CHARLESTON, APRIL 30, 1860.—[SEE PRECEDING PAGE.]

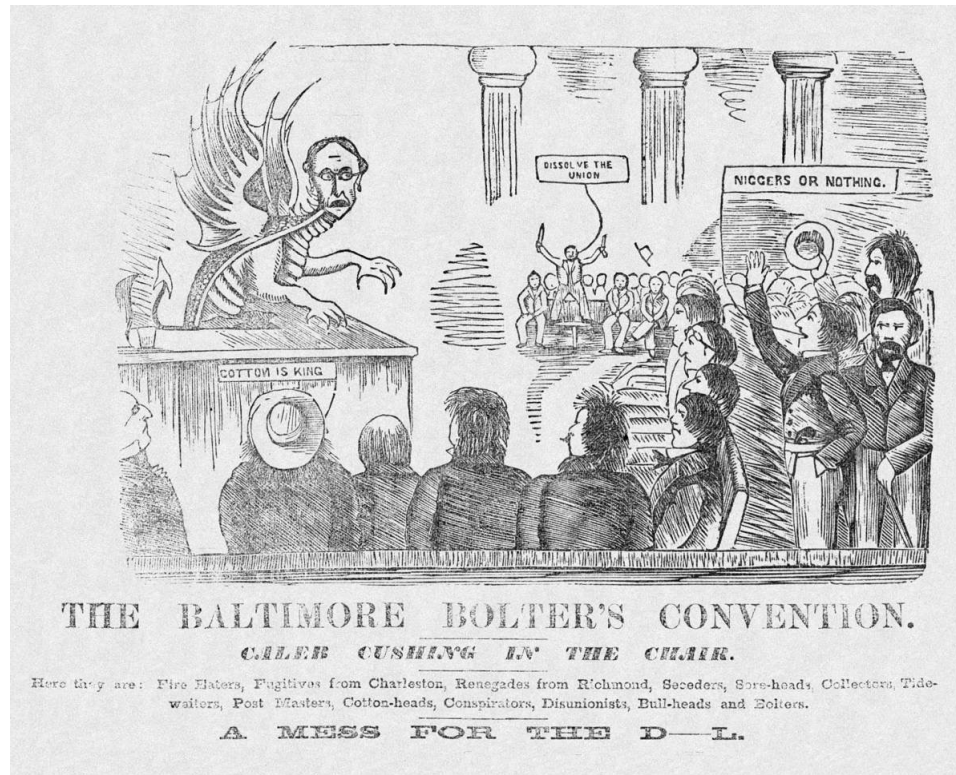
Meeting of the Southern seceders from the Democratic Convention at St. Andrew's Hall, Charleston [S.C.] April 30, 1860



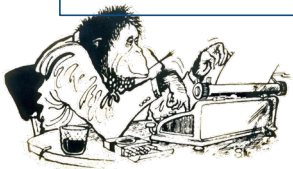


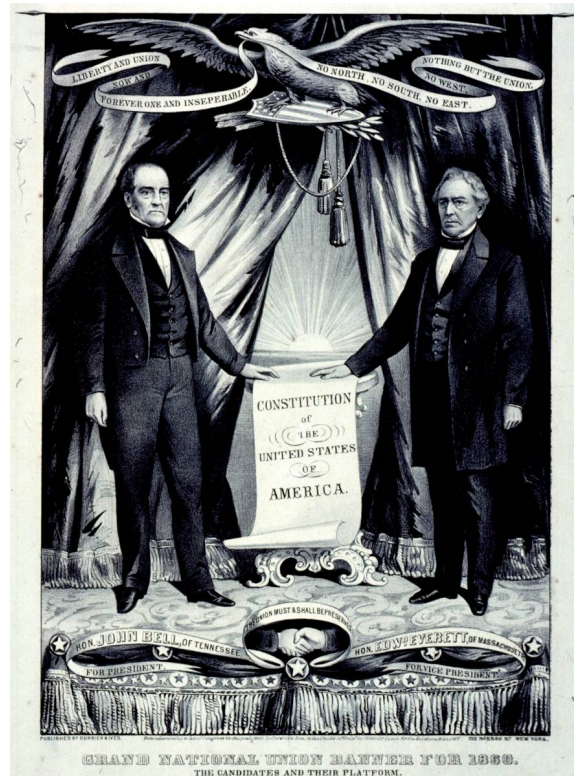
Democrats reconvene in Baltimore and choose Stephen Douglas





Southern Democrats convened in Richmond to choose John Breckenridge (Kentucky) and Joseph Lane (Oregon(?))

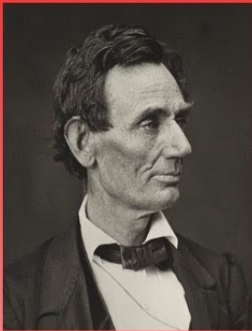




Constitutional Union Party also met in Baltimore, choosing John Bell (Tennessee) and Edward Everett (Massachusetts)

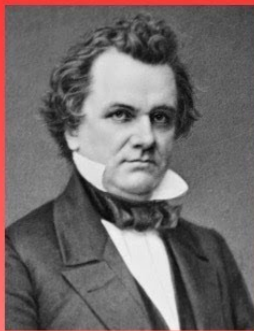


The Presidential Election of 1860



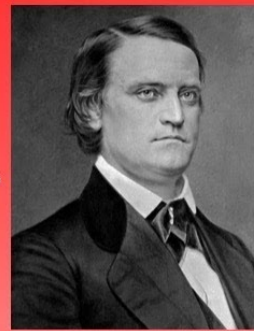
**Abraham
Lincoln**

vs.



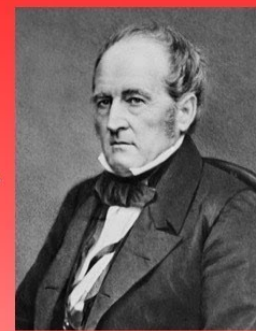
**Stephen
Douglas**

vs.



**John
Breckinridge**

vs.



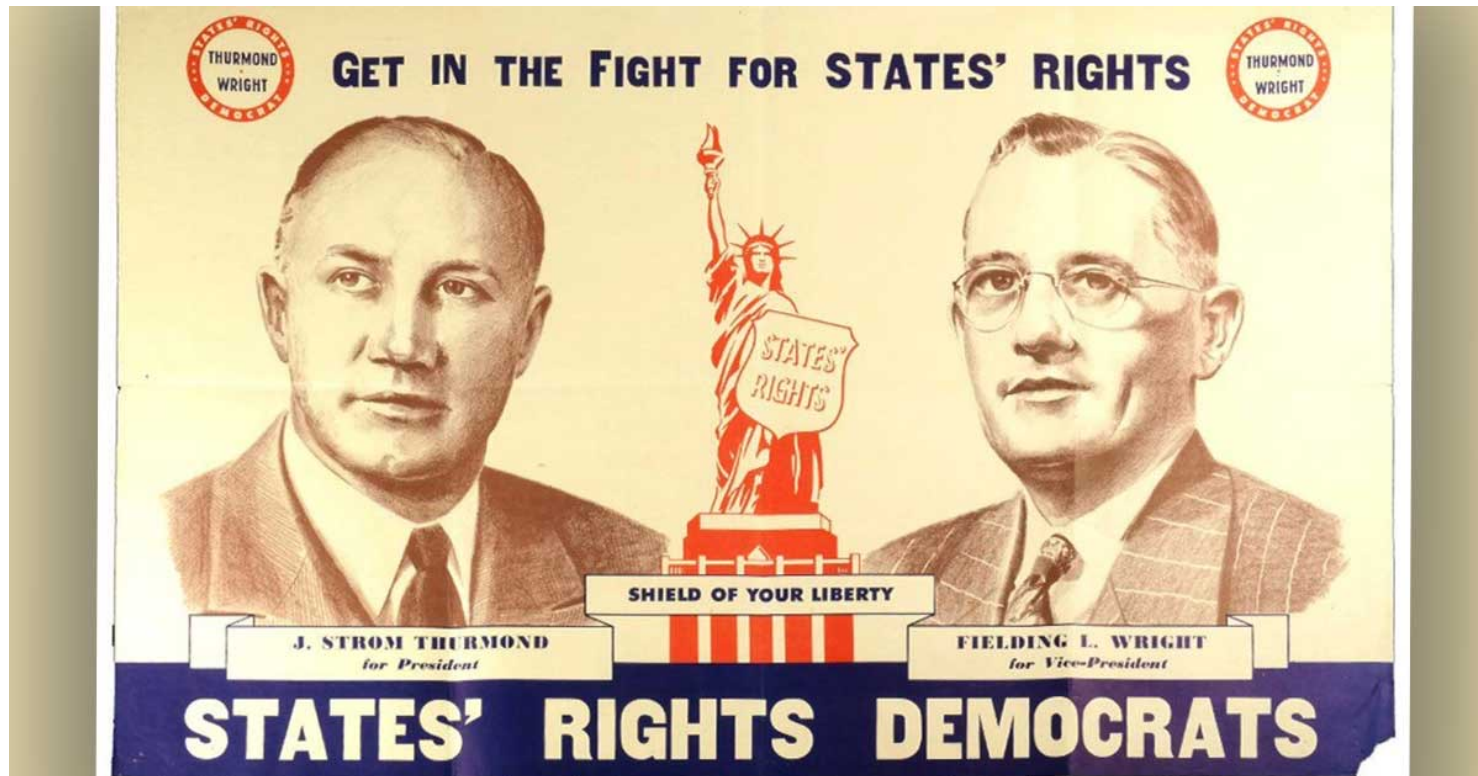
**John
Bell**

The factions have spoken. What could go wrong?



Next week







Did the parties understand the risks of their decisions?

